

**Savella Stechishin: A Case Study of Ukrainian-Canadian Women Activism
in Saskatchewan, 1920-1945.**

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts in History

University of Regina

by

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November, 1997

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ABSTRACT

Savella Stechishin was the first woman to publicly call women of Ukrainian descent in Canada to unite under the umbrella of a national women's organization for the betterment of their being. To realize her vision of uplifting women of her ethnic group, she encouraged them to develop self-esteem, self-worth and self-enlightenment. Education was the key to accomplish this concept. She promoted Ukrainian national consciousness as an important facet in the elevation and fulfilment of Ukrainian-Canadian women. Women were, she believed, the guiding light in the home and were obligated to steer their children on a path toward higher learning - all within a framework of Ukrainianness. Ukrainian-Canadian women could not be separated from their ethnic group. Stechishin's conception of the woman issue developed under the influence of the Saskatchewan wing of the Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia. Due to prejudice against Ukrainians and their struggle to attain respectability and acceptance in Canada, the leading activists restricted their mandate within manageable confines. Their agenda did not include philanthropic projects nor abuse and welfare issues. Stechishin echoed the intelligentsia's pronouncements that to achieve success was to practice the ideology of self-reliance, self-respect and self-help, all tied together with the retention and promotion of their heritage. Once this philosophy was embraced, other issues could then be tackled. National consciousness preceded women's consciousness. Stechishin advocated a balance of socio-economic improvement with the importance of education and the pivotal role of motherhood. She can best be described as an ethnocultural social maternal feminist.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The advice, guidance and encouragement of my supervisor, Dr. James M. Pitsula, is gratefully appreciated. Special thanks are extended to Myron Momryk of the National Archives in Ottawa for his unfailing co-operation in retrieving relevant documentation from the Savella Stechishin files. His helpful and supportive correspondence always appeared at the right moment to give me the desire to continue. I thank most sincerely, Roy Cullimore, for his encouragement and willingness to allow me time off from my job to undertake this research.

I thank Savella Stechishin for granting me an interview, for kindly sharing with me her unpublished autobiography and granting me access to her papers in the National Archives. All this information clarified many aspects of her life and work with women of her heritage group, as well as giving me insight into her personality.

Much of the research was in the Ukrainian language and had to be translated into English. This could not have been done with accuracy and speed without the generous help of my son, Evan, and my friend, Larisa Bondarenko. I am indebted to both and thank them very much.

The financial support by way of a grant from the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko which helped to defray some of the expenditures incurred is gratefully acknowledged.

Last of all, I wish to thank my husband and family for their belief and support in my desire to take on this research.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Ukraine endowed her with an optimistic outlook on life and Canada gave her an education. After a few years of teaching she registered at our University. She is a born leader. We predict a very interesting and successful future for her."¹

Savella Stechishin was the first Ukrainian-Canadian woman activist to organize women of her ethnic group in Canada so that they, from a low immigrant entrance status, could achieve fulfilment and parity with the mainstream society. She promoted integration rather than assimilation into the broader society; Ukrainian heritage was to be nurtured and not forsaken. By 1920 she had become a member of the Saskatchewan wing of the nascent Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia. The intelligentsia were guiding their people out of a peasant culture to be equally good and acceptable Canadian citizens. In the face of rampant discrimination by many in the host society, they promoted self-reliance, self-respect and education to achieve British-Canadian middle-class status and a positive image in the eyes of mainstream Canada. Savella Stechishin was a driving force in ensuring that a national women's organization be established to unite Ukrainian women of all backgrounds regardless of political and religious biases. She had to contend with a Ukrainian population scattered mainly throughout the prairies, women who were isolated due to cultural and linguistic differences from the dominant society as well as physical distances from their neighbours. Many Ukrainian-Canadian women in the 1920s still clung to the 'old country' cultural baggage they had carried with them. Their domestic practices were a century behind those in Canada. Saskatchewan, in the first half of the twentieth century, offered a harsh environment for poverty stricken homesteaders unfamiliar with Canadian standards to begin life anew. The Ukrainian pioneer women arrived in Canada with a hope for a better life for themselves and their children. Savella Stechishin offered them an extending hand by believing that once they attained socio-economic values similar to other Canadians, they would take their rightful place alongside the multicultural peoples of Canada.

The first half of the twentieth century was a time of decisive change for Ukrainians as well as for western Canada, with Ukrainians becoming an integral part of the opening of the West. Because Savella Stechishin began to formulate her vision for a women's movement in 1920 and by 1945 became less directly involved, the specific years from 1920 to 1945 were selected for investigation in this thesis. These twenty-five years were the height of fervent activities of Ukrainian Canadians in fulfilling their desire to be equal citizens in their adopted country, Canada. Saskatchewan was chosen since Savella lived in Saskatoon and her activism radiated from this city, coupled with the fact that the Ukrainian population and their activism had a high presence in Saskatchewan. Although still part of a patriarchal society, upwardly mobile women of Ukrainian descent by the 1920s were beginning to express their desire for an equal role in the solidarity of the group and ultimately its success on the nation's stage.² What was the state of the Ukrainian immigrant woman and her daughters at the beginning of the twentieth century when they faced a dual prejudice because of their ethnicity and gender? Ukrainian-Canadian women cannot be separated from their ethnicity and their belonging to a group.³

This introductory chapter emphasizes the role Savella Stechishin played in the Ukrainian-Canadian women's movement and their place and identity both within their immediate and the mainstream society. In order to fully understand the challenges that Savella Stechishin faced, the second chapter examines the socio-economic conditions of Ukrainians in Ukraine before emigration as well as the political circumstances in Canada and the reasons for enticing them to settle the West. The reception they received in Canada as unsavoury 'foreigners' by the nativist host society and their response to this treatment are discussed. A biographical chapter (Chapter 3) examines the aims, goals and determination of Savella Stechishin and the role she perceived for the women of Ukrainian descent in Canada. The method that Savella employed in successfully bringing her vision for the identity and the place of these women in Canadian society to fruition is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The next chapter is again biographical in that it covers the crystallization of her personal goals: obtaining a university degree, acquiring her chosen career as a home economist and

developing her journalistic skills. An important question to be answered was whether Savella Stechishin had any influence or impact on Ukrainian-Canadian women residing in Saskatchewan. Activities of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC) branches in Saskatchewan are discussed in Chapter 7 placing into perspective the influence that Savella Stechishin, as a key founder of the UWAC, directly and indirectly exerted over time. A comparison of attitudes with other women's groups is made emphasizing the direction in which the Ukrainian-Canadian women proceeded. Because little information is available in conventional resources regarding ethnic women's organizations on the prairies or a particular ethnic woman activist, the comparison is limited to ethnic women generally. The concluding chapter (Chapter 8) summarizes the unique personality of Savella Stechishin and the role she played in uplifting Ukrainian-Canadian women while being the guiding force in this women's movement in the first half of the twentieth century.

Several themes are evident in chronicling the life of Savella Stechishin and her activism with the women's movement. Throughout the thesis her determination to enact her vision to transform these women, barely out of a peasant culture, into modern women is unmistakable. National (Ukrainian) consciousness was foremost and superseded women's consciousness. Women were to subordinate female issues to all things Ukrainian, and individual issues to that of the group. Women were identified with the group rather than with their sex. Three components were inextricably intertwined: gender, class and ethnicity.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Canadian women on the prairies organized to better society, directing their efforts to charitable and benevolent activities. Women historians in Canadian Women. A History argue that the women's movement incorporated two perspectives of feminism. These were social/maternal and equal rights/equity feminism. Over the course of Canadian history, the first of these is "the most characteristic of Canadian feminism."⁴ Savella Stechishin falls into the first category, but differs moderately in that she was a social maternal feminist in an ethnocultural sphere. A social maternal feminist is defined in this thesis as one who is a social reformer in a female society coupled with the belief that women are guardians of the family. 'Social' is used to describe Stechishin's

feminism since her activism was directed to improving the social conditions of Ukrainian-Canadian women. This improvement, along with education, was a vehicle to social and economic advancement within the mainstream and would help to attain equal status within their immediate community. Anglo-Canadian 'social' feminists were concerned with the well-being of families as well as the establishment of a more acceptable social order in Canada. In Stechishin's case, her feminism is indivisibly bound with ethnoculturalism. Savella Stechishin can be termed an ethnocultural social maternal feminist.

Savella Stechishin has, because of her love for her culture, dedicated her life's work to the retention and promotion of her Ukrainian heritage within a woman's sphere. In harmony with her dedication to her culture, she urged her Ukrainian sisters to realize self-enlightenment. She can truly be referred to as a feminist because she organized women through unifying their interests, thus enabling them to achieve equal rights within their ethnic group and mainstream communities. These women, many of whom were illiterate or semi-literate, of limited means and with century-old attitudes had to reform in order to grasp Canadian societal values. Savella Stechishin's activism empowered them to transform from peasant women into modern women and therefore identifies her as a social reformer. The feminist principles Savella espoused were not only social but equally maternal. She emphasized the importance of motherhood and the belief that the mother was the key to family unity and ultimate prosperity. The onus was placed on the mother to direct the education of her children, and thereby influence the future generation to elevate Ukrainians in Canada. Savella passionately promoted education as the salvation of Ukrainians in Canada. The woman as mother, the nurturer and anchor of the family, was to be self-enlightened, and she was to ensure that her children received as high a schooling as possible. At the same time, she was also responsible for her children to be well versed in the Ukrainian language, history and culture. Savella was a feminist with her ethnic heritage as an integral component of her feminism.

Women's traditional handicrafts of embroidery and Easter egg decorating were promoted as important visible symbols for the acceptance of Ukrainians by the dominant

society as equals. Savella believed these handicrafts should be considered works of art performed by a cultured people. Ukrainian-Canadian women were encouraged to be proud of their culture including the folk arts and thus uplift them to Canadian standards. Self-reliance and Canadian middle-class values were important and all members of the Ukrainian community were encouraged to strive to attain middle-class status. Ukrainian Canadians were to be equally proud to be both Canadian and Ukrainian. It is within this framework that the Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia, with Savella as one of its leading members, guided their group to becoming good and equal citizens of Canada.

Ukrainian Canadians today, collectively or individually, could not have attained their upward mobility without the genesis of the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia. Their ideology and tenacity are discussed to verify their importance in the life of Savella Stechishin and her determination to achieve the aims she strongly felt had to be implemented to ensure the enrichment of Ukrainian-Canadian women. The intelligentsia was one of the most important building blocks in the foundation of the fledgling Ukrainian community in Canada.⁵ Assuming an ideological role, they became the leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian community with a mission to lift the immigrants from their quagmire to the level acceptable and equal to Anglo-Canadians. The intelligentsia came to fruition because the Ukrainian identity within Canada was tied to the problem of social inequality. While for most Ukrainians the basic concern was survival, a vital outcome of the hostility of the host society was group solidarity.⁶ Savella Stechishin was in the heart of the embryonic intelligentsia steering their ethnic group in a new young country.

Savella Stechishin acted as a role model for young women to emulate. She embodied the definition of the 'community heroine' Frances Swyripa discusses in her article, "Baba and the Community Heroine. The Two Images of the Ukrainian Pioneer Woman."⁷ Like the 'community heroine', Savella was highly educated, earning a Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in Home Economics (the first Ukrainian Canadian woman to do so), nationally conscious (thoroughly versed in Ukrainian literature, history, language and culture), a wife and mother, a career woman and an activist in her immediate community and the Ukrainian-

Canadian community at large. Upwardly mobile, she was and still remains respected as a Canadian as well as an esteemed member of her own ethnic group, the Ukrainian Canadians.

A member of the Ukrainian middle class in Canada, Savella Stechishin promoted British-Canadian middle-class values to women who were bereft of material wealth and in many instances, of basic necessities. The majority of these women's family income were below the poverty line and they lived daily with drudgery. Middle-class values were defined by hard work, self-pride, self-reliance, education, possessing some material wealth, respectability and projecting a positive image. It was the middle-class women activists of Ukrainian descent who joined Savella in her quest to promote self-enlightenment and to organize a national women's organization to spread their ideology and unify women of common interests and backgrounds. She was the leading founder of the first Ukrainian-Canadian national women's organization, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC) which was formally organized in 1926.

For a variety of reasons not all Ukrainian-Canadian women joined the UWAC. Some simply chose not to be members of their ethnocultural community. However, Savella Stechishin and the UWAC did play a fundamental role in the consolidation and elevation of women to their significant place within the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada. In the initial years of the UWAC, young middle-class educated women in their twenties and early thirties guided the women's movement. Many of the leaders had been educated at Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. They were former members of the Mohylianky Society, a society established by Savella Stechishin when she was dean of women at the Institute. Older women joined the Association, but the leaders were usually young married women with children. This was unlike most Anglo-Celtic women's organizations in which the vast majority of members were middle-aged, middle-class women in their forties and fifties. Janet Harvey, in her Master's thesis on the Regina Council of Women, points out that the typical member "did not work outside the home and was usually past the age of having responsibility for the care of young children."⁸ Veronica Strong-Boag, who has written extensively on Canadian women's history, agrees that "women usually in the forty and up age group were involved in the affairs

of their society."⁹

The UWAC, with Savella Stechishin at the helm in its formative years, successfully aided in projecting a more acceptable image to the broader society. Their aims were not philanthropic nor did they deal with female concerns such as birth control, domestic violence or poverty, but rather women were encouraged to develop self-pride and self-worth. This was not primarily for the sake of the individual but for the group. Once the group collectively had the respect of the Anglo-Canadian community as equals and recognition as important contributing members, individuals would then be able to achieve high ideals on their own merits.

In order to put Savella's activism into a Canadian context, the sources of her inspiration are discussed. She turned toward women in Ukraine and not Canada for guidance to set the aims and objectives for a national women's organization. To further appraise her agenda, a comparison was made with women of other ethnic communities and with mainstream women. Did her mandate have a different or similar focus? As the decades passed, was there a tendency to converge with women in the mainstream or did Ukrainian-Canadian women remain isolated in their own sphere?

As the research progressed, it became evident that indeed Savella Stechishin was an Ukrainian-Canadian woman activist who united women of her ethnic community and was primarily responsible for the genesis of a national women's organization. She was found to be the successful visionary who propelled women to take their place as enlightened, confident and equal citizens of Canada and achieve a sense of who they were within the context of their Ukrainian heritage. Her vision and mission were to empower women of little or no education, limited worldliness and sophistication, few material possessions, still in a peasant culture of patriarchy and superstition, and a century behind their Anglo-Canadian contemporaries, to take hold of their destiny. However, the direction of their destiny was prescribed by Savella. Her mandate incorporated 'safe' issues of the retention of Ukrainian culture and visible symbols. The Ukrainian Canadians, of which women were equally contributing, but not leading members, had to be coalesced into a vibrant cohesive force to take their rightful place on an

equal basis along side other nation builders in Canada.

Living in the same house in Saskatoon since the 1940s and now in her early 90s, Savella consented to a personal interview to record her perspective of the events of her life. She was receptive to the idea of a thesis being written about her and her involvement in shaping the role that women of Ukrainian origin played in Canada. Because she realized that her memory is not as crisp as it once was, she offered her unpublished autobiography as a resource for this thesis, "It came to mind that my biography covers a lot of points necessary for your paper."¹⁰ The autobiography, written over a number of years in the 1980s, begins with her early childhood in Ukraine, the trip to Canada and continues to 1965, describing a mixture of her personal life with her career and her vision and involvement with the Ukrainian-Canadian women's movement. In the interview and in further discussion with her, she was very clear in what she wanted revealed: "There are a few pages of personal matters that we left out in your copy (autobiography)."¹¹ She tended to add little new information but primarily reaffirmed and illuminated written material, adamantly reinforcing certain events she believed were cogent to her activism, e.g., her residence at the Petro Mohyla Institute. The autobiography helped immensely to put events in perspective and chronological order as well as elucidating the strong personality of this leading activist.

Since most of Savella's personal papers and documents are deposited at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, she gave her written permission for the Archives to release papers requested which were pertinent to this thesis. From this source, the documentation (mostly in Ukrainian) proved to be crucial in the research. Personal letters retrieved from the National Archives were very beneficial in shedding light on her relationship with Ukrainian women activists in Western Ukraine. These letters produced valuable information as to the financial aid Savella provided and her role in helping women in Ukraine. Her written outlines of her life, work and contributions and short autobiographies, in English and Ukrainian, gave an overview and facilitated the clarification of many events and incidents. Correspondence with the University of Saskatchewan, Homemakers' Department, filed with the National Archives, produced precious details such as the places she visited while working for the

Homemakers Department, cost of transportation and meals and methods she employed in her work as a home economist amongst Ukrainians in Saskatchewan. A few documents dealt with her work in other Saskatchewan communities.

General information is available from several sources regarding the place of women within the history of Ukrainian Canadians and the socio-economic condition of the pioneering women, with sketches on women's organizations. More specifically, historian Frances Swyrypa does place and identify Savella Stechishin as a notable activist in the Ukrainian-Canadian community in the first half of the twentieth century in her seminal book on Ukrainian-Canadian women.¹² However, no biographies of female activists or feminists from the Ukrainian-Canadian community have been written.

Another source of information was histories written by Ukrainian women's groups chronicling their own organizations.¹³ The bilingual book (English/Ukrainian), *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Narys istorii Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady 1926-1976* (A Half-Century of Service to the Community. An Outline History of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada 1926-1976), illuminates the pioneering work initiated by a group of women in Saskatoon. It reveals that one woman in particular had a germ of an idea and with the help of other like-minded women, spearheaded the union of Ukrainian-Canadian women from all walks of life. This woman was Savella Stechishin. Information in other anniversary books celebrating the accomplishments of the UWAC (in the Ukrainian language) validates her to be one of the first to publicly urge women of Ukrainian descent to unite under the umbrella of a national women's organization.¹⁴ These sources also confirmed her involvement as a leader and activist amongst Ukrainian-Canadian women. Her own writings further underlined her commitment to her people and the importance she placed on the recording of history.¹⁵ By researching the popular and progressive Ukrainian language weekly, *Ukrainskyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice), over the years 1923 to the 1940s, it became evident that she was the first woman to deliberately and aggressively strive to arouse many women from their drudgery and complacency. These sources provided the bulk of the information, most of which were in Ukrainian and required translation. The UWAC archives situated at the Ukrainian Museum

of Canada (owned and operated by the UWAC) produced little unique material that was not found elsewhere.

Enquiries at the University of Saskatchewan archives regarding the Homemakers' Department, Department of Extension, for the years Savella Stechishin was employed with them, produced no relevant material. No recorded documentation was found for the 1930s and 1940s concerning the home economists who travelled in the countryside teaching women the fundamentals of homemaking. Searches at the Saskatchewan Archives Board as to Stechishin yielded no results. Saskatoon newspaper and University magazine clippings honouring Savella Stechishin for her contributions to Ukrainian-Canadian women and as a home economist were retrieved from the archives at the University of Saskatchewan and at the City of Saskatoon.

Research for this thesis has confirmed that there is limited recorded history of Ukrainian-Canadian women from the time of their arrival in the late 1890s until the present time. Canadian historians have, to a large extent, neglected to credit Ukrainian-Canadian pioneer women's contribution to the building of Canada as a nation. Recently, the lives of many prairie women have been recorded - the majority have been of British-Canadian origin.¹⁶ However, the prairie population is predominantly of non-British descent. Ethnic women have been invisible in conventional histories; they have been ignored due to their gender, class and ethnicity.¹⁷ In a recent article, Ruth Roach Pierson points out that "much of the ethnically- and racially- centred work in Canadian women's history has been done by members of the ethnic or racial group being studied, owing not merely to language facility and access to private sources, but also presumably to both a curiosity and a familiarity stemming from cultural identity."¹⁸

The majority of histories of Ukrainian Canadians written by Ukrainian Canadians have not recognized women's place in history biasing history in favour of men. In a recent issue of the Ukrainian language weekly, *Ukrainskyi holos*, writer Jars Balan reviewed authors who have written about Ukrainian pioneers. In a letter to the editor, a woman responded and succinctly summarized the nature of Ukrainian-Canadian historiography, "I got the impression

that pioneering was done by men, men and more men."¹⁹ She then proceeds to illustrate that pioneering was equally shared by both her grandfather and grandmother in a prairie bloc settlement.

Savella's pioneering and outstanding contributions to her people have been acknowledged by both the Ukrainian- and Anglo- Canadian communities by way of profiles in magazines, newspapers and books, citations and awards. Some of these honours are: The Taras Shevchenko Medal (1962), UWAC Branch in Kelowna named in her honour (1974), Honourary Member of Saskatchewan Home Economics Association (1975), Woman of the Year, Saskatchewan Ukrainian Canadian Committee (1975), Outstanding Saskatoon Woman (1975), Honourary Doctorate of Canon Law, St. Andrew's College, University of Manitoba (1976), Notable Saskatchewan Woman (1980), Century Saskatoon award for journalism and multiculturalism (1982), Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada Medal (1985), Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada Certificate of Honour (1985), University of Saskatchewan Faculty of Home Economics, Member of the Living Hall of Fame (1989), and Order of Canada (1989).

In May 1997 Savella received the most prestigious award to date, crowning her efforts of the many years of dedication to her gender and ethnicity. Ukraine acknowledged Savella for her contributions in perpetuating Ukrainian culture. Although unable to attend the ceremony in Kyiv, she was the recipient of an award from the Learned Societies of Ukraine in recognition for the betterment of the Ukrainian nation, the first Canadian woman to receive such an award. It was presented by the president of Ukraine at an evening dedicated to Stechishin.²⁰ This award recognized mainly the Ukrainian cookbook in the English language she took six years to write and compile and which is in its eighteenth printing.²¹

Savella Stechishin's mandate was not philanthropic, nor did it include domestic abuse, birth control, alcoholism or poverty (subjects of concern to practising mainstream feminists), rather she inspired women to be assertive, confident and outgoing, cultivating contemporary values of upwardly mobile Canadian women. She encouraged the interaction of women within their own social and ethnic milieu. Women were to aspire to be self-enlightened

regarding their communities, their Ukrainian heritage and events in both Canada and Ukraine. They were to be modern women knowledgeable of the world around them. Higher learning was to be strived for and children were to be guided to achieve a high level of schooling.

In her personal life, Savella followed the mandate she had set for women, but within her own interpretation. She had achieved self-enlightenment in her knowledge of Ukrainian culture and language and had obtained a high level of education. Her activism within her own community was unsurpassed, and her dynamic presence nationally as a key figure amongst Ukrainian Canadians was well established. She exercised the role of a 'Ukrainian' mother by teaching her children their heritage language and thorough knowledge of Ukrainian culture. Although it may appear contradictory that Savella did not act in a particularly maternal way when she left her child with her mother or babysitter to pursue her goals, she did not explicitly suggest at any time that women should give up pursuing their goals and interests because of children. Children were to be the main focus of the woman as mother, but she does emphatically state that women should not be confined to the 'kitchen.' Education of children in a 'Ukrainian' home was the chief responsibility of the mother coupled with ensuring that children received a high education in mainstream society and become good Canadian citizens of whom all Ukrainians could be proud.

Savella Stechishin's personality allowed her to channel her dedication and energies to the betterment of her Ukrainian-Canadian sisters. She was a liberated woman with an equally liberated husband who unwaveringly supported her in all her endeavours. With her husband by her side, she was resolute that her vision would become a reality. The results of her activism made an important difference to the lives of many Ukrainian-Canadian women as well as the image of Ukrainian Canadians as a group. Her contributions clearly merit historical documentation as a leading figure in the Ukrainian-Canadian women's movement. In consideration of the dedication which she extended to her people, it is clear that Savella Stechishin should take her rightful place alongside other female activists in Canada.

ENDNOTES

1. Greystone, 1930. University of Saskatchewan Archives, Savella Stechishin File.
2. Tetiana Kroitor, at the 1927 Ukrainian Convention in Saskatoon stated: "Our objective is to prepare ourselves to stand hand in hand with the men for the realization of our highest aim - to build a free Ukraine and to be good Canadian citizens." Cited in Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Istoriia Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady (1926-1951) (Twenty-five Years of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada), ed. Natalka L. Kohuska, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1952), 32; Odarka S. Trosky, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1968), 73.
3. Francis Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1988), 14.
4. Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women. A History, (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., Second Edition, 1996), 189-90.
5. Orest Subtelny, Ukrainians in North American: An Illustrated History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 85.
6. Bohdan S. Kordan, "The Intelligentsia and the Development of Ukrainian Ethnic Consciousness in Canada: A Prolegomenon to Research," Canadian Ethnic Studies, XVII (1), 1985, 29.
7. Francis Swyripa, "Baba and the Community Heroine. The Two Images of the Ukrainian Pioneer Woman," Alberta, 2 (1), 60-66.
8. Janet L.J. Harvey, "The Regina Council of Women, 1895-1929," M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, 1991, 220.
9. Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), 189.
10. Savella Stechishin, written communication, 11 September 1995.
11. Ibid.
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CHAPTER 2

A NEW BEGINNING: LAND OF HOPE AND PROMISE

At the turn of the twentieth century, Savella Stechishin's family was living under harsh conditions in the eastern area of the Austro-Hungarian Empire known as Western Ukraine. With rumours of war, the family in 1913 packed all their portable belongings and left for the land of freedom and promise - Canada. Once in Canada, they joined the mostly impoverished Ukrainian immigrants attempting to improve their lives and the lives of their children homesteading on the virgin prairie land. The immigrants brought with them their biases and uniqueness in their cultural baggage. In spite of differences and lack of education, they managed to coalesce into a vibrant group providing guidance for children and adults alike. Unlike most other ethnic groups, they managed to maintain their own culture in Canada and resisted complete assimilation.¹ Savella Stechishin grew up in one of the bloc settlements in the midst of this milieu. When the opportunity arose, she left the rural life behind and embraced the spirit of national consciousness (Ukrainian) at Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, powered by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. She wholeheartedly adopted their mandate and then formulated her own vision of improving the lot of Ukrainians and more specifically women.

The Prairies at the turn of the Century

The Canadian government in the second half of the nineteenth century actively sought desirable settlers to open and occupy the lands west of Ontario. It was felt that the prairies, subsequently known as Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, desperately needed to be inhabited by farmers who would cultivate the soil, produce food for export to the east, and so strengthen the economy of Canada. In due course, the political climate would be ripe for the immigration of thousands of agrarian Ukrainian peasants to the vast prairies of Canada.

The immigration policy promoting specifically agricultural settlers opened the western lands of Canada to the land hungry Ukrainians of Eastern Europe who had been industrious farmers for generations. Also, the building of the railway furnished many impoverished unskilled Ukrainians with employment and badly needed cash to operate their farms. The

railway, in turn, had a pool of willing labourers for the poorly paid labour-intensive jobs of constructing the railway linking west to east.

The Dominion Lands Act in 1872 had established that a settler might take up 160 acres (a quarter section) of unoccupied prairie land upon the payment of a ten dollar registration fee as a free homestead. He could file a claim of ownership after three years on the condition that there were some permanent buildings on the land and that a specified number of acres were broken.²

According to the visionaries of Central Canada, desirable immigrants to populate the West were peoples from the United States and the northern European countries of Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. Anglo-Celtic citizens from central and eastern Canada were also encouraged to migrate to the prairie provinces. The politicians in Central Canada conceived Canada as a powerful nation founded on British institutions and laws and inhabited by northern Europeans. The Department of Agriculture and after 1892, the Department of the Interior, was made responsible for the promotion of immigration to Canada. Their narrow scope advertising campaign of 'cheap land' was not as successful as hoped. According to historian Gerald Friesen, "Of Europe's 2-1/2 million emigrants between 1853 and 1870, 61 percent had gone to the United States, 18 percent to the Australian colonies, others to Brazil and Argentina, and only a very few to Canada."³

Due to the lack of experienced agriculturalists from the preferred countries and out-migration from Canada to the United States, the Liberal Laurier government found it necessary to attract immigrants from other than northern European countries. In 1896 Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, was given the task of settling the prairies and he decided to go beyond the 'preferred' regions in Europe to central and southern Europe. In spite of the strong opposition by the established Anglo-Canadian community to the immigration of eastern and southern Europeans, Sifton advertised aggressively in that part of Europe.⁴ He believed that Eastern Europeans were experienced agriculturalists and because they were familiar with hardships experienced in their homeland, they would persevere under the harsh conditions in Western Canada and remain there for generations. Violet McNaughton's response was typical

of Anglo-Canadians' attitude: "If that is the only solution to western agriculture then the prospect is not very bright for the men and women already on the land, for sooner or later they too must get down to the standard of peasantry or quit."⁵

Thousands of Ukrainians peasants arrived on the shores of Canada. They travelled across the country on the CPR with many settling on the prairies. In the future province of Saskatchewan, they joined the many ethnic groups and predominantly Anglo-Celtic population.

A Ukrainian Official's Appeal for Emigration

The Ukrainian population was distributed as follows: Austro-Hungarian Empire (Western Ukraine) with 4 million and the Russian Empire (Eastern Ukraine) with 17 million. The majority of Ukrainian Canadians today are descendants of those who lived in the crownlands of Galicia and Bukovyna in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Of the two empires, the Austro-Hungarian was more lenient and did not stem the tide of emigration of Ukrainians seeking a better way of life. The Russian Empire suppressed the Ukrainians and restricted emigration other than within their own empire.

Between the 1890s and 1914, there was a strong 'push' and 'pull' effect amongst the Ukrainian population in Western Ukraine. About 600,000 to 700,000 Ukrainians abandoned their homes to settle in countries looking for immigrants to open their respective frontiers.⁶ Although given their freedom in 1848, the Ukrainian peasants were in a poverty stricken state due to heavy taxation by the government and an acute land shortage. The majority of the land was still in the hands of the nobility and to a lesser extent the clergy. In 1900, 49 percent of the landholdings in Galicia and 56.6 percent in Bukovyna were less than two hectares.⁷ Most peasant families owning less than five hectares were hardly able to earn a subsistence living. In addition to the insufficient hectares per family, there were many landless peasants. With so many hunting for jobs to earn a wage, the market became glutted and wages were low.⁸ Poverty, exploitation by the dominant society and the lack of opportunity for future generations, motivated the peasants to emigrate. These socio-economic forces 'pushed' the Ukrainians across the ocean to the shores of Canada.

The first recorded Ukrainians to come to Canada for the much desired *vilni zemli* (free lands) were Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak who arrived in Canada in 1891. A handful of families followed and settled in Alberta. However, the mass exodus of Ukrainians to Canada was due to the efforts of Dr. Josef Oleskiw, a Ukrainian professor of agriculture in Galicia, who was concerned about the rampant exploitation and widespread poverty of his countrymen. After receiving information from the Canadian government regarding the abundance of free land suitable for farming, Oleskiw in 1895 wrote a pamphlet, *Pro vilni zemli* (About Free Lands) and distributed it throughout Galicia under the sponsorship of the Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society. Reading clubs had been established in many parts of Galicia so that the literate peasants could read and inform the mostly illiterate Ukrainian population.

In 1895, Oleskiw toured western Canada to get a first hand look at the country advertising free lands. He realized that the Canadian climate was similar to that of Ukraine and very importantly, Canada had a stable and democratic government. Here, he strongly felt, the peasants could prosper.⁹ Oleskiw's second booklet entitled *O emigratsii* (About Emigration) in December 1895 detailing the opportunities in Canada was also responsible for the mass emigration from Ukraine.¹⁰

At the same time, the desire by the Canadian government to settle the west and strengthen Canada economically 'pulled' the Ukrainian immigrants to make the western provinces their new home. During Sifton's tenure (1897-1905), 60,000 Ukrainians emigrated from Austria-Hungary to Canada.¹¹ This momentum of Ukrainian immigration continued through to the Great War.

In the Land of Hope

Ukrainian immigrants crossed the ocean to the shores of Canada in three waves. During the first wave (1897 - 1914), 171,500 Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada with the majority settling the Canadian west.¹² It was during the first wave that Savella Stechishin's family left their friends and neighbours in Austria-Hungary and arrived in Saskatchewan in 1913. World War I ended the first wave and the second wave occurred between 1920 and 1939 when approximately 67,700 Ukrainians arrived.¹³ Like the first wave,

they consisted mostly of peasant farmers. These farmers also gravitated to the prairie west settling into the bloc settlements established by the first wave.¹⁴ A third wave occurred after World War II between the years 1947 and 1953 at which time 34,000 displaced persons chose to make Canada their home rather than be repatriated to the Soviet Union.¹⁵

Prior to the first wave of emigration, there was little national and political consciousness amongst the Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna. Wars over the decades had fractionalized the area which Ukraine claimed as a country. Those in Galicia referred to themselves by their traditional name, *rusyns* (Ruthenians), or Galicians (identifying with their province) and the inhabitants of Bukovyna, also identifying with their province, chose the name 'Bukovynians'.¹⁶ It was only in the Russian Empire that the designation 'Ukrainian' was used to identify the Ukrainian nation.

Religious denominations in the two provinces differed. Ukrainians had accepted Christianity in 988 A.D. in the form of the Greek Orthodox faith but in 1569, the Ukrainians in Galicia under Polish rule, recognized the supremacy of the Pope in Rome and became known as Greek Catholic or Uniate.¹⁷ Bukovynians remained Eastern Orthodox. Savella Stechishin's family's original religious affiliation is unknown. However, they became members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada upon its establishment.

With a lack of unity among the 'Ukrainians', the terms 'Galicians', 'Ruthenians', 'Bukovynians' and even 'Russians' or 'Austrians' were attributed to the immigrants as they entered Canada. Most of the immigrants were unfamiliar with the word 'Ukrainian.' In 1906, Iulian Bachynsky, a noted Ukrainian political figure and historian, arrived in Canada encouraging the Ukrainians to organize themselves and adopt the modern 'Ukrainian' name.¹⁸ The term 'Ukrainian' was officially employed in the Canadian census in 1921 and became universally accepted.¹⁹

The majority of the first wave Ukrainian immigrants were poor and illiterate. In 1890, 67 percent of Galicia's population were illiterate, and by 1900 the illiteracy rate had decreased somewhat to 57 percent.²⁰ At this time almost 90 percent of the peasant women were illiterate.²¹ Hence, the first wave Ukrainian immigrants in Saskatchewan and more

particularly women were mostly illiterate. Both of Savella's parents, Trofim and Eva (Kostiuk) Wawryniuk were not part of the majority as they both could read and write the Ukrainian language.²²

By 1906, ten major Ukrainian bloc settlements had been established in western Canada stretching from southeastern Manitoba up to the Interlake area on to Yorkton, Prince Albert in Saskatchewan and Edmonton, Alberta following the parkland belt of the prairies. In 1897 Ukrainian settlers from Galicia and Bukovyna formed two large bloc settlements in Saskatchewan: one bloc was north of Yorkton in the districts of Theodore, Insinger, Sheho, Crooked Lake near Canora, Calder and Wroxton; and the second bloc was at Fish Creek-Rosthern. After the turn of the century, two more bloc settlements were established in Saskatchewan at Redberry Lake and northeast of Prince Albert (see Figure 1). The land in these settlements were generally fertile and well treed.²³ By 1901 there were 4,500 Ukrainians in the Yorkton settlement and 1,000 in Fish Creek-Rosthern.²⁴

Recently it has been argued that the Ukrainian immigrants tended to settle less desirable areas in order to be close to their kin.²⁵ It is understandable that Ukrainians, like all other ethnic groups including the English, tended to live in close proximity of each other because of the security in their commonality of kinship, religion, language and culture.²⁶ Also, woodlands were very important to Ukrainians since they felt that trees would always provide fuel and shelter.²⁷ For these reasons, they preferred the parkland belt on the prairies. Savella Stechishin's family, following the settlement patterns of the majority of Ukrainians, bought a homestead near their former neighbours in the bloc settlement of the Redberry Lake district, north of Saskatoon (see Figure 1).

Lack of capital, livestock and implements made life challenging for the Ukrainians in the early years as they tried to eke out a living from the virgin prairie soil. Most Ukrainians came to Canada with approximately one hundred dollars in cash. Historian Orest Martynowych claims that, "A survey of Ukrainian rural settlers in Western Canada in 1916 revealed that 50 percent had arrived without cash and 42 percent had amounts up to five hundred dollars with one hundred dollars as the norm."²⁸ A financial account of Savella's

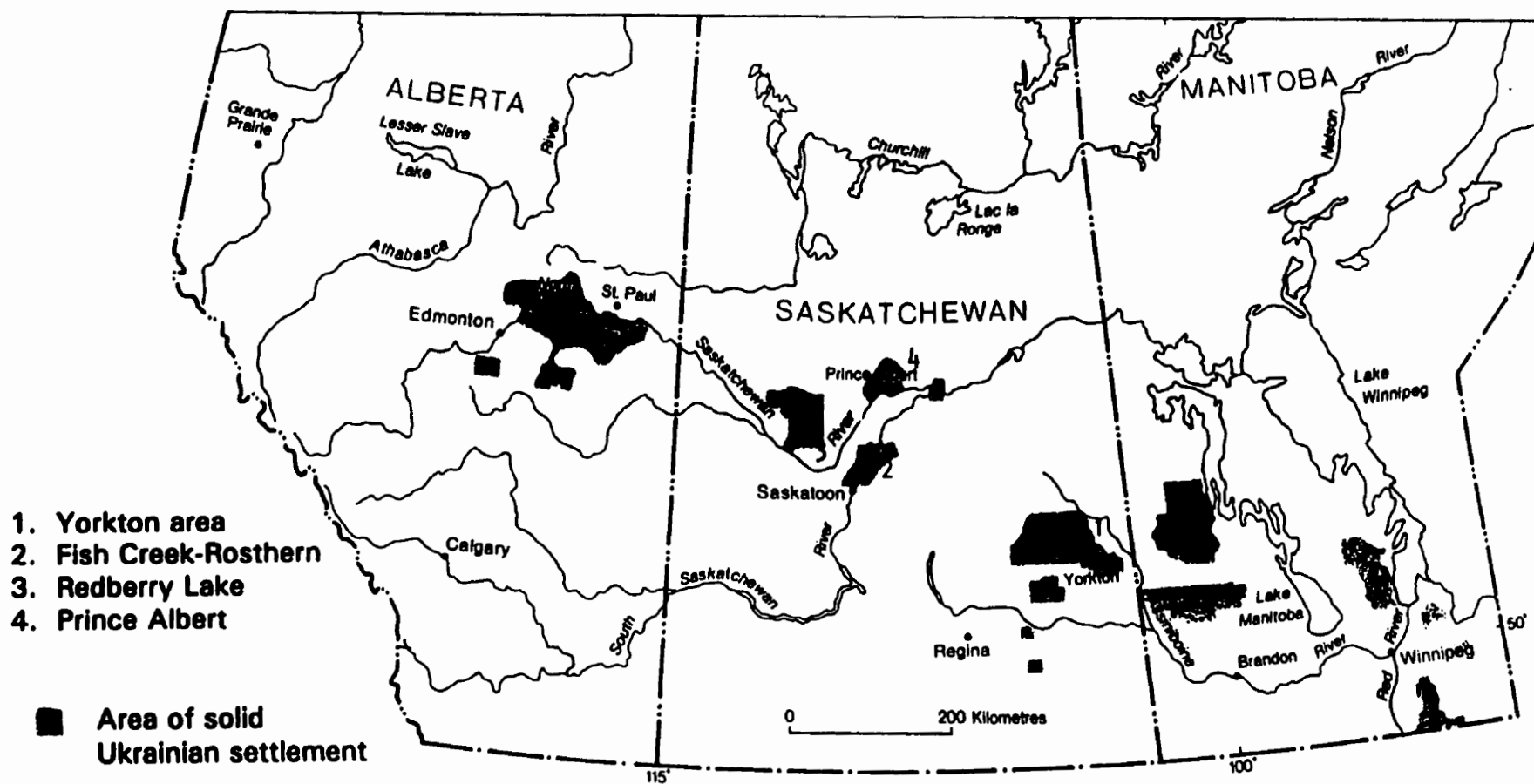


Figure 1: Ukrainian bloc settlement in the prairie provinces ca. 1914
 (Source: Orest T. Martynowych, "Ukrainians in Canada. The Formative Period, 1891-1924," Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, Edmonton, 1991.)

family is not documented but Savella, in her autobiography, reveals that her father did not acquire a free homestead but had sufficient money to buy a "partly developed farm with buildings in the Sokal district, west of Wakaw."²⁹ He was prosperous enough that within a few years "he bought two adjacent farms."³⁰

Like most women immigrants, Savella's mother Eva came as a member of a family unit. The majority of women did not emigrate alone but as wives, mothers, sisters or daughters. Their occupations mostly were general labourers and servants. In 1911, of the total 75,432 Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, the ratio was 57 percent males and 43 percent females.³¹ Single men or men who had preceded their families to Canada accounted for the larger percentage of males. Since Saskatchewan had primarily an agricultural economy, the majority of Ukrainian women lived in the bloc settlements.

With respect to the Ukrainian population in Canada, the Ukrainians in Saskatchewan in the early 1910s were numerically significant. In 1911 the Ukrainian population in Saskatchewan ranked second to Manitoba nationally. This rank was retained until 1951 when it placed fourth behind, Manitoba, Ontario and Alberta (see Appendix A, Table 1). The population was fairly stagnant with probable losses to Ontario and the other western provinces after 1941. The increased population in Ontario and Manitoba was due largely to the influx of Ukrainian displaced persons into the large cities after the end of World War II.

Since Saskatchewan, by the middle 1920s, had a significant proportion of the Ukrainian population, it was an opportune time for the germination of a women's movement. With the concentration of Ukrainians in this province, they became a highly visible ethnic group and although not leaders in the political sense, they had strength in numbers. Numerically in 1921 Ukrainians ranked third in Saskatchewan with a population of 28,097 and retained that rank up to 1961 (see Appendix A, Table 2). Ukrainian women in Saskatchewan in 1921 made up nearly half of the total Ukrainian population in the province at 46 percent, a statistic that remained static throughout the following years with a minimal increase to 47 percent in 1941 (see Appendix A, Table 3). In 1931, the first year of census

statistics of urban and rural women, a high percentage (84 percent) of Ukrainian women resided in the bloc settlements in Saskatchewan as compared to urban at only 16 percent (see Appendix A, Table 4).³²

By 1951, the population of the women shifted to 78 percent living in a rural and 22 percent in the urban setting. With the high percentage of women living in the rural area, it was the most appropriate area to stir the consciousness of women, to uplift and unite them into a strong front. They could then absorb the societal standards without losing their Ukrainian identity and project an acceptable image in the eyes of the host society.

Socio-Economic Condition of Ukrainian Immigrant Women

Like that of other Saskatchewan pioneer women, Ukrainian women's work was an essential and significant contribution to family survival.³³ It was the task of the women to not only help out in the fields but also to look after the garden, milk the cows, feed the pigs, and care for the chickens. This was in addition to traditional 'women's work' of looking after the household and caring for the children. Women also helped clear the land and build their homes. Often while their husbands searched for seasonal work away from their homesteads for months at a time to augment their income, the women assumed the role of the bread winner. Besides working at home, sometimes they hired themselves to neighbours hoeing gardens and stooking in the fields for cash.³⁴ Overburdened and isolated from any medical aid, many women and children did not survive, succumbing to the hardship they endured.³⁵ Many women who did survive were prematurely aged, their health and spirit broken.

Author Zonia Keywan quotes a Ukrainian pioneer woman: "My father put up the walls for a house. Then he went to find work. So my stepmother and I had to finish the house."³⁶ An early Ukrainian immigrant who arrived as a fourteen-year-old child in 1899, Maria Adamowska, wrote of her experiences: "While father was away, mother dug a plot of ground and planted the wheat she had brought from the old country, tied up in a small bundle."³⁷ The average Ukrainian pioneer woman in the rural west contributed as much as a man and even more considering this was in addition to her traditional role.³⁸ Anna Bychinsky, wife

of a Ukrainian Protestant clergyman, wrote in 1920 in The Grain Growers' Guide about the courage of Ukrainian women in the face of their extreme struggle to survive.³⁹ According to Frances Swyripa, Bychinsky's article "evoked the ingredients of the subsequent myth (of Ukrainian pioneer women)."⁴⁰ The hardships of many Ukrainian pioneer women, and the courage to endure them, must not be understated. Women undoubtedly were equal contributors in the ultimate success of Ukrainian farmers. A Ukrainian-Canadian man who farmed in the 1930s in Saskatchewan, admitted, "If it wasn't for my wife, I probably wouldn't have gotten anywhere."⁴¹

For generations, the Ukrainian woman's role was a traditional one of dependence and subordination in a patriarchal society, and this cultural baggage was brought to Canada. Male drunkenness, wife-beating and child abuse were not uncommon in the prairie bloc settlements if the family patriarch was insensitive to the needs of his family. It was usually the man who made the decisions and generally did not consult his wife. Ukrainian-Canadian women were expected to marry young and raise a family. By marrying at nineteen instead of the usual age of sixteen in 1926 in Canora, Saskatchewan, a woman on reflection felt that she had left it a bit late.⁴² Sometimes marriages of the girls were arranged by the parents for financial gain, often at early ages of 14 or 15 to much older men.⁴³

The Ukrainian pioneer woman was isolated in the bloc settlements by the physical distance from her new neighbours and her family left behind in the homeland. She was cut off from Canadian society not only by the physical distances but also due to cultural and linguistic differences. The bloc settlement did not encourage assimilation or acculturation; it encouraged the preservation of the culture and language of their ancestral home. Here, the women felt secure speaking their own language and participating in their own culture. Men, on the other hand, were forced out of necessity to learn the dominant language, English, and the ways of the Anglo-Canadian society by working amongst non-Ukrainians.

Many women brought their superstitious beliefs and folk rituals from Ukraine to Canada and these practices continued for approximately the first two to three decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ Savella Stechishin writes in her autobiography of the birth of her son:

"Mother poured holy water on him and baptized him without giving him a name - only to protect him in the spiritual sense. It was her way of warding off evil."⁴⁵ A large number of women were considered backward due to their illiteracy, their apathy to adapting to Canadian societal norms, lack of nutritional knowledge, poor household skills and superstitious beliefs.

This peasant culture maintained by the women emphasized their differences thus marginalizing them, and yet paradoxically bringing them much attention from the host society. The common contemporary image held by the Anglo-Canadian community of the Ukrainian-Canadian women was not a favourable one in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ To progressive, forward thinking Ukrainian-Canadians proud of their heritage, the Ukrainian immigrants had to be organized to improve themselves to meet the standards and values of the host society; they had to demonstrate that they were equal to other Canadians. Savella Stechishin was a strong proponent of this mission.

Response of Anglo-Celtic Canadians

The Canadian elite who had strong national and imperial leanings, ardently opposed the acceptance of immigrants from the 'inferior' races of eastern and southern Europe. In his discussion of the 'Canadian character,' Carl Berger states that the well-known humorist, Stephen Leacock, had a life-long "contempt for the Galicians, as all the east-central Europeans were indiscriminately labelled."⁴⁷ In some sectors of Canada, 'Galician' was and still is a negative appellation. Bill Waiser, a history professor of the University of Saskatchewan and author of a book on forced labour in Canada, recently summarized the hostility as follows: "This may sound bizarre, but they (Ukrainians) weren't regarded as part of the white race." He added that the British Canadians viewed Ukrainians as a "labouring class," or "the scum of Europe."⁴⁸

Because of widespread nativism and xenophobia in the early twentieth century, Ukrainians along with other eastern European immigrants, found it difficult to be respected and accepted as new Canadians. The poverty and illiteracy, and remoteness of the bloc settlements were additional hurdles to overcome before integration into the host society and acceptance could be obtained.

During World War I, many unnaturalized Ukrainians were interned in camps across Canada because they were considered 'enemy aliens.' When the Ukrainians had arrived in Canada they were considered 'Austrians' as stated in their passports (having emigrated from Austria-Hungary). There was no evidence that Ukrainians were particularly sympathetic to the Austro-Hungarian Empire with whom Canada was at war, and the reality was most Ukrainians were very much opposed to this regime. However, the Canadian government saw fit to forcibly put many into internment camps. A number of men, women and children perished in these camps because of the harsh treatment.⁴⁹ Since 1987 the Ukrainian-Canadian community has requested the Canadian government to acknowledge that these internment operations were unjust, but the government has refused.⁵⁰

Anglo-conformity of non-British, non-French immigrants was the predominant ideology of assimilation in English-speaking Canada. It was believed that all people should strive for 'WASP'⁵¹ values. A dichotomy developed in that on the one hand cultural differences were to be eliminated, but on the other hand, these differences prevented the host Canadians from coming into contact with the non-English because of their 'undesirability.' However, many Anglo-Canadians believed that the Ukrainians could become 'good' Canadians if they were appropriately directed. They looked to instruct the young and uninformed children to follow the Canadian societal norms.⁵²

Education

In order to intercept the influence of mothers over their children, the Anglo-Canadians needed to exert influence over the immigrant children while educating them in schools.⁵³ The Saskatchewan government set up school districts throughout the province, including the bloc settlements, to educate the young.

The Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1897 legally made the language of instruction in a language other than English possible in Manitoba where ten pupils in any school spoke a language other than English. Instruction could be in English and in that other language.⁵⁴ Ukrainians as well as Germans and Poles demanded bilingual schools and appropriate training for bilingual teachers. With the high concentration of Ukrainians in Manitoba, they were

successful in obtaining bilingualism in their bloc settlements. By pressuring the government the first Ruthenian Training School was established in Winnipeg in 1905. Four years later, Saskatchewan followed suit by opening a Training School for Teachers of Foreign Speaking Communities in Regina.⁵⁵ In 1912, the Association of Ukrainian-English Teachers in Saskatchewan was organized.⁵⁶ Alberta in 1913 similarly established the English School for Foreigners in Vegreville. These teachers were made up exclusively of men; it was in the 1920s that women began to teach.

The growth of a Ukrainian Canadian secular intelligentsia was an unexpected significant outcome of the bilingual teachers who graduated from the training schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Bilingual teachers for approximately the first two decades were made up of young men who had emigrated from villages in Ukraine with a gymnasium (high school) education and those who had received secondary education in Canada.⁵⁷ Although not considered intellectuals by Ukrainian standards (intellectuals did not immigrate to Canada), they had a much higher education than the immigrant masses. Immigrants regarded them as *inteligentny* (intelligentsia) and they so identified themselves.⁵⁸ By 1914, there were approximately 200 to 250 young men recognized as members of the intelligentsia. The majority of them were in their early twenties to midthirties, approximately ten to fifteen years younger than the average Ukrainian pioneer.⁵⁹ They also became known as 'nationalists' (Ukrainian) by both the Ukrainians and the broader society.

They organized the Ukrainian Teachers' Association in 1907 in Manitoba and subsequently founded their own newspaper, the *Ukrainskyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice), together with businessmen, professionals and well-to-do farmers in 1910.⁶⁰ This organ was used not only to educate the Ukrainian immigrants of their heritage but to encourage them to actively participate in their own and mainstream communities both socio-economically and politically. Also, they urged them to adapt but not assimilate to the prevailing Canadian social standards. This newspaper was to play an important role in Savella Stechishin's vision to enlighten and elevate Ukrainian-Canadian women in the early 1920s.

At a time when Ukrainians were not generally known as 'Ukrainians', this nationalistic group had the foresight and determination to name their newspaper *Ukrainskyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice).⁶¹ The three other Ukrainian language newspapers did not use the term 'Ukrainian': *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (The Canadian Farmer), founded with the support of the Liberal Party in 1903; *Ranok* (Morning), a Presbyterian Church organ published in 1905; and *Robochyi narod* (Working People) published by the Ukrainian socialists in 1908.⁶²

The nascent intelligentsia's aim was to cultivate and inculcate a Ukrainian national consciousness in all Ukrainian Canadians, uniting and strengthening them into a dynamic group. They hoped to give them a sense of self-worth and purpose to integrate into Canadian society as equal citizens without assimilation. Savella strongly endorsed this concept and planned her own strategy aimed at women. The intelligentsia became identified with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and in 1928 with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. A Canadian Based Church for Ukrainians

Historian Oleh Gerus argues that the intelligentsia regarded religion as an integral part of Ukrainian life itself. They believed that organized religion played a powerful role in the lives of Ukrainians. For these reasons, they "gave high priority to the establishment of a genuinely Ukrainian church in Canada."⁶³

Ukrainian pioneers in the early twentieth century found themselves deprived of any spiritual guidance since Ukrainian clergy did not accompany the emigrants. The main obstacle to clerical immigration was the Vatican's demand that only celibate priests could minister in North America while in Ukraine the majority of Greek Catholic priests were married. In Canada, since the Ukrainians did not have their own clergy to minister to their religious needs, three religious groups vied to 'save' the Ukrainian souls: the Protestants (Presbyterian and Methodists), French Roman Catholics, and Russian Orthodox. Only sporadic visits by priests from the United States (both Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox) alleviated the vacuum created by the lack of priests of the traditional Ukrainian churches. The majority of Ukrainians came from Galicia and were of the Greek Catholic faith with the Bukovynians

adhering to Orthodoxy; approximately 85 percent were Greek Catholic and 15 percent belonged to the Orthodox denomination.⁶⁴

The French Roman Catholic Church believed that due to the 'Catholicism' of the Ukrainians, they should be under Roman Catholic jurisdiction and this, in turn, would increase the number of Catholics for the purposes of attaining more strength and power for the Roman Catholic church. Russian Orthodox priests coming from the United States where they were established and financially subsidized by the Holy Synod of St. Petersburg, actively participated in missionary work amongst the Ukrainians on the prairies to convert them to Orthodoxy.⁶⁵

The Protestants vigorously proselytized in the Ukrainian bloc communities and established mission schools to 'evangelize' and 'Anglicize' the new immigrants and through this method make them 'good' Canadian citizens. They aspired to a Canadian cultural and linguistic homogeneity, urging assimilation through adoption of British values. In 1911, 52.4 percent of the prairie population belonged to one of the three Protestant denominations: Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican.⁶⁶ Medical missions were set up in each of the prairie provinces and by 1914, the Presbyterians had set up two missions in Saskatchewan: Wakaw and Canora. The missionaries then built boarding schools to encourage school attendance and to increase assimilation of the young. However, these schools did not find a stronghold in the Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan and few children boarded at these schools.⁶⁷ Protestantism also did not gather any significant numbers of Ukrainian followers in Saskatchewan. This is probably due to the strength of the Ukrainian community in Saskatoon and the establishment of their own boarding school, the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, in 1916.

These three religious groups added to the factionalization within the Ukrainian communities who already had their own denominational differences (i.e., Greek Catholic and Orthodox). The majority of Ukrainians rejected all three religious groups as alien to their original church which was steeped in tradition and ritual. At the same time, the socialists, made up mainly of Ukrainians located in the urban industrial and mining areas, were

attempting to increase their membership by appealing to the poor working class.⁶⁸ In his expose of the procommunist organizations in Canada, John Kolasky reveals that because of the stronghold of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Saskatchewan, the membership of the procommunist organizations was small.⁶⁹ Another reason for their weak numbers was that conservative farmers far outnumbered radical workers. Meanwhile, the intelligentsia advocated Ukrainian nationalism and an autonomous Ukrainian Canadian national church.

The establishment in 1912 of a Greek Catholic bishop in Canada, Nykyta Budka, directly responsible to the pope, helped the immigrants of that denomination to achieve consolidation, stability and expansion.⁷⁰ However, due to the bishop's compromise with the Roman Catholics to have only celibate priests and the demand for all community buildings to be under the ownership of the Catholic church, a rift developed amongst Ukrainians. The intelligentsia through the *Ukrainskyi holos* strongly questioned the wisdom of this demand. In 1916, students at the University of Saskatchewan, teachers on the prairies and the intelligentsia who were the inner circle of the *Ukrainskyi holos* established an inter-denominational *bursa* (a residence for out-of-town Ukrainian students) in Saskatoon and named it the Petro Mohyla Institute after a seventeenth-century Ukrainian Orthodox church leader.⁷¹ Other *bursy* were established in Winnipeg (1915) and Edmonton (1926).⁷²

It was Mohyla Institute that became the focus of the bitter feud between Bishop Budka and dissatisfied secular critics. In spite of secular opposition, Budka demanded that the Institute allow only Ukrainian Catholic students and that the Institute be registered under and accountable to the Catholic church. Under the leadership of Wasyl Swystun (rector⁷³ of Mohyla Institute) and Michael Stechishin,⁷⁴ a leading member of the intelligentsia, a confrontation in June 1918 by the discontented Catholic laity culminated in the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (UGOC).⁷⁵ The emphasis of this new church was a married priesthood and a democratic structure governed by a laity. It was distinct in its differences from both the Canadian Greek Catholic church and the other Orthodox churches whose real power was hierarchical.⁷⁶ The UGOC created by the laity would be directed by the laity. Saskatoon was the site for the first *sobor* (general council)

in December 1918 whereby the establishment of the church was approved. Historian Paul Yuzyk believes that the new Orthodox church became "a watershed in the history of Ukrainian Canadians."⁷⁷

Bishop Budka and his followers withdrew from Mohyla Institute and established an institute of their own. The new church absorbed Mohyla Institute establishing it as the centre of Ukrainian activism within Saskatchewan and to a significant extent in Canada.

Organizational dynamism of the Ukrainian Canadians was due to the presence of the intelligentsia centred in the three large cities on the prairies: Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton. Regina had attracted young upwardly mobile Ukrainians when the School for Foreigners opened in 1909 but when the School closed in 1914,⁷⁸ most of the Ukrainian students moved to Saskatoon. Also, the large Ukrainian population was in closer proximity to Saskatoon than Regina. Saskatoon became the hotbed of Ukrainian-Canadian politics in Saskatchewan with the University of Saskatchewan attracting those who desired a post-secondary education, boarded at the Petro Mohyla Institute and subsequently joined the intelligentsia. It was within this dynamic atmosphere that Savella Stechishin, an impressionable teenager, found herself.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER 3

A PATHWAY TO ENLIGHTENMENT: SAVELLA STECHISHIN'S VISION

Savella Stechishin began her life as a young woman in the midst of the fervent atmosphere of Ukrainian nationalism in Saskatoon. Here, young male activists, as the Saskatchewan branch of the Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia, played an important role in formulating the path which was to lead the Ukrainian immigrants and their families to a higher socio-economic plane in Canadian society. Savella eagerly took advantage of all the opportunities which presented themselves to her to achieve her vision for the uplifting of her Ukrainian-Canadian sisters. With her talent for writing coupled with her determination, she became engaged in the struggle to enlighten these women of their own heritage in order to generate self-pride and self-worth. Just as important, she felt, was the need for the host society to perceive the Ukrainian Canadians in a positive light and that they were indeed worthy Canadian citizens. She chose the intelligentsia's organ, the independent Ukrainian language weekly, *Ukrainskyi holos*, to espouse her ideas of uniting all Canadian women of Ukrainian descent under one organization. In this manner, the women as part of the entire ethnic group, would be able to overcome their low status and poor image in Canada. The Ukrainian-Canadian women were continuously reminded never to forsake their ancestral home, Ukraine.

Savella played the role of a social maternal feminist in achieving her vision. Her feminism can be described as organizing the activity of uniting Ukrainian-Canadian women into a cohesive group with the entire Ukrainian group's interest being uppermost. Once they formed cooperative and interdependent relationships, they would reach Canadian societal norms without losing sight of the importance of their maternal role, with the additional element of retaining their Ukrainianness.

Her Formative Years

Savella Stechishin (nee Wawryniuk) was born in 1903, the second youngest child of a family of six children: Helen, Eugene, Apolonius, Maria, Savella, and Stephania. The Wawryniuk family had lived for generations in Western Ukraine, the village of Tudorkowychi, county of Sokal. They were not the typical Ukrainian family who immigrated

to Canada in the early 1900s. While the majority of Ukrainians were illiterate and impoverished, both of her parents were able to read and write in Ukrainian and had belonged to the petite bourgeoisie. Savella recounted: "My father was well-to-do. He was a partner in a flour mill."¹ Also, he had been a farmer and a magistrate/reeve.² The younger children attended school in the village while the eldest girl was sent to the town of Sokal to a girls' finishing school run by nuns and Apolonius was sent to 'gymnazia' (high school) in Sokal. The children learned the Polish and Ukrainian languages and history, mandatory classes for all children.³

In 1913, rumours of war and the oppressive political conditions motivated the Wawryniuk family to move to Canada where many of their neighbours and friends were already living.⁴ The boys were nearing the age of conscription into the Austro-Hungarian army and the family was opposed to this. They had received news from friends in Canada of the opportunity for a better way of life in Canada.

On their arrival in Canada, the family took up farming in Krydor, part of the bloc settlement favoured by Ukrainians in Saskatchewan. Here, they were surrounded by their friends and neighbours from the 'old country.' By 1918, Savella at the age of fifteen had completed grade seven with "good marks"⁵ in Krydor and was ready to pursue the challenge of higher learning. Her parents were progressive and liberal thinkers; they wanted all their children to receive as high level of education as possible within their limited means. Four of the six children obtained a university education.⁶

With the establishment of Petro Mohyla Institute in 1916, a residential Ukrainian school and residence for students pursuing secondary and post-secondary school, the Wawryniuks in 1918 took the opportunity to send Savella and Apolonius to Saskatoon to further their education. In Candace Savage's Foremothers, Savella explains that she was "anxious to get on" in life and Mohyla would help.⁷ Savella completed grade eight while residing at Mohyla Institute and won first prize for the essay 'Canada's Part in the First World War' in a competition for all Saskatoon high school students. She received a book award

from the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E).⁸ Her talent for writing was evident and this was the beginning of a successful and prolific writing career.

When Savella was fifteen, two events occurred which were instrumental in crystallizing her beliefs and goals: a visit to the school by a woman medical doctor and the attendance at an annual convention at Mohyla by Dr. W. Simenowych, a medical doctor and a Ukrainian activist and writer from the United States.⁹ Of the woman's visit, she later reflects, "[I was] amazed that a woman was a doctor. It awakened a spark of feminism in me that kept growing ever brighter all my life and served as a stimulus in organizing Ukrainian women later on."¹⁰ The activist urged women in Canada to take control and direction of their own lives by uniting and organizing a Ukrainian women's organization. He also told them that the Ukrainian-American women were publishing their own magazine. These ideas so deeply affected Savella that years later she remembered, "they remained with me and later served as an impetus in organizing Ukrainian women."¹¹

Life at Mohyla Institute was centred on inculcating pride of one's heritage and culture coupled with practising the social graces of Canadian society. The boys were to always be called by 'Mr.' and the girls by 'Miss' and each had to be dressed appropriately. The girls wore dresses and the boys always wore jackets or sweaters with dress pants. Learning etiquette and good manners went hand in hand with the study of Ukrainian language, history, literature and the arts.¹² Traditional female classes in cooking, embroidery, sewing, interior decorating and hygiene were offered to the girls.¹³ Days at Mohyla were strictly regimented. The wake-up bell rang at 6:45, and after breakfast at 7:45, the students attended university, Normal School, business college, or high schools and then returned to have their lunch (if possible). After supper, they were instructed in Ukrainian language, literature, and history. Also at this time, there was singing, dancing and music practice (sports activities are not mentioned). The hours between 8:00 and 10:00 p.m. were devoted to homework.¹⁴ Students were to go to the church of their choice every Sunday. Dances were held for the students on Saturday evenings. The girls were given dance card programs which they filled out when the boys asked them for a dance. Protocol and etiquette were new experiences for the children

of the poor unsophisticated immigrants of a peasant culture. The directors of Mohyla (members of the intelligentsia) deliberately exposed their students to the social values of British-Canadian youth - with the added flavour of Ukrainianness. They were groomed to be intelligent, well-mannered young men and women projecting a favourable image to society at large. It was during these impressionable years in Savella's young life that she formulated the values with which she lived and worked for all her life.

Coming from a background where a woman's traditional role of household chores was considered menial, Savella was pleasantly surprised with the elementary school subject of household science. By the study of the nutritional value of various foods, and the most effective method of preparation along with the study of textiles and sewing, she understood women's work in the home to be respected. Women could be looked upon as contributing to society, equally to men.¹⁵ The knowledge that women's work was an important element in society never left her and it played an important part in her perception of a woman's place and role in her community. Savella affirms that "These ideas remained with me throughout my life."¹⁶ This first introduction concerning the equality of women and men in the community became the seed which was responsible for the germination of her feminism in the following decades. Her interest in domestic science continued and in 1930 she graduated as the first Ukrainian woman in Canada to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Home Economics. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Nutana Collegiate in Saskatoon accommodated the rural children arriving in the city to continue their education. When Savella enrolled at the collegiate a month late because of helping out on her parents' farm during harvesting, she found herself placed in a special classroom with twenty-three other Grade 9 students - all Ukrainians who had arrived late for the same reason.¹⁷ By giving these young students this special treatment, the school system, and indirectly society at large, showed that it cared and respected those who persisted in pursuing a higher learning despite hurdles placed before them. Savella had an insatiable appetite for learning and was determined to attain a higher education. Her experience that

the educated earned respect ultimately played an important part in her goals for herself and all Ukrainian-Canadian women.

The directors at Mohyla were impassioned believers in the elevating of all Ukrainians in Canada. Women were very important players in the total picture of this progression. Their role was to be self-enlightened, guardians of Ukrainian culture and most importantly be responsible for the upbringing of the future generation to be educated Canadian citizens yet be knowledgeable and proud of their heritage. Mohyla did not gender discriminate; the importance of higher education for girls was stressed.¹⁸ At its inception and to this day, Mohyla was open to both boys and girls. In its first year (1916), there were 35 students, 31 boys and 4 (13 percent) girls.¹⁹ Within ten years, the ratio of girls to boys dramatically increased to 35 percent. In 1926 there were 37 girls in a student body of 107.²⁰

The founders of Mohyla were committed to preparing contemporary and future leaders of both genders for the Ukrainian communities in Canada. The Institute was fertile ground for prospective leaders who could promote the enlightenment of women. At a time when girls with Ukrainian immigrant parents were generally not encouraged to strive for a higher education but to marry at a young age,²¹ the following objectives of the Institute were progressive:

To promote, establish, maintain and manage institutions for students of Ukrainian descent, both male and female, of any religious denomination in those Saskatchewan centres inhabited by Ukrainian people, for the purpose of furnishing board and lodgings to said students at a moderate charge, or entirely free of charge, as may be deemed advisable by the Board of Directors of said Company, whereby said students may be able by means of such assistance to pursue courses of study in public schools, high schools, collegiate institutes, normal schools and universities in the said province.²²

Mohyla's policies, in promoting equality amongst its students, confirmed the feminist ideas which Savella was conceiving.

Although the Institute was designed to accommodate the large rural Ukrainian bloc settlements in the parkland area of Saskatchewan, it attracted not only rural Saskatchewan boys and girls but also those from other provinces and outside the country. The teachers were

fervent believers in upholding Ukrainian culture yet at the same time acculturating into the Canadian society. It was important, Savella and the students were told, that Ukrainians should participate politically, economically and socially within the Canadian milieu while avoiding assimilation. Speakers from Ukraine touring North America were always welcome at the Institute and were asked to speak to the students. The mandate of the teachers of Mohyla Institute was to instill pride in the students concerning their ethnic heritage, promote self-worth and encourage active participation within their community. In essence this was the formulation of a positive identity for the Ukrainian-Canadians. The Institute profoundly affected and influenced Savella, as well as both female and male students who resided there and who in a few short years became the educated leaders, with middle class values, of the unsophisticated Ukrainian-Canadian flock.

Because of the shortage of teachers in the rural communities, Savella in 1920, while at Mohyla and going to public school, was asked by the Krydor trustees to come back home to teach school near her parents' farm. Women were welcome to teach and many Anglo-Canadian women were in the teaching profession by 1920. At this time, she had "only incomplete Grade 9"²³ and she taught from April to September the five grades in the school. She remembers, "I felt I managed very well. Frankly I was proud that I was a teacher."²⁴ Children in the bloc settlements attended school from spring to fall because during the winter months, roads were impassable, the weather harsh and the children most often did not have proper clothing to withstand the cold.²⁵ In other bloc settlements, children attended school only during the winter months (November to March) when there were fewer chores than in the summer.²⁶

In September she returned to Mohyla Institute to begin Grade Ten and was asked to teach writing and reading in Ukrainian to beginners as well as to be the monitor of the girls' residence. Her leadership qualities were recognized in that she was given many responsibilities and she rose to each challenge with eagerness. In a recent conversation with Savella, she admitted "I was very serious then."²⁷

When students graduated as school teachers, they were strongly encouraged by their mentors at Mohyla to go into the Ukrainian bloc settlements to promote enlightenment and national consciousness through lectures, reading, and teaching of Ukrainian history, language and culture. Leading members of the Mohyla group encouraged the parents to have their children educated and integrated into Canadian life, but most importantly not to forsake their Ukrainian heritage. This philosophy was imbedded in Savella's heart and soul and became the driving force for her activism. The young Canadian-educated women residing at Mohyla and absorbing this philosophy became the energetic dedicated organizers of uniting women in a common cause.

A students' club, *Komeniari* (Stone Cutters), had been organized at Mohyla Institute the year of its establishment.²⁸ The name was derived from a poem written by the eminent Ukrainian writer, Ivan Franko, who advocated an independent Ukrainian nation in the late nineteenth century (see Appendix B for information on Ivan Franko).²⁹ The students participated in debates in the Ukrainian language on current topics and also discussed Ukrainian culture and history and news on Ukraine. Here, Savella was able to hone her writing and oratorical skills and rise to the challenges in debating.

In 1921 at the age of seventeen, Savella married the rector of Mohyla, Julian Stechishin, aged twenty-six. Julian had arrived in Canada from Ukraine in his teens and joined his two brothers in Winnipeg. Along with his brothers, he became an active supporter and promoter of Ukrainian heritage and the Orthodox Church of Canada. Upon his arrival in Canada, he quickly began to obtain a higher education and within a few years he taught school in the bloc settlements and then earned a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Saskatchewan. Julian was a significant member of the blossoming intelligentsia.

Defying the traditional custom of a married woman remaining at home and looking after her husband and children, Savella continued her studies (Grade 11 at Nutana Collegiate, Saskatoon).³⁰ She became pregnant that year. Undaunted, she continued to study at home with the help of her husband.³¹ Julian was a liberal thinker who encouraged his wife to fulfil her dreams of obtaining a university education. "My husband encouraged me. Frankly, he

wanted an educated wife."³² The Stechishins lived rent-free at the Institute and had their meals with the students in the dining room. Savella had virtually no household chores since all chores were performed by the Institute staff leaving her with considerable free time.³³

As wife of the rector, she was expected to fulfil the role of dean of women at Mohyla Institute which she did in earnest. She believed it her duty to institute a program of activities for the girls in residence. The majority of the girls came from farms and small towns and were often very shy and had difficulty in expressing themselves in public.³⁴ To remedy this situation, Savella developed a programme where each girl would speak in front of the other girls on a particular topic and in this way gain self-confidence. Additionally, "In order not to be outdistanced by the more daring boys, the girls formed their own oratorical circle where every female student had the opportunity to acquire some experience in public speaking."³⁵ Savella thus promoted equality and a social feminism amongst the female students. Topics often were about their own heritage so that the girls would obtain more knowledge about Ukrainian culture and affairs.³⁶ These social gatherings gave birth to the formation of the Mohylianky Society in 1923. The name 'Mohylianky' is a feminine derivative of 'Mohyla'. All female students became members of the society. An executive was elected with Savella as its first president.

The atmosphere at the Mohyla Institute was imbued with Ukrainian nationalism since the majority of Ukrainians in Canada had a great love for their homeland. The teachers, understanding that the youth would quickly absorb the host societal norms, found it necessary to bolster Ukrainian culture. Because Ukraine was not an independent country but under the political dominance of Poland and Russia, Ukrainians in the diaspora were stateless. The need for nationhood for Ukraine, which had been denied for centuries, burned in the hearts and souls of those Ukrainians who had a pride in their heritage. Savella, living in the apex of the fervid desire to keep the Ukrainian culture and language alive in Canada, instilled in the female students a yearning to learn through reading Ukrainian periodicals, newspapers and books, about their ancestral home, its history, language and the arts.

Daria Yanda, a former student at Mohyla at the time of Savella's deanship (1921-24), credits her own active participation in women's activities to her stay at Mohyla and her involvement with the women's organization in Saskatoon.³⁷ She further states that Savella was responsible for implanting Ukrainian nationalistic ideals in her charges:

Mrs. Stechishin taught . . . that each of us had to become activists in the Ukrainian community, and be a leader of women in those communities where we would eventually take up residence, and further that we were obliged to do this and practise what we learned at the Institute, and at school, and also the etiquette learned at the Institute. Mrs. Stechishin reminded us to carefully prepare ourselves for important future obligations to our Ukrainian community and to our family, all that we will encounter in our lives. She also reminded us that we were to be not only good and sensible wives to our future husbands, but also we were to be equal partners working for our community in the uplifting and enlightening of our Ukrainian people.³⁸

Through the years 1921 to 1924, Savella juggled the roles of wife and mother, dean of women, and student at Normal School. After the birth of her first child, Anatole, in 1922, she remained at home and, not one to sit idle, took piano lessons for a year. She then decided to go into the teaching profession and, leaving her baby with her mother on the farm, enrolled at Normal School along with her husband.³⁹ In the spring, she was granted a Second Class Certificate while her husband had received his First Class Certificate at Christmas.⁴⁰ "I was a liberated woman in those days long before it was fashionable to be liberated," she told reporter Nancy Russell in 1976 on the occasion of her receiving an honorary doctor of canon law degree from the University of Manitoba.⁴¹

Her drive to form a women's organization was always foremost. She envisaged the organization as inculcating self-esteem and self-worth in Ukrainian Canadian women. Once they achieved confidence and pride in themselves, they would be better mothers who could then take control of the upbringing of their children to be good Canadians as well as to be proud of their Ukrainian heritage. Daria Yanda in *Iuvileina knyzhka* (Jubilee Book, 10th Anniversary) spoke of Savella's resolve and her maternal feminist concepts: "At these meetings of the girls (Mohylianky), Mrs. Stechishin pointed out to us that another obligation -

as future mothers - . . . was the upbringing of our children to be (Ukrainian) nationally conscious and progressive (Canadian) citizens."⁴²

First Ukrainian Canadian Women's Organization in Saskatoon

The various books and publications (e.g., a women's magazine, *Zhinocha dolia* (Women's Fate)) from Western Ukraine which were regularly subscribed to by Mohyla Institute, piqued the interest of the Mohylianky regarding women's activism in Ukraine. It was the close links forged between Ukraine and the Ukrainians in Saskatoon that helped to plant the germ of uniting Ukrainian women in Canada. They became aware of the organization of a women's movement in Ukraine (see Chapter 4) and the idea of organizing women of Ukrainian descent in Canada was enthusiastically adopted.

In the spring of 1923, Savella along with several other women called a preliminary meeting to seek a reaction to the idea of a women's organization.⁴³ The response was a favourable one and a decision to formalize an organization was postponed to September when most general community activities formally began. Frances Swyripa agrees that "the Mohylianky launched the first concerted campaign among Ukrainian women in Canada. . ."⁴⁴

Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatoon regardless of their religious affiliation congregated at the Ukrainian Community Hall which was built for the purpose of social activities. On September 23, 1923 Savella together with Tetiana Kroitor, her close friend and fellow Mohylianka, formally organized the non-denominational Olha Kobylianska Association with 30 women including Mohylianky members and newly arrived immigrant women.⁴⁵ Since it was customary to name organizations after an outstanding Ukrainian, Olha Kobylianska, a Ukrainian popular contemporary novelist, was selected (see Appendix B for more information on Kobylianska). Her novels featuring strong independent women were read in Canada by enlightened women and students.⁴⁶

Primarily, the organization was to, as Savella wrote in 1937, "manifest a break with the long established tradition that a woman's place is exclusively in the home, around the *peech* (stove) and not in the community."⁴⁷ The Olha Kobylianska Association in Saskatoon was the culmination of the hopes and dreams for a women's organization in Saskatoon by

Savella and like-minded women in the Mohylianky Society. Savella's kindred spirit was Tetiana Kroitor from Canora, a young married woman, a year younger, also with a baby whom she left with her mother to pursue a higher education in Saskatoon with her husband.⁴⁸ Several other young dedicated educated women (mostly Mohylianky) joined them in their quest for a women's organization. Savella was elected president of this new Ukrainian women's society with Tetiana Kroitor as secretary. While its first members were mostly Ukrainian Orthodox women, some Ukrainian Catholic and a small number of Ukrainian Baptist women were members.⁴⁹ The Olha Kobylianska Association was the first tangible evidence demonstrating Savella's commitment to her perspective of feminism, i.e., a social maternal feminist.

The dynamics of the new organization were focussed to promote self-confidence and self-education amongst Ukrainian women - to elevate the Ukrainian woman in Canada from their low status to be at par with Anglo-Canadian women. Heeding the words printed in the *Ukrainskyi holos* a decade earlier (1914) in which an appeal was made to the Ukrainians in Canada "To uplift us from our lower position, we need leaders, educated leaders, who would be aware of their duties . . .,"⁵⁰ these young female activists encouraged women to actively participate within both their immediate and the host communities, and most critically maintain the Ukrainian culture. Since 56 percent of the Ukrainian-Canadian women in 1921 were illiterate and the majority lived in rural areas, it was the somewhat educated women that the organization at first was looking toward, those who were literate and higher up the socio-economic ladder (the Ukrainian middle class).⁵¹ By 1931, illiteracy had decreased by almost half to 30 percent and women in the rural areas began to participate more vigorously within their own communities.

The executive of the Olha Kobylianka Association organized a study group with emphasis placed on self-education and enlightenment through reading.⁵² Reading material was primarily Ukrainian books and newspapers. English language newspapers were also encouraged so that women would be familiar with Canadian current affairs. Libraries with Ukrainian books were set up; no mention is made of recommended English material. In order

to become further enlightened, it was essential for women to initiate and/or participate in the observances of outstanding Ukrainian historical events, raise funds to provide financial aid to Ukraine and teach their children the Ukrainian language, culture and the arts.

The First Step in a Career

With a teaching certificate in hand, Savella taught for three years (1924-1926) in a country school accompanied by her young son. She commuted to Saskatoon by train on weekends and during the long school breaks to be with her husband who remained at Mohyla Institute.⁵³ At the age of twenty-one, leaving a husband to his own devices while working miles from the home and seeing him only on weekends and holidays was indeed unusual for a woman during the 1920s.

In the spring of 1924, upon graduation from Normal School, Savella was hired as the sole teacher of forty-eight children at a one room school, Zaporozze, one mile from her parents' home. This arrangement was a convenient one for her; she lived with her parents at no cost and her mother provided free babysitting.⁵⁴ She received a monthly salary of one hundred dollars up to the end of December when the school term terminated due to inclement weather. The next school term began in March when the weather improved and children could walk to school. At the end of the school term she kept her promise to donate one hundred dollars to Mohyla Institute to help pay off its mortgage. It was customary for Mohyla teacher-trainees to promise "to donate \$100.00 of their first year salary to the Institute. . ."⁵⁵ Meanwhile, her husband continued to be the Institute rector while she was out teaching.

Although Savella was teaching school outside Saskatoon, she returned often to the city. After Christmas and during the months of January and February when rural schools were closed she remained in Saskatoon. She continued her intense interest in the Olha Kobylianska organization and was elected secretary for the year 1925. In March 1925 in order to be closer to her husband and the organization, she accepted a teaching job at Sand Lake School (in the bloc settlement) which was closer to Saskatoon. A two room teacherage was available and she and her baby moved in along with a girl from Krydor she had hired to look after the baby while she taught.⁵⁶ It was not commonplace for any woman to live

alone in a teacherage with only a baby and a young nanny.

As at the previous school, she again taught the Ukrainian language and history after school hours.⁵⁷ Ukrainian-speaking teachers frequently taught the Ukrainian language in schools located in the bloc settlements. Lunch hours would be shortened so that these lessons could be accommodated. In 1926 she obtained a teaching position in the Vonda area at the Riel Dana school. Again, she hired a nanny of Ukrainian descent to look after her son while she taught school. She often would teach the nanny to read and write in Ukrainian in the evenings.⁵⁸ Because Savella was devoutly proud of her Ukrainian culture and totally committed to her heritage, she earnestly believed it important to share her knowledge of Ukrainian with anyone interested.

Her passionate desire for higher learning superseded all other obligations and female conventional traditions. She resigned her teaching position in late summer of 1926 and in the fall enrolled at the University of Saskatchewan. "My heart was set on getting a university education. My husband encouraged me to go to university."⁵⁹ Since her husband was rector at Mohyla, he was able to look after their son when Savella went to university classes. While at university, her vision for a women's organization drove her to accept the presidency of the local Olha Kobylianska association at the same time as being president of Mohylianky.⁶⁰ These time-absorbing activities resulted in her receiving low marks in her university classes. However, this did not undermine her determination to achieve her objectives and she pressed on with the unwavering encouragement of her husband.

Call to Unite Women of Ukrainian Descent in Canada

An active social life is an important component of most women's lives and so it was for Ukrainian Canadian women in the first half of the twentieth century. The many Ukrainian churches with their *banyas* (domes) dotting the prairie landscape became the meeting places for social activity. Here, women formed sisterhoods within the church and proceeded to meet to decorate and upkeep the church all within a religious context. These women in the many villages were not formally organized in any manner.

The first recorded secular women's organization was the Ukrainian Women's Educational Society formed in Winnipeg in 1916. The members were from the non-denominational organization of the Ukrainian National Home.⁶¹ In Saskatchewan, the first recorded women's organization, *Trud (Toil)*, was organized in 1917 in the rural area of Dana.⁶² Women in other localities were beginning to organize themselves in Canada almost exclusively on the prairies where the Ukrainian population predominated. Melville (1924), Sheho (1925), Redfield-Richard (1926), Mazeppa (1926), Ituna (1923), and Canora (1926)⁶³ were communities within the bloc settlement in Saskatchewan which had spawned organized women's societies.⁶⁴ At this time, however, communication was poor and the Mohylianky were not aware of these various women's organizations.⁶⁵

Savella felt that Ukrainian women needed to unite in their struggle against the "snobbish dominant society which felt that if you weren't Anglo-Saxon you just weren't that good."⁶⁶ Prejudice and discrimination were rampant against the Ukrainian 'foreigners' and derogatory terms like 'bohunk' were often used by non-Ukrainians.⁶⁷ Her mission was to unite the Ukrainian women in Canada. She then purposefully targeted all Ukrainian women, those who were cloistered in the bloc settlements as well as women in cities. She chose the Ukrainian language newspaper, *Ukrainskyi holos* as her first vehicle.

She reveals her particular socially-biased feminist views in her first call to unite women under one women's organization in Canada which appeared in an article titled '*Do Orkhanizatsui Ukrainskoho Zhinotstva*' (To Organize Ukrainian Women) printed in the *Ukrainskyi holos* on April 1, 1925. In this article she focused on the promotion of (Ukrainian) national consciousness amongst women and not women's consciousness (no evidence for the concern of the emotional welfare or rights of women). Further, Savella earnestly urged women to focus their activities and subsume their lives to Ukrainian matters almost exclusively:

What kind of contribution do the English women make to their country? Their organizations, whatever they may be, always strive to improve everyday life for all. Would it not be worthwhile for us to follow in their footsteps? In our lifetime, we have learned that no one will form our nation (Ukraine) if we do not

do it ourselves. Women should care and organize women's clubs to discuss women's issues. Without question, work for such a club is to be directed to national consciousness, for without this there will be no path to follow to fight for a free Ukraine. For those whose interest is freedom for Ukraine, they should form an association and should help women to organize themselves . . .

We, Ukrainians in Canada, should form a branch of the Women's Association here, which would be affiliated with the Women's Union in Ukraine. This (Canadian) national organization should take the initiative in all national concerns and give direction to all branches how to enlighten the membership.⁶⁸

Savella had learned of the Women's Union in Ukraine through the Ukrainian women's magazines, *Zhinocha dolia* and *Nova khata* (The New Home), subscribed to by Mohyla. She believed she could advance the concept that Ukrainian Canadian women from all walks of life should unite for the welfare of Ukraine.

Members of this organization may be from any women's club in Canada regardless of their religious or political affiliation. Because Ukraine is most important, we should not divide ourselves along religious or political lines. Let's work together! I believe that this kind of organization will be of great benefit. First, it will give us the possibility to strengthen and maintain our nationality while living in Canada. When Ukrainian women will take more interest in maintaining their nationality, Ukraine will be able to slowly attain independence. . . . because of national consciousness we become good Canadian citizens. We know from our own experience that nationally conscious Ukrainians are better Canadian citizens than those who know nothing about themselves as Ukrainians.⁶⁹

Savella's was the first published appeal in any press in Canada. This first appeal produced no results at all.⁷⁰ The last two sentences quoted above demonstrate that she believed one must first respect oneself in order to respect others, that if one has a strong sense of identity, then one can give with confidence to others and become a better contributing citizen.⁷¹ Could any person who forsakes their own heritage and completely adopts another be trusted to be a proud contributing citizen? Savella believed, as did the intelligentsia, those Ukrainian Canadians with a national consciousness would become not only leaders in Ukrainian organizations, but also leaders in the building of mainstream communities in Canada. Furthermore, the skills learned within their own organizations would benefit them outside their immediate communities.

A second call to women to organize was printed on July 29, 1925 in the *Ukrainskyi holos*, titled '*Soiuz Ukrainskiv Ameryky i Kanady*' (Ukrainian Women's Association in

America and Canada). Growing up and teaching in the bloc settlements, Savella had firsthand knowledge of the lower station of Ukrainian women, their lack of activism in their communities and their lack of sophistication and education. To remedy these deficiencies, she again promoted not 'women's consciousness' but 'national consciousness.' As a social maternal feminist, she believed a woman should sacrifice herself for her family with the addition of Ukraine.

I believe that this kind of an association can greatly help the Ukrainian cause. Until now our women have had little interest in community affairs and this has resulted in no gain for the Ukrainian community. When a woman does not understand the value of nationalistic work, she not only is a hindrance in this work but also because of her ignorance prevents her husband and children from actively participating. Should we be surprised at her? No. Where would she have been able to receive this knowledge?⁷²

She then chastised the more enlightened women in not performing their duty to take an active role within their immediate community in the bloc settlements.

Why don't informed women in the community take upon themselves the job to organize a women's club where a woman could receive practical household advice, as well as more knowledge about our Ukrainian matters? . . . Our past shows us a clear path which we must strive to follow in order to become good Ukrainians. This pathway is a women's organization. A woman who cares for her children as well as supports her country should be more informed than her husband about many important Ukrainian affairs. A women's organization will give a new direction to women. Positive influence by mothers in the home leads the children on the proper path, because a nationality is measured not by the present generation but by the upcoming one.⁷³

The men of the Ukrainian community do not go unscathed. Savella argued that

A woman who cares for her children as well as supports her country should be more informed than her husband about many important Ukrainian affairs. Amongst us, unfortunately, there are many men who know very little about their country.⁷⁴

She believed that it is specifically the woman who must shoulder the responsibility of the preservation of Ukrainianness in Canada and fight for the freedom of Ukraine. Presumably, men were leaders in guiding the fledgling Ukrainian flock and uplifting them as a whole community entity to the levels of the general Canadian population.

To attract the attention of women, she mentioned a topic customarily of interest to women - domesticity.

I think that the easiest way to encourage women to organize would be through discussions of the many useful household practices which would lighten the load of women's work in the home.⁷⁵

The idea was to attract women with household topics and at the same time, stimulate their interest in more intellectual issues.

Additionally, at every meeting each informed individual could give a short reading and open a discussion - here a woman will have the opportunity to express her thoughts and feelings. Later, each woman could read a book and give a report. This spreads knowledge. It would be beneficial from time to time to read aloud important articles from newspapers.⁷⁶

Although she appeared to recognize that women need to improve the efficiency of their domestic responsibilities, the ultimate goal was to uplift women to begin practising Canadian social values so that they could project a good image to the host society.

If all women's clubs, regardless of their religious or political persuasion would become members of the Association, the English both in America and Canada would look upon us in a different light because all cultured peoples belong to some organization. We will improve our fate in Canada and America and simultaneously become supporters of the Old Country. I am sure that we all wish this. If so, we must take this to task, organize women and where possible join the Ukrainian Women's Associations of America or Canada. Benefits will be great, so go to work. Patriots, you must work for Ukraine.⁷⁷

The Ukrainian Canadians in the first half of the twentieth century were factionalized: Greek Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Communist. Each faction vied to increase women's membership in their respective communities since women's contributions were considered to be greatly valued particularly as fund raisers.⁷⁸ Most often it is women who are the backbone of the building of social meeting places, be they churches and/or halls by holding bazaars, dinners and other food-related activities. Savella, a member of the Orthodox community, attempted to gather all Ukrainian women together to further the cause of Ukraine. To Savella, nationalism far outweighed religious and political biases.

At the beginning of the year 1926, Savella's article '*Zhinka, a Buduchnist Ukraina*' (The Woman and the Future of Ukraine) attempted to provoke women in what she believes

is their obligation to Ukraine and the preservation of Ukrainianness in Canada. At the age of twenty-three, her perception of the role of women in Ukraine was expressed as follows:

Up to now, Ukraine has not achieved her significance in the world as a cultured state. Why? There are many reasons for this but one of them is that the state was being built by one sex - almost exclusively men, and the women were left to the side. If the state demands only one or the other, men or women, then consequently our state cannot be complete and fully developed, but will become more crippled.

Unrealistically she then places the blame of a beleaguered Ukraine on its women.

Had the women of the time understood the value of good home education, they could have inculcated still more in their children, love for their land and later these people happily would have defended their land. After the Great War, there were no educated women left at home in order to raise another generation to struggle for liberty and a better fate. These women are now very much needed.⁷⁹

Perhaps due to the prevailing discrimination against Ukrainians in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century (Chapter 2), she displays the paranoia her circle of acquaintances were experiencing when in the same article she writes,

The English here in Canada are convinced that the assimilation of foreigners with the help of school and church has not been successful. So now there is great movement among the English to encourage intermarriages. They propose to marry with foreigners and by this method through the influence of the wife on the husband, or the husband on the wife, in family life, will draw them into their camp.⁸⁰

This article would have been read by a large percent of Ukrainians in Canada and probably made an strong impression.⁸¹ It is most unlikely that the 'English' would have had any such designs on foreigners. Nativism was embraced by a significant number of Anglo-Canadians. The widespread attitude of the majority of Anglo-Canadians was that Ukrainians were undesirable immigrants and by this definition, undesirable marriage partners.⁸²

The *Ukrainskyi holos* on November 27, 1926 published Savella's final attempt to inspire women to attend, as delegates or observers, a women's convention. In the article, *V Spravi Zhinochoho Zizdo'* (The Purpose of a Women's Convention), she again lamented that women have no pride in their own culture and are not interested in uplifting themselves and

their community. Hence, this passivity reflects on the family and ultimately on the preservation of Ukrainianness and on Ukraine. She wrote:

Our past teaches us that no one but we ourselves will be responsible for our fate. Consequently, it is necessary for us to appropriately prepare all members in our communities to this task. A great deal of attention must be placed on the (national) consciousness of our women The best way to do this is with a women's organization.⁸³

She goes on to explain that the Mohylianky Society has taken the lead of organizing an agenda for this convention with the preparation of a "constitution, resolutions and other plans."⁸⁴ Her dogma and assertiveness were evident:

Since I have before me a definite plan and a definite purpose, there should be no difficulties in working in the direction of promoting an awareness amongst women, who will then be useful and functional members in the Ukrainian community.⁸⁵

Savella credits her husband, Julian, for encouragement and offering sound advice on the method of procedures in the formation of a women's organization. Additionally, it was fortuitous that Julian's brother, Myroslaw, was the editor of the *Ukrainskyi holos* (1921-1946) and access to this newspaper would have been relatively easy for Savella.⁸⁶ Another family connection was another brother-in-law, Michael, who was a practising lawyer in Yorkton. The three Stechishin brothers were prominent members of the intelligentsia and had been part of the driving force in the establishment of the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Michael's wife was also a believer and supporter of a Ukrainian women's organization. Savella was at the heart of the embryonic Ukrainian elite and middle class who were directing this ethnic minority on the sea of the Canadian mosaic.

In the fall of 1926, the young women activists in Saskatoon, Daria Yanda, Mary Hryniuk, Maria Maduke and Savella Stechishin, established a Founding Committee to organize a women's session at the Ukrainian National Convention to be held in Saskatoon in December 1926.⁸⁷ They then sent out invitations to all the progressively-minded women they knew, particularly the female teachers in the rural areas who had boarded at Mohyla, inviting them to attend the conference.⁸⁸ Also, it was important to communicate with the wives of the

men who were the activists in the intelligentsia and get their support. There were no women acting as leaders in the Ukrainian elite and it was entirely men who guided the fledgling Ukrainian community. To get support from Winnipeg, which at this time was the centre of Ukrainian culture, Savella then wrote to her friends Olha Swystun, Olha Sawchuk and Olha Arsenych, all of Winnipeg, whose husbands were prominent members of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg.⁸⁹ They embraced the idea and gave it their enthusiastic support.

The chief promoters to establish a women's organization along with Savella were activists Tetiana Kroitor, Daria Yanda, Mary Hryniuk and Maria Maduke. They all had been residents of Mohyla and after completing their Normal School or education degrees went into the bloc settlements in Saskatchewan to teach school and advance the idea of a national Ukrainian women's organization in Canada. Much younger (in their early twenties except for Maria Maduke who was a few years older), more highly educated and higher on the socio-economic ladder than most Ukrainian-Canadian women in Saskatchewan, these young social feminists with urban middle-class values were determined to guide a female population barely out of a poor peasant culture.

Whereas some male activists had immigrated to Canada, women activists/feminists did not. The number of female feminists had always been small in Ukraine and had preferred to remain in Ukraine.⁹⁰ Thus, in Canada it was up to the young Mohyla educated activists/feminists with energy and vision to lead the women of Ukrainian descent.

ENDNOTES

1. Stechishin, personal interview, 28 January 1995.
2. Stechishin, autobiography, 1.
3. The Austro-Hungarian Empire permitted the continued Polish domination of Western Ukraine.
4. Stechishin, autobiography, 10.
5. Ibid., 14.
6. Stechishin, The Land of Promise, 8. Helen married and did not receive any higher learning; Eugene became a school teacher; Apolonius received his law degree and practised law in Edmonton; Maria married without a higher education; and the youngest Stephania boarded with Savella in Saskatoon where she received her education degree and taught school. Source: personal interview.
7. Candace Savage, Foremothers. Personalities and Issues from the History of Women in Saskatchewan, (Saskatoon, 1975), 52.
8. Stechishin, autobiography, 17. There is no record of the contents of the essay and when asked, she said that she does not remember what she wrote about "so long ago."
9. He was the brother of Olena Kysilevska, a well-known activist and writer living in Western Ukraine at the time. In the 1920s, Savella Stechishin corresponded with her and this will be discussed in Chapter 5.
10. Stechishin, autobiography, 19.
11. Ibid., 20.
12. Personal interview and autobiography, 18.
13. Frances Swyrypa, "Nation-Building into the 1920s: Conflicting Claims on Ukrainian Immigrant Women," in Continuity and Change. The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), 138.
14. Hryhory Udod, Julian W. Stechishin. His Life and Work, (Saskatoon: Mohyla Institute, 1978), 22.
15. Autobiography, 20; personal interview.
16. Ibid., 20.
17. Ibid., 28.
18. Personal interview; autobiography, 22.
19. Udod, Julian Stechishin, 21.
20. Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyi: Istoria Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady (1926-1951) (Twenty-Five Years of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1952), 17 and Udod, Julian W. Stechishin, 25.

21. Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1988), Chapter 7, Tables 1 and 2.
22. Cited in Udod from J. Stechishin's Archives, Memorandum of the Peter Mohyla Institute, 21.
23. Autobiography, 29.
24. Ibid.
25. William A. Czumer, Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, Translated by Louis T. Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), 63.
26. Peter Humeniuk, Hardships & Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers. Memoirs from Stuartburn Colony and Other Points (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1976), 85.
27. Stechishin, interview, 1 March, 1997.
28. Udod, Julian Stechishin, 22.
29. Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education" in A Heritage in Transition. Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), 255.
30. Green and White, Winter, 1975, University of Saskatchewan; personal interview.
31. Autobiography, 32.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.; personal interview.
34. Natalia Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Narys istorii Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady (A Half-Century of Service to the Community: An Outline History of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1926-1976) (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1986), 593.
35. Savella Stechishin, "Tovarystvo mohylyanok - uholynyi kamin Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady" (The Mohylianky Society - The Cornerstone of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) in Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petro Mohyly v Saskatuni 1916-1941, (Jubilee Book of Twenty-five Years of the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941) (Saskatoon: Petro Mohyla Institute, 1945), 298.
36. D.E. Yanda, "Yak Divshlo do Zasnovannia Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady" (Events Leading up to the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) in Iuvileina Knyzhka, Soiuzu ukrainok kanady z nahody 10-litnoho isnovannya, 1926-1936 (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada Commemorating 10 Years, 1926-1936) (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1937), 9.
37. Ibid., 10.
38. Ibid., 9.
39. Danielle Chartier Ford, "Taking Pride in her Heritage" in Saskatoon Sun, 29 July 1996; Stechishin, autobiography; personal interview.

40. Stechishin, autobiography, 36.
41. Nancy Russell, Star Phoenix, Saskatoon, 18 October 1976.
42. Yanda, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 9.
43. National Archives, MG30 D389, Vol. 1, File 2, 3, Savella Stechishin Papers, Outline Sketch of her autobiography, entitled "Savella Stechishin."
44. Swyripa, Wedded to the Cause, 14.
45. Autobiography, 40; Natalka L. Kohuska, *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Istoriiia Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady (1926-1951)*, (Twenty-five Years of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada 1926-1951) (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1952) 16-17.
46. Olha Kobylanska's books have not been translated into English to my knowledge.
47. Savella Stechishin, "Pochatky zasnovannya Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady" (The Beginning of the Foundation of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) in *Iuvileina Knyzhka, Soiuzu ukrainok kanady z nahody 10-litnoho isnovannya, 1926-1936* (Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada Commemorating 10 Years, 1926-1936) (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1936), 5.
48. Autobiography, 38.
49. Savella Stechishin, "The Formation of the Ukrainian Women' Organizations in Canada," The Second Wreath Conference, Edmonton, 1985, 7; autobiography, 41.
50. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 3 June 1914, cited in Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Ottawa: Canada Ethnica IV, 1967), 93.
51. Darcovich and Yuzyk, Statistical Compendium, Series 32.1-12, 273.
52. NAC, Stechishin Papers, Outline of Autobiography, 3.
53. Personal interview; autobiography, 48.
54. Autobiography, 43.
55. Ibid., 46.
56. Ibid., 49.
57. Ibid., 45.
58. Personal interview.
59. Autobiography, 56; personal interview.
60. Autobiography, 57.
61. M.H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians. A History, 411.

62.Ibid.

63.Olha Boychuk, compiler, *Zoloty vinets: Pivstolittia viddilu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady imeny Marii Markovych u Kanori, Saskachevan, 1926-1976* (The Golden Jubilee Book of Maria Markovych Branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Canora, Saskatchewan 1926-1976) (Canora: Maria Markovych Branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1981), 198.

64.Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 922-971.

65.Stechishin, "The Formation of the Ukrainian Women's Organizations in Canada", 5; Savella Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petro Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941* (Jubilee Book of Twenty-five Years of the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941) (Saskatoon: Petro Mohyla Institute, 1945), 300; autobiography, 38.

66.Autobiography, 37.

67.For further readings on discriminatory practices, these are a few of many, see J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); Helen Potrebenco, Streets of Gold (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977); John Herd Thompson, The Harvest of War. The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978); Jaroslav Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914 (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985); Frances Swyrypa Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

In an interview with one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Women's Association, Regina Branch (1926), Anna Supynuk, shared her thoughts with the author, "The English put us just above the Indians. The Indians were at the bottom." Personal Interview, Regina, 13 November 1994.

68.Savella Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 1 April 1925, 4.

69.Ibid.

70.Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 7.

71.Savella's sentiments appear to be the prevailing thoughts of a proportion of the population at this time. They are echoed ten years later by Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada, during his visit to Fraserwood, Manitoba on September 21, 1936 when he said, "I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. . . . We Scots are supposed to be good citizens of new countries, that is largely because, while we mix well with others and gladly accept new loyalties, we never forget our ancient Scots way, but always remember the little country from which we sprang. That is true of every race with a strong tradition behind it, and it must be so with a people with such a strong tradition as yours. You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians." Source: Lord Tweedsmuir's Visit to Ukrainian Canadians, Fraserwood, Manitoba, September 21, 1936 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, n.d.).

72.Savella Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 29 July 1925, 4.

73.Ibid.

74.Ibid.

75.Ibid.

76.Ibid.

77.Ibid.

78.Sonia Maryn, "Ukrainian-Canadian Women in Transition: From Church Basement to Board Room." Journal of Ukrainian Studies 10, 1 (Summer 1985), 89-96.

79.Savella Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 6 January 1926, 5.

80.Ibid.

81.The *Ukrainskyi holos* at this time was the preferred Ukrainian language newspaper by the upwardly mobile. Source: Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 246-252.

82.Friesen, The Canadian Prairies. A History, 344-55.

83.Savella Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 17 November 1926, 5.

84.Ibid.

85.Ibid.

86.Orest Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918." Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, 2 (Spring 1977), 31.

87.The Ukrainian students' circle in Saskatoon met on March 4, 1916 to discuss the establishment of an educational institution to suit the needs of Ukrainians. An Initiative Committee was elected and shortly thereafter, they published an appeal to all Ukrainians in the *Ukrainskyi holos*, the only independent Ukrainian weekly in Canada, for moral and financial support. On August 4 and 5, 1916, the Initiative Committee called the first Ukrainian National Convention in Saskatoon to address this issue. This began the annual conventions of all Ukrainians in Canada. Within ten years, it was exclusively attended by members of the Ukrainian Orthodox faith. Source: Hryhory Udod, Julian W. Stechishin. His Life and Work (Saskatoon: Mohyla Institute, 1978), 20.

88.Yanda, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 9; autobiography, 60.

89.Autobiography, 59. Savella had been Olha Swystun's bridesmaid and was a close friend of Olha Sawchuk and her husband as well.

Olha Swystun's husband, Wasyl, was the first rector of Mohyla Institute, one of the main initiators in the formation of the Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and a practising lawyer in Winnipeg. Source: Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada. Olha Sawchuk's husband, Semen, was also a member of this group and the first ordained priest of the Orthodox church and the first priest to use the Ukrainian language in any Ukrainian Orthodox church. Source: Oleh H. Gerus, "The Reverend Semen Sawchuk and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," in Journal of Ukrainian Studies. Olha Arsenych's husband was an active promoter of these beliefs in Winnipeg, a charismatic leader in the Winnipeg Ukrainian community, the first Ukrainian lawyer in Canada, the first Ukrainian judge in Canada (1948) and the president of the Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada Limited that published the *Ukrainskyi holos*. Source: Olha Weycenko, Ukrainians in Canada, 91.

90.Swyrupa, Wedded to the Cause, 11.

CHAPTER 4

SAVELLA STECHISHIN: CATALYST FOR THE INCEPTION OF A NATIONAL UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

Members of the Mohylianky Society, with Savella at the helm, had planned the direction to organize women on a national scale. Teaching in the bloc settlements, the Mohylianky were the principal organizers of the women's movement as well as the educators of women in the field of Ukrainian arts and culture and self-dignity.¹ Savella was chiefly responsible for formulating the tenets of the newly established Ukrainian-Canadian women's organization. Because of her efforts, Saskatchewan led in the number of branches to become established. The Orthodox priests ministering to the Ukrainians dispersed over the prairies played an important role in spreading the ideology of the UWAC.

In the initial planning of this organization, Savella was inspired by the women's organization in Ukraine and for appropriate procedures sought the help of 'English' women. She and the other activists felt it necessary, without question, to keep communication with Ukraine and the Ukrainian women in America open. This new organization with its own constitution would have Ukrainian roots in a Canadian setting. Although founded as completely independent and non-denominational, it became affiliated with the Orthodox church within a few years. Because Savella was residing at Petro Mohyla Institute, the Institute played an important role in helping the embryonic organization. Savella, at the heart of the movement, relied on her husband for support and guidance: "my husband, Julian, was the one who helped the most."²

Founding of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC)

Concern for the socio-economic and ethno-cultural conditions of Ukrainian-Canadian women was articulated publicly for the first time in 1918 by Olha Swystun and Anna Bychinska at the third Ukrainian National Convention in Saskatoon. Anna Bychinska, wife of a Ukrainian Protestant minister, chided the men for ignoring women's contribution and concerns. It was imperative that they "place the matter of elevation of our women in the first place."³

Olha Swystun, a young educated American girl, arrived in Saskatchewan in 1917 at the age of 17 years and married Wasyl Swystun in 1918. Wasyl, a graduate of the Brandon Ruthenian Training School and a former school teacher, was the driving force of the intelligentsia in Saskatoon, and the rector (unpaid) and choir director of Mohyla Institute. He also at this time attended law school at the University of Saskatchewan. Olha addressed the 1918 Convention at Mohyla Institute speaking on the 'Role of Women in the Community.'⁴ She emphasized that women had an important and participatory role to play in building their community. Supporting feminist principles, she asserted that women were to be equal members with men in guiding Ukrainian Canadians to strive for prosperous and progressive communities.⁵ The *Ukrainskyi holos* published her address informing all their subscribers scattered across Canada that both women and men had to 'pull' together to take their place alongside Anglo-Canadians in the building of their country, Canada.

Not until 1925 was the subject broached again. This time, Leonida Slusar, an Ukraine-educated wife of an Orthodox priest (both had emigrated from Ukraine), addressed the Ukrainian National Convention.⁶ In her address entitled 'Women's Obligations,' she promoted feminist thought with the opinion that women had equality with men and further that women must be educated and have self-respect to enable them to educate their children to take their rightful place in Canada. She was the first in the Ukrainian community to adopt the phrase: *the educated woman will make a better mother.*⁷ Ukrainian-Canadian women, she contended, should not only uplift themselves to equal other women's organizations in Canada (non-Ukrainian), but also keep in close contact with the women's organizations in Ukraine. She strongly expressed the desire that all the Ukrainian-Canadian women's organizations should be brought together under the umbrella of a national organization; they could then work hand-in-hand with the Ukrainian women's organizations in United States and in Ukraine.⁸ Leonida's address strengthened Savella's and the Mohylianky's resolve to proceed with their idea of uniting all women.

Another important event in the year 1925 reinforced the Mohylianky's determination to form a national organization for Ukrainian-Canadian women. The International Women's

Council held their congress in Washington. Sofia Rusova, President of the Ukrainian Women's Council in Prague, sent a letter to her friend, a Ukrainian emigre, Kharytia Kononenko, living at Mohyla Institute. Rusova, pleading poverty, wrote Kononenko asking for financial help from Ukrainian-Canadian women to travel to Washington to attend the congress (the result of this letter will be discussed in the next chapter). This appeal drew the attention of the Mohylianky to Ukrainian women in Ukraine and to those in the United States. They then decided to formulate a campaign to unite women of Ukrainian descent in Canada, spiritually affiliating with the women in Ukraine and the United States.⁹ The Ukrainian National Women's League of America was organized in 1925.

Savella and the women activists in Saskatoon realized that they lacked the organizational skills necessary to proceed with their idea; they needed 'outside' help. Contact was made with "English women who were at the head of national societies, so that the methods of organization could be understood and knowledge acquired to carry out work among women's groups."¹⁰ Upon recently being asked by letter whether she remembered which organization these 'English' women represented, Savella replied:

It was so long ago that I do not recall. It must have been me inquiring personally from my own initiative. Probably I spoke to someone I knew either at the Saskatoon Women's Council or probably someone from the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. This group was active in those days. I did not speak for any group, just inquired personally.¹¹

Mohyla Institute in the 1920s had subscribed to the magazine, *Zhinocha dolia*, published in Ukraine (Galicia) under the editorship of activist Olena Kysilevska.¹² A small number of immigrant women in Canada also subscribed. Through this magazine, Ukrainian women in Canada became familiar with the work of *Soiuz Ukrainok* (Union of Ukrainian Women) in Ukraine.¹³ *Soiuz Ukrainok* was the most significant women's organization to emerge after the First World War in Ukraine. Promoting self-reliance and self-help, it encompassed various women's clubs including philanthropic societies, nationalist women and young socialist women.¹⁴ *Soiuz*, a women's movement, not political or class oriented, was established at a Ukrainian Women's Congress in 1921. They initiated the production of

embroidery articles using traditional Ukrainian patterns as well as decorating Easter Eggs as a cottage industry. This provided the village women with not only badly need cash and encouraged preservation of their culture but also instilled a national pride. Female activists made frequent trips to the villages to organize courses and lectures.¹⁵ Although these women did not consider themselves feminists, they in fact were, since they were organizing activities for the sole purpose of improving the lives of women. Their work reported in the *Zhinochadolia* acted as an incentive for the women activists in Saskatoon to hasten their own work towards creating a national women's organization.

Although the idea of a national women's organization was based on a model similar to the one in Ukraine and there was advice from the 'English' women's societies,¹⁶ this new organization was unique in that it had to combine the ideals of Ukrainianness within an 'English' Canadian setting. The span between the Ukrainian and Canadian psyche and conditions and mode of life was obviously vast. Since older women did not participate (most were illiterate), the planning and implementing of the aims and goals were left entirely to the young determined trailblazers within the Mohyla Institute milieu.¹⁷

With Julian as one of the organizers of the Ukrainian National Convention at Mohyla and a strong supporter of women's enlightenment, it was not difficult for Savella to persuade the exclusively male organizers to set aside a room and a specific time for women to meet for the sole purpose of proposing the formation of a women's organization.¹⁸ The persistence of Savella and her friends came to fruition at a session for women at this Convention.

The convention convened on 26 December 1926 with a women's session as part of the proceedings. Savella was elected chairwoman of the session where one hundred women, mostly from the prairies, were present. Preparation for this first Ukrainian women's convention was well developed with four "prominent women"¹⁹ outlining the organization's program of activities on the following topics: Anna Stasiv: *The Need for a Women's Press*; Maria Maduke: *The Role of Women in World Progress*; Olha Swystun: *Women's Contribution and the Tasks Confronting Them*; and Savella Stechishin: *The Women's Movement in Ukraine*.²⁰

The first national Ukrainian-Canadian women's organization was established. The name *Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady (Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) (UWAC)* was unanimously adopted. This name reaffirmed the organization's unity with its counterparts in Western Ukraine and in the United States. In Western Ukraine, the women's organization was *Soiuz Ukrainok (Union of Ukrainian Women)*²¹ and in the United States it was named *Soiuz Ukrainok Ameriky (Ukrainian National Women's League of America)*.²² Savella presented an outline of the constitution for the UWAC which she had drafted beforehand with the help of her husband and Rev. Vasyl Kudryk.²³ Rev. Kudryk was a nationalist, a prominent member of the intelligentsia and importantly, a supporter for the education of Ukrainian women in Canada.²⁴ The Ukrainian Orthodox clergy almost exclusively were members of the intelligentsia and supporters of the enlightenment of women and hence, of a national Ukrainian women's organization. The final version of the constitution was to be formulated by the newly elected executive and then presented at the next convention.

It was proposed that two independent sections of the national executive be formed: Western (Saskatoon) responsible for the territory west of Manitoba and Eastern (Winnipeg) responsible for Manitoba and Eastern Canada. In this way, each section could carry out their mission more efficiently with a designated smaller area. The elected executive was:

Winnipeg

President: Olha Swystun

Secretary: Hanka Romanchych

Treasurer: Olha Sawchuk

Saskatoon

Vice-President: Savella Stechishin

Vice-Secretary: Maria Maduke

Vice-Treasurer: Daria Yanda

Editorial Committee: Savella Stechishin, Leonida Slusar

Auditing Board: Maria Eliuk, Anna Chepesiuk, Anna Bunka²⁵

Not everyone was supportive of the women's organization at the convention. Savella writes in the *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Ukraïnskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni (Jubilee Book of Twenty-five Years of the Petro Mohyla Institute of Saskatoon)* that the chairman of the presidium at the convention announced the formation of a 'women's section'

in a mocking tone and it was viewed by some as a joke, as if these women were not to be taken seriously.²⁶ Even a few women at the convention were skeptical and had to be convinced that a women's organization was essential. It is most likely these doubting women were not delegates to the Women's Section of the convention and had only accompanied their husbands.

Savella Stechishin, along with Leonida Slusar, was elected to initiate a women's page in the *Ukrainskyi holos*. They were to provide appropriate material and request other women to contribute to the page. Sympathetic to the women's movement, P.H. Woycenko, publisher of the *Ukrainskyi holos*, offered one entire page, the *Zhinochyi kutok* (Women's Corner), to the newly established UWAC.²⁷ Since the weekly *Ukrainskyi holos* was subscribed to by the socially and economically enterprising Ukrainians across Canada, this publication could reach the majority of the women, especially those in rural areas. The *Ukrainskyi holos* attracted Saskatchewan farmers (many were enlightened leading activists in their communities) and the urban middle class (businessmen, lawyers, university students, school teachers and other professionals). Women of this class were regarded as the leaders in their communities and promoters of the women's movement.

A year later, the page became known as the *Viddil Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady* (Section of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) and was edited by Savella Stechishin. Other leading members such as Maria Maduke, Olha Swystun, Tetiana Kroitor, and Daria Yanda assisted by providing relevant and well-written articles. Topics included Ukrainian history, short biographies of Ukrainian authors, and household hints and 'awareness' articles of concern to women, for example, *Idealnay Muzhyna* (The Ideal Man).²⁸

Link with Ukraine and the Perpetuation of Its Culture

A strong link with Ukraine was evident by the inclusion in the program at the National Convention of a requiem service and the presentation of the life and work of Simon Petliura who had been assassinated in Paris by a Bolshevik agent in May of 1926.²⁹ Simon Petliura had been the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and President of

the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile. He was considered Ukraine's finest son, a great statesman and a champion of Ukraine's rights and liberties.³⁰

The Ukrainian-Canadian women made the first charitable donation as a national body to Petliura's widow who was living in Paris. The total sum of \$65.45 was collected and sent to her. Natalia Kohuska,³¹ the editor and compiler of a number of books on the UWAC, wrote "It was presented not simply as financial assistance, but rather as an expression of respect, love and sympathy for a woman who had been widowed in a foreign country after the tragic death of her husband."³² The direction of the organization was propelled not to Canadian concerns but definitively to Ukraine.

The prevailing thought for the role of the Canadian woman was that she was expected to be an educated modern homemaker and responsible for the upbringing of her children to be contributing Canadian citizens. However, a Ukrainian-Canadian woman's duty was threefold: first, to become educated and a modern homemaker; second, to ensure that her children be educated activists within the Ukrainian Canadian and host societies projecting a good image; and third, to teach her children to be 'Ukrainian nationalists.' They were to be knowledgeable about all things Ukrainian. Savella followed this theme revealing herself as a social maternal feminist insofar as the role of the woman was concerned. In her speech at the organizational session, she argued:

Our women's movement in Canada and in Ukraine should have one objective: to help Ukrainian women develop intellectually, to prepare them for civic, domestic and public life. The preparation of our women to be good mothers is a matter of far greater importance than politics, electoral rights or office-holding. Today, when our homeland, church and schools are in the hands of foreign conquerors, the women of Halychyna (Western Ukraine) and central Ukraine must pay particular attention to the upbringing of children. Only the home remains in our hands and the home must provide a national upbringing.³³

She wanted to improve women's lot but not in the 'equal rights' feminist sense of political and economic equality of the sexes. Savella supported a social and maternal (home/family) based advocacy.

Aims and Objectives of the UWAC

Unwavering persistence by Savella and her colleagues resulted in bringing their dreams to fruition. The success of the convention achieved their ultimate desire - the first non-denominational national Ukrainian women's organization in Canada, but in fact, the majority of the women who became members were of the Orthodox faith. Seven branches signed up constituting the base: Olha Kobylianska Women's Association, Saskatoon; Olha Kobylianska Women's Association, Meacham; Daughters of Ukraine Women's Association, Regina; Lesia Ukrainka Women's Association, Goodeve; Hanna Barvinok Women's Association, Vonda; Olha Kobylianska, Whitkow all in Saskatchewan; and Lesia Ukrainka Women's Association, Capon, Alberta.³⁴

A strong representation from Saskatchewan is evident, most likely due to the influence of the administration and staff at Mohyla Institute and the rippling effect it had on the surrounding bloc settlements. Many of the former Institute residents returned to the bloc settlements as teachers or petty entrepreneurs and became leaders in their communities. Another factor was the siting of the convention at Saskatoon resulting in cheaper transportation costs and distance for Saskatchewanians than for those from other provinces. The central location of Saskatoon in relation to the three prairie provinces where the Ukrainian population was most dense made it an ideal setting for Ukrainian national conventions.

Approximately sixty years after the first convention, Savella writes in her autobiography:

Its objectives were primarily: to encourage women to better themselves through reading and adult education so that they could take their rightful place as Canadian citizens; to promote a deeper understanding of the value of preserving Ukrainian cultural traditions and Ukrainian language in their families and in the Ukrainian community; to encourage young people to higher education; to support the efforts of Ukrainian people in their native land to attain freedom and independence; and to support worthy causes.³⁵

Kohuska, on the other hand, summarizes the convention as formulating two major objectives: 1) the members were to channel their "energies into the public and cultural life of

Ukrainians in Canada by supporting and helping to develop ecclesiastical as well as cultural-educational institutions and pursuits"; and 2) "the second objective of equal importance was to extend assistance to the Ukrainian people in their native land."³⁶ A difference between Kohuska's interpretation and Savella's is the 'ecclesiastical' development. Ten years after the establishment of the UWAC, Savella in the *Iuvileina knyzhka* asserts that the most important aim is "the enlightenment of Ukrainian [Canadian] women and the Ukrainian education of children [in Canada]." ³⁷ In investigating the preliminary writings and discussions, research shows that the church did not play a major role in the mandate of the UWAC and that Savella's memories are more accurate. Support for the church was encouraged with emphasis on teaching Sunday School but it was only individual branches that took upon themselves the onerous task of financially contributing to and affiliating closely with their church. At present, this is true of the majority of the branches, but they are truly independent of the church as the early activists envisioned it.

At this first convention, Canada was looked upon as a convenient country, free and democratic, to achieve the aim of helping Ukraine to ultimately gain its independence. Independence would give Ukrainians (in Ukraine) a place on the world stage as a secure and proud people and this would also positively reflect on the Ukrainians in the diaspora. Having appealed to the Ukrainians living in Canada to help their countrymen, neither the leaders of the UWAC nor the intelligentsia made any suggestions that one should return to Ukraine to live, for any reason. Canada had truly become their country and the advantages of living in Canada with its institutions based on British laws and values were appreciated.

The National Executive began preparing their first concrete program of activities for the local branches to follow. To fulfil the UWAC objectives, emphasis was placed on the promotion of the following projects: Ukrainian schools, Sunday schools, libraries (members were encouraged to acquire Ukrainian books and to promote knowledge about Ukrainian literature by organizing special readings), and lectures on the education and health of children, as well as on domestic skills such as sewing and cooking.³⁸

Through the local branches and through the Association's organ, the *Ukrainskyi holos*, the executive hoped to reach even the most remote regions inhabited by Ukrainian families. Since Ukrainian women in the other provinces were fewer in number and not concentrated in blocs, the UWAC focussed primarily on the prairie bloc settlements in the parklands of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. However, their ardent hope was to 'enlighten' Ukrainian women throughout Canada. The Association's motto was "Our Strength is in Enlightenment."³⁹ Showing the path of enlightenment to the Ukrainian-Canadian women in rural Western Canada, many of whom were poor and illiterate or semi-illiterate or indifferent to self-education or education of their children, was a complex task for the Association. Prairie farm women, isolated on their homesteads, worked arduously from early morning to late at night. Often they were exhausted and sheer survival was uppermost on their minds. This factor made it difficult for the executive to effectively reach women across the entire country. It would be up to the comfortably off and ambitious women to lead their sisters in their communities.

The First Year of Inception - 1927

In early 1927, the Association encouraged the branches to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of Olha Kobylianska's literary activity and donate funds to her in Ukraine. Several branches marked the occasion and sent a modest amount of cash. This was the first formal celebration of a Ukrainian notable figure earmarked by the Association. A second plea for monies was to aid the victims of a major flood in Ukraine and a fund-raising campaign was initiated. Donations for this campaign were also nominal. The building of new communities on the newly opened prairies, that is, churches and *narodni domy* (community halls called Ukrainian National Homes), occupied the community activists' energies and finances; cost to educate their children also was a financial drain. Historian Orest Martynowych argues that "most Ukrainian farmers in Saskatchewan" were "fairly comfortable"⁴⁰, but, on the other hand, the author of the history of the Redfield-Richard branch of the UWAC writes that in 1929, "Money was scarce, but to the women, their obligations to the church came first."⁴¹ It is understandable that donations to Ukraine, a distant country, by mostly cash strapped Ukrainian-Canadian women were modest.

At the 1927 Ukrainian National Convention, women were expected to participate within their own session. Culture and education were the main themes. One hundred women delegates attended the second annual national UWAC convention held in conjunction with the eleventh Ukrainian National Convention in Saskatoon. Leading speakers at the early conventions were young women in the twenties and most often married to activists in the intelligentsia circle. The number of branches represented dramatically increased, almost fourfold over the initiating year to 26 branches. Saskatchewan led the numbers with 22, Manitoba - 1, Alberta - 2 and 1 in Fort William, Ontario.⁴² The UWAC executive had been successful in spreading their message through the *Ukrainskyi holos*, word of mouth and through the female students who had attended Mohyla Institute and were now residing throughout Canada, particularly the prairies and northwestern Ontario. Orthodox priests, many of whom were members of the intelligentsia and the enlightenment movement in Canada, also promoted the active participation and education of women and encouraged them to organize and/or join the UWAC.⁴³

Tetiana Kroitor, Savella's friend and a former Mohylianka, married to a school teacher, and a school teacher herself, was the keynote speaker at the 1927 convention. She spoke on 'The Work of Women's Association in Rural and Urban Districts.' Other speakers were Anna Chepesiuk, Maria Maduke, Katherine Pukish, A. Pyliuk, Olha Swystun and Savella Stechishin.⁴⁴ These young urban-dwelling women had a much higher education than the average Ukrainian-Canadian women in the late 1920s. Kohuska contends that, "With respect to content, the outstanding speech, *Prohrama nasha na slihuchyi rik* (Our Programme for the Next Year), was delivered by Savella Stechishin." This speech became part of the Association's statement of purpose:

All of our people's efforts are directed toward national liberation; they are directed toward transforming our people into free and able masters in their own home and worthy human beings in general. In Canada our work should be concerned with making the masses conscious of who they are and where they come from, as well as with familiarizing them with our tasks and obligations in this country. Our work should focus on this objective. As women we must assume our share of the burden. It follows that our first task will be to awaken national consciousness among women in general. Nationally conscious women

will establish relations with the old country, and this contact may have a beneficial influence on both groups. We in Canada stand to benefit from suggestions and encouragement received from the old country; while women in the old country will receive material assistance and benefit from the experience we have gained by living in different circumstances, in foreign countries with people of various origins . . .⁴⁵

Savella urges that in order to take their rightful place in Canada women must inspire pride of their heritage in their fellow Ukrainian Canadians at the community level - that is their obligation and task. Both those living in Canada and in Ukraine will benefit if the lines of communication are kept open between the two countries. Her stance is, however, dogmatically limited. The parameters she places for the role of women are confined to the retention and promotion of Ukrainianness; again, it is national consciousness and not women's consciousness. She, together with the intelligentsia, felt that it was inevitable that Ukrainian Canadians would automatically embrace Canadian norms and would value Canadian institutions because of the constant exposure in schools, businesses and everyday life. Therefore, they reinforced that the Ukrainians in Canada, because of their origins, had a commitment to Ukraine and were not to lose their inherent identity.

Mohyla Institute was the core of operations of the Western section of the UWAC. Since Julian was the rector of the Institute and the Stechishins lived there, it was convenient to use its office equipment for all written material. Even male students helped in typing and mimeographing articles.⁴⁶ This was an enormous financial help to the Association. Julian also helped in the encouragement of the organization of women in the outlying areas, mostly in Saskatchewan. He arranged for Savella to address women at the meetings which he organized for the purpose of soliciting donations for the operation of Mohyla Institute.⁴⁷ At the meetings, she explained to the women the aims and goals of the UWAC and the method of organizing; this proved to be successful in the number of women she recruited and branches she initiated.⁴⁸ As a result of this activity, the Western section was more successful in its work than the Winnipeg one. With the substantial increase in the number of branches in Saskatchewan in the first year as previously noted, it is apparent that the UWAC was Saskatchewan driven.

The division of the executive proved impractical with such a distance between the two cities, Saskatoon and Winnipeg. It was decided at the 1927 convention that the National Executive be moved to Saskatoon. Mohyla Institute and its staff could then give assistance.

The new national executive for 1928 was comprised of:

President: Savella Stechishin
 Vice-President: Olha Swystun (Winnipeg)
 Corresponding/Recording Secretary: Maria Maduke
 Financial Secretary: Anastasia Stechishin (Yorkton)
 Treasurer: Rose Dragon
 Editorial Committee: Tetiana Kroitor and Olha Swystun
 Auditing Board: Olha Sawchuk (Winnipeg), A. Michasiw and
 Katherine Pukish

Seeking camaraderie in a familiar social milieu, the mostly prominent and upwardly mobile Ukrainians in Canada, both female and male, eagerly attended the annual Ukrainian conventions held at Mohyla Institute. It was most often the active community participants with enquiring minds who could be found at the conventions. Because most Ukrainians were divided along religious lines, it was the Orthodox Ukrainians who congregated at these conventions. Here, they shared their thoughts and opinions, established friendships and discussed issues relating to the community. Officially, there were lectures and reports discussing the political circumstance of the Ukrainian people in their homeland, what political stance the Ukrainians in Canada should adopt regarding Ukraine and Canada (i.e. primarily anti-Communist) and the economic and civic issues in Canada. The intelligentsia, exclusively male, provided the guidelines for the Ukrainian flock to follow.

At this convention, the UWAC, although still open to all women of Ukrainian descent regardless of religious or political biases, affiliated itself with the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) (*Soiuz Ukraintsv Samostiinykiv*)⁴⁹, "the avant-garde among Ukrainian organizations."⁵⁰ The USRL was formally organized in Saskatoon in 1927,⁵¹ but a self-reliance movement had originated in 1910 with the first Ukrainian teachers' organization and the *Ukrainskyi holos*,⁵² encompassing the largest and most influential faction of the intelligentsia.⁵³ The UWAC was totally independent of the USRL although they held their

conventions together. This was for convenience since many husbands of the UWAC members were involved with the USRL which was exclusively male-driven. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, the men's club parallel to the UWAC, was not organized until 28 December 1938.⁵⁴ By the late 1930s, the USRL constituted all the lay organizations of the Orthodox church which included the men, women and youth groups.⁵⁵

Neither Savella nor the other women leaders were politically active; they were satisfied to take care of women's issues which included the direction of self-enlightenment of women, the encouragement of women's active participation in their community and the education of children. Women were to be the preservers and promoters of Ukrainianness propelled by Savella's type of feminism: social maternal.

The USRL's mandate was the preservation of the Ukrainian culture, first and foremost, and second, to become good Canadian citizens adopting Canadian societal values. Self-reliance was their credo. Members of the self-reliance movement became influential members on the national scene - part of the blossoming Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada. Savella Stechishin was in the heart of this crusade.

The Crucial Formative Years

The years 1928 to 1930 were critical formative years for the UWAC. Where the Mohylianky were composed of young women pursuing their education, the UWAC now attracted older pioneer women along with middle-aged women in the urban and rural areas. Preservation and development of the Ukrainian language, tradition and culture together with respect and retention of religious practices appealed to the older pioneer women. As for the younger women, Ukrainian literature and the arts, i.e., music and theatre, piqued their interest. The Executive made a concerted effort to accommodate women of all ages in their efforts towards unity. Literature and notable Ukrainian authors became an effective vehicle for expanding cultural-educational work within the community. The branches were encouraged to hold concerts where children could perform the works of authors such as Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, and Olha Kobylianska (see Appendix A for description of these authors) and to mark historical events like Ukrainian Independence Day (January 22, 1918).⁵⁶

In this way, the children as well as adults would become acquainted with important authors and the history of Ukraine.

Often, a lecture on the life and creative activity of an author was presented. For example, according to the *Persha Recordova Knyzhka, 1927-28, (The First Record Book, 1927-28)* of the Daughters of Ukraine Branch, Regina, it was agreed at the first executive meeting to have weekly *shittia vecherok* (embroidery evenings).⁵⁷ During the embroidery evenings, one member would read aloud Ukrainian literary works (by Lesia Ukrainka, Natalia Kobrynska, Olha Basarab or Olha Kobylianska or Shevchenko) while the other women would embroider and/or teach various Ukrainian stitches or patterns.⁵⁸

By 1930, the National Executive had incorporated into its cultural-educational programme for the branches to follow an activity commemorating national anniversaries for almost each month of the school year. They were as follows: January 22 - Ukrainian National Independence Day; February - anniversary of Lesia Ukrainka's birth; March - anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth; May - Mother's Day/Ivan Franko's death; October - *Sviato Knyzhky* (Book Month) and Thanksgiving Day; November - Olha Kobylianska's birth.⁵⁹ As these observances were celebrated by an ever widening circle of women, children, and spouses, uninformed women were drawn to the specific epochs in Ukraine's history and were encouraged to read 'good' books, journals and newspapers (in the Ukrainian language as prescribed by the UWAC Executive).

One of the most important celebrations was Mother's Day. The UWAC, on Savella's initiation, was the first Ukrainian women's organization in the world to honour mother on an annual basis. The Ukrainians in Galicia were introduced to the new holiday by the announcement in the newspaper, *Dilo*, on 5 May 1929, a year later than in Canada.⁶⁰ Initiated in United States, the celebration of Mother's Day began both in United States and Canada in 1914. On May 14, 1928, Savella wrote to her executive extolling the virtues of celebrating Mother's Day, "The celebration of Mother's Day should be one of the most important events. The UWAC should teach women to be good mothers."⁶¹ In the same month, she appealed to the Orthodox priests across Canada to have a service honouring mothers and she wrote to

all the branches suggesting that they celebrate Mother's Day in May. In a letter to the branches, she wrote how schools celebrate Mother's Day, and how fathers and children could honour the mother. Also, she suggested that they ask their parish priest to honour the mother in a service as well as write to the *Ukrainskyi holos* how they celebrated Mother's Day.⁶² She then dedicated the UWAC page to articles on Mother's Day writing an article on the history of Mother's Day, publishing an article written by Taras Shevchenko in the 1800s and poems dedicated to mothers by various authors.⁶³

Aggressively promoting Mother's Day would bring Ukrainians closer to Anglo-Canadian social values. But importantly, the Day would be celebrated in the Ukrainian language in a Ukrainian-Canadian setting. A concert within a Ukrainian context (songs, poems, etc. by Ukrainian authors in the Ukrainian language) was an ideal way of celebration. The children would be proud of their heritage within the Canadian environment - acculturation but not assimilation. Ukrainian Canadians would be like other Canadians but yet not lose their own identity. Mother's Day was to be a character builder for both the mother and her children. The mothers would embrace national consciousness by teaching their children to honour mothers within the Ukrainian context and simultaneously the children would absorb the Ukrainian spirit. The striving to reach these aims would help the mother aspire to higher ideals and impart in her children high ethical and moral principles.

UWAC Feminism

The executive of the UWAC shouldered the difficult task of disseminating cultural and educational information to a far-flung, isolated and unsophisticated audience. They had high expectations of each member to preserve and promote Ukrainian culture, religion, language, tradition and maintain the Ukrainian spirit within the family home. The lack of funds within the entire Ukrainian community prevented the executive from totally fulfilling its mandate and the work proceeded more slowly than hoped.⁶⁴ It was believed that direct personal visits by the executive would be most effective in uniting the women and Savella, as President, visited the branches in Saskatchewan "many times" as well as Ontario and Manitoba.⁶⁵

The UWAC was not philanthropic nor was their direction focussed primarily on economic or emotional aspects of the lives of Ukrainian-Canadian women. Forced early marriages of girls, domestic violence, alcoholism and birth control were of great concern to many practising feminists, but were taboo subjects to Ukrainians in Canada. The Ukrainian cultural moral norms of the day did not allow discussion of these topics. However, at the convention held on 28-30 December 1927, Savella, outlining directives to the women's assembly for the branches of the UWAC to follow, touched upon some of these issues.⁶⁶ One of the subjects dealt with the forming of a benevolent society to help the Ukrainian poor and orphans as it appeared that other nationalities were looking after this problem whereas Ukrainians were not. Another topic she spoke of was the harmfulness of alcoholism. She encouraged women not to have any alcohol at home, to demand that their husbands not drink and to be a good role model by not drinking themselves. She spoke of the working mothers in cities who needed assistance with day care and she felt that these should be established by Ukrainians for Ukrainians rather than by the host society. These topics were and still are not usually pursued by the UWAC. In reflection, Savella recently asserted that the attitude of Ukrainians was to ignore the subjects of birth control, abuse and alcoholism - it just was not talked about.⁶⁷

Savella Stechishin urged equality for the woman in her role as a community member, but within social maternal parameters. She and the other leading members of the UWAC felt that the woman had no place in the political arena; her sphere was circumscribed by educational and maternal concerns. Men were to direct the Ukrainians in their immediate community as well as nationally. A woman's interests were restricted to the following: having knowledge of Ukrainian culture and history so as to educate her children in Ukrainianness; keeping a 'Ukrainian home' by the observance of Ukrainian holidays and visible Ukrainian symbols, i.e., Ukrainian embroidery and artifacts; actively participating within her ethnic community to perpetuate a Ukrainian environment for her children; contributing to the mainstream community; encouraging her children to achieve higher

learning; being educated herself and very importantly, presenting a respectable image to the host society and thereby gaining acceptance as a legitimate and deserving citizen of Canada.

This reflected the mandate of the middle-class intelligentsia and presumably Savella believed that at the same time the aforementioned roles would achieve self-fulfilment for the woman. The roles as prescribed by Savella fit the desired Ukrainian-Canadian woman as a community heroine suggested by historian Frances Swyripa. Swyripa proposes that the community heroine was to be the following: educated, a community activist (in her Ukrainian and mainstream communities), a good 'Ukrainian' mother and above all be the preserver and promoter of Ukrainianness.⁶⁸ This defines Savella as a community heroine in the sphere of social maternal feminism.

ENDNOTES

1. Yanda, *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni 1916-1941 (Jubilee Book of Twenty-five Years of the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941)*, 314.
2. Autobiography, 61.
3. Cited in Frances Swyripa, "Nation-Building into the 1920s: Conflicting Claims on Ukrainian Immigrant Women," in *Continuity and Change*, 148.
4. Stechishin, "Tovarystvo mohylyanok" in *Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly*, 303.
5. Olha Swystun, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 5 February 1919.
6. Stechishin, "Tovarystvo mohylyanok" in *Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly*, 303.
7. Natalia Kobrynska, in the early 1890s, was the first Ukrainian feminist to advance the idea that "educated women made better mothers." See Appendix A for more information.
8. Kohuska, *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 18.
9. Stechishin, "Pochatky zasnovannya Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady" in *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 7.
10. Ibid. There was direct contact with the Local Council of Women in 1930 but Mohyliancky may have had knowledge of the Council in 1926.
11. Personal correspondence, 20 January 1997.
12. See Chapter 5, Endnote 11 for more information on Kysilevska.
13. Stechishin, "Pochatky zasnovannya Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady" in *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 7.
14. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves*, 152.
15. Ibid., 157-8.
16. Stechishin, "Tovarystvo Mohylyanok -Uholinia Kamiin Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady" ("Mohyliancky Society - The Cornerstone, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada") in *Iuvileina knyha*, 304.
17. Ibid.
18. Autobiography.
19. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 605.
20. Most of these young women were taking classes in higher learning and were much more educated than the average Ukrainian-Canadian woman. Anna Stasiv (nee Chepesiuk) of Fort William was an active and supportive Mohyliancka of a national women's organization and in teacher training. Maria Maduka was a former student of Mohyla Institute, had been a member of a women's society in Keld, Manitoba where she had taught school and now was teaching school in Vonda, Saskatchewan. At this time her husband was boarding at the Institute taking an agriculture course at the University and she visited him on weekends.

Source: Savella Stechishin, Autobiography, 58.

Olha Swystun had been the first Ukrainian woman in Canada to publicly support equality for women in her role in her ethnic community and in her home, and had been the first president of the UWAC (as previously discussed). She was a leading member in the Ukrainian women's community in Winnipeg.

21. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 152.

22. The Ukrainian word *Soiuz* can be translated into English as 'Union' or 'Association.' In North America, the word 'Association' is used while in Europe, it is translated into English as 'Union.' In Ukraine, there were existing clubs which 'united' to form a Union of Ukrainian Women. In North America, one club was formed and then other 'branches' were formed with the expressed plan to join (become associated with) and form a part of one organization.

23. Autobiography, 64.

24. Rev. Vasyl Kudryk was one of the founders, and the first editor of the *Ukrainskyi holos*, one of the founders and ideologists of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, one of the first priests ordained in this church and for many years editor of the official church organ, *Pravoslavnyi vistnyk* (The Orthodox Herald). **Source: Olha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, 91-92 and Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 501.**

25. Autobiography, 66.

26. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytutu*, 304.

27. Olha Woycenko, published in Multilingual Press in Manitoba (date unknown), reprinted in Promin, (3) March 1996, 24.

28. "Idealnay Muzhyna" ("The Ideal Man"), *Ukrainskyi holos*, 29 May 1929.

29. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 604.

30. Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 456-9.

31. Natalia Kohuska became an active member of the UWAC in 1934 when she organized the Lesia Ukrainka branch of the Association in Sioux Lookout, Ontario. She established a close contact with the executive of the Association by often writing to the Association's page in the *Ukrainskyi holos*. In 1942 she was elected president and remained president until 1948. Taking a journalist role in the literary works of the organization, she edited the '*Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*,' 'Forty Years in Retrospect,' 'Twenty-fifth Jubilee Book for CYMK' (Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association) and other publications. In 1960 she became the long time editor of the UWAC magazine, *Promin*.

32. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 606.

33. From the paper by Savella Stechishin cited in Kohuska, 605.

34. Autobiography, 64; *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 89; Kohuska, Forty Years in Retrospect, 7; Kohuska, *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 31. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 606, states that the Kniahynia Olha Women's Association of Winnipeg was one of first branches and omits the Whitkow branch. However, the first four sources listed above state Whitkow Branch and do not make mention of the Winnipeg branch.

35. Autobiography.
36. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 607.
37. Stechishin, "Obhrad 10-littia pratsi Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady 1926-1937" in *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 16.
38. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 608.
39. Ibid.
40. Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 495.
41. Anonymous, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 930.
42. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 620. Throughout the history of the UWAC, Saskatchewan has led in the number of branches. In 1945 the number of branches was as follows: British Columbia - 1, Alberta - 18, Manitoba - 22, Ontario - 14, Quebec - 1. By 1976 the increase in branches was recorded in the above history book as follows: Saskatchewan - 39 branches, Alberta - 23, Manitoba - 22, British Columbia - 10, Eastern Canada (Ontario & Quebec) - 19. There are no branches nor has there ever been in the Atlantic Provinces or the Territories.
43. See Appendix C, Table of Activities of various branches.
44. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 611.
45. Ibid., 612.
46. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 15. Savella mentions Onufrey Ewach and John Danylchuk, members of the intelligentsia, helped to type and duplicate material for dissemination of information of the UWAC.
47. Autobiography, 67.
48. Daria Yanda, "Vplyb mohylianky na ukrainskyi kulturno-organizatsynyi zhyttia v Kanadi" (The Influence of the Mohylianky on the Cultural Lives of Ukrainian-Canadian Women). In *Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petro Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941 (Jubilee Book of Twenty-five Years of the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941)* Saskatoon: Petro Mohyla Institute, 1945, 315.
49. The USRL ideology embodies the following slogans:
- "a) SELF-RESPECT, which means exemplary and worthy of respect conduct of each individual in all phases of life.
- b) SELF-RELIANCE which means that each individual, each community and each racial or ethnic group, and particularly the Ukrainian group, should learn to rely upon its own human, intellectual, spiritual and material resources, and to develop them to the fullest extent for the common good. Only such development can lead to a mutual friendly interdependence without servility or a feeling of inferiority.
- c) SELF-HELP, which means that an individual or the group he belongs to is truly free and deserving respect only when, individually and collectively, they have initiative and dynamic will to plan, and to carry out those plans without coercion or outside help."
- Source: W. Burianyk, S.U.S. Its Meaning and Significance (Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1967), 14.

50. Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), 181.

51. Julian Stechishin, A History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, v.

52. Ibid., 190.

53. Ibid.

54. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, Circular #2, April 1978.

55. The following organizations became a part of the USRL and affiliated with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (1926), the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (1931), Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association of Canada (1938), the Ukrainian Museum of Canada (1936), the Union of Ukrainian Community Centres and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League Foundation. Two residences were also associated: Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute of Saskatoon and St. John's Ukrainian Institute of Edmonton and in the 1960s, St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Institute of Toronto was built to round off the entire USRL family. Source: W. Burianyk, S.U.S. - Its Meaning and Significance, 13.

56. Kohuska, Forty Years in Retrospect, 9.

57. Archives of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Daughters of Ukraine, Regina. *Persha Recordova Knyzhka, 1927-28 (First Record Book 1927-28)*, 6.

58. Maria Korpan, interview, 27 October 1994, Regina.

59. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 616. Kohuska omitted Mother's Day in May, but this was an important occasion.

60. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 194.

61. NAC MG30, D389, Vol. 7, File 12. Savella Stechishin, letter to the National Executive namely, Mrs. Kroitor, Swystun, Sawchuk, Maduke, Slusar and Miss Romanchych, 14 May 1928; Kohuska, *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 47-48.

62. NAC, Savella Stechishin, letter to branches, 4 May 1928; letter to Orthodox priests in Canada, 6 May 1928.

63. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 9 May 1928, 19.

64. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 608.

65. Ibid., 743; Redfield-Richard history, 929 and *Zoloty vinets (Kanoril)*, 218 record Savella's visits.

66. NAC MG30 D389 Vol 6 File 8, Report by Savella Stechishin to Ukrainian Orthodox National Convention, 28-30 December 1927.

67. Stechishin, interview.

68. Frances Swyrypa, "Baba and the Community Heroine. The Two Images of the Ukrainian Pioneer Woman," Alberta, 2 (1), 60-66.

CHAPTER 5

REACHING ACROSS THE SEA

The late 1920s and early 1930s were challenging years for Ukrainian women in both Canada and Ukraine. Savella believed it her duty to help the less fortunate women in Ukraine and at the same time, to lead the women in Canada to a higher status both within their communities and nationally. She, together with women activists in Ukraine, developed a synergistic relationship to ameliorate the conditions for Ukrainian women on both sides of the Atlantic. It was also important to advance the arts normally performed by women, and not only help in the retention of an age old craft, but instill a pride in one's heritage as well as a self-pride. This chapter will deal with these activities and the links that were built between the 'motherland' and the diaspora.

The Role Played by a Ukrainian Activist Emigre

In the 1920s, educated and community active emigres were fleeing Ukraine and settling in the diaspora. One such emigre was Kharytia Kononenko, an active participant in the women's movement in Eastern Europe and a family member of Ukrainian nationalists in Ukraine.¹ Before coming to Canada in 1924, she had graduated from the university in Prague. In Saskatoon, she hoped to study English and complete her graduate work. During her stay in Saskatoon, she lived at Mohyla Institute and participated in the Mohylianky's evening gatherings. Aware of her background and her knowledge of the women's movement in Ukraine, Savella invited her to explain the movement and its aims to the young women at Mohyla with the hope that a women's organization in Saskatoon would follow a similar path. Rather than turning to the example of the women's movement in Canada, Savella decided to look towards the homeland of her ancestors.

Soiuz Ukrainok (Union of Ukrainian Women) in Western Ukraine and the *Ukrainskyi Zhinochyi Soiuz* (Ukrainian Women's Society) in Czechoslovakia exerted a great deal of energy in helping Ukrainian women in Western Ukraine. Kononenko had been associated directly and indirectly with both these organizations and she became the first link between the Ukrainian women and the women in Canada of Ukrainian descent. It was she to whom Sofia Rusova, the leading Ukrainian woman activist/feminist, appealed for financial aid. Rusova

in 1925 wrote to Kononenko in Saskatoon asking to help cover the financial expenses of the Ukrainian delegates who hoped to attend the Congress of the International Women's Council to be held in Washington in May 1925.² In her article "*Do Ukrainiskukh Zhinok v Kanady i Ameritsi*" (To Ukrainian Women in Canada and America), Kononenko, as President of the Olha Kobylianska Women's Association in Saskatoon, requested the subscribers of *Ukrainskyi holos* to aid the Ukrainian women financially.³ Appealing for donations, she, as president and Savella, as secretary, wrote,:

K. Kononenko, as President of the Olha Kobylianska Association, has received a plea from Mrs. S. Rusova which we are putting before you. We think that this plea will find sympathy with Ukrainian women, and that you all understand that our sisters in the Old Country need help in their patriotic work. We think that it would be shameful not to help them at least materially because a great deal of their energies are expended for the good of our native land. It will not be difficult for us to give a dollar for we do not even mind wasting it, but there this dollar will greatly help these patriotic women in their honourable work, and . . . in the name of Sofia Rusova, who all her life has worked for her countrymen, who was not afraid of Russian prisons nor Bolshevik arrests but always works for the national cause. Ukrainian women in Saskatoon have taken upon themselves the leadership role in this task in Canada and are turning to everyone regarding this urgent request to help those in their patriotic cause.⁴

Kononenko and Savella's expectation of one dollar to the Ukrainian cause was a onerous burden on the women in Canada. A modest amount was collected and sent to Rusova. At this time poverty on the farms was still not uncommon. In the early 1920s, Ukrainian farm labourers seeking employment during the harvest in southwestern Manitoba, North Dakota, southern Saskatchewan or south central Alberta earned \$240 for two or three months of backbreaking work.⁵ In Winnipeg (Saskatoon would be comparable) the weekly salary for a female domestic was \$9.00, charwomen earned \$9-\$10.00 weekly, while waitresses earned about \$10.00.⁶ There were few professional Ukrainians in Canada, and very few of them were women. For example, the first Ukrainian female to graduate from a university in Canada was in 1923. Up to the 1930s, Winnipeg was the home to the only two fully qualified Ukrainian urban public school teachers in Canada, both women.⁷ These statistics show that the majority of Ukrainian families in Canada, and more particularly in Saskatchewan, did not have a dollar to waste since their annual income was most likely below

the poverty line. The above plea did not recognize the financial hardship which a large portion of the Ukrainian Canadian population were enduring.

Exchanging Ideas with Women Activists in Ukraine

The bi-monthly women's magazine from Kolomyia, Ukraine, *Zhinocha dolia* (Women's Fate) first published in 1924⁸ and *Nova khata* (The New Home), a monthly, from the City of Lviv, Ukraine, published by the *Ukrainske Narodne Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Folk Arts Council) in 1923 had been subscribed by Petro Mohyla Institute. Because of Savella's intense interest in Ukrainian handicraft, *Nova khata* was invaluable for its information and description of Ukrainian handicraft and culture. By 1925 Savella began corresponding with the editors of both magazines.⁹ She corresponded regularly until the early 1930s with the editor of *Zhinocha dolia*, Olena Kysilevska. By the middle of the 1930s, communication ceased due to Polish pacification of Ukrainians and subsequent Soviet occupation.

Historian Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak writes of Olena Kysilevska as an important feminist in the development of a higher standard of living for Ukrainian peasant women. Kysilevska was instrumental in organizing women co-operatives where women could sell the products of their cottage industry (i.e., handicrafts, eggs, butter). Through her magazine she provided the village women with information to improve housekeeping, nutrition and to take an effective public role.¹⁰ Olena Kysilevska became politically active and was first elected to the Polish senate in 1928 (Western Ukraine was under the dominance of Poland at this time).¹¹

Bohachevsky-Chomiak does not make any reference to the immeasurable help Kysilevska received from Savella Stechishin or Canadian women. She does not acknowledge their financial contribution through subscriptions and purchase of embroideries or moral support by writing columns in their magazines and/or writing personal letters.

In a letter dated 1 January 1926, Olena Kysilevska thanks Savella for successfully encouraging Ukrainian women in Canada to subscribe to her magazine.¹² By doing so, the Ukrainian Canadian women were not only profoundly helping the magazine, but ultimately women in Ukraine both materially and morally. She also requests Savella to write about the

Canadian way of life. Since women in Ukraine were keen to learn about life in the diaspora, Savella's article would be then published in her magazine.

It is obvious in perusing the collection of letters from Kysilevska to Savella that Savella is heeding the wishes of Kysilevska to increase the circulation of *Zhinocha dolia* in order to make the magazine profitable.¹³ Kysilevska writes early in their exchange: "You give our publication a lot of help."¹⁴ This collection of personal correspondence is made up almost exclusively of letters from Ukraine to Savella; correspondence by Savella is not available.¹⁵ Unfortunately, it is not until 16 May 1928 that Savella's correspondence to Kysilevska appears in the collection.

In this personal correspondence, Savella has been forwarding the monies for subscriptions and in some cases, the Canadian women themselves have sent prepayment of the subscription (Kysilevska preferred prepayment).¹⁶ Also, Kysilevska sent Savella cookbooks and almanacs to be sold in Canada. The proceeds of the sale of the books would be added profit for *Zhinocha dolia* and help Kysilevska in her work with the women. In a letter dated 15 April 1926, Kysilevska requests that various cookbooks be sold for \$.25 and \$.75 each and the enclosed articles of embroidery cost \$3.00 each.¹⁷ In 9 September 1926, she complies with a request from Savella: "Yes, a primary textbook will be sent to you."¹⁸ Kysilevska also reveals the prevailing atmosphere in Ukraine,

The women's organization in Ukraine has no direction, is not on the patriotic path. You help us more with the subscriptions than our own Ukrainian people. Thanks for the *Ukrainskyi holos*, we enjoy your column and kind words. We will listen to your direction.¹⁹ [Author's emphasis.]

Whether Kysilevska, an educated and dynamic woman, actually 'listens' to Savella's direction or is merely saying this for the purpose of encouraging Savella to sell more subscriptions, books and embroideries for her is unknown. She does appear to be open to suggestions because she asks Savella: "How do the women like our little journal? Do you have any ideas for improvement?"²⁰

Bohachevsky-Chomiak explains that Kysilevska introduced 'home economics' to the village women in the late 1920s. The period coincides with the exchange of letters with

Savella. In December 1927, Kysilevska writes, "I would be pleased to hear further about household science. We don't have classes like that in Ukraine."²¹ Presumably, Savella had written to Kysilevska about the household science classes she studied in school and that these were helpful to women in Canada and would be useful in Ukraine. A few months later, Kysilevska again reaffirmed the lack of these types of classes in Ukraine: "No one teaches our children here in Ukraine about home economics, household management, marriage relationships. There is nothing like this in our schools and universities. Again, please write about these issues and we will publish them in our almanac."²² By December 1928, Kysilevska had become almost desperate,

I have not heard from you. Could you please write 2 or 4 columns and put them in an envelope? I would like to publish your articles. Please write. We desperately need information about women in Canada and America. Please don't forget us. Is the *Zhinocha dolia* not helpful to your women's movement in Canada? Write about the popular home economics or about anything. You promised this.²³

While going to university and writing exams, Savella wrote articles for *Zhinocha dolia* trying to help educate and lift the spirits of the women in Ukraine. She wrote of the work of Mohyla Institute and the Mohylianky in the first Calendar-Almanac published by Kysilevska in 1927. Years later Savella remembers: "I was truly elated that O. Kysilevska considered me good enough to write an article to such a prestigious publication."²⁴ Women in Ukraine were hungry for news of life in Canada. Kysilevska also requested Savella on numerous occasions to ask the Mohylianky and the youth in Canada to write to her so that she could publish their letters in *Zhinocha dolia*. It was hoped that a pen pal relationship could be established between the youth of Ukraine and of Canada.

Savella greatly aided the women in Ukraine by selling their embroidered articles in Canada. In early 1927, Kysilevska suggests that "Together with *Nova khata*, we can export all kinds of embroideries: blouses, tablecloths, runners, different kinds of embroideries which are characteristic of Ukrainian designs."²⁵ On 1 April 1927, Kysilevska sent Savella some embroidered aprons with the hope that the Mohylianky would buy them. The cost for white aprons was \$2.25 and \$3.00 with gold thread. She further asks whether other women would

buy these articles and lists the various articles and whether Savella could inquire from the Canadian women what they specifically want:

We could send you runners, aprons, curtains, for *rushnyky* icons, many patterns - Hutzul (a region in Ukraine). Factories make some embroideries but we want to help the women who embroider handicraft. Also, blouses, men and women's shirts, pillowcases. If you like them, we can have various patterns of stitches made. We will have women embroider these specifically. Material here is not good for embroidery. It must be ordered from Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia. The cost is expensive at \$3.50. Let us know the patterns and colours you would like. I cannot send the book of patterns but we would like to send the embroidery. Sending parcels is expensive so can you advise us precisely what can be sold in Canada? We can embroider men's ties but what for women? We are pleased that there are so many young people active in Canada. This is truly a good thing. Canada is much further ahead than America."²⁶

An example of the financial assistance Savella was providing is in the December 1927 letter in which Kysilevska encloses an invoice in the amount of \$48.66 Canadian for the embroidered articles. This was in part as follow: napkins with tablecloth (cross stitched) - \$10.92, napkins with tablecloth (nyzynka stitch, expensive fabric) - \$13.32; cross stitched men's shirt - \$4.03; men's tie - \$1.04.²⁷ After the sale of these items, Savella would send the proceeds to Kysilevska who had had established a women's co-operative in her district.

Ideas were exchanged. On the one hand, Savella suggested ideas and helped Kysilevska and, on the other hand, Kysilevska advised Savella. Kysilevska expresses her belief that "The material help is appreciated but more important is the unity of all our women. We must encourage the union of all Ukrainian women regardless of their background."²⁸ Savella endorses this sentiment in her newspaper articles as well as advocating this theme of unity in her vision of a national women's organization in Canada.²⁹ Also, Savella in May 1928, confirms Kysilevska's influence: "We are grateful to *Zhinocha dolia* which has given us the inspiration to organize our women."³⁰ The 1928 Calendar-Almanac of the *Zhinocha dolia* carried an article with an accompanying photograph of the first organization of Ukrainian women in Canada at the Ukrainian National Convention in Saskatoon in 1926. In doing this, the publishers recognized the new organization was important enough to inform the public in Ukraine of the advancements made by Ukrainians in the diaspora. Knowledge

that Ukrainian women in a distant country cared deeply about and actively pursued Ukrainian interests, the publishers hoped, would give the women in Ukraine additional motivation to become more participatory in their communities.

By 1929 there is scant correspondence. This lack of correspondence is due to Savella's commitments to her university studies, her volunteer work with the UWAC and involvement with the Ukrainian community in Saskatoon. Savella at this time was studying for her Bachelor of Arts degree, bringing up her son, teaching Ukrainian literature twice a week at Mohyla Institute, singing in the church choir and was national president of the Ukrainian Women's Association. As president she was responsible for writing articles for and editing of the UWAC page of the *Ukrainskyi holos* and preparing speeches when invited to speak throughout Saskatchewan.³¹

Another reason for limited correspondence between them was Kysilevska's illness and the death of her husband, as well as the unsettled political situation. At the beginning of the Polish pacification of Ukrainians in early 1929, Olha Basarab, a well-known Ukrainian woman activist, was killed by the Poles (see Appendix B for more information on Basarab). Kysilevska writes pessimistically: "Basarab is killed. I don't know what will happen next. Not many from overseas are buying our almanac. If our own don't buy it, it will be a catastrophe. We are putting our fate in your hands."³² [Emphasis added] Kysilevska in desperation places a heavy burden on the shoulders of 26-year-old Savella with this appeal for financial and spiritual help.

After Kysilevska's visit to Canada and America at the end of 1929, no correspondence has been filed in the National Archives collection. However, Savella did write about the women's movement in Canada in the Calendar-Almanac of the *Zhinocha dolia*. In the article, she illuminates the beginnings and direction of the Ukrainian Women's Association, the role Mohylianky have and do play and writes of her proposed '*Plan roboty dlya viddiliv, Soiuzu Ukrainy Kanady*' (Plan of Activities for Branches, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada).³³

During the years 1929 to 1931, Savella corresponded with another educated outstanding Ukrainian woman activist, Zinaida Mirna, an emigre living in Prague.³⁴ Again, Savella sold embroidered articles to aid women in Ukraine. She now added another source from which to purchase embroidered articles for sale in Canada. Mirna sent Savella handicraft articles embroidered by Ukrainian women university students badly in need of financial help.³⁵ To return the favour, Mirna agreed to write articles, for a fee, in the UWAC Section of the *Ukrainskyi holos*. The addition of articles by an educated Ukrainian woman from overseas added prestige to this page and gave credibility to the UWAC amongst Ukrainian Canadians. At this time, because Savella's name was listed as a Canadian correspondent in the *Zhinocha dolia*, she received letters from authors wanting her to sell their books in Canada and others who wanted to know about Canadians.³⁶

Savella's actions reaffirm her commitment to observe the principles of social maternal feminism. Deeply committed to improving the lives of women living in Ukraine, she was also dedicated to fostering Ukrainian heritage and in this way, inculcating self-pride and self-worth in the women of Ukrainian descent in Canada. She believed these two objectives to be congruently intertwined, operating in tandem. The trip to Ukraine which she and Julian took during this time, reinforced her commitment.

A Visit to the Homeland

In the spring of 1928 Julian and Savella left Canada for a visit to Europe and Western Ukraine. This was a business trip but they also took the opportunity to visit their families. Julian had a number of business quests: buy books and archival material for Mohyla Institute, seek out theology students (Greek Catholic) who opposed celibacy and wanted to come to Canada to be ordained as Orthodox married priests, and get acquainted with Ukrainian activists who were aggressively promoting nationalism. Savella took the opportunity to make contact with the leading Ukrainian women activists.³⁷

Because Julian corresponded with Ukrainian activists in Ukraine and in the diaspora, they met with all the leading members of the Ukrainian society. In Paris they brought greetings to the widow of Simon Petliura, and met with political refugees and members of the

government-in-exile. They travelled through Switzerland and on to Austria where Ukrainian organizations flourished and Ukrainian language newspapers were published. The government-in-exile of Western Ukraine was headquartered in Vienna and it was the centre of the propagation for an independent Ukraine. After Vienna, they visited Prague, Czechoslovakia where a vibrant Ukrainian emigre colony of writers, poets, scholars, students, artists, and ex-politicians thrived. Many Ukrainian students studied Ukrainian language and literature at the Prague University. Here, Savella met Zinaida Mirna, the outstanding Ukrainian woman activist/feminist, with whom she had exchanged letters.

Upon arrival in Ukraine, Savella met the women with whom she had been corresponding. She visited the offices of *Nova khata* in the city of Lviv, and members of its publishing company, *Ukrainske Narodne Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Folk Arts Council), a women's co-operative.³⁸ A reporter of *Nova khata* interviewed her and this interview was published shortly thereafter.³⁹ Also in Lviv, *Soiuz Ukrainok* requested she address their organization describing life in Canada. An announcement of the upcoming address was published in the daily paper, *Dilo*.⁴⁰ It was well attended as the Ukrainians were very much interested in life in Canada. Savella recalls that the audience were made up mostly of older people and they were surprised at such a young serious activist (she was twenty-five years old).⁴¹ The fact that the Stechishins were given this high profile, indicated that the Ukrainians respected them and believed them to be influential members of the Ukrainian Canadians.

In Kolomyia, the Stechishins visited Olena Kysilevska, the editor of *Zhinocha doli*. While in this area, Savella was thrilled to meet the revered Ukrainian author, Olha Kobylianska, whose novels she read. Years later Savella remembers that Kobylianska "was greatly surprised that Ukrainians in Canada knew about her and read her novels, and that UWAC branches are named after her."⁴²

To promote the talent and artistry of Ukrainians amongst Canadians, Savella purchased various elegant embroidered articles and intricate woodcarvings to sell in Canada. She also made copious notes of her experiences in Ukraine and about life in general in Ukraine. Upon her return to Saskatoon, she shared her memories with the readers of the *Ukrainskyi holos* in

three instalments.⁴³ She appealed to the Canadian women to pay for subscriptions of the *Zhinocha dolia* to be sent to their relatives in the villages of Ukraine. While visiting the villages in Ukraine, Savella had discovered that the women did not subscribe to this magazine yet there were many helpful hints which would benefit them. Again, she attempted to help women in Ukraine by asking that Canadian women help their poor cousins across the Atlantic and at the same time continue to construct a bridge between the two countries.

Leaders of the women's movement in Ukraine appreciated and acknowledged the generous contribution of the Ukrainian Canadian women. In 1933 the president of the *Soiuz Ukrainok* at a women's convention in Ukraine officially made the resolution that:

The organized women of Halychyna (Galicia) express their warmest gratitude to their sisters, especially to the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, for their material assistance to our organization, for their contribution to the delegates' fund which has allowed us to maintain our ties with international organizations and propagate our cause abroad . . .⁴⁴

In the *Iuvileina knyzhka (Jubilee Book, 10th Year)*, Zinaida Mirna of Czechoslovakia, Olena Kysilevska of Kolomyia, Ukraine and Anastasia Wagner of United States, presidents of their respective women's organizations, brought greetings.⁴⁵ The exchange of correspondence strengthened the ties amongst the Ukrainian women living many miles apart - an important objective of these organizations.

Advancement of Ukrainian Handicraft

For generations Ukrainian embroidery and *pysanky* (Easter eggs)⁴⁶ traditionally were important expressions of art in Ukraine performed almost exclusively by women. These were recognized visible symbols of Ukrainian culture. In due course, Savella and the other women activists would promote these visible symbols to identify Ukrainians as having a culture to be respected. The entire Ukrainian population practised the art of decorating *pysanky*, not one artist or group of artists.⁴⁷ The fine art of painting, sculpturing or drawing was not part of the peasant culture and was unknown other than in the form of iconography as religious icons for churches. It was too expensive an art form for the impoverished peasantry at any rate.

Women chose an art they were familiar with, one which has been passed down over time, and one which was relatively inexpensive and occupied little space.

Savella's interest in Ukrainian embroidery had been piqued in 1923 when an educated immigrant family arrived in Saskatoon and took up residence at Mohyla for about a year. They had brought with them some beautiful Ukrainian embroidered articles. Another immigrant family also arrived bringing with them some embroidery. The families were from different regions and the designs of the embroidery were different, corresponding to their respective regions. The exquisite designs of the various areas kindled Savella's interest in Ukrainian needlecraft and she believed that this embroidery could be appreciated by all Canadians if presented to them. Because Ukraine spans a large geographic area, there are noticeable regional differences in both embroidery and pysanky designs.

In the fall of 1923 Savella introduced a limited Ukrainian embroidery program to the Mohylianky. The first project was for each girl to embroider a blouse she could then wear.⁴⁸ This program carried on until 1925 at which time Mohyla subscribed to *Nova khata*. Savella discovered that *Nova khata* carried informative articles about Ukrainian arts and crafts which included embroidery patterns, *pysanky* patterns and woodcraft. Savella then expanded the program with the help of this information.

Articles embroidered by the Mohylianky were also used to help raise funds for Mohyla Institute. The Mohylianky in 1925 held a bazaar, where they sold some of their embroidery, to financially aid Mohyla Institute which was always cash strapped.⁴⁹ It was difficult for Ukrainians in Canada to financially support this residential school since the average family lived below the poverty line. Donations were solicited from across Canada. Savella remembers: "This bazaar was opened especially to the English public and the bazaar was similar to the style of an English bazaar."⁵⁰ Bazaars were unfamiliar to the Ukrainian people. The profit was an astonishing \$3000.00.⁵¹ The bazaar accomplished the two aims it was intended to: first, it was a successful fundraiser for the Institute and second, it increased the visibility of the Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatoon to the Anglo-Canadian community, demonstrating their wish to be accepted by the mainstream.

The magazine, *Nova khata*, published by the women's co-operative in Lviv (previously noted), advertised articles embroidered by village women for sale. The co-operative established a cottage industry for women on the lower scale in Ukrainian society; educated women did not embroider.⁵² Savella ordered several articles and upon seeing them, other women (Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian) eagerly purchased them. She continued to purchase articles for a number of years.⁵³ On many occasions she displayed her large collection of embroidery when visiting UWAC branches and at the annual conventions. She wrote articles on Ukrainian embroidery which were sent to the branches to help them with initiating projects for their members.⁵⁴ The *Ukrainskyi holos* also carried her articles on embroidery.⁵⁵ The reasons for her committed interest in Ukrainian embroidery were fourfold: the first was her genuine love of the handicraft; second was to give financial aid to Ukrainian women; third, to awaken Ukrainian Canadian women's interest in Ukrainian embroidery and inspire them to have pride in their culture; and fourth, enhance the image, by the beauty and artistry of Ukrainian folk art, of the Ukrainian women in Canada in the eyes of the host society.

To educate the Anglo-Canadian public of the artistry of Ukrainian folk art, Savella would send Ukrainian folk art as gifts to influential people. In 1929, Savella sent a *pysanka* as a gift to the president of University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Murray and his wife.⁵⁶ Anglo-Canadian women were beginning to take an interest in "women who do handicraft work of different kinds, from foreign countries."⁵⁷ The Homemakers' Department of the University of Saskatchewan in 1931 was interested in Ukrainian Canadian women who could provide "demonstration courses in sewing and similar subjects."⁵⁸

As Savella received embroidered articles from the *Ukrainske Narodne Mystetstvo* in Lviv, Ukraine, she was able to quickly sell them to the Anglo-Canadian community. One year she sold three hundred dollars' worth of embroideries.⁵⁹ Violet McNaughton was one of the 'English' women who bought a number of items.⁶⁰ Emmie Oddie of Regina, a former home economist and active member of the Women's Institute, has in her possession some of Violet McNaughton's embroidery. Violet's secretary was Emmie's sister and had inherited these exquisite items which today Emmie treasures.⁶¹

A Museum to House Ukrainian Treasures

In 1922, Dr. Osyp Nazaruk, a Ukrainian activist, had visited Saskatoon and suggested that Mohyla Institute house a museum. He recommended that there be an initiative to collect Ukrainian artifacts brought over by the immigrants before they were destroyed and that a collection of Ukrainian books be included in the museum.⁶² At this time, Rev. Kudryk also encouraged people, in the rural area and in the cities, to collect or donate various artifacts such as embroidered clothing and linens, woodcraft and implements, to Mohyla Institute.⁶³ Alternatively, members of the Ukrainian National Homes located in the bloc settlements were urged to start up their own museums where items could be preserved for future generations. The collection and preservation of their artifacts would give value and pride to their heritage and in turn, to themselves. Many articles had been left to fall into disrepair, destroyed and/or forsaken as many Ukrainian immigrants and their families believed that these vestiges of their culture were an embarrassment. Often they were looked upon by other nationalities as clinging to their backward and unsophisticated ways and thus would not be good contributing Canadian citizens. For those Ukrainians succumbing to discrimination, it was paramount to adopt Canadian dress and values and to Anglo-Saxonize their names - to blend in and be unhyphenated Canadians. They believed life would be easier and they would have more opportunity for material wealth.

In Saskatoon, the organization 'Arts and Crafts' at this time was collecting handicrafts from as many nationalities as possible. In 1923, contact was made between Mohylianky and the Arts and Crafts.⁶⁴ Who made the initial contact is not explained. At any rate, the Mohylianky began collecting handicraft articles such as embroidery and *pysanky*. They also began to set up demonstrations in Saskatoon of decorating *pysanky* and the regional differences in style of Ukrainian folk costumes. Because Ukrainians did not have a well known identity in the 1920s, Ukrainian embroidery was misrepresented as 'Russian' embroidery. It was a difficult task for Savella and the Mohylianky to educate the Anglo-Canadian public and this fuelled the educated Mohylianky to pursue their mission with fervour to enlighten both the Ukrainians and the Anglo-Canadians of the importance of this

skilled, beautifully executed handicraft. To Ukrainians, the elevation of their handicraft from a peasant pastime to an accepted folk art was a means to instill a self-pride in their heritage; in the Anglo-Canadian realm, this elevation was to qualify it as a respected folk art. Ukrainians could then be identified as a cultured people.

While living in Edmonton during the year 1927, Savella, always one to immerse herself in as much Ukrainian culture as possible, took dance lessons with the Avramenko School of Ukrainian Dance.⁶⁵ Vasyl Avramenko was a celebrated dance instructor who had recently immigrated to Canada and opened Ukrainian dance schools across the prairies to teach Ukrainian folk dancing. He demanded the costumes be authentic to each region of Ukraine for particular dances.⁶⁶ Up to his arrival, there was a hodgepodge of styles of Ukrainian costumes and most often the portrayal of costumes was not authentic but a mixture of Ukrainian, Polish, Canadian and whatever was available. Under Avramenko's influence, Savella learned the various styles of costumes relative to different regions. This was an additional stimulus to her developing a keen interest in Ukrainian embroidery and the authenticity of Ukrainian folk costumes.

While taking university classes, Savella took a course in textile art which required a paper be written about folk art. Writing about Ukrainian folk art gave her the opportunity to learn even more.⁶⁷ In the late 1920s and 1930s, she taught embroidery, *pysanka* decorating and Ukrainian folk costuming.⁶⁸ Savella understood the importance of the preservation of Ukrainian folk art and the propagation of embroidery and *pysanky* decorating amongst Ukrainian people in Canada. At the national convention of Ukrainians in Saskatoon in 1927, she expressed the importance of Ukrainian folk arts, how it was falling by the wayside and further that it was being misrepresented as Russian. A collection of Ukrainian folk art was necessary so that the general public would be accurately informed regarding Ukrainian culture.⁶⁹

The germ of the idea of a museum had been implanted by Dr. Nazaruk, as previously mentioned, and Savella built upon this idea. But, it was the University of Saskatchewan Museum that acted as the catalyst that determined that something had to be done about the

uninformed public regarding Ukrainian folk costuming and handicraft. To Savella's chagrin, a Bukovynian folk costume had been labelled 'Austrian.' In order for the Museum to have accurate and appropriate representation of Ukrainian folk art, Savella in 1929, on behalf of the UWAC, presented the Museum Committee with an authentic Ukrainian linen table runner, straw jewellery case and basket.⁷⁰ A concerted effort was begun by the executive of the national Ukrainian Women's Association to collect various handicraft articles to donate to the museum.⁷¹

The National Executive of the UWAC had requested an annual fee of five dollars from each branch to purchase pieces of Ukrainian folk art to be properly labelled to add to the University Museum's collection. However, by 1933 the branches felt this prescribed amount was a financial burden due to the depression. Collection of the fee was discontinued. It was decided at the 1933 national convention that the UWAC should have their own collection at the Mohyla Institute.⁷² The collection of handicrafts, Savella believed adamantly, should be housed somewhere where they could be treated as treasures.

By 1936, a collection was well underway at the Mohyla Institute. In the *Iuvileina knyzhka*, Savella, in her article *Ukrainske Narodne Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Folk Arts), argues the importance of keeping folk costuming authentic and the pride one must have in this inherited art form.⁷³ Also, she emphasizes *ten sposoby plekannya narodnoho mystetstva* (methods of care for folk arts) she sees as necessary to instill a pride and to enlighten Ukrainian women in Canada. These are:

- 1) broaden knowledge of folk art patterns,
- 2) relate patterns to modern household needs and dress,
- 3) collect *pysanky* and folk costumes and then send these to the UWAC for their collection and they will be available to all,
- 4) compulsory subscription to *Nova khata*,
- 5) organize evenings where folk costumes could be worn,
- 6) those individuals who can weave organize workshop,
- 7) organize projects of handicrafts for girls,
- 8) organize project for embroidery,
- 9) organize exhibitions and contests of embroidery, *pysanky*, folk costumes.
- 10) establish museums in Ukrainian community halls.⁷⁴

Savella wrote articles on these topics in the directives to the branches across Canada during her tenure as president 1928-1934 and 1936-37.⁷⁵ She utilized the publication, *Nova khata*, where articles on handicraft topics were written by experts on this subject explaining historical facts together with 'how-to instruction' of the various stitches.⁷⁶

From 1931 to 1933, Savella taught a course in Ukrainian handicraft (embroidery, *pysanky*, folk costumes) and home economics at Mohyla Institute.⁷⁷ The young women who took this course and those in the 1920s, were mostly women attending Normal School. They would go into the bloc settlements to teach school after graduating and would teach the handicraft skills to those in their area. This was a successful method of raising the awareness of Ukrainian folk arts to Ukrainian people and possibly have a rippling effect touching non-Ukrainians as well. As a teaching aid and for general interest, Savella in 1937 put out a brochure titled *Ukrainskyi narodnyi stryi* (Ukrainian National Costumes).

Under Savella's leadership and in her capacity as president, the National Executive officially opened the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in 1936. The ideal location for the Museum was the Petro Mohyla Institute which was already imbuing a national spirit and had become an important centre for Ukrainians on the prairies. It was also the location of the national office of the UWAC. Additionally, due to the large Ukrainian population in the surrounding bloc settlements, artifacts could be drawn from a large pool by way of donations.

Savella and the intelligentsia believed that Ukrainians could be good Canadians without discarding the cultural baggage they had brought with them. Because embroidery and *pysanky* decorating traditionally were in the women's realm, Savella wanted to revive interest in this age old art form amongst women. She deemed it her mission to insist that this folk art be recognized as a genuine art form and thus acceptable to the host society at a time when the host society regarded Ukrainian folk art to be inferior. Once women developed an interest and a passion for their cultural folk art and understood that it was an honourable art form, they would take pride in their culture. Ultimately she hoped this would generate a self-pride and confidence. In achieving self-assurance and a more desirable image in the eyes of the broader society, an equality with women of the host society would become a reality.

In order for Ukrainian Canadians to climb the social ladder, it was important for the host society to acknowledge and appreciate Ukrainian folk art. In this respect Savella, personally, and using the vehicle of the UWAC, sought to highlight a woman's traditional activity: embroidery and *pysanky* decorating. The ancient forms of folk art could be appreciated by people from all walks of life, crossing all cultural boundaries. These visible symbols could validate the Ukrainian peoples as having a culture to be respected and appreciated by all Canadians.

Promoting Ukrainian folk crafts, Savella believed, would improve the lives of women in Ukraine. Ukrainian-Canadian women, by buying the embroideries, directly helped the women in Ukraine materially; and indirectly this interest lifted the morale of their Ukrainian sisters. Savella and other Canadian women of Ukrainian descent, in a distant free and democratic land, did not abandon the less fortunate women in Ukraine. On the other hand, the women activists in Ukraine aided the Ukrainian-Canadian women by sending them the various embroidered articles and books, thus providing the necessary materials needed to demonstrate the artistry of Ukrainian folk art. This 'evidence' legitimized the Ukrainians in Canada as having a history and tradition worthy of acceptance as a cultured people in Canadian society. Written articles in the *Ukrainskyi holos* by the prominent Ukrainian women activists also lent more credibility to the UWAC and their ideology amongst the Ukrainians in Canada. The synergetic relationship which was initiated by Savella, benefited Ukrainian women in both countries.

ENDNOTES

- 1.Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 601.
- 2.Ibid.
- 3.Kharytia Kononenko, President and Savella Stechishin, Secretary, "*Do Ukrainiskukh Zhinok v Kanady i Ameritsi*" (To Ukrainian Women in Canada and America), *Ukrainskyi holos*, 18 February 1925, 4.
4. Ibid.
- 5.Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 82.
- 6.Ibid., 134.
- 7.Ibid., 137.
- 8.Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 159.
- 9.Stechishin, autobiography, 69.
- 10.Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 159-161.
- 11.Dennis Sowtis and Myron Momryk, "Biographical Sketch of Olena Kysilewska (1869-1956)," in The Olena Kysilewska Collection, Research Report No. 12, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1985, 7. Kysilewska was decorated with the Cross of Merit by the Red Cross for her work with the Red Cross during the First World War. Writing under a pen name, her first book was published in 1910. She published a Ukrainian women's monthly magazine, *Zhinocha volia* (Women's Will), and visited many European countries to study the development of women's movements. In 1948, she emigrated to Canada and was elected first president of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations and held this position until her death. She remained in Canada until her death.
- 12.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 13, Olena Kysilewska letter to Savella Stechishin, 1 January 1926.
- 13.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 15. Savella Stechishin, Directive to all Branches to subscribe to the *Zhinocha dolia*, 30 May 1928.
- 14.NAC, Kysilewska letter to Stechishin, 9 September 1926.
- 15.In my personal communication with Savella Stechishin (1 February 1997), she stated that she did not keep copies of her early letters to the women in Ukraine.
- 16.NAC, MG30 D389, File 15, Olena Kysilewska to Savella Stechishin, personal correspondence. Letters dated 4 April, 15 April, 20 August, 9 September, 10 October 1926; 29 February, 1 April, 22 April, 8 August, 20 September, 14 October, 12 December 1927; 8 May 1929.
NAC, MG30 D389, File 13: 18 December 1928; 18 March, 25 May, 6 June 1929.
- 17.NAC, MG30 D389 File 13, Olena Kysilewska, 15 April 1926,
- 18.Ibid., 9 September 1926.

- 19.Ibid.
- 20.Ibid.
- 21.Ibid., 12 December 1927.
- 22.NAC, File 15. Ibid., 8 May 1918.
- 23.Ibid., 18 December 1928.
- 24.Stechishin, autobiography, 70.
- 25.Kysilevska, 29 February 1927.
- 26.Ibid., 1 April 1927.
- 27.Ibid., 12 December 1927.
- 28.Ibid., 20 August 1926.
- 29.See Chapter 3, this thesis.
- 30.Stechishin, letter to Kysilevska, 16 May 1928.
- 31.Stechishin, autobiography, 73.
- 32.Kysilevska, 18 March 1929. Bold by author.
- 33.NAC, Vol. 6, File 13. Savella Stechishin, "*Zhinochy rukh v Kanady*" (The Women's Movement in Canada) in the Calendar-Almanac of the *Zhinocha dolia*, Kolomyia, Ukraine, 1929.
- 34.Zinaida Mirna, an activist and a member of the intelligentsia, was descendant of the Kuban Cossacks. She was a board member of the Kiev Branch of the Russian Society for the Protection of Women, founded in 1900. The Kiev branch was composed of members of the intelligentsia dedicated to helping the poor.
- 35.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 13. Savella Stechishin letter to Zinaida Mirna, 6 June 1929; Zinaida Mirna to Savella Stechishin, 20 January, 2 April, 22 May 1929, 19 July 1931 and one postcard undated.
- 36.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 13. I. Zubenko, Kolomyia, Ukraine, 5 August 1927; Khartia Hrynyvychova, Lviv, Ukraine, 10 November 1928, 18 February 1929, 14 April 1929, 27 January 1931; Ostap Bondarovich, 18 October 1927.
- 37.Stechishin, autobiography, 78-84.
- 38.Ibid., 92.
- 39.NAC, Vol. 1, File 2. Olena Zalizniak, "*Zist z Kanady*" (Visitor from Canada) in *Nova Khata*, Lviv, Ukraine, October 1928.
- 40.NAC, MG30 D389 Vol. 4, File 13. *Dilo*, Lviv, Ukraine, August 1928.
- 41.Stechishin, autobiography, 105.

42.Ibid., 101.

43.Stechishin, "Uruvku Spomyniv Podorozhi do Ridnoho Krau" (Experiences on the Road to the Homeland) in *Ukrainskyi holos*, 29 May, 6 June and 13 June 1929.

44.Milena Rudnytska, Lviv, 1933. Cited in Natalia L. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 603.

45.*Iuvileina knyzhka*, 39-56.

46.The designs on eggs are applied with a writing tool and dyes, using a wax-resist batik method. The word *pysanky* or singular *pysanka* derives from the word *pysaty*. *Pysaty* is the Ukrainian word 'to write' and the 'decorating' of the egg is therefore correctly termed as 'writing.'

47.Candace Ord Manroe, Decorating Eggs (New York: Crescent Books, 1992), 59; Johanna Luciow, Ann Kmit and Loretta Luciow, Eggs Beautiful. How to Make Ukrainian Easter Eggs (Minneapolis: Ukrainian Gift Shop, n.d.), 13.

48.Stechishin, autobiography, 76.

49.Ibid.

50.Ibid.

51.Ibid.

52.NAC. Olena Kysilevska to Savella Stechishin, 8 August 1927.

53.Stechishin, autobiography, 77.

54.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 7, File 15. Savella Stechishin, *Z Istori Ukrainskukh Vyshyvok* (History of Ukrainian Embroidery), 1929; *Ukrainske Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Folk Art) date unknown; *Ukrainske Ruchne Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Handicraft), 1937. Other articles were *Pro pysanky* (About Pysanky), *Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Vzory* (Ukrainian National Patterns), *Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Stryi* (Ukrainian National Dress) written between 1928 and 1936. Listed in *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 98.

55.*Ukrainskyi holos Almanakh* 1930.

56.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 15. Christina Murray, Thank-you note, 9 April 1929.

57.NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 15. Anna Martinson of Elbow, Saskatchewan, letter to Mr. Steichisin (sic), Principal Ukrainian Institute, Saskatoon, 30 March 1928.

58.NAC, MG 30 D389, Vol. 4, File 15. Bertha Axner, letter to Mary Maduke who directed it to Savella Stechishin, 16 February 1931.

59.Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytut im. Petro Mohyly*, 301.

60.I was unable to find any reference to the purchase of Ukrainian artifacts in the Violet Clara McNaughton material in the Saskatchewan Archives Board (Finding Aid GS10).

61.Emmie Oddie, personal interview, 4 September 1996.

62. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytut*, 301.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., 302.

65. That year, Julian Stechishin was asked to be interim Director of the Ukrainian residential school, M. Hrushevsky Institute (now St. John's Institute). By the fall of that year, a permanent director was appointed and the Stechishins returned to Mohyla Institute. Savella returned to her studies at the University having been in Edmonton from April (end of exams) to September.

66. Stechishin, autobiography, 113.

67. NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 4, File 18. Savella Stechishin, "The Early History of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada", *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 August 1980. Translated by Andrij Makuch.

68. Ibid

69. Natalka L. Kohuska, "Narodne mystetstvo i muzay Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady" (Folk Art and a Museum of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) in *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 61.

70. Ibid., 62.

71. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 726.

72. Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 August 1980.

73. Stechishin, "Powurennia prohramy Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady na rik 1936-37" (The Broadening of the Program of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada for 1936-37) in *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 82-83.

74. Ibid., 83-84.

75. National Archives, MG30 D389, Vol 6, File 8.

76. Stechishin, autobiography, 115.

77. Udod, Julian W. Stechishin. His Life and Work, 29; Savella Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 13 August 1980.

CHAPTER 6

CRYSTALLIZATION OF SAVELLA STECHISHIN'S GOALS: ACTIVIST, HOME ECONOMIST, JOURNALIST

During the first decade of the UWAC, Savella was president for seven out of the ten years, 1928-1934. In 1935 the National Executive moved to Edmonton to distribute the workload of the women. When the executive relocated to Saskatoon in 1936-1937, she again took over the presidency.¹ She along with her executive implemented the social feminism aims and objectives they strongly believed were necessary to elevate Ukrainian women in Canada. Her career as a home economist involved travelling the bloc settlements in Saskatchewan and so she was perfectly positioned to further her commitment to encourage the self-worth and self-education of all Ukrainian Canadians, particularly in Saskatchewan, and to enhance the image of Ukrainian Canadians in the broader Canadian society.

In the war years, Savella's career as a journalist became more rewarding. Her writings, now paid, were again aimed at helping women of Ukrainian descent in Canada to achieve parity with those in the host society. By writing in Ukrainian language newspapers, she kept the women abreast of the latest methods of preparing foods and ensuring that the family had a healthy diet during rationing. Due to her enlarged family, Savella decreased her voluntary activism with the UWAC.

Guiding a Newly Established Organization

In 1935, to keep continued interest in and a freshness to their programme, the executive compiled a list of the most outstanding Ukrainian authors which was sent to the local branches. The works of these authors were recommended to be purchased for private and community libraries. Children were not forgotten. Suitable children's books and magazines from Ukraine were also recommended to help kindle children's interest in the Ukrainian language.² By 1939, the National Executive stressed that the locals should establish reading circles and to aid the locals, organized a mobile library for use by the branches. All the reading material was exclusively in the Ukrainian language.

Clubs for girls was another important issue and Savella wrote a set of organizing guidelines for girls to follow. She also included suggestions of projects to be undertaken,

most of which were related to Ukrainian embroidery stitches and decorating of *pysanky*.³ Not many girls' clubs were organized since most young people joined the local youth club, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (organized in 1931), which encompassed all those from the ages of 15 to the early 20s. This organization was strongly encouraged and supported by the national UWAC and most branches. A member of the UWAC almost always was an advisor to the youth club. Two girls' clubs had been organized but became defunct by 1936, one in Winnipeg and one at Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon.⁴

The economic crisis of the 'Dirty Thirties' forced the National Executive to review their aims and goals and more specifically, the guidance they were providing to the local branches. Many local branches were not following all the directives of the UWAC. Women had become involved in the building of their community churches and halls. Here, their energies were expended on organizing fundraising events. Food preparation for the many activities fell into the laps of the women in the community. The cumulative effect of personal fiscal constraints due to the depression, the need to build a community for social reasons and the time-consuming domestic chores diverted the women's interest from the enlightenment process of attaining knowledge of Ukrainian literature, history and language and matters pertaining to Ukraine. With the many hardships the rural women encountered, they were often more interested in alleviating some of their drudgery rather than in literary readings.

Author Apolonja Kojder in 1982 recorded the recollections of several Ukrainian Saskatchewan women who lived through the depression. She writes of Maria Kostiuik who arrived in Canada with her husband and infant in 1928. They bought a homestead near Mayfair, Saskatchewan in 1929 and had another child in two years. Because of a shortage of money, Maria spent her time resourcefully by digging up seneca root which grew in abundance on the farm. Maria could earn as much as \$5.00 for a day's work with the price of seneca roots reaching twenty-five cents a pound. Ksenka Dubnyk worked as a 'hired man' during the summer, disking, seeding and stooking for a dollar a day in 1929. The next year she insisted her husband go to seek paid work since their income could not sustain the family.⁵

Poverty ruled the lives of many Ukrainian-Canadian rural women. For example, Dora Chipak in 1930 married wearing the better of her only two dresses.⁶ Many women's interests gravitated to activities dealing with improving their material wealth, homemaking skills and general domesticity. In order to stimulate interest amongst the women, both rural and urban, the National Executive needed to continually come up with new ideas and information.

In support of these needs, Savella Stechishin in 1938, in the capacity of president, travelled to several locals in Saskatchewan in order to analyze the root causes of the problems.⁷ In response, she and the executive attempted to recruit clergymen's wives and female public school teachers to "assume leadership in local women's organizations."⁸ These women were more educated than the average women in the bloc settlements, often had leadership qualities and potentially more disposable time for organizational purposes. Additionally, the executive appealed to all parents to send their children, especially their daughters, to Ukrainian schools and Institutes; they urged that children be educated. It was not unusual for parents in the rural areas to discourage their daughters from obtaining any education higher than grade five or six. They felt that the only future for daughters was marriage and children; education was thus essentially wasted on a girl.

Achieving the Essential Goal of a University Education

As Savella helped to implement the agenda of the UWAC, she was simultaneously educating the Ukrainian-Canadian women in the bloc settlements north and east of Saskatoon in the latest practices of home economics. In 1930, Savella was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Home Economics making her the first Ukrainian-Canadian woman to achieve this degree.

Prior to her receiving her degree, Savella and Julian had to find other accommodation after living at Mohyla for eight years since Julian had resigned from his position as rector of Mohyla in 1929 due to a dispute over the question of religion at the Institute. He demanded that the students devote some time to religion whereas the Board of Directors disagreed. Because they could no longer live at Mohyla, they bought a house in the fall of 1929 for the high price of eight thousand dollars plus having to buy all furnishings as well.⁹ The purchase

was a hardship since they had many debts due to Julian's earlier university days. Also, Savella was unemployed and both were going to university (he to law school). Her parents, unlike many Ukrainians, had enough money to give them four thousand dollars towards the purchase of their home. To help with expenses, her sister, Stephania, and other girls boarded with them.

Savella was so resolute in realizing her dream to graduate with a university degree that the inherent hardships did not deter her. Julian was very supportive of his wife striving toward a university degree. Again, she broke with tradition; few married women attended university in 1930 and even fewer Ukrainian-Canadian women were at universities. She proved that a woman's aspiration for self-fulfilment did not have to cease upon marriage and motherhood. Savella was a liberated women, well ahead of her time and that of the average Ukrainian-Canadian woman.

At her graduation, Savella made history as both the first Ukrainian-Canadian woman to graduate from the University of Saskatchewan and the first Ukrainian- Canadian woman to receive a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Home Economics. Stephania Bubniuk, a member of the National Executive (UWAC), praised Savella's accomplishment in the *Ukrainskyi holos* urging that

Young women who have the opportunity to attain higher learning should use Savella Stechishin as an example, she as a married woman and mother was able to cope with her obligations as wife, mother, homemaker and student . . . For some time Savella Stechishin has been president of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada . . .¹⁰

She added that if more Ukrainians in Canada had a higher education, then other nationalities would look upon them with more respect. Savella was deliberately put on a pedestal as a heroine for young women to emulate. She represented the embodiment of the Ukrainian-Canadian woman as prescribed by the intelligentsia. This model was used to help raise the low status given to Ukrainian Canadians up to that of the average middle-class Anglo-Canadian. Ukrainians had to work twice as hard to get half as far as Anglo-Canadians; they

were decades behind Anglo-Canadians. The idea of the model was not gender or class motivated but group motivated, i.e., with the entire Ukrainian community in Canada in mind.

Savella had admirers who believed she had accomplished a great deal given her circumstances. Anna Epesiuk of Finmark, Ontario¹¹ was one such person, who felt strongly enough to promote Savella in the Canadian arena. In a letter to Savella in 1930 she explained that although she had written to Maclean's Publishing Company suggesting that they write an article in Chatelaine on Savella and her accomplishments, Savella was not chosen.¹² After further correspondence, Savella was selected for the layout on 'Women and Their Work' in Chatelaine in the August 1931 issue which included a writeup as well as a photograph.

Such recognition benefitted not only Savella, but the entire Ukrainian community in Canada - a woman of Ukrainian descent had 'made it' on the national stage. She was seen to be an equal with well-known activists. Savella was one of only four women to be selected. The other women were prominent upper middle-class older women and wives of wellheeled men: Mrs. Gould was wife of Dr. D. Gould of Ontario, her chief interest being the Women's Institute; Mrs. Pierre F. Casgrain, a well-known Quebec feminist, born to a titled family (her father had been knighted) was the wife of a Member of Parliament; and Mrs. David Jamieson, of Ontario, widely known through her husband's prominence as chairman of the Mothers' Allowance Commission and the Old Age Pensions Board, was as well a member of the well-known Bradshaw family.¹³ It is interesting to note the caption under Savella's photograph is "Mrs. Savella Stechishin" and her accomplishments are all her own. Her husband is not mentioned, while in the other three cases, the husband's name (e.g., Mrs. Pierre F. Casgrain) is clearly stated. At this time, the use of the married woman's first name was a break with established tradition.

Acquiring her Chosen Career

While at university, Savella learned that the Homemakers' Department, Department of Women's Work (Extension) at the University of Saskatchewan, was holding an extension class in home economics for Ukrainian-Canadian women, in English. Many of the women did not understand English at all or not well enough to completely take advantage of the class.

With the constant vision of helping her 'sisters,' she offered to teach these women in their own language.¹⁴ After the completion of her classes, Savella approached the dean of her faculty with the idea of going into the rural areas where Ukrainian women resided to teach them the fundamentals of modern home economics which they lacked. She was interested in teaching them the proper methods of food preservation, nutrition, hygiene and meal planning.

Lecturing in the Ukrainian language, she claimed, would be more beneficial because the women would have more understanding and so attendance would be greater. The dean enthusiastically approved the plan and together they presented it to the President of the university, Dr. Murray.¹⁵ Dr. Murray agreed, and Savella was given the responsibility and freedom to develop the program and execute it. On her own initiative, she created a job for herself and, at the same time, was pursuing her goal to help Ukrainian-Canadian women. This proved to be quite an accomplishment for a woman in 1930, especially for a woman who was not a member of the host society but a member of an ethnic minority which was the target of many discriminatory practices in Saskatchewan.

Savella received the required material for her lectures from the Director of the Homemakers' Department, Miss DeLury, and translated it into Ukrainian. The translated material was then mimeographed and prepared for distribution to those who attended her lectures. The lectures and demonstrations incorporated topics on food, nutrition, home decoration and housekeeping efficiency. Under the theme of food and nutrition, the typical programme was as follows:

1. Nutritive elements of fruits, vegetables and milk.
2. The vitamins and their relation to health.
3. Food for the growing child and the school lunches.
4. Inexpensive, healthy and appetizing sandwich fillings (cottage cheese, carrots, etc.).
5. The use of left-over food.
6. Canning and preserving of foods.¹⁶

These topics were ideally suited to the Ukrainian-Canadian women living in the bloc settlements. Their contact with the world outside their settlement was infrequent and they

themselves were unaware of the current information on nutrition, techniques of preparing healthy food effectively and the correct method of food preservation.

Fifty-five sites were selected for Savella to visit and give her lectures in that first summer of 1930. This area spanned north of Saskatoon including Meacham, Wakaw, Hafford and others, east of Saskatoon with Yorkton, Melville, Canora and area and in southern Saskatchewan taking in Bienfait, and the Moose Jaw area. The question of transportation had to be answered. How was she to get to all of those many towns and villages in one summer? Savella and Julian pragmatically tackled the problem of transportation: "Julian bought a new coupe car for us and I was to use it for my trips. I learned to drive it without difficulty."¹⁷ Julian was always there to help his wife not only in a supportive role, but also instrumentally in surmounting obstacles put in her path. They both proved to be unique people for the times.

In 1930 it was not 'normal' for a Canadian woman to have the determination to travel alone in the countryside teaching women the benefits of home economics. On the other hand, the average Canadian man did not regard his wife's vision important enough to warrant the purchase of a car for her exclusive use in her pursuits away from the home a week at a time and leaving her child and husband behind.

Another problem arose which they took care of in a practical way was child care for their son, Anatole. Julian, as a law student, was hired along with others to travel throughout rural communities in Saskatchewan monitoring the conditions and developmental progress of the people.¹⁸ Fortuitously, a young couple with whom they were acquainted needed accommodation in Saskatoon while the young husband went to university. The Stechishins agreed to rent them their house on the condition that the woman stay at home to care for their son for the month of June. For the months of July and August, he was looked after by Savella's parents at the farm.¹⁹ Savella and Julian along with their son met at weekends.

On 11 June Anastasia Ruryk, a member of the National Executive of the UWAC, wrote in the *Ukrainskyi holos* in celebration of Savella's graduation as the first woman of Ukrainian descent to graduate as a home economist.²⁰ She also mentions that Savella will be visiting various districts giving lectures on nutrition, preparation of healthy food and proper

methods of preserving foods and that the branches of the UWAC should invite Savella to lecture. The *Ukrainskyi holos* upon Savella's request, carried the dates and places where she was to visit. To ensure that the women in the area were aware of her visit, she informed the teacher in the area or the president of the UWAC (most often there was a UWAC branch) requesting that they disseminate the news.²¹ Savella was the ideal person for this work since she personally knew a great number of the teachers and members of the UWAC in the bloc settlements. A large percentage of these women had passed through the halls of Mohyla Institute; Savella would have either instructed them at Mohyla or had encouraged them to participate in the work of the UWAC. The cost of accommodation on the lecture tours was minimal since she was able to stay with friends in all the districts she visited.

In her report of expenditures to the Homemakers' Department during her first month, June 1930, she travelled a total of 869 miles, recorded the days of service as 24, and the cost of supplies bought for demonstrations as \$2.66. This expense included \$1.96 for tomatoes, jar rings, etc, \$.50 for writing paper and envelopes and \$.20 for stamps.²²

The lectures and demonstrations were most often held in the rural schools but at times community halls were also utilized. Here, in the early years the entire family came out to witness the sharing of ideas from a big city - a window on the outside world with modern ideas. For example, in the month of July 1930 Savella visited the Pelly district with the following topics and attendees:²³

<u>Locality</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Attendees</u>
Preeceville	Canning and preserving	78 men and women
-Hryhoriw (2 days)	Improvement of farm yard Home Decoration School Lunches	(first day) 85 men and women (second day)
Arran Community Hall	Canning and preserving Improvement of farm yard Home Decoration	110 men and women

By September of that year, Savella added the topics of "Nutritive Value of Fruits and Vegetables and Milk: Their Uses in Daily Diet," "Table Service," "Our Duties as Homemakers," and "Vitamins."²⁴

In response to Savella's request for information regarding alcoholic drinks, Abbie DeLury, Director, Homemakers' Department, wrote to Savella that they had no particular literature available and that she could mention the "evil effects of alcohol as well as its moral and social effects."²⁵ However, there is no evidence that Savella did lecture on this topic officially. The abuse of alcohol was very much in evidence amongst Ukrainians on the prairie and was considered to be "responsible for physical debilitation, material poverty, and demoralization."²⁶ Anglo-Canadian newspapers often printed stories of drunkenness and physical altercations due to intoxication at Ukrainian-Canadian weddings and even funerals. This 'uncultured' behaviour was detrimental to the image of Ukrainians and the entire Ukrainian community suffered because of the bad publicity. Savella, as a member of the nationalists attempting to help the Ukrainians socio-economically and to elevate their profile, hoped to spread the word of the evils of intemperance so that the drinking could be curtailed.

Men attended these lectures probably due to curiosity and to learn firsthand the benefits of this new program. The children were brought along since both parents were at the lectures and babysitters were uncommon amongst Ukrainians. An important aspect of childrearing was to look after one's own family and babysitting was a luxury.²⁷ Both parents attended because Savella was an important and credible member of the Ukrainian Canadian prestigious intelligentsia 'ruling' class in Saskatchewan and they would be interested in what she had to say. Favourable comments of the lectures were written to and published in the *Ukrainskyi holos*.²⁸ The program with the Women's Department ended at the end of September for the year.

After travelling throughout the bloc settlements as a home economist for two summers, Savella believed that there was a further need to disseminate information regarding home economics to young women who did not have the opportunity to attend her lectures. In March 1932 with the joint sponsorship of Mohyla Institute and the executive of the UWAC, she held Ukrainian cultural classes for the young women in residence at Mohyla as well as those who travelled in from the rural areas.²⁹ The out-of-towners were given

accommodation at Mohyla for the two-week course. Along with homemaking classes Savella instructed in the Ukrainian handicrafts of *pysanky* and embroidery.

Forming Links with their Ukrainian American Sisters

The Ukrainian National Women's League of America invited members of the executive of the UWAC to attend its congress to be held in New York in May 1932. Their guest speaker was to be the outstanding Ukrainian activist, member of the Polish Parliament Sejm and President of the *Soiuz Ukrainok* in Western Ukraine, Milena Rudnytska.³⁰ With the ever present thought of promoting the cohesion of Ukrainian women in both the diaspora and homeland, Savella with her friends, Tetiana Kroitor and Daria Yanda, decided to drive to New York. A male friend who was at university and without a summer job willingly offered to chauffeur them at no charge.³¹ Travelling thousands of miles in an automobile for pleasure was not a common occurrence for Saskatchewan women in the 'Dirty Thirties.' Although the three women were travelling with a male companion, they showed a lot of determination to participate in this adventure. They might have been robbed since during this time many unemployed desperate men had taken to the roads in search of food and jobs.

The Americans recognized Savella as president and she brought greetings from the UWAC to the congress. Savella found the American Ukrainians sophisticated and assimilated into the American culture - the working language at the congress was English.³² She remembers: "The ladies all wore low cut evening dresses. We looked like country Janes beside them in our ordinary dresses."³³ On the return trip, the travellers drove to Canada visiting Montreal, Toronto, and other eastern Ontario points before driving back south to the United States to return home. In the Canadian cities of Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and Windsor as well as in the American cities of Detroit and Chicago, the travellers stopped to visit and stay with friends. Their friends were all activists prominent in the nationalist cause and women's movement. In each city, meetings were arranged for the women to speak. They extolled the virtues of the UWAC and gave support and encouragement to the members of the local branches. The visit from the National President and two members of the National Executive aroused interest and the meetings were well attended.³⁴

Returning to Saskatoon, Savella began her work with the Women's Department and travelled that year by train in the rural area lecturing on the topics of home economics.³⁵ In 1933, a baby girl, Zenovia, was born to the Stechishins. Also, by the summer, Julian had resigned from his position at Mohyla to concentrate on his law practice and they once again took up residence in their house which had been rented out. As usual, the fall was the start of a busy season for Savella. She was active at the local level as well as being president at the national UWAC.

Responding to their Ukrainian Sisters

The women of *Soiuz Ukrainok* again appealed to the Ukrainian-Canadian sisters for funds in 1933. This time it was for aid to participate in the International Women's Council (IWC) congress in France. The Ukrainian women's intention was to seek support from the IWC in Ukraine's struggle for independence. This was of primary importance to Ukraine and to the Ukrainian nationalists living in Canada. In order to raise some funds for this appeal, Savella wrote an article in the *Ukrainskyi holos* asking readers to donate generously to this cause. Considering the poor economic conditions on the prairies, the amount of \$243.78 collected, although not vast, was respectable.³⁶ This appeal was made to women, many whose own socio-economic conditions were in dire need of improvement, and who were fighting their own battles against poverty. Many women did not feel the strong kinship to Ukraine that Savella and the nationalist camp did; Canada was their country and immediate problems had to be dealt with in their own homes and communities.

In 1934, the *Soiuz Ukrainok*, to observe the Fiftieth Anniversary of the first women's convention which had been held in 1884 in Stanislaviv, held a Fiftieth Anniversary Congress in Stanislaviv, Western Ukraine. The announcement of the Congress aroused the interest of the National Executive of the UWAC and it was decided that a delegate should be sent to witness this historic event. Hanka Romanchych, an activist of the UWAC from its beginning, decided she would attend and offered to represent the UWAC. This was agreed upon and a fifty dollar donation from UWAC was given to her to present to the Congress in recognition of their support.³⁷ It was a wise decision not to solicit funds from the general Ukrainian

Canadian population during the economically depressed 1930s. This support, financial and moral, again demonstrates the close ties the UWAC, with Savella at its helm, wished to keep with Ukraine.

Mary Sheepshank of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom addressed the Congress and lent credibility and prestige to the occasion. The Congress helped form a solidarity of Ukrainian women throughout the world. Establishing a world organization encompassing all Ukrainian women's organizations became the most notable outcome of the Congress. The World Ukrainian Women's Organization came into fruition in 1937 with headquarters in Lviv, Ukraine. Savella kept abreast of this organization and their aims by subscribing to their bi-monthly newspaper, *Zhinka (Woman)*, which began publication in 1935.³⁸ Her interest in her homeland and its people, particularly women, never wavered.

At the Ukrainian National Convention in Saskatoon in December 1934, Savella resigned as president of the UWAC since she was expecting her third child. A baby boy, Myron, was born in January, 1935.³⁹ The UWAC, jointly with the USRL, in 1935 held their convention in July instead of the usual month of December. Selecting July over December proved to be a good choice. Attendance and participation were greater as teachers on their summer break were more willing to attend. The weather was more conducive to travel as well, now that owning an automobile was more commonplace.

Savella accepted the presidency of the UWAC again in the summer of 1936. The National Executive of the UWAC had been headquartered in Edmonton under the presidency of Daria Yanda in 1935 and part of 1936 but due to family commitments, she refused to carry on longer.⁴⁰ In her role as president of the UWAC, Savella visited all the Manitoba branches in the fall of 1938. Her visit inspired the women and gave impetus to continue their work in their community. At the same time, Savella took the opportunity to promote the idea of collecting artifacts for the proposed museum. Once again, the National Executive was centred in Saskatoon keeping Savella and the other members of the Executive busy writing and sending directives to the branches springing up across Canada.

Savella expended much energy in defence of her ancestral home and informing the branches of the political situation of Ukraine. News of Polish abuses of Ukrainians in Western Ukraine during the late 1920s had reached Canada and by 1930, the *Ukrainskyi holos* was reporting horrific incidents of atrocities by the Polish army.⁴¹ Incensed by what Ukrainian Canadians saw as an absolute injustice, Savella wrote in the *Ukrainskyi holos* asking the branches and individuals to protest the violence by writing letters of protest to 1) government of Poland through the Canadian Consulate, 2) government of Canada, Foreign Relations Department, and 3) General Secretary of the League of Nations, Geneva.⁴² Even *Soiuz Ukrainok* came under suspicion for subversive activity against the Polish government, and the police in 1938 closed their offices arresting all branch presidents.⁴³ The intent of the protests was primarily to inform the general Canadian public of the subjugation of Ukrainians in their country and this achieved modest success. However, it accomplished little in the alleviation of the repression of the Ukrainians by the Poles.

Loyalty to her Ukrainian Roots

Always the consummate Ukrainian loyalist, Savella named her children with traditional Ukrainian first names, names which she never Anglo-Saxonized as so many Ukrainians did. Many Ukrainians chose to Anglicize both surname and first names because they were embarrassed by the 'unpronounceability'; others were ashamed of their heritage due to discrimination and others found it more expedient to adopt 'English' names.

With three children and a busy commitment to her Ukrainian community and the UWAC, the Stechishins hired a maid to help with the housework. Savella remembers: "In those days of unemployment, it was very easy to hire a maid." The maids were Ukrainian-Canadian girls from the farms, many of whose families were acquainted with Savella. It was obvious that the Stechishins would be considered 'middle class' when many Ukrainians in Saskatchewan (along with other Saskatchewanians) were struggling to be solvent and provide food and shelter for their families. Ukrainian women were themselves most often domestics; few were in a position to actually hire domestics.

The year 1935 was the middle of the depression that affected everyone across the prairies. In order to help meet living expenses, the Stechishins took in boarders: three nephews and one niece who were attending post secondary school in Saskatoon. The parents of these children helped by giving them produce from the farm and from their grocery store.⁴⁴ Savella did not work that year for the Women's Department because she had to care for her new baby.

To ease the financial pressures in a depressed economy, the Stechishins continued to board paying students in the late 1930s. It appears that for them these pressures were not as severe as for other Canadians since they were able to afford a "non-Ukrainian housekeeper."⁴⁵ Although an exclusively Ukrainian-speaking household, the English language began to be used occasionally due to the presence of non-Ukrainian students and a non-Ukrainian housekeeper. However, the parents continued to speak Ukrainian exclusively to the children in their home. They believed that the children would learn English when playing with other children and at school. Indeed, this did occur and the children learned quickly to speak English while retaining their mother tongue.

The Stechishins needed to continue to board students in their home through the 1940s. After having a housemaid most of the late 1920s and 1930s, Savella writes, "To save money I did not keep a housemaid when I was home. Besides, I did not want to have a non-Ukrainian maid because of the language problem."⁴⁶ It was important for Savella to have her children completely fluent in the Ukrainian language. Presumably, Ukrainian-Canadian young women were not interested in domestic work. Work in the service industry, factories and stores were not only more lucrative but the hours were shorter and the women had more leisure time.⁴⁷

With her expertise on nutrition and experience by working for the Women's Department in rural Saskatchewan, she approached the *Ukrainskyi holos* to write a column on nutrition. In 1941, Savella began her popular articles on nutrition in the newspaper.⁴⁸ This was an appropriate time to inform Canadians of the nutritive value of consumer goods since Canada was embroiled in World War II and a number of basic foods were unavailable.⁴⁹

Newspapers and magazines throughout Canada carried advice on healthful and nutritious foods and the best means of preparation. When Savella heard that the Local Council of Women of Saskatoon was offering special classes in nutrition, she volunteered to teach similar classes, without pay, in the Ukrainian language in consultation with the Local Council. They enthusiastically accepted this plan and Savella held a one-month class which was well attended by approximately one hundred women.⁴⁹ With the thought of helping her Ukrainian-Canadian sisters, Savella seized this opportunity of giving them the opportunities that were available in the broader community.

As the war continued, the Wartime Services Department of the Canadian government believed it important to disseminate information regarding the significance of nutrition and good health in newspapers of all languages in Canada. Savella, always the opportunist especially in the field of journalism, wrote to Ottawa offering her services to fulfil this commitment in Ukrainian language newspapers. She was accepted and began working for the Wartime Services Department in December 1942 with Dr. Kaye (Kysilewski), the son of her former Ukrainian correspondent, as her superior.⁵⁰ She was paid the standard rate for each word.⁵¹ The Department prepared press releases for her use which she incorporated into a column along with her own ideas. These were then sent to Dr. Kaye who, after checking them, sent them to Ukrainian language weeklies in Canada to be placed under the heading "*Vid informatsiy not usluhy konsyumentib b Ottavi* (Consumer Information Service, Ottawa).⁵² The articles were not attributed to Savella. She wrote the column until the end of the war in 1945.

In 1942, Savella had discontinued writing articles to the UWAC page due to personality clashes with the National Executive of the UWAC. Four years later, with a new executive in Winnipeg, Savella was asked to write a column for the UWAC page again. In early 1946, Savella began her column "*Dovkola Domy*" (Around the Home) for the *Ukrainskyi holos* embracing topics such as philosophy, health, homemaking, family life, recipes and subjects of general interest to women. She was paid the amount of twenty-five dollars per month for four weekly issues each month by the UWAC executive.

Pursuing Her Career

Savella's work with the Women's Department at the University of Saskatchewan in 1937 was with the Cooperative Schools sponsored by the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. In exchange for the financial aid which the Wheat Pool gave the university, professors and speakers were asked to speak to farmers on topics relating to agriculture practices. Savella was asked to lecture on topics of interest to women from October to Christmas. With this in mind, she elected to speak on the use of the pressure cooker in food preservation. For this she received a wage. The designated area for her work was the Ukrainian bloc settlements of Sheho, Foam Lake, Yellow Creek, Alticane, Glaslyn, Hafford, Whitkow and surrounding districts.⁵³ She travelled with the professors who spoke on agriculture.

During the war years, Savella continued her work with the Women's Work Department. Due to the necessity of rubber for the war effort, rubber rings for sealers used for canning food became scarce; sugar was rationed. But, it remained important for homemakers to preserve the nutritional value of the food as well as stretch their household budget. In order to do this, professional home economists like Savella were instructed in the process of dehydrating vegetables and fruits. They, in turn, taught this technique to women who attended their lectures. Savella carried with her a dehydrator which had been made at the university - a cabinet with screen shelves on which to place peas, mushrooms and so on.⁵⁴ She also encouraged women to make their own sauerkraut since sauerkraut contains Vitamin C and important minerals needed to maintain a healthy diet.

During the summers of the 1940s, Savella worked for the Women's Department in the area of agricultural field days held in the communities where there were government experimental farms (e.g., Swift Current, Melfort). She drove out with professors of agriculture from Saskatoon. Here, she lectured on home economics or judged exhibits of cooking and sewing. She no longer lectured in Ukrainian in the villages and towns in the bloc settlements as that programme was discontinued by the University of Saskatchewan.

Savella, throughout the 'Dirty Thirties', continued to steer the UWAC along the path she envisioned as a impressionable but resolute young woman living at Mohyla Institute in

the early 1920s. Although the communication ties with Ukraine were severed due to political turmoil there, spiritual ties were kept very much alive. The UWAC continued to show concern for their homeland and particularly for the preservation of their heritage. Perhaps due to the oppression of Ukraine at this time, Savella and the UWAC kept a flame of hope burning for an independent Ukraine as well as instilling pride in their culture in the hearts of Ukrainian Canadians. In doing this, they helped to develop their own strong identity within the multicultural fabric of Canada.

Savella never lost sight of helping the women in keeping abreast of modernity and Canadian societal values, yet at the same time reaffirming the need for retention of Ukrainianness. With ingrained determination, Savella incorporated her career as a home economist with her passion for writing to help Ukrainian-Canadian women attain self-dignity in the women's sphere. During the war, her articles in the Ukrainian language newspapers informed the Canadians of Ukrainian descent, in their own language, of important matters relating to health and welfare. Reading in their own language helped Ukrainian Canadians retain their language, an issue which Savella strongly believed in. Savella's activism did not cease in spite of her increased responsibilities as wife and mother of three children in depressed economic times.

Unlike the majority of Ukrainian-Canadian women who had difficulty in 'keeping their heads above water,' she continued to strive to maintain her middle-class status with paid help in times of fiscal constraint. The job as home economist for the University of Saskatchewan augmented the family income and her enjoyment of writing not only fulfilled her need for creativity but also helped to maintain the standard of living she aspired to. The salary from her writing contributed to the family's household operation. Savella successfully achieved the vision of herself and what she believed her purpose in life was: social maternal feminist, mother and wife, activist and career woman.

ENDNOTES

1. In 1935 and 1936 the Executive was located in Edmonton with Daria Yanda as president. The year 1937-38 was the last year Savella was president; she was elected honorary president for 1938 and 1939. The election of an honorary president was discontinued in 1942.
2. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 616.
3. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyzhka Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady z nahody 10-litnogo isnovannia, 1926-1936, 85-88.*
4. *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 92-93.
5. Apolonja Kojder, "Slavic Immigrant Women in Northwestern Saskatchewan During the Depression," Canadian Woman Studies, 4, 2 (Winter, 1982), 83.
6. Ibid.
7. Kohuska., *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 641.
8. Ibid.
9. Stechishin, autobiography, 125.
10. Stephania Bubniuk, "Konvocatsia na Universiteti Saskachevanu" (Convocation at the University of Saskatchewan) in *Ukrainskyi holos*, 30 July 1930, 11.
11. Presumably Anna was at one time a student residing at Mohyla Institute and was a Mohylianka under the supervision of Savella.
12. NAC, MG30 D389, Vol. 1, File 2. Anna Epesiuk letter to Savella Stechishin, 20 January 1930.
13. The Chatelaine, August 1931.
14. Stechishin, interview.
15. Ibid.
16. NAC, Vol. 8, File 1.
17. Stechishin, autobiography, 138.
18. Ibid., 139.
19. Ibid., 140.
20. Anastasia Ruryk, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 11 June 1930, 11.
21. Autobiography, 140-141.
22. NAC, Vol. 8, File 1. Expenditure Report to Homemakers' Department, University of Saskatchewan.

- 23.NAC, Vol. 8, File 1. Report to Bertha Oxner, Director, Homemakers' Department, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
- 24.Ibid.
- 25.Ibid. Letter from Abbie DeLury to Savella Stechishin, 21 June 1930.
- 26.Swyrupa, Wedded to the Cause, 45.
- 27.Anna Supynuk, interview. 13 November 1994, Regina.
- 28.*Ukrainskyi holos*, 12 November 1930, 11; 24 December 1930, 11.
- 29.Autobiography, 151; Udod, Julian Stechishin, 29; UWAC Archives, File #18.
- 30.Autobiography, 152.
- 31.Ibid. Savella does not write in the autobiography the number of days it took to arrive in New York. No other sources were found in relation to the trip.
- 32.Autobiography, 153.
- 33.Ibid.
- 34.Ibid., 157-158.
- 35.Savella does not explain why she travelled by train instead of by car. Presumably Julian needed the car for his use.
- 36.Ibid., 162.
- 37.Ibid., 168.
- 38.Ibid.
- 39.Ibid., 173.
- 40.Ibid., 181.
- 41.*Ukrainskyi holos*, "The Tragedy of The Ukraine. A Polish Terror," 5 November 1930 (reprinted) by a special correspondent to the Manchester Guardian. More articles followed weekly for several weeks.
- 42.Stechishin. *Ukrainskyi holos*, 8 June 1938.
- 43.Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 233.
- 44.Ibid., 178.
- 45.Autobiography, 204.
- 46.Ibid., 210.

47.Swyrupa, Wedded to the Cause, 64-74.

48.Autobiography, 207.

49.Ibid., 208.

50.Ibid., 209.

51.Savella in the autobiography states she cannot remember the amount.

52.Stechishin, *Ukrainskyi holos*, 23 December 1942, 3.

53.NAC, Vol. 8, File 1.

54.Ibid.

CHAPTER 7

IMPACT OF SAVELLA STECHISHIN'S ACTIVISM

Activism by the nationally conscious women produced UWAC branches in Saskatchewan and the rest of Canada through the 1930s and 1940s. Savella Stechishin was a social maternal feminist concerned with the social conditions of the women in the Ukrainian-Canadian communities, particularly within a Ukrainian context. As President, she along with the National Executive, steered the UWAC branches within the guidelines as defined in "*Poshurennya prohramu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady na rik 1936-1937*" (Broadening the Program of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada for 1936-37).¹ These became the fundamental elements of the movement, the tenets for the women in the UWAC branches to follow. Savella intensified her program, but these would be considered to be within narrow confines when compared to the activities performed by women in the broader society.

Savella's vision influenced the membership of the UWAC branches in Saskatchewan and throughout Canada. The branches followed the guidelines she developed. Some of these included establishing *ridni shkoly* in community halls, celebrating Mother's Day, teaching Sunday School and within the home, celebrating Ukrainian holidays, subscribing to and reading Ukrainian language newspapers and magazines and keeping a 'Ukrainian' home. For many years and to the present day, branches dotting the prairies and the rest of Canada follow these guidelines.

Although these tenets were similar to the organizations of mainstream women, they did not encompass the contentious issues voiced by the mainstream women's organizations such as birth control, domestic violence and poverty. The UWAC stressed the 'Ukrainian' aspect instead of the 'woman' aspect in the sphere of women's concerns always with their ethnic group in mind.

Tenets of the UWAC

During the decade 1926 to 1936, the National Executive prepared the following articles listed in the *Iuvileina knyzhka* as guidelines for the branches:² ten articles on organizational methods (six written by Savella Stechishin), eight articles regarding the promotion of honouring mothers on Mother's Day (the first one by Savella), two articles

celebrating Ukraine's Independence Day (the first contributed by Savella), fourteen articles describing the lives and work of national leaders and writers (three by Savella), seven topics on the celebration of Ukrainian literature (Savella contributed three), six directives on education (religious, Easter customs), four articles all written by Savella on Ukrainian folk art (folk costumes, pysanky and embroidery), nine items discussing household management (six contributed by Savella). In every case, except education, Savella wrote the first article which was distributed to the branches. Collections of prepared materials for the celebration of Lesia Ukrainka (see Appendix B), Easter, Independence Day, Mother's Day, and patterns for Ukrainian embroidery and *pysanky* were also made available to the branches.

At the close of the first decade of the founding of UWAC, Savella and her executive concluded there was a need to enhance their agenda in order to more successfully achieve their aims. Savella in 1936 writes that the above tenets must be 'broadened' (perhaps more accurately described as 'intensified') to emphasize the importance of three tasks: education (Ukrainianness), national folk arts and home improvement.³ These three tasks were the responsibility of every good mother in order to cultivate Ukrainian culture within the home and thus, collectively, Ukrainians in Canada would not be lost to the dominant Anglo-Canadian society. They could then retain their own identity in Canadian society. Ultimately, this successful accomplishment would also aid in the eventual independence of Ukraine.

To achieve the educational component, each mother was to maintain in the home the Ukrainian language, religion, holidays and songs, read 'good' Ukrainian books and newspapers, retell traditional folklore and stories of national heroes and "sacrifice for good national aims."⁴ Outside the home, each member was to actively participate in her immediate community by teaching *ridna shkola* (Ukrainian school), Sunday School and officially celebrate Ukrainian holidays. The homemaker was expected to provide a Ukrainian cultural, patriotic and religious atmosphere for her family. Savella, the members of the UWAC and the nationalist/intelligentsia community assumed that the Ukrainian women were primarily responsible for family life (within a Ukrainian context). This general philosophy of the woman bearing the major responsibility for family life is still alive in many communities in

the Western world. For example, Sheva Medjuck, a sociologist, contends that the Canadian-Jewish community is a still strong proponent of this conviction.⁵

Ukrainian-Canadian women believed their role to be that of the traditional nurturer, the anchor and promoter of their ethno-culture and upholder of social and moral values. They became the teachers, together with men, of the *ridni shkoly* which were held at local community halls. Here, they taught the language along with Ukrainian visual and performing arts. The National Executive urged the membership that it was their duty to gather the children into Ukrainian children's organizations. The children were to socialize with 'their own kind' and also learn to behave as good Ukrainians and exemplary citizens. By 1933, many branches had helped organize branches of the national Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association.

Ukrainian folk arts, visible symbols of Ukrainianness, were also high on the list of means of improving both Ukrainians' self-perception and their image in the eyes of the world. Savella strongly urged each member of the UWAC to become aware of the authenticity of patterns and colours of embroidery for folk costumes from different regions. These patterns could be also adapted to modern household items, such as runners, pillow cases, etc. and to modern dress emphasizing pride in her Ukrainian heritage. A collection of Easter eggs along with the embroidered linens were to be displayed as an positive sign of a 'Ukrainian' home. Easter egg decorating was encouraged since the *pysanka*, a visible symbol, was considered an important Ukrainian treasure.

The folk arts of embroidery, egg decorating and weaving were to be taught to girls and competitions held to stimulate interest amongst the girls and thus instilling pride in their culture. Patterns and instructions were sent by the National Executive (written by Savella in the 1930s) to all branches to help the membership enact these suggestions.

Since traditional dress and furnishings had become an embarrassment to some and were often discarded, Savella Stechishin encouraged that these be preserved. It was suggested that folk costumes and artifacts brought from Ukraine be donated to their *narodni domy* or alternatively sent to the National Office for the proposed museum. As discussed earlier, Mohyla Institute was the collection depot for a permanent museum collection. The original

gallery at Mohyla opened in 1941 and remained there until the construction of a new facility, the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, was completed in 1979 in Saskatoon.⁶

The last task for the mother to fulfil her duties as a good member of the Ukrainian community, was to improve and modernize the home. This was important so that, as Savella succinctly wrote in 1937, "*nashi dity ikh na studalusya*" (our children will not be ashamed of them).⁷ Women were to conform to contemporary convention and values, abandoning the primitive methods and habits practiced in the old country. The good Ukrainian homemaker was to provide the appropriate physical environment together with instilling a Ukrainian *dusha* (spirit) in her children.

Preparation of Ukrainian dishes and baking was not emphasized by Savella. Recipes and culinary practices were handed down from mother to daughter and knowledge of these skills was taken for granted. In the first half of the twentieth century, since Ukrainian dishes were fairly basic, cookery was not considered important enough to enhance the image of Ukrainians.

A decade later, the National Executive of the UWAC headquartered in Winnipeg, reinforced and expanded Savella's tenets. In 1947 they published a book titled *Na storzhi kultury* (Guardians of Culture) elaborating the themes on appropriate behaviour and activism for the 'super Ukrainian mom.' This acted as a guide book for the members. Topics define the methods of preserving and promoting the Ukrainian language, culture, religion and folk arts in the home and community. Additionally, it explains the traditional customs of celebrating Christmas and Easter and included recipes and how to set a proper table for the holidays.⁸

Branch Demographics

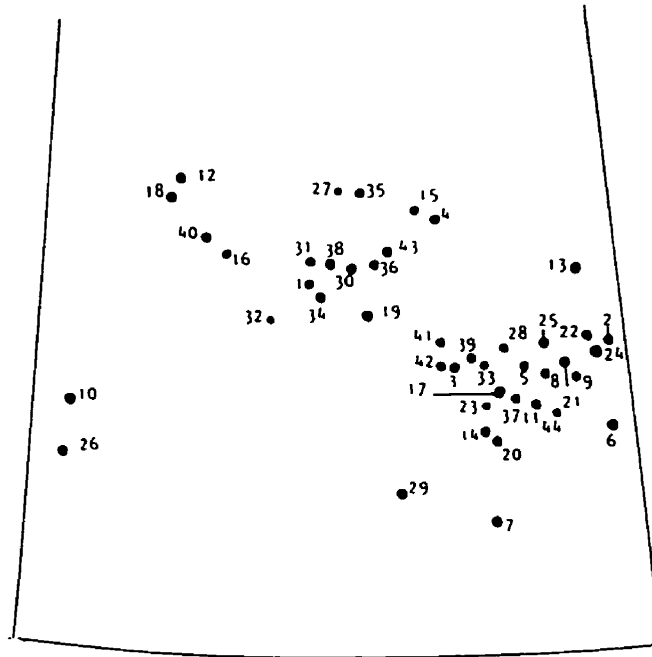
The Ukrainian-Canadian population in Saskatchewan had been gradually increasing from the arrival of the first immigrants at the turn of the century until the middle of the twentieth century. With no dramatic shift in the demographics of Ukrainian women in Saskatchewan, the location of additional branches followed the pattern of the initial ones. In 1931 16 percent of the women resided in the urban area while 84 percent were rural and in 1941 the distribution was urban at 19 percent and rural at 81 percent (Appendix A, Table 4).

With the large concentration of women in the rural area, branches were not only surviving but thriving. Although a few did become defunct, others replaced them just a few miles away, still within the bloc settlements, as the population shifted slightly and certain communities became more vibrant. Once the economic state of the Ukrainian-Canadian rural population improved, they were able to build their own churches and *narodni domy*. The members of the UWAC then held their meetings and social activities in the newly constructed *narodni domy* whereas previously they had been meeting at the homes of the members. Once a hall was built, sometimes two branches would amalgamate to become one, centring at the hall. The population base was thus able to sustain leaders and workers to allow the branches to fulfil their agenda and the social aspect of the women's sphere and community life.

During the first two decades, 1926 to 1946, the year in which the largest number of branches were functioning was 1936 with forty-seven branches.⁹ They were located almost entirely in the bloc settlement (Figure 2). Figure 3 illustrates the clustering of the UWAC branches in 1936 in the electoral divisions with the highest Ukrainian population. This fact is confirmed by Table 5 (see Appendix A), which represents, for years 1921 to 1941, the distribution (percentage) of Ukrainians by divisions in the province together with the number of the branches (1936).

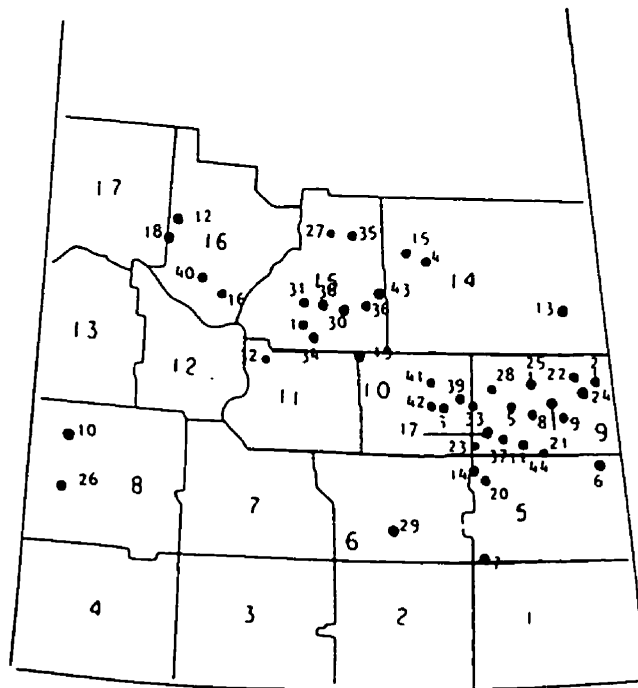
Two decades after the founding of the organization, although the UWAC added fifteen new branches, eighteen branches had folded (see Appendix C). With the out migration of the rural population, the branches decreased in numbers. Retired farm women, young families and young women seeking employment moved into the small towns and cities of Saskatchewan, increasing the membership in some of these urban centres. For example, the town of Canora in 1936 had 20 members and by 1946 had increased its membership to 38. The city of Prince Albert branch became organized with 10 members in 1934 and by 1946 the number of members increased to 35. On the other hand, some branches remained stable such as Prelate which had 16 members in 1936 and in ten years remained almost the same with 18. In Saskatchewan in 1946 the total number of members was recorded at approximately 965; accurate data for 1936 was unavailable.¹⁰

Figure 2: Location of UWAC Branches in Saskatchewan in 1936



- 1 Alvena
- 2 Arran
- 3 Bankend
- 4 Brooksby (2)
- 5 Buchanan
- 6 Calder
- 7 Candiac
- 8 Canora
- 9 Donwell
- 10 Eatonia
- 11 Edmore
- 12 Glaslyn
- 13 Glen Elder
- 14 Goodeve
- 15 Gronlid (2)
- 16 Hafford
- 17 Insinger (2)
- 18 Marlin
- 19 Meacham
- 20 Melville
- 21 Mikado
- 22 Norquay
- 23 Parkerview
- 24 Pelly
- 25 Preeceville
- 26 Prelate
- 27 Prince Albert
- 28 Rama
- 29 Regina
- 30 Reynaud
- 31 St. Julien
- 32 Saskatoon
- 33 Sheho
- 34 Smuts
- 35 Strong Pine
- 36 Tarnopol
- 37 Theodore
- 38 Wakaw
- 39 West Bend
- 40 Whitkow
- 41 Wimmer
- 42 Wishart
- 43 Yellow Creek
- 44 Yorkton

Figure 3: Regional Location of UWAC Branches in Saskatchewan Electoral Division in 1936.



During the depression immigration decreased and then in 1939 due to the war, immigration ceased. It was the Canadian-born Ukrainian women the UWAC had to look toward to increase their membership. These Canadian-born young women often left the farms where there was plenty of hardship and little future for betterment to seek employment in the larger towns and cities. Many of these young women, as well as immigrant young women residing in the cities, rejected traditional values and morals. They rebelled against parental wishes and community directives, embracing freedom, independence and the lifestyle and material acquisitions of Canadian society. These young women denied their Ukrainian heritage, intermarried and preferred to become unhyphenated Canadians melting into the Canadian landscape.¹¹ Historian Frances Swyrypa comments on this phenomenon:

After the isolation and physical toil of the farm, and after an often equally hard day's work for the English businessman or mistress, they fancied a 'gud taim' (good time). As their notion of a 'gud taim,' dances and the moving pictures offered stiff competition to church services and lectures, whether those of the Ukrainian or Anglo-Canadian community.¹²

In Saskatchewan the membership in the UWAC at the end of the war appeared stable although there was a 28 percent increase in Ukrainian female population: 29,092 in 1931 to 37,194 in 1951. This stability is probably due to the small shift of 6 percent from the rural to the urban (see Table 4, Appendix A). The number of specifically Orthodox women (who mostly would have been members) out of this increase of 8,102 women, is not available.

Influences of Savella Stechishin's Endeavours

The impact of the women's movement initiated by Savella Stechishin and other women activists in her milieu was wide spread in the areas inhabited by Ukrainian Canadians, most especially in the rural areas. Figure 2 demonstrates that the branches in 1936 in Saskatchewan were almost exclusively within the bloc settlements. Women naturally gravitated to those of similar interests and bonded in their commonality of language, socio-economic background and religion.

The *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi* (25th Anniversary Jubilee Book) records the history of all the branches which existed in the second decade (1936-46) of the UWAC. The

reports in this book of celebration were written by each branch and their reports indicate the extent of Savella Stechishin's influence on the women of Ukrainian descent in Saskatchewan during the 1930s and 1940s. Every branch followed most of the directives in the newsletters sent by UWAC.¹³ Each branch wrote of following the cultural-educational edicts, i.e., establishing Ukrainian and Sunday Schools, celebrating Mother's Day, Ukrainian Independence Day, and Book Month, observing the birthdays of Ukrainian writers Lesia Ukrainka, Olha Kobylianska, Taras Shevchenko and others.

During the years of her presidency, Savella suggested that the branches subscribe to Ukrainian language magazines, for example, *Zhinocha dolia* and *Nova khata* from Ukraine and the Canadian newspaper *Ukrainskyi holos*. Eight branches reported that they subscribed to these and read them aloud regularly at meetings for the benefit of the entire membership.¹⁴ In addition to these branches, nine other branches read books by Ukrainian authors and it is probable that they would have also read the above named magazines.¹⁵ It is highly conceivable that individuals would have subscribed to the magazines and shared them with the membership.

A close relationship developed between the UWAC, the branches and *Ukrainskyi holos*. Many individuals subscribed to the newspaper and the branches generously donated money to its press fund to help its survival. In the 1940s, nearly half (21 branches) reported that the newspaper had been given their financial support. It is reasonable to assume that some branches had supported the newspaper and worthy causes but had neglected to report these specific activities.

Savella strongly urged the membership to buy books for their libraries located in the *narodni domy*. Eight branches specifically stated that they had bought Ukrainian language books for their libraries.¹⁶ The Meacham branch states, "*A tovaristvo prudbalo svoiam koshtom knyzhok do biblioteky na 170 doliariv*" (The branch spent \$170.00 to purchase books for the library).¹⁷ The Gronlid branch with a membership of only eighteen members in 1929, over approximately a decade spent \$753.05 for books for their library.¹⁸

The museum, an institute which Savella passionately boosted, was the recipient of financial funding by the branches. Thirteen branches listed the museum as one of the institutions they funded over the years.¹⁹ Also, branches donated Ukrainian articles such as folk costumes and artifacts brought over from Ukraine. Again, other branches may have given financial support but had not specifically recorded this.

A total of twenty-six branches listed financially supporting Ukrainian educational institutions on the prairies.²⁰ These institutions were Petro Mohyla Institute and St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. Out of these branches, nineteen branches donated sums specifically to Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon.²¹ At the outset, Savella had promoted that not only should Mohyla be supported but that mothers should urge their children to achieve a higher education and reside at Mohyla in order to do so. Mohyla was the ideal setting to inculcate young women and men with Ukrainian culture and language. Mohyla would be a 'home away from home' where not only would the children be imbued with Ukrainianness but live within strict guidelines as to acceptable behaviour for future leaders of both the Ukrainian and mainstream communities in Canada. The reports of the branches in the *Chvert stolittia* exhibit the strong bond between the Ukrainians in the bloc settlements and Mohyla Institute. For example, twenty branches proudly list the names of the young men and women who had attended Mohyla Institute up to 1950.²²

In the *Zoloty vinets: Pivstolittia viddilue soiuz ukrainok Kanady imeny Marii Markovych u Kanori, Saskachevan, 1926-1976 (Canora's 50th Anniversary Jubilee Book)*, the Canora membership found the suggestions espoused by the National Executive as precisely fitting the path they wanted to follow. When Savella introduced the concept of honouring mothers on a special day (Mother's Day), the Canora branch responded: "When in 1928 the National headquarters of the UWAC in Saskatoon held its first Mother's Day, the Canora Branch promptly followed their example. In the Association's records we find that on 13 May 1928, the Canora Branch held its first Mother's Day."²³

Ukrainian embroidery was very close to Savella's heart and she unceasingly encouraged the teaching and practice of this needlework to the UWAC branches. All the branches responded zealously by cultivating this almost exclusively women's pastime. As discussed in Chapter 4, members of the Regina branch, Daughters of Ukraine, in 1927, met weekly to embroider or learn to embroider various Ukrainian stitchery as well as for fellowship.²⁴ They also shared in the reading of the two women's journals from Ukraine to which they subscribed: *Zhinocha dolia* and *Nova khata*.²⁵ The Regina branch was significantly influenced by the suggested activities Savella and the National Executive promoted.

Savella did not promote the traditional women's role of fund-raiser, but the major role of women as fund-raisers is universal and Ukrainian Saskatchewan women were not different. They were consistently responsible for preparing food for their community events and holding teas and bazaars to raise funds.²⁶ Although the directives of the UWAC did not specifically mention fundraising for the building of churches and *narodni domy*, every branch reported in the *Chvert stolittia* that they were responsible for donating a very large portion of the required funds for these buildings.²⁷

It is noted in the *Persha Recordova Knyzhka* that in Regina on 20 November 1927 the profits of a bazaar sponsored by the UWAC was \$412.92. The entire amount was "turned over to church."²⁸ This was used to help finance the building of a church which had been initiated on 17 September 1925.²⁹ Maria Korpan explained that this impressive profit was due to the donations of food and prizes and the hard work of the women.³⁰ Expenses were kept to the bare minimum so that a place of worship could be built as quickly as possible.

The Regina branch shows a 20 November 1927 expense entry in the *Persha Recordova Knyzhka*: "Sent to Kolomjya--\$10.00." Kolomjya was and still is a district in Ukraine. This indicates that the Regina local complied with a very important objective of the UWAC by extending financial assistance to Ukraine.

The War Years

World War II brought women from all walks of life closer together; all Canadian women knitted articles for Canadian soldiers and sent parcels overseas. Each one of the UWAC branches proudly reported that their members were heavily involved in the war effort.³¹ They participated in funding and working with the Canadian Red Cross, sent parcels to Ukrainian-Canadian (Ukrainian canteen in London, U.K.) and Canadian soldiers, donated funds to the King's Fund and donated funds to provide milk to children in Great Britain. Each branch contributed money to the UWAC, upon request, for the purchase of an ambulance for the Canadian Red Cross. Saskatoon's Star-Phoenix reported the generosity of the UWAC adding that the UWAC before the war engaged mostly in education and cultural work but now "Its function is to give leadership to all Ukrainian-Canadian women and to contribute to the development of Canada."³²

Mainstream newspapers acknowledged the efforts of women of Ukrainian descent by reporting on the activities of the national UWAC: "Canada's Ukrainian Women Urge All Out War Effort." "Ukrainian Women Work to Keep Home Front Ready" and "Ukrainian Women Prove Loyalty to Canada."³³ Savella, in the 1940s, was no longer actively participating with the national UWAC and did not exert any direct influence on the National Executive or the branches in Canada.

Ukrainian Canadians generally no longer were as insular within their ethnic communities during the war years. Better communication, transportation and roads brought the outside world into the bloc settlements and the advocacy of the intelligentsia that Ukrainians in Canada participate in Canadian society was realized. With many Ukrainian Canadians, both men and women, being involved in the war effort fighting for Canada, a pride and strong support for Canada and its diverse peoples by the majority of Ukrainian Canadians were a positive result. Members of the branches in Saskatchewan became more involved in their mainstream community in the 1940s. For example, the Theodore History Book reveals that the women of the UWAC branch in Theodore raised funds for the curling rink, skating rink and "furnished one ward in the Theodore Union Hospital when it was newly

the subject was considered detrimental to the good image of the collective community. This was also a common conviction in other ethnic groups. Sheva Medjuck argues that the Jewish community in Canada would rather not acknowledge the presence of Jewish domestic violence. The lives of the women are at risk because of the concern about "what our non-Jewish neighbours will think of us."³⁹ Similar to Ukrainian Canadians, a positive image has to be kept in tact.

In contrast to UWAC and Ukrainian Canadians generally, the Anglo-Canadian women tackled these contentious issues with a strong commitment to improving the social conditions of women in Canada. From the 1890s through the 1930s the topics of birth control, abusive husbands and the hardships of farm life were already important topics in the English language newspapers.⁴⁰ In the first half of the twentieth century, the Women's Pages in The Western Producer, Free Press Prairie Farmer and The Grain Growers' Guide published letters from women who wrote of their hardships, topics ranging from domestic violence to their never ending labours.⁴¹ Articles such as 'Dealing Death to Drudgery' highlighted the toils of farm women.⁴²

By the late 1800s to the early 1900s, organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Anglican Girls Friendly Society, the Dominion Order of King's Daughters and the Young Women's Christian Association focused on moderate drinking, eliminating child labour, improving working conditions, and supporting health and welfare reforms for all Canadians.⁴³ Also, women's organizations of the three major Protestant religious denominations, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptists did their part in improving socio-economic conditions for families. They compassionately participated in helping the poor and uneducated.

Both the distribution of information and the sale of birth control devices were illegal in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ Also, a large number of women found the subject embarrassingly taboo and the unworldly poor Ukrainian-Canadian women most definitely fell into this group. However, articles discussing birth control appeared in English language prairie newspapers. Letters from women readers expressing their concern with

frequent pregnancies and the deleterious affect it had on many women together with the resultant poverty that a large number of children brought to many parents were published.⁴⁵ Women who had the opportunity even wrote to American newspapers and journals requesting information on birth control.⁴⁶

Secular women's organizations were active in speaking out about birth control and improving women's conditions. One of the resolutions adopted at the Second Annual Convention of the Women's Section, United Farmers of Canada, Sask. Section Limited in 1929 dealt with birth control. It stated that the "intelligent use of contraceptives is one of the most important steps towards solving the economic problems of the farmers and other working classes." They further stated that this would prevent "a mother from being overburdened and broken in health with too numerous progeny." To achieve this, they planned to advise the "Government to raise the ban on safe, sane and hygienic contraceptives."⁴⁷

By the 1930s other Anglo-Canadian women's groups, ideologically as diverse as the Women's Labour Leagues, the Alberta IODE, and the National Council of Jewish Women were publicly endorsing the legalization of birth control.⁴⁸ The Homemakers' Club also expressed concern with this topic. To encourage good child care and birth control, the Homemakers' Club had a slogan: 'better babies, not more babies.'⁴⁹ The UWAC chose to treat the subject as if it did not exist - it was not discussed. In comparison to Ukrainian-Canadian women, the Finnish-Canadian women were light years ahead. In the early twentieth century, the Finnish women had easy access to birth control information and devices through national Finnish-Canadian newspapers. The newspapers carried advertisements promoting birth control apparati and mailed them in plain wrapping anywhere in Canada upon request and payment.⁵⁰

Mandates of other ethnic women sometimes differed and sometimes were similar to Ukrainian-Canadian women. Jewish women living in urban centres during the first half of the twentieth century participated in philanthropic activities along with promoting their Jewish culture. Through fundraising and volunteer work they were responsible for the bulk of the financial support of social welfare programs (hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, schools) that the community undertook.⁵¹ In Saskatchewan, Jewish women living in colonies,

although not formally organized, held regular meetings in synagogues. They met for friendship and to raise funds to provide a "little" financial help when someone was in need.⁵² French-Saskatchewan women living in isolation as most prairie women, also yearned for friendships. They met at individual homes occasionally and at church. Coming from a strong Catholic tradition, the belief of obedience by women to their husbands was reinforced by priests.⁵³ These women's place was in the home rearing children and providing a comfortable home for the family; they did not organize themselves to assert their rights within the community. Swedish women in Saskatchewan like their counterparts encouraged the maintenance of the ethnic traditions of the homeland in the family and the community.⁵⁴ Because Swedish men did not take an active role in church and community, women dominated the decision-making processes in social affairs "to an extent uncommon in other rural ethnic communities."⁵⁵ Swedish women organized themselves, as the members of the UWAC did, to undertake the financial aspect of the building of their communities.

Contrasts and similarities can be observed between Anglo-Canadian and ethnic women's attitudes and those of Ukrainian-Canadian women active within the UWAC. By and large, ethnic women were occupied with the promotion of ethnocultural activities and with traditional concerns of motherhood and homemaking. Unlike Jewish women whose agenda clearly was altruistic, members of the UWAC did not give charity a high priority in their programmes. Whereas women of the mainstream society were not afraid of confronting sensitive issues, the UWAC deliberately avoided them. The Anglo-Canadian women, as part of the host society, felt comfortable in dealing with these various issues openly. The UWAC still needing to endorse the positive image of their group, preferred not to challenge controversial topics which were not officially sanctioned by the Ukrainian-Canadian elite.

Contact with Anglo-Canadian Women

In the early years of the UWAC, Savella and the National Executive recognized the importance of opening a dialogue with the respected national women's organization, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), and to become a member of this influential group. An affiliation could provide the prestige and credibility need for the UWAC to be

accepted as a serious and tenable national organization. The NCWC could act as a vehicle to disseminate information about Ukrainian issues and enhance the image of Ukrainian Canadians. Ol'ha Woycenko, in writing about Ukrainian community organizations, suggests "It was also important that Ukrainian women should become involved in women's councils, outside their own cultural milieu, that worked for the good of Canadian society as a whole."⁵⁶

The first contact with the NCWC was in 1929 when the students at Mohyla Institute were invited to perform at a concert at the NCWC annual convention held in Saskatoon.⁵⁷ In 1933, the UWAC submitted an application to the NCWC to be allowed to join. The application was rejected. Ostensibly the reason for not admitting the UWAC was that their constitution was not in the English language. After the constitution was translated, the UWAC was admitted as a member of the NCWC in 1937.⁵⁸ Frances Swyripa argues that the excuse of initial non-admittance might have been because of discrimination against 'foreign' women.⁵⁹ This theory is corroborated by Veronica Strong-Boag

Women belonging to non-charter ethnic groups were increasingly visible and active in separate organizations, such as the Finnish domestic groups and the Jewish Pioneer Women of Canada, that emerged in the 1920s. The agendas of such ethnic women were not easily encompassed within the mandate of traditional English-speaking bodies like the National Council and its middle-aged, Anglo-Celtic leadership.⁶⁰

Candace Savage agrees that "The Women's Canadian Club, with its dedication to British-Canadian culture and loyalty to the Queen, was not always friendly to ethnic organizations which were fiercely determined not to conform."⁶¹ Closer ties were made with mainstream women when in 1943 the provincial and local UWAC in Saskatoon hosted a reception and tea for the out-of-town members of the NCWC who were celebrating the NCWC Golden Jubilee in Saskatoon.⁶²

Ukrainian women tended not to conform and join existing mainstream organizations. In the Theodore district, for example, a Homemakers' Club was organized in 1914 and then a break away club formed in 1937 which was called the Good Neighbor Club.⁶³ Women of Ukrainian descent, rather than join any one of these clubs, decided in 1937 to establish a branch of the UWAC which is still active today.⁶⁴ Their language, culture and religious

affiliation bound them together and they experienced an empathy toward each other because of the sharing of a similar background. This camaraderie would not have been possible within an Anglo-Canadian women's organization since so often Ukrainian women felt discriminated against and alienated in the presence of the Anglo-Canadian society. This concern was reinforced by the established women's organizations who did not seriously encourage ethnic women to join.⁶⁵

Some Anglo-Canadian women and women's organizations did pay some attention to Ukrainian-Canadian women. With the relatively large population of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan, they could not be ignored completely. In the late 1920s, The Western Producer wrote of the woman's role in maintaining peace highlighting the Women's Peace Congress of that year. In 1926 they brought to attention the fact that women from Ukraine were unable to get passports to travel to the Congress.⁶⁶

The WCTU in the early 1900s had a very active Work Among Foreigners Department on the prairies. However, its work in Saskatchewan was mostly charitable which included supplying food, clothing and household goods to foreign families.⁶⁷ Research in Ukrainian literature with emphasis on Saskatchewan revealed no acknowledgements of aid from the WCTU.

The aim of the Homemakers' Clubs was to bring "together women for social and mental stimulation."⁶⁸ The women they were reaching were almost exclusively women in the Anglo-Canadian communities, who were a part of the mainstream and spoke the English language. Ukrainian-Canadian women were not targeted to be included within this group. In 1928 the Homemakers "set up a special committee to study immigration,"⁶⁹ but because of the drought and depression on the prairies, the critical situation of employment became the important issue. The Women's Department of the University of Saskatchewan in April 1932 under the category 'Suggestions re Specific Lines of Study and Activity' advised Club Convenors of Standing Committees, Homemakers' Clubs to "make case studies of immigrant families" and "organize community evenings of history, folk-songs and folk dances of English-speaking and non-English-speaking peoples."⁷⁰ The International Relations Convenor,

Mrs. A. Flavell, reported in 1934 that "There are many new Canadians in this District (Yorkton) and the clubs take a great interest in their special handicrafts and in getting to know them."⁷¹ There is no evidence as to what the outcome of these statements were. However, there is evidence that most women of Ukrainian descent did not associate socially with Anglo-Canadian women and did not as a rule join their organizations.

In an interview with Emmie Oddie, a one-time active member of Women's Institute (formerly Homemakers' Club), she admitted that she knew of no communication with Ukrainian-Canadian women in all her participation with the women's clubs.⁷² She felt that most ethnic women remained with their churches and affiliated organizations. Varpu Lindstrom-Best in her study of Finnish immigrant women concluded that "the women could only depend on themselves, and historically, were happiest within their own sexually and ethnically segregated groups"⁷³ and this would be true for most ethnic women. Ukrainian-Canadian women and other ethnic immigrant women shared a specific set of values familiar to their ethnicity. Their sense of identity as women and their female culture were reinforced by association with each other in their own ethnic organizations.

Savella Stechishin's mandate and practices of social feminism for the elevating of women of Ukrainian descent in Saskatchewan impacted on the women living in the bloc settlements and cities. Ukrainian-Saskatchewan women became acculturated by resisting assimilation into the mainstream. They practiced and revered their Ukrainianness while simultaneously participating in Canadian society, e.g., the war effort. The UWAC's policies, initiated by Savella, were restricted to 'safe' issues of Ukrainian national consciousness and good homemaking practices avoiding all controversial women's concerns. Retaining their ethnicity was more important than the social conditions of women and families.

Ukrainian-Saskatchewan women tended to 'ghettoize' within their own community and the Anglo-Canadian women's organizations on the whole left them to their own people. The differences in religion, customs, tradition, language and history separated Ukrainian-Canadian women from Anglo-Canadian and other ethnic women. As the years pass, the edges of both communities, Ukrainian and Anglo-Canadian, blur as positive interactions evolve.

ENDNOTES

1. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyzhka Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady z nahody 10-litmoho isnovannia, 1926-1936*, 81-84.
2. *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 97
3. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 81.
4. Ibid.
5. Sheva Medjuck, "If I Cannot Dance to It, It's Not My Revolution: Jewish Feminism in Canada Today," in *The Jews In Canada*, ed. Robert J. Brym, William Shaffir and Morton Weinfeld (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), 333.
6. Mary Tkachuk, translated by Marie Kishchuk, "The Ukrainian Museum of Canada of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. Historical Highlights - 1927-1977," in *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 973-974.
7. Stechishin, *Iuvileina knyzhka*, 84.
8. *Na storzhi kultury*, 45-111.
9. Note that the following locations had two branches each: Brooksby and Gronlid. Calder and another branch in Insinger had submitted their applications to the National Executive but at the time of publication of the 10th Anniversary Jubilee Book, these two branches had not been completely formalized and accepted into the Branch. It is very probable that they were accepted shortly thereafter.
10. *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 399-513.
11. Swyrypa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 63-70, 93-102.
12. Ibid., 93.
13. *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 411-962.
14. The list of branches: Meacham, Regina, Mazeppa, Yorkton, Gronlid, Wakaw, Prince Albert and Canora. Although the Saskatoon branch does not specially state subscribing, it is most likely that as the originating branch, they did.
15. Gronlid (2), Bankend, Prelate, Arran, Sheho, Yellow Creek, Ituna and Insinger.
16. Meacham, Regina, Whitkow, Gronlid, St. Julien, Prince Albert, Bankend, and Canora. Saskatoon branch had bought books for their library although their report does not mention this.
17. *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 420.
18. Ibid., 454.
19. Saskatoon, Meacham, Regina, Hafford, Gronlid, St. Julien, Insinger, Arran, Alysham, Insinger (Lysenko), Theodore, Shipman and Canora.

20. Saskatoon, Meacham, Sheho, Regina, Mazeppa, Whitkow, Hafford, Redfield, Brooksby, Tarnopol, Gronlid (1), St. Julien, Wakaw, Gronlid (2), Bankend, Prelate, Candiac, Wynyard, Alysham, Foston, Theodore, Codette, Shipman, Endeavour, Buchanan, and Canora.
21. Saskatoon, Meacham, Sheho, Regina, Mazeppa, Whitkow, Hafford, Redfield, Brooksby, Tarnopol, Gronlid (1), St. Julien, Wakaw, Gronlid (2), Bankend, Prelate, Foston, Theodore, and Canora.
22. Meacham, Sheho, Mazeppa, Whitkow, Redfield, Brooksby, Tarnopol, Gronlid (1), St. Julien, Wakaw, Yellow Creek, Gronlid (2), Bankend, Prelate, Insinger, Arran, Alysham, Foston, Cudworth and Donwell.
23. Boychuk, *Zoloty vinets: Pivstolittia viddilu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady*, 206-7.
24. Maria Korpan, Personal interview. Regina, 27 October, 1994.
25. Ibid.
26. Sonia Maryn, "Ukrainian-Canadian Women in Transition: From Church Basement to Board Room," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 10, 1 (Summer 1985), 94.
27. *Chvert stolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 411-521.
28. *Persha Recordova Knyzhka*.
29. Ukrainian Senior Citizens of Regina Association, *From Dreams to Reality*, 107.
30. Korpan, interview.
31. *Chvert stolittia*, 411-509; *Dreams to Reality*, 132; *Zoloty vinets* (Canora), 242 .
32. *Star-Phoenix*, Saskatoon, 9 May 1941.
33. UWAC Archives, File #84, Family Herald and Weekly Star, 28 January 1942 and Star Phoenix (date unknown) (last two headlines).
34. *Theodore and District History Book* (Theodore: Theodore Historical Club, 1987), 88.
35. Savage, *Foremothers*, 25.
36. Homemaker's Club, 33.
37. Ibid., 29.
38. Georgina M. Taylor, "Should I Drown Myself Now or Later?' The Isolation of Rural Women in Saskatchewan and Their Participation in the Homemakers' Clubs, the Farm Movement and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation 1910-1967," in *Women: Isolation and bonding. The Ecology of Genders*, ed. Kathleen Storrie (Toronto: Methuen, 1987), 82.
39. Medjuck, "If I Cannot Dance to It, It's Not My Revolution: Jewish Feminism in Canada Today," 334.
40. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load. Women, Work & Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," in *The Prairie West*, eds. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1992), 407; Linda Rasmussen et al, *A Harvest Yet to Reap*, 148-150.

41. "Wish She Could Call," Free Press Prairie Farmer (FPPE), Jan. 28, 1925, 17; "Let Chores Stand," FPPE, Feb. 6, 1925, 5; "Should Men Help with Housework?" The Grain Growers' Guide, March 1, 1927, 26; "We Women Should Go on Strike," FPPE, Jan. 1, 1936, 4.
42. "Dealing Death to Drudgery," FPPE, 9 December, 1926, 12.
43. S.J. Wilson. "The Women's Movement in the Nineteenth Century," Women, Families and Work. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1991), 111.
44. Prentice, et al., Canadian Women. A History, 293.
45. "Keeping the Stork in his Place," FPPE, March 3, 1920, 11; "Advocates Birth Control," The Western Producer, January 20, 1927, 12; "The High Cost of Motherhood," The Western Producer, October 4, 1928, 16; "Birth Control and War," The Western Producer, November 1, 1928, 16; "Baby Moratorium," FPPE, May 21, 1934.
46. Prentice et al., Canadian Women. A History, 293.
47. Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Women's Section, United Farmers of Canada, Sask. Section Limited, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, June 25th, 26th and 27th, 1929, 3.
48. Gail Cuthbert Brandt. "Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada," The Canadian Historical Review 72 (4), 1991, 461.
49. Taylor, "Should I Drown Myself Now or Later?", 82.
50. Varpu Lindstrom-Best. Defiant Sisters. A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), 79.
51. Paula J. Draper and Janice B. Karlinsky, "Abraham's Daughters: Women, Charity and Power in the Canadian Jewish Community," in Looking into My Sister's Eyes: an Exploration in Women's History. Ed. Jean Burnet (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), 75; Prentice et al. Canadian Women, 270.
52. Anna Feldman, "A woman of Valour Who Can Find?": Jewish-Saskatchewan Women in Two Rural Settings, 1882-1939," in "Other" Voices. Historical Essays on Saskatchewan Women. Eds. David DeBrou and Aileen Moffatt (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1995), 68.
53. Mathilde Jutras, "La Grande Nostalgie": French-Speaking Women and Homesickness in Early Twentieth-Century Saskatchewan," in "Other" Voices. Historical Essays on Saskatchewan Women. Eds. David DeBrou and Aileen Moffatt (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1995), 53.
54. Lesley Erickson, "The Interplay of Ethnicity and Gender: Swedish Women in Southeastern Saskatchewan," in "Other" Voices. Historical Essays on Saskatchewan Women. Eds. David DeBrou and Aileen Moffatt (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1995), 31.
55. Ibid., 35.
56. Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," in A Heritage in Transition. Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), 185. Woycenko was a respected Canadian born writer who wrote proficiently in both Ukrainian and English languages. She was on the national executive of the UWAC from 1942 to 1954, the last six years as

value in itself. The philosophy that if one has pride in one's own heritage, one can be proud of one's birth country, was embraced by the nationalists/intelligentsia and has echoed through this century. Savella raised this theory in 1925 in her call to unite Ukrainian women in Canada, Lord Tweedsmuir spoke of it in 1936 and recently, in 1997, Senator Raynell Andreychuk (former chancellor of the University of Regina, 1978-1983) said: "My heritage should be woven into the fabric of my country. If I did not respect my roots, if I didn't find that others respected them, then I would not be loyal with the same ferocity."¹

Having a liberal and supportive husband who was a principal member of the intelligentsia was a critical determinant in Savella's activism. She took advantage of being in the vanguard of fervent activities of the Ukrainian male elite as they navigated their people, a people of a peasant culture, to win respect and take their place alongside others as nation builders of Canada. The fact that she was 'at the right place, at the right time' and was able to grasp the opportunities available to her indicates that she was a woman with a vision and a mission enabling her to attain a high degree of accomplishment.

Savella proselytized to women of Ukrainian descent, regardless of political or religious biases, the idea of equality for women in their homes and communities. Women under the umbrella of a national Ukrainian-Canadian women's organization, Savella believed, would be able to have a strong and compatible relationship because of their commonality. Ukrainian-Canadian women were not separated from their ethnicity or their group. The primary concern was Ukrainianness and gender issues were secondary. She attempted to convince them that they had an inherent obligation and commitment to the solidarity of the group (male and female). Through self-enlightenment, they would be able to take a pro-active stance in their relationship with their families and communities. This was a confirmation of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League's slogan: self-respect, self-reliance, self-help. Reasons for Ukrainians in Canada to have resisted complete assimilation to the ferocious pressures generated by the host society may be due to their collective solidarity and personal self-esteem.²

Demonstrating her strong ties to her homeland, Savella looked across the Atlantic for her inspiration in the establishment of a national Ukrainian-Canadian women's organization,

and folk dancing--were and remain popular expressions of identity.⁵ Savella Stechishin was instrumental in bringing these visible symbols to the attention of the general public, thus projected a good image of a cultured people.

To be considered a cultured people, Savella, a social reformer/feminist, felt that the women had to learn the latest homemaking techniques, discarding the 'old country' ways. They had to become aware of, and participate in, the socio-economic Canadian women's sphere, such as the latest techniques of food preservation and efficient housekeeping practices as well as sharing ideas and companionship at gatherings. Seeing the need, she, on her own initiative, went out to teach women in the bloc settlements the current domestic science skills in their own language. This made it more accessible and convenient for them to participate in these homemaking practices. Savella enhanced the lives of individual women by uplifting and placing them into contemporary times so that they were able to take advantage of helpful information and consumer products available to most other Canadian women. The proximity of the bloc settlements to Saskatoon was advantageous to both Savella and the women.

In her activism during the first half of the twentieth century, she also displayed the principles of a social maternal feminist. She sought to have the home enriched, with the added dimension of Ukrainianness, for the sake of the children who were the future generation and therefore future leaders in Ukrainian-Canadian society as well as Canadian society at large. She agreed with the prevailing traditional view that the role of the woman was to be mother and housewife, a nurturer and the preserver of the family. In a study of ethnic groups in Western Canada, it was found that "ethnicity does not matter much" when it comes to attitudes of family behaviour and female and male roles;⁶ this was and is true of Ukrainian Canadians. The 'super Ukrainian mom', according to the mandate laid out by Savella Stechishin and her fellow activists, was to be very knowledgeable about her heritage and culture, be educated, imbue her children with their culture, participate within her own ethnic community and that of the mainstream and be a helpmate to her husband.

Encouraging children, particularly those raised in cities, to retain their language, thereby acknowledging their identity, was problematic for many parents. Raised in Winnipeg,

poet Maara Lazechko-Haas remembered: "I fought my parents when they insisted I speak Ukrainian at mealtimes, to keep up with the language, to acknowledge my identity."⁷ This pattern was repeated throughout Canada by many first generation Ukrainians born in Canada. Nationally-conscious mothers had to persevere doggedly to perpetuate their mother tongue. The mainstream society offered various diversions and aggressively competed for children's attention. Savella, practising the advice she extolled, spoke her native language exclusively with her own family, realizing that children would learn the dominant language very quickly.

The women's movement in mainstream society made a very limited impact on Canadian women of Ukrainian descent because the agenda of the UWAC was restricted to fulfilling primarily the need to preserve and promote Ukrainian culture. Savella, in her activism, prioritized all things Ukrainian in the women's movement. She also encouraged participation in the community, but circumscribed such activity within typically safe women's interests: children, education and household management. Such controversial topics as birth control, domestic abuse and poverty were publicly discussed not only by practising feminists in the mainstream women's movement but also by non-political ordinary Canadian women. These controversial female concerns were off limits for discussion within the sphere of the UWAC. During the second half of the twentieth century, this gap between the two movements caused the more broadminded Ukrainian Canadian women to choose to work in the mainstream women's movement.

Restricting women to activities of female concerns, and discouraging participation in the role of community leadership, which was perceived as belonging to a 'man's world,' precluded them from decision-making roles within Ukrainian-Canadian organizations. Although men's and women's divisions were and remain theoretically equal, men's divisions have traditionally assumed the leadership roles. In Ukrainian-Canadian organizations, women are usually found performing only auxiliary functions although they generally form the backbone of the organizations. By the 1980s, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the umbrella organization of the majority of Ukrainian-Canadian organizations,⁸ became acutely aware of these shortcomings. Women were joining mainstream groups rather than Ukrainian Canadian

women's organizations, and women's concerns were not being addressed by the leading Ukrainian-Canadian decision-makers due to lack of women's input.⁹ Few women of Ukrainian origin straddled both the mainstream and Ukrainian-Canadian women's organizations.

Although Savella encouraged the participation of women in mainstream community work, she applied more emphasis on counselling women to become enlightened through reading and studying with their major focus being the education and advancement of their children. Many of the members of the UWAC did follow her advice of self-enlightenment, but they added a very important component. This was the physical building of their communities (churches and halls), as well as a social structure in a female culture which meant forming friendships and socializing with other women. Although her directives were observed, the need to build churches and community halls to enhance social activities at times superseded self-education.¹⁰ With some of the members living at the edge of poverty, often basic survival took precedence and material needs had to be attended to rather than intellectual pursuits.

To reinforce the idea that the woman of Ukrainian origin in Canada was worthy of having her identity recognized as were other Canadian women, Savella promoted the example of strong-willed Ukrainian women of the past and present: Natalie Kobrynska, the first Ukrainian feminist; Olha Kobylianska, an author depicting independent women; Olha Basarab, a political activist. These women along with others, proved that Ukrainian women had a culture, a heritage and therefore an identity and an equality as Canadian citizens.

The aims and goals of Savella and her fellow activists in forming the UWAC were to safeguard and preserve the cultural assets of Ukrainian Canadians and also incorporate these assets into the cultural fabric of the Canadian nation.¹¹ Integration, but not assimilation, into Canadian society was an essential component of the mandate outlined by the UWAC of which Savella was the guiding light during the first decade of its existence. Savella illuminated the pathway for the Ukrainian Canadian women to follow. Like the emblem of the UWAC, the *Smolyskyp* (Torch) was carried on by other activists beyond the war years and into the present time.

In keeping with her unwavering beliefs, Savella in 1957 aptly dedicated the cookbook she had written, initiated by the National Executive of the UWAC, to: "The women who treasured and practised the rich traditions of their homeland and thereby preserved them for posterity in this fair and free land of their choice."¹² From her early days when she formulated her goals and the direction she would take to bring them to fruition, through the 1930s at the height of her activity and on through the end of the war years, Savella never lost sight of her beloved Ukrainian heritage and the role she envisioned for Ukrainian-Canadian women. During the years 1920 to 1945 Savella Stechishin dedicated her work with enthusiasm and strength to the betterment of her Ukrainian-Canadian sisters regardless of their religious or political affiliation. She was a determined liberated woman guided by ethnocultural social maternal feminist principles and has earned the qualifications to be recognized in the annals of Canadian history as an important female activist in the building of Canada.

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2. Paul Peters, "The Immigrant Experience - Another View," Canadian Dimension 14 (7) June 1980, 53.
3. Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, 494-495, 524-525.
4. Constitution, The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. Saskatoon: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1991, 36.
5. UWAC Archives, Great West Folksong, Folkdance and Handicrafts' Festival (Programme), Regina, March 20-25, 1929, organized by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The host society by 1929 had recognized the importance of displaying the 'mosaic' aspect of Canadian culture. Savella Stechishin was one of the members of the Ukrainian Choir of Saskatoon who performed at this festival.
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7. Maara Haas, "In Search of Multicultural Woman," Canadian Women Studies, 4 (2) Winter 1982, 5.
8. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, established in November 1940, recently renamed Ukrainian Canadian Congress, is the umbrella organization for all Ukrainian Canadian organizations excluding the procommunists organizations.
9. Ukrainian Community Development Committee-Prairie Region. Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century. A Blueprint for Action. Edmonton, 1986, 14-15.
10. "A First Meeting of the Ukrainian Women's Association," a painting by William Kurelek commissioned by the UWAC in 1967. Ukrainian Pioneer Women, Ukrainian Museum of Canada (Art Catalogue), 1991. The inspiration for the painting was the recollection of Olga Hamara who attended the first meeting in Yorkton, 1928: "The members met at the parish hall. It was a cold night and the only source of heat was the pot-bellied stove, where I and all the children stayed to keep warm. The members kept their coats on and sat on benches facing the stage. The Executive sat behind the table facing them. The priest's wife, always in a hat, sat with them. The curtain covering the stage was one huge advertising tableau."
11. Stephanie Sawchuk, "Our Women in Ukrainian and Canadian Life," in First Ukrainian Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943), 163.
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GLOSSARY

Organizations

Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady - Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada
Soiuz Ukrainok - Union of Ukrainian Women
Soiuz Ukrainok Ameriky - Ukrainian National Women's League of America
Ukrainskyi Zhinochyi Soiuz - Ukrainian Women's Society
Soiuz Ukrainsiv Samostiinyktiv - Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
Ukrainske Narodne Mestatsstvo - Ukrainian Folk Arts Council

Books

Iuvileina knyzhka Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady z nahody 10-litnoho isnovannia, 1926-1936 -
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 Kobylianska Branch, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, the First Branch of the Ukrainian Women's
 Association of Canada

Iuvileina knyha 25-littia Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941 -
Jubilee Book of Twenty-five Years of the Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon,
 1916-1941

Na storzhi kultury - Guardians of Culture

Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Narys istorii Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady 1926-1976
A Half-Century of Service to the Community. An Outline History of the Ukrainian Women's
 Association of Canada 1926-1976

Persha Recordova Knyzhka - First Record Book

Newspapers and Magazines

Ukrainskyi holos - Ukrainian Voice
Ukrainskyi visti - Ukrainian News
Nova khata - The New Home
Zhinocha dolia - Women's Fate

Common Terms

bursa/bursy - student residence/residences
narodni domy - Ukrainian National Homes (community halls)
pysanka/pysanky - Easter egg/eggs

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

Ukrainian Population in Canada by Province

<u>Year</u>	<u>Atlantic</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>Manitoba</u>	<u>Sask.</u>	<u>Alberta</u>	<u>B.C.</u>
1951	1,431	12,921	93,595	98,753	78,399	86,957	22,613
1941	735	8,006	48,158	89,762	79,777	71,868	7,563
1931	883	4,340	24,426	73,606	63,400	55,872	2,583
1921	392	1,176	8,307	44,129	28,097	23,827	793
1911	300	458	3,078	31,078	22,276	17,584	682
1901	0	6	31	3,894	1,094	634	23

Source: *Darcovich and Yuzyk, Series 20.63-80, p. 43.*

TABLE 2

Ethnic Population of Saskatchewan

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u>	<u>British</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Scandinavian</u>
1961	78,851	373,482	59,824	158,209	67,553
1941	79,777	398,000	50,500	130,200	60,000
1921	28,097	400,416	23,080	36,521	-

Source: *Historical Statistics of Canada*

TABLE 3

Population of Ukrainian Men and Women in Saskatchewan

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>%</u>
1951	78,399	41,205	53	37,194	47
1941	79,777	42,159	53	37,618	47
1931	63,400	34,308	54	29,092	46
1921	28,097	15,173	54	12,924	46
1911	22,276	12,430	56	9,846	44
1901	1,094	0	0	0	0

Source: *Darcovich and Yuzyk, Series 20.63-80, p. 43.*

TABLE 4

**Population of Ukrainian Women in Canada and Saskatchewan
and Urban and Rural Ukrainian Women in Saskatchewan**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Canada</u>	<u>Total Sask.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>%</u>
1951	186,749	37,194	20	8,228	22	28,966	78
1941	143,329	37,618	26	7,283	19	30,335	81
1931	102,341	29,092	28	4,712	16	24,380	84
1921	48,867	12,924	26	-	-	-	-
1911	31,906	9,846	31	-	-	-	-
1901	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Darcovich and Yuzyk, compiled from Series 20.1-28, p. 26 and Series 22.1-16, p. 132.

TABLE 5

**Percentage Distribution of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan Divisions for the years
1921 and 1941**

<u>Division Nos.</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>No. of Branches</u>
5	7%	3%	4
6	4%	5%	1
8	1%	1%	2
9	38%	34%	15
10	11%	10%	5
11	2%	5%	1
14	3%	8%	3
15	20%	16%	9
16	10%	8%	4

Note: Divisions 1, 2, 3, 7, 12, 13, 17 had only 1 percent of the population and division 4 had no Ukrainians. No branches were established in any of these divisions.

Source: Darcovich and Yuzyk, compiled from Series 20.63-80 (p. 41-43) and Series 21.1-242, (p.64-65) and Iuvileina knyzhka Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady z nahody 10-litnoho isnovannia.

APPENDIX B

Notable Authors and Activists of Ukraine

NATALIA OSARKEVYCH KOBRYNSKA (1851-1920), born in Carpathia, Galicia (Western Ukraine), is considered the founder of the women's movement in Ukraine.¹ She was the first outspoken theoretician of feminist thought among Ukrainians and the first to organize secular Ukrainian women's associations. She was one of the first women in Europe to "advocate the fusion of feminism with socialism."² Her most important aim was to advance education amongst Ukrainian women to increase their socio-economic status and self-worth within Ukrainian society.

Having founded the Society of Ruthenian Women with the initial meeting on 7 October 1884 with 95 women in Stanislaviv, she then arranged the first public session on 8 December 1884 calling on all Ukrainian women.³ Another important event in Ukrainian feminist history is her publishing the Almanac, *Pershyi vinok* (The First Wreath), in 1887 (with Olena Pchilka) in which she espoused her feminist views.⁴ The Almanac had three main goals: to serve as a literary aid to women, to develop their self-confidence, and, by publishing works of Ukrainian women from the Russian Empire in tandem with Western Ukraine, to stress the solidarity of Ukrainian women.

With her own funds, she published a magazine aimed at women, *Nasha dolia* (Our Fate), in 1893, 1895 and 1896.⁵ Through the magazine and through personal appearances, she attempted to popularize the idea of the organization of women for self-improvement and fuller participation in the life of the community. Another high priority with her was the practise of good nutrition by women. She was the first to advocate that educated women made better mothers.⁶

Kobrynska, born to a Catholic priest and married to one, came from an intellectual family. So dedicated to her vision, her husband and she decided not to have children so that she could devote herself to the cause of women.

OLHA KOBYLANSKA (1865-1942), born in Bukovyna, Western Ukraine, of a German-Polish mother and Ukrainian father, wrote the first and most popular feminist novel in Ukrainian literature, *Tsarivna* (The Princess) published in 1896.⁷

She began to write in Ukrainian upon becoming friendly with Natalia Kobrynska and published her first short stories in Ukrainian. Originally, she wrote in German since German was spoken in her parents' home. She became a close friend of both Kobrynska and Lesia Ukrainka, another famous woman writer.⁸

Her popularity grew as a writer and she became one of the most widely read Ukrainian authors in Ukraine, Canada and the diaspora.⁹ Although she disclaimed her feministic views, her fiction spoke to generations of Ukrainian women and even men.¹⁰ Her fiction inspired a feminism championing freedom and independence for the woman.¹¹

Kobylianska believed in the independence of Ukraine but did not actively participate in the political arena. She did not publicly advocate socialism as Kobrynska and was more popular with the pioneering Ukrainian-Canadian women activists who tended to be fiercely anti-Bolshevik and anti-Communist and equating socialism with the left wing in Canada. Kobylianska remained unmarried.

MARKO VOVCHOK (Mariia Vilinska Markovych Zhuchenko) (1834-1907) was born to a Russified landowning family. Upon her marriage to Markovych, a member of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood (the Brotherhood fostered a federation of Slavic peoples whereby each

nation would be virtually independent) and due to her husband, she became converted to Ukrainianism. All the members were sent into exile by the Tsar for sedition in 1847. Vovchok met her husband when he was exiled to the town in which she lived.¹²

Although she did not espouse direct feminism in her writing, she drew on history and contemporary life. Vovchok's life spanned the period of the renaissance of Ukrainian national spirit and the birth of Ukrainian literature based on lives of real people.¹³ One of her many books, *Marusia*, a popular novel, was eventually made into a movie in North America becoming popular in Canada with Ukrainian Canadians in the 1940s and 1950s.

Vovchok became a popular and wellknown author who appealed to the masses earning the praise of being the outstanding prose writer of her period.¹⁴ Taras Shevchenko, the national bard of Ukraine, saw her as his heir in the literary field. She had spent several years in St. Petersburg and was known in Russian literary circles.¹⁵ In fact, Turgenev (an eminent Russian author) learned Ukrainian to translate her stories into Russian.¹⁶

LESIA UKRAINKA (Larisa Kosach-Kvitka) (1871-1913), a second generation "feminist", was the daughter of Olena Pchilka, a feminist in her own right and an ardent Ukrainian nationalist and staunch supporter, along with her husband, of the Ukrainian cultural movement.¹⁷

Ukrainka is considered the greatest Ukrainian women writer and poet, one of the most cultured women of her time, well versed in the literature of the world.¹⁸ She mastered eight languages besides Ukrainian which was invaluable in her studies of world history and literature.¹⁹ At the age of nine, she had her first poem published and at 21 years her first collection of lyrics was published by the eminent poet, Ivan Franko.²⁰ She was prolific in that she wrote plays, poetry, and novels. Her inspiration was drawn from classical antiquity, early Christian, Western and Eastern Middle Ages, and European literature.²¹

Her most influential teacher was her uncle, Professor M. Drahomaniv, a prominent radical political emigre in Bulgaria. Drahomaniv was active within the democratic Ukrainian movement and together with other radicals aspired for national, social and political freedom for Ukraine.²² These aspirations are reflected in her works. In her writings, she also portrayed strong individualistic characters and advocated education of Ukrainian women. Ukrainka almost always chose subjects for her poetry which had at least some indirect significance for Ukraine and the cause of its people. In the following example, she compares an orgy in the Roman period to the raping of Ukraine and its confinement of women:

And why can't I go?
 The Roman women can go everywhere,
 Why can we not follow their example?
 I'll go and say "My husband is unwell,
 But so as not to disappointment Maecenas
 He sent me, being his wife, to the reception?"²³

She married but did not have children. Coming from a close knit family, she often took care of her younger sisters, and yet having grown up surrounded by independent women she, in typical female fashion, sewed and embroidered well²⁴. Her fame was almost entirely posthumous having died at an early age due to contracting tuberculosis in her youth.²⁵

OLENA PCHILKA (Olha Drahomanov Kosach) (1849-1930), is important in the development of the Ukrainian women's movement. She was energetic, dedicated and actively involved in all aspects of Ukrainian cultural and political life.²⁶ Her husband was a judge and they were members of the upper middle class 'cultured' circles in Kiev and in other centres they lived.

Adamantly believing in nationhood and solidarity for Ukraine, she took every opportunity to foster close co-operation among Ukrainians in both the Russian and Austrian Empires.²⁷

She resisted the social pressures to use Russian as a language which enhanced upward mobility and insisted her children learn Ukrainian and Ukrainian was spoken in the home exclusively. All six of their children received their education at home from hired teachers, rather than at the Russified schools in Ukraine.²⁸

Since her style of writing was similar to Jane Austen, which was not fashionable at the time, her body of work was not popular. Her advocacy of Ukrainianism was embraced by Ukrainian women and Ukrainian-Canadian women. Besides being well known as "mother of Lesia Ukrainka", she is equally famous and respected as a Ukrainian woman activist.

OLHA BASARAB (1889 - 1924), was one of the leading women in the secret organization known as Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) in the interwar years. The UVO was dissatisfied with the Polish domination of Western Ukraine after WW I and attempted to throw off the Polish yoke.²⁹

Basarab was also active within the Ukrainian women's movement and became the first treasurer of the Union of Ukrainian Women (Soiuz Ukrainok) in 1922.³⁰ She is considered a Ukrainian "Joan of Arc" because she gave up her life for the Ukrainian independence cause. Arrested by the Polish police for activities as an intelligence courier for the illegal UVO, she was brutally killed in jail without betraying her comrades or the cause.³¹ Her martyr's death had an aura that inspired the activities of women in Ukraine and in the diaspora.

TARAS SHEVCHENKO (1814-1861), the foremost and revered poet of Ukraine born a serf in the region of Kiev, is often compared to Robbie Burns of Scotland. Not only was he a poet, but also, a respected painter having studied painting in St. Petersburg and having lived there a number of years. He was not only the greatest of Ukrainian poets, but was the first writer who was purely Ukrainian and believed in an independent Ukraine with its own language and literature (separate from dominant Russia)³².

His first collections of poems was published in 1840 under the title *Kobzar* (Folk Minstrel) and is collected and read to the present time.³³ Shevchenko encapsulated Ukraine's thousand years of history and vicissitudes in his *Kobzar*. He idealized and glorified the Cossack period of Ukraine and became recognized as a powerful spokesman of Ukrainian nationhood. With his pen, he fought for the rights and freedom of the Ukrainian peasantry, vigorously protesting the injustices administered by the ruling classes. Through his poetry, he also admonished his own people for their past and present errors, and urged them to rise to the numerous challenges facing them to secure their freedom. "He is unique among world poets in that he restored single-handed a submerged folk's consciousness of its separate identity and roused it to assert itself supremely as a nation."³⁴

Because he was sympathetic to the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, he was arrested, along with the members, by the tsarist police in 1847 as a subversive and exiled. He was meted out the harshest punishment due to his ridiculing the family of Tzar Nicholas I in his poem, *The Dream*, and his condemnation of the Russian aggression against his people in his writings. In 1857 he was given amnesty by Nicholas' heir, Alexander II, a broken man. However, he was able to return to St. Petersburg to complete his studies in art and was given the title of academician at the Imperial Academy of Art.³⁵

He died at the age of forty-seven and was buried in St. Petersburg, but in his poem *My Testament* he wished to be buried in his beloved Ukraine. A few months later, his remains were

transferred by his countrymen to his chosen place on a hill at Kaniv overlooking the Dniper River. Immediately his burial-mound became a place of pilgrimage for Ukrainians from all over the world and remains so to this day.

IVAN FRANKO (1856-1916), is second only to Shevchenko in importance, but he is even greater as a complete humanist - his interest and knowledge covered a broad spectrum from poet, dramatist to sociologist and politician. His radical views curtailed his ambition to enter politics and further, due to his agnostic beliefs, he was unable to secure employment for which he was easily qualified. This caused him to eke out a miserable livelihood for many years.. In 1894 he had earned a doctorate from the University of Vienna in literature.³⁶

Franko's poetry raised him to eminence above all his contemporaries. One of his famous poems, *Ivan Vishensky*, concludes that the freedom of his countrymen is more important than his own soul.³⁷ Lesia Ukrainka respected Franko and often sought his advice, sending him her manuscripts for his comments.³⁸

Born in Galicia (Western Ukraine), to a poor village blacksmith, his chief concern was dedicated to the material betterment of Ukrainians in the left bank.³⁹ The socialism he advocated was to uplift the socio-economic strata of his people. For a number of years, his people did not readily accept his methods and he battled the prejudices and animosity hurled at him. After twenty-five years of public and literary activities, the Ukrainians in Galicia accepted Franko as their leader on the road to freedom and an independent Ukraine.⁴⁰

Through his famous poem, *Kameniar* (The Stonecutters), he illustrated the plight of his people.⁴¹ He was studied by all Ukrainians as well as Ukrainian Canadians. The students at Petro Mohyla Institute adopted the name of this poem for their students' club, demonstrating their reverence for Franko and his teachings.

ENDNOTES

1. Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia, 332.
2. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 75.
3. Maria Oryschuk, "Women's Rights and Women Journalists," Promin, Vol 5 (6) June 1964, 15-16; Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 75.
4. Lydia Burachinska, et al, Woman of Ukraine. Her Part on the Scene of History, in Literature, Arts, and Struggle for Freedom, (Philadelphia: Ukrainian National Women's League of America, 1955), 12.
5. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 75.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 105.
8. Natalia Kohuska, "Selected Luminaries of Ukrainian Literature," in Essays from the History of Ukrainian Culture, (Edmonton: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Natalia Kobrynska Foundation, 1984), 166.
9. Ibid., 108.
10. Honore Ewach, "Ol'ha Kobylanska's Followers," Promin, Vol. 5 (6), June 1964, 17.
11. Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia, 1035; Lydia Burachinska, 21.
12. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 9-10.
13. Kohuska, 126-127.
14. Clarence A. Manning. Ukrainian Literature. Studies of the Leading Authors, (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1944), 63.
15. Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia, 1020.
16. Burachinska et al, Women of Ukraine, 21; Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia, 1020.
17. Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 10-11.
18. C.H. Andrysyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 254.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.; Orysia Prokopiw, An Introduction to Lesya Ukrayinka. (Calgary: The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Olha Basarab Branch, 1971).
21. Prokopiw; Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia, 1040.
22. Constantine Bida, Lesya Ukrayinka, (Toronto: Women's Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1968), 14; Manning, Ukrainian Literature, 90.

23.Bida, 165.

24.Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 11.

25.Bida, 7.

26.Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 11.

27.Ibid.

28.Prokopiw; Bida, 5.

29.Burachinska etal, 46.

30.Bohachevksy-Chomiak., 163-164.

31.Frances Swyripa, "The Ideas of the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada, 1930-1945," in Beyond the Vote. Canadian Women and Politics. Eds. Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 239.

32.Manning, 53.

33.Ibid., 43.

34.Andrysyshen and Watson, 87.

35.Ibid., 88.

36.Manning, 80.

37.Andrysyshen and Watson, 203.

38.Bida, 29.

39.Kohuska, 138.

40.Andrysyshen and Watson., 204.

41.Kohuska, 139.

APPENDIX C

TABLE OF ACTIVITIES
of
UKRAINIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION BRANCHES IN SASKATCHEWAN

Using A Half-Century of Service to the Community. An Outline History of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada 1926-1976 as the source, it was found that besides each branch financially supporting their church and Ukrainian National Home, the branches listed below, due to suggestions by the UWAC, financially supported the following:

Ukrainian Musuecum of Canada

Saskatoon	924
Regina	928
Canora	932
Redfield	930
Whitkow	937
St. Julien	938
Gronlid	939
Hafford	941
Wakaw	944
Wimmer	945
Yellow Creek	946
Prince Albert	949
Donwell	951
Codette-Aylsham	952
Wynyard	953
Meacham	955
Theodore	954

St. Andrew's College, Winnipeg

Saskatoon	925
Regina	928
Yorkton	934
Gronlid	939
Mazeppa	942
Wimmer	945
Ituna	950
Codette-Aylsham	952
Wynyard	953
Theodore	954
Meacham	955

P. Mohyla Institute

Saskatoon	924
Melville	925
Sheho	926
Regina	928
Redfield-Richard	930
Canora	932
Yorkton	934
Brooksby	935
Whitkow	937
St. Julien	938
Gronlid	939
Hafford	941
Mazeppa	942
Wakaw	944
Wimmer	945
Prince Albert	949
Ituna	950
Donwell	951
Codette-Aylsham	952
Wynyard	953
Theodore	954
Meacham	955
Cudworth	958
Buchanan	958

The following branches were influenced by UWAC to take the following initiatives:

Educational-Cultural Directives

Saskatoon	922
Melville	925-6
Sheho	926
Regina	927
Redfield	929
Canora	932
Yorkton	934
Brooksby	935
Whitkow	936
Gronlid	942
Wakaw	943
Wimmer	945
Yellow Creek	946
Prince Albert	948
Ituna	949
Donwell	950
Weirdell	956

Note: In the 25th Anniversary Book, every branch reported following the directives of the UWAC National Executive.

Participated in Red Cross

Melville	925-6
Redfield	929
Whitkow	937
Yorkton	933
Gronlid	939
Hafford	940
Wakaw	944
Yellow Creek	946
Mazeppa	942
Wynyard	953
Theodore	954
Cudworth	957

Note: In the 25th Anniversary Book, every branch reported they had participated in the Red Cross program during World War II. The majority as well had contributed funds to the purchase of an ambulance project initiated by the UWAC National Executive.

The branches listed below were influenced by past students of

P. Mohyla Institute

Melville	924
Sheho	926
Yorkton	933
Mazeppa	941
Wakaw	943
Yellow Creek	945
Prince Albert	948
Donwell	950
Meacham	954

UWAC Branches - 1936 and 1946 - Saskatchewan1936

Alvena
 Arran
 Bankend
 Brooksby - 2
 Buchanan
 Calder
 Candiac
 Canora
 Donwell
 Eatonia
 Edmore
 Glaslyn
 Glen Elder
 Goodeve
 Gronlid - 2
 Hafford
 Insinger - 2
 Marlin
 Meacham
 Melville
 Mikado
 Norquay
 Parkerview
 Pelly
 Preeceville
 Prelate
 Prince Albert
 Rama
 Regina
 Reynaud
 St. Julien
 Saskatoon
 Sheho
 Smuts
 Strong Pine
 Tarnopol
 Theodore
 Wakaw
 West Bend
 Whitkow
 Wimmer
 Wishart
 Yellow Creek
 Yorkton

1946

Aylsham
 Arran
 Bankend
 Brooksby
 Buchanan
 Candiac
 Canora
 Codette
 Cudworth
 Donwell
 Eatonia
 Endeavour
 Foston
 Gronlid -2
 Hafford
 Honeymoon
 Hudson Bay
 Insinger
 Insinger (Lysenko)
 Ituna
 Kamsack
 Mazeppa
 Meacham
 Melville
 Prelate
 Prince Albert
 Redfield
 Regina
 St. Julien
 Saskatoon
 Sheho
 Shipman/Smuts
 Tarnopol
 Theodore
 Wakaw
 Weirdale
 Westbrook-Theodore
 Whitkow
 Wimmer
 Wynyard
 Yellow Creek
 Yorkton
 18 defunct by 1946
 15 new branches by 1946



UNIVERSITY OF REGINA

OFFICE OF ASSOCIATE VICE-PRESIDENT AND DEAN
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

DATE: October 16, 1996

TO: Natalie Ostryzniuk
Department of History

FROM: G.W. Maslany, Chair
Research Ethics Review Committee

Re: **Savella Stechishin: A Case Study in Ukrainian Canadian Women Activism,
1920-1045**

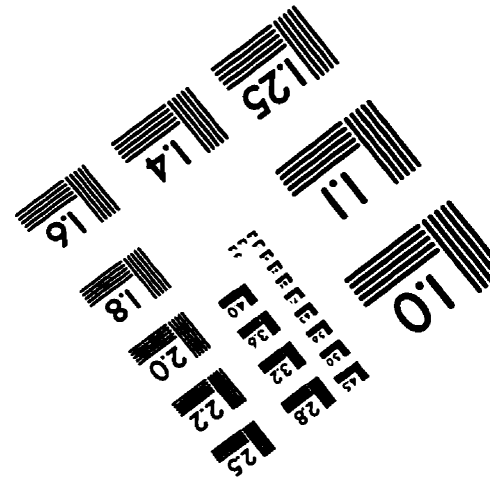
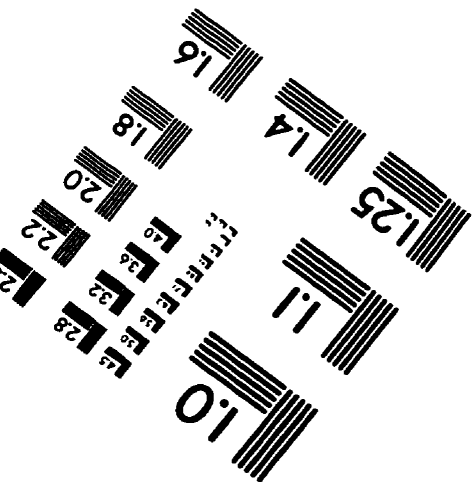
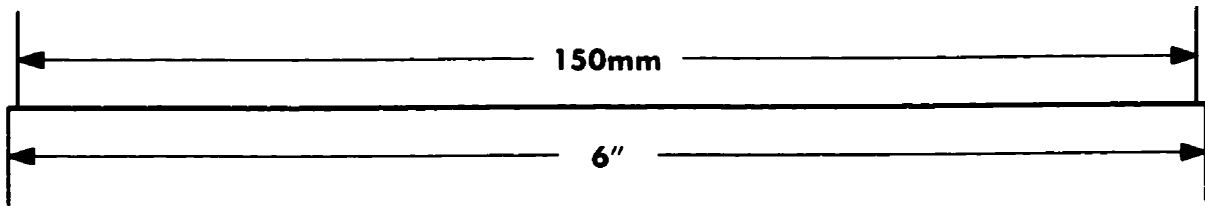
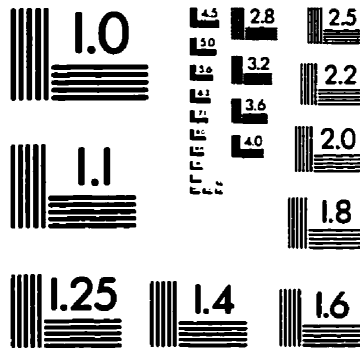
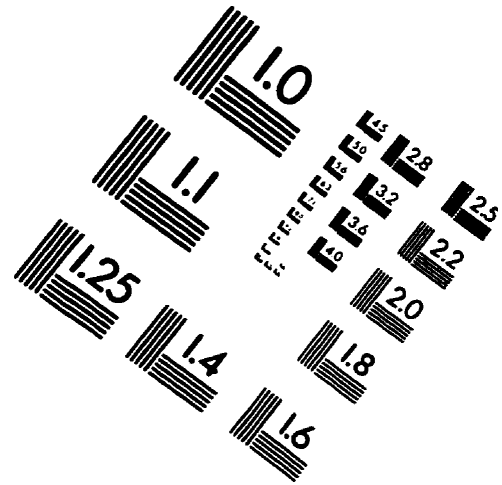
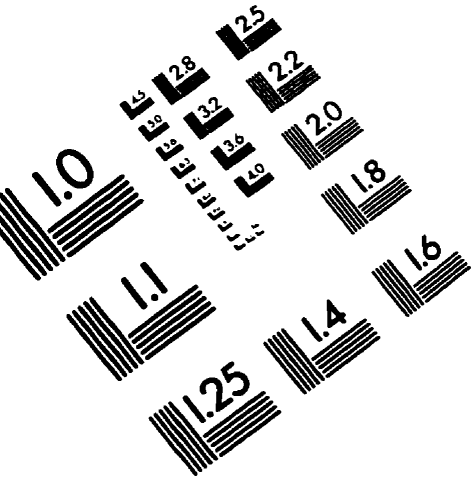
Please be advised that the committee has considered this proposal and has agreed that it is:

1. Acceptable as submitted.
(Note: Only those applications designated in this way have ethical approval for the research on which they are based to proceed.)
2. Acceptable subject to the following changes and precautions (see attached):
Note: These changes must be resubmitted to the Committee and deemed acceptable by it prior to the initiation of the research. Once the changes are regarded as acceptable a new approval form will be sent out indicating it is acceptable as submitted.
Please address the concerns raised by the reviewer(s) by means of a supplementary memo.
3. Unacceptable to the Committee as submitted. Please contact the Chair for advise on whether or how the project proposal might be revised to become acceptable (ext. 4161/5186.)

/mm

cc: Pitsula, supervisor
(Ethics2.doc)

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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