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A house like no other:
An architectural and social history of the Ukrainian Labour Temple,
523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa, 1923-1967
by
Suzanne Holyck Hunchuck, BA (Hons) Art History and Architecture, Carleton University

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

2001.03.01

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**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
“A house like no other: An architectural and social history of the Ukrainian
Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa, 1923-1967”
Submitted by Suzanne Holyck Hunchuck, B.A. Honours (Carleton)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.**

Angela Carr, Thesis Supervisor

Bryan Gillingham, Director: SSAC

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April 2001

Abstract

Traditional architectural histories of Canada have tended to define the Ukrainian architectural presence only in terms of the sacro-religious or the rustico-picturesque. The more complex reality -- that of the community's secularity, urbanity, and proletarianization throughout its history -- is demonstrated by a third building type, the *chytalnia* or reading room, of which a Labour Temple is a socialist/pro-communist variant. These institutions were often found in urban centres where they were frequently located in industrial vernacular houses. Their study therefore confounds conventional notions of Ukrainian piety and rusticity, of a historical geography that consists exclusively of rural Prairie settlement, and of formalist paradigms regarding architectural form. Similarly, the architectural history of Ottawa has been predicated upon monumentality and picturesque settings to the neglect of regional vernacular forms, as well as upon a bilingual/bicultural ethnoculture that negates the polyethnic nature of the city.

This study posits the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple as a case study for exploring the limitations of traditional historiography regarding vernacular architecture, Ukrainians in Canada, and industrial vernacular housing in Ottawa.

Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa (1910)

Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, c. 1929. Source: Almanakh TURF-Dim, 132

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This thesis is dedicated to Stephania Holyck Hunchuck and to the memory of Nicholas Hunchuck (1921-1980).

Preface

The transliteration into English of Ukrainian terms and proper names is fraught with historical idiosyncracies. I use the currently accepted English-language transliteration of Ukrainian place names, such as Halychynya and Lviv, rather than Galicia and Lvov or Lwow. An exception occurs with the Kiew (Alberta) Labour Temple, for which I respect the spelling as used by its builders and contemporary historians. In the case of personal names, the spelling follows that in the original sources when they are cited directly, followed by the standard English version in parentheses in the first mention. Therefore, Petro Haideychuk [Peter Haideychuk] also appears in notes and appendices as Peter Hardchuck, Peter Harchuck and Peter Haideichuk, depending on the source. All transliterations of Ukrainian-language terms have been italicized, with the exception of bibliographic references in which publication titles have been underlined.

My use of the terms "socialists" and "pro-communists" is inspired by Orest Martynowych's proposal that the former phrase is appropriate to describe Ukrainian leftists in Canada prior to the end of the First World War, and the latter is intended for Ukrainian Labour Temple followers afterwards.

In regard to architectural terminology, although other writers have used the term *narodne dim*, or "national home" or "people's home" as a general one for all Ukrainian halls in Canada, I use *chytalnia*, or "reading room," as a generic, apolitical term for the building type. The use of the phrase "industrial vernacular" is indebted to Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth. "La maison dites "hulloise"" was coined by Michelle Guitard to loosely classify the wooden industrial vernacular housing of the area, which, she correctly notes, is an architectural phenomenon indigenous to the region on both sides of the Ottawa River.

Glossary**Batkivschyna -- Fatherland*****Borotsia za Volia* -- Struggle for Freedom (USDP branch, Lethbridge, Alberta)*****chordna hromada* -- lit., black community; loosely, demi-monde*****chytalnia* -- reading room (pl. *chytalni*)*****dim, dom* -- house, home (pl. *domi*)*****Dom Hromadske* -- community home*****Doroha na Volia* -- Road to Freedom (USDP branch, Coalhurst, Alberta)*****Farmerske Dim* -- lit., farmers' home; loosely, Farmer's Temple*****Iednist* -- Solidarity (USDP Branch, Calgary)*****klub* -- club (pl. *klubi*)*****Narodne Dim* -- national home, people's home*****narodnyi budynok* -- people's building*****Nove Zhyttia* -- New Life (USDP branch, Ottawa)*****palaty kulturi* -- palaces of culture*****palaty pratsi* -- workers' palaces*****prosvita* -- enlightenment*****Ridne Shkola* -- Ukrainian language school*****Robitnyche Dim* -- lit., worker's home; loosely, Labour Temple*****rushnyk* -- embroidered cloth*****selianski budnyky* -- village building*****tryzub* -- trident, symbol of Ukrainian nationalism*****viddil* -- branch**

Vilna Dumka -- Free House (USDP branch, Bellevue, Alberta)

Volia -- Freedom (USDP branch, Fernie, British Columbia)

xata -- house, hut (pl. *xati*)

Abbreviations

AUC -- Association of Ukrainian Canadians (1943-1946)

AUUC -- Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (1946-present)

CPC -- Communist Party of Canada (1922-present)

FUSD -- Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats (1909-1912)

ICOMOS -- International Council of Monuments and Sites

IWW -- Industrial Workers of the World (1905-present)

LACAC -- Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee (Ottawa)

RN -- Robochi narod/Robitnyche narod (*The Working People*), newspapers of the

FUSD/USDP

UC -- *Ukrainian Canadian*, newspaper of the AUUC

ULTA -- Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (1920-1924)

ULFTA -- Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (1924-1940)

USDP -- Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (1912-1918)

WBA -- Workers Benevolent Association (1922-present)

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Chapter 1: What is to be undone -- Introduction and literature review

By excluding from the record immigrants because they did not have the leisure or the language skills to memorialize themselves, we have condoned the practice of seeing the newcomer through the eyes of the assimilators, controllers, and exploiters, and of regarding the immigrant worker himself as a dangerous and unreliable mute. If we fail to interview the last surviving member of an ethnic fraternal organization, fail to plumb the depth of his attitude toward Canada and the old country, to explore the depths of ethnic feeling in his life and to understand his reactions to rebuffs or his attitude toward separate ethnic identity, we allow a new generation of historians to treat that man as a statistic rather than as a historical actor. It is no different from counting him merely as a migrant navvy, a Bohunk, or a Wop. The broad categories of prejudice are conveniences for those too lazy to comprehend the complicated nature of man in society and of ethnicity.¹

Ukrainians [in Canada prior to 1920] were generally unable and unwilling to avail themselves of milled lumber and other mass-produced building components.²

The older streets [of Ottawa] preserve their Victorian air of gentility and circumspection to a remarkable degree, whilst the newer ones are rare which do not enshrine a battlemented ministry or pinnacled convent somewhere along their foliage of maple or elm. However, in average building without benefit of architect, a jaundiced eye may detect a greater use here than elsewhere of various unpleasant *ersatz* materials such as brick or stone simulated in paper. Thus the shanty tradition is still operative.³

[La maison dites "hulloise"] meets the specific needs of the traditional French-Canadian family.⁴

¹Harney, 1978a, unpag.

²Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 509

³Hubbard, 414

⁴Lapointe, 50

The Ukrainian architectural presence in Canada has been traditionally delineated only in terms of the sacro-religious or the rustico-picturesque and illustrated in two ways: by vernacular churches of a neo-Byzantine or neo-Baroque type, or by the *xata*, the 6 000-year old cottage type of wood frame, mud daub, and thatch (pl. *xati*). Indeed, the depiction of an onion-domed Ukrainian church on a Greek cross plan or a modest thatched cottage profiled against a Prairie landscape has become one of the enduring clichés of Canadian architectural history (figs. 1-1 to 1-4). However, while it is undoubtedly true that Ukrainians have built hundreds of distinctive churches across Canada and innumerable *xati* in the Prairies provinces during the last decade of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries, they also created hundreds of a third type of building, the *chytalnia*, or reading room (pl. *chytalni*).

The *chytlania* is a cultural-educational and political centre, descended from the popular culture of mid-19th century Ukraine. In Canada, it evolved into two main types: the *narodne dim*, or people's home, which was, generally, independent but nationalistic and right-centrist in political orientation, and the *robotnyche dim*, literally, a "workers' home;" more commonly, a Labour Temple, which was dedicated to pro-communist policies and social activism.

In contrast to the *xata*, *chytalni* were not unique to the Prairies, but were found also in industrial centres seldom considered part of the historical geography of Ukrainian settlement in Canada at the turn of the 20th century -- such as in, for example, Sydney (Nova Scotia), Val d'Or (Québec), Vancouver, and Ottawa. Lacking the distinctly Ukrainian forms of the church and the *xata*, *chytalni* were almost always located in simple, virtually astylistic, structures in rural and frontier locations, or were inserted into pre-existing industrial

vernacular houses, particularly in urban centres. The latter was the case with the Ottawa Labour Temple.

The form and the function of Ukrainian Labour Temple *chytalnia* -- and of industrial vernacular houses in general -- have been overlooked by canonical art histories that have tended to emphasize the picturesque qualities of Ukrainian folk architecture in Prairie settings to more complex analyses of the use of industrial vernacular forms by such immigrant and ethnocultural groups as Ukrainians in cities. Similarly, traditional histories valorize architect-designed structures to the neglect of the small-scale and commonplace. At the same time, traditional accounts of the architectural history of Ottawa focus on the mediaeval revival monuments of government, religion, and domesticity, and on aspects of the city's romantic beauty, while omitting its industrial underpinnings and the regional vernaculars that accompanied it.

Justification of the study

Contrary to the assertion of Canadian architectural historian Harold Kalman that Ukrainians were generally unable and unwilling to use industrial vernacular idioms, this thesis demonstrates that the use of pre-milled wood and prefabricated building components by Ukrainians for their community centres was entirely in keeping with their architectural traditions in Canada. Similarly, while National Gallery of Canada art historian RH Hubbard depicts modern Ottawa as a garden city of Victorian gentility, this thesis argues that the loggers' shanty has remained an architectural influence through the medium of a ubiquitous regional industrial vernacular such as the one that housed the Ottawa Labour Temple.

The architectural history of a Labour Temple denotes a context of use that has to do

with a politically active and even agitational community often at odds with the dominant social order. To engage with the building is to engage with the politics of that community, and by extension, with the limitations of traditional art historical practice. Its study proposes an alternative history not only of architecture *per se*, but of Ukrainians in Canada: that is, of their secularity and, frequently, of urbanity expressed, as in the case of the Ottawa Labour Temple, through available industrial vernacular forms. Consequently, for an architectural historian to examine a Labour Temple is to reconsider the not only the meaning of vernacular architecture and of the constructs of architectural historiography, but of Ukrainianness in Canada. As the industrial vernacular house confounds the traditional art historian, so too the Labour Temple requires a rethinking of Ukrainian architectural signifiers.

Accordingly, this thesis is as much a socio-architectural history of a building as it is an exploration of Ukrainian history and architectural historiography in Canada. It considers the Ukrainian Labour Temple as an embodiment of both the ethnic and socio-political "other" in Ottawa, and as an example of the city's worker housing of the early 20th century.

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple at 523 Arlington Ave. was built in 1910 as a modest industrial vernacular house of a type now known by the regional name, "la maison dites "hullose." It served initially as a residence until its purchase in 1923 by Ukrainian pro-communists who made into the Branch no. 11 of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), as well as a home for its members in a separate residential apartment. The building was seized and the Labour Temple closed by the Custodian of Enemy Property in 1940, but was allowed to reopen in 1943 as the Hall of the ULFTA's successor, the

Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC) [after 1946, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC)]. The Hall operated as such until the branch's demise in 1965.

The history of the Ottawa Labour Temple is inseparable from that of the industrial vernacular house in the city, particularly in its maison d'ites "hullose" manifestation. 523 Arlington Ave.'s unique function as a library/community centre-cum-political club for the small community of Ukrainian socialists and pro-communists for over 40 years in Ottawa was a significant achievement in its own right. Despite the building's commonplace and innocuous appearance, it was a house like no other in the city

This thesis proposes that the architectural and social history of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple is an important addition to the study of Canadian architecture in three ways: through an examination of its function as a workers' club; by an analysis of its form as an industrial vernacular house; and via a critical evaluation of its role as a signifier of the ethnic, political, and socio-cultural "otherness" within the Ottawa cityscape.

Definitions of the vernacular

In order to explore the meaning of the use of industrial vernacular houses, it is important to define the phrase and to determine its role in architectural historiography. The term "vernacular architecture" is a loose one with which architects and architectural historians have grappled. *The Oxford English Dictionary* attributes its first use in an architectural context to Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1857, who drew a parallel between the folk traditions of British builders and idiomatic forms of expression in verbal language. In a Canadian context, architectural historian Alan Gowans stated in 1966 that "folk architecture...is a vernacular expression, like the unaffected speech of the simple folk who

created it."⁵ Gowans's somewhat condescending use of the term and its implication of class bias is a theme that will be explored below. By contrast, Canadian geographer Darrell A. Norris's analysis was more phenomenological: he said in 1982 that the term describes "those ordinary houses...which, simply put, means that their form, appearance, and layout reflect popular practice."⁶ Gowans expanded upon his linguistic analogy when he declared in 1987 that:

"vernacular" means an unaffected, unself-conscious, unaccented way of building, comparable to the speech of someone who has never left a region and speaks the local idiom without affectation [and] without pretence of a "better class" accent. In other words, it is use of architectural style without being conscious of style.⁷

In 1989, Canadian architectural historian François Dubé posited that vernacular architecture is "an architecture passed on without the need of specialists...shaped by local materials and day-to-day needs," while Canadian architectural historian Alain Lafrenière acknowledged the role of class in modern vernacular building.⁸ In 1989, he wrote that the architecture of the modern wooden houses in the Outaouais [Ottawa River] region, such as that of 523 Arlington Ave., is not just the architecture of non-architects, it is the architecture of people whose buildings reflect the fact that they lack money -- a statement that can be equally applied to the Ukrainain Labour Temple phenomenon in general.⁹ However, the

⁵Gowans, 1966, 10

⁶Norris, 66

⁷Gowans, 1966, 41

⁸Dubé, 6

⁹Lafrenière, 13

forms of industrial vernacular buildings are not influenced by issues of pure economics alone. The complex dialectic between formal academicism and everyday buildings was noted by Canadian architectural historian Michelle Guitard. Writing in 1997, she said, "le terme est employé pour une architecture qui n'a pas de prétension bien qu'elle ait assimilé des traits caractéristiques de certains styles académiques."¹⁰ This discourse between "high" and "low" idioms has particular relevance for the industrial vernacular, as their designs were created or supervised by trained architects but were intended for mass distribution, building, and adaptation by semi-skilled and unskilled labourers.

The term "industrial vernacular" is defined by Canadian geographers Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth as a "new vernacular," distinguished from the old in both formal and socio-political qualities. They wrote in 1998 that it draws on the "increasingly industrial production of standard building elements, and the increasing pervasiveness of a more corporate and industrial system of land development and mortgage finance mechanisms."¹¹

Significance of vernacular architecture studies

Vernacular objects represent the overwhelming majority of the built environment. The importance of vernacular studies has been emphasized by several recent scholars, as has the epistemological opportunity represented by the objects themselves, especially for art historians. As the American folklorist Henry Glassie asserts in 1965 study, "the usual architectural historian is more interested in the unusual and unexpected than he is in what is typical," an approach which has lead to extremely selective and misrepresentative

¹⁰Guitard, 3

¹¹Ennals and Holdsworth, 1988, 192

architectural histories.¹² Glassie's observation has been echoed by several Canadians. For example, Holdsworth reports in his 1972 thesis that an examination of architectural histories indicates a historiographical "preoccupation with prestigious and monumental architecture" rather with than the vernacular, despite the latter's ubiquity.¹³ Similarly, Canadian geographer John C. Lehr wrote in 1976 that "the study of vernacular architecture...has been largely ignored in the mainstream of scholarship."¹⁴ However, in the analysis of Canadian geographer Gwendolyn Edna Dowsett in 1987, "[the high-style, formalist's] approach...is misleading, for if only the smallest area of a field is observed, then that area tends to arrogate inordinate importance."¹⁵

The broader implications of vernacular studies have been recently addressed by a handful of scholars. Glassie says that not only do the buildings proper record "subtly but insistently the history of a people," but argues that "the study of other architectural traditions simultaneously causes us to criticize our conventions and to learn respect for the conventions of others."¹⁶ He reiterates the epistemological significance of vernacular studies in 1991 when he asserts that, for researchers, vernacular architecture is "a great resource for the scholar who wishes to write a more scientific and democratic history and thus provide

¹²Glassie, 1965, 10-11

¹³Holdsworth, 1972, ii

¹⁴Lehr, 1976a, 1

¹⁵Dowsett, 4

¹⁶Glassie, 1990, 180

[readers] with a means of understanding their present estate."¹⁷ In what amounts to a vernacularists' manifesto, American architectural historians Thomas Carter and Bernard Herman argued in 1991 for architectural history to become a mechanism of epistemological and socio-political change. They stated that vernacular architecture represents for many researchers "less a kind of building than an approach to looking at buildings."¹⁸ In the same essay, they called for historians to create a new architectural history to parallel the new social history, which is to be used to redress the "injustice" of histories that have been "preoccupied with great men and events."¹⁹ Arguably, for many scholars of art history, the architectural "other" is exemplified by vernacular architecture in general and the industrial vernacular in particular. Similarly, an urban Ukrainian Labour Temple in a central Canadian city is the antithesis of the picturesque form and social pastorate suggested by the church or the *xata*. As with vernacular architecture as a whole, the Ukrainain Labour represents an "other architectural tradition." As such, it provides a unique learning opportunity for the consideration of issues found within contemporary art historical discourse; such as, the roles of ethnicity and class in the making of aesthetic objects and in the writings of their histories.

Architectural historiography and class bias

The study of the historiography of vernacular architecture reveals a subtradition in which some architectural historians demonstrate an explicit bias towards poverty and ethnicity as expressed in buildings, as well as an implicit, but consistent, bias against

¹⁷Glassie, 1990, 280-281

¹⁸Carter and Herman, 5

¹⁹Carter and Herman, 3

vernacular architecture as a whole. In her 1924 survey of current American domestic architecture, for example, Augusta Owen Patterson neglects the pattern book phenomenon which has had enormous impact on residential design throughout North America-- including that which housed the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple. Instead, she lauds the use of the Renaissance Revival style for mansions. While she does not explain her omissions, in her view, the fortress-like houses are seen as appropriate and necessary for the gentry of contemporary urban America because, "with the admission of enormous numbers of Continental lower class we have admitted...class feeling[s] and class distinction[s] which still puzzle and irritate the native American when he first comes up against them."²⁰

The sentiment that exalts the redoubts of the wealthy at the neglect, expense, or ridicule of the modest homes of the urban poor and of the ethnic working class is a leitmotif in Canadian architectural discourse that continues to the present day. In his 1955 essay on Ottawa architecture, Hubbard celebrates the city's picturesque buildings and romantic qualities at the same time deriding its vernacular houses as updated shanties made "unpleasant" and "*ersatz*."²¹ Gowans, who identifies vernacular forms with "simple folk," also defines it in his 1966 study as "the common, average, run-of-the-mill...the simplest sort of building that has gone for generations, with no great pretensions to Art, and is hence unselfconsciously scaled at the lowest denominator of Taste."²² In more up-to-date discussions, American vernacularist Annmarie Adams in 1994 documented the modest home-

²⁰Patterson, 350

²¹Hubbard, 414

²²Gowans, 1966, 41

remodelling efforts created as personal 1967 Centennial projects by her informants in suburban Montréal by ridiculing rather than describing their untutored efforts.²³ As recently as 2000, Kenneth Hayes, an adjunct professor at the University of Toronto, categorized the many styles and variants "typical" of the modest but Building Code-worthy houses of the city's Little Italy as wholly and inherently "substandard." As eclectic, vernacular objects, they did not accord with the particular aesthetic sensibilities and the exclusive niche-marketing of the late-modernist condominiums with which he suggested they all be replaced.²⁴

In contrast to these authors, several writers have begun to note the circular argument upon which the absence of vernacular architecture from mainstream art histories is predicated; that is, that the vernacular is linked with poverty, and that the preconceptions of architectural historians have been formed by the class-laden texts of their forebears. In 1972, British architect and art historian Bill Riseboro argued that "the differences between the house of a noble and that of a tribesman was of degree rather than of kind," which suggests the need for a phenomenological approach to the study of housing.²⁵ John Burnett, a British architect, applied this notion to its historiography when he noted in 1978:

almost all [histories of architecture] treat of the development of architectural style and are therefore confined to that small minority of houses that were designed for comparatively wealthy clients. At the opposite end of the social scale, works on vernacular building have traced the history of types of rural dwelling in pre-industrial times. Neither approach has examined the development of mass housing occupied by the working classes and the lower

²³Adams, unpag.

²⁴Hayes, unpag.

²⁵Riseboro, 1972, 8

levels of the middle classes in the 19th and 20th centuries and provided by speculative builders and local authorities.²⁶

In a Canadian context, Norris determines that class bias is one of the factors that affected the "widespread neglect" of vernacular forms in Ontario.²⁷ He argues that because of it, "the student [of architectural history]...develops a remarkable blindness towards houses that violate his or her preconceptions."²⁸ More broadly, the central thesis of Ennals's 1987 critique of Canadian architectural historiography is that the inadequate methodologies of architectural historians are inherently class-biased. American vernacularist James Marston Fitch explores the theme of class bias when he argued in 1990, "Western architectural history, as propagated by its literature since the opening of the Renaissance, has been preoccupied with the architectural problems of the richest sectors of urbane society only, not with society as a whole."²⁹

The existence of class bias in the very terminology used by historians to describe modest residential buildings was noted in 1984 by American geographer John Brinckerhoff Jackson, who describes the distinction made between the "mansions" of all standard architectural histories versus the largely-absent "dwellings" of the poor.³⁰ This idea was picked up by Canadian architectural historian Harold Kalman in 1994, who states of the Canadian historiographic tradition, "*housing* usually alludes to the houses of the working

²⁶Burnett, vii

²⁷Norris, 68

²⁸Norris, 67

²⁹Fitch, 262

³⁰Jackson, 96-97

class."³¹ That is, the terms "dwelling" and "housing," as opposed to "mansions," "homes," or "residences," have come to connote mass production and poverty, as in the phrase "worker housing" or Burnetts's "mass housing." However, these writers form a minority view. The modest industrial vernacular house largely remains a minor curiosity at best, even among vernacularists.

It can be argued from these examples that class bias has led to the systemic omission of popular building traditions, pre-fabricated buildings, and the mass of ordinary structures from virtually all surveys of architectural history. This bias particularly affects the historiographical neglect of the industrial vernacular and therefore of the architecture of urban Ukrainian Labour Temples in Canada, including Ottawa's *la maison dites "hullose"* form and its Labour Temple function.

In contrast to the Labour Temple, the forms of church and *xata* have great visual appeal to architectural historians. They appear "different" from Western conventions, and in the process, suggest exoticism as well as a myth of Ukrainian life in Canada that was and is exclusively rustic and pious in nature. The formal qualities of these buildings therefore carry a subtle but significant political connotation: in hinting at a people whose lives are religiously-bound, simple, and primitive, they serve to imply a detachment from significant interaction with political life. These former attributes were important to the colonial project of homesteading in the wilderness because it required a workforce that was self-reliant in rural isolation, hardworking under arduous conditions with the most rudimentary of tools, and, in seeking relief from its difficulties from the church rather than the state, posed no

³¹Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 595. The italics are Kalman's.

threat to the dominant political order. That is, the *xata* and church are central to the image of a humble, isolated, and quiescent workforce whose political role poses no threat; however, these architectural forms are antithetical to secular and urban life represented by the *chytalnia*, with its opportunities for polyethnic organization, industrial and trade unionism, and political activism. For Labour Temple habitués, in particular, the *chytalnia* was the source of their cultural and political life -- and this life was largely and actively critical of Canadian capitalism and mainstream politics.

Similarly, the study of the industrial vernacular house necessarily involves discussion of economics and class relations. Whereas pre-industrial folk traditions were based upon handiwork that resulted in unique objects, modern vernacular architecture is correctly associated with industrialization and mass production. The former have come from what may be interpreted as a safe and distant past; as a result, *xati* and other pre-industrial forms have a rustico-picturesque appeal. The objects, such as *xati*, inspire nostalgic longing, and their study has at the very least attracted the attention of archaeologists and architectural romantics. Standardized, mass-produced, and prefabricated buildings such as the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple, on the other hand, are markers of the relative poverty and expediency of construction techniques of the immediate past and the present day. They are thus uncomfortably close reminders of ongoing economic disparity. In essence, such simple mass-produced buildings as 523 Arlington Ave. are the visible evidence of the architectural and socio-cultural disenfranchisement of the modern-day poor -- and in the particular case of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple, of the misconception to date of the city's architectural, ethnocultural, and political record.

The *chytalnia*

Chytalni such as the Ottawa Labour Temple are legitimate objects for study in that they are a building type that embodied an Enlightenment and democratic ideal, and as such, have informed one of the least-understood aspects of modern Western architecture -- the workers' club. In Canada, *chytalni* were a type of ethnocultural workers' club, and were important secular, cultural, and political centres that were found across the country. As a movement, the *chytalnia* in Canada has diminished in size, authority, and cultural productivity since the Second World War, with the result that the physical structures themselves are rapidly disappearing from the built environment. As formal objects alone, *chytalnia* buildings therefore ought to merit the attention of architectural historians. Moreover, the *chytalnia* phenomenon has symbolic importance in that their study points to an alternative, more accurate, and arguably more democratic, architectural history and historical geography of Ukrainians in Canada than that afforded by conventional studies of *xati* and churches only.

The Ukrainian Labour Temple

Similarly, the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Canada merits study. Not only was the movement part of the broader *chytalnia* phenomenon, but a Labour Temple was a branch of a highly organized and strongly committed organization, and the buildings were often sites of political contention. To study a Ukrainian Labour Temple is to address in an immediate, rather than an abstract way, the political functions of architecture and of conventional architectural histories.

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple

A single Labour Temple/industrial vernacular house in a city such as Ottawa requires the engagement of the researcher in significant issues regarding the architectural and socio-demographic historiography of the city. Ottawa's architectural heritage has been traditionally limited to the monuments of government, business, and religion -- and occasionally, of domesticity -- while the region's rich tradition of vernacular and industrial vernacular housing forms has received little recognition and virtually no documentation. At the same time, social histories of the city have tended to describe only its bilingual and bicultural official culture and its role as a government town, to the neglect of its polyethnic heritage and working class history. In this context, the Ukrainian Labour Temple, housed as it was and where it was, represents a legacy of "otherness" -- and therefore of epistemological opportunity -- in terms of architecture, urban planning, ethno-linguistics, and politics. Therefore, to study it is to broaden an understanding of the city's history, demographics, and architecture.

In summary, this study argues the following five central points: first, that the vernacular and industrial vernacular constitute aesthetic objects worthy of study by the art historian, despite the high art paradigms and class biases that conventionally have informed the discipline. Second, architecture, by its nature, is imbued with socio-political connotations, arguably more so than any other artistic medium. Therefore to study architecture is to study the socio-political role of the built environment and of architectural historiography, especially as it pertains to those building forms traditionally considered too ubiquitous -- or the communities that built them, too marginal -- for conventional art histories. Third, in the context of Canadian architectural history, the *chytalnia* as a type were

and la maison dites "hullose" as a form are popular but under-recognized buildings, both of which merit close study. Fourth, because of its national presence, economic marginality, significance to an ethnocultural group, and political role as a building, the Labour Temple variant of a *chytalnia* represents an ideal architectural form through which to explore issues of architectural historiography in regard to ethnicity and class. Finally, the study of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Ottawa focuses the discussion of architecture in the city into two new, intertwined directions: by its form in the context of a regional industrial vernacular in city renowned for its unique monuments and by its function, as an ethnic-political hall in a bilingual-bicultural context.

Methodology and theoretical framework

Architectural history

The architecture of the poor -- particularly of the urban poor such as those who built and inhabited la maison dites "hullose" and who frequented the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple -- has until very recently merited little or no attention by conventional art historians. However, the inclusion of ethnic, folk, vernacular, and/or mass-produced forms and settlement patterns within architectural history is part of the wider and more inclusive domain of contemporary art historical practice. This involves the consideration of factors often hitherto perceived as peripheral or irrelevant to the study of the beauty and sublimity of visual form. The socio-economic context that underpins art production is now considered to be of interest, as are the place of politics, race, gender, class, and other aspects of identity in artistic expression or in the writing of histories of art.

While a traditional art historian may have regarded a material object purely in terms

of aesthetics or as an exercise in formalism, for the new art historian, the object proper may be the starting point for its reconsideration as the material expression of a series of broader and interwoven cultural influences. Accordingly, this research has been informed by geographers, folklorists, material historians, and sociologists, as well as by architectural historians.

Riseboro's two class-conscious histories of architecture have influenced this study. His 1972 *Story of Western architecture* and *Modern architecture and design: An alternative history* of 1993 are architectural surveys set against a leftist interpretation of the history of socio-political events. At the same time, Riseboro is a sketch artist whose innumerable line drawings in both works demonstrate the compatibility of politico-visual histories of architecture. He noted in 1972, "[a]rchitecture, like history itself, is a contingent process, in which many circumstances combine to produce certain results."³² In the case of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple, those circumstances include the traditional social organizations of the Ukrainian ethno-cultural group, their relative poverty within Canadian society, and the proliferation of industrial vernacular housing forms during the first decades of the 20th century.

This study has also been influenced by Ennals's 1987 critique of Canadian art historical methodology. Ennals argues that architectural historians' "preoccupation with high style -- the architecture typically executed by professional architects for wealthy patrons including the government and the clergy" provides an inadequate and outmoded methodology

³²Riseboro, 1972, 8

for the study of vernacular forms.³³ For Ennals, other scholars such as the "folklorist, cultural geographer, historical archaeologist, and social historian," possess the necessary research tools that art historians lack, because of the first group's "desire to understand the much larger array of common domestic structures erected by and for ordinary people, and ... by building contractors."³⁴ His proposed model for the study of Canadian architecture echoes that of Riseboro; that is, based in material history generally and in class-consciousness specifically.

In terms of Ukrainian material culture in Canada, there is no art historical parallel to sociologist Zenon Pohorecky's essay of 1981, "Ukrainian cultural and political symbols in Canada." This brief but scathing analysis of traditional historiography criticizes mainstream Canadian art history from a Ukrainophile and iconoclastic perspective. Pohorecky's analysis of the canons of Canadian architecture, in particular, deserve note: he exalts the *xata*, because, rather than an emblem of exoticism and primitiveness, he sees it as a triumph of structural logic, appropriate technology, and energy efficiency. His view of Châteauesque railway hotels is equally thought-provoking: while Kalman has proposed that they represent the first Canadian national style -- and has canonized them as emblematic of both picturesque design and entrepreneurial spirit, for Pohorecky, they are considerably less than romantic or heroic structures.³⁵ He argues, "the railway hotel was Cinderella's castle for the daydreaming Ukrainian farmgirl. Her downfall occurred there, where Prince Charming was

³³Ennals, 1987, 130

³⁴Ennals, 1987, 130

³⁵Kalman, 1978

just another salesman."³⁶ Pohorecky also describes the *chytalnia* in memorable terms: he acknowledges that its various forms played a vital role in community solidarity and ethno-linguistic identity in an often unsympathetic host society, but its appeal was more élitist than populist. According to him, the *chordna hromada* (Ukrainian "black community" or demi-monde) gathered at the Canadian pool hall, while the "righteous and intelligentsia" went to the *chytalnia*.³⁷

Social history

Other scholars have written not on buildings but on related issues of significance to Labour Temples in Canada; such as, ethnic studies, socio-political history, and labour history. The ethnic historian and theorist most influential on this research and its methodology was founder of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Robert F. Harney. His general survey of ethnocultural groups and urban settlement in Toronto, co-authored with Harold Troper in 1975, could serve well as a model for historians of other cities such as Ottawa. Of particular interest to the historian of vernacular and ethnic housing forms is his little-known but remarkable 1978 essay, "Boarding and belonging," which examines the ethnic boarding house. These architectural and social phenomena have been entirely omitted from architectural histories; however, Harney argues that they nonetheless served as a societal and architectural necessity in cities where immigrant workers settled. Their function, as both shelter and *de facto* community centre, can be seen as informally but directly related to that of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple.

³⁶Pohorecky, 133

³⁷Pohorecky, 133-135

Harney's 1978 *Oral testimony and ethnic studies* also provided a framework for the interviews of former members of the Ottawa Labour Temple, of whom four were interviewed during 1998 and 1999 as a means of creating its socio-architectural history. Because of the considerable time-lapse between events and recollection -- the interviewees described events from the early 1940s to the early 1960s when all were children and young adults -- the oral histories were cross-referenced whenever possible with other documents. Contemporary newspaper accounts, the AUUC correspondence files, city directories, RCMP reports, and insurance maps add to their narratives.

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple building is no longer extant, was virtually undocumented when it stood, came from a community omitted from city histories, and was of a housing type that has been generally overlooked by architectural historians. William Warchow, one of the interviewees, is a certified electrician who worked on 523 Arlington Ave. in his youth, and he has contributed significantly to addressing this void. As part of the interview process, he volunteered to create original measured drawings of the floor plans, site plan, and front elevation of the Hall c. 1950, as drawn from memory in 1999. These drawings provide invaluable information regarding the building's site, size, proportions, construction details, circulation patterns, and function.

Field research was undertaken of extant maisons dites "hullose" in Ottawa similar to the Ottawa Labour Temple to deduce information of the building under study, to document various manifestations and evolutions of the type, and to demonstrate its versatility, as well as to create a geography of its locations in Ottawa. This information served to document the ubiquity of the industrial vernacular housing in Ottawa. As well, it helped to illustrate the

physical eradication from the city of Rochesterville, the West-central neighbourhood where the Ukrainian community was centred c. 1910-1965.

Limitations

Vernacular studies

The systematic recording and analysis of Canadian vernacular architecture exists only in rudimentary form, and that of the industrial vernacular house in Central and Eastern Canada appears to be nonexistent. The historiography of the Euro-Canadian vernacular began in the 1920s with McGill University professor Ramsay Traquhair, who examined Franco-Québec farms and churches, and with his University of Toronto counterpart, Eric Arthur, who documented 19th century Ontario houses. These were followed by Gowans's *Looking at architecture in Canada* of 1958 (revised in 1966 as *Building Canada*), the first major Canadian architectural survey. The author's stated intent to write a popular history of the built environment as an expression of social conditions is negated by his emphasis on public monuments and minimal references to the myriad folk, vernacular, and ethnocultural traditions found across the country.³⁸ Gowans's *Styles and types of North American architecture* of 1994 offers a more extensive survey of vernacular forms, albeit with an American focus and with scant attention paid to the architecture of ethnic communities. More comprehensive is Kalman's *History of architecture in Canada* in 1994. Author of numerous articles on high style architects since the 1960s, Kalman's history surveys a range of architectural types through a combination of formal analysis and a consideration of the socio-

³⁸Gowans, 1966, xviii

economic factors of building construction.³⁹

Only fragments of the history of Ontario vernacular housing have been written in the 80 years since Arthur began his efforts. Art historian Marion MacRae and architect Anthony Adamson, a colleague of Arthur's, co-wrote *The Ancestral roof* in 1963, a formal survey of folk traditions of Euro-Canadian pioneers as expressed in housing types and building details in 19th-century Ontario. Almost twenty years later, Norris built upon MacRae and Adamson with "Vetting the vernacular: Local varieties in Ontario housing," an essay in which he noted that there is "no reliable and widely-accepted typology of modest houses in Ontario's past."⁴⁰ Written with the heterogeneous approach of the trained geographer, his survey is an initial attempt to provide such a framework.

The creation of an industrial vernacular revolutionized house building in the 19th century, but an understanding of the evolution of technologies upon which it was predicated seems to most elude architectural historians.⁴¹ By contrast, material historian John Rempel's *Building with wood* of 1980 and architect Morris J. Clayton's 1990 *Canadian housing in wood* of 1991 provide clear narratives of the developments in building science in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

As with vernacular architecture as a whole, the industrial vernacular has been

³⁹Kalman, 1968, 1972, and 1982

⁴⁰Norris, 67

⁴¹For example, in their classic *American architecture, 1607-1976*, Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper assert that the balloon frame is the "most important 19th century innovation in building in wood," but cite no examples. (310) Elsewhere in the same volume, they state both that "it would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the balloon frame," but add, *on the same page*, that "its effect on architectural design was negligible." (438)

radically under-represented in academic architectural histories. Kalman notes the particular dilemma in researching the pattern book house when he noted in 1994 that these books "must have had an immense impact on the designs of Canadian architects and builders" but acknowledges, that (as in the case of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple), "few specific instances have been identified."⁴²

Among the very few studies of pre-fabricated and mass-produced housing are important works by American art historians, including Charles E. Peterson's 1948 essay, "Early American pre-fabrication," Clay Lancaster's *American bungalow, 1880-1930*, based on research conducted in 1953, and Vincent Scully's *Shingle style*, first published in 1955. In Canada, a small collection of related studies include *BC Mills* by architect and historian GE Mills and Holdsworth in 1975 and what can be seen as its companion volume, Mills's 1985 *Buying wood and building farms: Marketing lumber and farm buildings designs on the Canadian Prairies, 1880-1920*. Other titles in the subject area include the 1978 essay by Montréal architect and theorist Melvin Charney, "Québec's modern architecture;" as well as "Material culture and the North American house," a lengthy 1985 essay by geographers Michael J. Doucet and John C. Weaver; and professor of home economics Thelma Davis's brief regional study from 1986, "'Ready-made' houses in rural Alberta, 1900-1920." *B.C. Mills* and *Buying wood*, both Parks Canada publications, are representative of the federal government's art historical approach to the subject, in which a brief essay is followed by numerous captioned photographs. By contrast, "Québec" is a manifesto that argues that the industrial vernacular houses of that province exemplify the modern movement; "Material

⁴²Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 604

culture" is a theoretical analysis of pattern book architecture, balloon frame technology, and the socio-political conditions that marked the industrialization of this continent, and "'Ready-mades,'" a socio-architectural history with interviews of builders and homeowners.

The growing, albeit marginal, interest in industrial vernacular studies by traditional architectural historians is evident in the discussions of pattern book architecture in broader surveys. Pre-eminent among these is Gowans's 1987 American study, *The comfortable house*, which has no Canadian parallel, although Kalman's 1994 *History* has several lengthy entries on the phenomenon, and Ennals and Holdsworth dedicate a chapter to Canadian pattern book houses in their *Homeplace* of 1998.⁴³

The earliest reference to the Ukrainian vernacular in the Canadian architectural press occurred in Graham Parfitt's 1941 "Ukrainian cottages," which is little more than annotated freehand sketches of *xati* at an undisclosed Prairie site (fig. 1-5).⁴⁴ Parfitt's approach deserves comment, as its dilettantism is a sharp contrast to the historiographic tradition of analysis and carefully measured drawings established decades earlier by Traquhair and Arthur in their work on French and English vernacular building traditions (figs. 1-6 and 1-7). Parfitt's article appears to have been the only account of Ukrainian vernacular forms in Canada for the next 30 years, when *xati* and other aspects of the Ukrainian vernacular began to be studied with varying degrees of success. Most notable is the contribution of University of Manitoba professor of geography Lehr. An authority on Ukrainian settlement in Canada,

⁴³Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 504-507, 615-617, and 625-634; and Ennals and Holdsworth, 1998, 192-212

⁴⁴Parfitt, 132-133

he has published numerous Ukrainian-themed titles since the mid-1970s, particularly on the *xata*.⁴⁵ His 1976 *Ukrainian vernacular architecture in Alberta* is a model of scholarship on the subject of pre-industrial examples of the type. However, in at least one other text authored by a Canadian architectural historian, Ukrainian vernacular form in Canada has been mislabelled and misunderstood. Mathilde Brosseau's *Gothic Revival architecture in Canada* of 1980 describes the entrance cupolae typical of Ukrainian Byzantine and Baroque churches -- which follow the tradition of a separate self-contained bell tower -- as "bell towers -- but without bells," and similarly misreads a minor detail of Gothic-arched windows inserted into a Ukrainian church as a sign of the builders' "apparent dedication to Christianity."⁴⁶ Other authors have since documented Ukrainian vernacular churches in Alberta and to a lesser extent, in Manitoba with more success, but there are no studies of Ukrainian churches in Central and Eastern Canada.⁴⁷

As with the phenomenon of vernacular architecture in general, there has been little acknowledgement in canonical discourse of popular buildings such as public libraries, workers' clubs, community centres, labour halls, and *chytalni*. Since the Labour Temple *chytalnia* in particular was an accessible and co-operativist community institution based upon an ideal of popular education and socio-economic betterment that brought culture to the masses, it stands as the antithesis of the élite clubs and private cultural organizations that

⁴⁵Lehr, 1973, 1975, 1976, and 1980

⁴⁶Brosseau, 8 and 11

⁴⁷DT Kordan; Lehr, 1973, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1978, 1980, and 1986; and Rotoff, Yereniuk, and Hryniuk

traditionally have been celebrated as symbols of power, exclusivity, and privilege based upon birth. The buildings of these latter organizations, such as the gentlemen's clubs of 19th century London, have come to occupy a special place in architectural history, in part because of the prestige of their architects, the uniqueness of their designs, and the luxuriousness of their materials, and partly because of the exclusivist and fundamentally anti-democratic nature of their functions appeals to what is the class-laden bias that permeates architectural historiography in regard to populist function and vernacular form (fig. 1-8).

In order to contextualize the Labour Temple in regard to other building types in Western architectural history, numerous sources were consulted in the areas of architectural historiography, particularly in regard to Canadian vernacular studies and Ukrainian Canadian architecture. Among the standard international, North American, and Canadian typological studies reviewed, none contains entries on public community centres, labour halls, or ethnic halls.⁴⁸ This omission which suggests that these forms, especially in the vernacular, are overdue for study. If mentioned at all, the Soviet Union Workers' Club -- the successors to the *chytalnia* type -- are accorded only a passing mention in surveys of the avant-garde in modern architecture. Such studies tend to focus exclusively on formal analysis, not on building function, role in society, or architectural provenance.

Similar building types to the *chytalnia* in Canada -- which include public libraries, community centres, union halls, workingmen's associations, Women's Institutes, and Mechanics Institutes -- are commonplace in day-to-day life, but are little represented in architectural historiography with the exception of high style examples. Alfred Chapman's

⁴⁸Pevsner; Gowans, 1958, 1966, and 1993; Ball, 1988; and Kalman, 1994

Toronto Central Library, the Public Service Alliance of Canada building in Ottawa, by Schoeler Heaton Harvor Menendez, and Moishe Safdie's Vancouver Public Library are familiar buildings in the Canadian architectural canon, but these are exceptional, architect-designed monuments.

There appear to be no academic survey of the *chytalnia*-worker club form in Europe, and no general surveys of the architectural history, social history, or historical geography of either the public library in Canada, nor of the ethnic club, the labour hall, or the *chytalnia* and its variants. Parks Canada's 1987 *Town Halls of Canada*, the only survey of its kind, is a collection of essays that use the term "town hall" loosely. Only one library and one labour hall are included among the several hundred entries that span a wide range of public buildings, from purpose-built city halls and fire stations, to one-room parish halls. It contains no entries on the thousands of ethno-cultural halls in the country, an omission which is neither acknowledged nor explained.

Academic socio-architectural studies of the *chytalnia* in Canada began to appear in 1983 with Andrij Makuch and Sonia Maryn's three-volume history of the New Kiew [Alberta] Labour Temple. The building was moved in the 1960s to the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, an ecomusée outside Edmonton, and this research represents a benchmark in Canadian socio-architectural history. Aside from the Kiew Labour Temple research reports, the only other scholarly monograph dedicated to a *chytalnia* is Elaine Kisilow's "Ukrainian Labour Temple, 590-594 Pritchard Avenue, Winnipeg," a 1995 study prepared for the Manitoba government as part of a provincial heritage designation of the building. It is a succinct socio-architectural history with a useful survey of other Labour Temples in

Manitoba.

Labour Temples are contextualized in several social histories, including the ULFTA's Almanakh TURF-Dim of 1930, an institutional compendium that lists all the extant branches. Its chronology ends in 1929, and its architectural documentation consists only of photographs of building façades; nevertheless, this volume represents the most complete architectural documentation of the movement as a whole. This study has relied upon it. Academic studies include Orest Martynowych's 1985 *Ukrainian Bloc settlement in East-Central Alberta, 1880-1930*, which describes *chytalni* in the region near Edmonton. In 1988, A. Makuch contributed "*Narodnyi domi* in East Central Alberta," a brief comparison of the different types of *chytalni* in the area. Jars Balan's 1991 essay, "Backdrop to an era" provides a useful analysis of the Toronto Peoples' Home and Winnipeg Labour Temple programming in the Interwar era. On a related theme, linguist Jaroslav Rudnytsky's *l'Ordonomyie* of 1992, is a proto-revisionist history of Montréal, including its *chytlan*i. Elizabeth Beaton, Professor of Folklore at the University College of Cape Breton discusses *chytalni* in the broader context of other ethnic and labour halls in her 1993 *From the Pier, dear!*, a study of the Whitney Pier area of Sydney, Nova Scotia.

Libraries and other collecting institutions

Other limitations to this study relate to the nature of collecting institutions. The focus of the National Library of Canada, Ottawa (NLC) on textual records of Canadian history has resulted in significant gaps in its collections of Canadian art and architectural history, particularly of the modern era. Indeed, architectural histories and period texts such as pattern books are systemically, and conspicuously, absent from the Library's holdings. The Boyd

Brothers collection of architectural pattern books used in industrial vernacular housing construction in the Ottawa region c. 1910-c.1970, for example, remains unsorted, uncatalogued, and inaccessible to all but the most persevering of researchers -- some 20 years after they were first acquired by the NLC. Similarly, the Library's bilingual and bicultural emphasis and the elimination in 1995 of its Multilingual Biblioservice have resulted in significant voids in its collections of Canadian ethnica, such as ULFTA publications, as well as in the inconsistent and incomplete cataloguing of extant materials, the cessation of multilingual acquisitions, and elimination of multilingual staff who previously assisted researchers in this subject area. The Library also holds many period sources, such as the AUUC newspapers *Ukrainian Canadian* and Ukrainske zhyttia only on microfilm. These periodicals frequently contain depictions of Labour Temples in the post World War II era, but their photo-reproduction results in image quality so poor as to be indecipherable and unusable. All of these practices stymie the researcher of either architectural forms or ethno-cultural texts in Canada.

The files of the AUUC as well as numerous surveillance files and information dossiers from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) are held at the Manuscript Division of the National Archives of Canada (NAC). The AUUC files were uncatalogued at the time of research but contain sporadic records for the Ottawa chapter, in Ukrainian, for 1950 and 1958 only. A small file dating from 1968 contains legal correspondence in English regarding the sale that year of 523

Arlington Ave. to the St. Anthony's Soccer Club.⁴⁹ Altogether, these files sketch out the difficulties faced by the branch in the 1950s and underscore its decline in the post-World War II era and its ultimate demise by the mid-1960s. Mention also should be made of Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker's annotated compilations of the RCMP files. They can serve as *de facto* finding aids to these records, particularly in regard to ULFTA history, but a complete survey of these records remains a task for future researchers.

Entries for Ottawa in Robochyi narod (*The working people*, a World War I-era Canadian Ukrainian language socialist newspaper) have been partially catalogued and translated for the years 1912-1918 as part of ongoing research by Myron Momryk of the NAC into the history of Ukrainian leftists in the city. Other period newspaper sources in the Ukrainian language were beyond the scope of this research.

The NAC's Documentary Art and Photography collection holds some 23 000 000 images, of which approximately only 2% have been catalogued at even a superficial level of description. What finding aids as exist generally describe the collector, not pictorial theme or subject matter. As with the NLC, collections at the NAC are often unsatisfactory in regard to ethnocultural and architectural material, even at the cataloguing level. In the case of the George Dragan photography collection of Ukrainian settlement on the Canadian Prairies, for example, all information regarding his images of *chytalni* have been declared permanently lost from the donation file.

Other collecting institutions consulted include the Provincial Archives of Ontario

⁴⁹Translations from Ukrainian are courtesy of Myron Momryk, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

(POA), Toronto, which holds portions of the provincial records of the ULFTA/AUUC.

These are virtually inaccessible as they have been untranslated and uncatalogued to date. In addition, the POA has no multilingual staff and no immediate plans to create finding aids for this collection.

Researching the industrial-vernacular house in Ottawa can be as daunting as researching the ULFTA/AUUC in Ontario. Since building permits for the city were destroyed in the City Hall fire of 1931, and new permits not comprehensively archived until 1958, there is very little documentation available on ordinary houses in Ottawa for the first half of the 20th century. Although aspects of the city's built environment have been documented in a series of "heritage district studies" that describe the fabric of entire neighbourhoods rather than monuments in isolation for the municipality's Heritage Branch from 1993 to 1997, none exists for Rochesterville, nor for the adjacent industrial-working class neighbourhoods of LeBreton Flats and Mechanicsville.⁵⁰ The Branch also administers heritage designations on individual buildings such as the 13 "Hull" houses given heritage status by 2000. These files are largely administrative in content rather than historical or architectural in nature. Assessment rolls, held at the Land Registry Office at the Ottawa Courthouse, describe ownership of properties and, in so doing, contribute to the narrative of industrial vernacular housing and Ukrainian settlement and property ownership in the city.

Weaknesses in statistical sources

There are no comprehensive statistics available on *chytalni* in Canada in general or on Labour Temples. Sources are discrepant and incomplete, as will be discussed in Chapter 2,

⁵⁰City of Ottawa Heritage Planning Department, 1993, 1996, and 1997

as well as being subject to political bias, as will be discussed below. The survey of extant Labour Temples in Almanakh TURF-Dim was not amended after 1929, and no general survey exists of the other types of *chytalni* in Canada for any period.

Biased historiography

In addition to the biases of class and form encountered in architectural historiography towards vernacular buildings and to Ukrainian material culture in Canada as discussed above, researchers in ethnic and working-class face a historiography whose emphasis on mainstream political history has, in Harney's analysis, "compounded the ethnocentric hostility which the immigrants faced at the turn of the [20th] century."⁵¹ Moreover, a legacy of political divisiveness exists between Ukrainian Canadian nationalists and socialists/pro-communists that is profound, long-standing, and continues to wield influence. In the words of AUUC writer John Boyd, it constitutes an "ideological breach in the Ukrainian community [in Canada] that has been there almost from the very beginning, long before there were Communist parties and a Soviet Ukraine," and which persists despite the end of the Cold War.⁵² Critical readings of Ukrainian Canadian histories must almost always take these sometimes tacit but persistent biases into account.

Numerous publications have been produced by the USDP/ULFTA/AUUC and its affiliated organizations, especially in the years prior to World War II. While these are necessarily oriented in favour of the organization and its members, their accounts add to an understanding of the movement. An entry on Ottawa by A. Knysh and P. Haideychuk in the

⁵¹Harney, 1978a, unpag.

⁵²Boyd, vi

UDSP's 1918 *Kaliendar*, for example, is a profile of the organization shortly before the raid and closure of the branch.⁵³ While there appears to be no documentation of personal accounts or oral histories of the First World War Internment experience of USDP members, the World War II Internment of ULFTA members is recounted in *Dangerous patriots*, a 1979 collection of memoirs. More generally, AUUC historian Peter Krawchuk's chronicles of various aspects of the organization tend to be anecdotal but serviceable accounts of the organization. Among these, *Our stage* of 1984, and *Our history* of 1996 (an expanded version of his *Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada (1907-1918)* of 1979) were useful for this study.

The most analytical account of the FUSD/USDP/ULFTA/AUUC is *The shattered illusion* of 1979 by John Kolasky, a member of the organization from the early 1930s to the mid-1960s. Both history and veiled personal account of his disenchantment with and ultimate denouncement by the ULFTA/AUUC, it is well written and its story compelling. Kolasky also contributed *Prophets and proletarians* in 1990, a compendium and translation into English of organizational documents.

Other factors that have detrimentally affected Ukrainian Canadian historiography include the ways the community regards and records itself. Self-censorship and its antithesis, self-aggrandization, have been the traditional modes of discourse. AUUC member Ostap Skrypnyk said of the former in 1993, "many of our older people who grew up [in Canada] learned that to be Ukrainian was to sit down, shut up, and not say anything because they

⁵³Knysh and Haideychuk, 131-133

were not as good as the dominant culture."⁵⁴ The alternative to such self-censorship is, in Harney's memorable phrase, the "filiopietism" that has, until very recently and with very few exceptions, characterized Ukrainian Canadian historiography.⁵⁵ As John Weir, editor of the AUUC's *Ukrainian Canadian*, said in 1950, "the many histories of Canada that we have today...are all written from the point of view of bolstering the claims of one or another privileged group, rather than [to] give a fruitful account of our country's story."⁵⁶ His was very much a marginal view at the time, however, and this theme was not picked up until 1978, when A. Makuch called for a new era of Ukrainian Canadian historiography by declaring that, "we cannot be satisfied with [the] sanitized, idealized, apologiae" of the type that had dominated the discourse.⁵⁷

Makuch's call for a new kind of Ukrainian Canadian history has been only partially fulfilled. *Creating a landscape: A geography of Ukrainians in Canada* of 1989, by historical geographers Lubomyr Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan, for example, incorporates visual data, such as building façades and maps, with a historical narrative, but the authors' selection and presentation of material is politically subjective to the point of overt bias, as well as being cartographically inadequate.⁵⁸ By contrast, Martynowych's 1991 *Canada's Ukrainians: The*

⁵⁴O. Skrypnyk, 63

⁵⁵Harney, 1978b, 8

⁵⁶J. Weir, 15 March, 1950, 5

⁵⁷A. Makuch, 1978, 118 and 121

⁵⁸For example, building façades depict churches but not *chytalni*; the *Prosvita* Society map occupies a double-page spread while that of the rival AUUC is reduced to one-sixth of a page; and maps are drawn without scales, dates, and North arrows.

formative years, 1891-1924 of 1991 is an exception, being an exhaustively researched, balanced, and superbly written account. However, his magnum opus is a social history, not a material one. There has been no equivalent academic study for Ukrainian material culture in Canada, and no comprehensive social history for the period since the mid-1920s.

In keeping with traditional studies of Canadian and Ontario architecture, the study of Ottawa's vernacular architecture has been overshadowed by the presence of the city's wealth of public monuments. In these, residential examples are generally confined to unique houses rendered in stone or brick that highlight the city's picturesque atmosphere. When worker housing appears at all in architectural surveys, the examples tend to be exotic in form, elaborate in detail, and generally decontextualized from an entire tradition of vernacular and mass housing in the region (figs. 1-9a and 1-9b). At the same time, the study of its ethno-cultural and working class communities, and of its varieties of century-old worker housing are hampered by the official vision of the city's demographics, and by what may be termed a general lack of working-class consciousness in regard to its buildings and neighbourhoods.

Ottawa is officially a bilingual and bicultural city in which an English/French dichotomy has affected urban historiography. As political scientist Elliott Tepper noted in 1982, "[n]o major study appears to be available on the city's ethnic settlement patterns," despite the presence of a large minority polyethnic community in the city.⁵⁹ Social historians John Taylor and Bruce Elliott contributed 1986's *Ottawa: an illustrated history* and *The city beyond* of 1991, respectively. Both refer marginally to the city's polyethnic history, and discuss Rochesterville-LeBreton Flats in passing, but there are no scholarly monographs

⁵⁹Tepper, 1982, 7

devoted to Ottawa's industrial, working-class, and polyethnic heritage as a whole, nor to the the architecture of Ottawa's ethnocultural communities. Aside from Ottawa architectural historian Hagit Hadaya's 1994 academic paper on the city's synagogues, Tepper's statement remains true almost twenty years after he first made it. An anecdotal social history of Ottawa's Ukrainian community is found in Ivan Tesla's 1979 "Ukrainians in Ottawa," followed by Myron Momryk's 1988 academic essay on the same subject. Momryk also wrote a brief but useful social history of the Ottawa Labour Temple in 1998.

The lives of the Ottawa's working class in the period after World War II are described in Phil Jenkins's 1996 *Acre of time*, a blend of historical geography, family narrative, and eulogy to LeBreton Flats. No similar account has been produced on life in Rochesterville itself. The possibilities of an alternative history of Ottawa are suggested by David MacGregor's brief essay from 1977, "Growing up in the CP [Communist Party]," a memoir of his youth in Rochesterville and LeBreton Flats in the 1940s and 1950s. However, there have been no academic social histories of the lives of the city's poor who live in these neighbourhoods geographically close to but socio-architecturally far from what MacGregor calls "the limousine culture of official Ottawa."⁶⁰

Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the architectural history of the Labour Temple in Canada by tracing its provenance to the *chytalnia* movement in 19th century Europe and by linking it to the better-known tradition of the Workers' Club. It provides an introductory survey of the *chytalni* phenomenon in Canada, explains the differences between the various types of

⁶⁰MacGregor, 1977, 24

chytalni, describes the function of Labour Temples, and traces their rise and decline through the early 20th century to the present. The chapter also discusses the relationship between the *chytalnia* and an alternative labour history and historical geography of Ukrainian Canadians. In so doing, it argues for the consideration of the *chytalnia* as an architectural type within Canadian architectural history.

Chapter 3 discusses the socio-architectural history of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple in the context of the ethnocultural history of the city, the physical requirements of a functioning *chytalnia*, and the lives of its participants. It examines the reasons for both the diminution of the Labour Temple in Ottawa and the physical eradication of the Ukrainian neighbourhood from the landscape of the city. In so doing, it considers the building proper as an example of the regional industrial vernacular house type, *la maison dites "hullose,"* describes the art historical significance of this commonplace and understudied building form in Ottawa, and argues that the use of the industrial vernacular by Ukrainian pro-communists in Ottawa can be seen as entirely in keeping with a subtle and complex tradition of Ukrainian socio-architecture in Canada.

The thesis concludes with suggestions for areas of future enquiry.

Conclusion

This study will demonstrate that the narrow definitions traditionally accorded the Ukrainian built environment in Canadian architectural histories are inadequate vestiges of a colonial past. It argues for a broadened definition of the Ukrainian presence within Canadian architectural history that would include the Labour Temple *chytalnia* as one of its signifiers. In so doing, it will explore the definitions of vernacular architecture and the class biases that

have been brought to its examination by historians. It proposes that a more inclusive architectural history, one not conditioned by high art paradigms, would not only question past historiographical practice, but explore its limitations in regard to ethnocultural minorities and issues of class politics.

In the process, it argues that addressing the role of urban immigrant enclaves and industrial vernacular housing, as well as exploring the meaning of community buildings to their members -- such as that of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple at 523 Arlington Ave. to Ukrainain socialists and pro-communists in the city -- through the lens of architectural historiography as well as through socio-political history and historical geography, is a significant re-evaluation that will contribute to a larger understanding of the Ukrainian ethno-cultural presence in Canada through one aspect of its architecture. It further suggests that a revisionist urban history of Ottawa should take into account the city's polyethnicity and its working class and industrial heritages, so as to represent the way of life demonstrated at the Ukrainian Labour Temple.

Chapter 2: Architecture as a signifier of alternative ethnic and political history: the Labour Temple *chytalnia* in Canada

Introduction

The *chytalnia* can be understood in the socio-architectural context of the Slavic worker club. Such buildings as Alexander Rodchenko's maquette for an ideal Workers' Club at the Soviet Pavillion at the Paris Exposition des arts décoratifs, 1925 or Konstantin Melnikov's 1928 Russakov Workers' Club, Moscow, are icons in the pantheon of modern architecture. Their formal qualities are severe and dramatic, and they have been heroized as part of the brief period when the architectural avant-garde was allowed to flourish as the state style of the emerging Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (figs. 2-1 and 2-2). However, the history of the worker club as a building type, their origins in Slavic peasant culture of the 19th century, and their function in society are virtually unknown to architectural historians familiar only with the formal appearance and stylistic labels of these unique structures.

This chapter demonstrates that the roots of the Workers' Club lie with what in Ukrainian is known as the *chytalnia*. In the process, it argues that, since the Workers' Club is a significant and well-recognized part of Western architectural history, the *chytalnia* too has significance both to a broader understanding of this modern type of building, and to the specific instances of architectural and Ukrainian historiography in Canada.

The *chytalnia*, particularly the Labour Temple variant, has been overlooked in conventional architectural histories of Ukrainians in favour of the the formal qualities and the relative politically-neutral connotations of such buildings as churches and *xati*. *Chytalni* were often provisional structures in the form of regional vernaculars and industrial vernaculars; the Labour Temple, moreover, is such a politically-laden structure that its architectural history is

inseparable from its political role. Consequently, to study the general phenomenon of the *chytalnia* and in particular the example of the Labour Temple is to articulate an alternative history of Ukrainian settlement, labour history, and architectural history in Canada.

Origins of the *chytalnia*

The architectural and social origins of the *chytalnia*, and therefore of the Labour Temple, lie with the church halls of Ukrainian Christianity. These buildings are separate from the church proper, and were simpler in form and more utilitarian in design than the elaborated volumes of traditional Ukrainian Byzantine and Baroque church architecture. Like the mediaeval charterhouse of Western European ecclesiastical traditions, the Ukrainian church hall housed the secular activities of community life, and can, therefore, be seen as a sort of proto-*chytalnia*. The tradition of a church hall separate from the church proper continues in Ukrainian sacred design in Canada (fig. 2-3).

The *chytalnia* as a formal, secular institution first arose in the 19th century Ukraine at a time when it was divided between the Russian Empire in the East, which occupied about 80% of Ukrainian ethno-linguistic territory, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which controlled the remainder in the West, including Bukovyna and especially Halychynya (Galicia).⁶¹ The term *chytalnia* came to be used extensively in Halychynya and Bukovyna, sometimes interchangeably with *narodne dim*, "people's home," or *Prosvita*, "Enlightenment," named after the society that founded and co-ordinated many *chytalni*. There were relatively few *Prosvita*-type *chytalni* in Russian Ukraine; more common institutions there were the *narodnyi budynok* (literally, "people's building"), or a *selianski budnyky*,

⁶¹Ukraine gained independence in 1992

"village building," which could be "anything from a tea room to a theatre."⁶² Under Soviet rule, *chytalni* became *klubi*, "clubs;" *palaty kulturi*, "palaces of culture;" or *palaty pratsi*, "workers' palaces."⁶³ The first significant secular *chytalni* were organized as community institutions in Lviv, Halychynya's largest city and its cultural and administrative centre, where the *Narodne Dim* was established in 1849 in a building donated by the Austro-Hungarian government (fig. 2-4).⁶⁴

The programme of this first *chytlania* was based on an earlier, Czech model for a community home, but tended to be conservative and Russophile in orientation.⁶⁵ It was followed by the creation of the *Prosvita* Society, also at Lviv, in 1868 (fig. 2-5). *Prosvita* was a more independent organization than the *Narodne dim*, and its Ukrainian nationalist orientation appealed to the nascent national identity of the Ukrainian people. Its goals were the "promotion of culture and education at both the scholarly and popular levels," and the furthering of popular education by "eradicating illiteracy, raising the educational level of the peasantry, and developing national consciousness" among the largely illiterate and impoverished population.⁶⁶ It became a much more widespread and influential institution, and eventually co-ordinated 1 700 branches throughout Halychynya.⁶⁷

⁶²A. Makuch, 1983b, 73

⁶³A. Makuch, 1983b, 73

⁶⁴Maryn, 6

⁶⁵Magocsi, 442

⁶⁶Magocsi, 442; Maryn, 6

⁶⁷Magocsi, 443

The *chytalnia* movement was both focus and catalyst for cultural enrichment in several tangible ways. The *Prosvita* Society, for example, published books in vernacular Ukrainian, advocated adult education programmes, within a few years of its founding, became a "co-ordinating force" for reading rooms throughout Halychynya.⁶⁸ The need at the time for a such a populist Ukrainophile organization as *Prosvita* cannot be overstated: the land was overpopulated due to lack of industry, food shortages were chronic, and by the late 1880s, the people were "literally starving to death."⁶⁹ Women in Halychynya at this time had the lowest life expectancy in Europe, and their children, the highest rates of infant mortality.⁷⁰

The often-desperate situation of the peasantry was compounded by the lack of social, and, especially, educational opportunities: Ukrainians were colonized in their own lands by a German-speaking monarchy and the Polish aristocracy. As well as advocating Ukrainian identity, the *chytalnia* movement provided a framework for the general improvement of living conditions through Ukrainian-language literacy, self-help activities, and co-operative economic endeavours. Because of *chytalni*, Ukrainians in Western Ukraine were able to "openly, even brilliantly, nurture a national culture." In the process, the movement was particularly inspired by the life and work of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). Shevchenko was born a serf, became a painter and writer, and eventually a political prisoner of the Russian Tsar. He was the "greatest Ukrainian writer and poet" whose efforts contributed enormously

⁶⁸Maryn, 6

⁶⁹A. Makuch, 1982, 30

⁷⁰Bohachesky-Chomiak, 7

to the renaissance of a Ukrainian ethnocultural identity in the 19th century, and ultimately to the teleological impetus of the *chytalnia* movement.⁷¹

That movement was increasingly secular, even though [Ukrainian] Greek Catholic priests were initially active in organizing them. The priests initially intended *chytalni* to "lead peasants out of their morass and keep them out of the village tavern," but they soon became part of numerous community services that were partly or wholly secular in nature and included temperance societies, co-operative stores, communal granaries, loan societies, schools, choirs, theatrical societies, gymnastics clubs, and volunteer fire brigades.⁷² In the process, *chytalni* became sites of connection between the rural peasants and the urban intelligentsia, among the most fervent of whom were political radicals. Consequently, *chytalni* took on a "life of their own and...shed their quasi-religious character," and by the 1880s, some *chytalni* began to run candidates for elected office and engage in "blasphemous agitation" against the church.⁷³ In 1890, the Ukrainian Radical Party was founded by Mykhailo Drahomonov (1841-1895), a scholar and a "pragmatic ethical socialist;" and Ivan Franko (1856-1916), an essayist, journalist, and "one of Ukraine's greatest creative geniuses."⁷⁴

The context for the Radicals in the 1890s were one of community-centred activism in Halychynya, both church-associated and secular. The *Prosvita* Society increasingly broadened

⁷¹Kelebay, 260, ff35

⁷²A. Makuch, 1982, 32; J. Petryshyn, 38

⁷³A. Makuch, 1982, 32; J. Petryshyn, 37

⁷⁴Martynowych, 1991, 13; Kelebay, 24 ff35

its scope of activities from the cultural-educational to the economic, and established co-operative stores, warehouses, and credit unions. At the same time, the co-operative movement was linked with political action. One of its key points was described as the "politicization of the peasantry," at a time when political action "ran through all possibilities."⁷⁵ Within this setting, the Radicals advocated a moralist brand of socialism based upon "populist, socialist, and anti-clerical" principles.⁷⁶ They believed that the "plight of the peasants" had to be remedied through "socialism directed by the Ukrainian intelligentsia;" however, "the intelligentsia had to serve the people, not the people the intelligentsia."⁷⁷

In this milieu of increased literacy and growing community activism, the Radical Party was able to spread socialism to the villages of Western Ukraine through "improved propaganda techniques" where the idea "took on the proportions of an institutionalized, radical social movement."⁷⁸ Whether nationalist, neutral, or radical, Ukrainians sought to "affect change not in a narrow political sense but to the very social fabric of [Halychynya]," specifically through their *chytalnia* and affiliated organizations.⁷⁹ These were not just an association of reading rooms for the *literati* but formed the basis for a socio-cultural network that by the turn of the 20th century included public libraries, accessible publications, and

⁷⁵A. Makuch, 1982, 32

⁷⁶J. Petryshyn, 63; A. Makuch, 1982, 31

⁷⁷J. Petryshyn, 160

⁷⁸John-Paul Himka, as q. by J. Petryshyn, 40

⁷⁹A. Makuch, 1983b, 33

educational programmes for children and adults, as well as "co-operative stores, credit unions, granaries, land banks, [and] marketing agencies."⁸⁰ By 1906, the *Prosvita* Society for example had established 39 branches and 1 700 reading rooms; by 1907, it had created more than 450 co-operative stores, 250 farmers' pools and 200 credit unions.⁸¹ Five years later, it grown to 35 000 members in 74 towns and cities, and by 1914 had published 655 000 copies of 82 titles, all in vernacular Ukrainian.⁸²

The role of the *chytalnia* in articulating Ukrainians' sense of identity and community at the time of their initial mass immigration to Canada around the turn of the 20th century was profound: its work was so successful that by 1914, a German observer noted that instead of being a "depressed peasant mass," the Ukrainians had become a "politically-conscious peasant nation."⁸³ However, the *chytalnia* in Europe was often perceived as contentious and even threatening to dominant political structures. In actions that presaged the Canadian government's against Ukrainian Labour Temples during both World Wars, *Prosviti* in Russian Empire Ukraine were banned by the Tsar in 1910. Following the Revolutions of 1917, independent and *Prosvita*-associated *chytalni* in Soviet Ukraine were closed in 1924 and re-opened as worker clubs, worker palaces, and palaces of culture operated by the state. In Western Ukraine under Polish rule in 1930, the *Prosvita* Society underwent a campaign of "Pacification," in reality, a pogrom that targeted for destruction *chytalni*, their associated

⁸⁰A. Makuch, 1988, 32

⁸¹Magocsi, 442; Stefura, 45

⁸²Herlihy, 144; Magocsi, 442

⁸³A. Makuch, 1983b, 33

businesses, and the homes of Ukrainian activists. This was followed by the 1939 forced amalgamation of Ukrainian co-operative stores with Polish ones. In nearby Hungarian-occupied Carpatho-Ukraine, the *Prosvita* Society was banned by the Nazi-backed government, allowed briefly to re-open during World War II, but were closed again during Soviet occupation and were liquidated by the Soviet government after the War ended.⁸⁴

The impact of the *chytalni* movement transcended its architecture. While evidence is scant, most *chytalni* in Europe were located in the villages where the majority of the peasantry lived, and the buildings reflected rural vernacular traditions in housebuilding. The typical *chytalnia* may have consisted of little more than an enclosure with benches, a stove, and a whitewashed interior in the manner of the Ukrainian domestic vernacular.⁸⁵ Many lacked stages and uncounted reading societies did not have their own buildings.⁸⁶ In rural settings, where only the most elementary education was available, even rudimentary *chytalni* buildings performed an extremely important function as gathering places where the illiterate peasantry could meet each week and hear newspapers read out loud by a visiting member of the intelligentsia. Eventually, *chytalnia* activities included lessons in language and literacy, history, music and dance, as well as the co-operative economic projects and political activities described above.

Lehr notes that more complex programming necessitated "fairly elaborate" *chytalnia* forms, such as the plan, sections, and elevations for a rural *chytalnia* published in

⁸⁴Magsoci, 615-616

⁸⁵Lehr, 1976, 229; A. Makuch, 1983b, 164

⁸⁶A. Makuch, 1983b, 164

Batkivschyna (*Fatherland*), a right-centrist European Ukrainian publication, in 1890. These describe a relatively simple, one-storey, structure, with a central entrance, flanking windows, and a pitched roof (figs. 2-6 and 2-7). T-shaped in plan, it has a central axis from the front entrance at the top of the T to the main, performance, space in the length of the T, around which are clustered the library proper, offices, and a shop, probably a co-operative store, with its own front entrance. The drawings describe a structure most likely built of wood frame, and appears to have been finished in traditional mud-daub and whitewash.⁸⁷ The title given to the illustrations, *Hromadske Dom*, "community home," underlines its populist function.

The role of *chytiani* in the lives of the Ukrainian peasantry was widespread and profound. The existence of the societies was motivated by a need for mass enlightenment and literacy; they were egalitarian in spirit, and had become by the late 19th century nothing less than the "community centres of Western Ukraine."⁸⁸ Accordingly, the buildings, however modest, were the architectural record of a grand idealism: they housed the means of the improvement of the lives of the masses through literacy, cultural works, volunteerism, and co-operative economic projects. As a movement, it was beginning to reach a crest at the turn of the 20th century when mass emigration from the region began.

The chytalnia in Canada

Introduction

Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred in three chronological waves, from 1891

⁸⁷Western Ukrainians have been especially noted for their wooden architecture

⁸⁸Wynnyckyj, 88

to 1914, during the 1920s, and after the Second World War. During the first two periods, it was dominated by those from the Western Ukrainian provinces of Halychynya, and, to a lesser extent, Bukovyna. Its earliest members included both *Prosvita* and Radical Party *chytalnia* members, who were accustomed to "community devised and executed cultural and educational work" of the movement.⁸⁹ The Radicals in particular were inspired by the peasant strikes of Halychynya and Bukovyna in 1905 and 1906 and by the first Russian Revolution of 1905-1907. When the latter group arrived in Canada, they were "able organizers with a tough and pragmatic approach" to whom theories of "immediate radical social transformation" had immense appeal.⁹⁰ The centre of their community life in Canada, as in Europe, was not the church -- and, arguably not their residences -- but the *chytalnia*.⁹¹

The need for a sense of community organization and of the political radicalism to be found at a Labour Temple among Ukrainian immigrants can be explained both by the cultural tradition of the *chytalnia* and by the living and working conditions in Canada faced by the newcomers during the first half century of the Ukrainian mass immigration. That is, in order to understand the significance of *chytalni* -- and particularly that of Labour Temple -- it is important to consider the socio-economic conditions faced by the Ukrainian immigrants as a class of workers.

⁸⁹Maryn, 10; Krawchuk, 1988, 107. It should be noted that the Ukrainians were by no means alone in the creation of ethno-cultural reading societies, cultural groups, and self-help organizations in North America, the most notable of which was the Ashekenazic *Landsmannschaften* movement.

⁹⁰J. Petryshyn, 167

⁹¹J. Petryshyn, 167; Martynowych, 1976, 1, 27

The Canada in which Ukrainians arrived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was an era of the agricultural opening up of the Prairies; however, it is one of the "great myths of Canadian history that only immigrant farmers entered Canada during the boom years of the early twentieth century."⁹² This was also a period characterized by enormous development projects in which mining, logging, and railway construction, as well as urbanization and city beautification, were increasingly significant aspects of the Canadian landscape. The creation of industries and the building of modern infrastructures, in addition to farming, propelled the economy -- as well as the Canadian national project -- and these required a vast labour force of unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers in addition to agricultural workers.

While the traditional image of the Ukrainian immigrant is of a pioneer farmer; however, the historical reality is more complex. For example, between 1900 and 1918, the length of Canadian railway track increased from 29 000 to 67 000 km and most of the new track was laid after 1907 when government restrictions on Asian immigration caused Canadians to recruit Southern and Eastern Europeans for what Martynowych and Petryshyn call its "free white slave," "white nigger," and "white coolie" labour.⁹³ Indeed, by 1920, Ukrainians comprised 13% of all railroad navvies, the largest single ethnic group.⁹⁴ In other industries, a 1913 estimate put 100 000 of the 250 000 Ukrainians in Canadian factories and

⁹²Waiser, 5

⁹³Martynowych, 1976, 30-31; J. Petryshyn, 162

⁹⁴Martynowych, 1976, 29

mines alone.⁹⁵ Ukrainians also worked in unknown numbers in logging, and while exact numbers of Ukrainians in Ottawa Valley logging and work camps has never been determined, an employment agency in Montréal reported in 1928 that of 350 workers it supplied for the bush camps, 250 were Ukrainian, a statistic which indicates a regional tradition borne out by anecdotal and other evidence.⁹⁶ Altogether, approximately 50% of Ukrainian men in the pioneer era worked for pay at some point in their lives, mainly in railyards and railway construction, mining, and logging, while approximately 30% of women worked outside the home.⁹⁷

Altogether, these figures serve to countervail the cliché of the Ukrainian immigrant only as a Prairie farmer, and point instead to a nation-wide, three-fold trend that affected them: industrialization, radicalization, and urbanization, all of which nurtured the Labour Temple in cities such as Ottawa. First, given the dispersal of frontier industries, workers located in many regions in the pioneer era outside the Prairies, including mining and logging towns in Ontario and Québec. Second, the working conditions in the frontier industries that built Canada and in which Ukrainians and other minorities laboured, such as mining, railroad construction, and logging, were generally recognized as being among the "worst in the industrialized world" in the first decades of the 20th century.⁹⁸ At the very least, such conditions helped revive the community organizations that were part of the immigrant's

⁹⁵RN, November, 1913, cited by Krawchuk, 1996, 18

⁹⁶Isajiw, 69; W. Warchow interview, 17 December, 1998

⁹⁷Martynowych, 1976, 28; J. Petryshyn, 150; Swyripa, 1991, 15

⁹⁸Martynowych, 1976, 29

culture in Europe, and were conducive to the radical tendencies of some. Third, an increasingly significant aspect of Ukrainian workers' lives was their urbanization. Prior to 1910, Ukrainian communities were centred around the intersection of Prairie quarter-sections, but were found as well in geographically diverse industrial areas, such as the burgeoning city of Winnipeg and in the coal-mining districts of Southwestern Alberta, Southeastern British Columbia, and Vancouver Island. Fifteen per cent of Ukrainians immigrants resided permanently in Canadian cities by 1911, a figure which puts into context the Ukrainian community in Ottawa in the era prior to the First World War, but which also excludes uncounted thousands of urban sojourners who worked in seasonal jobs on farms or in frontier industries.⁹⁹

This early urbanization is demonstrated by a display advertisement from a 1912 issue of *Robochi narod* (*The working people*), a Ukrainian-language socialist newspaper printed in Winnipeg and distributed nationally. Its invitation to labourers to settle in Eastmount Transcona, a part of Winnipeg, emphasize that the location is within walking distance of factories, and is a message clearly aimed at industrial, not agricultural, workers (fig. 2-8). By 1914, 14 000 Ukrainians lived in Winnipeg; 4 000 in Fort William [Thunder Bay], and 7 000 in Montréal, this last, 150 km east of Ottawa.¹⁰⁰ The Ukrainian community in Ottawa, which numbered between 200 and 500 in the World War I era, was small in number compared to other cities such as Winnipeg or Montréal, but its existence was therefore no

⁹⁹R. Petryshyn, 77

¹⁰⁰Martynowych, 1991, 226 and 129. The Ukrainian presence in Montréal is noteworthy: by 1931, three of its municipal wards were 20-33% Ukrainian by population. (Kelebay, 63)

anomaly. It was, rather, an example of a significant pattern of proletarianization and urban settlement of Ukrainians that was well underway in the second decades of the 20th century, and included the cities of Eastern and Central Canada. The trend to urbanization continued as the century progressed, with the result that 30% of Ukrainian Canadians lived in cities by 1939.¹⁰¹

In urban centres, Ukrainians were "received coolly -- if not with revulsion -- and forced to eke out a miserable existence in crowded, filthy, urban ghettos."¹⁰² According to historian Bill Waiser, they were "considered Canada's "pauper immigrants" and "ignorant foreigners" at the best of times; the "scum of Europe" at the worst."¹⁰³ Their living conditions in cities necessarily reflected their economic status. In Toronto, for example, Slavs lived in the notorious immigrant-catchment Ward, as well as in mixed neighbourhoods of worker housing, railway yards, smelters, and abattoirs of the Bathurst and Niagara Streets area and the West-end Junction. Equivalent Ukrainian neighbourhoods occurred in other cities: in Sydney, "Hunkytown" was located near the steel smelters and railroad tracks, and in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Montréal, Ukrainians lived in clusters near railway yards and mixed-use industrial and residential areas (fig. 2-9).¹⁰⁴ The settlement of Ottawa's Ukrainians in Rochesterville, a neighbourhood of worker housing, railyards, and lumber mills and other industries, was therefore in keeping with this pattern.

¹⁰¹R. Petryshyn, 76

¹⁰²Waiser, 5

¹⁰³Waiser, 5-6

¹⁰⁴Luciuk and Kordan, 7. "Hunky" and "Bohunk" are derogatory terms for Ukrainians and other Eastern and Central Europeans.

In a society and geography bound by class and ethnicity, Canadian *chytalni*, whether socialist, nationalist, or independent, played an important role as community centres for a group marginalized, as Ukrainians were, by class, language, religion, and custom. As one Canadian stated of life as an immigrant and the importance of the *chytalnia*, "[t]imes were bad, but we helped each other. When there was nothing else, at least we had the [Ukrainian] Hall."¹⁰⁵

The role of the *chytalnia* in defining Ukrainian ethno-cultural identity occurred through its programming. While the close relationship between the intelligentsia and the workers that marked the *chytalnia* movement in Ukraine was largely unfamiliar to Western cultural institutions, Harney and Troper note that the "alliance between Ukrainian intellectuals and poets and the folklore of the common people....was reforged in North America;" that is, specifically through their *chytalni*.¹⁰⁶ These community institutions helped shelter Ukrainian immigrants from linguistic and cultural alienation of Canadian society, and provided the "nucleus" of their social and cultural life, particularly when racial prejudice openly informed public policy towards them.¹⁰⁷ Pohorecky argues for the historical significance of the *chytalnia* in Canada when he says, the "onion-domed church [was] a constant symbol of Ukrainian ritual rather than morality. It played no part in any rebellion against injustice. Never a progressive or effective organization, [it] was only a

¹⁰⁵Interviewee as q. by Maryn, 1-2

¹⁰⁶Harney and Troper, 186

¹⁰⁷For example, bilingual Ukrainian-English schools in Manitoba, extant since 1897, were banned in 1916 and the textbooks burned on the grounds of the provincial legislature.(Maryn, 6; J. Petryshyn, 183)

necessary one. [The *chytalnia* was] a more open symbol of rebellion."¹⁰⁸

Definition and varieties of types

Chytalni in Canada splintered from their beginnings in Canada into two broad but distinct political factions. On the one hand were the Ukrainian nationalists, who operated independent People' Homes, Halls, Ukrainian Catholic-affiliated halls, and *Prosvita* Societies; on the other hand were the socialists and pro-communists, who ran Labour Temples. In general terms, the nationalists sought political independence for Ukraine, opposed the government of the Soviet Union, and supported the Canadian government in virtually all of its policies. The latter group encompassed a spectrum of leftists who included democratic socialists and disaffected workers prior to the First World War, and doctrinaire pro-communists afterwards.¹⁰⁹ What A. Makuch calls the "intense rivalry" between different organizations effectively prevented the *chytalni* movement from taking root in the same way and affecting Canadian Ukrainian society as it had in Halychynya.¹¹⁰ While national statistics are at best incomplete, his study of Alberta *chytalni* demonstrates the fracturing of the movement along political and religious lines in Canada. He finds that even the smallest Ukrainian communities in that province operated two or more different *chytalni*, 45% of which were independent, 35%, pro-communist, and 20% Ukrainian Catholic-affiliated.¹¹¹ While no similar survey has been made of *chytalni* in Ontario, these figure can

¹⁰⁸Pohorecky, 135

¹⁰⁹Martynowych, 1991, xiv

¹¹⁰A. Makuch, 1983a, 53

¹¹¹A. Makuch, 1988, 203

reasonably be extrapolated to other locales. Ottawa, for example, had a very small and transient Ukrainian population estimated between 200 and 500 prior to the First World War, but it managed to support two distinct *chytalni*: a nationalist *Prosvita*, affiliated with the church, as well as the socialist *Nove Zhyttia*, "New Life," the precursor to the city's Labour Temple.

The differences between the political orientation of individual *chytalni* was difficult to discern from the formal qualities of their buildings but could be gleaned from their names. Nationalist *chytalni* were called *Chytalni Prosviti* as well as *Narodnyi Domi*. The *Prosvita* Society in Canada was a much smaller and loosely structured organization than it had been in Europe, but both *Prosviti* and *Narodnyi Domi* were usually operated by an independent society, but tended to have an affiliation with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.¹¹² Other nationalist *chytalni* were associated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and included parish halls, Catholic Halls, or Catholic National Halls. Individual nationalist *chytalni* were often named after a figure from Ukrainian literature or history, such as the Taras Shevchenko *Prosvita* established at Toronto in 1913 [after 1920, the Ukrainian People's Home]; the Ivan Franko *Prosvita*, Hryhohiw, Saskatchewan, fl. 1930s, and the Evhen Konovalets Ukrainian National Federation Hall, founded at Windsor in 1935 (figs. 2-10 and 2-11).¹¹³

By contrast, the names of socialist/pro-communist *chytalni* have undergone an

¹¹²Balan, 1984, 78; A. Makuch, 1983b, 74-76

¹¹³A. Makuch, 1983b, 76; George Dragan collection, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Konovalets was a military officer during the Ukrainian revolution (c. 1917-1924), who later worked in the underground Ukrainian nationalist movement in the USSR and helped organize Ukrainian veterans in Canada and the United States. (Yaniv, 600)

evolution. The first socialist *chytalnia* founded in Winnipeg in 1899 was also named after Shevchenko, whose non-partisan appeal will be explored below. The later branches of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats/Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (FUSD/USDP) -- the precursors to Labour Temples -- were named after idealistic concepts. These included Fernie, British Columbia's *Volia*, "Freedom;" Coalhurst, Alberta's *Doroha na Volia*, "Road to Freedom;" Lethbridge's *Borotsia za Volia*, "Struggle for Freedom;" Bellevue, Alberta's *Vilna Dumka*, "Free House;" Calgary's *Iednist*, "Solidarity;" and Ottawa's *Nove Zhyttia*. (fig. 2-12; frontispiece). The term *Robitnyche Dim*, literally, "Workers' House;" more loosely, "Ukrainian Labour Temple," also became the generic term for a FUSD/USDP branch. The *Volia* branch was also described in a period document as "the Ukrainian Coal Miner's Commune," but the use of the term "commune" to describe a *chytalnia* seems to be an isolated case.¹¹⁴

With the formal creation of the ULFTA as a national organization in 1924, individual locals became known as a Labour Temple *viddil*, or branch, number. Also part of the ULFTA were the *Farmerske dim*, literally, "farmers' home," loosely, "farmers' temple," and *Robitnyche-Farmerske Dim*, or "Worker-Farmer Homes/Temples." These were Labour Temples in rural areas, particularly in the Prairies, and in mixed industrial-agricultural areas such as the coal mining and farming districts of Southern Alberta, respectively. After the ULFTA became the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC) in 1943 and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadian (AUUC) in 1946, individual buildings were referred to as Branches or Halls. However, the term, Labour Temple continued to have widespread use in

¹¹⁴Robitnyche kaliendar, 44

the period after World War II. Extant AUUC Halls in 2001, of which there are nine, include two Ukrainian Labour Temples and seven Ukrainian Cultural Centres.¹¹⁵

The term Hall, in Ukrainian, *halia*, or sometimes *zalia*, is the colloquial term used by all groups. It crosses political lines and is used by Labour Temples, People's Homes, and independent *chytalni*. For the purposes of this study, Hall can be considered as synonymous with *chytalnia*.

Hundreds of *chytalni* have existed in Canada, but very few remain extant and sources are discrepant.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the *chytalnia* had a significant cultural role and numerical presence in Ukrainian community life and a noteworthy one in Canadian architectural history. Maryn states that 109 *chytalni* existed in Canada as early as 1912, and 225 were created by 1936; at the same time, Wynnyckyj puts the number at 226 by 1936, from which she specifically excludes Ukrainian parish halls and church halls, although these may have organized literary and other secular activities and therefore acted as *de facto chytalni*.¹¹⁷ A. Makuch states that between 110 and 120 *chytalni* were created in Alberta in the 1920s and 1930s, but Lehr reports that the first *chytalnia* building in East-Central Alberta was erected at Vegreville in 1914, and that "at least" 92 "Ukrainian community halls" had been constructed in that region alone by 1940. Kisilow estimates that 150 *chytalni* existed in Manitoba by 1950.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵AUUC National Millenium Festival, 24

¹¹⁶A. Makuch, 1988, 203

¹¹⁷Maryn, 19-20; Wynnyckyj, 87

¹¹⁸A. Makuch, 1988, 203; Lehr, 1976, 230 and 233

In terms of national statistics of specific organizations, Martynowych declares that by 1924-1925, there were 68 branches of the ULFTA in Canada, 41 of which had their own buildings.¹¹⁹ However, Wertsman claims a figure of 54 Labour Temples "across Canada" during the 1920s and 116 by 1930, while Avery puts the 1930 estimate at 225.¹²⁰ Luciuk and Kordan state that there were at least 220 *Prosvita* Society *chytalni* in Canada in 1939.¹²¹ Isajiw says that there were 201 Labour Temples by the same year, but this figure actually describes the number of ULFTA properties seized by the Custodian of Enemy Property in 1940, not all of which contained Labour Temples or even buildings.¹²² Kolasky reports a 1943 House of Commons statement on the seized properties that indicated there were 101 Ukrainian Labour Temples in 1940, but notes that not all Ukrainian Labour Temples had been formerly registered as property of the banned organization, and were therefore never seized by the government.¹²³

Provincial breakdowns are also incomplete but point to a significant social movement. Krawchuk, for example, enumerates 24 Labour Temples operating in Ontario by 1924; Maryn estimates that 50 existed in Alberta by 1930 while Lehr states that there were 30 Labour Temples in the region of East-Central Alberta alone by 1940.¹²⁴ Luciuk and Kordan

¹¹⁹Martynowych, 1991, 497-498

¹²⁰Wertsman, 344; Avery, 1991, 226

¹²¹Luciuk and Kordan, 16

¹²²Isajiw, 72

¹²³Kolasky, 1979, 244

¹²⁴Krawchuk, 1988, 108; Maryn, 3; Lehr, 1976, 223

list 96 *chytalni Prosviti* in Manitoba in 1939, while Kisilow notes that five Labour Temples co-existed in Winnipeg in 1950.¹²⁵

The enumeration of Labour Temple *chytalni* in Canada is further complicated by the fact that the predecessors to the ULFTA/AUUC, the FUSD/USDP, also ran branches with typical *chytalnia* activities, such as libraries, lectures, and theatrical programmes between 1909 and 1918. Most locals were short-lived, all existed in rented premises, and documentation of the buildings appears to be virtually non-existent; however, 24 existed in Canada in 1918.¹²⁶ In addition, the Workers' Benevolent Association, an affiliate of the ULFTA/AUUC, has functioned since 1922 and in some locales without Labour Temples, provides a limited and informal *chytalnia* function.

Form

While *chytalni* buildings lacked the formal complexity of Byzantine churches or the picturesque rusticity of *xata*, they nevertheless played a highly significant role in the physical and cultural landscape of Canadian Ukrainians. It was the third building type created in a typical Ukrainian settlement in Canada, after houses and a church.¹²⁷ Krawchuk's comment regarding Labour Temples; that "[f]or tens of thousands of Ukrainians...it was a second home," arguably can be applied equally to the general phenomenon of the *chytalnia* in Canada.¹²⁸ As with many early ethnocultural institutions, such as synagogues in Ottawa,

¹²⁵Luciuk and Kordan, 16; Kisilow, 12

¹²⁶Krawchuk, 1979, 11

¹²⁷A. Makuch, 1983b, 7

¹²⁸Krawchuk, 1996, 47

the first *chytalni* were modest efforts held in people's homes. The first *chytalnia* in Canada, for example, was a *Prosvita* established in 1898 by Ukrainian nationalists at the home of Alexander Karpets in the Ukrainian settlement of Edna-Star, Alberta.¹²⁹ Its leftist counterpart was a salon organized in Genik's home at Winnipeg in 1899.¹³⁰

A comprehensive formal survey of the Canadian *chytalnia* remains a task for future researchers. However, in architectural terms, preliminary research strongly indicates that their forms were determined by three major factors, the first of which was economic. The affordability of building site, size, and materials, as determined by the geography and class status of its participants, who laboured as farmers and as industrial workers, was the most significant factor in the pragmatic realities of erecting a community hall. Second, the use of familiar technologies and/or available parts influenced design. Participants usually contributed directly to the design and to the manual labour of building construction, and they built in or re-adapted available idioms. Purpose-built *chytalni* in rural areas were made of timber in logging and frontier areas or resembled barns in agricultural districts, while in urban centres, mass-built industrial housing or occasionally, mixed-use buildings, provided by property capitalists were acquired and made over into *chytalni*. These included vernacular wood-frame houses, such as those found in the Oshawa and Thorold (Ontario) and Labour Temples, the Thunder Bay *Prosvita*, and the Ottawa Labour Temple (figs. 2-13 to 2-15; frontispiece). Other urban examples include the mixed-use Labour Temple building, a substantial structure at 300 Bathurst Street, and the Ukrainian People's Home, housed in a

¹²⁹Wynnyckyj, 87

¹³⁰Krawchuk, 1996, 37. There is no architectural information available on these houses

former Salvation Army headquarters at 161 Lipincott Street (figs. 2-16 and 2-10).¹³¹ The third major influence on design was function. A *chytalnia* required, at the very least, an open gathering space, a performance area, and if possible, kitchen facilities.

A fourth, minor, consideration was the provision of living quarters in the *chytalnia* building for members or workers, usually in compensation for unpaid or low-paid labour. The Kiew (Alberta) Labour Temple, for example, housed its unpaid Cultural Director and his wife in its basement during the 1930s, as did the Ottawa Labour Temple its janitor and his family on its second floor for much of its existence. In other *chytalni*, such as the Ukrainian Peoples' Home, Toronto, the Home proper was located on the *piano nobile* and upper floors in the centre of a multi-purpose building, and members' apartments were housed along one side of the building above a corner variety store (fig. 2-10).

Since *chytalni* were the community centres of a relatively impoverished ethno-cultural minority in Canada, they tended to be simple, even spartan, utilitarian structures. Since no national surveys exist of the type, the information compiled by A. Makuch in Alberta and Kisilow in Manitoba deserve qualified mention. Both describe almost entirely rural examples in those provinces and their results cannot therefore be wholly extrapolated to the rest of Canada. Nevertheless, A. Makuch's statement on the Kiew Labour Temple, that, "simply stated, the builders were working with limited funds and had to make do with whatever means were available to them" can be applied to the *chytalnia* phenomenon generally.¹³² The typical, purpose-built results were simple designs, one storey in height, with a central

¹³¹Architects and dates unknown

¹³²A. Makuch, 1983b, 118

front door, flanking windows, and an interior space organized around a central axis, as with the Ukrainian plans published in Europe in 1890. According to Kisilow, the standard Ukrainian hall in Manitoba was a simple and built of wood-frame construction, and often had a "boom-town façade" (false-front pediments) that could be flat-topped, semi-circular, or step-topped in shape.¹³³ A simple rectangular plan was "nearly universal" in Alberta while others had a slight T or L shape, and in Manitoba *chytalni* were either rectangular or square in unknown proportions.¹³⁴ Alberta examples averaged between 800 to 1 600 ft² (85 to 169m²) in size, with a middle range of 1 200 to 1 600 ft² (117 to 169m²), and seated between 75 and 125 people, while halls in Manitoba held up to 400 people.¹³⁵ Forty-five per cent of Alberta *chytalni* consisted of only one room which was used for dances and performances, "almost every one" had a stage, and 20% had dug-out basement-kitchens under the stage floor.¹³⁶

In other aspects of form, rural *chytalnia* tended to have more primitive infrastructures than urban ones. In terms of heating, ventilation, and air cooling, ventilation of halls was typically provided by windows on the entrance façade and along the side walls, and only 50% in Alberta had electricity by 1930. Non-traditional influences were pragmatic and dictated by the dominant society via local fire and liquor-licence codes. Second means of egress such as additional, outward-swinging doors at the rear of the stage were often added

¹³³Kisilow, 14

¹³⁴A. Makuch, 1983a, 57; Kisilow, 13

¹³⁵A. Makuch, 1983b; Kisilow, 14

¹³⁶A. Makuch, 1983b, 164

to Alberta *chytalni*, as were English-language fire exit signs to the Ottawa Labour Temple.¹³⁷

Since the design, construction, maintenance, and landscaping of *chytalni* was almost always done on a volunteer basis, size and elaborate ornament were usually kept to a minimum. In terms of architectural ornament, most *chytalni* were virtually undecorated on the exterior but minor details occasionally provide a clue to building function and political orientation. The Pritchard Street Labour Temple, Winnipeg, for example, features a carved keystone with the slogan, "Workers of the World Unite," as symbolic decorative element. Nationalist halls, on the other hand, were typically ornamented with a *tryzub*, "trident" motif, a symbol of Ukrainian nationalism, and at least two had external articulated masonry rendered in a cross-stitch motif derived from traditional women's handicraft (figs. 2-20 to 2-22). Labour Temples lacked these Ukrainophile signs. In general terms, however, the formal qualities of nationalists and socialist halls were virtually indistinguishable, as evidenced by the Thunder Bay right-centrist *Prosvita* and Ottawa's leftist *Nove Zhyttia*.

The lack of distinctive ornament or decorative schemes was also found inside *chytalni*. According to A. Makuch, interior finishes of Alberta halls were spartan and recalled domestic interiors of their period of construction: for example, standard wall treatments prior to 1930 were v-jointed wainscoting with paint or wallpaper above the chair rail.¹³⁸ Otherwise, interior finishes were secondary considerations to the creation of a simple space for cultural programming: the Kiew Labour Temple, for example, was

¹³⁷A. Makuch, 1983b, 32; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

¹³⁸A. Makuch, 1988, 204

completed in a piecemeal manner over a number of years due to a lack of a funds.¹³⁹

Arguably, the most important decorative element in any *chytalnia* was portraiture of Ukrainian literary and cultural figures, the most significant of whom were Shevchenko and Franko (figs. 2-23 and 2-24). Shevchenko is an iconic figure: his portrait is found in many Ukrainian homes, as well as in every *chytalnia*, regardless of political affiliation, and numerous *chytalni* in Canada came to be named after him. In the formulation of Myrna Kostash:

[T]hose who went to the national hall heard of Shevchenko as a great poet who associated with the intelligentsia and literati in St. Petersburg and Ukraine, who was acclaimed by Charles Dickens and whose life represented the struggle against enslavement and ignorance. At a [Ukrainian] Greek Orthodox-sponsored concert] they heard him described as a devout Orthodox Christian, who, if he were still alive, would use his flaming pen to denounce the tyranny of communism.

[On the other hand], those who went to the ULFTA hall heard him spoken of as an international champion of the working class, a man who never compromised his hatred of the exploiter, be it the Polish regime, the Ukrainian gentry, the priest, the Tsar. [Concert-goers] heard the Soviet Ukraine described as the fulfillment of Shevchenko's dream of a classless Ukraine.¹⁴⁰

Similarly, Franko's appealed to both socialists and nationalists. Although he was a socialist of considerable reknown in the Soviet Ukraine, where a city and an oblast were named after him, at least one nationalist right-centrist *Prosvita* in Canada was named in his honour.¹⁴¹

Other decorations more closely reflected *chytalnia* programming. Virtually all *chytalni* in Makuch's survey had a roller curtain and backdrop painted with an "Old Country" scene.

¹³⁹A. Makuch, 1983b, 118

¹⁴⁰Kostash, 264-265

¹⁴¹Hyrohow, Saskatchewan

These were typically pastoral in theme and depicted a village square of *xati* against a landscape of fields and birch trees.

Function

Performance art was enormously popular in Canadian *chytalni* and became for many their *raison d'être*: dance, plays, operettas, choral and orchestral concerts, and recitals of poetry were vitally important aspects of *chytalnia* programming, and were a major impetus for membership. Harney and Troper summarize the broader significance of performance art at ethnic halls as:

the assertion of peasant democracy [that] served as a bridge of understanding. A song, a dance, a costume went from being a simple ethnic reality to being a defiant or triumphal proof of...culture.¹⁴²

That is, performance art is a vitally important means of ethno-cultural and political identity, and, as Balan argues, the democratic nature of amateur theatre ensured its availability to "virtually everyone," as even illiterates could join in the audience, and participate as actors, singers, prop-builders, or costume-makers.¹⁴³ He notes that, rather than the library, the *chytalnia* stage was "arguably the most effective means of disseminating literary culture in general" to Ukrainians in Canada.¹⁴⁴

The first Ukrainian play in Canada was performed by nationalists in 1900-1901 at Brewer Creek, outside Vegreville, Alberta.¹⁴⁵ By 1901, Genik's socialist Taras Shevchenko

¹⁴²Harney and Troper, 192

¹⁴³Balan, 1991, 93

¹⁴⁴Balan, 1991, 93

¹⁴⁵Balan, 1991, 94

chytalnia in Winnipeg had 100 members and featured a programme of speeches, poetry recitals, political discussions, and musical performances.¹⁴⁶ The combination of educational-cultural programming with political activism was a template for activities in every socialist hall that followed. Over 100 Canadian-written Ukrainian plays were produced at *chytalni* prior to the Second World War, and new theatrical productions were mounted weekly or almost weekly at the Ukrainian People's Home, Toronto and the Winnipeg Labour Temple as well as at such smaller centres as the Hamilton *Prosvita* throughout the 1930s.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, Ukrainian dance was so important, it was taught in "every school [in Canada] associated with a Ukrainian organization, Labour Temple, or church, and the ability to teach it was considered a pre-requisite for employment."¹⁴⁸

The ideological identity of a *chytalnia* was manifest in its performance art programming: dramatic subjects at Labour Temples tended to be revolutionary in nature, while at nationalist halls, historical and romantic themes predominated. Beyond its purely entertainment value, performance art in *chytalni* also had specifically didactic purposes. It was used to "educate the many illiterate immigrants, to raise their social and national consciousness, and to instill moral values in them," and was an "excellent means of inculcating and disseminating ideology."¹⁴⁹ Political identity was articulated through the stage: for socialists and pro-communists, inspiration came from historical events as well as

¹⁴⁶Maryn, 14-15

¹⁴⁷Balan, 1991, 105-106; 99

¹⁴⁸Wynnyckyj, 87; Pfitz, 133

¹⁴⁹Wynnyckyj, 88; Maryn, 17

from labour activism and international socialism, while nationalists tended to look to Ukrainian historical and pastoral themes (fig. 2-25). At the same time, performance art opened the Ukrainian community to connections with other ethno-cultural groups: plays in Ukrainian were accessible to a polyethnic audiences that included other Slavs who could understand some Ukrainian, such as Ashkenazim, Poles, Russians, and Slovaks. In certain instances, it attracted the occasional attention of the English-language press, thereby validating to an extent *chytalni* programming in the broader Canadian context.¹⁵⁰

In addition, the financial benefits from performance art also influenced building form. Ticket sales contributed "substantially" to *chytalnia* construction and maintenance, as did the sale of traditional food and crafts created by its female members.¹⁵¹ No discussion of the forms and programmes of *chytalni* in Canada would be complete without an acknowledgement of the role of women, and their important, albeit mostly indirect, influence on building form. While females had little place in the top administrative and programming activities, and their role was largely circumscribed by traditional gender limitations, the *chytalnia* nevertheless helped women with educational opportunities and provided them with a socio-cultural life outside home, work, and the church.¹⁵² Women contributed enormously to the everyday tasks of operating programmes and of funding halls. They taught classes,

¹⁵⁰No author given, *ET*, 13 November, 1936, 13; 17 April, 1937, 16; 8 October, 1937, 3; 6 April, 1940, 3; 13 April, 1940, 13; Petrousky, 3 and 5; Roslin, 5 and 7; and Wynnyckyj, 89

¹⁵¹Balan, 1991, 93

¹⁵²The history of Ukrainian women's community activism is more fully explored by Bohachevsky-Chomiak and Frances Swyripa, 1993

sewed costumes for plays, and did most of the cleaning, and were responsible for the food preparation without which no *chytalnia* event was complete.¹⁵³ Consequently, the requirements of a working kitchen were arguably as significant a factor on building form as was the need for a proper stage. The creation of appropriate kitchen facilities was often achieved in even the most modest *chytalnia* during the most difficult economic times, as was the case in the Ottawa Labour Temple during the 1930s.¹⁵⁴ In addition, women's work in such traditional fields as cooking also indirectly influenced *chytalni* form: bake sales were a staple fundraising mechanism through which women underwrote the costs of building maintenance, and renovating many *chytalni*, paid their property taxes, and bought the Halls basic equipment which Swyrypa lists as ranging from furniture, musical instruments, and theatrical wardrobes to kitchen equipment, furnaces, and sewer systems.¹⁵⁵

The status of the chytalnia movement

The 1920s and 1930s marked the zenith of *chytalni* activity for both nationalists and socialists. Hundreds of Labour Temples and branches of affiliated organizations were created, as well as an unknown number of *Prosviti*, *Narodnyi Domi*, and other *chytalni*. In terms of the buildings proper, the Interwar period was a time of widespread *chytalnia* construction and building adaptation, despite the poverty of the Ukrainian population in

¹⁵³The significance of traditional food as an ethnocultural signifier ought not to be underestimated. Pohorecky says that of seven markers of identity (such as "language"), "food" ranks first in order of importance with Ukrainians. In his analysis, traditional Ukrainian cuisine is nothing less than "soul food...with sacramental quality and political thrust." (131 and 133)

¹⁵⁴Balan, 1991, 90

¹⁵⁵Swyrypa, 1993, 165

Canada and the transience of its mainly male population especially during the 1930s. Not only was the largest *chytalnia* in Canada -- the Winnipeg Labour Temple -- purpose-built during this time, but other *chytalni* operated immensely popular programmes out of large, multi-purpose facilities including the rivals Ukrainian Labour Temples and Ukrainian People's Home, located only a few blocks apart in Toronto (figs. 2-26 and 2-27).

The beginning of the decline of the *chytalnia* movement in Canada occurred during the Second World War. Ukrainian men in Canada volunteered in significant numbers, and the Ukrainian community as a whole became tied up in the War effort rather than with specifically Ukrainian educational and cultural endeavours. It enjoyed a brief revival of its pre-War popularity immediately after the War, but soon entered a decline that became precipitous in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, the *chytalnia* in Canada is a considerably reduced phenomenon. Individual *chytalni* remain in Canada in unknown numbers, but the movement as a whole, both nationalist and socialist/pro-communist, is relatively defunct compared to its activities in the 1920s and 1930s and continues in a considerably reduced and fragmented fashion today.

Many factors contributed to the decline. A dwindling first-generation with immediate knowledge of *chytalni* in Europe meant that the institutions became less relevant to their increasingly assimilated offspring. Instead, assimilation as well as upward mobility held the key to success in Canadian society; for the assimilationist, the *chytalnia* was obsolete. As J. Petryshyn puts it:

[t]o achieve occupational mobility, the majority of Ukrainian Canadians have accepted the Anglo-Canadian norms which dominate public society. A middle-class view prevails and the majority have moved towards these élite norms, imitating them in

order to be accepted as equal.¹⁵⁶

As Ukrainians became more assimilated -- and more prosperous -- in Canadian society, the role of the *chytalni* as cultural centre became associated with "foreignness" and with working class culture. Since Canada has never had cultural institutions in which the intellectual élite united with the masses in the way Ukrainians did in *chytalni*, the *chytalnia* ideal represented an alien notion for the Canadian-born, particularly as the post-1945 era was one in which levels of general prosperity were raised beyond the expectations of earlier generations. The improved working and social conditions of Ukrainians, as with Canadians as a whole in the first decades after the War led to a diminished need for self-help and co-operative endeavours such as that exemplified by the *chytalnia* ideal. That is, the vitality of the *chytalni* movement faced obstacles of newfound prosperity. Additionally, there has been little support for *chytalni* or other ethno-cultural activities in officially bilingual and bicultural Canadian society. The result was that they lacked stable funding in comparison with English and French educational and cultural endeavours consistently supported with public monies.

Other factors that affected the decline of the *chytalnia* included the significant role of the mass media in replacing *chytalni* programming. Not only are mass media in Canada almost exclusively Anglophone and Francophone, but as Balan formulates it in his analysis of *chytalni* performing arts programming, "the spread of mass culture" produces the "comcomitant undermining of working-class creativity."¹⁵⁷ Since cultural programming was central to the popularity of the *chytalnia* in Canada, its absence removed a major incentive

¹⁵⁶R. Petryshyn, 90

¹⁵⁷Balan, 1991, 110 ff8

for new membership.

In physical terms, old Ukrainian enclaves and immigrant catchment areas of which *chytalni* were a central part, changed as a result of the post-War trend to urbanization of rural communities and suburbanization of inner-city ones. The general upward mobility and the flight to the suburbs that affected Canadian society in the post-World War II period also affected Ukrainians, with the result that the established inner-city communities became less cohesive and more dispersed. In the process, the neighbourhoods themselves became increasingly diverse through waves of newer immigrant groups to whom the *chytalnia* was an insignificant if not an effectively invisible one. Suburbanization tended to leave behind elderly and the poorer members who were relatively less active and less financially capable of supporting *chytalni* as were younger and wealthier members of the community. In other instances such as in Ottawa, suburbanization and urban renewal schemes that characterized city planning from the 1950s to the 1970s resulted in the destruction of the mixed industrial-residential areas in which immigrants traditionally located. Official planning in the names of slum clearance, removal of surface railroad tracks, and city beautification disrupted the neighbourhoods in which *chytalni* were located or destroyed the *chytalni* buildings themselves. In so doing, the diminution of the *chytalni* to people's everyday lives encouraged by assimilation, upward mobility, and demographic dispersal was prompted or accelerated by the physical changes wrought by the urban renewal schemes that characterized city planning in the decades after World War II.

Other societal changes had an impact that particularly affected Labour Temples. The Cold War mentality that shaped Canadian society after World War II was deeply felt by the

Ukrainian pro-communist community, many of whom remain reluctant to discuss their experiences as social pariahs some 50 years after the fact.¹⁵⁸ In addition, Ukrainian Canadian demographics were altered permanently and significantly after the Second World War, to the detriment of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement. The groups of World War II refugees and Displaced Persons who arrived *en masse* in Canada from 1948 on represented the largest Ukrainian immigration since 1931. Since a "large percentage" of this group were "relatively well-educated, nationally-conscious, and in many cases, bitterly anti-communist," their arrival resulted in numerous confrontations between the groups.¹⁵⁹ While the newly-arrived *literati* supported *chytalnia* culture, a renewed acrimony between socialists and anti-communists further divided the *chytalnia* movement as a whole and effectively dissuaded participation from the increasingly-assimilated and Canadian-born Ukrainians. That is, not only did upward mobility and assimilation in Canada mean for Canadian Ukrainians a necessary dissociation from the *chytalnia* with its connotations of working-class culture and of Ukrainianness, but to participate in a *chytalnia* in the Cold War era often meant to engage in ideological strife that most likely seemed irresolvable. This political baggage of the *chytalnia*, particularly of the Labour Temple, may have caused it to appear as a retardataire institution whose politics and programmes were increasingly irrelevant if not antithetical to the pursuit of material goods and full acceptance by Canadian society.

In many instances, the architectural remains of the *chytalnia* movement have been demolished, as in the case of the Ukrainian People's Home, Toronto, or have been so altered

¹⁵⁸ Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

¹⁵⁹ Momryk, 1988, 87

and re-adapted as to be unrecognizable, as with the Bathurst Street Labour Temple, Toronto (figs. 2-28 and 2-29). In the instance of the Ottawa Labour Temple, the building as well the entire neighbourhood has been obliterated (fig. 2-30).

The Ukrainian Labour Temple in Canada

The purpose of Labour Temples was to attenuate a sense of Ukrainianness through leftist politics. In addition to their conventional role of the *chytalni* as educational-cultural centres, Labour Temples were also political foci where issues affecting Canadian relations with the Soviet Union were advanced, labour and trade unions were discussed, funds raised for strikers and political causes, public rallies and demonstrations organized, and letters and petitions created and circulated. Because their programming combined leftist political causes with educational and cultural activities, Labour Temples have been called the "worker universities" of Canada.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, their architectural history is inseparable from its political history beginning with the early period of Ukrainian settlement. Labour Temples were recognized as the best organized and co-ordinated of all the *chytalni*, ran the best programmes, and received the most notoriety because of its political causes. In many ways, a Labour Temple building was a site of dissent from and resistance to Canadian society and capitalist mores. For the architectural historian, the study of the Labour Temple variant of the *chytalnia* reveals fascinating and often overlooked aspects of Canadian political history and architectural history that contradict conventional perceptions of intersection of the built environment with the political ones.

The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association represented perhaps 10% of

¹⁶⁰Krawchuk, 1988, 108

Canadian Ukrainians. However, its attraction was far greater than its official membership, and was characterized by its broad socio-political role in the Ukrainian community. It represented

a small but nevertheless important force within the Ukrainian Canadian community. They provided a theoretical critique of capitalism, attempted to organize the Ukrainian Canadian proletariat (not only into an ethnically conscious class group but also as part and parcel of a general Canadian socialist movement), engaged in cultural and educational work, often organized relief for destitute Ukrainian workers, and seemed to be the only group that cared about the Ukrainian Canadian proletariat.¹⁶¹

The pivotal point in the early history of the Ukrainian proletariat in Canada was the 1905 Russian Revolution. It was a catalyst for many socialists around the world, including Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada. Their actions prompted a Canadian subculture that set them apart from the dominant nationalist or neutral sentiments of the rest of the Ukrainian community: they developed what J. Petryshyn calls a "working-class consciousness...more in tune with the need for a collective proletarian struggle against the injustices of capitalism than with the development of a Ukrainian national identity."¹⁶²

The most significant event in Canada in the early history of what was to become the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association was the establishment of *Volia*, the first Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) by coal miners at Nanaimo, in 1907 -- which in itself is an indication of the early geographic dispersal, industrialization, and radicalization of the community. The three tenets of the SPC were, first, that capitalism could not be reformed; second, that trade unions were of scant benefit to workers; and, third,

¹⁶¹J. Petryshyn, 169-170

¹⁶²J. Petryshyn, 153

that only class-conscious political action could destroy capitalism.¹⁶³ Despite its radical stance, the Nanaimo branch was no isolated phenomenon: by 1908, at least 10 Ukrainian-speaking socialist societies were established in Western Canada as well as in Montréal and Rainy River (Ontario) -- a geography which contradicts the image of the pioneer Ukrainian as a quietist Prairie peasant, and a points instead to an active, organized Ukrainian proletariat in industrial Canada by the first decade of the 20th century. This network led to the creation of the Federation of Social Democrats (FUSD) in 1909, a "co-operative union" whose purpose was to spread educational and cultural work in the *chytalnia* mode as well as be politically radical by encouraging membership in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which advocated such tactics as direct action against unfair employers and exploitative working conditions. In so doing, the FUSD linked the *chytalnia* tradition of Ukrainian cultural activities and community organization with the "bread-and-butter struggles of labourers with a class-conscious, revolutionary aim."¹⁶⁴ After 1911, the organizational energies of the FUSD became concentrated in the industrial cities of Central and Eastern Canada in response to the demographic reality of Ukrainian workers in those regions. By 1912 new branches had been created in Ottawa, Hamilton, Montréal, Toronto, and Welland (Ontario).

The FUSD was by no means isolated from the political milieu of Canada but sought active participation in it and against it, and the depression of 1913-1914 that beset the national economy resulted in increased support for the FUSD's critiques of Canadian

¹⁶³J. Petryshyn, 164

¹⁶⁴J. Petryshyn, 158

capitalism. In 1914, the union was reformed as the Ukrainian Social democratic Party (USDP), an independent political, ethno-cultural, and agitational organization which operated *robitnychi domi* in numerous cities and settlements until their forced closure in 1918.

Most of the branches of the FUSD/USDP were short-lived because of internal dissention, the transient nature of many workers, and the ongoing hostilities between socialists and the Canadian government, particularly during the First World War. The Declaration of War on 4 August 1914 was nothing less than traumatic to the Ukrainian socialist community and its *chytalni*. While Canada's role in the War has been seen as pivotal in the development of the Canadian nation-state within the British Empire, for many Ukrainian leftists, the War left them disenfranchised because of their ethnicity and further isolated because of their politics. Not only were the first decades of the 20th century ones of pronounced labour strife that particularly affected immigrant workers across Canada, but the War itself had direct significance for Canadian Ukrainians. Since most arrived from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with which Canada was at war, Ukrainians en masse were declared Enemy Aliens, and were subject in disproportionate numbers to the provisions of the War Measures and Enemy Aliens Acts and, particularly, Internment Operations.¹⁶⁵ This last allowed for detention without arrest, internment without trial, and forced labour in isolated camps, for periods of up to six years, all of which had their deepest impact on Ukrainian socialists and their *chytalni*.

Internment Operations lasted from 1914 to 1920. Of 8 579 Enemy Aliens interned in Canada during 5 954 were officially Austro-Hungarian, and approximately 5 000 of these

¹⁶⁵Martynowych, 1977, 30

were Ukrainian. According to Krawchuk, internment was a particularly aimed at Ukrainian socialists, and thus to their *chytalni*.¹⁶⁶ This was due in part to the USDP's pacifism in a time of war and its "vehement" opposition to the conflict, in part because of its repeated "exposure of the crimes of Russian Tsarism...when any attempt [to do so] was a treasonable offense" in Canada, and in part for their seditious and treasonous support of political revolution, which it called "that goddess of justice...that liberator of nations."¹⁶⁷

From 1915 on, periodic police raids were made on USDP *chytalni*, with unknown total numbers of found-ins interned or deported. According to Martynowych, these raids became "routine" after the Russian Revolutions of 1917 -- which the Party had declared to be the "prologue to the inevitable proletarian revolution which must sweep across the entire world destroying the present intolerable order."¹⁶⁸ In Nestor Makuch's analysis, announcements such as these cast the USDP "at an early stage in the role of uncritical defenders" of Bolshevism and the government of the USSR, with the result that the Ukrainian community in Canada sharply divided itself between nationalists and supporters of the Soviet Union.¹⁶⁹

As part of of the Canadian government's disapproval of the USDP, the USDP's Toronto *chytalnia* was raided 10 June, 1917 and Ottawa's on 1 May, 1918, although the USDP (along with 13 other organizations including the IWW) was not officially banned by

¹⁶⁶Krawchuk, 1996, 32

¹⁶⁷Martynowych, 1977, 28; RN, nd, cited by Martynowych and Kazymyra, 97

¹⁶⁸Martynowych, 1991, 436; cited by Martynowych and Kazymyra, 97

¹⁶⁹N. Makuch, 48

an Order-in-Council until 25 September, 1918. As a result, USDP *chytalni* were closed, their contents seized and presumably destroyed, and unknown numbers of the membership were interned with penalties that included five years of hard labour and/or deportation. The appeal of radical politics to Ukrainians in the country was by no means insignificant: by the time of it was officially banned, the Party was believed to have reached or influenced as many as 100 000 Ukrainians in Canada.¹⁷⁰ Half of its *chytalni* were located in Ontario by 1918, which indicates the appeal of radical politics to the Ukrainians of that province.¹⁷¹

All of the USDP branches were provisional structures located in rented premises, such as the industrial vernacular homes of its members (as at Fernie) or were extremely simple, wooden shed-like buildings in mixed industrial-agricultural areas such as Welland (fig. 2-31). To paraphrase Ennals and Holdsworth, the building forms therefore reflect the capitalist hand of ownership, not the hand of occupants.¹⁷²

In spite of the fluctuating nature of the branches and the mobility of the membership, individual branches of the USDP filled more than political roles. They provided community activities in keeping with those of traditional *chytalnia*, such as creating libraries, mounting plays, and establishing choirs, orchestras, and dance troupes. The cultural, educational, and political work of Ukrainian socialists in Canada continued with the construction of the largest, most complex, and most expensive *robotnyche dim*: the Winnipeg Labour Temple. However, even the building site was not immune to police intervention: it was raided during

¹⁷⁰Young, 45

¹⁷¹Krawchuk, 1988, 107

¹⁷²Ennals and Holdsworth, 194

the turbulence of the Winnipeg General Strike of May and June, 1919, and an unknown number of its construction workers were interned or deported.¹⁷³

In contrast to the *ad hoc* tenant status of all USDP branches, the Winnipeg Labour Temple was from the beginning owned by the society that runs it. It is a significant, purpose-built monument that occupies a city block, took two years to construct, and required a national fund-raising campaign to complete. Designed by Winnipeg architect Robert Davies (fl. 1915-1919) in a Beaux-Arts style, Kisilow says its "calm universality belies [its] strong ethnic and radical function."¹⁷⁴ The complex contains a 1 000-seat auditorium, dressing rooms, classrooms, library, offices, and print shop. She characterizes it as a "temple to the solidarity of working people," and by 1920 it became the centre of a new national organization of socialist/pro-communist *chytalni*, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA).¹⁷⁵

From its first meeting in 1920, the ULTA emphasized that it was a cultural-educational organization in the sense of a traditional *chytalnia*, and not, despite its pro-communist affiliations, a political party in the model of the USDP. The national significance of the Winnipeg Labour Temple lies with its role as what Balan describes as the "flagship operation" in a "network of affiliated halls that stretched from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island." The cultural-educational role of the new organization was declared at the first annual meeting in 1920 when a resolution passed stating: "every branch is obligated to establish

¹⁷³Krawchuk, 1996, 162

¹⁷⁴Kisilow, 8

¹⁷⁵Kisilow, 9

courses for the illiterate, to be conducted by comrades."¹⁷⁶ The Temple soon became the "wellspring of...literature and ideas in every Ukrainian community with a socialist organization."¹⁷⁷

Although the Association emphasized its cultural and educational roles, its political orientation distinguished it from all other *chytalni*: inspired by the success of the Russian revolutions, radicalized by Canadian internment operations, and embittered by ongoing nativism in Canadian society, by general working conditions, and by the failure of the Winnipeg General Strike to bring Bolshevism to Canada, its members were, from the very beginning, contrarians in Canadian society. By 1920, the last of the USDP internees were released, to the benefit of the Association. Many released prisoners regrouped in their communities and began to rebuild the pre-war socialist *chytalnia* movement into the new pro-communist one, in spite of the "anti-Red" antagonism of the time. Prime Minister Robert Borden's government for example, kept Ukrainians who had been stripped of Canadian citizenship under the 1917 Wartime Elections Act from regaining citizenship status until 1928, and it helped maintain until 1930 the War Sedition Act that threatened Ukrainians with deportation for pro-communist activities.¹⁷⁸ In this difficult milieu, the ULTA worked to re-establish *chytalni* in communities where the USDP had been banned, to bring nationalist and unaffiliated halls into the new organization, and to create in 1922 the Workers Benevolent Association (WBA), a national accident-disability insurance society that exists to

¹⁷⁶Krawchuk, 1996, 371

¹⁷⁷Balan, 1991, 105

¹⁷⁸Pohorecky, 134

this day.

The ULTA officially changed its name in 1923 to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), and in so doing, entered a period of great expansion and cultural activity that lasted for over 15 years. As the first "truly national Ukrainian organization in Canada," its strong central office and broad network of community contacts caused what Maryn describes as a "virtual explosion" of Temple building in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁷⁹ these buildings, as previously indicated, were vernacular or industrial vernacular structures whose architecture in no way indicated the Temples' radical function. As with *chytalnia* in Canada generally, the strength of the Labour Temple lay in its programming, rather than with grandiose architectural experiments. Programming at Labour Temples, as at the USDP branches, inevitably combined to the political with the cultural-educational. The ULFTA "vigorously protested the injustices of Canadian society," and, even as its critics acknowledged, provided "dynamic programming," among which performance art was enormously popular, influential, and "pivotal" to attracting a membership.¹⁸⁰ The Winnipeg Labour Temple, for example, mounted 25 different plays and 69 concerts in its first five years of operation from 1919 to 1924, for an estimated total audience of 230 000 people.¹⁸¹ Labour Temple programming, whether in the form of plays, concerts, poetry recitals, or children's mandolin orchestras, was by no means regarded as harmless diversions by the Canadian government, but was seen threateningly as a potential means of disseminating non-

¹⁷⁹Maryn, 3

¹⁸⁰Maryn, 3; Woycenko, 177

¹⁸¹Balan, 1991, 90

English culture and pro-communist messages. For example, a confidential RCMP memo from 1921 stated:

With the same uniformity of purpose, from the St. Lawrence River to the Pacific Ocean...the community of Ukrainians is being assailed through the media of dance and drama. The simpler form of the attack is the revolutionary concert and dance. A concert will be put on, the songs, et cetera being of a revolutionary nature; one or two revolutionary speeches will be interspersed and the proceeding will be concluded with a dance. This sort of entertainment, it may be asserted, is being given continuously, all over the country.¹⁸²

While Labour Temple programming rarely merited the attention accorded that of nationalist *chytalni* by the Anglophone press, its popularity was immense and undeniable. No less an authority than *Saturday Night* magazine declared in 1928 that Labour Temple playwright Myroslav Irchan to be the most popular playwright in Canada.¹⁸³ However, while cultural programming was central to the ULFTAs existence, its very success caused friction with the Anglophone-dominated CPC, which regarded the ULFTA as little more than a Language Mass Organization, or ethnic wing subordinate to the Party. In 1930, the ULFTA's education and cultural emphasis led it to be accused of "inadequate revolutionary struggle" and of having "opportunistic loyalties and interests counter to the CPC."¹⁸⁴ In a demoralizing blow, the Labour Temple's role as a "worker's university" for Ukrainians and other Slavs was condemned by the CPC as being "bourgeois."¹⁸⁵ Additional rifts occurred within the Association over its increasing support of Stalin's policies in the Ukrainian Soviet

¹⁸²cited by Balan, 1991, 91

¹⁸³Roslin, 5

¹⁸⁴Maryn, 32-33

¹⁸⁵Maryn, 33

Socialist Republic. Its silence over the forced famine of Ukraine in 1932-1933 in particular further splintered the organization and polarized it from the rest of Ukrainian Canadian society.

In addition, the effects of the Depression were detrimental to leftist Ukrainians as well as to the Labour Temples. Members were particularly suspect of subversion, conspiracy, and sedition; they were subject to scrutiny, arbitrary firings, and imprisonment, and the Labour Temples themselves, sites of controversy and violence. Krawchuk characterizes the Temples during this time as virtual havens and refuges for workers, particularly those in transit, in need of political solidarity, or simply a meal, but the very existence of these buildings and the policies they espoused challenged Canadian due process. The Edmonton Labour Temple, for example, was used as headquarters for a Hunger March-turned-riot on 20 and 21 December 1932, when it was raided by the police bearing blank arrest warrants.¹⁸⁶

Similarly, the Welland Labour Temple was burned to the ground after being used as the headquarters for a sewer workers' strike in 1933.¹⁸⁷ The Association's assistance with the 1935 and 1937 On-to-Ottawa treks and its support of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939 brought this ostensibly educational-cultural organization into pronounced political conflict with the Canadian government. In the first instance, Ukrainian Labour Temples were used as organizing and support centres for the Treks, and in 1936 and 1937, they acted as recruitment centres for Republican volunteers in the war described by Momryk as one of "epic proportions between the forces of democracy and fascism, progress

¹⁸⁶Balan, 1984, 121-123

¹⁸⁷Krawchuk, 1996, 42

and reaction, good and evil."¹⁸⁸ Canada was officially neutral in the Spanish Civil War and Canadian residents were dissuaded from engaging in a foreign conflict. Nevertheless, approximately 1 400 Canadians volunteered, of whom an estimated one-fifth were Ukrainians from Labour Temples.¹⁸⁹

At the same time, Temples in Québec faced additional government disapproval: its members were subject to regular harassment by Premier Maurice Duplessis's ultra-conservative government. From 1938 to 1958, the Temples themselves were subject to the province's Act Respecting Communistic Propaganda (The Padlock Law).¹⁹⁰ An additional blow was delivered to the ULFTA when, in 1938, one of the Montréal Labour Temples was raided and closed under the Act, which allowed for the seizure for up to a year of any building associated with suspect communists and other subversive elements.¹⁹¹

International events on the eve of the Second World War caused further strife between the ULFTA and the Canadian government. The Association was pacifistic, as was the USDP in the First World War, and it initially applauded the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 23 August, 1939 in the hope that it would prevent conflict on Ukrainian ethno-linguistic territories. However, the Association quickly reversed itself and supported the Allied war effort after the Nazi invasion of Poland on 1 September, 1939. Nevertheless, on 6 June, 1940, the ULFTA, as well as the CPC, were banned by the Canadian government. Two hundred and one

¹⁸⁸Momryk, 1991, 1181

¹⁸⁹Momryk, 1991, 184

¹⁹⁰Momryk, 1994, 30

¹⁹¹Balan, 1984, 35

ULFTA properties were seized by the Custodian of Enemy Property, including 108 Labour Temples, which were raided, emptied, and padlocked. At the same time, 98 members of the CPC were interned at Kananaskis, Alberta, Petawawa, Ontario and Hull, Québec. Among them were 35 were organizers and key figures in the ULFTA.

The issues of internment and of ULFTA property rights became national issues in Canada. Sixteen of the Labour Temples were sold at prices that were up to 85% less than the assessed property values, and the Montréal Labour Temple was given to the rival, nationalist Ukrainian National Federation, which also bought the temples in Edmonton and Toronto where it burned the libraries.¹⁹² However, the surprise attack on the USSR by Nazi Germany resulted in the realignment of loyalties in wartime Canada. In Kolsaky's formulation, the change was dramatic: the status of the Soviet Union changed "overnight" from that of "hated collaborator" to "our gallant ally."¹⁹³ Nevertheless, the Canadian government continued to sell off Labour Temples to rival groups, refused to release internees, and would not rescind its ban on the organization.

In response, the remaining activists in the former ULFTA reestablished themselves in June 1942 as the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC). They joined forces with the Civil Liberties Association, and recruited numerous public figures to their cause, including Ontario Premier Mitchell Hepburn. Of the Labour Temples, the Association said, "these community halls are more than mere buildings, rather are they, to these people, symbols of

¹⁹²Kelebay, 423; Balan, 1984, 45

¹⁹³Kolasky, 1979, 31

their own achievements."¹⁹⁴ Writing in *Saturday Night* magazine, Watson Kirkconnell -- who otherwise supported the Ukrainian right-centrist cause -- said that the issue of Labour Temple ownership was such a national embarrassment, it amounted to a "cinder in the eye of Canada."¹⁹⁵ Because of this unprecedented support for the ULFTA and for causes associated with the newly-allied Soviet Union from mainstream Canadian activists, politicians, and writers, the Canadian government released Labour Temple and other CPC internees in September and October 1942, lifted the ban on the organization on 14 October, 1943, and entered into two years of negotiations to return the Temples and other properties, and to make partial restitution for destroyed materials. By the end of the War, the AUC "basked in the reflected glory of the USSR," whose enormous losses to and ultimate victory over Nazi Germany cast them as a heroic nation who had won, as Kolasky describes it, a "contest between good and evil, [and] between Soviet armies of liberation and Nazi forces of oppression" (fig. 2-32).¹⁹⁶ Although the AUC lost its printing presses, two libraries, and six *chytalni* as a result of the Canadian government's wartime actions against them, it nevertheless emerged from World War II with "greater popularity and prestige than at any time in [its] history," in part because of its associations with the victorious USSR.¹⁹⁷

However, popular success of the organization was short-lived, and the post-World War II era was soon marked by further strife and violence at Ukrainian Labour Temples that

¹⁹⁴Civil Liberties Association, 14

¹⁹⁵Kirkconnell, 10

¹⁹⁶Kolasky, 1979, 47

¹⁹⁷Kolasky, 1979, 47

was part of the Cold War mentality that American military historians David Gantz and Jonathan House argue had begun to shape Western attitudes even prior to the Allied victory in the War and which was exacerbated by the defection of Ihor Gouzenko in September, 1945.¹⁹⁸

Against this backdrop, the AUC reorganized as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) in 1946 and worked to re-establish old Labour Temples as new Halls and to reinvigorate Ukrainian pro-communism, but the arrival of some 34 000 Ukrainian refugees and Displaced Persons (DPs) after 1948 altered forever the political makeup of the Ukrainian community in Canada to the Association's detriment. The new immigrants campaigned strongly against the AUUC and its continuing support of the Soviet Union, which they saw as an unrepentant oppressor of the aspiring Ukrainian nation. As Momryk describes it, the AUUC, in turn, condemned their compatriots as "Nazi sympathizers on the run from Soviet justice" who should "return to Europe and help rebuild their country devastated by war."¹⁹⁹ The mutual antagonism resulted in a series of violent actions at Labour Temples across Canada: riots broke out between AUUC members and nationalist protestors at the Edmonton AUUC Hall on 7 November, 1948; at the Winnipeg Labour Temple on 7 October, 1949; and at the Timmins Hall on 11 December, 1949. In perhaps the most notorious event at a socialist Hall in the post-1945 era, a bomb exploded at the Bathurst Street Labour Temple, Toronto, during a children's concert on Thanksgiving Sunday, 10 October, 1950. Eleven people were injured but recovered. The AUUC blamed Ukrainian nationalist provocateurs

¹⁹⁸Gantz and House, 220

¹⁹⁹Momryk, 1988, 87

and Nazi sympathizers among Ukrainian DPs.²⁰⁰ The crime was never solved, but the event shocked the community and made the front page headlines in the mainstream English-language press (fig. 2-33).²⁰¹ Other acts of violence included the smashing of windows at the Vancouver Labour Temple in 1952, which was also attributed to extreme nationalists.²⁰²

The history of the Labour Temples/AUUC Hall since the Second World War is one that vacillated between optimism and disillusionment, particularly through the 1950s and 1960s when many Halls such as Ottawa's became defunct. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the AUUC underwent a miniature renaissance with renewed programming, the creation of new, English-speaking branches, and a revitalization of their commitment to political causes that put them in the vanguard of mainstream Canadian life. While on the one hand, the Montréal Labour Temple was again raided as an illegal communist organization in Québec and its library seized in 1948, a new Temple was constructed in Calgary the same year followed by Edmonton in 1951, both designed in an modest International Style idiom (fig. 2-34). This optimism was short-lived, however, and these new Labour Temple buildings appear to have been the last of their kind. Indeed, the number of AUUC Halls and Labour Temples in Alberta alone declined from 105 in 1945 to 23 by 1954 -- or by approximately 80% in less than a decade.²⁰³ By this time, smaller branches such as Ottawa's were also experiencing a

²⁰⁰UC, 15 October and 1 November, 1950, 1 and 1

²⁰¹*Globe and Mail*, 10 October, 1950, 1

²⁰²Balan, 1984, 140

²⁰³Kolasky, 1979, 181

permanent drop in membership, with diminished financial resources to maintain their buildings or create cultural and educational activities. The post-War period was also one in which the AUUC faced increased scrutiny and pointed harassment from the RCMP, a state which led further to reduced membership, less programming, and a decreasing ability to build or maintain the fabric of the Halls.

Nevertheless, the AUUC had a significant political role in Canadian society in the decades immediately after 1945. In the 1950s, for example, it stood as voice of opposition to the injustices it perceived in Canadian and international capitalism: it vehemently opposed the war in Korea, condemned the war in Vietnam as another Korea waiting to happen, organized some of the first disarmament petitions, sought reforms in the Ontario jail system, advocated native land claims, and celebrated International Women's Day.²⁰⁴ In so doing anticipated many mainstream Canadian political positions in the decades that followed.

During the late 1950s, the organization was subject to the same social pressures that caused the decline of the *chytalnia* movement as a whole, but Nikita Krushchev's 1956 revelations about the crimes of the Stalinist era left many AUUC members so shocked and disillusioned with their *chytalni* that they left the Association for good.²⁰⁵ By 1973, only 43 Labour Temples remained in Canada, a number which has dropped to nine in 2000. Nevertheless, it remains the vestiges of a once-powerful social, educational, cultural and political movement in Canada whose architectural history is complex but significant.

Conclusion

²⁰⁴UC, 15 June 1951, 7; 15 October, 1955, 2; and 1 March, 1957, 5

²⁰⁵Kolasky, 1979, 106-160

The Labour Temple in Canada as a form of *chytalnia* is both predecessor of and successor to the Worker Clubs of the canon of modern Western architecture. However, the formal analysis and class bias which characterize the standard historiographic approach to the Worker Club are insufficient for the study of the *chytalnia* in Canada. In this country, *chytalni* forms were determined more by the economic limits of its members, the pragmatic requirements of a functioning hall -- which in Canada, emphasized the performing arts to a degree unknown in Europe -- and by available architectural fabric, such as industrial and industrial vernacular structures, than by the grand gestures of visionary and state-supported designers who created Worker Clubs in the Soviet Union.

To study the *chytalnia* in Canada is to propose a richer and more democratic history of the Ukrainian built environment, and requires a methodology that includes the approaches of material and social historians in order to foreground the meaning of the buildings to architectural and social history. This approach is particularly pertinent for the Labour Temple *chytalnia*, whose political role is inseparable from its architectural presence.

In terms of architecture, although the ULFTA offered its members an "inspiring vision of a brave new world by pointing to the Soviet Ukraine and Russia [as] the very vanguard of humanity's march to a better future," this utopianism was not translated into built form.²⁰⁶ The Beaux-Arts classicism of the largest and most famous Labour Temple, that in Winnipeg, was an architecturally-conservative design solution more in keeping with contemporary bank buildings in Canada than with the nascent avant-garde in the Soviet Union. As a purpose-built monument, it was an anomalous structure, for, despite the

²⁰⁶Martynowych, 1991, 500-501

ULFTA's highly structured and centralized programming, its buildings continued to be *ad hoc* in nature for virtually all of its history. The new Temples built in Calgary in 1948 and Edmonton in 1951 during periods of newfound prosperity and optimism were the last of their kind, and these too describe an architectural conservatism. Their forms reflect conventional architectural practices of the time regarding commercial and institutional design, rather than articulate an architecture parlante of political radicalism.

There was no master plan for the new Labour Temple construction or for the adaptive re-use of extant structures. As a result, Labour Temples, as with the *chytalnia* phenomenon in general reflected broader regional trends in Canadian society and its vernacular architectures rather than the formalist experiments in Worker Club design in the USSR. The reasons are found both in the real connections between the Soviet Union and Ukrainians in Canada during the 1920s and 1930s as well as in the ongoing financial constraints faced by ULFTA branches throughout the organization's history. The architectural avant-garde in the Soviet Union was largely a "paper architecture" that existed in the form of theory, drawings, and maquettes, and so did not inform people's everyday lives in the ways vernacular traditions do. During its short existence in the late 1910s and 1920s, the Soviet avant-garde was state-supported, unlike Labour Temple building in Canada, which was generally regarded with hostility and suspicion by the dominant culture, and whose members lived in relative poverty compared to the rest of Canadian society. In addition, cultural connections between the two countries were sporadic in the 1920s and 1930s and immigrants during this time were farmers and industrial workers, not formally-trained designers. For these workers, the *chytalnia*'s architecture was derived from the domestic vernacular of rural 19th century

Ukraine, and the commonplace vernacular and industrial vernacular of Canada, not from the brief flourishing of the Moscow avant-garde or from the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.

To understand an individual Labour Temple one must therefore study the architectural context of the vernacular and industrial vernacular forms encountered by Ukrainian settlers in that community, and consider the ways that the social history of Ukrainian settlement, the political history of the Ukrainian socialists/pro-communists, and the architectural history of the building proper combined to create a Labour Temple. In the case of the Ottawa Labour Temple, such a study reveals little-known aspects of the city's polyethnic heritage, sense of working class consciousness, and role played in its architectural history by the industrial vernacular house in the form of *la maison dites "hulloise."*

Chapter 3: A house like every other/a house like no other -- The architectural and social history of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple

Introduction

Conventional histories of Ottawa cast the city of as one of bourgeois socio-political values, a bilingual/bicultural heritage, and substantial monuments set in picturesque cityscapes. As Tepper says of Ottawa's traditional image, it is an

affluent quiet city of civil servants and politicians, tolerant to minorities, but overwhelmingly either English or French in terms of ethnic descent and Anglo-Saxon in cultural mores. It has also been traditionally viewed as relatively immune to and even isolated from the economic and social events which affect other cities in Canada.²⁰⁷

The role of Ukrainians in the history of Ottawa -- particularly that of its socialists and pro-communists -- is marginal but it describes an entirely different set of linguistic, political, historical, geographical, and architectural reference points than those recorded by traditional accounts of the city's history. Ukrainians in the city during their first half of the 20th century were neither affluent nor civil servants; nor did they fit into Ottawa's English-Protestant/French-Roman Catholic linguistic and religious dichotomies. The politics of the Ukrainian socialists and pro-communists, moreover, were far from the bourgeois complacency that might otherwise allowed them the "relative immunity" of which Tepper speaks. The study of the social and architectural history of the Labour Temple therefore points to a fuller and more democratic version of events, as Glassie proposes vernacular studies ought to do.

As with the architectural history of the *chytalnia* in Canada and the social history of Ukrainians in Ottawa, the legacy of modest vernacular forms based on wood construction by

²⁰⁷Tepper, 1982, 1

and for the labouring classes have been overlooked by art historians. The architectural history of the city has been instead predicated almost exclusively on the mid- and late-19th century Gothic Revival of Parliament Hill and later revivalist variants such as the Scottish Baronial, Châteauesque, and Queen Anne styles. More recently, modernist high-style buildings, such as the Hart Massey house of 1960 and John B. Parkin's Union Station of 1967 have entered the architectural canon. Nevertheless, a whole other realm of architecture exists in the city: that of the small, detached, industrial vernacular house built in wood, en masse, from the late-19th century to c. 1920: la maison dites "hullose." For the historian of architecture, Hubbard's city of "battlemented ministries," "pinnacled convents," and "air of Victorian gentility and circumspection" has little relevance to the industrial vernacular house whose simplicity, austerity, and ubiquity in the city point instead to the "shanty tradition" he derides. It is this latter tradition that constitutes the built environment of much of the working-class of the city from the turn of the 20th century, and, in the case of the Labour Temple(s), of its Ukrainian socialist/pro-communist *chytalni*.

There have been three socialist *chytalni* in Ottawa: two locations of the FUSD/USDP branch *Nove Zhyttia*, at 268 Rochester St. (built 1900, demolished 1974) and 61 Stirling Ave. (built 1905), and the Labour Temple proper at 523 Arlington Ave. (built 1910, demolished 1974) (figs. 3-1, 3-2, and frontispiece). All three buildings were industrial vernacular houses constructed in the first decade of the 20th century, and the latter two conform perfectly to the maison dites "hullose" label: they were small, narrow, wood-frame freestanding houses with a rectangular or L-shaped plan, a simple gable roof facing the street, and a full-façade verandah. While evidence is scant on the first example, it can

reasonably be surmised to have also been a maison dites "hullose" or a flat-roofed variant of the type.

This chapter demonstrates that the architectural and social history of the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple describes an alternative architectural history of the city; that is, one of the legacy of industrial vernacular housing in the form of la maison dites "hullose;" its role in the [now largely-defunct] working-class Ukrainian community, and intersection of form and function that occurred from 1912 to 1965 at the Labour Temple. It notes that this use of an industrial vernacular house as a *chytalnia* is entirely in keeping with a widespread phenomenon in Canada, and that the particular version readily available to the poor in Ottawa, crossed ethnocultural lines because of class issues. In so doing, it refutes three notions put forward by other historians. First, Kalman's assertion that Ukrainians were generally unable and unwilling to use milled lumber for housing is demonstrated to be an overgeneralization that does not take into account the urban settlement of Ukrainians in such cities as Ottawa during the pioneer period. It therefore misses their use of the available industrial vernacular in, such as la maison dites "hullose." Second, contrary to Pierre Lapointe's argument that la maison dites "hullose" is a "perfect solution" for the needs of the "typical French-Canadian family" in the region, this chapter illustrates that the occupancy of the house type was a function of class rather than strictly of linguistics or ethnicity in Ottawa. Therefore, it was at least as "perfect" a solution to the needs of a *chytalnia*-cum-residence for Ukrainian and other socialists and pro-communists running a Hall and living in a variety of "family" structures as it was for any other ethnocultural group living and working in this versatile type of structure and residing in the neighbourhoods in which the

type was found. Third, while Doucet and Weaver contend that the possibility of home ownership offered by inexpensive industrial vernacular houses was intended to instil bourgeois values among the working class, the Ukrainian Labour Temple at 523 Arlington Ave. is an example of the opposite: in its case, building ownership by no means precluded a working-class consciousness but was the means of articulating a working-class -- as well as Ukrainian -- identity in Ottawa.

The chapter concludes that the physical threat faced by the Labour Temple as well as by the Ukrainian community as a whole in Rochesterville by various urban renewal and city beautification schemes not only accelerated its decline but was part of what MacGregor calls "Ottawa's protracted but undeclared war on the poor," at least in the sense of architecture and urban planning, and ultimately, of architectural historiography in regard to the industrial vernacular and to ethnicity.²⁰⁸

La maison dites "hullose" and the industrial vernacular house in Ottawa

La maison dites "hullose" is an small, inexpensive, and mass-produced housing form in Ottawa and Hull, but has been a little-studied part of the urban landscape of both cities, in part because of the class biases of architectural history as explored in the Introduction. The house is, as Michelle Guitard describes it, "une maison pour la class ouvrière construite par elle," and so occupies a historiographic subniche.²⁰⁹ As an industrial vernacular house, it is concentrated in the parts of Ottawa originally settled by the working classes, such as Lowertown, Ottawa East, and New Edinburgh, and in neighbourhoods that were and

²⁰⁸MacGregor, 1977, 24

²⁰⁹Guitard, 10

continue to be zones of industrial-residential convergence, such as Mechanicsville and particularly, the Booth Street corridor adjacent to Hull; that is, LeBreton Flats and Rochesterville.²¹⁰ These neighbourhoods in their entirety, as well as the housing types found in them, continue to escape the attention of architectural historians.

The term "la maison "hulloise" was first used in 1989 by la Comité du patrimoine du Hull to describe the basic freestanding, gable-fronted house, constructed with a wooden frame structure, wooden floors and roof, and originally finished in wooden siding (fig. 3-3). All have a narrow, rectangular or L-shaped footprint with a kitchen extension at the rear, a steeply pitched roof of approximately 45° with the ridgepole perpendicular to the street, a full-façade verandah, an off-centre front door, and a side hall plan. All vary from 1-2/2 to 2-1/2 stories in height. They were built in uncounted numbers in the region from c. 1870 to c. 1920 as an industrial vernacular version of earlier, pre-industrial forms indigenous to the area.

The exact terminology to describe this house has been modified as what little research as there is has progressed. While the authoritative Comité Architecture Vernaculaire/Vernacular Architecture Committee of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)-Canada uses the term "la maison hulloise" without qualification in 1991, the equally authoritative Vernacular Architecture Forum in 1995 published in the *same volume* two essays that describe an identical building type in the region under different labels: archivist Pierre-Louis Lapointe's "Hull house" and Ottawa architectural historian M.

²¹⁰Guitard, 4

Carter's "Front-gabled cottage" (figs. 3-4 to 3-6).²¹¹ By contrast, the most recent and comprehensive study is Guitard's 1997 *La maison dites "hulloise,"* in which the author demonstrates that there is no pure "hulloise" style, only a basic type with many variants where the authorship and provenance of each can usually be only approximated and not precisely determined. However, while at least 13 individual examples of what this study would label *la maison dites "hulloise"* have been granted municipal heritage status by the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee of the City of Ottawa (LACAC) in the past twenty years, these have been done in an *ad hoc* manner with no comprehensive analysis or consistent labelling of the house type.

Guitard calls *la maison dites "hulloise"* "simple comme un dessin d'enfant," while Lapointe labels it "as vernacular as a house can get."²¹² In contrast with the elaborate detail associated with the various styles of fin-de-siècle design, the detailing and ornamentation of *la maison dites "hulloise"* is minimal: they lack complex volumes and the decorative flourishes of the Queen Anne and other revival styles typical of the period. Such details as bay and dormer windows, stained glass, rooftop cresting, bargeboards, and finials are omitted entirely from the typical *maison dites "hulloise."* Many extant examples -- some hundred years after their original construction -- continue to lack even basic functional details, such as drip mouldings and eavestroughs. However, while these houses were quick and cheap to construct, and so simple in form and spartan in detail that at first glance they may defy superficial categorization in terms of style or provenance, they have ongoing art

²¹¹de Caraffe, 1991, 7-8; Lapointe, 47; M. Carter, 16

²¹²Guitard, 1; Lapointe, 50

historical significance to domestic design in the city. Their formal qualities in terms of size, proportions, materials, and orientation to the street continue to influence contemporary designers in Ottawa, particularly as infill housing design in older residential neighbourhoods.

With its rectangular plan, gable roof, and small size, and wood construction, la maison dites "hullose" can be seen as a late-19th century industrial vernacular version of an ancient, even archetypal, form in Western architecture (fig. 3-7). Its more immediate, regional, origins lie in the late 18th and early 19th centuries with the frontier architecture of the loggers' shanty, and the high style of the Greek Revival fashionable in Georgian England and imported to Ontario by United Empire Loyalists and other British settlers (figs. 3-8a and 3-8b)). While the Ottawa Valley loggers' shanty marked the beginnings of an Euro-Canadian building tradition in the region, and the Greek Revival house became an extremely popular housing form in Ontario, a phenomenon that has received little scientific analysis in the architectural historiography of the province. For example, Macrae and Adamson assert in their 1963 study of Ontario houses that the 1-1/2 story central-gable form is the "typical Ontario type;" however, Norris's more rigorous 1982 survey finds that of the eight indigenous Euro-Canadian types in Ontario in the 19th century, the 1-1/2, 2, and 2-1/2 storey variants of the Greek Temple comprise "clearly the most common" in the province.²¹³ Of these, the 2-1/2 storey variant -- that of 61 Stirling Ave. and 523 Arlington Ave. -- is, "in absolute terms," the second most common Ontario house type" after the simple 1-1/2 story gable.²¹⁴ Accordingly, the Ottawa Labour Temple(s), housed as they

²¹³Norris, 1982, 79-89

²¹⁴Norris's survey was based on examples in York, Waterdown and Southeast Grey Counties.

were, can be seen as an intrinsic part of Ontario's architectural heritage that pre-dates the industrialization of the province.

Both original "huloises" houses and their recent counterparts articulate numerous factors related to the specific history of property ownership land and development in the region, such as lot size, availability of locally-processed building materials, regional construction techniques, and city codes which affect slight differences in the types between the opposite sides of the Ottawa River, and in so doing point to a common heritage of working class neighbourhoods in both Hull and Ottawa.²¹⁵ Guitard found extant houses in the city of Hull range from 16'(4.8m) to 24'(7.2m) wide, for example, and while no comprehensive survey has been made of its types and numbers in Ottawa, M. Carter's survey of Lowertown found the typical example is 20'(6m) wide.²¹⁶ Insurance atlases and field research reveal many extant houses in Rochesterville measuring 18"(5.4m) wide or less. Among these were Ukrainian Labour Temple at 523 Arlington Ave., and the house at 61 Stirling Ave., both of which measured 16'(4.8m) wide.²¹⁷

An analysis of the architecture of the three socialist *chytalni* in Ottawa reveals the truth in Ennals and Holdsworth's description of the industrial vernacular house vis-à-vis the

²¹⁵For example, the sizes of building lots in Hull were originally set by the Anglo-American mill owners who first developed the city in the early 18th century. Seeking to maximize profits, standard lots widths were a narrow 18'(5.4m). In Ottawa, land development was more heterogeneous and less rigidly controlled by monolithic corporate interests, with the result that standard lot widths in the city started at 20'(6m). (Guitard, 40; Lapointe, 49; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999)

²¹⁶Guitard, 3, M. Carter, 24

²¹⁷*Underwriters*, Maps 121 and 122; and W. Warchow measured drawings, 523 Arlington Avenue

rustico-picturesque: "devoid of folk detail evident in their rural counterparts, these houses reveal the hand of capitalism and of ownership, not the hand of occupants."²¹⁸ In their view, the forms of such houses as la maison dites "hullose" represent the "mass-marketing of [the] vernacular [in Ottawa's case, the logger's shanty]," a phenomenon erected in Ottawa in "doubles and even rows by speculative capitalists."²¹⁹

La maison dites "hullose" also manifested a broader trend in architectural practice of the period, that of design of the inexpensive, single-family, urban house, whose very economy above all else dictated form. As William L. Price said in his *Model homes for little money* of 1904: "when the cost of a house is to be kept down...the first thing to be considered is what one can do without, rather than what one can get."²²⁰ Moreover, according to Ennals and Holdsworth, the utilitarianism of such industrial vernacular forms as la maison dites "hullose" cannot be separated from broader socio-political conditions at the time of construction. They say such houses demonstrate

the transition from a mercantile and agrarian society to one that was shaped more by urban and industrial development [in which] Canada only slowly and only partially gained the domestic architectural exuberances often associated with Victorian wealth and confidence.²²¹

The mass creation of la maison dites "hullose" in Ottawa -- and their ultimate availability to the Ukrainian working class and socialist community -- was therefore determined by three intertwined technological developments that occurred during this

²¹⁸Ennals and Holdsworth, 1998, 194

²¹⁹Ennals and Holdsworth, 1994, 203

²²⁰Price, 87

²²¹Ennals and Holdsworth, 1998, 149

transitional phase of the economy and of housebuilding of the mid-to late-19th century. No discussion of the industrial vernacular can omit the role played by changing technologies in its creation. The mass production of standardized wood components created by sawmills resulted in large quantities of pre-milled wooden parts and so eliminated much specialized labour previously required for housebuilding; the introduction of light-frame building techniques such as the balloon frame utilized milled wood and allowed for houses to be built in a quickly and easily-assembled manner; and the publication of architectural pattern books provided builders with standardized designs and construction details regardless of where they lived.

Arguably, the most important of these three factors, especially in the Ottawa region, was material. Accordingly, an analysis of the fabric of *la maison d'ite "hulloise"* raises questions regarding the conventional definitions of architectural modernity. While cast iron, steel frame, and reinforced concrete have been typically associated with the modernization of building science -- and thus with architectural modernism itself -- Doucet and Weaver argue that in reality wood "reigned supreme" among all the new building materials of the 19th and early 20th centuries in North America.²²² The milled wood that became the standardized parts for housebuilders throughout the continent had particular relevance for the growth of Ottawa: the Ottawa Valley forests were renowned for their stands of the recommended woods, pine and spruce, and by 1900, six lumber mills operated in central Ottawa and Hull

²²²Doucet and Weaver, 570

to service the housing and other markets.²²³

The structural basis of *la maison dites "hulloise"* lies with the practical application of milled wood to the modular, lightweight, easy-to-assemble and "completely empirical system" of balloon frame construction that revolutionized housebuilding in the 19th century (fig. 3-9).²²⁴ Until the balloon frame, the earliest recorded example of which occurred in AD Taylor's St. Mary's Church, Chicago, in 1833, housebuilding in wood consisted of traditional hewn-log construction that was extremely heavy, required a master carpenter and skilled assistants, and often resulted in structurally illogical and "quite erratic" buildings.²²⁵ The light frame, in contrast, is composed of thin members arranged in a three-dimensional grid that could be erected by a couple of semi-skilled workers. It thus represented a logical approach to design as well as a democratization of housebuilding: in Gervase Wheeler's estimation, "[t]o erect a balloon-building requires about as much mechanical skill as it does to build a board fence."²²⁶ Nevertheless, the result is as structurally sound as traditional hewn-log, as evidenced by innumerable Ottawa examples over 100 years old.

Charney describes the balloon frame as a profoundly important design innovation for a cold climate. According to him,

it was forged out of a marriage of crude plank construction with a sophisticated layering of materials that incorporated pockets of air for insulation; it reversed the traditional concept of the massive wall, and it signified a revolutionary breakthrough

²²³JR Booth: EB Eddy: Gilmour and Hughson: R. Hurdman; MacLaren, and Wright, Currier, and Batson. Guitard, 29

²²⁴Rempel, 110

²²⁵Rempel, 110

²²⁶as cited by Gowans, 1987; 53

in the material concept of building in a climate where shelter is crucial.²²⁷

Such technology necessarily found great favour among the builders and contractors who worked in such a quintessentially winter city as Ottawa.

An additional appeal of balloon-frame construction was its expedience: a typical two story house could be built from foundation to interior finishes within six weeks. It was therefore an ideal technology for providing quickly built and inexpensive shelter not only during Ottawa's growth as an industrial and government town in the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries, and was particularly crucial to the speedy rebuilding of Ottawa and Hull after the Great Fire of 1900. This disastrous event began in the lumber yards that spanned the Ottawa River and destroyed 60% of Hull and 20% of Ottawa, including virtually all of Rochesterville (fig. 3-10).

The actual designs of balloon-frame houses were heavily influenced by images mass produced in architectural pattern books. This new literary genre was enormously popular and caused the same house patterns created or supervised by trained architects to be replicated by non-specialists throughout North America. By the turn of the 20th century, dozens of pattern book titles with thousands of building designs were readily available and their influence on Canadian architecture was vast. Banks, churches, farm buildings, and commercial blocks were all influenced by pattern book sources, but the most popular design was that of the single family house.²²⁸ Because of the widespread usage of pattern books and the multitudinous variations made by builders upon on printed designs, it is impossible to

²²⁷Charney, 271

²²⁸Guitard, 26; de Caraffe, 7

determine the specific design sources, designers, or builders of the Ukrainian Labour Temple at 523 Arlington Ave. or of *Nove Zhyttia* at 61 Stirling Ave. and 268 Rochester St.

However, sources for la maison dites "hullose" include Designs 134 and 14 from *Palliser's* pattern books of 1872 and 1893, respectively; Design 11 from *Reed*, 1883; Plan no. 133 from *Shoppell's* of 1890; Designs nos. 537 and 50 from *Radford's*, 1901 and 1909, respectively; and Plan no. 37 from *Dustman's* of 1910 (figs. 3-11 to 3-17).

Many examples of la maison dites "hulloses" such as the Ukrainian Labour Temple[s] also reflect the connections between function and form in Ottawa worker housing in the first decades of the 20th century. Because of a relatively *laissez-faire* attitude toward land use at the time compared to the present day, the combination of a residence, store, and workshop in the same house was a familiar practice for artisans and their cottage industries. As M. Carter describes it, "residential and occupational use of property were linked for the ordinary person. People lived on their business premises -- or worked behind their houses."²²⁹ With its side hall plan and a staircase immediately on axis with the front door, the basic plan of la maison dites "hullose" allowed for easy conversion from a single family dwelling to a multi-purpose building or to multiple dwellings under the same roof.²³⁰ The mixed use of 268 Rochester Street, 61 Stirling Avenue, and 523 Arlington Avenue as dwellings/Labour Temples was therefore not only part of Canadian *chytalnia* history but part of the commonplace tradition of mixed land-use in working-class Ottawa.

La maison dites "hullose" and the Ukrainian Labour Temple(s)

²²⁹M. Carter, 14

²³⁰M. Carter, 16

In order to understand the significance of the use of *la maison dites "hullose"* as a Ukrainian Labour Temple(s), it is important to contextualize the houses proper in the history of Ukrainian settlement in the city. Ukrainians in such cities as Winnipeg or Thunder Bay live in a milieu where working class history plays a prominent role in urban identity, and Ukrainians form a significant minority of the population. Their history and cultural achievements in these settlements are interwoven with urban history. By contrast, the history of Ottawa's labouring classes is largely unwritten; as well, Ukrainians comprise a very small community in the city and Ukrainian socialists/pro-communists a smaller group still. Their history has been virtually unrecorded.²³¹ Indeed, Anne Lapchuk's comment on the female Ukrainian pioneers in Canada, that "the role they played in Canada's history never reached the society pages of the newspaper, if at all," can be equally applied to Ukrainian socialists/pro-communists in Ottawa, to their *chytalni*, and to a historiography of the city traditionally bound by an exclusively English-French and high art paradigms.²³²

Although the city was not a recipient of what Harney calls the Great Immigration from Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its logging and other regional industries nevertheless attracted what Taylor describes as a "small mosaic" of immigrant industrial workers who were neither English nor French.²³³ Such groups as Germans, Ashkenazim, Italians, and Chinese began to settle in Ottawa during this period, where they

²³¹Numerous histories of urban Ukrainian communities exist for other cities, such as Huk, Luciuk, 1980, and Smith, but there are no Ukrainian parallels to geographer David Chuen Lai's superb study of Chinatowns across Canada.

²³²Lapchuk, 63

²³³Narney, 1978a, unpag; Taylor, 124

tended to occupy the bottom hierarchy of labour and lived in the immigrant catchments areas of the city where la maison dites "hullose" was the predominant single house form, such as in Lowertown and Rochesterville. By 1904, the first group of Ukrainians joined them after they had been left stranded and destitute by their immigration agents.²³⁴ In addition to being industrial labourers, by 1905, at least one Ukrainian in the city drove a hansom cab and established a market farm on the southern outskirts of Ottawa, from which he supplied produce to the city and to Hull.²³⁵

The Ukrainian community in Ottawa was small and grew slowly, and the nature of employment available to it provides a profile of the typical FUSD/USDP/ULFTA/AUUC member in the city. As with the general demographic makeup of Ukrainian settlement in Canada in the period before the First World War, Ottawa's Ukrainians included many single male sojourners from Halychynya employed in seasonal labour such as logging. The lumber trade drove the economy of the region in the very early 20th century; however, it was a difficult and dangerous occupation that lent itself to labour radicalism and to Labour Temple association among at least some of its Ukrainian loggers. While there appear to be no first person accounts of what Ukrainian loggers experienced in the region, Martynowych describes life in the British Columbia logging camps as amounting to "peonage" and "lesser forms of serfdom."²³⁶ Working conditions in the Ottawa Valley were even harsher: it was seasonal employment only, logging was conducted in winter in an

²³⁴Momryk, 1988, 83

²³⁵Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

²³⁶Martynowych, 1976, 28

often-extreme climate, and its wages were even lower than in BC.²³⁷

Ukrainian men in Ottawa, as in other settlements in Canada, also worked in railways, farms, and building construction, as well as in such craft-based occupations as tailoring and particularly shoemaking.²³⁸ While exact figures are uncertain, Ukrainian women in Ottawa were most likely among the approximate two-thirds who held jobs outside the home, particularly in domestic service, or approximately twice the rate of Ukrainian women nationally.²³⁹ Moreover, the public service, which became the region's largest employer after the decline of the lumber trade in 1913, as well as many private firms were closed to immigrant workers until the Second World War.²⁴⁰ In terms of ethnicity, class, and architecture in Ottawa, to be Ukrainian in the city, for most of its members, through most of the 20th century, was to be working-class, to live in a working-class neighbourhood, to reside in industrial vernacular houses such as *la maison dites "hullose,"* and consequently, to use this familiar and available housing type for the community's socialist/pro-communist *chytalni*.

There were enough Ukrainians in the city by 1908 to form the first, modest, community organization, a local *Prosvita* Society which held its meetings in private homes.²⁴¹ Even at this early date, the foundations of the Labour Temple were being

²³⁷Martynowych, 1976, 28

²³⁸Momryk, 1988, 83

²³⁹Swyripa, 1986, 47

²⁴⁰Balan, 1988, 16; Momryk, 1988, 86

²⁴¹Momryk, 1988, 83

established when P. Yakubowski lived in and operated a shoe repair shop on Bank Street, and in 1910, another Ukrainian socialist, M. Chopowick, was prosperous enough as a self-employed window washer to buy his own house at 61 Stirling Avenue.²⁴² Both Yakubowski and Chopowick were to become prominent figures in the Ukrainian socialist/pro-communist movement in Ottawa for the next 50 years.

In 1911 Yakubowski relocated to 268 Rochester St., in Southern Rochesterville at the intersection of Rochester and Balsam Sts., and it was here that Ottawa's first socialist *chytalnia*, the FUSD's *Nove Zhyttia*, was founded on January 25, 1912.²⁴³ Its location was at the geographic centre of the Ukrainian community, which by 1912, numbered approximately 200 people. By 1920 this immediate area was a small but dense Ukrainian neighbourhood that supported two Ukrainian churches, the *Prosvita*, a *Ridna Shkola* (language school) and a Ukrainian bookstore.²⁴⁴ In keeping with the pattern of Ukrainian urban settlement in Canada, this was a downtown neighbourhood of mixed industry, railyards, and worker housing, and was sited within walking distance of numerous factories and mills of Rochesterville, Lebreton Flats, Hull, and Mechanicsville, as well as of the restaurants, hotels, and construction sites in Centretown, and employers of domestic staff in the Glebe. The neighbourhood provided inexpensive housing for those at the bottom of the city's social and labour hierarchies, which included the French, followed by Italians, Ukrainians, and other Slavs.

²⁴²*Might's Ottawa City Directory*, 1908; Land Registry Office, Ottawa Courthouse

²⁴³Knysh and Haideychuk, 119

²⁴⁴Momryk, 1988, 83

Architectural evidence for the building is virtually nonexistent: it was built in 1900 and demolished in 1974 by the Ontario Housing Corporation, and the site is occupied by a parking lot currently operated by the City of Ottawa. According to period insurance maps, it was a small, narrow, detached, L-shaped, single family home with several attached outbuildings and sheds, making it appropriate for a mixed-use building such as the home-boarding house-workshop-storefront and *chytalnia* that it was from 1912 to 1918. Similar houses-storefronts of the same period remain in the area, in two variants: steeply pitched gable roofs predominate in the single homes, indicating that 268 Rochester St. was most likely une maison dites "hullose."

The chronology of the three socialist *chytalnia* can be divided into three phases: the *Nove Zhyttia* years from 1912 to 1918; the Labour Temple era during the inter-war period; and the post-World War II years of the AUUC Hall. During the first era, *Nova Zhyttia* filled a political void in the city as well as created from little material means an active cultural life for Slavs in Ottawa. The pro-revolutionary social democrats of the FUSD and USDP brought an alternative view to the politics practised by the Tories and Whigs of the city and of the nation. At one of the founding meetings of *Nove Zhyttia* on 7 February, 1912, Comrade V. Prystai exhorted Ottawa's Ukrainians to recognize that although the socialist community was very small in the city, their role their had geo-political significance. He said, "[y]ou are living in the capital, where matters dealing with all citizens are decided. You are living in the centre, where, unfortunately, there are no representatives of the working people."²⁴⁵ The members were encouraged to consider themselves social democrats in the European

²⁴⁵RN, 14 February, 1912

tradition, to follow the example of Berlin and Vienna, and to establish workers' councils and vie for power on a platform of revolutionary social change.²⁴⁶

The initial meetings of 1912 attracted 20 people as members of the fledging branch with dues set at 25c for men and 10c for women. Within two months, it grew to 73 members, which represented over one-third of the Ukrainian community.²⁴⁷ The branch held numerous political and propaganda meetings over the next two years, and featured speakers from Montréal, Vienna, and Lviv. Such events doubtless emphasized ties between the organizations in Europe and its Canadian counterpart, and underscored the difficulties faced by workers on both continents.²⁴⁸

In keeping with the cultural practices of the *chytalni* movement in general and the performing arts orientation of the organizations in Canada, *Nove Zhyttia* also formed a volunteer library, choir and a drama club, and mounted the first Ukrainian play in Ottawa shortly within its founding.²⁴⁹ These were by no means minor achievements in the context of Ottawa society at the time: *Nove Zhyttia*'s members were labourers when a 10- to 12-hour workday was the norm, and even prosperous communities in the city offered very few cultural activities on their own initiative. The *chytalnia*'s commitment to a fledging, volunteer-run library for Slavs, for example, occurred when the first public library in Ottawa had to be established with private money, had been in operation for only six years, and given

²⁴⁶RN, 14 February, 1912

²⁴⁷Tokar and Kohanchuk, 16 April, 1913

²⁴⁸Knysh and Haideychuk, 131

²⁴⁹Momryk, 1988, 83

its reluctance to carry materials in any language other than English, would have been inaccessible to Ukrainian and to other ethnocultural minorities in the city.²⁵⁰

Other cultural activities such as plays, recitals, and dances that typically lasted until morning were held on a regular basis by *Nove Zhyttia* and were greatly popular, despite the church advising against attendance.²⁵¹ The growing popularity of the branch and its need for a permanent home were underlined by events in March, April, and June of 1914. The year was reported as a "fruitful" for *Nove Zhyttia*, despite it being a time of prolonged unemployment and a "difficult situation for workers." Anxiety regarding the upcoming war in Europe and about the ongoing economic depression in Canada combined with the decline of the lumber trade in the Ottawa Valley to create mass unemployment and unrest in the city.²⁵² At the same time, the 100th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth was marked across Canada with poetry recitals and concerts in *chytalni* across Canada in March and April, but *Nove Zhyttia* had to rent the auditorium at 47 George St. for its celebrations.²⁵³ Clearly, such gatherings as these were too large for the house/shoe repair shop at 268 Rochester St. or Chopowick's modest home at 61 Stirling Ave.²⁵⁴ However, the Shevchenko celebrations that united Ukrainians in cities across Canada were soon followed by "[h]uge demonstrations of unemployed demanding bread or jobs" held in Montréal, Vancouver, and Winnipeg, partly

²⁵⁰Taylor, 191; Kohanchuk, 25 June, 1913

²⁵¹Kohanchuk, 30 July, 1913

²⁵²Knysh and Haideychuk, 131

²⁵³Krawchuk, 1996, 24

²⁵⁴RN, 13 May, 1914

at the instigation of the USDP.²⁵⁵ In the words of Krawchuk, social hardships of the time radicalized Ukrainians and "forced [them] out of rented meeting halls and into the streets."²⁵⁶

In June, 1914, *Nove Zhyttia* played a significant role in organizing what may have been the first demonstrations of this kind in Ottawa: in a city where trade unionism was virtually nonexistent and worker solidarity negligible, USDP comrades Prystai and Chopowick of Ottawa and I. Hnyda of Montréal addressed a series of three open-air rallies held from 4-7 June at Ottawa City Hall to protest unemployment, increased militarization, the exploitative policies of Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Railroads, and the immigration "business." A crowd of 1 000 people attended the final meeting, at which resolutions were passed against unemployment and child labour, and in support of the creation of an eight-hour workday, aid for the unemployed, old-age pensions, accident and unemployment insurance, and an increased budget for public works projects.²⁵⁷ The Ministry of Labour and the City of Ottawa responded to this unprecedented show of ethnic and working class solidarity by creating a make-work programme for the unemployed and by providing free milk to the jobless.²⁵⁸

The Declaration of War in 1914, followed by the Russian Revolutions of 1917, affected Ukrainians in Ottawa as they did elsewhere in Canada for the next several years.

²⁵⁵Krawchuk, 1996, 1996, 24

²⁵⁶Krawchuk, 1996, 24-25

²⁵⁷RN, 24 June, 1914

²⁵⁸Knysh and Haideychuk, 131

The World War I era was one of suspicion and uncertainty for Ukrainians in the city: some enlisted as British subjects and others fell under the War Measures and Enemy Aliens Acts.²⁵⁹ Within months an unknown number of "Austrians," most likely Ukrainians, were detained in Ottawa and interned at Kapuskasing, while others had to report regularly to the local police, and the community as a whole became "monitored by the authorities."²⁶⁰

However, *Nove Zhyttia* continued its vehement opposition to the war during this period of war industry-related prosperity for the community and what appears to have been internal dissent within the branch.²⁶¹ Its May Day celebrations of 1915 and 1916 bordered on the treasonous and seditious when the branch openly declared its opposition to the war, advocated the dictatorship of the proletariat, called again for an eight-hour day and the elimination of child labour, and affirmed the need for Ukraine to be independent at a time when any criticism of the Russian Empire was seen as dangerously unpatriotic. Some sort of rift appeared in the organization during this period, when *Nove Zhyttia* temporarily moved to Chopowick's home at 61 Stirling Ave. in October, 1915.²⁶² The reasons for the move are unknown but may have had to do with the factionalism that typically beset the USDP as a whole throughout its existence.²⁶³

Arguably the most significant event for *Nove Zhyttia* was the Conference of the

²⁵⁹Although the exact numbers of Ukrainian volunteers from Ottawa is unknown, of 393 reported fatalities from Ottawa, 16 were Ukrainian. (Momryk, 1988, 83)

²⁶⁰Momryk, 1988, 83

²⁶¹Momryk, 1988, 84

²⁶²Barylsky, 28 October, 1915

²⁶³Krawchuk, 1996, 19; Martynowych, 1991, 253-254 and 258-260

Eastern District of the USDP, held 29-31 October 1916, at which ten delegates attended from Montréal, Hamilton, Welland, and Timmins, and by the visit that fall of Mattvi Popovych (Matthew Popovich), the editor of the USDP's Robochi narod (RN).²⁶⁴ The political and geographical isolation no doubt felt by the Ottawa socialists would have been somewhat relieved by its participation in such annual meetings which were usually held in Montréal, and by its connections with a man who was a seminal figure in the Ukrainian leftist movement in Canada, and regarded as an organizer extraordinaire of political and cultural events.²⁶⁵

By 1917, however, the branch was in disarray over local employment conditions and at the same time catalysed by international events. The *chytalnia* relocated back to 268 Rochester St. at some point during the year. The move put it back at the heart of the Ukrainian community, but Ukrainian labourers in the region were highly transient. As RN reported of its declining Ottawa membership: "many [members] left to work in the woods [as loggers]," with the result that the number of regular, dues-paying membership fluctuated from month to month and dropped dramatically overall.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, despite the transience of its membership and the threats and raids faced by other USDP branches, *Nove Zhyttia* continued as a politico-cultural centre for which the February Revolution in the Russian Empire and the potential for Ukrainian independence had a "profound" effect.²⁶⁷ In

²⁶⁴RN, 14 December, 1916; Krawchuk, 1996, 25

²⁶⁵Krawchuk, 1987, 7

²⁶⁶RN, 23 February, 1917

²⁶⁷RN, 17 March, 1917

March, Popovych paraphrased Vladimir Lenin when he wrote in RN, "the prisonhouse of nations has collapsed," and in May, the Rex Theatre was rented by *Nove Zhyttia* for a mass meeting in support of the February Russian Revolution.²⁶⁸

Events such as these both articulated the Ukrainian -- and the Ukrainian socialist -- presence in Ottawa and isolated it from the status quo. In general, the English- and French-language media utterly ignored Ukrainian cultural activities and political events such as *Nove Zhyttia*'s plays and dances, its Shevchenko concerts, and its mass rallies. Indeed, unless criminality was alleged, the community appears to have been overlooked completely by Ottawa society. When described at all in the city's presses, Ukrainians in Ottawa were mislabelled as "Italians," described as speaking "Austrian," or were cast with the ethnic slur "Polack" -- at the same time that the terms "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" were used to describe events and peoples in Europe.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, activities at *Nove Zhyttia* and mass rallies of the kind it held at the Rex Theatre attracted the attention of the Canadian authorities and resulted in their closer monitoring of the Ukrainians' revolutionary ideas.²⁷⁰

Otherwise, the wartime economy eventually brought full employment and relative prosperity to the general Ukrainian community in Ottawa, and several ambitious building projects were undertaken by nationalists and churchgoers.²⁷¹ The Ukrainian Catholic

²⁶⁸RN, 23 February and 23 March, 1917

²⁶⁹*OEJ*, 9 September, 1913, 9 and 10 and 10 September, 1913, 3; *OC*, 10 September, 1913, 7; *OC*, 6 May, 1918, 1-2

²⁷⁰Momryk, 1988, 84

²⁷¹Momryk, 1988, 84

Church, a *Prosvita* building, and a *Ridna Shkola* (Ukrainian-language school) were established at Balsam and Rochester Sts. in 1918, followed by the Bukovynian Orthodox Church at nearby 820 Gladstone Ave.²⁷² In the process, the Ukrainian community manifested itself as a distinct group in the Rochesterville neighbourhood. However, ongoing difficulties in regard to kinds of available employment, poverty, and cultural place in Ottawa society faced Ukrainians in the city, and the socialists continued to be an antagonistic presence in the view of the police.²⁷³

On 1 May, 1918, 268 Rochester St. was raided during an anti-War meeting advertised with a sign in the front window.²⁷⁴ In their reportage of the event, the English- and French-language press implied conspiracy and sedition: the found-ins were described as "Austrians" having a "secret" meeting to promote, among other things, the "notorious IWW;" accused of distributing "propaganda" in the banned "Austrian" language, and of promoting an end to the War.²⁷⁵ Eighteen men were detained in the raid, of whom 17 were held at the Kapuskasing internment camp until October, 1919, almost a year after the War ended. Little is known about these men who ranged in age from 18 to 53, but they included figures of some prominence within the USDP; such as, RN correspondent O.

²⁷²Architects unknown. Momryk, 1988, 83

²⁷³The career of Filip Konowal is instructive. He was a World War I recipient of the King's Cross, and was not a member of *Nove Zhyttia* or of the Labour Temple and therefore likely had better employment prospects than those who were. In Pohorecky's analysis, Konowal received the "highest honour the British Empire could bestow. He spent [the next thirty years] as a janitor in the House of Commons." (132)

²⁷⁴Korol, 1965, 6

²⁷⁵*OC*, 2 May, 1918, 1-2, and 4 May, 1918, 3; *le Droit*, 3 mai, 1918, 13; *OEJ*, 2 May, 1918, 1 and 4 May, 1918, 3; and *OC*, 6 May, 1918, 1-2

(Joseph) Kohanchuk (fl. 1913-1918), as well as those who would later return to Ottawa and help to establish the Labour Temple in the city; such as, Petro Haideychuk (Peter Haideychuk) (1887-1963), Nicholas Mucci (fl. 1918-1943), and Yuri Skrypnychuk (fl. 1918-1920).

The internment experience and its effects on these men is unknown, but Kapuskasing was the site of one of the largest camps in Internment Operations: it held 600 prisoners, most of them Ukrainian, and its conditions generally have been acknowledged to have been the most difficult, if not brutal, of all the camps. The internees there lived in circumstances described as "particularly bad:" they were denied basic medicines, forced to work at hard labour such as logging and road clearance at rifle point, and were housed in uninsulated shacks in a climate where winter temperatures easily reached -40°C.²⁷⁶ As Desmond Morton wrote in 1990, Internment Operations were "easy in Ottawa; pretty bloody hard in Kapuskasing."²⁷⁷

The branch became effectively defunct with the raid of *Nove Zhyttia* and the internment of its members, and the seizure and probable destruction of its books, files, pamphlet. With it, organized Ukrainian socialism in the city became dormant until the internees' release from Kapuskasing on 2 October, 1919.²⁷⁸ At least some of the internees made their way back to Ottawa, including Haideychuk and Mucci, who were to later live at 523 Arlington Ave.

²⁷⁶Korol, 1965, 6; Hunchuck, 1994, 7

²⁷⁷Morton, 53

²⁷⁸Martynowych, 1994, unpag.

While the internment experience doubtless radicalized some and stiffened their political resolve, it probably had a traumatic personal affect: it seems never to have been discussed by those who returned to Ottawa. Both Haideychuk and Mucci remained active Ukrainian pro-communists in the city for the next forty years, and both were personally known to two interviewees during the 1940s to the 1960s. Neither interviewee was aware of the their internment history.²⁷⁹

Despite their difficulties, the community regrouped and on 4 July, 1920, held the founding meeting of what was to become the third socialist/pro-communist *chytalnia* in Ottawa, the Ukrainian Labour Temple proper.²⁸⁰ It was created in an industrial vernacular house at 523 Arlington Ave., a street fronted and dead-ended by intersecting railwaylines in extreme Southwest Rochesterville. The house that, in the words of one interviewee, "looked like any other" was first constructed as a small, single-family residence.²⁸¹ Originally occupied by French and Scottish families, it became emblematic of the growing Ukrainian presence in Rochesterville when it was purchased jointly by Sam Tkachuk and the musical director of *Nove Zhyttia*, F. Marak, in 1913.²⁸² The house was duplexed at an unknown date and sold in 1923 for \$2 500 to a collective of Ukrainian socialists.²⁸³ In 1924, it was formally incorporated as Branch no. 11 of the ULFTA (fig. 3-18).

²⁷⁹Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

²⁸⁰Momryk, 1988, 85

²⁸¹Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; *Might's*, 1909-1911

²⁸²*Might's*, 1910-1924; Land Registry Office, Ottawa Courthouse

²⁸³Haideychuk, 1930, 118

523 Arlington Ave. is no longer extant, but period insurance atlases, an elevation photograph, and interviewees' recollections and measured drawings describe a small, modest maison d'ite "hulloise" (frontispiece, figs. 3-x). It was originally a very small building, approximately 16' (4.8m) wide, 30' (9m) long, and 2 1/2 storeys high. The interior spaces were divided longitudinally into two unequal bays of three rooms on the ground floor and four on the second floor, which were joined by a linear staircase on axis with the front door and abutting the outside wall. The Temple proper operated from 1924 to 1938 out of the house's basement and ensemble of parlour, dining room, and kitchen while the second floor contained a separate, two-bedroom apartment occupied by various members of the Temple and their extended families as well as transients (frontispiece and figs. 19-20).²⁸⁴

The purchase of the building and its formal incorporation as a branch of the ULFTA appear to have revitalized the Ukrainian pro-communist community in Ottawa: the fledgling branch raised funds for Soviet Ukraine and established a series of lectures and readings, despite the lack of trained leaders with advanced formal education.²⁸⁵ By the mid-1920s, an apple orchard had been planted in the Temple's garden, and the branch offered an expanded programming that included adult literacy classes, a mandolin orchestra, a children's school, a women's section, and a youth section, as well as Branch no. 41 of the WBA.²⁸⁶ The Temple's activities caught the attention of the RCMP, who reported in 1926 that 38 pupils were enrolled in its "revolutionary school" in a classroom adorned with "photographs of the

²⁸⁴*Might's*, 1924-1939

²⁸⁵Haideychuk, 1930, 118

²⁸⁶Momryk, 1985, 85

late Russian Bolshevik [V.I.] Lenin and other leaders of the Bolsheviks.²⁸⁷

The Ukrainian community as a whole in Ottawa grew slowly during the second phase of mass immigration in the 1920s, as did Labour Temple membership. Those who came to Canada during this period were generally urban labourers with what Momryk describes as "essentially economic motives."²⁸⁸ This resulted in a group for whom political activism was often secondary to their immediate interests of financial security. Ottawa's absence of large industries and lack of employment opportunities with the federal government -- which had become entrenched as the largest employer in the region -- meant that Ukrainians sought to live elsewhere in Canada. As Momryk describes Ottawa at this time, "[e]conomically, [it] was similar to their small, one-industry towns;" however, the largest "firm" hired few, if any, Ukrainians.²⁸⁹

Nevertheless, the Labour Temple grew incrementally throughout the 1920s. It attracted some new arrivals to Ottawa, among whom were two young adults whose previous experiences provide some clues to their motivation for participating in the Labour Temple movement. According to two interviewees who were their children, traumatic events in their parents' youths influenced their disaffection with moderate politics and with organized religion. In the first instance, Kazimierz Drozdowych (1900-1994) was a teenage non-combatant in revolutionary Belarus. He survived ill-treatment from occupying Russian White Army, fled to refuge with the Red Army, and became a life-long communist. He joined the

²⁸⁷cited by Kealey and Whitaker, 1994, 316-317

²⁸⁸Momryk, 1988, 85

²⁸⁹Momryk, 1988, 86

ULFTA upon immigrating to Canada in the 1920s.²⁹⁰ In the second case, Anna Warchow (1908-1993) was a young farm worker assigned upon immigration to a settlement in Saskatchewan. She was so scandalized there by the behaviour of the parish priest, who reportedly sold alcohol and ran a gambling den out of the basement of the church, that she repudiated organized religion and supported instead the ULFTA.²⁹¹ Both K. Drozdowych and A. Warchow settled in Ottawa in the 1920s where they became members of Branch no. 11, raised their families in the ULFTA tradition, and went on to support the organization in the city for the next forty years.

The Ottawa branch however, remained small, and only a minor part of the national association. In reporting on the status of the Ottawa Labour Temple in 1929, Haideychuk wrote of the branch's myriad cultural and educational activities for children and adults, but added that it could not really "spread its work" in the city for a variety of reasons.²⁹² The small size of the city's Ukrainian community, which he estimated at less than 700, the lack of industries to attract new members, the ongoing transience of available employment that led to an unstable membership, and an unresponsive host culture all limited the branch's work. "Many members left town, others for the Old Country," he wrote, while in Ottawa, there was still "[political] darkness and religious prejudice" against the ULFTA.²⁹³

New immigration to Ottawa virtually ceased after 1931, by which point, according to

²⁹⁰Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

²⁹¹W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

²⁹²Haideychuk, 1930, 118

²⁹³Haideychuk, 1930, 119

Momryk, the community could be divided into four main, sometimes overlapping and sometimes antagonistic, groups: ULFTA, Ukrainian Catholic, Bukovynian Orthodox, and neutral or unaffiliated.²⁹⁴ While differences between different institutions and groups could be rigid, they were blurred within families. One interviewee describes having one parent who was committed to anti-clericism and was actively involved with many aspects of Temple activities; the other parent went to church regularly but would attend the Temple only on special occasions such as concerts or banquets.²⁹⁵ In a second family, one parent came from a family that founded the Bukovynian Orthodox Church in the city and was herself "deeply religious," while the other parent was a staunch communist.²⁹⁶ The Labour Temple was thus a factor in community identity and cohesiveness as well as divisiveness during this period of economic crisis.

The 1930s were a "very difficult" time for Ukrainians in the city. Those with jobs were increasingly employed in service industries, such as hotel kitchens, while others were self-employed as craftspeople, and a great many became unemployed or underemployed.²⁹⁷ One out of three shoemakers in the city were Ukrainian during this period, and 56 people belonged to the Temple's unemployed association.²⁹⁸ Interviewees who were children at this time and whose parents were ULFTA members reveal a society in which working

²⁹⁴Momryk, 1988, 86

²⁹⁵W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

²⁹⁶Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

²⁹⁷Momryk, 1988, 86

²⁹⁸Momryk, 1988, 86

conditions were extremely difficult and ill-paid. One interviewee, whose father was considered to have employment labourer with the city of Ottawa in an arduous job as a streetsweeper and snowshoveller, recalls that her family spent periods during the Depression when their diet consisted only of potatoes and gravy.²⁹⁹ In another instance, an interviewee describes the hardships faced by women and by sojourners during the Depression: his mother worked as domestic servant in the Glebe, took care of her own family, and ran a boarding house out of their home as well as volunteered at the Temple on a committed basis. The amount of her labour, and her commitment to organized community life, was not seen as extraordinary for a Ukrainian female. At the same time, the situation faced by single males was no less difficult: one of the members of the interviewee's extended family was a Labour Temple member who worked winters as a logger "in the bush" north of Ottawa and summers as an itinerant peddler on the streets of the city. He is recalled as being denied entry to the family home when he arrived back in Ottawa each spring until he could be deloused and rid of human fleas.³⁰⁰

The Labour Temple building itself remained relatively unchanged from its conversion to a duplex sometime in the 1910s or early 1920s until a major expansion project was undertaken from June to December, 1938.³⁰¹ Using volunteer labour believed to have been drawn from its unemployed association, the Temple's western wall on the ground floor and basement was removed and the floor area of both storeys approximately doubled for an

²⁹⁹Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

³⁰⁰W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

³⁰¹Momryk, 1988, 86

overall footprint estimated at 30'(9m) x 40'(12m), or 1 200'²(108m²).³⁰² The result was a Temple consistent in size and shape with other *chytalni* in Canada (figs. 3-21 to 3-23).³⁰³

The forms of the expanded Temple were spartan in an industrial vernacular idiom: it had a new foundation of poured concrete or concrete block over which a one-story, flat-roofed, wood frame structure was erected. The height and proportions of the new wing echoed those of the first storey of the original house, as did the construction technology: the walls were balloon frame insulated with sawdust, and the exterior was finished in horizontal wooden cladding painted beige or cream.³⁰⁴ A small, rectangular, false-front pediment was the single decorative flourish, a formal element in keeping with other Labour Temples such as those found on the Prairies or, occasionally, in Northern Ontario (fig. 3-19).

As with many other Canadian *chytalni*, wall openings in the newly expanded Temple were minimal. They included a small front window, a larger front entrance, and exit doors at the rear and side. The composition of the new structure was a pastiche of new and pre-existing wall openings: the new entrance was rebuilt out of the former front window of the downstairs parlour, which resulted in an off-centre entrance to the Temple, as opposed to the strict bilateral symmetry found in entirely purpose-built examples. This slight deviation from standard *chytalni* practice was a pragmatic solution that involved the least amount of labour and materials but provided the basic necessity of an entry point.

For interviewees, the most significant changes occurred to the interior of the Temple.

³⁰²W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³⁰³A. Makuch, 1983b, 56

³⁰⁴W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

It is recalled as simple but impressive, consisting of a "proper" auditorium, with "a large room with a stage at the far end, and a small room...with a library and storage for costumes and musical instruments."³⁰⁵ This purpose-designed performance space, in keeping with other Canadian *chytiani*, emphasized the Temple's role as a cultural centre devoted to music, dance, and theatrical performances. Formally, the new space was also typical: it was rectangular in plan and had a large raised stage at the rear, estimated at 25'(7.5m) x 10'(3m) x 2'(0.6m).³⁰⁶ A narrow backstage held props and costumes, and the theatrical experience was enhanced with hand-painted side-drops and a double-sided backdrop depicting an Old Country village scene with *xati* and birch trees on one side and a domestic interior on the other. The new space held approximately 100 people on folding chairs that were removed to the sides of the hall for banquets and dances.³⁰⁷ Printed portraits of Shevchenko and Franko flanked the right and left stagefront, respectively, and added to the Ukrainianophile atmosphere.³⁰⁸

Other details of the auditorium were likewise mass-produced and domestic in theme: it was finished in hardwood flooring, dark brown v-jointed wainscoting and ceiling, and, above the chair rail, typical period wallpaper in a subdued floral pattern of pink or burgundy on beige. Unlike other *chytalni*, the Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple had no *rushnyk*, or embroidered cloth, which was traditionally draped over the podium, because "we had no

³⁰⁵Anonymous, 15 April, 1999

³⁰⁶W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999; Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

³⁰⁷W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

³⁰⁸W. Warchow, December 17, 1998

podium. We were too poor."³⁰⁹

The functional aspects of the Temple were accommodated by the expansion: the front part of the new Temple contained a bar/concession stand, and a cloakroom/office that held the branch's small collection of mainly Ukrainian-language books and newspapers (fig. 3-22).³¹⁰ The enlarged basement held a new industrial-size kitchen with built-in cupboards and a woodstove plus two washrooms -- the facilities necessary for holding banquets, receptions, and other social events such as wedding parties and funerals, and for making the meals that typically accompanied dances and performances (fig. 3-23).³¹¹

A. Makuch's comments on the Kiew Labour Temple can be equally applied to the Ottawa example:

They did not have the time, the money, or the desire to produce an architectural showpiece: they simply wanted a conventional structure to serve their local needs which could be managed within their limited means.³¹²

Accordingly, there is no period documentation of the "conventional structure" that was the Ottawa Labour Temple. In the words of one interviewee, because the focus of the Ottawa Temple lay with its activities and cultural programming as opposed to the architecture proper, "nobody thought to take a picture of the place."³¹³

The activities of the Ottawa Labour Temple have yet to be fully documented during

³⁰⁹W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

³¹⁰W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

³¹¹W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999; MacGregor, 6 April, 1999

³¹²A. Makuch, 1983b, 56

³¹³W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

the 1920s and 1930s, but its cultural programming became more important than ever with the creation of the enlarged hall and raised stage. As with other *chytalni* in Canada, the Hall is believed to have presented an average of one new play or concert per week for at least part of the 1930s, as the same time as it played a role in various efforts to alleviate the effects of the Depression.³¹⁴

The 1930s in Ottawa was recalled by an interviewee as a "really difficult" time; however, in spite of the poverty and transience of the membership, the building itself was recalled by one interviewee as being maintained in "very good state of repair," with the garden "beautifully kept."³¹⁵ The active participation of its members in the Temple's programming and in the physical care of the building was collective work, and its success was a point of pride for its members.³¹⁶

Krawchuk says that Labour Temples during the Depression became "a kind of oasis -- a place to rest, receive a bowl of soup, a cup of tea or coffee and a sandwich, and perhaps even spend the night."³¹⁷ Accordingly, the Ottawa Labour Temple must have functioned during this period, at least in part, as an informal soup kitchen, hostel, gathering place for the unemployed and their children, as well as being a cultural centre in the *chytalnia* mode. Curiously, no permanent tenants were listed in the upstairs apartment from 1935-1940, which may indicate its use by transients, and despite its small size, the Ottawa Labour Temple had

³¹⁴Drozdowych, 9 April, 1999

³¹⁵W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998; Anonymous, 14 February, 1999,

³¹⁶W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

³¹⁷Krawchuk, 1996, 46-47

by virtue of its location in the capital, a special role to play in national politics: it received every visiting ULFTA delegation to Ottawa, some of whom doubtless stayed in the building.³¹⁸

In addition to providing shelter, the role of food was central to the Temple's activities and was often linked with its cultural and political causes. 523 Arlington Ave. is remembered as a place that "fed people on the move, people coming and going" in the search for work and housing or as part of political protests against unemployment held on Parliament Hill, particularly during the Depression.³¹⁹

Communal meals of traditional Ukrainian cuisine was a theme remembered by all interviewees who recalled the period from the 1930s to the 1950s. As with other *chytalni*, women at the Ottawa Labour Temple traditionally did all the food preparation and cooking. One interviewee recalls groups of 12 or more female volunteers baking all afternoon to prepare meals for banquets, while the men readied the Hall itself by erecting tables and cleaning up afterwards.³²⁰ As one male interviewee describes his childhood at the Temple, "I must have washed dishes a hundred times."³²¹ Another recalls, "if you were Ukrainian, you turned to the community and they tried to help you out...in those days of unemployment, you went down there and someone would feed you."³²²

³¹⁸Kolasky, 1979, 46

³¹⁹W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

³²⁰W. Warchow, 7 November, 1988

³²¹Drozdowych, March 25, 1999

³²²W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

Food was also central to fundraising efforts at the Temple. Banquets that featured traditional Ukrainian cuisine became a standard money-raising effort for causes that were immediate rather than abstract: in one case, dinner was held for an injured Gatineau worker in order to pay for blood transfusions and crutches.³²³ In another incident that involved food in a direct way, one interviewee recalls that a protest group in the 1930s, possibly detainees from one of the On-to-Ottawa treks, was held behind barbed wire at Plouffe Park at Preston and Somerset Sts. only a few blocks north of the Labour Temple. In response, A. Warchow and other Temple members demonstrated their solidarity by scouring nearby bakeries for discounted loaves of bread, which they tossed over the fence to the protestors.³²⁴ The Temple also collected food for the poor during this period, and volunteers who spent an evening constructing sets and props for plays were rewarded with a free hot meal.³²⁵ Such meals as well as language classes and music lessons were considered open to all children in the community regardless of ethnicity or their parents' political beliefs.³²⁶

The political commitment of Labour Temple members was demonstrated in other immediate causes: in 1936, for example, at least five Ukrainians in Ottawa joined the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, of whom four were from the Labour

³²³W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³²⁴W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

³²⁵W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³²⁶W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

Temple.³²⁷ Next to nothing is known about these men but Momryk finds that two-thirds of the Ukrainian volunteers came from cities and industrial towns in Canada, and were thus likely industrial workers, or more probably, were unemployed during the Depression. The typical volunteer was born between 1895 and 1910 in Western Ukraine of a very poor family, worked as a child labourer, and had his education cut short by war. After some, probably compulsory, military service in Europe, he emigrated to Canada in the 1920s with the promise of employment, and as a victim of the Depression, he enlisted to fight in Spain at age 33, considerably older than most recruits.³²⁸ On their return to Canada, the volunteers who remained active in the Ukrainian left were "held in high esteem and respected throughout their lives as veterans of...one of the epic ideological struggles of the 1930s."³²⁹

At least two of the Ottawa volunteers were recalled with the highest regard by interviewees: both Stephen Pacholchak (fl. 1935-1960) and Martin Myroniuk (fl. 1935-1950) were gifted and dedicated cultural workers at the Temple. Pacholchak was a master cabinetmaker and "marvellous carpenter -- the best we have ever seen" of its props and stage sets, while Myroniuk taught children to read music and play the mandolin.³³⁰ Accordingly, the lives of both men can be seen as demonstrations of the *chytalnia* ideal of social betterment and cultural work: theirs were lives of ordinary workers who were equal committed to political causes as to Ukrainian cultural-educational activity.

³²⁷Momryk, 1991, 86; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

³²⁸Momryk, 1991, 184-187

³²⁹Momryk, 1991, 91

³³⁰Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

The outbreak of war in September 1939 affected the Ukrainian socialist/pro-communist community in Ottawa in terms of the Temple, its programming, and its members. The June 1940 Order-in-Council that declared the Communist Party and ULFTA illegal resulted in the seizure of the Ottawa Labour Temple by the Custodian of Enemy Property on 17 November, 1940, only 11 months after the expansion had been completed. The residential tenants were allowed to remain in place but the Temple proper was padlocked, its programmes suspended, and its furniture, collections of books, props, and musical instruments either seized or dispersed. One interviewee believes that these materials were either hidden in the upstairs apartment or distributed among the membership in the months that it anticipated a raid or seizure.³³¹

As in other cities, the Ottawa Labour Temple building was offered for sale to a rival organization, however, the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Ottawa refused because it would have "created and promoted unnecessary antagonism between both segments of the community."³³²

The status of the Temple during the War period seems ambiguous: its operations were officially suspended, its furniture, and collections of books and instruments seemingly dispersed, the building remained unsold and the property of the Custodian, but the second floor apartment continued to be occupied by ULFTA members. The residents in the apartment during the building's seizure initially included Haideychuk, but his whereabouts

³³¹Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

³³²Momryk, 1988, 86

from 1941-1947 are unknown.³³³ At age 53 in 1941, it is unlikely that he enlisted and there is no indication that he was arrested or interned, but, as Balan notes, many Communist Party militants "shipped out of the country or went into hiding" for duration of the war.³³⁴ At the same time, there is evidence that at least some organized activity continued during 1941-1942 when the pro-communist Ukrainian community in Ottawa provided the internees held at the Hull Jail with fresh fruit and vegetables as well as a contraband crystal radio set hidden in a pail of homemade cottage cheese.³³⁵

Life in Ottawa during the War could also be difficult for those Labour Temple members who were not interned. There was less than universal support in the city for the Allied cause; nevertheless, at least nine Labour Temple members volunteered for service including K. Drozdowych. On one occasion, a group of young francophone Nazi sympathizers set upon him while he was wearing his Canadian army uniform on an Ottawa street. The incident was witnessed by his son but not reported to the police.³³⁶

The Labour Temple building was returned by the Custodian on 9 February, 1944, presumably to the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, the ULFTA's wartime successor.³³⁷ It officially resumed operations as an AUUC Hall in 1946, at which time Haideychuk

³³³*Might's*, 1939-1946

³³⁴Balan, 1984, 54

³³⁵W. Repka, 1977, 94; D. Smith, 84

³³⁶Drozdowych, 6 April, 1999

³³⁷Momryk, 1988, 85

reappeared in the city as the Hall's Secretary-Treasurer.³³⁸ The building was officially transferred to the national organization on 27 August, 1948.³³⁹

The War fundamentally changed the nature of Ukrainian settlement in Ottawa. By 1941, 760 Ukrainians lived in the city, and the wartime economy marked the first time Ukrainians as a group could get employment with the federal government.³⁴⁰ The population increase was due in part to an influx of young Ukrainians from Western Canada who came to work in an expanded war-related government.³⁴¹ In the process, the origins of a Ukrainian bourgeoisie, in the form of a public servant professional and semi-professional class, was created in the city. As a result, the working-class Labour Temple became further marginalized within Ottawa's Ukrainian community.

The changes were played out in the residents of 523 Arlington Ave. itself in the years spanning the end of the war and in the immediate post-war period, and in the occupations of people affiliated with the Hall. From 1944 to 1946, the apartment was the residence of Walter and Stella Chopowick, whose relationship to M. Chopowick, labourer and longtime USDP/ULFTA member, was probably familial.³⁴² W. Chopowick saw active service in the Canadian Air Force during the war and on his return to Ottawa, he became a government employee with the Soldier's Settlement and Veteran's Land Act department, a white-collar

³³⁸*Might's*, 1944-1947

³³⁹Momryk, 1988, 87

³⁴⁰Momryk, 1988, 87

³⁴¹Momryk, 1988, 87

³⁴²Both M. Chopowick and W. Chopowick are listed as window washers at the same address in the 1939 *Might's*

occupation.³⁴³ There is no evidence that he participated in any ULFTA activities. However, at the same time as W. Chopowick's entrance into bourgeois society, many older Ukrainians remained at the bottom of the city's ethnic hierarchy of labour: they continued to work as labourers and domestics, and in handicrafts such as shoemaking. Doubtless, this latter group continued to find in the AUUC Hall a sense of belonging and pride denied them by the rest of Ottawa society. M. Chopowick, for example, continued as a self-employed window washer, and one interviewee recalls that his father, a labourer with the City of Ottawa, was forced to shovel snow off streetcar tracks, *by hand*, in twenty-four shifts during winter storms in this period.³⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the reborn pro-communist *chytalnia* flourished in the immediate post-war period as one of the smaller branches of the AUUC. However, the assimilatory tendencies of the Labour Temple members in regard to certain aspects of the dominant society became evident in building details. A second exit was added to the rear of the stage of the Hall, the wiring was upgraded to meet Building Codes, and all doors were made outward-swinging in accordance with fire regulations.³⁴⁵ In terms of interior decoration, the traditional portraits of Shevchenko and Franko flanking the stage-front were joined after 1945 by one of King George VI mounted over the centre stage.³⁴⁶

Cultural activities at the Hall resumed after the War, with an emphasis on children's

³⁴³*Might's*, 1940-1949

³⁴⁴*Might's*, 1940-1960; W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

³⁴⁵W. Warchow, 17 December, 1998

³⁴⁶W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

Ukrainian language classes and instruction in mandolin and traditional Ukrainian dance. At the same time, children's programming at the Hall became more assimilationist as did the community as whole. Accordingly, the Hall became both a bulwark of marginalized ethnocultural activities and political views, as well as a site of intersection for members in terms of their broader relationships to Ottawa society. The Hall maintained many meetings and events in Ukrainian, particularly for older members, but in keeping with the general assimilation of Ukrainians in the city since the Second World War, its common language of instruction and interaction was English.

Children born in Ottawa to Labour Temple families in the 1930s and 1940s were raised and educated in the English language; however, they still faced opposition from the dominant society in the 1940s and 1950s. The tensions caused by this ethnolinguistic split is demonstrated by anecdotal events: one interviewee recalls the impossibility of being hired by the major department stores in the city if she maintained her Ukrainian surname; another describes being threatened with a beating by a Francophone street gang for speaking English and being therefore a "Jew."³⁴⁷

Nevertheless, this period in the Hall's history was remembered nostalgically by interviewees: it is seen as a true community centre where children met for practices and rehearsals up to three times during the week and on Saturday mornings for language classes, while parents attended with them on Thursday and Sunday evenings for performances and other events such as film screenings. One interviewee remembers the Hall as open to all children: she characterizes its participants as "Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Slovaks, a few

³⁴⁷Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; Drozdowych, 6 April, 1999

English, and one or two French."³⁴⁸ The goal of concert-giving, for example, was summarized by another interviewee as "get[ting] as many kids on the stage as possible," wearing costumes made their mothers at home.³⁴⁹ He further describes memories of the whole family travelling by streetcar to the Hall for a meal or concert as the highlight of the week, where, in the words of another interviewee, "an abundance of food, beautifully prepared" was the norm once they arrived there.³⁵⁰ A vivid image in MacGregor's description of the Hall includes the costumes of its dancers, and "cabbage rolls and delicious coffee, forbidden to children."³⁵¹ Interviewees recall these events fondly, as community get-togethers that were otherwise denied them by Ottawa society. They were "always very pleasant...with a lot of proud parents and a lot of music and dancing and talking," and "warm and friendly...and a nice time for families to take pictures of their children."³⁵²

By the late 1940s, the Hall was noted mainly for its youth activities and educational-cultural programming than for its political activism. Many of the parents of Canadian-born children largely abandoned the anarcho-syndicalist ideals that marks the FUSD/USDP of a few decades earlier, and even though the AUUC remained affiliated with the CPC, no interviewees were themselves Party members. However, in the minority view of MacGregor, the AUUC Hall performed a heroic, partisan role in Ottawa at the time. He describes the

³⁴⁸Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

³⁴⁹Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

³⁵⁰Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999; Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

³⁵¹MacGregor, 1977, 25

³⁵²Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999; Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

Communist Party in the late 1940s and early 1950s in the city as the only organization to which the poor could turn, and adds of the Ukrainian Hall: it was a "centre of resistance to the bailiffs and the police, as well as a source of entertainment and social activity for working people."³⁵³

As pro-communists, the Ukrainian members of the Hall by the late 1940s faced renewed antagonism from within the local Ukrainian community as well as from without on the basis of their ethnicity, poverty, and politics. The newly-arrived Ukrainian refugees who swelled Ottawa's Ukrainian population after 1948 "often campaigned against" the AUUC in the city, as they did in other locations across Canada.³⁵⁴ The fact that Ottawa was the city in which Gouzenko defected meant that the Cold War was felt by its residents in an immediate and personal way; in addition, the Ukrainian churches in the area remained hostile. In one Ottawa AUUC family, three daughters were married at the Bukovynian Orthodox Church, but each held the wedding reception at 523 Arlington Ave. In all three cases, the officiating priest would not or could not enter the building to attend the reception.³⁵⁵

The AUUC correspondence files for the period are sporadic but reveal fragments of significant information about the Hall, the nature of class and ethnicity in Ottawa for Ukrainians even in the prosperous post-war era, and the dedication of its participants. By 1950, the Hall had a "sizeable" core membership of an unknown number of members, and

³⁵³MacGregor, 1977, 25

³⁵⁴Momryk, 1988, 88

³⁵⁵Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

20 donors, six of whom had been with the organization for almost forty years since it was the *Nove Zhyttia* branch of the FUSD/USDP.³⁵⁶ Of the 20 donors, Haideychuk was the only one listed as having a white collar job, as the Hall's Secretary-Treasurer. It was a position for which he was recalled as "ideal" for the small, cash-poor organization: he lived in modest, even spartan, conditions as a boarder with Labour Temple families, was meticulous in his book-keeping, and parsimonious. In one example that demonstrates the financial constraints that faced the Hall, an interviewee describes a heated debate between Haideychuk and the youth members over the expense of their proposal to buy one dollar's worth of crêpe paper to decorate the Hall for a celebration in the early 1950s.³⁵⁷

Despite its lack of funding and the hostility it faced from Ottawa society, the Hall continued to mount cultural programming aimed at a broader audience. It regularly screened films including features from the Soviet Union throughout the early 1950s.³⁵⁸ This occurred at a time when the Cold War was an active force in people's lives, and to be a Communist in Ottawa or to be identified with the Soviet Union was, as one interviewee describes it, "devastating."³⁵⁹ Another writes, "it inspired a degree of fear and loathing unimaginable today."³⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the branch was active and popular: in a single month in 1950, it held a fundraising meeting for 50 people regarding the riot at the Timmins Hall, distributed

³⁵⁶I. Basiuk, M. Chopowick, P. Haideychuk, M. Mandryk, F. Marak, and P. Yakubowski (AUUC correspondence files, 12 May, 1950)

³⁵⁷W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³⁵⁸W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³⁵⁹Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

³⁶⁰MacGregor, 1977, 25

disarmament leaflets to the city administration, and featured numerous guest speakers including key AUUC figures Stanley Dobrolowski from Montréal and Krawchuk from Toronto, and hosted the Hon. George Mackarday, MP.³⁶¹

The Hall's range of cultural and political activities during this period helped legitimate the small branch within the Association and the capital. However, the tenuous position of Ukrainian pro-communists within Ottawa society was illustrated by two contrasting events in 1950. The increasing upward mobility and assimilation of the Ukrainian community in Ottawa, including its pro-communist families, can be gleaned from a letter of condolence sent to M. Chopowick on the death of his son, T. Chopowick. The elder Chopowick was a window washer and founding member of *Nove Zhyttia* in 1912 whom RN reported in 1913 as "financially secure [but] fights for workers."³⁶² He was still active in the AUUC Hall through the 1950s. By contrast, his son was a member of the respectably bourgeois Ottawa Board of Trade.³⁶³

At the same time, the RCMP continued its campaign of intermittent surveillance and harassment of members. Three interviewees recall being aware of an unidentified "police informant" there to engage in surveillance and discredit its activities.³⁶⁴ These suspicions were not mere paranoid fantasies but are confirmed by four sources: a confidential RCMP report dated 7 November, 1950 describes a meeting at the "Arlington Hall" attended by 20-

³⁶¹AUUC correspondence files, 16 January and 5 February, 1950

³⁶²Marak, 10 September, 1913

³⁶³AUUC correspondence files, 10 February and 17 March, 1950

³⁶⁴Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

30 people; two interviewees identify an anonymous, regular "English" participant whose downtrodden family had been embraced by Hall members but who later revealed himself as a police informer; and MacGregor's memoir, in which he names his father in that role.³⁶⁵

The effect of RCMP surveillance was far from benign and, ultimately, had a crushing effect on the viability of the Hall. In 1952, Nancy Moniuk, the teacher of the children's school and mandolin orchestra, was visited by the RCMP at her paid workplace. Rather than lose her job, she quit active membership in the AUUC. The school, with an enrolment of 12 pupils, was shut down and the orchestra disbanded.³⁶⁶

These two events in retrospect stand as the beginning of the slow decline of the branch's function and form. Participants felt demoralized and betrayed by the informant, grossly misjudged by society, and fearful for their livelihoods -- and that of their children -- if they continued as members.³⁶⁷ With no teacher and without music instruction, there was little incentive for their children's participation. However, the lack of activities meant a lack of revenue while the aging building still required ongoing payments for its heat, maintenance, property taxes, and mortgage. As early as the mid-1950s, the financial circumstances of the Hall became a perpetual source of discussion. As one interviewee recalled of the cash-short theme of many meetings, "[i]t never changed: always, "Pass the

³⁶⁵RG 146 File #93-A-00050, Bombing of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians -- Ukrainian Labour Temple [RCMP files], National Archives of Canada, Ottawa; Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999; and MacGregor, 1977, 25

³⁶⁶AUUC correspondence files, 9 April, 1950

³⁶⁷Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

hat." ³⁶⁸ At the same time, the political activism central to the Hall's older generation took on less and less importance to the younger Canadian-born members. Three of the interviewees have since downplayed the Hall's pro-communist associations, stating that the Hall was for them a cultural and social centre first, and a political club second. One member, apprenticed to a trade at age 16, says of the Hall, "[i]t was my university," but "the Sunday [political] meetings were boring as hell." ³⁶⁹ Another characterizes it as a place where

[t]hey educated themselves and banded together. They stood up for their principles and looked after each other. They fed each other, danced together, and sang together. It was heroic, what they did. ³⁷⁰

However, for MacGregor, the AUUC Hall was one of the few sites of "guerilla resistance" for the poor and disenfranchised in Ottawa. ³⁷¹ He adds, "of course it was a communist hall. That's why we went there." ³⁷²

The appeal of the Hall to potential new members was limited precisely because of its politics: the Cold War was still deeply influential in Ottawa, and Canadian society in the post-War era. As MacGregor recalls of life in Ottawa in the 1950s, "to be a "communist"...was to belong to a lower order of life. No one used the term; it became the

³⁶⁸W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³⁶⁹W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³⁷⁰Drozdowych, 25 March, 1999

³⁷¹MacGregor, 1977, 24

³⁷²MacGregor, 6 April, 1999

most vile curse imaginable."³⁷³ While its members stayed loyal to pro-communist beliefs, the aging of the Hall's membership was evident from two major events in the early 1950s: a 65th birthday celebration was held for Haideychuk in 1951, and the 1952 farewell party marked the return to Ukraine of Paul Shpirka, a veteran of Spanish Civil War.³⁷⁴

There is little information available about the Hall's activities in the mid- to late-1950s, but clearly the branch was in an irreversible decline. Isolated from other Ukrainian communities and from bourgeois Ottawa, its members were few, aging, and reduced in number every year. As one interviewee describes it:

many people who came to Canada at the turn of the century and the early 1920s were passing away....Older members [experienced] health problems [and] people did not enjoy long life then as is the norm [in the 1990s].³⁷⁵

By the late 1950s, the Hall had little momentum and scant operating funds. No classes were taught in Ukrainian language or history, no lessons were offered in music or dance, and the branch had no young members, in part because of assimilation and upward mobility. As an interviewee describes it, "the children of elderly members became better educated and moved to other cities."³⁷⁶

The loss of young members and the inevitable decline of the Hall was clearly evident by 1958 when only six memberships were sold -- four to members who had been active for forty years or more -- and the ongoing viability of the branch was openly raised by

³⁷³MacGregor, 1977, 25

³⁷⁴UC, 1 December, 1951, 7 and 1 April, 1952, 15

³⁷⁵Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

³⁷⁶Anonymous, 14 February, 1999

Haideychuk in correspondence with the AUUC's headquarters.³⁷⁷ He reported that the youth members "all got married and moved to Montréal and Toronto," an experience was confirmed by two interviewees.³⁷⁸ They had been individually profiled in *UC* in 1952 as promising teenage members with leadership potential, but both had left the city by the late 1950s.³⁷⁹ They recall a branch that by that time operated as little more than marginal political club and informal library, with the prospect of socializing with like-minded people no doubt a side benefit for the aging members.³⁸⁰

For its remaining participants, the Hall by the late 1950s and early 1960s was a place where they could gather to read Ukrainian newspapers, play checkers and cards, and socialize, as well as participate in political causes of the day as best as their limited circumstances could allow.³⁸¹ It distributed leaflets in English on the peace movement, spent \$2.00 for books and calendars from the USSR to add to its library, and raised \$5.00 to send to strikers in Sudbury, but there were no funds to send a delegate to the monumental AUUC festival in Vancouver.³⁸² Poignantly, Haideychuk, then aged 71 and a dutiful

³⁷⁷AUUC correspondence files, 6 May, 1958

³⁷⁸AUUC correspondence files, 10 August, 1958; Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

³⁷⁹*UC*, 1 May, 1952, 11 and 1 September, 1952, 9

³⁸⁰Anonymous, 14 February, 1999; W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999

³⁸¹W. Warchow, 7 November, 1998

³⁸²AUUC correspondence files, 3 April, 1958

Secretary-Treasurer who filed reports twice per month, noted in 1958 in a rare personal aside, "my lungs and legs ache."³⁸³

The rest of the Hall's history is obscure. By 1961 the Ukrainian population in Ottawa had grown to approximately 3 000, however, it appears that the AUUC Hall was virtually defunct.³⁸⁴ There is no evidence of any cultural programming or political activities during this time; nevertheless, its few remaining members continued to be harassed by the RCMP as part of a campaign by "uninvited guests" to AUUC Halls and members' homes noted in Toronto and elsewhere.³⁸⁵ Haideychuk, who was the Hall's leader and institutional memory, became increasingly infirm and died in a nursing home in December, 1964. He was eulogized as a "modest, honest, and generous" and an "honest citizen of Canada."³⁸⁶

By 1965, the Hall was dormant: it was the last year for a listing of the building as an AUUC Hall, or for any tenants resident in it.³⁸⁷ The building itself was sold in 1967 to St. Anthony's Soccer Club, which demolished the structure in 1974.³⁸⁸ Its replacement on the same site, now 523 St. Anthony's Lane, is a purpose-built, multi-use complex designed in stages by architect Dominic Constantini from 1971-1994. Created in an eclectic late-modern style, it occupies almost the entire city block and combines an athletic clubhouse, bar, and

³⁸³AUUC correspondence files, 11 July, 1958

³⁸⁴Momryk, 1988, 90

³⁸⁵AUUC correspondence files, 6 May, 1958

³⁸⁶W. Warchow, 15 April, 1999; Korol, 27 January, 1965, 6

³⁸⁷*Might's*, 1964-1966

³⁸⁸Momryk, 1988, 89

banquet facility that caters to the clientèle of the Italian "festival marketplace" centred on Preston Street. Its formal qualities betray no evidence of the worker housing that once occupied the street, including the Ukrainian Labour Temple (fig. 3-24).

The life, decline, and end of the AUUC Hall was determined by the factors that influenced the *chytalnia* movement in Canada as well as by socio-political and architectural conditions specific to Ottawa: the Cold War *realpolitik* that affected Canada was particularly attenuated in the nation's capital and was felt keenly by the city's pro-communists. Within a decade after the end of the Second World War, this group was so small, aging, and financially constrained that it was never able to recreate the critical mass of followers it had developed in the first decades of their organized life in the city. In addition, the flight to the suburbs of increasingly affluent Ukrainian communities that occurred in cities across Canada and -- and that fragmented old inner-city neighbourhoods -- was in Ottawa catalyzed by the physical eradication of the community's neighbourhood in the name of official planning by three levels of governments.

The loss of the Ottawa Labour Temple(s) must also be contextualized within the numerous beautification and monument-building schemes of government that have characterized Ottawa's urban history in its transformation from a frontier industrial town into what Taylor calls a "national metaphor."³⁸⁹ The removal of the city's network of surface railway lines and railyards, the creation of landscaped parks and gardens, and the addition of scenic roadways are civic improvements that have aided in this process, but these

³⁸⁹Taylor, 140. Official urban beautification projects of the federal government alone in the 20th century include Todd (1903); Holt (1916); Lauchon (1921); and Gréber (1937-1950), among others.

beautification schemes largely bypassed such poor and immigrant neighbourhoods as Rochesterville and LeBreton Flats, "the closest thing Ottawa had to a slum," until the late 1950s and early to mid-1960s.³⁹⁰ By that time the municipal and regional levels of government also intervened as megascale urban planners. Under their authority, LeBreton Flats underwent wholesale demolition, and Rochesterville a rather more piecemeal one. Lapointe argues that these occurred not only as a response to the demands of suburban expansion and development that saw dense urban neighbourhoods as expendable impediments to commuters to quick highway access, but, more importantly, were necessitated by the "national metaphor" ideology that could brook no evidence of the city's working class history. In his analysis, it was a clearance of "untidy ghetto neighbourhoods inhabited by blue-collar workers...unworthy of a capital city like Ottawa."³⁹¹ As a result, LeBreton Flats and Rochesterville, which MacGregor calls "neighbourhoods where every house belonged to a worker," were eradicated and became "mostly carved up into plastic sections of public housing, a monstrous government office complex, and a freeway."³⁹²

In this context, 523 Arlington Ave. faced the threat of expropriation of the building by the City of Ottawa and the regional government in 1963 as part of its slum clearance and road-building initiatives. By 1964, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and *Prosvita* Hall at Balsam and Rochester Sts. had also been expropriated by the City, followed by the

³⁹⁰MacGregor, 1977, 26

³⁹¹Lapointe, 52

³⁹²MacGregor, 1977, 25

Bukovynian Orthodox Church on Gladstone Ave. in 1965.³⁹³ By 1966, the CPR railway tracks and its right-of-way that defined the southern boundary of Rochesterville had been converted to the multi-lane Queensway highway. With it came the razing of entire blocks of working housing including 268 Rochester St., the creation of multi-lane roads out of residential streets, and the conversion of a viable mixed-use working class neighbourhood into an urban interstice of vacant lots, parking lots, highway on- and off-ramps, and monolithic blocks of anonymous public housing.³⁹⁴ These actions resulted in the physical eradication of the Ukrainian neighbourhood from the city map, and with it, the evidence of an alternative social and architectural record of Ottawa.

MacGregor sees what happened to Rochesterville and LeBreton Flats as nothing less than class warfare acted out on a gigantic, physical scale, and labels what happened to these neighbourhoods as evidence of "Ottawa's protracted and undeclared war on the poor," but it was also an "undeclared war" on the architecture of ethnicity and working-class culture in the city, of which the Ukrainian Labour Temple was part from 1912 to 1965.³⁹⁵

The significance of the Ottawa Labour Temple

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple's significance to history is multifaceted, and has particular symbolism in terms of urban history, *chytalnia* history, and the history of regional architecture. Branch no. 11 was sited at the terminus of Arlington Ave., a short city block west of Preston St. and surrounded by the Grand Trunk Railroad tracks to the south

³⁹³Momryk, 1988, 89

³⁹⁴The term "anonymous" is used here advisedly.

³⁹⁵MacGregor, 1977, 24

and the Canadian Pacific Railway lines and yards immediately west. Located in the extreme southwest of Rochesterville with two intersecting railway lines only metres from its front door, the house as an object in the cityscape occupied the threshold between industrial and worker-residential Ottawa: it was literally on the wrong side of the tracks. As such it was typically sited for an urban Labour Temple. Similarly, the Temple's adaptive re-use of an industrial vernacular house was a standard design solution of the movement; and it is therefore little surprise that *la maison dites "hullose"* was the Temple's form in Ottawa.

There is little recognition of or preservation initiative for the *maison dites "hullose"* as a type. As houses of the poor, they are often the first to be demolished in the wake of gentrification or urban renewal, and, in Guitard's formulation, are considered to be tinderboxes and therefore worthy of elimination.³⁹⁶ However, their popularity in Ontario is not only a demonstration of the persistence of the classical if not the archetypal, in Western architecture, but is attributed by Norris to specific, Georgian, cultural baggage: it was "the right and proper way to roof a house."³⁹⁷

In socio-political terms, the mass production of inexpensive industrial vernacular houses such as *la maison dites "hullose"* coincided with the need to ameliorate the living conditions of the urban underclass. In Guitard's analysis, the concept of an individual house for a working-class family grew out of the egalitarian impulses of the French and American revolutions of the 18th century combined with a pragmatic response to the growing presence

³⁹⁶Guitard, 8

³⁹⁷Norris, 89

of the urban poor, which by the mid-19th century, were housed in conditions that were overcrowded, undersized, and unsanitary.³⁹⁸

By the late 19th century, slum clearance became an "enormous" concerns to architects and designers. La maison dites "hullose," however modest in size, was at least detached from its neighbours, unlike worker housing in other cities such as Montréal where tenements and row housing were the norm. Its ceiling heights were 9'(2.7m) high, which Guitard notes, was standard for bourgeois homes of the period, but "remarkable" for worker housing.³⁹⁹ In short, la maison dites "hullose" was a design solution that allowed for access to air and sunlight, and in so doing, created a sense of domestic privacy and ambience that was otherwise rarely afforded by working-class families.⁴⁰⁰

As the study of the *chytalnia* in Canada requires a rethinking of Ukrainian Canadian architectural signifiers, to examine the technology and social significance of the industrial vernacular house such as la maison dites "hullose" is to reconsider the definition of architectural modernism. The industrial vernacular house not only gave rise to a new class of workers, the carpenter-architect whose role is a significant one in modern architectural history, but the houses themselves are exemplars of modernity.⁴⁰¹ Charney argues that the "architect-worker" of the early 20th century was "a half-century ahead of [his] élite in

³⁹⁸Guitard, 43

³⁹⁹Guitard, 37

⁴⁰⁰Guitard, 45

⁴⁰¹Ennals and Holdsworth, 1998, 189-192

coming to terms with industrial society," and the houses he built represent a "vanguard of modernism."⁴⁰²

In terms of social history, the significance of the Ottawa Labour Temple lay, as Labour Temples did wherever they existed, in its role as an educational, socio-cultural, and political centre. However, the Labour Temple in the relatively small and isolated communities in polyethnic urban centres of Eastern Canada, such as Ottawa, were even more significant community institutions than in the denser blocs of Ukrainian settlement in the Prairies. Swyripa's comments on Ukrainian women in Ontario can be equally applied to the situation for all Ukrainians. She argues,

[s]heltered in the large rural colonies of the West, [one] could be Ukrainian without ever thinking about it, never forced to consider the political or broader socio-cultural implications of...ethnicity or to make conscious decisions concerning [ones] relationship to [ones] ethnic group. The luxury of such inertia was less certain in Ontario if "Ukrainianness" was to be maintained.⁴⁰³

For Ottawa Ukrainians, the Labour Temple was the most important means of articulating both ethnocultural and working class identity. Their participation in the activities of the dominant cultures was a daunting: public education, offered in English or French, was virtually inaccessible to the first generations of immigrants. At the same time, poverty and

⁴⁰²Charney, 272

⁴⁰³Swyripa, 1986, 48

polyethnicity remain facts of life in the city.⁴⁰⁴ In Ottawa, both Ukrainians and labourers were particularly ill-served by the city's policies and amenities.

Conclusion

Contrary to conventional histories of Ottawa, the city has a heritage of both polyethnicity and working class architecture. Part of that legacy includes a community of Ukrainian socialists and pro-communists that existed in the downtown core from c. 1908 to c. 1965. The building type that they used as their community identifier, their *chytalnia*, reflected what was available to them as bottom-level industrial labourers: la maison dites "hullose." This distinctive, regional, industrial vernacular house is a ubiquitous part of the Ottawa's cityscape but has tended to be overlooked or mislabelled by architectural historians due in part to its function as a house of the poor.

As an industrial vernacular house, 523 Arlington Ave., like 61 Stirling Ave. and most likely, 268 Rochester St., was "typical of the "cheaper single family home...common in many cities" at the turn of the 20th century, and it was therefore familiar to many Ukrainians.⁴⁰⁵ As such, the use of la maison dites "hullose" as a Ukrainian Labour Temple is entirely in keeping with a Ukrainian Canadian architectural tradition of using industrial vernacular houses-cum-urban *chytalni*. Moreover, the Ukrainian Labour Temple(s) in Ottawa,

⁴⁰⁴"Poverty" is generally recognized as a state in which individuals and families spend 20% above average on food, clothing, and shelter for a given family and community size. Even during the economic boom years of the 1970s, 41% of single adults Ottawa, a figure which has remained constant as recently as 1995. In addition, Tepper notes that ethnocultural minorities have always had a presence in the city, and collectively, formed 27% of the population as early as 1966. (Hollingsworth, 68; Tepper, 1982, 8 and 28)

⁴⁰⁵Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 134

housed as they were in industrial vernacular houses, disprove Kalman's characterization of Ukrainians as unable and unwilling to use mass-produced and prefinished building components as an overgeneralization of the architectural record that may have valid application to isolated rural vernacular architectures, but is inaccurate in reference to urban Ukrainians whose secular built environment was determined by the corporate interests who built industrial vernacular forms such as *la maison dites "hullose"*.⁴⁰⁶

In Ottawa, the architecture of the Ukrainian community in general and the Labour Temple[s] in particular, is more accurately depicted by what Charney labels an "architecture thrashed out by people using available means to humanize living conditions in the wake of industrial expansion," and by Ennals and Holdsworth's analysis of the "landscapes [that] reflect capitalism and the hand of [corporate] ownership, not the hand of occupants."⁴⁰⁷

The use of *la maison dites "hullose"* as Labour Temple[s] in Ottawa further refutes Lapointe's characterization of the house type as the ideal solution to the particular needs of the typical French-Canadian family. It illustrates instead that this house was, at the very least, versatile, and its use was by no means confined to a particular ethnolinguistic group or social structure. For some fifty years, *la maison dites "hullose"* type provided Ukrainians in the city with socialist/pro-communist *chytalni* as well with shelter for a variety of living arrangements ranging from nuclear families to extended families of comrades to sojourners, transients, and visiting demonstrators at Parliament Hill.

⁴⁰⁶Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 509

⁴⁰⁷Charney, 272; Ennals and Holdsworth, 1998, 222

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple(s) also challenge Doucet and Weaver's argument that the proliferation in the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries of the inexpensive industrial vernacular house was a means of instilling bourgeois values among the working class, and, in so doing, act as a sort of blotter of worker radicalism. They claim that, since industrial vernacular housing was within the financial means of many workers, it was part of a "corporate objective that was increasingly believed to be indispensable for social stability in North America."⁴⁰⁸ While tenements, in their formulation, "threatened an even greater evil" [than the loss of labour-intensive jobs in traditional hewn-frame housebuilding]; "cheap dwellings at least kept alive the idea of home ownership among labourers."⁴⁰⁹ However, the use of *une maison dites "hulloise"* as Ukrainian Labour Temples disproves the notion that ownership of an industrial vernacular house amounts to a sop to the poor. On the contrary, it demonstrates that home ownership does not necessarily preclude political radicalism but can be the means through which radicalism is organized and practiced in even the smallest and isolated of communities in the least supportive of ethnocultural and sociopolitical milieux as Ottawa was to its Ukrainian Labour Temple.

⁴⁰⁸Doucet and Weaver, 581

⁴⁰⁹Doucet and Weaver, 582

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple provides a useful case study for the application of an alternative socio-architectural approach to the intertwined histories of vernacular architecture, Ukrainian material history, and Ottawa urban studies. This research necessarily draws on contributions from related disciplines such as material history, historical geography, and folklore as well as labour history. In so doing, this study uncovers an architectural historiography invested with class bias towards vernacular forms – particularly, the industrial vernacular house – and imbued with formalistic and romantic notions regarding Ukrainian settlement, community organizations, and architectures in Canada.

Ukrainians during the first decades of settlement were not just the farmers and church-goers implied by traditional architectural histories, but settled in virtually every region, industrial centre, and frontier work camp. In the process, they created not only *xati* and churches but a third, distinct type of building, the community *chytalni*, of which the Labour Temple was a marginal but influential organization.

The *chytalni* was brought to Canada from 19th century Europe, where a tradition had evolved that believed in the necessity for education and cultural programmes to be accessible to as many people as possible. This tradition became codified in the USSR as the Workers' Club, some of whose formal qualities only have entered the modernist pantheon while their function and history have escaped attention. Unlike the avant-garde experiments of the USSR, however, *chytalni* buildings in Canada, including Labour Temples, were determined by simple functional requirements, the financial constraints of the membership, and the nature of available building material and technology. These buildings were erected and used

by people with little or no academic training in design of the avant-garde in Europe, or were created out of pre-existing buildings in the community. Their study is a complex one, involving as it does the intersection of Old and New Worlds, their built forms, and their cultural institutions.

The *chytalnia* tradition never reached its full potential in Canada, and since the Second World War has undergone a precipitous decline in numbers and influence. Nevertheless, as a building type, the *chytalnia* represents a grand idealism of self-help, volunteerism, and educational-cultural activity. For the Labour Temple *chytalnia*, that idealism was deeply political and, while it was misplaced in regard to the Soviet Union, remains usefully contrarian in the context of Canadian capitalistic society.

As the examination of the Labour Temple movement allows for a more complete architectural and socio-political record of the secularism, urbanity, and proletarianization of Ukrainians in Canada, so too the study of the Ottawa example requires a re-examination of the architecture and demographics of the city. In keeping with other urban *chytalni*, the Ottawa Labour Temple was located in an immigrant-catchment area marginalized from the city's bourgeoisie, geography, and architectural history by its poverty, railway lines, and mixture of modest housing and industry. Labour Temples, such as Ottawa's, necessarily occupied the forms available to it in their neighbourhoods. In Ottawa, this was la maison dites "hullose," a distinct and ubiquitous regional vernacular house variously labelled and little studied either in the broader contexts of modernism, Canadian pattern book architecture, Ontario housing design, or Ottawa's built environment.

This study provides an introduction to the areas of the architectural vernacular, Ukrainian labour studies, and alternative histories of Ottawa; however, future researchers will find the field rich with opportunity as well as challenges. Areas open to further research include the comprehensive analysis of architectural historiography, with reference to material historians, in order to more deeply trace its class bias; the compilation of the architectural history of other ethnocultural groups in Canada, including their community halls; a survey of industrial vernacular house types in Central and Eastern Canada; and a critique of the role of pattern book architecture in the creation of modern Canada. In reference to Ukrainian studies, the fuller documentation of Labour Temples and other *chytalni* across the country would make a valuable contribution, as would critical social histories of the community that bring these up to date. A survey of la maison dites “hullose” would provide a partial revisionist history of Ottawa, as would studies of its labour history, its immigrant communities and their organizations, and the adaptive re-use by ethnocultural groups of ready-made buildings such as the Ukrainian Labour Temple at 523 Arlington Ave.

**Fig. 1-1: *Xata*, Elk Island Park, Alberta (built 1900; rebuilt 1950).
Photographer unknown, nd. Source: Gowans, 1958, 27**

Fig. 1-2: *Xata*, "Bukovynian house in Alberta," (nd)
Photographer: Ernest Brown, c.1900. Source: Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 511

**Fig. 1-3: Ukrainian Catholic Church, Sandy Lake, Manitoba (1910).
Photographer unknown, c. 1985. Source: Brosseau, 55**

**Fig. 1-4: St Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Gardenton, Manitoba (1898).
Photography: *The Carillon*, 1956. Source: Kalman, 1994 vol. II, 513**

Fig. 1-5: "Ukrainian cottages," location unknown (nd)
Artist: Graham Parfitt, 1941. Source: Parfitt, 132-133

Fig. 1-6: "Church of St. Jean at St. Jean Port Joli, Que." (nd)
Sections and floor plan. Artist: GM Fisk, 1935. Source: Traquhair, 159

Front Elevation

BERTIE HALL
BRIDGEBURG ONT

Fig. 1-7: "Bertie Hall, Bridgeburg, Ont., early 19th century."
Front elevation. Artist: J. Eyrie, 1926. Source: Arthur, 1926, unpag.

Fig. 1-8: Travellers' and Reform Clubs, London (1829 and 1841, respectively)
Architect: Charles Barry. Artist: Davis Riseboro, 1972. Source: Riseboro, 1993a) 134

**Figs. 1-9a) (top): Hollywood Parade, 103-113 James Street, Ottawa (1892). Architect: James A. Corry, and
1-9b) (bottom): Martin Terrace, 519-525 King Edward Avenue, Ottawa (1900). Architect unknown.
Photographer: John Roaf, 1983. Sources: Kalman and Roaf, 83 and 78.**

Fig. 2-1: Workers' Club, Soviet Pavillion, Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris (1925)
Architect: Alexander Rodchenko. Photographer: Alexander Rodchenko, 1925. Source: Khan-Maghemedov, 58

Fig. 2-1: Workers' Club, Soviet Pavillion, Exposition des arts décoratifs, Paris (1925)
Architect: Alexander Rodchenko. Photographer: Alexander Rodchenko, 1925. Source: Khan-Maghemedov, 58

Fig. 2-3: Holy Ghost Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, Sydney (NS) (1915)
 Site plan. Artist unknown. Source: *Insurance map of Sydney, 1924*, map 80. Courtesy
 Richard Mackinnon
 Scale: 1:250 (approx)

Fig. 2-4: *Narodnyi dim*, Lviv (founded 1849)
Architect unknown, nd. Photographer unknown, nd. Source: Maryn, 7

Fig. 2-5: *Prosvita* headquarters, Lviv, (founded 1868)
Architect unknown, nd. Photographer unknown, nd. Source: Herasymovych and Terletsky,
336

Fig. 2-6: *Dom Hromadske* (1890)

Front elevation. Architect unknown. Artist unknown, c. 1890. Source: A. Makuch, 1983a, 59

Fig. 2-7: *Dom Hromadske* (1890)

Plan, section, and elevation. Architect unknown. Artist unknown, c. 1890. Source: A. Makuch, 1983a, 61

The scale at the bottom is graduated in metres.

Позір! Іст Маунт Трансконна Позір!

Що місяця ціни на лоти підносять ся!

Пинні лоти від \$4.50 — \$8.00 за фут, від 1 серії, від \$80 — \$8.00. Хто купить лоти до 1 серпня, той заробить як ніколи день \$50.00 на небу. Сніміть ся, бізнес у наших руках.

Панове! Хто хоче свій гіркий заправдовий гіркий збільшити, навіть стати багатим — похай хули т.б. лоти у Трансконні. Со не с жалю ошхисти — со повний зарібок! Со короткий час збільшите свої гроші у десертю! Трансконна — се будучий центр бізнесу, роботи і цілого руху Канади. Мільони вложили капіталісти на трансконський бізнес.

Сіпирські Ями, Гора Трансконна, Ямні, Ямні і інші ділянки отримують десерт тисят робітників.

Хто купить лоти той зістане багатим!

Лоти продають ся на силити ратами. Парва треба заплатити одну четверту часть вартости лота, а решту частково на 6-12-18 або 24 місяці, як хто хоче. Ми даємо добрі умови для кожного. Урадуємо від 9 год. рано до 9 вечор. З поважанням!

Головний агент фірми „Тористед, Рол і Ліголам.“

Паміть або зайдіть до нас на нижнєшу адресу:

Ю. Т. ПОПЕЛЬ

876 MAIN ST. WINNIPEG, MAN.

Fig. 2-8: Display advertisement for Ukrainian urban settlement, Winnipeg (1912)
 Artist unknown, c.1912. Source: *Robochyi narod*, 3 March, 1912, 4

Fig. 2-9: "Hunkytown," Sydney, (NS) (1984)
Mixed industrial-Ukrainian residential neighbourhood. Photographers: Wayne Barrett and Anne Mackay, 1984. Source: Balan, 1984, 23

Fig. 2-10: Ukrainian People's Home, Toronto (est. 1921)
Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, c. 1951. Source: Nykofiak, frontispiece.

Fig. 2-11: *Prosvita*, Hryhohiw (Sask) (est. <1937)
Photographer: George Dragan, 1937. Source: Balan, 1984, 14

Fig. 2-12: *Volia* -- Ukrainian Coal Miner's Commune, Fernie (BC) (est. <1917)
Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, nd. Source: Robitnyche kaliendar, 1917, 187

Fig. 2-13: Ukrainian Labour Temple, Oshawa (Ont.) (est. <1929)
Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, c. 1929. Source: Almanakh TURF-Dim, 109

Fig. 2-14: Ukrainian Labour Temple, Thorold (Ont.) (est. <1929)
Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, c. 1929. Source: Almanakh TURF-Dim, 112

Fig. 2-15: *Prosvita*, Thunder Bay (Ont.) (est. 1905)

Architect unknown. Photographer: Paul von Baich, c. 1984. Source: Balan, 1984, 48

Fig. 2-16: Ukrainian Labour Temple, 300 Bathurst St., Toronto (est. c. 1915)
Architect unknown, c. 1890. Photographer unknown, c. 1919. Source: Almanakh TURF-
Dim, 90

**Fig. 2-17: Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple, Kiew (Alta) (est. c. 1925)
Front elevation. Photographer unknown, c. 1930. Source: Makuch, 1983b), 102**

Fig. 2-18: Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple, Kiew (Alta) (est. c. 1925)
Side elevation. Photographer unknown, c. 1930. Source: Makuch, 1983b), 66

Fig. 2-19: Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple, Kiew (Alta) (est. c. 1925)
Floor plan. Artist: P. Kowal, c. 1983. Source: Makuch, 1983b), 99
Scale: 1:96

Fig. 2-20: Ukrainian People's Home, 161 Lippincott St., Toronto (est. 1921)
Entrance detail with *tryzub* and diaper work in a cross-stich motif.
Signage artist and masonry artist unknown, c. 1960. Source: S. Holyck Hunchuck, 1992

Fig. 2-21: Ukrainian [Catholic] Hall, Sydney (NS) (est. 1915)
Cornice detail with diaper work in a cross-stitch motif.
Masonry artist unknown, nd. Source: Beaton, 30

Fig. 2-22: Traditional Ukrainian women's cross-stitch embroidery
Needlework artist unknown, c. 1937. Source: Swyrypa, 1991, 16

Fig. 2-23: Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861)

Artist unknown, nd. Source: Robitnyche kaliendar, 1917, 179

Fig. 2-24: Ivan Franko (1856-1916)
Artist unknown, nd. Source: Robitnyche kaliendar, 1917, 181

Fig. 2-25: Stage curtain with revolutionary motives (c. 1930)
Winnipeg Labour Temple. Artist unknown, Source: Subtelny, 113

Fig. 2-26: Winnipeg Labour Temple (1919)

Architect: Robert Edgar Davies, 1917-1919. Photographer: Historic Resources Branch (Province of Manitoba), 1994. Source: Kisilow, unpag.

Fig. 2-27: Winnipeg Labour Temple (1919)
Plans and sections. Architect: Robert Edgar Davies, 1917-1919. Source: courtesy of Ed
Ledohowski, Manitoba Historic Resources Branch
Scale 1:300 (approx)

Fig. 2-28: Townhouses, 161 Lippincott St., Toronto (c. 1993)
Architect unknown. Photographer: S. Holyck Hunchuck, 2000

**Fig. 2-29: Ching Kwok Buddhist Temple, 300 Bathurst St., Toronto (est. c. 1995)
Architect unknown. Photographer: S. Holyck Hunchuck, 2000**

Fig. 2-30: Rochesterville, Ottawa (2000)
View from the Queensway west to Preston Street and St. Anthony's Lane. Photographer: S. Holyck Hunchuck, 2000

Fig. 2-31: *Robitnyche dim*, Welland (Ont) (c.1917)

Architect unknown, nd. Photographer unknown, nd. Source: Robitnyche kaliendar, 48

Fig. 2-32: Soviet Army at German *Reichstag*, 1945
Photographer unknown. Source: Bilecki, Repka, and Sago, 61

What to Read
 The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail

Clearing After Noon
 High Here 65
 Weather Report on Page 6

1954 Year, No. 31,957

Fall 1954

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1954

5 Cents per Copy

42 PAGES

Dundas and Bathurst

UKRAINIAN HALL BOMBED

GI's Across Parallel On Pyongyang Road

The Ukrainian Hall, located at the corner of Dundas and Bathurst streets, was bombed last night, causing considerable damage to the building and the surrounding area. The explosion was heard throughout the city, and many people were injured. The cause of the bombing is still unknown, but it is believed to be the work of a group of Ukrainian nationalists.

The Ukrainian Hall, a large building on the corner of Dundas and Bathurst streets, was the target of a bombing last night. The explosion was heard throughout the city, and many people were injured. The cause of the bombing is still unknown, but it is believed to be the work of a group of Ukrainian nationalists.

Arming May Force Peace, Acheson Says

Secretary of State Acheson said today that the United States is not arming itself for peace, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace. He said that the United States is not arming itself for peace, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace.

Officers view wreckage of the Ukrainian Hall, 100 Dundas St. W., after the blast.

10 Injured by Blast; Full of Rail Spikes

Ten people were injured by the explosion of a bomb in the Ukrainian Hall last night. The bomb was found to be full of rail spikes, which were used as shrapnel. The explosion caused considerable damage to the building and the surrounding area. The cause of the bombing is still unknown, but it is believed to be the work of a group of Ukrainian nationalists.

West Allies Not Bluffing, McCloy Warns

Secretary of State Acheson said today that the United States is not bluffing, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace. He said that the United States is not bluffing, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace.

Last Chance to Quit, MacArthur Tells Reds

General MacArthur said today that the United States is not bluffing, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace. He said that the United States is not bluffing, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace.

General MacArthur said today that the United States is not bluffing, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace. He said that the United States is not bluffing, but rather for the purpose of maintaining peace.

\$125,000 Petawawa Fires Destroy UN Force Stores

A fire at the Petawawa Ordnance Depot last night destroyed a large quantity of United Nations force stores. The fire was caused by a lightning strike and caused damage to the amount of \$125,000.

Charge 2 Youths In Kidnap, Holdup, Girl Also Held

Two youths were charged today with the kidnap and holdup of a young girl. The girl was also held. The charges are based on evidence gathered by the police.

UN Gives Go-Ahead With 47-to-5 Vote

The United Nations Security Council gave its approval today for a resolution on the Korean situation. The vote was 47 to 5, with 1 abstention. The resolution calls for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea.

Sports Results

Results of various sports events, including football, basketball, and hockey. The Toronto Maple Leafs won their game against the Montreal Canadiens.

In East York, Scarborough Priest, Two Others Die After Street Accidents

Three people, including a priest, died in street accidents in East York and Scarborough. The accidents were caused by cars running into pedestrians.

Bruce West Looks at Europe: First of His Series Tuesday

Bruce West will begin his series of lectures on Europe tomorrow night. The first lecture will be on the history of Europe.

Fig. 2-33: Globe and Mail, 10 October, 1950, 1

Fig. 2-34: Ukrainian Labour Temple, Edmonton (1951)

Architect unknown, 1950-1951. Artist unknown, c, 1950. Source: *UC*, 15 September, 1950, 12

Fig. 3-1: 268 Rochester St., Ottawa (1900)

Site plan, 1912. Architect unknown. Source: *Underwriters*, 1912, Map 122

Scale: 1:250 (approx)

Fig. 3-2: 61 Stirling Ave., Ottawa (1905)
Architect unknown. Photographer: S. Holyck Hunchuck, 2000

Fig. 3-3: Les maisons hulloises, Hull (c. 1900)

Architects unknown. Photographer unknown, c. 1989. Source: La comité, front cover

Fig. 3-4: 22A rue Lois, Hull (nd)
Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, c. 1991. Source: de Caraffe, 1991, 6

Fig. 3-5: "Hull house," Hull (nd)
Architect unknown. Photographer unknown, c.1950. Source: Lapointe, 48

Fig. 3-6: "Front gabled cottage," 238 Clarence St., Ottawa (1878)
Architect unknown. Photographer: M. Carter, nd. Source: M. Carter, 28

Fig. 3-7: Primordial hut
Artist: Abbé Laugier, 1753. Source: Summerson, 8

Fig. 3-8a) (top): Loggers' shanty (c. 1800) and 3-8b) (bottom): Greek revival house (early 1800s)

Artist: Mark Fram, 1988. Source: Fram, 24 and 25

Fig. 3-10: Extent of Great Fire of 1900, Ottawa and Hull
 Artist: Dennis Leung, 2000. Source: Laucius
 Scale unknown

Fig. 3-11: Palliser's "Design no. 134" (1872)
 Architect unknown. Artist unknown. Source: Guitard, unpag.

Design No. 14.

Fig. 3-12: Palliser's "Design no. 11" (1893)
 Architect unknown. Artist unknown. Source: Guitard, unpag.

Fig. 3-13: Reed's "Design no. 14" (1883)
 Architect unknown. Artist unknown. Source: Guitard, unpag.

PERSPECTIVE VIEW.

A GOOD COTTAGE.

After years of experience in designing and building houses that were required to be cheap, yet comfortable and attractive, the most difficult problem in architecture we have found the solution of the cottage.

The exterior gives a bold and pleasing appearance, largely due to the judicious use in the construction of stamped wooden shingles—a new style of decoration which the builder can make from our drawings, on which he can purchase for twenty cents each per square foot. For ornamenting cheap houses it is preferred to painting or sawing.

Ample piazzas extend across both the front and rear, features which practically enlarge small houses because the piazzas are naturally warmed both hot and pleasant weather. In winter a small house is often more comfortable than a large one, even if a little crowded. We have known a good sized family to live in this house, without complaint of feeling crowded. The living room and kitchen have each separate entrances from the hall as well as direct communication by a door between. The kitchen has a pantry under the stairs and also a closet, taken from one end of the rear piazza.

On the second floor there are one large and two small bed rooms, each with a private entrance from the hall, also good closets.

The working plan shows a chimney supported on brackets in the second story wall, on the hall end of the house, for the purpose of warming the halls of both stories when it is built or not according to the severity of the climate.

Built of wood, from our working plans and specifications, the cost of this attractive cottage will not exceed \$1000, including painting.

This design is very suitable for a room to be built of brick, the party walls between the rooms to be constructed of brick and the floors

FIRST FLOOR.

SECOND FLOOR.

Fig. 3-14: Shoppell's "Plan no. 133" (1850)
Architect unknown. Artist unknown. Source: Guitard, unpag.

**Price of Plans and Specifications
\$3.00**

House Design No. 537

Floor Plan of Design No. 537

Size: Width, 16 feet; length, 25 feet 6 inches, exclusive of porch

Fig. 3-15: Radford's "Design no. 537" (1901)

Architect and artist: GW Ashby. Source: *Radford's low-cost American homes*, 1904, 188-189

PRICE
of Blue Prints,
together with a
complete set of
typewritten
specifications, is

\$3.00

Design No. 50

Cost about \$650

Size: width, 18 feet; length, 30 feet exclusive of porch. Blue prints consist of foundation plan; first and second floor plans; front, rear, two side elevations; wall sections and all necessary interior details.

Fig. 3-16: Radford's "Design no. 50" (1909)

Architect and artist: W. Shroeder. Source: *Radford's low-cost American homes*, 1904, 54

Fig. 3-17: Dustman's "Plan no. 37" (1910)
Architect unknown. Artist unknown. Source: *Dustman's homes*, 1910, 100

Fig. 3-18: ULFTA Branch no. 11 stamp (1924)

Detail. Source: John Chudobiak collection, National Archives of Canada, uncat.

Fig. 3-19: Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa (1910)
Elevation c. 1950. Artist: William Warchow, 1999. Courtesy of the artist
Scale: 1:50 (approx)

Fig. 3-20: Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa (1910 and 1938)
 Second floor plan c. 1950. Artist: William Warchow, 1999. Courtesy of the artist
 Scale: 1:50 (approx)

Fig. 3-21: Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa (1910)
 Site plan c. 1950. Artist: William Warchow, 1999. Courtesy of the artist
 Scale: 1:130 (approx)

Fig. 3-22: Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa (1910)
Ground floor plan c. 1950. Artist: William Warchow, 1999. Courtesy of the artist
Scale: 1:85

Fig. 3-23: Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa (1910)
Basement plan c. 1950. Artist: William Warchow, 1999. Courtesy of the artist
Scale: 1:85 (approx)

Fig. 3-24: St. Anthony's Soccer Club, 523 St. Anthony's Lane, Ottawa (1971-1994)
Architect: Dominic Constanidi. Photographer: S. Holyck Hunchuck, 2000

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Please read through all questions and discuss only those with which you are comfortable.

The Ottawa Ukrainian Labour Temple operated out of 523 Arlington Avenue from 1923 to 1965.

Can you recall when were you and your family active at the Labour Temple? Can you recall the impetus to participate -- was it social, cultural, linguistic, political, or a combination? Were other members of your family or neighbourhood active, and if so, do you know what encouraged them to join?

What was the Labour Temple called? Did you refer to it as the Temple, the Hall, or another name? Do you know how it was perceived by others in the Ukrainian community and in the neighbourhood?

The house was demolished in 1974, as was a large part of its immediate neighbourhood. Can you describe the building itself, and the neighbourhood? For example, what did the house look like on the exterior in terms of size, shape, colour, and building materials? Was the building ever expanded or renovated? Did it have any signage on the exterior? Did the size and design of the house "fit in" with the neighbourhood or was it a distinctive design?

Many other Labour Temples had an auditorium and a library. Can you recall any details of the interior of 523 Arlington Avenue, such as its layout of rooms and arrangement of facilities? Was there, for example, an auditorium, a stage, offices, or a library? Where were the kitchen and washrooms located? Do you know the approximate size of these rooms (for example, how many people could fit in the auditorium?) Do you remember any decorations, such as portraits, other pictures, slogans, or handiwork, such as an embroidered *rushnyk*?

The building also contained an private apartment on the second floor. Could you describe the apartment in terms of size and layout of rooms? Do you know who lived there, and when?

Many people recall the programmes offered at other Labour Temples as being important reasons to join. Can you recall any of the events that were held at the Ottawa Labour Temple? For example, did you attend any classes in language, dance, cooking, music, or go to other activities? Did you ever perform in plays or concerts?

Can you describe events and activities at the Labour Temple? Were they conducted in English or in Ukrainian? Did you attend for example, lectures, films, meals, fund-raising drives, weddings, parties, funerals or other activities. Were there any special occasions that were particularly memorable? Was the political orientation of the Labour Temple part of the

events and did it influence your reasons for participation? Can you recall any particular causes that the organization espoused during the time that you spent there?

How frequently would you attend events? Did attend by yourself, or with family and friends? Can you estimate the approximate number of people at different gatherings?

The Secretary-Treasurer of the Ottawa Labour Temple from 1946 to 1964 was Petro Haideychuk. Did you ever know him and can you describe him? What can you recall of his role in the day-to-day running of the the Labour Temple?

There was a small Ukrainian community centred around Preston Street-Rochester Street and Gladstone Avenue until the 1960s when it became dispersed and the neighbourhood underwent urban renewal. Can you describe the area? Did you and family live in this neighbourhood? Did you attend school in the area, and, if so, were there many other Ukrainian students there? Did you have friends from other ethnocultural backgrounds, and did they ever attend events at the Labour Temple with you?

Are there any other ideas or memories that you would like to share for this study?

Thank you.

Appendix B: Locations of the FUSD, USDP, ULFTA, AUUC, and WBA* branches in Canada from 1909

Sources: Almanakh TURF-Dim 1918-1929; Robitnyche kaliendar, 1917; Robochyi narod, various issues, 1912-1918; *Ukrainian Canadian*, various issues, 1947-1992; Beaton, 1993; Bilecki, Repka, and Sago; Kolasky, 1979; Kisilow; Krawchuk, 1996; A. Makuch, 1983a and 1983b; and Martynowych, 1991

*includes Ukrainian, English, Polish, Russian, and Carpatho-Rusyn branches of the WBA

Nova Scotia

Dominion, Glace Bay, New Waterford, Sydney

Québec

Lachine, Lasalle, Malarctic, Montréal -- st-Laurent, Montréal -- Pointe-st-Charles, Montréal -- Frontenac, Montréal -- Turcotte, Rosemont, Rouyn-Noranda, Shawinigan Falls, Trois Rivières, Val d'Or

Ontario

Atikokan, Ansonville, Beamsville, Beardmore, Brantford, Chapleau, Chatham, Cobalt, Coniston, Cooksville, Creighton, Crowland, Delhi, Dunnville, Espanola, Fort Frances, Garson, Geraldton, Guelph, Hamilton, Hamilton -- West Hamilton, Kapuskasing, Kenora, Kingston, Kirkland Lake, Kitchener-Waterloo, Leamington, London, Nakina, Niagara Falls, Nipigon, Onion Lake, Oshawa, Ottawa - 21 Stirling Avenue, Ottawa - 682 Rochester Street, Ottawa - 523 Arlington Avenue, Preston-Galt, Pontypool, Port Colborne, Red Lake, Sandwich, St. Ann's, St. Catharines, Sault-Ste-Marie, Sault-Ste-Marie -- Bayview, Simcoe, Sioux Lookout, South Porcupine, Sudbury, Thorold, Thorold South, Thunder Bay -- Port Arthur, Thunder Bay -- Fort William, Thunder Bay -- West Fort William, Timmins-Schumacher, Toronto -- 300 Bathurst Street, Toronto -- 1579 Dupont Street, Toronto -- 281 Royce Avenue, Toronto -- New Toronto, Toronto -- East Toronto, Townsend, Waterford, Welland, Windsor -- 1457 Drouillard Road, Windsor -- 3466 Harris Street, Windsor -- Ford City, White River

Manitoba

Angusville, Arborg, Benito, Brandon, st-Boniface -- 541 rue Giroux, Brokenhead, Brightstone -- Red Deer, Broad Valley, Brooklands, Chatfield, Corbin, East Kildonan -- 499 Jamieson Avenue, East Selkirk, Elmwood, Ethelbert, Fisher Branch, Garland, Gimli, Gonor, Hardashville, Hyak, Jadek Spur, Kelwood-McGreary, Kilkenny, Kississing, Komarno, Libau, Mears, Medyka, Michel, Mirs, Morvena, Narol, Okno, The Pas, Pleasant Home, Portage-la-Prairie, Rembrandt, Rivers, Selkirk, Sheridan, Shorncliffe, Springwell, Stonewall,

Tenlon, Transcona -- 301 Regent Street, Vidor, Winnipeg -- 591-593 Pritchard Avenue, Winnipeg -- 197 Euclid Avenue [Point Douglas], Winnipeg Beach, Yanov

Saskatchewan

Alticane, Bienfait, Biggar, Buchanan, Canora, Carrot River, Dana, Estevan, Kamsack, Kurokoi, Meath Park, Melville, Moose Jaw, Norguay, North Battleford, Paddockwood, Pelly, Prince Albert, Purdue, Regina, Saskatoon, Sheridan, Swift Current, Veregini, Wakaw

Alberta

Alexo, Anton Lake, Athabasca, Bellevue, Bellis, Beverly, Boian, Brosseau, Brulé, Bucacz, Cadomin, Calgary, Canmore, Carbon, Cardiff, Coalhurst, Cold Lake, Coleman, Darling, Downie, Drumheller, East Coulee, Edmonton, Edmonton -- North Edmonton, Ethelbert, Exshaw, Foothills, Foxford, Glendon, Goldsboro, Gratz, Heinsburg, Herrington, High Prairie, Hillcrest, Hillock, Kiew/New Kiew, Lac la Biche, Lac Cardinal, Lake Eliza, Lanuke, Lethbridge, Lille, Lincoln, Lundbreck, Luscar, Medicine Hat, Mercoal, Mundare, Myrnam, Nestow, Newcastle, North Kitzman, Nordegg, Paken, Pembroke, Prestville, Radway Centre, Ranfurly, Reno, Robb, Rosedale/Rosedale Station, Rycroft, Sanders West, Sexsmith, Shandro, Slawa, Spedden, Spirit River, Spruce Valley, Stry, Sunset House, Torhild, Two Hills, Ukalta, Waugh, Wayne, Wellington, Whitelaw, Vauxhall, Vilna, Vegreville, Volin

British Columbia

Anyox, Britannia Beach, Canyon, Castlegar, Chilliwack, Corbin, Courtney, Cranbrook, Diamond City, Fernie, Grand Forks, Haney, Kamloops, Kelowna, Lake Cowichan, Langley, Lulu Island, Mission, Nanaimo, Natal, Nelson, New Westminster, North Bend, Ocean Falls, Penticton, Port Alberni, Port Mann, Powell River, Prince George, Prince Rupert, Princeton, Red Pass, Revelstoke -- Mount Cartier, Richmond/ Steveston,, Salmon Arm, Trail/Roseland, Vancouver -- 805 East Pender Street, Vernon, Victoria, Yahk

Appendix C: Ukrainian Labour Temples sold by Custodian of Enemy Property, 1940-1943

Source: Civil Liberties Association, 8

Arborg, Manitoba
Bienfait, Saskatchewan
Brooklands, Manitoba
Calgary, Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Gimli, Manitoba
Hamilton, Ontario
Lachine, Québec
Lethbridge, Alberta
Libau, Manitoba
Medicine Hat, Alberta
North Battleford, Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Swift Current, Saskatchewan
Timmins, Ontario
Toronto, Ontario
Vancouver, British Columbia

Appendix D: Decline of the Labour Temple movement, 1942-1970

Sources: Kolasky, 1979, 181 and *AUUC Millenium Festival* (programme)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Branches</u>
1942	200
1945	315
1950	140
1960	96
1970	61
2000	9

Appendix E: Extant branches of the AUUC as of 7 May, 2000

Source: AUUC National Millenium Festival (programme)

Ontario

Hamilton; Ottawa; Sudbury -- Jubilee Centre, 195 Applegrove Street; Thunder Bay -- Ukrainian Labour Temple, 203 Ogden Street; Toronto -- AUUC Cultural Centre, 1604 Bloor Street West; Welland -- Ukrainian Labour Temple, 342 Ontario Road; Windsor

Manitoba

Winnipeg -- Ukrainian Labour Temple, 591 Pritchard Avenue

Saskatchewan

Regina -- Ukrainian Cultural Centre, 1809 Toronto Street;

Alberta

Calgary -- Ukrainian Cultural Centre, 3316-28th Avenue Southwest; Edmonton -- Ukrainian Centre, 11018-97th Street; Innisfree

British Columbia

Richmond; Vancouver -- Ukrainian Cultural Centre, 805 East Pender Street

Appendix F: Examples of la maison dites "hullose" in Ottawa granted heritage designations by the Local Architectural Advisory Committee (LACAC) as of 2000

Source: LACAC

McCloy House, 42 Bolton Street, c. 1871. Designated 1981
 Garret House, 51 Crichton Street, pre-1874. Designated 1980
 86 Stewart Street, pre-1874. Designated 1983
 Bell House, 151 Stanley Avenue, 1868 and 1880. Designated 1982
 Cheney House, 176 Bronson Avenue, early 1870s. Designated 1980
 Rowatt House, 66 Bradford Street, c. 1878. Designated 1997
 310 Cooper Street, 1879-1880. Designated 1984
 Joseph Archambault House, 117 St. Andrew Street, c. 1887. Designated 1980
 Mason House, 101 Bayswater, 1891. Designated 1997
 Mitrow House, 62 Sweetland Avenue, 1895. Designated 1981
 Hunt House, 149 Hopewell Avenue, 1898. Designated 1991
 106 Guiges Street, c. 1900. Part of a heritage district, designated 1994
 William Murphy House, 127 Britannia Road, c. 1902. Designated 1997

Appendix G: People arrested in raid at USDP branch *Nove zhyttia*, 268 Rochester Street, Ottawa, 1 May, 1918 (interned at Kapuskasing, 1918-1919)

Sources: *Ottawa evening journal*, 2 May, 1918, 1-2; 3 May, 1918, 3; *Ottawa citizen*, 2 May, 1918, 1; 3 May, 1918, 12; 4 May, 1918, 3; *le Droit*, 2 mai, 1918, 6; *Might's Ottawa City Directory* (1918); and Korol, 1965

Note: Spellings may vary from source to source

Joseph Andrews, 40 Elizabeth Street
 Nikolio/Mckolio Antoniuk, 42 Elizabeth Street
 Fred Babet/Bebet, 252 Rochester Street
 Frank Chimney/Chminey, 268 Rochester Street
 Peter Hardchuck/Peter Harchuck/Peter Haideychuk/Peter Haideichuk (Petro Haideychuk),
 240 LeBreton Street
 John Karcheski, 40 Elizabeth Street
 Joseph Kochanchuk/Kockanchuk (O. Kohanchuk), 76 Queen Street
 Nicholas Koput, 268 Rochester Street
 Jacob Makielen, 353 Rochester Street
 Philip Melack/Meleck, 346 Bell Street
 Xavier Motunk/Matunk, 146 Bell Street
 Nicholas Muicy/Mucciy, 381 Rochester Street
 Leo Pannel, 288 Albert Street
 Paul Shawiak/Shawliak, 51 Laurier Avenue West
 Geo. Skrypnosick (Yuri Skrypnychuk), 381 Rochester Street
 Alex Sochiki, 268 Rochester Street
 Jozel Spak, 268 Rochester Street

Stefan/Stephen Waskan, Toronto (later released since British subject)

Appendix H: Residents at the Ukrainian Labour Temple from 1923 to 1967

Source: *Might's Ottawa City Directory*, annual vols., 1922-1967

1923-1934: Nicholas Heapchuk, Anne Heapchuk, and family

1935-1940: Vacant

1940: Nicholas Mucciy, Anne Mucciy, and Petro Haideychuk

1941-1944: Nicholas Mucciy and Anne Mucciy

1944-1946: Walter and Stella Chopowick

1947-1948: Vacant

1949-1965: John Bodner, Bertha Bodner, and family

1966-1967: Vacant

Appendix I: Ottawa ULFA Spanish Civil War volunteers, 1936-1939

Sources: Anonymous, 14 February, 1998; William Warchow, interview, 15 April, 1999

There were four volunteers, three of whom have been identified:

Martin Myroniuk
Stephen Pacholchak
Paul Shpirka/Shperka

Appendix J: Ottawa ULFTA members in the Canadian Armed Forces, World War II

Sources: C. Drozdowych, interview, 25 March, 1999; Krawchuk, 1985

W. Chopowick
John Chudobiak
Kazimierz Drozdowych
F. Kandela
P. Kandela
KH Kozak
Myron Kryvonosiuk
WP Lysiuk
N. Ostapyk
MJ Prokopenko
KH Rozak

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Abbreviations

ET -- *Evening Telegram* [Toronto]
EU -- *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*
 ICOMOS -- International Council of Monuments and Sites
JRAIC -- *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*
JUGS -- *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*
RN -- Robochy Narod [*The Working People*]
OC -- *Ottawa Citizen*
OEJ -- *Ottawa Evening Journal*
UC -- *Ukrainian Canadian*

NB: All translations from Ukrainian courtesy of Myron Momryk, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

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-----, "Take Austrians to Kapuskasing Camp: Party will be interned, counsel will endeavour to release one," *OC*, 4 May, 1918, 3

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