The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XV–XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History Sciences.

The special issue of the *Eastern European History Review* focuses on the fascinating theme of travel in the early modern age (XVI–XVIII centuries), investing it from women's unique and particular point of view. United by their destination – Italy –, their journeys, although driven by different motives and reasons, show women perfectly at ease in travelling, but above all, eager to understand and appropriate the otherness experienced.

From East to West. Women Journeys in Early Modern Period to Italy (XVII-XXVIII centuries), edited by the Polish historian Jarosław Pietrzak, is the result of interdisciplinary historical research interests of CESPoM Study Center.

Alessandro Boccolini
Director of EEHR

In copertina: Young woman interested in geography. Round miniature on ivory.
(Collection of Léon Creissels 1864-1939)

euro 19,00

FROM EAST TO WEST. WOMEN JOURNEYS

Edited by Jarosław Pietrzak

E E H R

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FROM EAST TO WEST.
WOMEN JOURNEYS IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD TO ITALY
(XVII-XVIII CENTURIES)

Edited by
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EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Ceantral and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV-XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

SUMMARY

Matteo Sanfilippo
UNIVERSITY OF TUSCIA (ITALY)

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA: MIGRATION AND HISTORY

ABSTRACT

Two books published in Canada reflect on the experience of Ukrainian immigrants in this nation and on their European roots. The analysis of these two books must, however, be accompanied by the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Canadian experience, which started at the end of the nineteenth century and is marked by several waves of migration. In the end, the reconstruction of these events and the discussion of the two books allow us to outline an overall picture of the "Ukrainianness" that developed on the other side of the ocean.

KEYWORDS: Ukraine, Canada, Migration, Ukrainians in Canada, Ukrainian-Canadian historiography.

INTRODUCTION

When I started to work on this review, I just wanted to highlight the contents of two volumes on the history of Ukraine and its migrations published by McGill-Queen's University Press[1]. After a while, I had to transform what I have thought as a short review into a long one, because to review these books, I had to explain different aspects of Ukrainian history and historiography between the Old and the New world. The Ukrainian migration flows have involved Canada much more than other countries and have pushed Canadian publishing houses to print many books on Ukraine and its diaspora since the 1950s. To understand this robust production and how the two books fit into it, I had to retrace that migrations overseas and to evaluate their impact on Canada, which is still perceptible today[2].

The 2021 Canadian census registers 1,258,635 people of Ukrainian birth or ancestry, while the total Canadian residents are 38.25 million (Canada is the second largest nation in the world by surface area, but it is underpopulated). In the 2016 census they were almost 1,359,000 and represented 4% of the total population. As a result, we can state that Ukrainians Canadians rank eleventh among the largest native and immigrant groups in the Confederacy. Moreover, their number places them in third place among the Ukrainian communities around the world, after those of the Homeland and of Russia.

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1   Zenon E. Kohut, Volodymyr Sklokin, Frank E. Sysyn and Larysa Bilous, eds., *Eighteenth-century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2023); Natalie Kononenko, *Ukrainian Ritual on the Prairies: Growing a Ukrainian Canadian Identity* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2023).

2   A part of this production is registered in and can be downloaded from [https://diasporiana.org.ua/].

In Ukraine, 43.79 million inhabitants are registered in 2021, of which 27% belong to various minorities. However, on the eve of the 2022 invasion, this figure drops to 41.5 million, because of emigration and natural decrease. Furthermore, the 2021 data includes the approximately 4.5 million inhabitants of the two republics of Donetsk and Luhansk, later self-proclaimed independent, and the approximately two million inhabitants of the then still Ukrainian territory of Donbass. Therefore, current inhabitants of Ukraine are much fewer[3]. In 2015, Russia declared 5,864,000 citizens of Ukrainian origin, to which we can tot up another 2.8 million deported or fled from the war in Donbass (2014-2022) and several hundred thousand fugitives from the conflict now underway. Depending on how the latter ends, demographic estimates may vary further. Moreover, future choices by the refugees may influence the demographic evolution. In the last two years, millions of Ukrainians have taken refuge in Poland, so this nation is now hosting one of the most important Ukrainian communities[4]. Canada, however, is also receiving Ukrainian refugees and is not trying to get rid of them, as Poland is doing[5]. Thus, Canada could maintain in the future its rank among the largest Ukrainian communities around the world.

UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION IN CANADA

In Canada, Ukrainian settlement occurred in waves. Each of them took place in a particular historical moment, therefore has different sociopolitical characteristics, a specific geographical origin, and a specific geographical direction[6]. The first "Ukrainian" wave (at the time of departure, a Nation-state did not correspond to this designation) arrived in the last decade of the nineteenth century. At this time the enormous area currently divided among the provinces of Manitoba (established in 1870), Saskatchewan and Alberta (both elevated to provincial status in 1905) was in constant need of agricultural labour. The territory available was immense and sparsely populated: even today, Manitoba has 1,150,000 inhabitants (2016 census) for an extension of 647,797 km²; Saskatchewan 985,386 inhabitants for 651,900 km²; Alberta 4,262,635 inhabitants for 661,848 km². Each province has twice the surface area of Italy, but an infinitely smaller population. Alberta, the most populated, has a number of inhabitants lower than the average daily presence in the Italian capital. It

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3   Salvatore Strozza and Corrado Bonifazi, "L'esodo dall'Ucraina e il contesto migratorio europeo", *Neodemos*, 4 marzo 2022, [neodemos.info/2022/03/04/lesodo-dallucraina-e-il-contesto-migratorio-europeo/].

4   Edith Pichler, "Ucraini in Polonia. Guerra, donne, violenza e diritti", *Neodemos*, 5 luglio 2022, [neodemos.info/2022/07/05/ucraini-in-polonia-guerra-donne-violenza-e-diritti/].

5   See: [data.unhcr.org/en/situations/Ukraine].

6   The Canadian Confederation is divided into ten Provinces and three Territories, each of them can in turn be divided into geographical and/or administrative regions. Some provinces do not have a regional administrative subdivision and are divided into counties, cities, and rural municipalities. Some geographers use therefore the term "region" to indicate a cohesive set of provinces (the Atlantic region, the Prairie region, etc.): Robert Bone, *The Regional Geography of Canada* (Toronto: OUP Canada, 2010).

is therefore easy to imagine how empty the area could have been in the nineteenth century, and we understand why the government of the time allowed the arrival of migrants from any part of Europe, despite the xenophobic tendencies of the local population[7].

The first Ukrainians settled east of Edmonton, the future capital of Saskatchewan, in 1891-1892. They came from Galicia and Bucovina, two Austro-Hungarian regions that sent migrants over the ocean until the Great War. In total, around 170,000 Austro-Hungarian "Ukrainians" reached the Prairies before the summer of 1914. At the same time, very few arrived from eastern Ukraine (then under the Tsars) and decided to settle into the cities of Central Canada: Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor in Ontario; Montréal in Québec[8].

Both groups of Ukrainians suffered heavy discrimination during the First World War. Former Habsburg subjects were considered enemies of the British Empire, and 5,000 were interned in war camps established on the Prairies, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec under the War Measures Act of 1914. Others were forced to work for industries involved in the war effort. Despite the end of the conflict (1918) and the Treaty of Versailles (1919), this situation continued until June 1920, involving also the structures of the Catholic Church to which the Galician immigrants adhered[9].

Even Russian subjects were looked at with suspicion, despite their motherland being an ally of the Triple Entente, because they were considered anarchists or nihilists. Fear about their political orientation grew after the Soviet Revolution and during the Ukrainian-Soviet War of 1918-1921[10]. The fear increased even further in the following years, when Ukrainians from the Prairies moved to the cities, especially in Ontario, and strengthened the local working class and its demands. In the meantime, the two Ukrainian communities, one coming from the Austrian empire and the other from the Russian empire, feel tested and did not know who to offer their loyalty to[11].

The prolongation of this uncertainty was accompanied by the closure of the borders to new arrivals. In 1923, however, an amendment to the Immigration Act provided

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7   Roberto Perin and Harold Troper, "Immigration Policy", in *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul R. Magocsi (Toronto: UTP, 1999), 700-13; Valeria Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2015* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016).

8   Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2007).

9   Athanasius D. McVay, "Render unto Caesar: The Greek-Catholic Church's Reaction to the Internment of Ukrainians in Canada During the First World War", *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 56/1-2 (2015): 163-263.

10   Myron Momryk, "The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Surveillance of the Ukrainian Community in Canada", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 28 (2003), 89-112.

11   Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983).

for the entry of Ukrainians from the new and old States to which they had been redistributed. Ukrainians arrived from western Volhynia and Galicia then in Polish hands, from southern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romanian hands, and from Czechoslovakian territories. This flow was numerically smaller than the pre-war one: just 70,000 Ukrainians landed in Canada between 1923 and 1939. These new arrivals were much more diversified from a geographical (as just mentioned) and political point of view than the old ones. The pre-war component continued its left-wing militancy in the countryside and in the city: the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association was founded in 1918, soared in Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta, and in 1921 approached the Canadian Communist Party[12]. The newer immigrants fled from the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist empires and from the following succession of revolutions, revolts and civil conflicts. Therefore, they had different goals and no revolutionary tendencies. Less than half of this new wave travelled to the Prairies; the others opted for the industries of southern Ontario, for the region around Montreal and the neighbouring Eastern Townships or for the mines and forests of northern Ontario. Furthermore, this time, peasants were not the only migrants, lawyers and teachers landed in Canada to settle in the city and become urban community leaders.

Their leadership pushed the migrants to ask for the independence of their Motherland, primarily from the Soviet Union, but also from Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. At the time, the community was divided between two opposing fronts: the Ukrainian National Federation, founded in 1932, dreamed of an independent Ukrainian republic; the United Hetman Organization, born two years later, dreamed a "Cossack Kingdom"[13]. The tensions between Republicans and Monarchists, and between these two groups and the old immigration were quite important, but the Second World War stopped everything because the entire Ukrainian community was once again looked at with suspicion. The offices of left-wing associations were closed because of the Defence of Canada Regulations (1939), while nationalists, of any tendency, were considered German or Soviet fifth columns[14].

In the post-war period, particularly from 1945 to 1952, landed a new wave of 30,000

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12   Peter Krawchuk, *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1907-1918* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1979), and *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Movement in Canada 1907-1991* (Toronto: Lugus Publications, 1996); Kassandra Luciuk, "More Dangerous Than Many a Pamphlet or Propaganda Book: The Ukrainian Canadian Left, Theatre, and Propaganda in the 1920s", *Labour/Le Travail*, 89 (2019): 77-104.

13   The Cossack myth dates to the years following the fall of Napoleon, according to Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth: History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), but see *infra*. However, it is strongly attested at the end of the nineteenth century: Frank E. Sysyn, "The Changing Image of the Hetman: On the 350th Anniversary of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 46/4 (1998), 531-45.

14   Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: MHSO, 1988); Bohdan Kordan, *Canada and the Ukrainian Question, 1939–1945* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001).

Ukrainians who fled after the Soviet return. This first contingent was followed by several thousand who had lived for years in refugee camps, mainly in Germany, but also in Italy[15]. This double path marked the entire community culture and originated strongly anti-Soviet feelings[16]. Starting from the late 1980s a controversy raged over the lack of screening of this immigration and the arrival of war criminals among the refugees[17]. The debate about Ukrainian (suspected) war criminals was and is very harsh, also because some Ukrainian organizations in the 1960s and 1970s erected public monuments for war criminals implicated in terrible events. For example, a statue in memory of the collaborationist leader Roman Shukhevych, who committed suicide in 1950 to avoid falling into the hands of the Soviet police, was erected in Edmonton and provoked numerous requests to tear it down[18]. The more or less obvious sympathy for pro-Nazi collaborationism of a number of Ukrainians did not only concern some exponents of the post-war diaspora, but the Motherland itself, where the massacres during the war were forgotten (or, better, obliterated) in the name of the primary need to free Ukraine from Soviet oppression[19]. Furthermore, some Ukrainian-Canadian scholars show how Nazi sympathies preceded the war, both in Canada (where many veterans of the Ukrainian-Soviet conflict landed) and in Europe, thus preparing the way to collaborationism and war crimes[20].

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15   Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, "'This Should Never Be Spoken or Quoted Publicly': Canada's Ukrainians and Their Encounter with the DPs", in *Canada's Ukrainians: Changing Perspectives, 1891–1991*, eds. Id. and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: UTP, 1991), 103-22; Wsevolod Isajiw, Yury Boshyk and Roman Senkus, eds., *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992).

16   Lubomyr Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (Toronto: UTP, 2000).

17   Harold Troper and Morton Weinfeld, *Old Wounds: Jews, Ukrainians and the Hunt for Nazi War Criminals in Canada* (Chapel Hill – London, University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Howard Margolian, *Unauthorized Entry: The Truth about Nazi War Criminals in Canada, 1946–1956* (Toronto: UTP, 2000).

18   Moss Robeson, "Canadian Support for Ukrainian Nazi Collaborators Goes Beyond Statues", 2020, [readthemaple.com/canadian-support-for-ukrainian-nazi-collaborators-goes-beyond-statues/]. The number of Ukrainian-Canadian monuments honoring the collaborationists is such that in the English version of Wikipedia (en.wikipedia.org) there is a specific entry: "Memorials in Canada to Nazis and Nazi Collaborators".

19   Olesya Khromeychukm, *"Undetermined" Ukrainians. Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS "Galicia" Division* (Oxford-Bern, Peter Lang, 2013). Cf. Paweł Markiewicz, *Unlikely Allies: Nazi German and Ukrainian Nationalist Collaboration in the General Government During World War II* (West Lafayette IN: Purdue UP, 2021).

20   Orest T. Martynowych, "Sympathy for the Devil: The Attitude of Ukrainian War Veterans in Canada to Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1939", in *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians. History, Politics, and Identity*, eds. James Mochoruk and Rhonda L. Hinther (Toronto: UTP, 2011), 173-220; Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, *The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives* (Washington:

A few scholars of immigrant origin have attributed every arrest in Canada of real or alleged war criminals to the manoeuvres of the Soviet secret services[21], while far-right websites often point to a "Jewish-communist conspiracy" against the "Ukrinian patriots"[22]. At the end of the twentieth century, a federal commission of inquiry highlighted how some Ukrainians, who later migrated to Canada, served as volunteers for the Germans and took part in massacres or in the management of concentration camps[23]. Their number, however, was limited according to the commissioners and in the post-war years, when so many refugees arrived overseas, it was impossible to carry out a thorough screening. On the one hand, former collaborationist got lost among tens of thousands of fugitives; on the other, they were not wanted by the Allied authorities, because at the time they were not considered war criminals. Moreover, but the commission does not address this topic, in those years investigations were requested only for possible Soviet infiltrations.

Beyond the reactions of many Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian commentators, who reveal their sympathies for collaboration in defending the immigrant war criminals' past, it should be noted how much the size of the mid-twentieth century diaspora from Central and Eastern Europe continues to be underestimated. It would not have been possible to investigate an enormous mass of fugitives, who were fleeing from the battlefields, on whatever front they had fought on, or from devastated cities and from very poor refugee facilities[24]. The current lack of clarity on the dimensions of the escape after the war is also evident from the progress of the trials at the end of the twentieth century, often decided in an almost casual way[25]. Furthermore, too many invoke the escape from Ukraine as the only Ukrainian flow

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013); John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA's Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941–1944* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2021).

21   Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Operation Payback: Soviet Disinformation and Alleged Nazi War Criminals in North America* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2022). The author articulates in this book what he and others have written in the 80s: *On the record: The debate over alleged war criminals in Canada. Letters to the editor of The Whig-Standard* (Toronto: The Justinian Press, 1987).

22   See John-Paul Himka, "War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora", *Spaces of Identity*, 5/1 (2005): 9-24, which addresses Ukraine's denial of any responsibility for war crimes.

23   *War Criminals: The Deschênes Commission*, revised 16 October 1998, [http://publications.gc.ca/Pilot/LoPBdP/CIR/873-e.htm].

24   Mark Wyman, *DPS: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (Utica NY: Cornell UP, 1989), and Silvia Salvatici, *Senza casa e senza paese. Profughi europei nel secondo dopoguerra* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008). For the presence among those refugees of people identified decades later as war criminals: Matteo Sanfilippo, "Los papeles de Hudal como fuente para la historia de la migración de alemanes y nazis después de la Segunda guerra mundial", *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, 43 (1999): 185-210.

25   Patrick Brode, *Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgments: Canadian War Crimes Prosecutions, 1944–1948* (Toronto: UTP, 1997).

of those years, while one MA thesis rightly recalls the workers deported to Nazi Germany, who at the end of the war asked not to be sent back to the Soviet Union[26]. In short, the reality of the time was much more complicated than how it was later reconstructed.

The harshness of the debate on collaborationism and war crimes makes it clear how anti-Soviet and conservative the community leadership became in the post-war decades, starting from the foundation of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (1949). A few scholars analyse the Ukrainian participation in clashes against the trade unions and the Canadian left[27]. An extreme right-wing militancy was then transplanted to North America, under the protection of the police and of the large industrial conglomerates[28]. Nonetheless, the old Ukrainian Left did not disappear and in the 1960s Ukrainian militants took part in the establishment of the New Democratic Party, the Canadian Labour formation[29]. However, if before the war the Ukrainian Left's had a considerable weight and the majority of the Ukrainian community voted for the Liberal Party, after the war the electoral balance shifted in favour of the Conservative Party, considered more resolutely anti-communist. In this context, membership of the Canadian Communist Party declined rapidly[30], while many Ukrainians, in the Prairies and in Ontario, joined local centre-right formations and create lobbies to economically support the ancient Motherland and to force the federal government to repay immigrants in Canada for their imprisonment during the world wars[31].

The evolutions of the Ukrainian-Canadian community in the second half of the

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26   Maria Melenchuk, *Ukrainian Ostarbeiters in Canada: Individual and Collective Remembering* (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2012). Cf. Yuri Boshyk, Roman Waschuk and Andriy Wynnyckyj, eds., *Ukraine During World War II: History and Its Aftermath* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1986).

27   Kassandra Luciuk, "'They Will Crack Heads When the Communist Line is Expounded': Anti-Communist Violence in Cold War Canada", *Labour/Le Travail*, 90 (2022): 149-178.

28   Aidan Jonah, "Long history of Ukrainian-Canadian groups glorifying Nazi collaborators exposed by defacing of Oakville memorial", 2020, [thecanadafiles. com/articles/ukcdnm].

29   Rhonda L. Hinther, "Generation Gap: Canada's Postwar Ukrainian Left", in Mochoruk and Hintler, *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians*, 23-53.

30   John Kolasky, ed., *Prophets and Proletarians. Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1990); S. Holyck Hunchuck, "'Of course it was a Communist Hall': A Spatial, Social, and Political History of the Ukrainian Labour Temples in Ottawa, 1912–1965", in Mochoruk and Hintler, *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians*, 403-35.

31   Frances Swyripa, "The Politics of Redress: The Contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian Campaign", in *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, eds. Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin and Angelo Principe (Toronto: UTP, 2000), 355-78. The injustice of imprisonment during the Great War is recognized by the Canadian Parliament on November 25 2005, [https:// laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-20.8/page-1.html].

twentieth century cannot be explained solely by the dialectic between the descendants of the first three migratory waves. At least two other waves of arrivals occurred after the middle of the century. The first dates to the 70s and the 80s, when there was a new flight from Ukraine motivated by the search for economic opportunities rather than for political freedom. Precisely for this reason, the destinations were Toronto and Montreal, the two largest Canadian cities. The second wave began after 1991, when Ukraine is finally free, but its inhabitants feared the geopolitical and internal insecurity of the new State. So, at the end of the twentieth century, technicians and skilled workers fled from Europe and benefited from Canadian federal programs and the sponsorship of family members already overseas[32]. This latest wave continues into the following decades: around 112,000 new immigrants arrived at the turn of the century, to which another 14,000 are added between 2017 and 2021[33].

184   Meanwhile, the Ukrainian group responded fervently to the federal multiculturalist policy and benefitted greatly from it[34]. The Liberals in government in 1968-1979, 1980-1984, 1993-2006 and since 2015 are led by three prime ministers born in Quebec (and closely linked: Pierre and Justin Trudeau are father and son, while Jean Chrestien was the right-hand man of the first) who try to bend the autonomist tendencies of their province, underlining how Canada was born from the union of several native and immigrant groups, and not from the simple agreement between francophones and anglophones[35]. Ukrainian immigrants, like Italian ones, exploited this conjoncture to obtain funding and recognition. Precisely thanks to this federal help they managed the prompt reception of their immigration last flow, caused by the Russian invasion of 2022[36]. Furthermore, the erection of monuments to Nazi collaborators exploited the opportunities opened by multiculturalism, (re)-

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32   For the post-Soviet diaspora: Feng Hou and Xiaoyi Yan, "Immigrants from post-Soviet states: Socioeconomic characteristics and integration outcomes in Canada", in *Migration from the Newly Independent States 25 Years After the Collapse of the USSR*, eds. Mikhail Denisenko, Salvatore Strozza and Matthew Light (Cham: Springer, 2020), 373-91.

33   See: [https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/history-ethnic-cultural/Pages/ukrainian.aspx] (2020).

34   Julia Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism – Ukrainian Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the 'Third Force'", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 38/1 (2006): 47-64.

35   The literature on Canadian multiculturalism and its historical-political reasons is very large and cannot be summarized here. For multiculturalism role in the strategy of the Ukrainian group, see the reconstruction of a protagonist: Manoly R. Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism: A Ukrainian-Canadian Memoir* (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2005), as well as *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*, ed. Id. (Edmonton, Published for The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies by The University of Alberta Press, 1978).

36   For support measures up to May 2023: [canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/ukraine-measures.html]. For lobbying activity, see the website of *The Ukrainian Canadian Congress*, which brings under its aegis almost all Ukrainian associations at national, provincial and local level: [https://www.ucc.ca/]

presenting itself as an expression of the traditional and traditionalist culture of a specific immigrant group[37].

THE SETTLEMENT AREA

In our century the number of Ukrainians in Canada is significant, as mentioned at the beginning. Canadian census data also allows us to see how this has been achieved over time. In 1911, there were 75,432 registered Ukrainians, just over 1% of the population. Twenty years later, they were 225,113, over 2.6% of the population. In 1951 there were 395,043 Ukrainian Canadians, more than 2.8% of the national population. In 1971 the absolute numbers grew again (589,660), but in percentage terms Ukrainians fell below 2.7%. In 1991, they were 1,054,295, almost 4% of the Canadian population, the percentage around which their number has fluctuated ever since.

In the meantime, the settlement area expanded, albeit in eastern Canada, where many landed after the war[38], very few Ukrainians stayed, the same as in Quebec outside the industrial area of Montreal. Ontario is now the first province for Ukrainian presence and has overtaken Alberta[39]. This province is second, followed by British Columbia, which in turn overtook Manitoba and Saskatchewan[40]. In this geographical redistribution the weight of the cities has become more important than that of the countryside, even in the Prairies where Edmonton, Regina and Saskatoon stand out. In these three cities, Ukrainians, or Ukrainian-descendants amount to 10.8%, 12.6% and 16% of the inhabitants respectively.

The concentration in the city has favoured the creation of Ukrainian schools, many of which are Catholic, for example in the Toronto metropolitan area and in the surrounding area. In fact, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has a long history in Canada, but it is not the only religious institution to represent the diaspora in question: at the end of the 19th century, immigrants from Galicia were Catholic and those from Bukovina were Orthodox. Moreover, Catholics of the area now belonging to Ukraine did not always define themselves as Ukrainians, in fact many referred to the Ruthenian Church, while today the parishes and the once Galician ecclesiastical

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37   Per A. Rudling, "Long-Distance Nationalism: Ukrainian Monuments and Historical Memory in Multicultural Canada", in *Public Memory in the Context of Transnational Migration and Displaceme*nt. *Migrants and Monuments*, ed. Sabine Marschall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 95-126.

38   Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska, *Quai 21: une histoire* (Ottawa: EUO, 2020), 134-35.

39   For historical data, censuses can be traced through [https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/library/historical]. For the current situation: Max Stick and Feng Hou, "A sociodemographic profile of Ukrainian-Canadians" (2022), [www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/36-28-0001/2022004/article/00003-eng.htm]. For the demographic leap during the second half of the twentieth century: Bohdan Kordan, *Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981–1996* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2000).

40   The Ukrainian weight in today history of the Prairies should not be underestimated: John C. Lehr, *Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians*, 30-52 and James Darlington, *The Ukrainian Impress on the Canadian West*, 53-80, both in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians.*

structures define themselves as Ukrainian[41]. In this way, they erase the fact that Ruthenians were not only Galicians from Subcarpathia, but came also from other areas of the Habsburg Empire, in particular Slovakia. This is the reason why at the end of the First World War they made different choices from the Ukrainians, opting for Czechoslovakia[42]. Furthermore, the Subcarpathian Ruthenians, often called Carpatho-Russians, were more or less forcibly incorporated into the Ukrainian State, but still claim their own specificity and language[43].

Before the Great War, the presence of so many Ruthenian faithful led to the formation of a "national" diocese, supported by the Apostolic Delegation (now Nunciature) in Canada[44]. Reports from Vatican officials underline that in the period between the two wars, all the Catholics of the Greek rite belonged to that diocese, of which the Ruthenians were the majority[45]. In particular, the delegate Andrea Cassulo made an apostolic visit to Canadian dioceses and seminaries in 1935. In his reports, he distinguishes between the faithful Ruthenians, whom he recalls in Ontario and the Prairies, and the dangerous communists of the Canadian West, including British Columbia, whose «leaders come from Russia, Poland and neighbouring countries» (*my translation*)[46]. According to the pontifical representative, these communists,

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41   David Motiuk, *Eastern Christians in the New World: An Historical and Canonical Study of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada* (Ottawa: Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, 2005).

42   Paul R. Magocsi, "The Ruthenian Decision to Unite with Czechoslovakia", *Slavic Review*, 34/2 (1975): 360-81; Matteo Sanfilippo, "I ruteni nelle Americhe: emigrazione and viaggio", in *Da est ad ovest, da ovest ad est. Viaggiatori per le strade del mondo*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2006), 397-429, and Matteo Sanfilippo, *La Santa Sede e l'emigrazione dell'Europa centro-orientale negli Stati Uniti tra Otto and Novecento* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2010).

43   For the European and Canadian context: Paul R. Magocsi, *Our people: Carpatho-Rusyns and their Descendants in North America* (updated edition: Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005) and *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples* (updated edition: Toronto, UTP, 2010). On the specificity of Carpatho-Russians: Id., "The Fourth Rus': A New Reality in a New Europe", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 35-36 (2010-2011): 167-77.

44   Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Arch. Nunz. Canada 150/1, fasc. 4/1. Cf. Athanasius D. McVay, *God's Martyr, History's Witness: Blessed Nykyta Budka the First Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Bishop of Canada* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Edmonton – The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, 2014), and Id., "The Apostolic Delegate and the Ukrainians in Canada", in *Histoire de la Délégation Apostolique du Saint-Siège au Canada*, ed. Philippe Roy-Lysencourt (Québec: PUL, 2021), 243-58.

45   Archivio Storico della Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Fondo Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, IV Periodo (1922–1939), Inghilterra, 188, fasc. 27, Canada – Ucraini e ruteni 1926.

46   Cassulo's reports are in Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale, Visita Apostolica, 66 – Canada. Visita apostolica ai Seminari, Collegi and Scuole. The quotation comes from the report on the ecclesiastical province of Vancouver, dated June 25, 1935. The file is not paginated.

to whom the Ukrainians belonged, were particularly strong in the ecclesiastical provinces of Vancouver (Ritish Columbia), Edmonton (Alberta) and St-Boniface (Manitoba). Furthermore, he explicitly recalls the Ukrainian presence in Keewatin and the contemporary communist infiltration[47]. On 3 June he wrote about the Ruthenians in a specific report and pointed out how they were not tempted by communism, but too often switched to the Orthodox Church, because this Church was more ready to help them than the Catholic one.

In the 1950s, a larger facility was built for the Greek rite Catholics of the Prairies and Ontario. On this occasion, the Ukrainian priests asked the Vatican representatives to cancel the definition of "Ruthenian Church", which in their opinion was hateful, but the Holy See did not accept the request. Thus, in 1956, the act of erection of the first ecclesiastical province of the Greek rite, formed by the primatial seat of Winnipeg and the dioceses of Edmonton, Saskatoon and Toronto, expressly defined it as "Ruthenian"[48]. However, the Greek-rite archdiocese of Winnipeg already declared itself officially Ukrainian and subsequently managed to impose its choice and erased the Ruthenian specificity[49].

Post-war evolution affected socio-religious development. In addition to the progressive cancellation of the Ruthenian component, thanks to the arrival of Ukrainian Catholic refugees[50], a third Christian group started to grow alongside the Catholics of the Greek rite and the Orthodox. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Baptists have been working among immigrants on the Prairies and in Toronto and from these efforts was born what is today the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention of Canada. In addition to new converts, over time the migrant Mennonites (the followers of the Anabaptist Menno Simons who settled on the northern shore of the Black Sea at the invitation of Catherine II in the 1770s) and the Shtundists (an evangelical Protestant group active in the Russian Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century) were attracted. It should be noted that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Baptist Church proved to be well rooted in Ukraine itself. The religious history of the Motherland is in fact both influenced by and influencing the Canadian one[51].

THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Given the various waves of migration and their characteristics, the Ukrainian-Canadian group is strong, but socially, religiously and culturally fractured.

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47   From 1905 to 1999, Keewatin was one of the four districts of the Northwest Territories. In 1999, the district returned to the Inuit and was dissolved in the Nunavut.

48   *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXIV (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1957), 262-64.

49   Semen Izyk, *The First Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See of Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg, 1957).

50   Catherine Wanner, "Religion and Refugee Resettlement: Evolving Connections to Ukraine Since WWII", *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 44 (2010): 44-66.

51   Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn, *Religion and Nation in Modern Ukraine* (Edmonton-Toronto: CIUS Press, 2003).

However, nationalism, which grew after the Second World War and soared with the birth of a Ukrainian State, pushes the majority of Ukrainian-Canadians to identify themselves as a homogeneous community, anchored to the New World and in particular to Canada, but not forgetting the past. The study of one's own history, as Europeans and North Americans, also contributed to this progressive self-definition. Morevoer, this recovery is not only the work of specialists and also characterizes artistic, literary and religious production, as underlined by Janice Kulyk-Keefer, novelist, critic and university professor[52].

Kulyk-Keefer writes about the children of those who emigrated before and after World War II. She also focuses on Toronto[53], which for her is a Ukrainian-Canadian capital and allows her to narrate "transnational", or rather "transcontinental" events. In her stories, security in the new land (Canada) is always overshadowed by fear for the old one (Ukraine), because, as she noted at the end of the twentieth century, in the latter things could only get better «if, by some miracle, there isn't a Russian invasion, or civil war, or another Chornobyl»[54]. The negative prediction actually came true and confirmed the author's fears. On the other hand, the whole novel is centered on the fear of invasion and civil war and their dire consequences. Therefore, when we remember the war criminals (and the protagonist's father is one of them), their crimes appear justified or at least explained by the previous Stalinist violence. In short, the birth of Canadian Ukraine is always threatened by the tragedy (current or imminent) of the Motherland and this threat explains the many mistakes of the past, as other Ukrainian-Canadian writers and scholars also point out[55].

In the (re)construction of Ukrainian existence overseas, history is considered a leading element and indeed has been so in Ukrainian-Canadian reflection since the Second World War. Already at the beginning of the 1950s, immigrant scholars were concerned with outlining the picture of the settlement in the Prairies at the

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52   Janice Kulyk-Keefer, *Dark Ghost in the Corner: Imagining Ukrainian-Canadian Identity* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2005).

53   Peter Roman Babiak, "Toronto, Capital of Ukraine: The Ends of Desire and the Beginning of History in Janice Kulyk Keefer's The Green Library", *English Studies in Canada*, 29/1-2 (2003): 97-130.

54   Janice Kulyk-Keefer, *The Green Library* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 264.

55   The key element, at the same time triggering the anti-Soviet reaction and the collaborationism and justifying them, is the great famine of the 1930s, attributed to Stalin's will: Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Lisa Grekul, eds., *Holodomor. Reflections on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2008); Andrij Makuch and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Contextualizing the Holodomor: The Impact of Thirty Years of Ukrainian Famine Studies* (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2015). On the causes and management of the famine, cf. Andrea Graziosi, "Les Famines Soviétiques de 1931-1933 et le Holodomor Ukrainien", *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 46/3 (2005): 453-72, and his introduction to the monographic issue on *The Soviet Famines of 1930-1933* of *Nationalities Papers*, 48/ 3 (2020): 435-43.

end of the 19th century[56]. Then the perspective broadens and they tried to define the development, geographical location and demographic density of the various settlements in Canada[57]. The aforementioned Senator Yuzik, professor at the University of Manitoba (1951-1963) and then at the University of Ottawa (1966-1978), played an important role in this process. During his long political and academic career, he published his doctoral thesis on Orthodox Ukrainians[58] and other books about the Ukrainian immigrants between the Prairies and Ontario[59]. In his wake, in recent decades, books on Ukrainian-Canadians have increased exponentially and there is an attempt, still ongoing, to write a broad history of the emigrant community[60], while more and more attention is also paid to the reality of the ancient Motherland. In this perspective, in the 1980s the five volumes of an *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* were printed and today 50% of their entries are available on the web as the start of an even larger online encyclopedia[61]. In addition to entries on Ukraine, an entire section of the latter is dedicated to the Ukrainian diaspora, with a large core on Canada.

In the research about the Motherland and its diaspora, some study centers and some publishing houses stand out, among the latter the University of Toronto Press, the University of Ottawa Press, McGill-Queen's University Press. Research centers are

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56   Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A social history* (Toronto: UTP, 1953); Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian settlements in Canada, 1895–1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's role in the settlement of the Canadian Northwest* ([Toronto]: Published for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation by University of Toronto Press, 1964).

57   Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays on the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Id., ed., *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1984); Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds., *A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, 1899–1962* (Kingston: Limestone Press, 1986); Lubomyr Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan, *Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1989). It should be noted that the first book was published under the auspices of the Multiculturalism Directorate, of the Department of the Secretary of State and of the Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

58   Paul Yuzik, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church 1918–1951* (Ottawa: EUO, 1981).

59   See the already quoted book on the Ukrainians in Manitoba, and: Paul Yuzik, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life* (Toronto: Ukrainian Federation, 1967); Id. and William Darcovich, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976* (Ottawa: EUO, 1980).

60   Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1991), and *Ukrainians in Canada: The Interwar Years*, I, *Social Structure, Religious Institutions, and Mass Organizations* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2016).

61   Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 5 vols., (vols. 1-2) and Danylo Husar Struk (vols. 3-5) (Toronto: UTP, 1984-1993). the online version is still in progress: [https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/].

also linked to universities. The Center for Ukrainian Historical Research has been open since 1989 at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta, funded by billionaire Peter Jacyk[62]. This Center promotes translations of Ukrainian authors and new monographs on the evolution of the Ukrainian community at home and in Canada. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies is also active at the University of Toronto, where it deals with literature and with the relationships between Ukrainian nationalism and other identities from the same European area[63]. Furthermore, the Toronto branch manages the magazine *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* and a good part of the projects of the Institute's publishing house, CIUS Press[64]. Other centers are active in the Prairies: the Center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the University of Manitoba, the Kule Folklore Center at the University of Alberta, the Prairie Center for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage at the University of Saskatchewan[65]. Finally, we must not forget the action of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in East Saskatoon and its branches in Toronto and Edmonton, or that of the Ivan Franko Museum in Winnipeg[66]. The latter is dedicated to a poet close to socialist ideas and is managed by the Ukrainian Labor Temple, the local section of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: it is therefore the heir to the left-wing tradition of immigrant workers.

THE REVIEWED BOOKS

One of the books from which and for which this review was born, *Eighteenth-century Ukraine. New Perspectives on Social, Cultural, and Intellectual History*, is the result of these efforts and is co-published by CIUS Press. The participants at a 2017 Canadian conference on eighteenth-century Ukraine then noted how this period is too often reduced to sixty years at the end of the "Cossack Age", closed by Catherine II of Russia in 1764. Post-Soviet historiography has instead suggested new perspectives

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62   See: [https://www.ualberta.ca/canadian-institute-of-ukrainian-studies/centres-and-programs/jacyk-centre/index.html].

63   See: [https://tarnawsky.artsci.utoronto.ca/courses/]. For its historical production, see Paul R. Magocsi: *Of the Making of Nationalities There is no End*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia UP, 1999); *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont* (Toronto: UTP, 2002); *With Their Backs to the Mountains: A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns* (Budapest-New York: Central European UP, 2015). On the comparison between Ruthenian and Ukrainian nationalism, cf. John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1870–1900* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1999).

64   See: [https://www.ciuspress.com/]. The magazine, printed since 2014, published an issue (10, 1, 2023) about the *Ukrainian Community Centres and Archives in Australia and Canada*.

65   See: [https://www.umanitoba.ca/arts/centre-ukrainian-canadian-studies]; [https://www.ualberta.ca/kule-folklore-centre/index.html]; [https://www.pcuh.stmcollege.ca/].

66   See: [https://www.umcnational.ca/, umcontario.com/ and umcalberta.org/]; [https://www.ult-wpg.ca/ivan-franko-museum/].

after 1991 and, according to the conference participants, the Canadian counterpart needed to be aware of these developments. In the end, the volume does not collect the proceedings of the meeting, but translates a series of previous interventions by Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian authors.

This effort aims to show the non-existence of a short eighteenth century, pigeonholed between a long seventeenth century and an equally long nineteenth century, and to highlight how the century in question continues seventeenth-century threads and extends into the following century. Of course, the failure of the Cossack autonomist attempts is not forgotten, but the antecedents and subsequent developments are sought at the same time. In this light, the economic and political history of what was to become Ukraine is analyzed, as well as its cultural and religious implications. Furthermore, local demographic and social developments are discussed.

These topics are not unknown in Canada, where there is a rich bibliography on the modern and early contemporary relations of Ukrainians with other peoples and other State formations of Central and Eastern Europe[67]. In the volume reviewed here, however, we start from a different point of view: the late seventeenth-century European discovery of Ukraine, often reduced to a simple Land of the Cossacks, a strategic frontier in the fight against the Ottoman Empire, but also between the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation and the Russian Empire. After all, according to the various authors, the modern age has seen from the beginning a continuous dance of the borders between the territories in the hands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, those of the Grand Duchy of Moscow and those of the Crimean Khanate (vassal of the Ottoman Empire), with sporadic Hungarian (Transcarpathian Ruthenia) and Moldovan (part of the Odessa territory) intrusions

When the Turkish danger wanes and the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation is divided, Ukraine is forgotten by the West, because that border no longer seems to have meaning, and this removal lasts for over two centuries. Ukraine reappears in the eyes of Europe only when it once again serves as a bastion[68]. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian State was born, anticipated by the very brief experience of the National Republic (with its capital in Lviv) and the People's Republic (with its capital in Kiev) at the end of the Great War. Historians, local

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67   Peter J. Potichnyj, ed., *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1980); Id. and Howard Aster, eds., *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1988); Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski and Gleb N. Zekulin, eds., *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992); Mark von Hagen, Andreas Kappeler, Zenon E. Kohut and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Culture, Nation, Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2003); Hans Joachim Torke and John-Paul Himka, eds., *German-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2009); Kevork Bardakjian, Frank E. Sysyn and Andrii Yasinovskyi, eds., *Armenian-Ukrainian Historical Contacts* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2011).

68   On this, see Marcello Verga, *Storie d'Europa. Secoli XVIII-XXI* (edizione aggiornata, Roma: Carocci, 2017), and Gilles Pécout, ed., *Penser les frontières de l'Europe du XIXe au XXIe siècle* (Paris: PUF, 2004).

but not only[69], then try to understand and grasp its roots, testing different political, geographical and cultural perspectives (for example, the "national" element as opposed to the imperial dynamic).

Such perspectives are well known in Canada[70], but they have not been applied much to the study of the modern age. In the volume, however, much emphasis is placed on what happened from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, describing Kiev as the hub that connects the Ottoman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation (destined to disappear) and the Russian Empire. In this complicated reality the Russians move carefully, progressively taking away autonomy from the Cossack territories and potentates. In this game, non-traditionally geopolitical factors emerge. An essay points out how the bubonic plague epidemic of 1770-1771 convinced Russian imperial authorities to tighten their control and better integrate the Ukrainian area. This integration also passes through the formation of an imperial bureaucratic class in the Ukrainian steppes.

The brief French invasion pushes the population in favor of Russia and increases the rift with the Poles, suspected of siding with Napoleon. However, in the meantime there has been no real standardization in and with the Russian world, even on a religious level. The Ukrainian Orthodox maintain their own characteristics, while the Catholic Church of the Greek rite obviously develops along its own lines. In short, even for the Tsarist Empire, Ukraine remained a frontier that was never completely tamed. In this regard, it is worth noting how many essays recover Frederick Jackson Turner's theses on the American West, adapting them to the territory in question. These theses, developed at the end of the nineteenth century, have given rise to a rich pan-American historiography over time[71], but they also influenced the study of the Russian and Chinese steppes[72]. Sometimes, historiographical loans do not work: according to Turner, the frontier is the thin line that divides civilization from barbarism, but in the context of eighteenth-century Ukraine, who would the barbarians be? However, one can play on the fact that the name of Ukraine itself derives (or is derived) from a noun used to designate the border.

Ukraine, a border land, developed its first independent consciousness in the late seventeenth century (the author of the essay in question, Frank E. Sysyn, is a Ukrainian-American who, after teaching at Harvard, became the first director of the already mentioned Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research). Given this

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69   See Timothy D. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

70   Volodymyr Kravchenko, *The Ukrainian-Russian Borderland: History versus Geography* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2022).

71   Matteo Sanfilippo, "Historiografía e imaginario de las fronteras norteamericanas", in *Fronteras. Procesos y prácticas de integración y conflictos entre Europa y América (siglos XVI-XX)*, eds. Valentina Favarò, Manfredo Merluzzi and Gaetano Sabatini (Madrid – Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura económica, 2017), 55-70.

72   See Owen Lattimore: *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1940), and *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928-1958* (New York: OUP, 1962).

chronological sequence, it is also obvious that the example of a possible Ukrainian State is given by the hetmans and not by the tsars, who tried to impose themselves as national figures, common to Russia and Ukraine, only in the following century. The history of the eighteenth century therefore describes the battlefield in and on which the idea of "Ukrainianness" emerges, transforming, as Zenon E. Kohut writes, «ethnic-linguistic masses into a conscious Ukrainian political and cultural community». The hetmans and in particular the revolt of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi against the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation in 1648 became at this juncture the symbol of a free Ukraine, proposed as a counterpart to Russian domination. This "Cossack" claim, however, leads Ukrainian nationalism to violently conflict with those it considers its adversaries, because they insist on the same territory: the Russians, Poles and Turks first and foremost, but also the Jews and the Tatars. All to be fought, as well as the other groups that inhabit the same areas (for example, the Ruthenians of Subcarpathia).

Reading this book, it emerges how Ukrainian homogenization occurred through the progressive invention of a common identity and to the detriment of other groups residing in the same area. However, this process, at least in the long eighteenth century taken into consideration by the volume, was not fully concluded. If we now think back to what happened in Canada from the end of the following century, it emerges how much the immigrant group is still divided: by origin (they start from regions belonging to different imperial formations) and geographical destination (the Prairies or Ontario, the countryside or the cities), by political (a leftist tradition against a right-wing tradition) and religious affiliations (Catholics of the Greek rite against the Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox against the Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholics against Ruthenian Catholics, Protestant against Catholics and the Orthodox).

Natalie Kononenko's volume, *Growing a Ukrainian Canadian Identity*, the second book examined here, returns to the difference among Ukrainians in Canada. Her premise recalls how the Russian invasion of 2022 arises from the idea that there is no real distinction between Ukraine and Russia. The author instead wants to show how not only does a Ukrainian culture exist, but over time a specific Ukrainian-Canadian culture has developed, particularly in the Prairies. Indeed, upon closer inspection, she adds, more Ukrainian-Canadian cultures have developed: one from the Prairies and one from Ontario (and generally from North America, i.e., from the other Canadian provinces and the United States), one from the countryside and one from the cities. All of them are very specific and very divergent from those developed in Ukraine itself, because they are focused on the reality of the country of arrival rather than on that of the country of departure.

The context of small rural towns on the Canadian Prairies is very different from that of large cities. In the latter, a Ukrainian-Canadian nationalism has developed that is close to that of the Motherland, whereas in the rural scenario there has been no time for this and Ukrainians have moved forward without many theoretical reflections. Above all, they tried to make functional adjustments both with respect to community and religious life. Precisely this, the author underlines several times, was of primary importance because of the connected sociability (baptisms, weddings, burials) and because it offered assistance to immigrants during the first integration and the difficult moments of the first and the second world wars.

Kononenko claims to have grasped this dimension by participating in the so-called Sanctuary Project, more precisely the Sacral Heritage Documentation Project, developed over the years 2008-2018 by scholars (for example, John-Paul Himka and Frances Swyripa, already cited in the notes of this review[73]), volunteers and students with the aim of documenting the ecclesiastical buildings frequented by Ukrainians and the related activities[74]. In particular, the author recorded 250 interviews from which she drew the information that was of interest to the project and on which she based the book. A very beautiful chapter describes the techniques and methodology of such dialogues and shows how she tried not to be influenced by the interlocutors, but also not to influence them. Thanks to these discussions, it is clear how little the inhabitants of rural settlements love the nationalists of the cities and how they even have some doubts towards the excessive rigidity of their own clergy, Catholic or Orthodox, often judged incapable of adapting to the new scenario.

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The transformations desired and supported by immigrants in the Prairies concern the ways of celebrating and dressing during religious ceremonies, but also crucial issues of doctrine. In particular, the request to accept those who have committed suicide in consecrated cemeteries is evident. The farmers who migrated to the Prairies during the twentieth century experienced the hardship of living and cultivating a new land and therefore understand the desperation of those who could no longer make it. Similarly, they require the burial of infants who died before baptism, because the rural settlement is dispersed and it is often impossible to baptize in time. Ultimately, the faithful assert that their Churches (Greek Catholic and Orthodox) must leave no one behind. And this desire not to lose a soul push them to open their temples and their celebrations towards the outside, towards other immigrants: the 21st century Prairies are a jumble of different origins, some often non-European.

The peak of the Ukrainian Churches in the rural area was reached during the 1950s, when they were able to restore trust to the Ukrainian-Canadians shocked by the xenophobic wave of the war period and to the refugees still shaken by what happened. Subsequently, this need waned and the new generations opted for churches and congregations where English was spoken, if they did not abandon the family religion. As censuses reveal, the Ukrainian-Canadian community has lost the ability to use its original language, despite continuous contributions from Europe, and has even abandoned the dialect developed in Canada by the first migrants. From the answers to the questionnaire on spoken languages at home of the last two censuses it emerges

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73   The project is presented at [https://livingcultures.ualberta.ca/sanctuary]. See also Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), and *UCWLC: Builders of Home, Faith, and Community* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada, 2016), as well as the recording of a lecture by John-Paul Himka, [youtube.com/watch?v=lyCKkPTm2gQ].

74   Canadian migration scholars have long paid attention to this dimension, see the Places of Worship in West Toronto project (glendon.yorku.ca/placesofworship/index.html), launched by Roberto Perin and Gabriele Scardellato, and Perin's book *Many Rooms of this House. Diversity in Toronto's Places of Worship since 1840* (Toronto: UTP, 2017). Cf. also Marguerite Van Die, *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: UTP, 2001).

that only one in ten people of Ukrainian origin uses its mother tongue.

The churches served by the Ukrainian clergy have therefore lost their faithful in the Prairies, however the latter has not denied some festive moments to spend with their family. The immigrants also tried to broaden the range of participants in such holidays and instead of temples (initially built in a monumental way) they forged gigantic monuments, the so-called "Giants of the Prairies"[75], that attract the attention of other inhabitants or of the tourists. Thus, a culture open to everyone is developed, which seals an expanded community life thanks to moments, initiatives and works of art of great resonance.

In this process of insertion and enlargement, "ethnic" cuisine (again the result of an adaptation) has acquired more and more importance and has become an ambassador, especially in the above-mentioned holidays, of a culture born from the encounter between European tradition and rural productions of the New World. As with other immigrant communities, food marks the success of a mixture of elements and knowledge. «Diaspora food is typically a blend of the old and the new», writes Kononenko, and for this reason it is capable of attracting beyond the confines of the immigrants' group.

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CONCLUSIONS

After reading the two books that inspired this review, it is evident that they are the products of a remarkable historiographical tradition. In this tradition, we discern the division between a twentieth century nationalism, which tends to strengthen barriers with respect to other groups and within the group itself, and a more open Ukrainian-Canadian culture developed in the Prairies. This division generated and generates multiple variations with respect to the historiographical and cultural developments in the ancient Motherland, but in this moment the clash between these two "souls" of the Ukrainian-Canadian community is moderated by the common reaction to the Russian invasion. In this conjuncture, immigrant Ukrainians try to help those who are in the ancient Homeland, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by Canadian federal politics, while scholars took into account the new war to reread their European past. Kononenko's reflection starts taking into account the new conflict and a series of seminars at the University of Edmonton were dedicated to the war in the spring 2023[76]. The volume on the eighteenth century is stimulated by the ongoing conflict and shows how ancient its roots are.

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75   See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giants_of_the_Prairies] and the Kubasonics song of the same name, which gives the title to a 2002 album [https://kubasonics. bandcamp.com/album/giants-of-the-prairies]. This LP is also a proof of the transformations of Ukrainian culture in the New World. It presents a Ukrainian Canadian Country & Western, which ironically reshuffles European echoes (including Domenico Modugno's songs).

76   *Historians and the War: Rethinking the Future*, [https://www.ualberta.ca/ canadian-institute-of-ukrainian-studies/news-and-events/seminars/2022/ historians-and-the-war.html]. This is an initiative not only of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, but also of the Department of Eastern European History of the University of Munich, of the Catholic University of Lviv and of the journal *Ukraina Moderna*.

In both books, we can see how the political and cultural action of the Ukrainian-Canadian components is under pressure by current events and in the future, it would be interesting to compare what is happening in the Ukrainian communities in Australia, Canada, the United States and Latin America. In the meantime, the reading of the works reviewed here and their insertion in the context of the Ukrainian-Canadian experience highlight the lines of reflection (and fracture[77]) of a peculiar story. This story developed on the other side of the Atlantic and is marked by a stable settlement in a new State, which over time has become the true homeland of immigrants, without however making them forget their distant land of origin.

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[77]   To resume the discussion mentioned above, David Pugliese, "Tear Down Nazi Collaborator Monument in Canada, Honor Ukrainian-Canadian War Vets Instead", *Esprit de corps. Canadian Military Magazine*, November 2022, [https://www.espritdecorps.ca/history-feature/tear-down-nazi-collaborator-monuments-in-canada-honour-ukrainian-canadian-war-vets-instead], is very interesting. In fact, he suggests that those who died in the Canadian army during the Second World War should be remembered, instead of erecting monuments to Nazi collaborators.