THE CRISIS CONTINUES
PRIVATE UKRAINIAN LIBRARIES IN CANADA
IN VERY DEEP TROUBLE

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In recent years, it has been evident to almost all general readers of literature and users of libraries, and persons interested in history, art, languages, and the social and natural sciences, that the traditional function of the book has been changing. The invention of the Internet and its rapid growth, with its manifold offerings in video and audio, picture and “text,” has forever changed the place and function of the traditional book, as well as other related media such as maps, newspapers, journals, brochures, printed cards, posters, and other forms of text and picture. This change has greatly affected public institutions such as civic, college, and university libraries, but has had an even greater impact upon private institutions such as smaller libraries catering to various special interest groups. The latter include both religious and ethnic groups. While the public institutions have adapted to the new conditions as best they could by putting their catalogs on-line, acquiring digitalized forms of information, and installing computers in their reading rooms, the smaller libraries usually do not have the financial resources to follow this path. As a result, their collections, and their little-known cultural treasures (and some of these are treasures indeed), are presently in danger of being forgotten or lost, sometimes forever.

For Ukrainian Canadians, this library crisis has been intensified by the general history of the group in Canada. Before 1991, in fact, when Ukraine became an independent state with a certain degree of political, national, and cultural freedom, the Ukrainian Canadian community faced a real existential crisis. It had been almost completely deprived of new immigration by the existence of the Cold War and the Iron Curtain dividing Europe since 1945. The oldest or
“pioneer immigration” had already passed away, with their grandchildren no longer Ukrainian-speaking, the Interwar Immigration and their children were largely assimilated and had as well mostly lost the ancestral language, and the post-1945 “DP” (Displaced Persons) immigration, for the most part, was already in its late maturity. With no signs of further immigration in sight, the future looked quite bleak for the community and its cultural institutions such as libraries.

The arrival of a new “Fourth Wave” of Ukrainian immigrants from newly independent Ukraine softened the crisis a bit, but many problems remained, the most pressing being that above mentioned assimilation of the children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren of the earlier waves. Consequently, this immigration history, or “ethnic history,” as it is usually termed, combined with the new problems caused by technological change, hit Ukrainian libraries in Canada very hard. Patrons became fewer and fewer, qualified Ukrainian speaking librarians very scarce, and many smaller libraries simply closed their doors. Their collections were often dispersed and destroyed, and (when they actually owned one) their buildings sold off.

These types of problems faced the entire spectrum of private Ukrainian libraries in Canada and covered all parts of the traditional political divides, which in former times had been very wide indeed. In general, the oldest Ukrainian libraries in Canada (with the notable exception of the church and eparchial libraries) tended not to be very “right-wing,” and many members were radical anti-clerics or socialists of various sorts. So the very old Labour Temple libraries (which were Communist oriented), the Ukrainian National Home libraries (which were more varied), and the Prosvita or Reading Club libraries (which sometimes strove to be non-political) fit into this class. As early as the 1970s, some had already disappeared. Although research on the subject is very thin, it seems that the libraries in the smaller towns in western Canada and northern Ontario were the first to go. So in the 1950s, when Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj of the University of Manitoba did his first great survey of Ukrainian libraries in Canada, he still found flourishing collections in various smaller Canadian cities from the Prairies to what eventually became Thunder Bay. Today most of them have already disappeared, are defunct, or unused.

In the 1970s, Professor Bohdan Budurowycz of the University of Toronto did an even more detailed survey extending all the way from British Columbia to Newfoundland, and by that time, he found that the situation had already changed considerably. Not only were small town libraries defunct, but so too many city libraries were in serious trouble. So, for example, the

Kashchenko was a popular author of romantic tales about the Cossacks. His works were banned under the Soviets but remained popular in Western Ukraine and in the emigration.

private Ukrainian library, which Rudnyckyj had believed to have been the largest, best ordered, and most used in the country, the Ukrainian National Home Library in Winnipeg, was already becoming an anachronism and was in steep decline. Today, it no longer exists. Happily though, the contents of this extremely rich library were donated to the University of Manitoba, where they remain to the present day, though they are still largely not integrated into the general Slavonic collection and for the most part remain unused.

A second library of this type is the Petro Mohyla Institute Library in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. When I visited this library in the early 1980s, it was already little-used and its collection of books and periodicals was stored in a lower level cold room, which made it very uncomfortable for prospective patrons to utilize. But even a cursory glance at its collection was enough to see a few of its greatest treasures. For example, the Mohyla Library could boast a very complete run (beautifully bound in hard-cover) of the important western Ukrainian newspaper from the Interwar period titled Dilo (Action), and also examples of Oleksander Barvynsky’s extraordinarily rare translations into Ukrainian of the works of historians in Russian Ukraine like Mykola Kostomarov. These date back to the 1880s and include a nicely bound epic biography of the Cossack “Hetman,” Bohdan Khmelnytsky, by that same Kostomarov. The Mohyla Library has survived until today thanks to the function of the Mohyla Institute as a residence for students, especially Orthodox students, at the nearby University of Saskatchewan.

The Ukrainian National Home Library in Toronto, equally venerable, was not so lucky. I visited that library twice in the early 1980s, when I was working on my PhD thesis on the Ukrainian historian and political leader Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934). Knowing that this library dated back to the World War I era, or shortly after, I believed that it might contain some interesting materials for my work on those times. When I visited that institution, I met a circle of very elderly men, who used the library as a kind of social club to discuss politics and culture. Most of them were of Galician Ukrainian origin and were eye-witnesses of that first war. One was even a veteran of Symon Petliura’s army which defended the Ukrainian National Republic from 1918 to 1920, and then went into exile in Poland.

The library itself, although already in some disorder, was filled with old and decaying pamphlets and leaflets, books and journals from those historical days. Among them were a series of almanacs from the Revolution era. In one of these, a Winnipeg imprint titled Kalendar Kanaditiskoho Rusyna na rik 1917 (Yearbook of the Canadian Ruthenian for the Year 1917), which was filled with striking photographs of contemporary political events, I discovered some interesting original materials that I later included in a chapter on the Revolution in my thesis.
But within a decade, those elderly men had all passed away, and the library was virtually abandoned. In Toronto, it was rumoured that its contents had been packed up and sent off to newly independent Ukraine. Indeed, I was once even told that it had been sent to, of all places, the Crimea! “They really needed it there,” I was told. Others say that the collection was handed on to other libraries or dispersed among Canadian collectors of various kinds. But no one seems to know for certain what actually happened to the valuable collection of that oldest of all Ukrainian libraries in Toronto.

A second library of note is the Oseredok Library in Winnipeg. Oseredok (The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre) is a cultural institution with an art gallery, museum, archives, and library. Unlike those oldest Ukrainian National Home libraries in Toronto and Winnipeg, it dates to much later, 1944 to be exact, and was not founded by the pioneers of the First Wave of Ukrainian settlers in Canada, but rather by the Second Wave, which arrived between the wars. Most of its founders were sympathizers of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Europe, who moved from political to cultural action after 1941, when the USSR became a western ally and could no longer be openly criticized in Canada. (The Canadian affiliate of the OUN was called the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, or the UNF for short.) Suitably, the Oseredok collection is very rich in publications from the Interwar era, when most of its founders came to Canada. It holds many nationalist publications from that time and even some of the private papers of the OUN leader, Євген or “Eugene” Konovalets, which I was to use later in my work on the OUN secret agent sent to London in 1938, Stephen Davidovich, who was a Canadian from Alberta. (Davidovich met and fell in love with the famous French Canadian writer, Gabrielle Roy, during their time in London together.)

Today the Oseredok Library remains catalogued and is in relatively good order, but the institution cannot afford to hire a professional full-time librarian, and new acquisitions, almost all donations, are at risk of being lost, or at least, unavailable to researchers. Over the years, Oseredok loosened its tie to the UNF, but the UNF still sponsors a parallel library in Toronto dating from slightly earlier than the Winnipeg institution, and it too is still in relatively good order. But there too money is scarce and patrons few, though efforts at digitizing important items are presently being made. Such efforts could save especially rare items for future generations.

In Toronto, it is the library of the St Vladimir Institute, a cultural institution similar to and of the same Orthodox origin as the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, which remains the best used, best organized, and most accessible private library in the city. Like the Mohyla Institute, St Vlad’s also houses a residence for students, this one close to the University of Toronto’s main

campus. Many of these students are now foreigners, but some are still of Ukrainian background, and visiting Ukrainian scholars from Europe also often stay there. So the library still has a natural clientele. St Vlad’s is lucky to have continuously had dedicated and skilled librarians, and so its collection is in excellent order. New acquisitions are still being catalogued, and the catalog is already on-line, but the library is without reading room computers, or even the space to accommodate them. Shelf space too is very limited and is getting to be a problem.

One final little-known but extremely rich Toronto Ukrainian library must be mentioned, and it is, in fact, the fate of this library that instigated the composition of this article. That library is the collection, or Reference Library, of the Toronto Ukrainian Library Association, which was founded in the 1970s and early 1980s by Karpo Mykytczuk (1912-1997), a post-1945 Ukrainian immigrant to Canada, who was a librarian with the Toronto Public Library system. Born in Chernivtsi in Austrian Bukovina, Mykytczuk joined the OUN as a youth, was imprisoned briefly by the Gestapo during the war, but managed to get out and was sent by the leaders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) to establish relations with the Western Allies. He lived in Argentina before immigrating to Canada in 1954 and studied Library Science at the University of Ottawa, which at that time was a thriving centre of Ukrainian scholarship in Canada.

While working for the Toronto Public Library, Mykytczuk noticed that the Toronto Library system was discarding many Ukrainian books that were little used or ignored by its patrons, and he also seemed to have been aware of the dangers discussed above with regard to the Ukrainian National Home Library, and perhaps others as well. He was determined to save what he could. With a group of like minded Ukrainian librarians and cultural activists, all of them volunteers of course, he established the Toronto Ukrainian Library Association (TULA) and began to gather materials for a reference library. Eventually it was organized on the premises of the Ukrainian National Home on Lippincott Street in central Toronto. The collection quickly grew and became too big to be accommodated on Lippincott. After several years, the association managed to purchase its own building, a former residential house in west Toronto.

Unlike the Ukrainian National Home libraries in Winnipeg and Toronto, which dated back to the pioneer emigration, or the UNF institutions which were linked to the Interwar era, from the beginning the TULA Library reflected the interests and character of the post-1945 immigration that had established it. After almost forty years in operation, its collection was very rich in the publications of that famous Third Wave of highly politicized immigrants from Ukraine. But it also acquired a large number of imprints from both the Pioneer and the Interwar eras, especially Canadiana with a Ukrainian orientation. This included books, and a great many different kinds of pamphlets. Where all this material came from is a bit of a mystery, but it probably originated in a wide variety of different donors.
However, by 2018, this library too faced the same problems that had already affected the operations of its predecessors. Patrons grew fewer and fewer, and the books remained unused. Moreover, the library was soon acting as a deposit box for the collections of elderly individuals with literary or cultural interests, who wished to see their books preserved when they died, or such books were simply dropped off at the TULA Library by their children or grandchildren, who thought along similar lines, but in many cases, could not even read the Ukrainian language. Books were being acquired faster than they could be ordered and catalogued, and the bulk of the collection was soon in disarray.

When I visited the TULA Library in the spring of 2018, I had the impression that the collection was made up as following, though the absence of an updated catalog makes my estimates unscientific. More than three quarters of the collection was composed of materials printed outside of the USSR. Of these, the bulk was material printed after 1945, with a good dose of Canadian imprints, especially Toronto imprints. Some of these were simply institutional histories, commemorative books, almanacs, and such, but many more were literary works, history books, and memoirs of special interest to the Displaced Persons (DP) immigration. So books on the OUN, the UPA, and about Interwar and wartime politics and military affairs in Ukraine, were very well represented. Works of general interest such as encyclopedias, dictionaries, and various handbooks were also present in duplicate or multiple copies.

So there was a beautiful old copy of Volodymyr Kubiiovych’s great Heohrafiia Ukrainy i sumezhnykh zemel (Geography of Ukraine and Adjoining Lands), many copies of his eleven volume Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva (Encyclopedia of Knowledge about Ukraine) bound in both leather and cloth versions, memoirs of veterans of the OUN, the UPA, and other factions of the national movement, and works on politics, education, language, art, and culture generally.

As to earlier materials, there was also a large collection of un-catalogued booklets and pamphlets dating from as far back as the early twentieth century. Many of these were printed by the early Ukrainian publishing houses in Winnipeg. There was also some important material published in the 1930s in Saskatoon by the UNF when its newspaper Novyi shliakh (The New Pathway) was published there. That paper moved to Winnipeg during the war, and many years later was transferred to Toronto.

With regard to newspapers and other periodicals, the TULA Library was very rich, but the papers were mostly unbound and the runs incomplete. There were many Ukrainian language
papers from across Canada such as Toronto’s Novyi shliakh, Winnipeg’s Ukrainskyi holos (The Ukrainian Voice), Toronto’s Vilna Ukraina (Free Ukraine), and Edmonton’s Ukrainski visti (The Ukrainian News), and a few Ukrainian papers from the United States such as Jersey City’s Svoboda (Liberty). There was even a large run of one Ukrainian paper from Argentina. Unsurprisingly, there were no pro-Communist papers, few left-wing democratic papers (such as Narodna volia (The People’s Will) from Scranton, Pennsylvania), and even fewer Soviet periodicals and newspapers. However, I did notice a few copies of Ilko Bershchak’s Ukraina magazine from Paris. Those issues dated to the late 1940s and early 1950s. The absence of a general catalog makes this part of the collection equally hard to evaluate.

Title Page and decorative motif from the first volume of Taras Shevchenko’s Tvory v trokh tomakh [Works on Three Volumes] (Kiev: Vyd. Khudozna literatura, 1963). Made possible by the Khrushchev “thaw,” and complementing a six volume academic edition appearing in the same year, this edition was probably the most popular, and most luxurious edition of Shevchenko’s collective works to appear in the USSR to that date. The first volume contained his poetry, the second his dramatic works and stories, and the third his diary and a selection of his letters. This edition was annotated and illustrated in colour. The TULA Library in Toronto held a few good quality copies of this set, one of which was used for the illustrations reproduced here.
Finally, some mention should be made of TULAs Soviet Ukrainian collection. It was smaller than the non-Soviet parts, but still substantial and of very high quality. That was most likely because the donors, being mostly refugees from Communist rule, were very selective of the type of Soviet materials that they liked and collected. So those best represented were the Soviet publications, which had appeared during the periods of “thaw” in Soviet history, as for example, during the Khrushchev Thaw, or the “Shelest Renaissance” of the 1960s, when Ukrainian national life re-awoke after the severe repressions of earlier years.

Consequently, the best and most attractive editions of Shevchenko’s *Kobzar* (The Blind Minstrel) or collection of poetry, the fullest editions of Ivan Franko’s works, or those of Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, Mykhailo Starytsky, Ahatanhel Krymsky, and so many others were all present, some in multiple copies. There were also some very attractive atlases and art books, luxurious editions of the great (ostensibly) medieval poem *Slovo o polku Ihore* (The Lay of Igor), books about the great Church of Saint Sophia in Kiev, and individual Ukrainian artists and illustrators. There were full editions in multiple copies of the multi-volume *Istoriiia ukrainskoho mystetstva* (The History of Ukrainian Art), the first edition in seventeen volumes of the *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia), and several other great collective works.

Cover Design of Stepan Rudnytsky, *Chomu my khochemo samostiinoi Ukrainy* [Why We Want an Independent Ukraine] (Lviv: Svit 1994). Stepan Rudnytsky (1877-1937) was the first great modern geographer of Ukraine, and this book is a collection of his major works outlining some important points of Ukrainian geography. He moved to Soviet Ukraine during the reform period of the 1920s, but was arrested after the rise of Stalin and died in the GULAG. This cover design shows the arms of several Ukrainian provinces and cities, including Kiev’s Archangel Michael (top centre), the Podolian sun disk (top right), the Crimean Tatar inverted and squared “W” on a blue field (bottom), a Zaporozhian musketeer (bottom right), a Galician Jackdaw, and the Lion of Lviv (both towards the bottom). At the centre is a Golden Ukrainian Trident on a blue field. This book is an example of the most recent type of acquisition in the TULA Library.

With regard to sets of émigré books, the fourteen volume edition of Shevchenko’s works edited by Pavlo Zaitsev in Poland in the Interwar period, but reprinted in the United States in the 1950s, as also the ten volume edition of Mykahilo Hrushevsky’s great history printed in New York at about the same time were present in multiple copies. So too was Leonid Biletsky’s four volume edition of the *Kobzar* published in Winnipeg in the 1950s, and some of the various works of the historian Viacheslav Lypynsky. In 1990, Mykytczuk reported that the library had a collection of over 6,000 books and 138 newspaper titles, and about this time, the library association had a membership of 120. Seemingly at an increasing rate, books continued to flow in for the next twenty-five years and more.

Finally, it is important to stress that the TULA was unique among private Ukrainian libraries in Canada is so far as it was the only library that was not affiliated with any particular Ukrainian political or religious association. It was founded by librarians and book lovers alone,
was completely independent of all other Ukrainian cultural organizations, and was open to all.
And the personal dedication of the Library’s founder, Karpo Mykytczuk, cannot be overstressed.
For many long years, he alone quietly saw to the library, patiently organized its collections,
and humbly looked after its premises. He was a shining example of a bibliophile at his best.
In 1997, his son, Ihor Mykytczuk, became the TULA Director and fulfilled its mandate to 2018.

Of course, as is very well known, the general weakness of Ukrainian libraries in Canada
was, and still is, in nineteenth century and earlier imprints, and this was a characteristic of the
TULA Library as well. This is not surprising, given the fact that all of these libraries were
twentieth century creations. Moreover, almost all private Ukrainian libraries in Canada continue
to suffer from certain ideological limitations. So the nationalist libraries and the non-Communist
libraries generally do not systematically collect materials on their pro-Communist rivals, and the
Labour Temple organizations ignore the nationalists and other non-Communists. Obviously, to
write a full history of the Ukrainian Canadians both types of sources would have to be considered.

Left: Zinaida Tulub, Liudolovy: Istorychnyi roman [The Manhunters: A Historical Novel], vol. II (Kiev: Derzhavne vyd. Khudozhnoi literatury, 1958) was an important fictional work of the 1950s, which described Tatar Slave Raiding on Ukrainian territories in early modern times (from about the 1450s to about the 1750s), and the efforts of the Cossacks to defend the local Ukrainian population against them. The illustration on the title page shows a Cossack liberating grateful captives. I had first heard of this novel in the first years of the twenty-first century from Professor Bohdan Budurowycz of the University of Toronto’s Slavic Department at a time when I was working on this subject as a historical problem. It was a tolerated topic for writers under Soviet rule since it did not question ties with Russia or irritate readers in the USSR ally, the People’s Republic of Poland. But it reinforced a negative stereotype of the Crimean Tatars, whom Stalin had cruelly deported to Central Asia in 1944, and who again suffered ill-treatment at the hands of Vladimir Putin after 2014. Courtesy of the TULA Library, Toronto.
In addition to its large collection of Ukrainian language imprints, the TULA Library also held a number of imprints in Polish and German on Ukrainian topics. Shown here are two historic titles: Left: Z dziejów Ukrainy: Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Włodzimierza Antonowicza, Paulina Święcickiego i Tadeusza Ryłskiego [Ukrainian History: A Book in Honour of Wlodzimierz Antonowicz, Paul Swiecicki, and Tadeusz Rylski], ed. Waclaw Lipiński (Kiev: no publisher, 1912). Right: Borys Krupnyckyj, Geschichte der Ukraine [A History of Ukraine], 2nd revised ed. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1943). The former title in Polish honoured a group of pre-Revolution Polish noble landowners in Right Bank Ukraine, who sympathized with the Ukrainian peasantry and eventually went over to the Ukrainian national movement, and the latter was a general history of Ukraine published in Germany during the Second World War, when Ukraine was a hot topic of geopolitical discussion in Europe. Antonovych and Lypynsky (Ukrainian spellings) became famous Ukrainian historians, and the sons of both Antonovych and Ryłsky contributed to Ukrainian drama and Ukrainian poetry respectively. As to Krupnyckyj, his book had to tow the line under the Nazi censors, but those censors were never as restrictive as the ones endured by his historian colleagues in the USSR, even during periods of relative political “thaw.”

The crisis in Ukrainian librarianship in Canada presently seen with regard to the Oseredok Library in Winnipeg, the UNF library in Toronto, and especially the TULA Library in Toronto, was long in coming and is of course very difficult to resolve. Although the University of Toronto Library Program is still training a significant number of skilled librarians, who can deal with Ukrainian materials, in other respects manpower, expertise, and especially money to pay for all this are lacking. Moreover, it should be stressed that both the non-Communist community libraries and those of the pro-Communist Labour Temples face exactly the same problems. Simply packing all of this material in boxes and sending it off to Ukraine is one solution. But it has some serious problems. Much Ukrainian Canadiiana and émigré Ukrainian political and cultural history most certainly would be lost in the process. Once such matter leaves Canada, it would be very difficult to monitor and ensure the preservation and proper use of such materials. And, very importantly, political and other difficulties and unforeseen changes could eventually endanger such materials in a Ukraine that is still relatively unstable, as is shown in the case of any materials that may have already been sent to the Crimea.

Moreover, given the present rate of technological change, books and booklets are today becoming more and more “artifacts” as well as simply an older form of media. As such, they are sometimes just as valuable as are old paintings, sculptures, shards of ancient pottery, or antique manuscripts. Although certain old books might appear to the layman to be simply shabby and dusty remnants of a by-gone era, unworthy of attention, they might also be such “artifacts,” modern works of art, testimonials of that same by-gone age, but desired by specialized museums or private collectors, who know their true worth.

Perhaps what is truly needed today is some organized effort to gather together and preserve as much of this varied material as possible before the opportunity completely
disappears. But that is asking rather a lot. Some of this material, but not all, can be passed on to university libraries, and some of it might be digitalized.

In the meantime, trusted, known, and interested scholars, literary figures, librarians, and collectors, who know how to evaluate, use, and respectfully treat printed books, should be encouraged to preserve what they can in their own collections and libraries here in Canada, and in this way, much of the cultural heritage of Ukrainian Canada might be preserved for future generations. In my own time, I have witnessed several scholars and cultural activists take great care in seeing that their private libraries were passed on to institutions and people who would also care for them. So the prominent literary scholar, George Luckyj passed on much of his personal library to various of his students and to younger colleagues such as myself; the bibliographer Bohdan Budurowycz passed on the best gems in his library to the University of Toronto, and the bulk of the historian Orest Subtelny’s extensive library (thanks to the care of his wife, Maria) was passed on to a number of different scholars and institutions who would later use them, again, including myself. Karpo Mykytczuk and his colleagues and successors, in particular his son Ihor, made arrangements with the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Canada and in Ukraine. Indeed, even the cultured Ukrainian Canadian Communist activist, Petro Krawchuk, made sure to donate some of the most interesting articles in his large Ukrainian library to the University of Toronto.

This preservation task, of course, is an enormous one, and though we may often feel rather small in tackling it, and unworthy of really appreciating the achievements of our illustrious predecessors, we should always remember that we are indeed like dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants, and as such, we can see farther than they. The trick is simply to hold on firmly and keep our eyes wide open.

Left: Logo of the Ukrainian Bookstore, Winnipeg, Manitoba (1918). Winnipeg was the major centre of Ukrainian publishing in Canada until about the 1970s, when it was overtaken by Toronto and Edmonton. Right: Laurel wreath with feather pen and painter’s brush (Kiev, 1964), symbolic of Taras Shevchenko, who was both a poet and a painter.

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