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For King, not Tsar: Identifying Ukrainians in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1918

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Canadian-born men, followed by those born in the British Isles, made up the bulk of the 620,000 men who enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) during the First World War. Many Americans, perhaps 20,000 to 30,000 or more, enlisted in Canada or were recruited in the USA. Men holding Russian passports became the next most numerous group in the CEF, as recent immigrants from the vast Russian Empire joined up. How many of these were ethnic Ukrainians, born in Ukrainian regions of the Tsarist Empire? And how many ethnic Ukrainians born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, even though it was one of the enemy Central Powers, were allowed into the Canadian army?[1]

The question of how many Ukrainians served in the CEF has been asked since the 1920s, but no scholarly study has ever provided the answer, and few published sources can be found. A first estimate put the number at 20,000.[2] Another figure of 12,000 to 15,000 was proposed.[3] A much lower figure of 2,000 was mentioned.[4] More recently, 10,000 has been offered.[5] Up to 6,000 has been suggested.[6]

The only book to deal with the subject is *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars* (1983).[7] Its author, Professor Vladimir Kaye, passed away in 1976 and his research was posthumously edited by John Gregorovich. Sub-titled "Volume 1," there have been no subsequent volumes.[8]

Kaye's book does not propose a final reckoning of Ukrainians in the CEF, although he claims that "nearly ninety per cent of the 'Russians' who joined the Canadian Armed Forces between 1914 and 1918 were natives of Ukrainian provinces," without giving a source for this assertion.[9] His inquiries were based on archival documentation he examined during his career as an academic and civil servant, but his survey was by no means complete, thorough or accurate. For example, Kaye compiled an honour roll of 393 men who died during the Great War that he identified as ethnic Ukrainian. Unfortunately, his results are flawed, as further examination reveals some 18 percent of the casualties cited by Kaye were actually from Canada, Britain, Serbia, Montenegro, Japan, and other countries, with surnames that were misinterpreted as Ukrainian. Amongst others, the names Ban, Brabyn, Charnock, Dubie, Holdich, Kolesar, Kuryn, Latta, Luckasevitch, Marzo, Milatovich, Mochrie, Pashley, Sabiston, Skakun, Syslak, Twerdun, and Wrennick were recognized as Ukrainian-born,[10] when in fact they are not.

Nevertheless, Kaye's work is seminal and serves as an introduction to the topic. His focus was on the Canadian Corps, but other organizations outside the corps, such as the Ruthenian Forestry Company, the Canadian Forestry Corps, and the Siberian Expeditionary Force, all deserve detailed study to more accurately discover participation by ethnic Ukrainians.

The simple response to the question of how many Ukrainians from the Tsarist or Austro-Hungarian empires served in the CEF is that we

will never know precisely, but the figure is likely about 3,000 to 4,000. The number is based on an extrapolation from a database, compiled by the author from many sources, of some 6,000 men from Slavic areas of Europe. The estimated figure for Ukrainian participation compares to figures compiled by the Department of National Defence (DND) for racial groups: "3,500 Aboriginals, 1,000 blacks and 600 Japanese Canadians."[11] Lamentably, DND has not compiled figures for other groups.

The reasons for the imprecise answer concerning Ukrainian recruits are numerous, and any study of enlistment or conscription by any ethnic or racial group will face many of the same issues. First and foremost, no form contained a question that specified race or ethnicity. In isolated examples, some notations were made, but these are very infrequent. Forms, moreover, changed over the years, sometimes leaving out vital biographical fields. Records were, of course, completed by hand or with the aid of typewriters and carbon copy paper, and any additional copies had similarly to be manually produced, thereby multiplying the possibilities of errors being introduced. Record-keeping during the early years of the CEF was often sloppy, and quality varied greatly from unit to unit.

The intention of the authorities was to issue an enlisting man with a unique regimental number that would follow him through his military career as a distinctive identifier. There were no central data processing systems to check the accuracy of names and regimental numbers. Men were allowed to enlist more than once (if rejected the first time during training for example) and sometimes received different regimental numbers or were re-entered with variations of their names. Men with strong Russian (or possibly Ukrainian) accents or speaking no English at all were allowed to enlist, leading to much confusion over names and addresses as recruiting clerks puzzled to understand what they were hearing.[12] The transliteration of Cyrillic documents into English was challenging and there were many errors. Mistakes of transliteration in documents from a man's original immigration to Canada were perpetuated.

While proof of identification such as a Russian passport or Canadian naturalisation papers were required by regulation, in many cases the man's word was accepted as to place of birth and other key information. Men lied about their vital details, such as place of birth and next-of-kin address. The reasons, amongst other possibilities, were to create a new identity, to flee debt or criminal charges in the old country, or to avoid the Tsar's military draft. (It should be noted that it was easier for Canadians and Britons to tell untruths, as they were not required to produce any documentation of any kind.)

Many men were illiterate in Russian, and many more uneducated in spoken and written English, so they could not verify that what had been written or typewritten about them was in any way accurate or even close to being accurate.[13] The vast majority of CEF recruiting clerks, non-commissioned officers, and officers knew very little about Russian postal addresses, geography, language, or religion. To them, if they were hearing gibberish, what else could do they do but record the nonsense as best they could. Some men's surnames and, more commonly, forenames were Anglicized, often without their consent or knowledge. Conversely, no doubt some men wanted to "fit in" in their new land and so Wasili became Bill and Melnyk became Miller.[14]

The Russian Empire was much larger than in today's world, and thus ethnic Finns, ethnic Germans, and western Europeans born in Russia were noted as Russian, along with men from what are now Ukraine (Little Russia), Belarus (Byelorussia, White Russia), Moldova (Bessarabia), Romania, Poland, Georgia, and the Baltic States. Even if a man or group of men spoke Ukrainian as they enlisted, it would have been recognized as Russian. No firm evidence has been found of the Ukrainian (or "Ruthenian") language being spoken in the CEF.

To prove a total Ukrainian enlistment of 3,000 to 4,000 a present-day researcher must first examine the available military service records held by Library and Archives Canada (LAC). Analysis of such records quickly presents numerous challenges in deducing if a man was indeed an ethnic Ukrainian.

The initial form completed upon recruitment was the attestation paper, form "M.F.W. 23." Resembling very closely its British army

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counterpart, the attestation form was double-sided, with the front collecting biographical details, and the rear physical and medical information. The attestation paper was completed by a recruiting clerk, non-commissioned officer, or officer. Infrequently the enlisting soldier filled parts of the form himself.

Firstly, the man was asked for his name. This led in more than several cases to placing surname as forename and vice versa.[15] Even when the modified attestation paper which differentiated between surname and Christian names was introduced, the reversal of names continued. The name question created the first challenge for the recruiting clerk – transliteration and spelling. Many thought-provoking attempts at Slavic names are found. If the man did not have documents in English with his name in the Latin alphabet, the recruiting clerk would do his best to write down what the man was saying. This led to common errors of substituting "g" for "h", "v" for "w", "ff" for "v," etc. If the man was shown the paper, unfamiliarity with the Latin alphabet or simple illiteracy prevented him from correcting obvious or slight mistakes.

Secondly, the man was asked: "In what Town, Township or Parish, and in what country were you born?" Here results vary greatly, almost fantastically. Often a village name followed by "Russia" is found; sometimes simply the word "Russia." The words "Ukraine" or "Ruthenia" have been found only six times.[16] Sometimes, particularly in the later years and for the conscripted men, "Austria," "Galicia," and "Bukovina" are noted. In many cases, quite accurate mailing addresses consisting of *Gubernia* (province), *Uezd* (district), *Volost* (county), and *Selo* (village) are present. Often, however, the order is mixed up. As with surnames and Christian names, spellings are often jumbled resulting in confusing and sometimes untraceable locations.

Thirdly, the man was asked about his next-of-kin's name, address, and in later forms, relationship to the man. Once again, the data

found can be straight-forward or puzzling, very complete or simply the one word "Russia." In the words of one authority, "Between [Canadian] and western European ignorance of the geography of eastern Europe, most immigrants' illiteracy and sketchy information on the administrative

Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG 150, Acc.1992-93/166, Box 76-36

Amongst the early attestation papers completed at Valcartier, Meke Alex's form has the later notation "Died" at the top.

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LAC RG 150, Acc. 1992-93/166, Box 5248 - 29
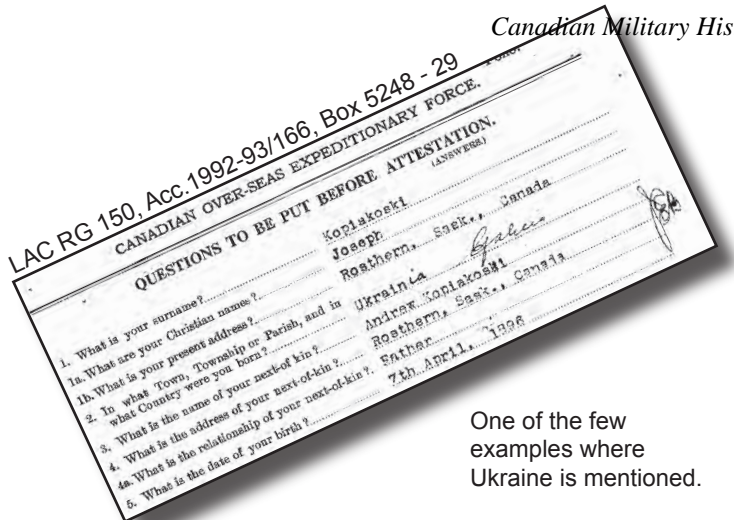
One of the few examples where Ukraine is mentioned.

(Denomination to be stated.)" It was easiest for the recruiting clerk or medical officer interviewing the Russian man to circle or check "Roman Catholic," and hundreds of such choices were made. Among recruits from the Russian Empire, of course, Roman Catholic should only have applied to the comparatively few Poles who enlisted.

The inscribing of "Greek Catholic" beside "Other" was completed many hundreds of times. Yet, as has been explained by an historian of immigration, this was an error: "Since the real Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church had been abolished in Dnieper Ukraine in 1839, these most probably were misnomers caused by the confusing terminology used by the Russian Orthodox Church, whose official name was 'the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church' (*katholikos* mean[ing] 'universal' in Greek)."[18] It is easy to imagine a confused clerk or officer listening to a potential soldier trying to identify his church and picking out the words "*greko-katolicheskaia*" as the easiest to understand. Thus, many men noted as Greek Catholic were actually Russian Orthodox. Of course, many men of the Greek Catholic faith were recorded accurately.[19]
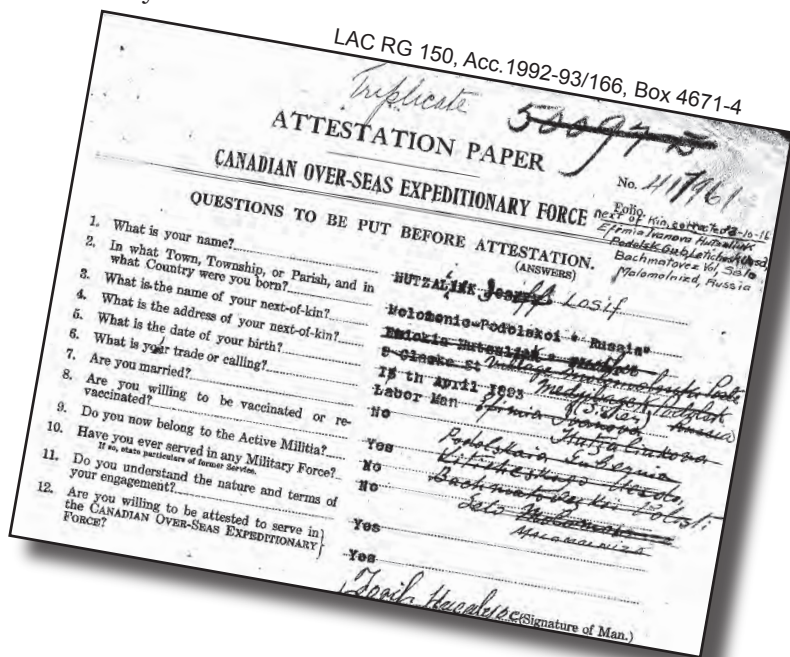
details of where they had lived, the problems both had pronouncing and spelling eastern European names comprehensibly, and some immigrants' desire not to be too terribly forthcoming about where they came from, it's no wonder these place names often underwent hopeless distortion."[17]

Next on the attestation form came questions about the enlistee's trade, marital status, and former military service, followed by two places for the recruit to sign his name, the Declaration and the Oath to the King. The signatures on the forms examined can be categorized as one of four types: those using the Latin alphabet, those using the Cyrillic alphabet, those inscribing an "X" mark, or those that were a forgery. In signatures using the Latin alphabet one can see that the man signed his name as best he knew it, but that it often differed from the clerk's printed rendition of the name a few fields above. In the case of signatures in Cyrillic, one can see that the man signed his name accurately, but again this can differ from the clerk's deductions in the previous fields. The "his X mark" signature was not restricted of course to Ukrainian and other Slavs enlisting in the CEF. Many Canadians and British-born soldiers were incapable of signing their name. The last category of forgeries is uncommon but there are several examples. It was very rare for a Canadian or British man to fill out his own attestation, and even rarer for a Slav to do so. A forgery is here defined as where the handwriting of the data fields is identical to the handwriting of the signature.

The obverse of the attestation paper contains one vital clue as to ethnic origin, the section marked "Religious denominations." The choices offered were: "Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist or Congregationalist, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Other denominations

LAC RG 150, Acc. 1992-93/166, Box 4671-4

Various clerks and officers have tried to record an accurate next-of-kin address for the man recorded in the LAC database as Joseph Hutzalink.

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"Russian Orthodox" is found in hundreds of examples, which would be expected for immigrants from the Russian Empire. Some other answers to the denomination question are "Russian," "Greek," "Orthodox," "Greek Church," and "Greek Orthodox." A few bizarre suggestions are made: "Slavish," "Austrian," "Church of Russia," and even "Oxtorduck."[20]

Certainly, the confusion over the correct name of the church in North America predates the First World War. First wave settlers in northern Alberta waged a lengthy legal battle in the early 1900s that reached the Canadian Supreme Court and the King's Privy Council in London, trying to decide which group owned a church, those loyal (to a degree) to the Pope, or those loyal to the Tsar.[21] No doubt many Russian men, newly-arrived in Canada, found it difficult to specifically describe their church.

Men who were drafted under the Military Service Act (MSA) of 1917 had their biographical details entered onto the one-page "Particulars of Recruit," form "M.F.W. 133." All the same issues and problems found on the attestation papers are here as well. It is interesting that many men who were conscripted indicated their place of birth as Galicia or Austria. Early in the war such men would have been declared Enemy Aliens and forced to register as such or even been interned. But by 1917 and 1918 because of the MSA, Galicians and Bukovinians would have an opportunity, either voluntarily or against their will, to be conscripted.

There are some 800,000 images of scanned attestation and Military Service Act enlistment papers available online at LAC.[22] Still, not all attestations are available online.

Another fruitful source for determining the ethnic origins of soldiers are the nominal rolls, also commonly known as embarkation or shipping lists. The CEF consisted of 260 sequentially numbered infantry battalions, plus scores of smaller units. Post-war, a list was composed for each element that left Canada. These lists had an entry for each officer, non-commissioned officer, and man that sailed in a troopship for England, consisting of "Name," "Name of Next of Kin," "Address of Next of Kin," and "Country of Birth," along with other details.

In most cases, the data is repeated from the attestation paper information, but for some men new data is introduced. Country is always given as "Russia" – Ruthenia, Galicia, Bukovina, or Ukraine are not found – and the same jumble of recognizable and unfathomable addresses is present. Often the address differs from that given on the attestation paper.

The 38th Battalion's Nominal Roll shows Aron and John Riy, either brothers or cousins.

The nominal rolls are not available online and thus must be examined in person. The rolls have been duplicated many times by military and genealogical researchers, but except for LAC, there does not seem to be one central repository for these copies. As an aside, the rolls only indicate which unit the soldier was with when he arrived in England. As transfers to other units were very common for all soldiers, there is no way to determine from the rolls which unit the man may have served with in France or Flanders.

A complete service record file for each member of the CEF is held by LAC, although these are not available online. "The personnel files…can consist of up to two or three dozen forms, dealing with enlistment, training, medical and dental history, hospitalization, discipline, pay, and discharge or notification of death. A copy of the Attestation paper or Military Service Act Enlistment form is invariably present on the file."[23] The size of the service record file can range from ten to 20 pages to many scores of pages. There may be more accurately recorded places of birth or next of kin addresses in these files, but, as in the attestation records, these are often mangled.

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LAC PA 6733

One of the most famous Ukrainian-Canadians of the First World War was Filip Konowal. He was born in the village of Kudkiv, Ukraine in 1887 or 1888. After serving in the Russian Imperial Army, Konowal emigrated to Canada in 1913 eventually settling in Ontario in the Ottawa Valley. He enlisted in the CEF in 1915 and by 1917 he was a corporal in the 47th Battalion. He distinguished himself at the Battle of Hill 70 in August 1917. For his actions he was awarded the Victoria Cross. The citation reads as follows:

No. 144039 A./Cpl. Filip Konowal, Can. Inf.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership when in charge of a section in attack. His section had the difficult task of mopping up cellars, craters and machine-gun emplacements. Under his able direction all resistance was overcome successfully, and heavy casualties inflicted on the enemy. In one cellar he himself bayonetted three enemy and attacked single-handed seven others in a crater, killing them all.

On reaching the objective, a machine-gun was holding up the right flank, causing many casualties. Cpl. Konowal rushed forward and entered the emplacement, killed the crew, and brought the gun back to our lines.

The next day he again attacked singlehanded another machine-gun emplacement, killed three of the crew, and destroyed the gun and emplacement with explosives.

This non-commissioned officer alone killed at least sixteen of the enemy, and during the two days' actual fighting carried on continuously his good work until severely wounded.

Supplement to the *London Gazette*, 26 November 1917.

For more information, see "Filip Konowal, VC: The Rebirth of a Canadian Hero," by Ron Sorobey, *Canadian Military History*, Autumn 1996, pp.44-56.

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The war diaries kept by each unit of the CEF and now available online at LAC are another important source. Written by a junior officer, the quality of each diary varies greatly. "One may find a detailed account of a battalion's involvement in a battle, a description of training exercises, or simply a sentence describing the weather."[24] Very occasionally lower ranking soldiers are mentioned by name, and some of these are potentially of Ukrainian ethnicity.

The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) and the Canadian Virtual War Memorial (CVWM) both offer online databases searchable chiefly by name.[25] CWGC's Debt of Honour Register lists almost two million names of Commonwealth personnel who died in the two World Wars. Veterans Affairs Canada's CVWM hosts a subset of CWGC's data augmented by further information on the 116,000 personnel who have died since the Nile Expedition of 1884-85 in Canadian military service. Bits of biographical information about a man and his next of kin can be located in both databases that are not found anywhere else. Occasionally the next-of-kin addresses (if provided) offer alternative spellings or are more complete than in other sources.

The last major source of information is also managed by LAC. The Likacheff-Ragosine-Mathers (Li-Ra-Ma) collection of Russian Consulate documents is useful for the study of many aspects of Russian immigration into Canada. Documents from the Montréal, Vancouver, and Halifax offices have been preserved on microfilm, and some are available online, particularly the 11,400 Passport and Identify Papers files. The Passport and Identify Papers contain one of the most accurate sets of the names and next of kin addresses available for Russian men. The original documents were submitted to the consular offices in the years 1898-1922, and later transliterated by LAC staff, following a recognized standard. The challenge here is matching the Li-Ra-Ma documents to CEF documents. In many cases, men from Ukrainian regions never had any contact with the Russian consuls, and thus no correlation can be found.

Other documents in the Li-Ra-Ma collection include some lists made at different times during

the war of Russian men in the CEF. Unfortunately, there is no differentiation made between the various ethnic Slavs as to place of birth. The Li-Ra-Ma collection microfilms can be ordered through inter-library loan. Many documents are handwritten in early 20th century Russian in varying levels of penmanship and thus patience is required for effective translation.

A virtually untapped resource is period newspapers. Much useful information can be found by sifting through eye-straining pages of microfilmed or occasionally original pages, looking for keywords, like Russia, Ruthenia, or common Ukrainian names. Some newspapers like the Toronto *Star* and The Calgary *Daily Herald* have made their archives available online, but the research is tedious and can be costly.[26] Archives of Russian and Ukrainian language newspapers published in Canada can be found, but knowledge of these languages is required to peruse the material.

A potentially rich resource may be the provincial, city, and town archives from areas with strong Ukrainian communities.

The author has assembled a database of some 6,000 men who served in the CEF with names apparently of Ukrainian, Belarusan, Bessarabian, Polish, and Russian origin. Examination of attestation or MSA papers has been completed for over 1,000 of them. Complete service record files have been examined for fewer than 50.

Many Ukrainian surnames can resemble Bessarabian, Romanian, Polish, Belarusan, and Serbian family names as well as the family names of some other nationalities. Similarly, many Christian names are not uniquely Ukrainian. However, by analyzing surname, forename, and place of birth or next of kin address, inferences can be made about whether a man was of Ukrainian ethnicity.

It is important to remember that for many new immigrants from Russia in the first two decades of the 20th century, suppression of language and religion by Tsarist authorities could have led to the loss of ethnic identity. This raises the interesting question as to whether a man who was raised Russian, worshipped in the Russian Orthodox Church, and carried a Russian passport, would have even considered himself Ruthenian or Ukrainian. Of course, many did feel they were Ukrainian, particularly men from the western regions that fell in the Austro-Hungarian Empire where the Ukrainian language and Greek Catholic religion had not been as heavily suppressed.

However, the majority of men who enlisted were from the eastern regions of what is now Ukraine.[27] The *gubernias* of Podolia, Volhynia, and Kiev supplied the most soldiers. Surrounding *gubernias* like Grodno, Minsk, and Bessarabia provided more men than did Galicia or Bukovina. Independent research by Professor Vadim Kukushkin of the University of Alberta has identified a heretofore largely unknown influx of young, single men from the Russian Empire who immigrated into Canada in 1910-14. These men were "sojourners," intent on making money to send home or keep for their own return to Russia.[28] The First World War interrupted their efforts, and some enlisted, especially those affected by the results of the 1914 depression, attracted by the comparatively high wages of $33 a month offered by the army. Others found jobs in industries that supported the war effort. The author's research confirms that the geographic origins of the soldiers corresponds with Kukushkin's findings that Right-Bank Ukraine and Byelorussia provided most of the immigration in 1910-14.[29]

The city of Kamenets-Podolsky (now Kamianets-Podilskyi) features strongly in the attestation papers and nominal rolls as a place of birth and address of next of kin. For some reason, hundreds of men from the city and surrounding *gubernia* of Podolia enlisted. This occurrence is recognized in the immigration patterns identified by Kukushkin.[30] But another possible reason could be Austrian Galicians and Bukovinians, who, when asked by the recruiting clerk what part of Russia they were from, seized on the name of the closest Russian region. No doubt some individuals with Austrian passports crossed the border into Russia from time to time for weddings, trade, or work purposes, or heard tales about Kamenets-Podolsky from neighbours or itinerant salesmen who went back and forth. Maintaining a falsehood is always easiest when one has first hand knowledge of the "tale." If, upon enlisting into the CEF, they did not wish

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to reveal their Austrian status, it would have been easy to claim birth in Podolia or Kamenets-Podolsky. This theory remains only a suggestion, however, and can never be proven.

A project team led by Dr. Carney Matheson at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario has been researching a group of missing and presumed dead men since 2005. The background to the project began in October 2003 near Avion, France when pipeline construction work uncovered the co-mingled remains of two soldiers. "Bits of uniform and a cap badge, ammunition, grenades, rifle rounds and part of an entrenching tool all helped in the initial identification of the men as Canadians."[31] The Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence (DHH) began an investigation to attempt to identify the skeletal remains and the circumstances of death. Research at LAC pointed to 8 June 1917 when a large night attack took place against German trenches near Avion. Casualty figures were examined, and 38 men were killed in action or disappeared that rainy night, amongst them 16 men from the 49th (Edmonton) Battalion who were missing and presumed dead, including Steve Melnichuk.

Extrapolated physical measurements from the two sets of remains and age estimations narrowed the search down to nine possibilities, based on probable age and height. The genealogy team began to search for surviving

relatives of the nine men so that DNA samples could be obtained to be tested against the two sets of remains by the Paleo-DNA laboratory at Lakehead University.

Melnichuk's service records were examined. He had enlisted with the 194th Edmonton Highlanders in February 1916. He fit the profile of many Slavic soldiers in the CEF: young, single, a farmer. But some unusual details puzzled the genealogical researchers. He claimed to be born in Toronto, Ontario in 1894, and was noted as being a Greek Catholic. He gave his next of kin's address as simply "Kiev" or "Taroshanskobo Uzda Herassim Melnichuk Givolof Silo Chernoviski Russia."[32]

It is extremely unlikely that Melnichuk was born in Toronto. Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the late 19th century was chiefly to the Prairie provinces. Toronto was not a port of entry, but railroads from the east would have passed through it. Likely he transited through Toronto, after landing in Québec City or the Maritimes in 1910-14. He may have stopped and worked in central Canada before heading west. Perhaps Melnichuk remembered the city name as he made his way across the Dominion. Though it was possible that Melnichuk was born in Toronto to immigrants making their way to Alberta, a search of birth registries for Toronto, the 1901 Canadian Census, and the 1911 Alberta Census was unable to find him.

Why is Toronto listed as place of birth? Either he lied for his own reasons; the enlistment clerk could not understand him and "Taroshanskobo" mutated into Toronto; or he was coached by the recruiters or his comrades to say Toronto to eliminate the need for paperwork documenting his Russian birth. Especially in Edmonton, many obviously Russian men gave false places of origin. This may have reflected the unofficial recruiting practices of the regimental units looking for men in northern Alberta.

It is also unlikely that he was a land-owning farmer and far more likely that he was a farmhand or itinerant farm labourer. These young immigrants did not have the resources to buy land. His name does not appear in

Steve Melnichuk's Attestation form does not have a next of kin address.

the homestead records.[33] As discussed above, it is unlikely he was a Greek Catholic, but most likely worshipped in the Russian Orthodox faith.

So where was Melnichuk from, and where are his relatives? The short reference Kiev could refer to the modern city of Kyiv, or to the much larger *gubernia*. The longer reference was more confusing: "Taroshanskobo Uzda Herassim Melnichuk Givolof Silo Chernoviski Russia." Herassim Melnichuk was obviously a relative's name, mixed into the address. Was Melnichuk a Bukovinian, from Chernivtsi? But if he was from Bukovina, none of the other place names make geographic sense. A more likely conclusion was reached after closer handwriting analysis. Melnichuk came from the "selo (silo) Chelnovitsa in Givotov (Zhyvotov) volost of Tarashansky (Tarashchansky ← Tarashcha) uezd of Kiev gubernia."[34] Attempts in that region to locate living relatives of Steve Melnichuk have been put on hold.

Recent developments in the Avion investigation have negated the Melnichuk search. The remains thought to have possibly been his, based on age and height, have been determined to be Private Herbert Peterson, after a DNA match by Lakehead University's Paleo DNA Laboratory was made to a living relative in western Canada. Herbert Peterson was indeed a member of the 49th Battalion when he was reported missing on 9 June 1917. His remains were laid to rest 90 years later in La Chaudière Military Cemetery near Vimy, France. [For the complete story, see the article "From Alberta to Avion: Private Herbert Peterson, 49th Battalion, CEF" by Ken Reynolds contained elsewhere in this issue of *CMH*.] The remains of the other soldier who died with Peterson are unlikely to be Steve Melnichuk because the probable age at death and the physical size that can be determined from the bones do not match what we know of Melnichuk. Still, the search for his relatives has highlighted some of the challenges facing genealogical and military researchers who study the men from Slavic areas who enlisted in the First World War.

Much is left to be done to provide a more precise estimation than 3,000 to 4,000 Ukrainians in the CEF. The complete military service records for the men who appear to be of Ukrainian ethnicity could be examined. The Li-Ra-Ma papers could be analyzed far more thoroughly. Newspapers and town archives may hold gems of information. Other governmental departments besides the military may hold information in their archives at LAC or the National Archives at Kew, England.

Descendants of Ukrainian men who fought for Canada should be located to offer family history of army experiences. The eyewitnesses are gone now and thus far we have only a few recorded anecdotes to imagine what it was like. "Our boys always tried to gather together in foxholes or trenches and there hummed the Ukrainian language and song. They were usually joined by intruding Muscovites and Poles, for the latter felt themselves more 'at home' among our boys, than among the English or French…. Usually friendly conversations went on about village life in various parts of Ukrainian lands – about the land, harvest, customs and such vital events as important holidays, religious feast days, weddings and evening parties."[35] It would be beneficial for further understanding of the Ukrainian experience in Canada to gather similar memories. Tales of gallantry and crime, heroism and cowardice, Bolshevism and patriotism, suffering and elation all remain to be discovered.

Notes

1. For the scope of this article, men born in Canada or the US to parents born in Europe of Ukrainian ethnicity will not be considered.
2. Dr. J.T.M. Anderson, Speech to Canadian Club, Ottawa, Ontario, 29 April 1922, *The Canadian Club Yearbook* 1922-23, p.9. Anderson had worked to ensure English was the language taught in public schools in Saskatchewan, especially in Ruthenian and Galician communities. He went on to become Premier of Saskatchewan in 1929-34, amongst claims of support by the Ku Klux Klan.
3. William Burianyk, "Ukrainian Canadians in the First World War," *IUvileinyi al'manakh dlia 50-littia pratsi "Ukrains'koho holosu", 1910-1960* [*Jubilee almanac in honour of 50 years of work by Ukrainian Voice, 1910-1960*], Winnipeg, Manitoba, translated by Daniel Huzyk, pp.114-117.
4. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* [Essays from a symposium held at the U of A in 1980] (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1983), p.5.

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5. Andrew Gregorovich, Speech at Toronto's Ukrainian Canadian Memorial Park on 9 November 2003, <www.infoukes.com/newpathway/Page446_2003.htm>, accessed 19 April 2004.

6. Lubomyr Luciuk, private email communication, 22 May 2004. It is not clear whether this or any of the above estimates included men of Ukrainian ethnicity born in Canada or the US.

7. V.J. Kaye [and J.B. Gregorovich ed.], *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars, Material for Ukrainian Canadian History, Volume 1* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1983).

8. Perhaps coverage of Ukrainians in the Second World War and the Korean War was intended for the second volume. For a discussion of the Second World War, see Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: the Ukrainian Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988).

9. Kaye, p.30.

10. Kaye, pp.106-125. To cite a few men, Ichyi Ban was born in Japan, Library & Archives Canada (LAC) Record Group (RG) 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 404 - 13; George Herbert Charnock was born in Lebret, SK, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 1647 – 39; George Kolesar was born in Niepawa, MB, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 5246 – 34; Thomas Keddie Latta was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, <www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/virtualmem/Detail&casualty=65607>; Marko Milatovich was born in Montenegro, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 6162 – 44; Peter Sabiston was born in Nanaimo, BC, <www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/virtualmem/Detail&casualty=196330>; Francis Phillip Syslak was born in Bergen, Norway, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 9479 – 56; and Tony Twerdun was born in Dauphin, MB, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 9856 – 3. There are 64 other examples.

11. Canadian Military History Gateway, <www.cmhg.gc.ca/cmh/en/page_648.asp>, accessed 20 June 2004. It is not stated what methodology was used to produce these numbers.

12. For example, Joe Mumchof (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 6479 – 1) "does not speak or understand English very well."

13. As one example of many, Jak Zaremba (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 10675 – 73) signed his name using the Cyrillic alphabet.

14. For example, Toras Slobodianik (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 8984 – 6) was also known as Tom or Barney Smith.

15. For example, Mowshook Dimitre (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 2522 – 25) should be Dimitri Mowshook.

16. For example, George Beyak (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 713 – 6) is noted as being from Ukraine, Austria; and Max Arsini (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 255 – 33) is from Ruthenia, Austria. Arsini also gives his religion as "Ruthenian."

17. William F. Hoffman, "Mutilation: the Fate of Eastern European Names in America," The Polish Genealogical Society of America, <www.pgsa.org/Mutilation.pdf>, nd., accessed 31 May 2007.

18. Vadim Kukushkin, "Ukrainian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 28, No. 1 (Summer 2003), p.23.

19. The fact that the chaplain chosen to minister to the Russians in the CEF was Russian Orthodox, rather than Greek Catholic, is significant in reappraising the religious makeup of the Ukrainian component. Reverend John Ovsianitzky served in England for almost two years. For more on this priest, see Kaye,pp. 59-69.

20. For example, Vasily Romanko (RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 8444 – 10) no doubt attempted to pronounce Orthodox, but the medical officer or clerk heard it as Oxtorduck.

21. Margaret Stobie, "Pope & Czar on the North Saskatchewan," *The Beaver: Exploring Canada's History*, April/May 1989 Vol. 69:2.

22. LAC <www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/cef/index-e.html>, accessed 12 December 2006.

23. LAC <www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/cef/001042-130-e.html#a>, accessed 13 April 2007.

24. LAC <www.collectionscanada.ca/02/02015201_e.html>, accessed 3 January 2007.

25. Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <www.cwgc.org/debt_of_honour.asp>; Canadian Virtual War Memorial, <www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/virtualmem>; accessed 3 March 2007.

26. Toronto *Star* <thestar.pagesofthepast.ca/>; Our Future, Our Past: The Alberta Heritage Digitization Project (AHDP), <www.ourfutureourpast.ca/home.htm>; accessed 10 June 2007.

27. Kaye, p.3, and confirmed by the author's and Kukushkin's simultaneous researches.

28. Vadmin Kukushkin, "Peasants on the Move: Early 20th Century Labour Migration from Russia's Western Frontier to Canada," (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 2004), p.208.

29. See also Vadim Kukushkin, "Protectors and Watchdogs: Tsarist Consular Supervision of Russian-Subject Immigrants in Canada, 1900-1922," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* Vol. XLIV, Nos. 3-4, September-December 2002, pp.209-232.

30. Kukushkin, "Ukrainian Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada: A Reappraisal," pp.10-11.

31. Bruce Campion-Smith, "DNA Solves Vimy Mystery," Toronto Star, <www.thestar.com/article/188012>, accessed 4 March 2007.

32. Janet Roy, Genealogical Coordinator, Thunder Bay, Ontario, private email communication, 5 February 2007.

33. *Ibid*.

34. *Ibid*.

35. Burianyk, p.117.

Peter Broznitsky has been studying the rôle of Russian and Ukrainian men in the CEF since 2003, and a book is planned for release in late 2009. His other military interests include British Columbian battalions of the CEF. He moderates the CEF Study Group Forum <www.cefresearch.com> from his home in Ladner, BC, where he resides with his wife and son.

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