The “Foreigners” from Broad Street: The Ukrainian Sojourners from Ottawa who Fought for Canada in the First World War

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This article uses archival documents to create a group portrait of fifty-five sojourners from the Russian Empire who volunteered to fight for Canada in the First World War. It critically analyses the ethnic complexity of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) and its relationship to Canadian civilian society by tracing the men’s pre-war membership in Ottawa’s all but invisible Eastern European proletariat, through their wartime service in which one was awarded the Victoria Cross and two were sentenced to death for cowardice. It concludes by demonstrating how serving in the CEF helped to transform many of the men into immigrants. A methodology is described that can identify other unofficial groups of men who joined-up together, which has the potential to provide significant insights into how and why young men decided to fight and how the war reached into schools, workplaces and localities all across Canada.

À partir de documents d’archives, l’auteur crée un portrait de groupe : celui de 55 personnes de passage originales de l’Empire russe qui se sont portées volontaires afin de combattre pour le Canada lors de la Première Guerre mondiale. Il analyse de façon critique la complexité du Corps expéditionnaire canadien (CEF) sur le plan ethnique et ses rapports avec la société civile canadienne; à cette fin, il rend compte de l’appartenance des hommes, avant la guerre, au quasi invisible prolétariat d’Europe de l’Est à Ottawa et les suit tout au long de leur service en temps de guerre, service au cours duquel l’un a obtenu la Croix de Victoria et deux ont été condamnés à mort pour lâcheté. Il conclut en montrant comment le fait de servir dans le CEC a contribué à transformer nombre de ces hommes en immigrants. L’auteur décrit une méthodologie qui permet d’identifier d’autres groupes non officiels d’hommes qui se sont engagés ensemble; celle-ci est susceptible de fournir d’importants moyens de comprendre comment et pourquoi de jeunes hommes ont décidé de combattre et comment la guerre a atteint les écoles, les lieux de travail et les localités d’un bout à l’autre du Canada.

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IN THE FIRST HALF of July 1915, 28 Ukrainian men entered an Ottawa recruiting station and volunteered for the 77th Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), the military body created to fight the First World War. They represented as much as 15 per cent of the city’s small Ukrainian community, whose members have left few documentary traces. The men would have remained invisible, except that in 1917 one of them, Filip Konowal, was awarded the Victoria Cross (VC), the highest decoration for valour in the British and Dominion forces. Press reports and interviews with Konowal hinted at his pre-war life and provided a starting point from which to trace the men with whom he attested and more than two dozen other Ukrainians who subsequently joined the battalion. The men had journeyed to Canada as temporary economic migrants, intent on accumulating capital with which to buy property back home. They almost certainly joined the CEF for economic reasons, though their treatment by military authorities, which was far more tolerant than the discrimination they had faced in civilian life, may have convinced many of them to stay in Canada after the war. The CEF’s response to these Ukrainian volunteers challenges conclusions about the experiences of Eastern European labourers in civilian and military life in early twentieth-century Canada.1

The majority of the CEF volunteers examined in this article were ethnically Ukrainian, but they were virtually always identified as Russians on military documents, by those with whom they served, and in the press. The term “Russian” emphasized that they were subjects of the Tsar and therefore allies, a critical distinction at a time when Ukrainians who hailed from areas within the Austro-Hungarian Empire were being monitored, arrested, and interned by Canadian authorities under the War Measures Act. We must be cautious about sources that record that the men spoke Russian, because it is unlikely that Canadians could distinguish between Slavic languages. Ukrainians would have spoken their own language amongst themselves, both before and during the war, and likely used their second-language proficiency in Russian as a lingua franca when communicating with men from disparate parts of the Empire. Here, I use the term “Ukrainian” to identify the men’s ethnicity and language, while the term “Russian” appears in quotation marks to reflect its usage in primary sources.

To explore the Great War’s local impact on Ottawa, this article traces how Ukrainian CEF volunteers collectively enlisted, the ways in which military authorities accommodated them, the limits of those measures, and how wearing a uniform altered the way in which they were perceived by the public.2

popularity of projects investigating the names on cenotaphs attests to the appetite for locally focused history. Though the men inscribed on a memorial may never have known one another, the commemorative act of listing their names together reflected the community’s perception of the soldiers and sense of loss.\textsuperscript{3} We know comparatively little about how small groups of friends, relatives, schoolmates, and workmates collectively volunteered. Individuals may have been motivated by patriotic ideals or a sense of adventure, but the company of people one knew probably provided important support and encouragement for carrying through decisions to enlist. The Ukrainians studied here were relatively easy to identify because of their uncommon surnames, while their status as an oppressed minority in pre-war Canada makes them an interesting case study.

Interviews with Konowal over the years contained clues about the men with whom he attested, though these leads have not been explored, in part because the personal, lived experience of war is notably obscured in writings about the almost 100 Canadians who have been awarded the VC. These heroes are identified primarily with the acts for which they were decorated and grouped with the other recipients of the VC. The award turned men into public figures and opened up significant post-war careers, though not for Konowal, a semi-literate unskilled labourer who benefited very marginally from his status as a hero. Recently, his heroism has been promoted to counterbalance the legacy of the wartime internment of Ukrainian-Canadians, which further abstracts his actual experience and associates him with a group of internees he may never have known. This article attempts to shift this perspective and uncover the story of the men with whom Konowal attested and served.

Konowal and his mates were among the huge wave of Ukrainians who came to Canada in the quarter century before the First World War. Approximately 170,000 Ukrainians lived in the country in 1914. Most were Austro-Hungarian subjects, though a minority came from Russian-controlled territories, where the abolition of serfdom, coupled with economic and political reforms, had caused the consolidation of family landholdings and the emergence of a cash economy that forced young people to seek employment in the empire’s urban centres and eventually overseas. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada settled on the Prairies, where the abundant and inexpensive land resembled their homeland. Few initially travelled to Ontario, though the 1911 census showed small communities in the province’s industrial towns where Eastern Europeans, who were overwhelmingly of peasant origin, undertook menial, dangerous, and ill-paid work that native-born Canadians and British immigrants refused to do.\textsuperscript{4}


\textsuperscript{4} Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, \textit{Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War} (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), p. vii; Stella Hriniuk, “Ukrainian Immigration to Ontario: An Overview,” \textit{Polyphony: Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of...
Families predominated in the West, but Ontario’s communities were mostly composed of sojourners, single men who had travelled east along informal networks of relatives, acquaintances, labour agents, and middlemen. They worked in mines and factories, on farms, and in the bush, remitting money to wives and parents back home or saving to bring out their families. The distinction is important because, as Robert Harney argues, “people who regard themselves as sojourners, regardless of how long they dwell in a host country, continue to think of the problems and needs of their home town as paramount.” He adds that “we should study [the sojourner] not just as an urban problem or a potentially assimilatable immigrant, but also in his own existential frame of reference.” Ukrainian sojourners were especially focused on accumulating enough capital to buy land back home, because owning a small plot conferred significant economic security and social status.

The first Ukrainians arrived in Ottawa in about 1904, and a decade later approximately 200 lived in the city of some 100,000 inhabitants. The civil service was already Ottawa’s largest employer, but the city’s industrial roots showed in 16 lumbering firms that employed armies of men who spent the winter in the bush felling trees and living in raucous bunkhouses that reeked of sweat and smoke. As the ice broke up in spring, huge rafts of timber were floated down the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers to the mills that clustered around the Chaudière Falls west of Parliament Hill. Many of those who had cut the trees spent the summer in the mills trimming them into lumber. The majority of Ottawa’s Ukrainians lived in the surrounding neighbourhoods of LeBreton Flats, Rochesterville, and Mechanicsville amid huge ziggurats of raw timber, neatly stacked milled lumber, railway yards, and noisy factories. Even if the area’s buildings were new thanks to a fire that had razed much of Ottawa in 1900, poverty was ever-present in an area one resident characterized as “the closest thing [the city] had to a slum.”

Men focused on accumulating capital moved frequently for work and gave little thought to creating strong community institutions, though by 1914 Ukrainian religious, social, and political organizations were evident in Ottawa. That summer, many of the city’s Ukrainians hoped that the looming Balkan war would be the Russian Empire’s downfall. The sentiment was echoed in a late-July pastoral letter from the Primate of Canada’s Ukrainian Orthodox Church, encouraging
men to fight with the Austro-Hungarian forces against Russia, the “insatiable enemy.” He retracted the letter within a few weeks, by which time Russia and Canada were allies, urging Ukrainians instead to fight for their adopted country. Canada’s two main Ukrainian-language newspapers similarly implored readers to join the CEF, as did Russian authorities after tentative efforts to repatriate men. There is no evidence of how such declarations influenced Konowal and his mates, though proclamations by religious, community and political leaders may have created a collective sense that Ukrainians should fight for Canada. Nonetheless, in 1914 many Canadians began thinking of these unassimilated men as enemy aliens. Several Ottawa Ukrainians were interned and others were monitored by the police. No matter which empire they hailed from, Ottawa’s Ukrainians were effectively stranded in a country where antipathy towards them was palpable. The men’s anxieties about their families and futures were compounded by the dramatic slump in the Canadian economy in 1913 that had left many unskilled workers unemployed and increasingly destitute.

For many Ukrainians, volunteering for the CEF would have had the dual attraction of contributing to the war and earning steady pay. Somewhere between 3,000 and 10,000 Ukrainians likely served with the CEF, mostly in units raised in Western Canada, reflecting the community’s geographical concentration. Historians have found it very difficult to identify an exact figure, in part because personal information on military documents was often recorded hastily and inconsistently, while men regularly lied to recruiters about their origins, ages, and marital status to be accepted. Recruiters were supposed to ensure that foreign volunteers produced documents that supported their claims of being subjects of an allied power, but they often simply accepted what was said on faith. In a pioneering study, Vladimir Kaye found that nearly 90 per cent of men identified as Russians by the CEF were actually Ukrainians, which suggests that these men had a keen understanding of how to navigate their identities in Canadian society. The deliberate decision to emphasize, however temporarily, their national identity as Russians over their ethnic one as Ukrainians would have pre-empted suspicions that they were enemy aliens.

Konowal and his mates volunteered for the 77th Battalion shortly after it was established in Ottawa in July 1915. Infantry battalions comprised of approximately 1,000 officers and men were the CEF’s basic building blocks. The 77th was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas Street, who ran the city’s electrical utility and commanded the Governor General’s Foot Guards, a unit in the part-time pre-

13 Kaye, Ukrainians in Canada’s Wars, pp. 14-16.
16 For 3,000, see Broznitsky, “For King Not Tsar,” pp. 21-23. For 10,000, see Frances Swyripa, “The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien” in Swyripa and Thompson, eds., Loyalties in Conflict, p. 58; and Kukushkin, From Peasants to Labourers, pp. 33-34, 45-46, 71.
17 Tim Cook, “‘He was Determined to Go:’ Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force,” Histoire sociale / Social History, vol. 41, no. 81 (May 2008), pp. 47-50.
18 Kaye, Ukrainians in Canada’s Wars, p. 30.
war militia that was both a defence force and an important middle-class club for socially and politically ambitious men. Like most militia officers, Street had never been to war, but he had served as an aide to the Governor General and led the Guards in important civic pageants. As befitted such a socially elevated regiment, the Minister of Militia and Defence, Sam Hughes, had dined in its officers’ mess on the night war was declared in August 1914. The following July, Street began recruiting in the capital and surrounding towns for a battalion that eventually wore a badge emblazoned with the word “Ottawa.”

Until conscription was introduced in 1917, men were encouraged to volunteer through appeals to patriotism, civic pride, masculine duty, and stories of German depravity that were delivered at public rallies, concerts, and parades. Recruiters also relied on a loose confederacy of local grandees, professional organizations, and patriotic societies that Paul Maroney termed the “recruiting establishment.” Lieutenant-Colonel Street cited special help from the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and the Ottawa Women’s Canadian Club, neither of which would likely have reached the city’s proletarian Ukrainian community. As both the head of Ottawa’s electrical utility and its pre-eminent militia unit, Street adopted another common tactic by convincing business leaders to allow recruiters into department stores, banks, railway and street-car companies, and lumber mills, the industry that employed Konowal and at least one of the men with whom he attested. Many of those who joined the battalion that summer lived in the same neighbourhoods as the Ukrainians, suggesting how heavily the battalion recruited from Ottawa’s industrial proletariat.

The economic arguments for volunteering must have been as compelling as the patriotic ones. The Ukrainians’ decision to enlist likely resembled that of Ottawa Valley lumberjack Frank Maheux, who earned $22 a month in the bush, but joined up when he realized that the CEF would pay him $1.10 per day and send his wife a $20 monthly separation allowance, to which the Canadian Patriotic Fund would add another $15. Recruiters extolled the financial benefits of military service, and their assurances that money would be transmitted to men’s families would have been a significant inducement for sojourners. The decision by Konowal and his mates to enlist, which seemed like an explicit declaration of allegiance to Canada, was likely driven by their focus on accumulating capital.

Joining the CEF also meant that Konowal and his mates were documented officially for the first time. In 1915, volunteers for the CEF went to a recruiting

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station where, as Desmond Morton describes, “an officer or sergeant sat at a folding table behind a stack of forms and copied down each man’s personal details” on an Attestation Paper, a legally binding commitment to serve containing twelve standardized questions, along with a basic physical description of the man, his religious affiliation, and signatures from the individual, the recruiting officer, a magistrate, and the battalion’s commanding officer. Volunteers were then given a perfunctory medical examination. In mid-1915, recruiters were under significant pressure to find men to meet Canada’s manpower commitments, so they often overlooked volunteers who were obviously unfit, elderly, or underage, knowing they would be discovered and dismissed later. The forms containing relatively consistent personal data generated in this process were among the first standardized documents produced by an emergent federal bureaucracy. They were also the first items placed in the individual’s service file, a record that physically followed him throughout the war, filling gradually with documents about training, illnesses and injuries, estates, pay, and routine administrative procedures.

Service files are invaluable tools for identifying the men with whom Konowal attested because, when the 77th Battalion was established, regimental numbers 144001 to 147000 were earmarked for its recruiters, who assigned them sequentially to individuals as they presented themselves at recruiting stations. Thereafter, a man’s regimental number was his principle identifier. After the war, the federal government used service files to provide ongoing benefits to individual veterans. In 1948, the newly created Department of Veterans’ Affairs began removing and destroying all information in the files that was not needed to substantiate claims for benefits as a pragmatic way of reducing the size of a collection of records that dwarfed anything else held by the federal government. By the time the project ended eight years later, each service file had been reduced to approximately 30 documents that proved when and where a man had served. Administrative documents relating to quotidian activities like the provision of uniforms, as well as personal information like correspondence from individuals and their families, had been destroyed. Invaluable genealogical details were undoubtedly lost, though the surviving documents still contain significant insights about individuals. The files were transferred to the Public Archives of Canada in 1960, where they have since been catalogued electronically and increasingly digitized.

Identifying a person with a number is a dehumanizing administrative tool generally reserved for soldiers and prisoners, though in this case it provided a reliable way of tracking men whose Eastern-European names were constantly misspelled. At some point after 1919, the CEF service files were rearranged alphabetically to support the provision of civilian benefits, which obscured the order in which men had attested in various battalions. Electronic access now enables researchers to reconstruct, virtually, the queue of men at a particular recruiting station by

24 Morton, When Your Number’s Up, p. 72.
26 Robert McIntosh, “The Great War, Archives and Modern Memory,” Archivaria, vol. 46 (Fall 1998), pp. 15-18. Note that the Public Archives of Canada is now called Library and Archives Canada.
reordering service files into their original numerical sequence. To investigate the circumstances of Konowal’s attestation, I took his service number, 144039, and looked at the ten numbers on either side, before examining the attestation paper of every man in the battalion, eventually uncovering the 55 Ukrainian men listed in the Appendix.

Illustration 1: Private Hordy Capok, ca. 1915.

The personal details that have survived in the service files can be used to sketch a portrait of these men and their experiences in Canadian society. Eighteen provided Ottawa addresses, though it was not a requirement for attestation. The City Directory identifies two of these domiciles as boarding houses, while the occupants of the other addresses changed annually, suggesting that they also housed transient workers. Studies into similar immigrant communities reveal that sojourners from particular ethnic or national groups congregated in workplaces and boarding houses that provided security and a sense of community amounting to a “surrogate family.” Historians have found it difficult to penetrate these communities except to note that decisions were probably made collectively and that gambling and drinking were prevalent, especially in licensed taverns and their illegal equivalents, known as “blind pigs,” that catered to specific ethnicities and further reinforced the sense of community. Such “families” became increasingly important during the war when suspicious landlords refused to rent to Eastern Europeans.27 The 1915 Ottawa City Directory identified the eight residents of 143

Broad Street, an address in LeBreton Flats given by Fred Soyka, as “foreigners,” rather than naming them individually as was customary. Such a casual dismissal suggests that the people who lived at this address had very limited ability to interact with Canadian society or that their experience of Tsarist authority and the wartime climate of suspicion made them reluctant to engage with door-stepping officials. Municipal authorities’ description of the men as “foreigners” epitomized their status as unassimilated, isolated sojourners.

The first Ukrainian to attest identified himself as “Moses Burgoeke,” a machinist from Kiev. He was given service number 144030. He was actually a 15-year-old named Louis Baguslavsky whose family lived in Ottawa; when CEF officials discovered his age, they sent him home. Immediately behind him stood Metrofan Heremek, a 24-year-old labourer whose place of birth was recorded as “Podolsky,” Russia. Then came Joseph Barnaby, a Quebecker who seems to have slipped into the queue, because the next ten service numbers belonged to Ukrainians, including Konowal. The 28 Ukrainians who attested in Ottawa that July almost certainly knew one another, belonged to a common surrogate family, and had taken a collective decision to enlist. It is very likely that they all began attesting on July 12, with the range in final dates on their documents reflecting various minor delays or recruiters’ insistence that the men produce documents proving they were Russian subjects. Another seven Ukrainians attested in Ottawa in August, while eleven joined the battalion between July and the end of September in the industrial towns of Cornwall, Napanee, and Smiths Falls. A final eight Ukrainians joined in Ottawa between November and the following May. Later recruits and those outside Ottawa had not likely known Konowal and his mates, though they may have been attracted to the 77th Battalion by the Ukrainians already in its ranks, conforming to sojourners’ tendency to congregate.

The men’s attestation documents show the difficulty military clerks had in understanding their thickly accented English, something Konowal recalled years later, saying, “when I enlisted I could not read or write English and I talked it badly. I told the officers my name was Philip, but I guess they thought I said Felix, and when they wrote it down, I nodded my head, that is the way it went.” Konowal’s attestation paper does not support his story, which nonetheless vividly recalls the difficulty these men, some of whom could not sign their own names, had in ensuring that what they said was recorded correctly, as evident in the various spellings of Russian province of Podolia noted in the Appendix. Men were far more likely to ensure the accuracy of the fuller addresses they subsequently provided on pay and estate documents. The garbled spellings of unfamiliar place names on many of these documents are easily deciphered and show that at least 31 men came from provinces within the Russian Empire that were ethnically Ukrainian: 28 from Podolia, seven from Kiev, and two from Volhynia, supporting Vadim Kukushkin’s conclusion that most Ukrainians in the CEF hailed from

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29 Kukushkin, From Peasants to Labourers, pp. 108-112.
30 “‘Cannot Go Home to Russia, They’d Shoot Me’ says VC,” Toronto Star, August 19, 1933, p. 31.
these areas. Three men from modern Poland made up the next biggest group, while the rest came from other areas within the Russian Empire. Some of these latter men may not have been ethnically Ukrainian, though their decisions to join the battalion suggest they felt a shared national and linguistic identity with the Ukrainians in uniform.

The men ranged in age from 15 to 44. Only two of the 23 married men had wives in Canada, while seven cited family members in the country, and at least two of them, Philip Sawkun and Jacko Hrushkowsky, were cousins who lived together. Five had left children in Russia. Forty-seven were unskilled labourers. Of the eight who cited a skilled trade, only one appears to have practised it in Canada. Fifty adhered to the Eastern Orthodox Church, three were Jewish, and one had converted to the Baptist faith while in Canada. Wassel Mahduk had previously enlisted in February 1915, only to be discharged for “being a Russian,” an impediment that had disappeared by the summer thanks to Tsarist decrees of allegiance to Canada.

Thirty-five could sign their names, nineteen used an “X,” while three attestation papers have marginal notations reading, “these questions were asked in Russian by J. Smith.” A formal indication on an attestation paper that the recruit had been interrogated in a foreign language is extremely rare and perhaps unique. It has been impossible to identify Smith or to determine positively whether he spoke Russian or Ukrainian, but his intervention shows that the battalion’s recruiters accepted men with extremely limited English, perhaps thinking they could be weeded out later if they proved unsuitable. It also indicated that these three men very likely could only have attested as part of an ethnically and linguistically cohesive group, whose members could act as interpreters after attestation.

Illustration 2: Private Karsciei Strelyuk, ca. 1915.

Kukushkin, From Peasants to Labourers, pp. 33-34, 45-46, 71.
LAC, CEF service file, Wassel Mahduk. See also Kukushkin, From Peasants to Labourers, p. 132.
Having successfully volunteered, the Ukrainians were marched to the battalion’s camp at Rockcliffe, on Ottawa’s eastern edge. The smells, noise, swearing, smoking, gambling, drinking, and fighting of barracks life would likely have recalled their boarding and bunk house days. This comforting sense would have been amplified by the way they arrived amid a surrogate family. They still faced the challenge of serving in an army that used a language they hardly understood, however. There is no evidence of the other battalion members’ reactions to the Ukrainians, though commanders took an unexpected decision to accommodate them. As the unit’s 1926 official history stated:

[A]t the outset, recruits were drafted to one or other of the companies indiscriminately, but as time went on, for one reason or another, certain groups or classes of men seemed to gravitate to the same company. For instance, the French-Canadians, many of whom enlisted in the 77th, were naturally, for the sake of comradeship, put as far as possible in the same company. A number of Russians, splendid types of fighting men, were also grouped together.

This passage, based on notes that Lieutenant-Colonel Street wrote in 1917, betrays a tension in the CEF’s reaction to the men. Describing them as “splendid types” was strikingly at odds with the denigrating and dismissive terms like “enemy aliens” or “foreigners” that Canadians more commonly applied to Ukrainians in this period. Such a complimentary term showed that the men had proved themselves in training and on the battlefield. It may also have reflected their physical appearance, since their service files show that they were trim and fit, likely as the result of long years of hard manual work. At the same time, the passage showed that men from particular ethnic and linguistic groups were segregated in the battalion, ostensibly to promote military efficiency, while also reconstituting the social and ethnic divisions in Canadian civilian society. It was also a way of accommodating men within the resolutely Anglophone and Anglophile CEF. The Ukrainians would serve as a unit alongside the rest of the battalion rather than being dispersed within it. Other small-scale ethnic units existed in the CEF, most notably the so-called Black Construction Company from Nova Scotia, but too little is known about how widespread this practice may have been. The CEF certainly excluded members of many ethnic groups from its ranks in a belief that they could not be successfully integrated with other soldiers or accommodated like the Ukrainians.

Lieutenant-Colonel Street assigned the Ukrainians within the battalion to No. 9 platoon, C Company. A platoon was the smallest unit within a battalion, comprising between 24 and 40 men. The Ukrainian platoon was commanded by Captain Charles Sutcliffe, a merchant from Lindsay, Ontario, who had served in the pre-war militia. He spoke neither Ukrainian nor Russian, but he was assisted by Corporal Wassel Mahduk, the eldest of the men, and Lance-Corporal Konowal,
who were both Russian Army veterans, as well as Lance-Corporal Alexander Pauloff, who had described himself at attestation as a “foreman of labourers,” a position reflecting pre-existing authority over the other Ukrainians. In addition to the regular duties of non-commissioned officers, the trio were responsible for repeating orders in what their superiors termed “Russian,” but was almost certainly Ukrainian, to ensure that platoon members clearly understood them. These duties contradict earlier studies that found no evidence of Ukrainians or Russians being allowed to speak their own language within the CEF. Konowal and his mates had almost certainly not expected to serve together, but Steel’s decision to allow them do so must have comfortably recreated the surrogate families to which they had become accustomed. Later Ukrainian recruits to the battalion would have been attracted by the knowledge that they could serve in their own language and among compatriots.

The segregation of the Ukrainians into a distinct platoon was endorsed at the CEF’s highest levels. In November 1915 a major-general reported after inspecting the 77th that “there are twenty-two (22) Russians in the battalion. They appeared to be satisfied and had no complaints.” Nor was the Ukrainian platoon secret. When the Governor General inspected the 77th Battalion in May 1916, accompanied by the Russian Ambassador to the United States, the platoon put on a display of bayonet fighting, vaunting the presence of these Russian subjects in the CEF to one of the Tsar’s senior representatives and the wider public. A month later the Ottawa Citizen newspaper published a full page of photographs of the battalion along with the names and origins of its members. Among the 39 men identified as coming from countries other than the United Kingdom or the United States was a “fine body of Russian soldiers who, unable to rejoin the army of their own country, elected to strike a blow for the right cause with the Canadian forces.” On the eve of the battalion’s departure for England three weeks later, the Citizen printed the valediction “Onward, Orthodox Russian soldiers!” – an allusion to the well-known Anglican hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers” that proclaimed a martial and religious kinship. These emotive laudations showed the disjuncture between the men’s inward sojourner mentality and Canadians’ perception that they had made an overt act of allegiance to an adopted country. They also show that a CEF uniform conferred a new status on the men, reflecting widespread public patriotism and overshadowing ethnically based prejudices.

40 “77th Now Awaiting Orders for Overseas” Ottawa Citizen, June 3, 1916, p 11.
As the numbers cited in the inspection report and newspaper articles showed, many Ukrainians were no longer with the battalion when it entrained for the war on June 17, 1916. By the end of 1915 one man had deserted, four others had been declared medically unfit, and three had gone to England to join the Russian Army, perhaps feeling compelled to fight with a military force that was deployed closer to their homeland. Five men had been transferred to other units, while Mike Kinosky, who had attempted to hide his Austro-Hungarian origin by telling recruiters that he had been born in Quebec, had been interned as an enemy alien. Three were badly injured on the night of September 17, 1915, when an automobile had slammed into a group of soldiers alighting from a streetcar. The inexperienced driver broke two men’s legs, while another suffered brain damaged and was subsequently confined to an asylum. Desertions and medical inspections had accounted for another four men in the first half of 1916.42

The remaining 30 Ukrainians sailed for Liverpool with the battalion that June. Soon after the 77th encamped at Bramshott, Hampshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Street learned that it would be broken up to reinforce other units.43 The battalion’s dissolution would have been an opportune moment to scatter the Ukrainians on the pretext that their platoon had no place on the battlefield, where officers

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43 LAC, RG9-III-D1, vol. 4689, folder 64, file 16, “77th Battalion Canadian Expeditionary Force, Historical Records.”
could not wait for their orders to be translated. However, on July 8 the platoon as a whole was assigned to the 47th Battalion, a British Columbia unit that was already in England, while Street and several senior officers were sent on a conciliatory tour of the front before heading back home. Keeping the platoon together was a significant endorsement, indicating that it functioned admirably in accommodating the men within a larger battalion. On August 10, the 47th Battalion shipped to France, where it subsequently took part in the battles of Mont Sorrel, Ancre Heights, Arras, and Vimy Ridge.

Over the following twelve months, two Ukrainians were declared medically unfit and four died of wounds. Felix Kaigul, who had transferred to the 21st Battalion in late 1915, was killed at Villiers-Au-Bois, near Arras, France, in September 1916. His body was never recovered. He is among over 11,000 men with no known graves commemorated on the Canadian National Vimy Memorial. John Klubok, the last Ukrainian to join the 77th, was killed near Albert, France, in November 1916 and is buried in the Contay British Cemetery. Sameon Efemov, who had transferred to the 73rd Battalion in July 1916, was wounded and captured at Villiers-Au-Bois in February 1917. He died in a German field hospital and is buried at the Cabaret Rouge British Cemetery. Zachar Mazur was injured by shrapnel in November 1916 and died in the Welsh Metropolitan Hospital the following July. He is buried in Cathays Cemetery, Cardiff.

Illustration 4: Private Ike Weintrop, ca. 1915.


Sorobey, “Filip Konowal, VC,” p. 46.
The Ukrainian platoon functioned well for two years, before the limits of the CEF’s accommodation were exposed during the Battle of Hill 70, which began on August 15, 1917, near the city of Lens in Northeastern France. The battle’s name refers to the Canadians’ objective: a small chalk rise that had been heavily fortified by the Germans with trenches, dug-outs, and machine gun emplacements. The fighting at Hill 70, which the Germans had been ordered to hold at all costs, was vicious. The men of the 47th watched the battle’s opening from the reserve trenches, only to be heavily shelled as they moved to the front line on August 17. That night, the Germans fired over 15,000 shells loaded with mustard gas, a weapon that Canadians had not yet encountered. It was hard to detect and caused slow and agonising death. The 47th Battalion attacked at first light on the following morning in what was meant to be a flowing advance behind an artillery barrage, with soldiers clearing and consolidating German positions in the remains of Lens. But the men struggled over shell-marked ground, in the face of machine guns, a smoke screen, snipers, booby traps, and counter attacks. Desperate hand-to-hand encounters broke out between small groups of terrified, disoriented, and isolated men. Attacks and counter-attacks continued until the exhausted men of the 47th were withdrawn on the night of August 25. After slightly more than one week in the front lines, approximately 20 per cent of the battalion were dead, wounded, or missing.46

Konowal was among six Canadians who received the VC for their actions at Hill 70. His experiences in the battle almost defy description. He took charge of his section, a subdivision of a platoon – presumably the Ukrainian platoon, though this was never explicitly stated – after its officers were killed and led it forward. When the men became pinned down by machine gun fire, he advanced alone, killing Germans with grenades, goring them with his bayonet or bludgeoning them with the butt of his rifle. He then carried the captured machine gun back to the Canadian trenches. The following day he again led the section in an attack in which he destroyed a machine gun and killed several more Germans at close quarters before being shot in the face and neck by a sniper.47 Konowal’s exceptional leadership and bravery over these two days earned him a recommendation for the VC. On August 27 he was evacuated to England, where he was still convalescing when his VC was announced in November. The moving citation failed to convey the terrible fighting he had seen:

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 bayoneted 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 single-


handed 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.48

When King George V presented Konowal with the VC, he is said to have whispered, “your exploit is one of the most daring and heroic in the history of my army. For this, accept my thanks.”49 Konowal never saw the front-lines again. He became a military attaché with the Russian embassy in London and then served briefly with the Canadian Forestry Corps before sailing back to Canada and joining the Siberian Expeditionary Force.50

The emphasis on Konowal’s heroism in traditional narratives overlooks an equally compelling incident in the Ukrainian platoon during the battle of Hill 70, which testifies to the way its members were treated. Konowal may have alluded to the episode in a story he told in later life about how “I was so fed up standing in the trench with water to my waist that I said the hell with it and started after the German army. My captain tried to shoot me because he figured I was deserting.”51 Reporters treated Konowal’s anecdote about the deeds for which he was awarded the VC as evidence of the absurdity of military life, presenting him as a hero whose solitary actions were misinterpreted by those in authority around him. The story has become part of the legend of Konowal’s VC.52

Konowal may well have been threatened by an officer, though archival records tell a story that could have influenced his recollection of events at Hill 70. After the battle, Privates Metro Marchuk and John Ogorodnik, members of the Ukrainian platoon, were charged with “misbehaving before the enemy in such a manner as to show cowardice,” one of the most serious military offences, which was punishable by death.53 The pair were charged because on the morning of August 21 they had donned their equipment and gone “over the top” with the rest of the platoon. Soon after, however, they had been discovered crouching in a cellar not far from the Canadian lines. Neither man had been able to explain his presence to an officer who had commented ominously “we’ll deal with you afterwards,” before ordering them to carry stretchers for the rest of the attack.54 The reason for Ogorodnik’s and Marchuk’s actions is unclear. They had served in France for a year and fought in other battles. They may simply have been exhausted, though desertions increased before major offensives, as men calculated whether they were more likely to be killed in battle or shot afterwards.55 In 1917, 104 Canadians were tried for cowardice or desertion, of whom six were executed. Among them was Dimitro Sinizki, a Ukrainian from Kiev who had volunteered in Winnipeg in December

50 LAC, CEF service file, Filip Konowal.
51 Austin F. Cross, “VC Winner was Almost Shot as War Deserter,” *Ottawa Citizen*, June 16, 1956, p. 2.
53 LAC, RG150, vol. 84, Part II Daily Order, October 31, 1917.
54 LAC, reel T-8673, John Ogorodnik Court Martial file.
1915. Of the 222 death sentences handed down in the CEF, twelve were given to Russian-born men, an over-representation that Teresa Iacobelli argued mirrored racist attitudes in Canadian civilian society that condemned men from Southern and Eastern Europe to hanging far more often than those of British descent.56

Military authorities convened a Field General Court Martial to try an offence that was punishable by death as soon as possible after the alleged crime, at least in part to ensure that witnesses would not be wounded or killed before they could testify. The accused was required to plead not guilty and was represented by an officer, who was not necessarily a lawyer. At least three officers had to judge the case and agree unanimously on a sentence of death. When such a sentence was passed, it was reviewed at three increasingly senior levels. As Iacobelli argues, the CEF balanced discipline with compassion and the need to maintain the fighting strength of units through the Suspension of Sentences Act of 1915, under which 89 per cent of death sentences were commuted, largely on an assessment of the overall state of discipline in a man’s battalion, the commanding officer’s recommendation, and the timing of the offence.57

The records of Ogorodnik’s and Marchuk’s courts martial speak loudly about how the members of the Ukrainian platoon were treated by the CEF. Ogorodnik’s trial began on September 2, 1917. He defended himself by questioning Konowal’s conduct, claiming that he had taken part in the attack, but had quickly become separated from his unit and, because Konowal had failed to explain the objectives in Ukrainian, he had not known what to do.58 So he had sheltered in the cellar to await further instructions. One friendly witness remarked that Konowal usually “put in a few Russian words, but I cannot say whether he did so on this occasion,” showing that battalion members were accustomed to hearing the unfamiliar language in which the platoon worked.59 The prosecutor countered by having other soldiers testify that Ogorodnik had previously understood orders given in English and insisted that he was responsible for having anything he did not understand explained to him in Russian.60 Ogorodnik was convicted on September 5 and sentenced to death with the caveat, “The court recommends this man to mercy on account of his previous good [character?] and good conduct and that he was once wounded.”61

Many of the documents from Marchuk’s trial, which began immediately after Ogorodnik’s, have deteriorated significantly. Those that remain legible show that he claimed the same defence, stating that “corporal Konowal explained the attack to us in English. The discussion afterward took place in English. There were no Russians discussing it in their own language.”62 Marchuk was also convicted and sentenced to death, almost certainly on the same grounds that it was his responsibility to understand his duty. Both judgements showed that the CEF accommodated the Ukrainians to ensure that they could fight, but that military

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56 Iacobelli, Death or Deliverance, pp. 59-61, 104-105.
58 Ogorodnik Court Martial file.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
62 LAC, reel T-8681, Metro Marchuk Court Martial file.
authorities would not allow the members of the platoon to claim any special
treatment based on language.

The compulsory reviews of the convictions show that CEF commanders did not
treat the pair with undue severity because of their linguistic or ethnic identities.
The 47th Battalion’s commanding officer noted that Ogorodnik was “indifferent as
a fighting soldier and indifferent as to behaviour,” further stating that “he has been
on carrying parties when the battalion has been in the attack, but has not actually
participated in the fighting,” and concluded that “the state of discipline in the
47th Battalion is very good. I am a strong believer in remanding to courts martial
any offences tending towards this character.” He was more compassionate to
Marchuk, whose “behaviour has been good. He possesses fair fighting qualities.
His previous conduct in action has been satisfactory.” The commander of the 10th
Canadian Brigade was less forgiving, stating in both cases, “I am of the opinion
that for the sake of discipline the sentence of the court should be carried out.”
Nonetheless, the commander of the Canadian Corps recommended clemency on
September 14, and within a fortnight the pair’s sentences were reduced to ten
years’ imprisonment, which was almost immediately waived, as was routine under
the Suspension of Sentences Act.

Just over a month after having been sentenced to death, Ogorodnik and
Marchuk were back with the 47th Battalion. It was little reprieve for Ogorodnik,
who was killed at the battle of Passchendaele on October 26. He has no known
grave and is commemorated on the Menin Gate Memorial in Ypres, Belgium.
Marchuk served until the war’s end and returned to Canada, after which he has
proved impossible to trace in archival documents and published sources. The 77th
Battalion’s official history, which included a short biography of every member,
did not mention the pair’s convictions.

The connection between these two stories within the Ukrainian platoon has
been obscured over time because historians have equated Konowal’s heroism at
Hill 70 with other recipients of the VC, while Ogorodnik’s and Marchuk’s trials
have been related to those of other Canadians who were sentenced to death. Yet
the trio’s military service had been indelibly interwoven from attestation until
the attack at Hill 70. Nothing disproves Konowal’s story that an officer had
threatened to shoot him, but over the years he may have conflated separate events
in the Ukrainian platoon for the sake of a compelling story. The officers judging
Ogorodnik and Marchuk were aware that they belonged to the Ukrainian platoon,
an unusual accommodation that had allowed them to serve in their own language.
We cannot know for certain whether Konowal failed to translate the orders at
Hill 70, or whether Ogorodnik and Marchuk clung to this defence in desperate
attempts to avoid a firing squad. Nonetheless, the court would not permit them to
use language to deflect their personal responsibility. Nor did the questions about
Konowal’s actions that were raised at the trial affect his candidacy for the VC. His
undoubted valour had far outweighed any possible lapse in duty, while Ogorodnik

63 Ogorodnik Court Martial file.
64 Marchuk Court Martial file.
65 Ibid.
and Marchuk were treated like other condemned men. The two events strongly reinforce the sense that the Ukrainians had gained a status in the CEF that was roughly equivalent to that enjoyed by Canadians of British extraction.

The Ukrainians enjoyed this status and their place within the CEF only as long as the war lasted. The members of the Ukrainian platoon continued to serve with the 47th Battalion, which remained in France and Flanders until its return to Canada in June 1919. In total, 30 of the 35 Ukrainians who had served with the CEF overseas survived the war. What they would do in civilian life was far from clear since the Russian Empire had collapsed by the time they were discharged. For a brief period after the Tsar’s abdication in March 1917 it had seemed that long-held dreams of a free Ukrainian state might be fulfilled. The Ukrainian Peoples Republic, an autonomous democratic entity within the Russian Republic, was declared in June. However, that October’s Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent declaration of the Ukrainian People’s Republic of Soviets was followed by a bitter war between White forces, a collection of democrats, and Tsarists, who were aided by European powers, and the Bolsheviks. It ended in November 1921 with the absorption of the Ukraine into the Soviet Union. Some of the Ukrainians studied in this article may have made their way home and taken part in the fighting, though there is no documentary evidence to verify this speculation.

The Ukrainians in this article seem to have volunteered for the CEF for pragmatic financial reasons rather than from patriotic devotion to a country in which they intended to settle. The end of the war, coupled with the violence and political instability at home, changed their image of Canada, however, leading many to return to their adopted nation. Even so, Konowal’s initial return to Ottawa in September 1918 illustrates that Canada was not yet his home. No one met him at the train station, causing the *Ottawa Citizen*, which had lauded the Ukrainian platoon in the summer of 1916, to point out a sad

reflection upon official Ottawa that Corporal Konowal VC who enlisted in the 77th Ottawa regiment over three years ago, and who won the highest of all military honors, came home unannounced and unmet. It is something of which the capital city has cause to be ashamed that he was forced to wander through the city until finally he found lodging in a soldiers club. And it is to be further regretted that even after his presence in the city had been made known no recognition of the fact was then taken by the Military Authorities or the city.67

Konowal may well have wanted to slip into the city unnoticed, though the authorities’ deliberate decision to ignore him showed that he was once again subject to dismissive attitudes about Ukrainians. The Ukrainian platoon’s structure had mimicked that of a pre-war surrogate family, allowing its members to serve honourably, but it had also likely isolated the men within the battalion, meaning few returned officers or men from the 77th would have felt compelled to organize a reception for Konowal. His closest social bonds almost certainly remained with the other Ukrainians, the surrogate family with whom he had enlisted and served, who remained in France.

The rest of Konowal’s story is well-known. He left Ottawa once again to take part in the ill-fated Siberian campaign, returning permanently in July 1919. Soon after, he and a friend argued with a man named William Artick outside a bar. When Artick pulled a knife, Konowal wrestled it from him and stabbed him to death, telling the police who arrested him: “I’ve killed fifty-two of them: he makes the fifty-third,” testifying to his psychological struggles. Lieutenant-Colonel Street raised Konowal’s bail, a sign that he had taken a protective interest in the 77th Battalion’s greatest hero. Konowal was acquitted of murder in 1921 on the grounds of insanity and spent eleven years in an asylum. Street then employed him as a janitor at the Ottawa Electric Company until they were both laid off in early 1933. Despite meagre employment prospects, Konowal gradually laid permanent roots by becoming a British subject that October and marrying the following year, believing that his Ukrainian wife and daughter had been killed in the brutal turmoil at home. Milton Gregg, the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Commons, who had also been awarded the VC, soon hired Konowal as a parliamentary janitor, and in 1936 Mackenzie King named him special custodian of the Prime Minister’s office, a sinecure he held until his death in 1959. Konowal lived in a modest house in Hintonburg on the edge of the neighbourhood in which he had attested, while as a public figure over the years he undertook ceremonial roles and testified about the financial hardships that many veterans faced.

Most of Konowal’s mates found themselves similarly stranded in Canada at war’s end and were probably equally unsure about the fate of their families. Their return to Ottawa would have mirrored Konowal’s. After alighting in a city they had inhabited only briefly four years earlier, they would have had to find a bed in a cheap hotel or boarding house. Once again the men’s service documents provide significant clues. When asked where they intended to live after discharge, only six gave full addresses, while 18 indicated a city or general delivery at the post office. Others could not even provide such basic information, suggesting that they remained unmoored to Canadian society.

Constant misspellings of the men’s surnames make them more difficult to track after the war, though they can be glimpsed in the ever-increasing number of digitized genealogical sources. These reveal that Konowal and at least 16 others made the existential shift from sojourner to immigrant. As Table 1 shows, almost half remained in Ottawa, while the others settled across Canada and in England. It also shows that several became naturalized British subjects, a significant avowal of patriotism in an era before Canadian citizenship existed. Most of all, the evidence shows that the men returned to the urban working classes, assuming a relatively stable if inconspicuous perch within Canadian society.

68 “VC Charged with Murder,” Toronto Star, July 21, 1919, p. 5.
## Table 1
Ukrainian CEF Veterans Who Settled in Canada and Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Post-war residence</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Further details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hordy Capok</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>Described variously as a “labourer” or a “gentleman”</td>
<td>Died in 1975.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Fainner</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Naturalized as a British subject in 1924.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stipan Footoransky</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>Cabinet maker</td>
<td>Naturalized as a British subject in 1922.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gurski</td>
<td>Ottawa, then Winnipeg</td>
<td>Railway worker</td>
<td>Naturalized as a British subject in 1920.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makary Holowka</td>
<td>Parry Sound, Ontario</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Died in Ottawa in 1983.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec Homenutch</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Died in 1931 of wartime injuries and is buried at the Beechwood National Veterans Cemetery. Survived by his mother, who lived on Preston Street in Ottawa.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacko Hrushkowsky</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>Died in December 1967 and is buried in the Beechwood National Veterans Cemetery.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Kolesnik</td>
<td>Cochrane, Ontario</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Died of tuberculosis in 1927.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usef Konchal</td>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td>Married an Englishwoman in 1917 and settled in England at war’s end.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Kostuk</td>
<td>Chatham, Ontario</td>
<td>Store owner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Ksendz</td>
<td>Edmonton, Alberta</td>
<td>Railway worker</td>
<td>Married an Englishwoman who immigrated to Canada. He died in 1976 and is buried in Jarvie, Alberta.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trofem Kucher</td>
<td>Brockville, Ontario</td>
<td></td>
<td>Died in 1919 of wartime injuries. He is buried in Brockville’s Oakland Cemetery.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71 Canada Gazette, 1924-25 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1925), p. 293.
72 Canada Gazette, 1921-22 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1922), p. 392.
74 LAC, RG31, folder 80, census place Walbridge North Township, Parry Sound, Ontario, p. 10.
77 Archives of Ontario, series MS935, reel 346.
78 LAC, service file, Usef Konchal.
The only known photographs of the men resulted from the advertisements that appeared in newspapers in Ottawa and surrounding towns in 1925 asking veterans of the 77th to supply portraits for its official history. As the battalion’s only VC, Konowal was featured on an entire page, though seven other members of the Russian platoon are found among the hundreds of small photographs in the book. Six show young men in uniform, the most common type of photograph, though Michael Kostuk submitted a more recent image of himself posing formally in a coat, tie, and fedora, conveying the dignity and pride of the small businessman he had become (see illustration 5). Once again, the Ukrainian’s pre-war personal relationships and their service in a single platoon were obscured by the alphabetical arrangement of the photographs.

Konowal will always stand out among the Ukrainian volunteers because of his battlefield exploits and post-war struggles, but focusing on him has obscured a moving story about the honourable service of the Ukrainian sojourners who attested in the 77th Battalion. Six of them were killed and at least 21 wounded, a casualty rate reflecting their attestation relatively early in the war, and their relegation, as semi-literate labourers, to dangerous front-line infantry duties. It is tempting to conclude with a nationalistic tribute to the war’s role in transforming sojourners into Canadians in some metaphysical way, just as the Battle of Vimy Ridge is said to be the flame in which modern Canada was forged. But such a conclusion is too deterministic. There was probably no single moment at which the men’s outlook changed, though researchers have noted a general psychological shift from sojourner to immigrant among Russian subjects who served in the CEF. Before enlisting, the men had undertaken ill-paid and often dangerous work and lived in introspective communities without developing a particular attachment to Canada. Nonetheless, their keen sense of how to interact with Canadian society to the best advantage can be seen in their collective attestation, which suggests a shared sense of the economic logic of military service,

82 British Columbia Death Index, 1872-1990, registration number 1948-09-007785.
85 The Ottawa City Directory, 1923 (Ottawa: Might Directories, 1923).
86 LAC, RG24, vol. 1529, file HQ 683-79-12, A. F. Duguid to Street, February 24, 1925.
87 These were Capok, Diadik, Fainner, Gurski, Kostuk, Strelyuk, and Weintrop.
88 Kukushkin, From Peasants to Labourers, p. 127.
the need to help one another through the induction process, and the importance of emphasizing their Russian nationality to ensure they would be accepted by the CEF. Some may have tried to reach the Soviet Union after the war, though their discharge documents suggest a strong intention to remain in Canada. Those who did may have looked for relatives in Canada, especially those who had indicated at attestation that they had family members in the country.

Illustration 5: Private Michael Kostuk, ca. 1925.

The positive, laudatory terms in which the Ukrainian platoon had been described during the war showed that military service accorded its members a new status in Canadian society. At the same time, it could not have been easy for them to serve in an English-speaking army, despite the CEF’s accommodations. While Ukrainians served in a variety of units, grouping these men into a single platoon was a key factor in their ability to contribute to the war.89 As the court martial documents attest, members of the 47th Battalion were conscious of the ethnic and linguistic “otherness” of these men, whose acceptance by the CEF must have jarred with pre-war experiences of low wages and suspicion. In this sense, the events at Hill 70, in which Konowal, Ogorodnik, and Marchuk were treated like any other soldiers, demonstrated the measure of acceptance that the Ukrainians had gained within the CEF.

Unbeknownst to CEF commanders, the Ukrainian platoon mimicked the structure and functions of a pre-war surrogate family by providing collective security and support within the wider Anglophone society of the CEF. It almost certainly laid the basis for a transformation in the men’s mentality from sojourners to immigrants, though conclusions must be drawn cautiously. Unlike military units, surrogate families were self-created entities whose members selected their

89 Iacobelli, Death or Deliverance, p. 60.
own leaders and made decisions collectively. They were inherently impermanent and never officially sanctioned, except insofar as authorities may have turned a blind eye to minor transgressions. By contrast, men in uniform could not opt to leave the rigidly hierarchical and strictly disciplined platoon. Its Ukrainian-speaking non-commissioned officers were selected by military authorities for their language skills and perceived ability to enforce military discipline. Nonetheless, it provided a Ukrainian-speaking haven where marginal transgressions of military discipline may have been tolerated under the cover of a language that officers did not understand. In the end, the Ukrainian platoon was designed to accommodate the men within the CEF, not to shield them from it.

The strength of the emotional and interpersonal ties that men developed in sojourner surrogate families is unclear. Men came and went continuously as they pursued work. Such fluidity was impossible within the platoon, which kept the men together for over three years, before abruptly discharging them at war’s end. The loss of this community must have been doubly jarring, since the war had also cut the men off from their homes and families. There is no firm evidence that the men kept in touch with one another after 1919. Those who settled in Ottawa would have had greater opportunities to meet, but the need for a secure, introspective ethnic family would have dissipated as men forged romantic, social, and workplace bonds through which immigrants join their adopted communities. Once again, there is no specific moment at which this shift occurred. The men probably returned to Canada as somewhat reluctant immigrants, though their mentality had probably begun changing during the war, and continued as they settled in a new country. The transition may not have been grandiose, but it was compelling.

The men would have been constantly aware of their Ukrainian heritage as they adapted to life in Canada. On an intimate level, many must always have wondered about the fate of their families and friends under dictatorial Soviet brutality. On a collective level, they had to negotiate their interactions with Canadian society in particular and changing ways. In 1915, the Ukrainian sojourners had emphasized their Russian nationality as a way of distancing themselves from the suspicions that clung to Ukrainians in Canada. They could not do so after 1919, by which time the term Russian was largely synonymous with the Bolshevik state, an undeclared enemy of Western democracies. Re-emphasizing their Ukrainian identity would have been equally problematic in that it would have brought with it the stigma of the wartime internment of Ukrainian-Canadians. Despite their service, the Ukrainians may have felt more vulnerable in Canadian society than they had before the war.
The Russian platoon was clearly an uncommon way to accommodate an ethnically and linguistically distinct group in the CEF, but it was not unique. Young men throughout Canada joined the CEF in the company of friends, schoolmates, and coworkers. Such groups can be reconstructed by using service numbers to reconstitute the queues of men at recruiting stations. Following such small groups from enlistment to the trenches and back has the potential to illuminate new dimensions to the conflict and build pictures of the ways in which CEF units may have accommodated men from particular ethnic groups, schools, workplaces, towns, and many other less visible communities. By understanding the intimate aspect of the world of men at war, we can create a more intricate interweaving of the CEF with early twentieth-century Canadian civilian society.

Thanks to a discovery by my colleague Neale MacDonald, this article has a fascinating postscript. The first Canadian citizenship ceremony was held on January 3, 1947 at the Supreme Court of Canada. Paul Martin, the minister who had steered the new Citizenship Act through parliament, introduced the small group of men and women representing every province, and many cultures and ethnicities, who had been selected to become Canada’s inaugural citizens. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was the first to swear the new oath before the ermine-robed Chief Justice. He was followed by prominent Canadians like the Armenian-born photographer Yousuf Karsh. Then came eleven Ottawa residents, including Jacko Hrushkowsky. He had been amongst the first Ukrainians to attest in the 77th battalion in July 1915, had served throughout the war, and settled in Canada. The unfamiliar surnames borne by the members of this group caused one reporter to remark that they were “not what one calls Canadian names,” until the ceremony had made them so legally and symbolically. The crowd of witnesses knew nothing of Hrushkowsky’s story, but Canadian citizenship was a final step in his journey from sojourner to immigrant.90

90 “Proud, Historic Ceremony as new Citizens Take Oath” Ottawa Citizen, January 4, 1947, p. 27.
## Appendix: Ukrainian Men who Joined the 77th Battalion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regimental Number</th>
<th>Date and Place of Birth</th>
<th>Date and Place of Attestation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>Fate</th>
<th>Address at Attestation</th>
<th>Address at Discharge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>144030, Louis Baguslasvsky</td>
<td>October 22, 1896, Kiev, Russia</td>
<td>July 12, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>375 Morris St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Re-enlisted. Discharged July 1916</td>
<td>507 Arlington Ave., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144031, Metrofan Heremek</td>
<td>December 12, 1890, Podolskoy, Russia</td>
<td>July 15, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>30 Albert St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, September 1916</td>
<td>534 Rochester St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144032, Paul Sekuse</td>
<td>October 22, 1884, Bowelsky, Russia</td>
<td>July 18, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>187 Church St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Joined Russian Army</td>
<td>456 Gloucester St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144033, John Holear</td>
<td>May 4, 1888, Podolskoy, Russia</td>
<td>July 15, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>277 King Edward Ave., Ottawa</td>
<td>Re-enlisted. Discharged November 1917</td>
<td>517 Arlington Ave., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144034, Metro Marchuk</td>
<td>September 8, 1891, Podolskoy, Russia</td>
<td>July 12, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>227 Church St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Sentenced to death, Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>General Post Office (GPO), Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144035, Filip Konowal</td>
<td>March 25, 1894, Podeski, Russia</td>
<td>July 14, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes, 1 child</td>
<td>456 Gladstone St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>534 Rochester St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144036, Averil Herbately</td>
<td>March 25, 1894, Podoleski, Russia</td>
<td>July 14, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>534 Rochester St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144037, Anton Kolesnik</td>
<td>October 22, 1895, Bowelsky, Russia</td>
<td>July 14, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>217 Church St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144038, Wasel Guz</td>
<td>November 29, 1883, Podoleski, Russia</td>
<td>July 12, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes, 2 children</td>
<td>93 Gloucester St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144039, Wessel Manduk</td>
<td>April 23, 1879, Podoleski, Russia</td>
<td>July 12, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes, 3 children</td>
<td>93 Gloucester St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144040, Filip Sikiruk</td>
<td>April 23, 1879, Podoleski, Russia</td>
<td>July 17, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>93 Gloucester St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144041, Filip Sikiruk</td>
<td>April 23, 1879, Podoleski, Russia</td>
<td>July 17, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>93 Gloucester St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>144042, Filip Sikiruk</td>
<td>April 23, 1879, Podoleski, Russia</td>
<td>July 17, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>93 Gloucester St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>128 Pine St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regimental Number and Name</td>
<td>Date and Place of Attestation</td>
<td>Date and Place of Birth</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Address at Attestation</td>
<td>Next of Kin and Address</td>
<td>Fate</td>
<td>Address at Discharge</td>
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<tr>
<td>144067, Harry Madhuk</td>
<td>July 17, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>March 16, 1895 Podeski, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Deserted September 1915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>144088, Jacko Hrushkowski</td>
<td>July 12, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>May 2, 1892 Podeske, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Wounded and neurasthenic, Discharged at war's end</td>
<td>456 Gladstone Ave., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144090, Vasily Pavlukovitch</td>
<td>July 15, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>December 31, 1880 Ragenski, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>GPO, Ottawa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>144091, Pol Presenick</td>
<td>July 12, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>September 21, 1891 Poland, Russia</td>
<td>Farm Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Poland</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, October 1915</td>
<td>333 Lebreton St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144093, Alex Homenutch</td>
<td>July 13, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>June 13, 1894 Pedeske, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, November 1918</td>
<td>77 Albert St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144094, Walsy Maykut</td>
<td>July 12, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>March 7, 1895 Poland, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>GPO, Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144095, Vacedy Levisky</td>
<td>July 17, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>July 14, 1894 Pudeska, Russia</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Father, Podolia</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, October 1915</td>
<td>&quot;None in particular&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144096, Selwester Hlesow</td>
<td>July 16, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>January 2, 1880 Podolskoy, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, October 1917</td>
<td>109 Kent St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144097, Olsiy Aremchuk</td>
<td>July 12, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>November 5, 1874 Podolskoy, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, October 1915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144144, Hordy Capok</td>
<td>July 12, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>January 11, 1890 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Kiev</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>GPO, Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144298, Ivan Setar</td>
<td>July 31, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>June 7, 1883 Russia</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>239 Anderson St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged September 1916</td>
<td>30 Albert St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regimental Number and Name</td>
<td>Date and Place of Attestation</td>
<td>Date and Place of Birth</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Address at Attestation</td>
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<td>Fate</td>
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<tr>
<td>144322, Trofem Kucher</td>
<td>July 31, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>April 19, 1880 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Kiev</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged November 1917.</td>
<td>GPO, Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>144338, Maxim Kaluk</td>
<td>July 14, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>September 5, 1896 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes, Questions asked in Russian</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>368 Gladstone, Ottawa</td>
<td>Mother, Russia</td>
<td>Discharged as medically unfit, February 1916</td>
<td>“Unknown”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144339, Thomas Lasodski</td>
<td>July 7, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>June 25, 1882 Kotynskoi, Russia</td>
<td>Lumber-man</td>
<td>No, Questions asked in Russian</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3 Bell St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Injured in automobile accident. Discharged February 1916</td>
<td>Eastern Asylum, Brockville, Ontario</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144342, Constantin Korenatski</td>
<td>July 8, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>March 2, 1889 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>250 Bell St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Brother, Volhynia</td>
<td>Injured in automobile accident. Discharged February 1916</td>
<td>Khaki Club, 660 Dorchester St. W, Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14440, Danis Maltuke</td>
<td>July 15, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>June 28, 1882 Poldolski, Russia</td>
<td>Harness Maker</td>
<td>No, Questions asked in Russian</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sister, 75 Clarence St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Joined Russian Army.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Podolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144430, Felix Kaigul</td>
<td>July 7, 1915 Smiths Falls</td>
<td>27 May 1886 Poland, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Poland</td>
<td>Killed, September 1916</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144457, Benny Crook</td>
<td>July 8, 1915 Smiths Falls</td>
<td>September 1, 1894 Poland, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>312 Rideau St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Brother, 59 Dennison Ave., Toronto</td>
<td>Repeatedly wounded. Discharged at war’s end.</td>
<td>188 Simcoe St., Toronto</td>
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<tr>
<td>144516, Ike Weintrop</td>
<td>July 29 1915 Smiths Falls</td>
<td>January 1, 1894 Poland, Russia</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>149 Somerset St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Sister, 153 Centre Ave., Toronto</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged at war’s end.</td>
<td>Smiths Falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144518, Arhip Zuravel</td>
<td>August 9, 1915 Smiths Falls</td>
<td>February 19, 1894 Warsaw, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Warsaw</td>
<td>Deserted, April 1916.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Regimental Number and Name</td>
<td>Date and Place of Attestation</td>
<td>Date and Place of Birth</td>
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<tr>
<td>144528, Leon Diadik</td>
<td>August 7, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>February 18, 1885 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes, 2 children</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
<td>PO Box 122, Ottawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144555, Peter Ksendz</td>
<td>August 10, 1915 Smiths Falls</td>
<td>December 28, 1890 Kiew, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Father, Kiev</td>
<td>Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
<td>GPO Edmonton, Alberta</td>
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<tr>
<td>144556, Michael Makashka</td>
<td>August 10, 1915 Smiths Falls</td>
<td>Kiev, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Kiev</td>
<td>Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
<td>677 Richmond St., Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144664, John Gurski</td>
<td>August 2, 1915 Napanee</td>
<td>September 26, 1885 Lubin, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Wife, Kingston, Ontario</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged January 1918</td>
<td></td>
<td>109 Kent St., Ottawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144665, Alexander Pauloff</td>
<td>August 18, 1915 Napanee</td>
<td>March 2, 1886 Petrograd, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Brother, Vilno Military District</td>
<td>Discharged medically unfit, July 1916</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144721, Solomon Fainer</td>
<td>August 13, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>1883 Savan, Roumania</td>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>67 Nelson St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Wife, 67 Nelson St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144832, Wasil Naidich</td>
<td>August 16, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>December 28, 1879 Wolinski Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Volynia</td>
<td>Survived the war.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>144985, John Maximoff</td>
<td>August 16, 1915 Cornwall</td>
<td>January 7, 1896 Kamenetz, Podolsk, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Father, Podolia</td>
<td>Wounded. Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cornwall, Ont.</td>
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<tr>
<td>145106, Usef Konchal</td>
<td>July 30, 1915 Ottawa (10)</td>
<td>May 15, 1895 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Neurasthenic. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leslie St., Eastbourne, England (married a British woman).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145107, Stef Footoransky</td>
<td>August 27, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>December 25, 1894 Kiew, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mother, Wife, Kiev</td>
<td>Repeatedly wounded. Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
<td>253 King St., Kingston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145108, Ewan Petruk</td>
<td>August 14, 1915 Ottawa</td>
<td>September 22, 1884 Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes, 2 children</td>
<td>Wife, Kiev</td>
<td>Discharged at war's end</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
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</table>

The Ukrainian Sojourners from Ottawa who Fought for Canada
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regimental Number and Name</th>
<th>Date and Place of Attestation</th>
<th>Date and Place of Birth</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Address at Attestation</th>
<th>Next of Kin and Address</th>
<th>Fate</th>
<th>Address at Discharge</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>145109, Michael Blashko</td>
<td>August 16, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>February 7, 1889, Poetoilky, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>264 Clarence St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>145135, Sameon Efemov</td>
<td>August 16, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>February 3, 1881, Podolsky, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes, 2 children</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Killed February 1917.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145216, Karaslei Strelyuk</td>
<td>September 13, 1915, Cornwall</td>
<td>September 18, 1894, Podolsk, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Father, Podolia</td>
<td>Wounded, Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>GPO, Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>145230, Zachar Mazur</td>
<td>November 25, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>September 14, 1887, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Died of wounds July 1917.</td>
<td>270 Clarence St., Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>145357, Marony Ananiewa</td>
<td>November 11, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>January 1895, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Russia</td>
<td>Survived the war.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145363, Alex Lazarchuk</td>
<td>November 10, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>March 16, 1889, Podolsky, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>107 Richardson St., Montreal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14539, Nikolas Storozynski</td>
<td>November 18, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>November 3, 1878, Quebec</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Roumania</td>
<td>Did not sail to England.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145467, Mike Kinosky</td>
<td>November 18, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>November 3, 1878, Quebec</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mother, Roumania</td>
<td>Discharged as an enemy alien, December 1915</td>
<td>&quot;Internment Camp&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145847, John Ogorodnik</td>
<td>April 14, 1916, Ottawa</td>
<td>July 11, 1895, Podolsky, Russia</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td></td>
<td>169 York St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Sentenced to death. Killed, October 1917.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145851, Makary Holowka</td>
<td>April 17, 1916, Ottawa</td>
<td>May 12, 1895, Podolsk, Russia</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>213b St. Patrick St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Mother, Podolia</td>
<td>Twice wounded. Discharged at war's end.</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145873, John Klubok</td>
<td>May 19, 1916, Ottawa</td>
<td>1884 Wolynskoa, Russia</td>
<td>Mill Hand</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>472 Booth St., Ottawa</td>
<td>Wife, Volhynia</td>
<td>Killed in action November 1916</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>455190, Michael Kostuk</td>
<td>July 21, 1915, Ottawa</td>
<td>January 19, 1886, Podoskoy, Russia</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Wife, Podolia</td>
<td>Survived the war.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite egregious misspellings, home provinces (gubernia) were identified from wills and pay documents, though it was impossible to accurately identify towns or villages.

As identified on discharge documents.

Mahduk had already attempted to enlist on July 9.

Korenatski enlisted again in February 1917, using slightly different personal information. He was finally discharged in April 1918.

Maximoff assigned his pay to Rev. J. R. Baldwin, in Mount Bridges, Ontario.

Konchal was initially discharged “under suspicion” of being an enemy alien, on August 21, 1915. He re-attested in Ottawa on August 30, 1915, presumably after proving that he was a Russian subject.

Mazur had previously attested on September 11, 1915 in Cornwall, only to be discharged as medically unfit on October 16, 1915.