Stitched Narratives: The Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered Pillow

by

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Abstract

To increase the breadth of knowledge pertaining to the phenomenon of the Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushka* (pillow) this project applied a multiple method research strategy to gain a deeper understanding of both the nature of these historic artifacts and the artisans who created them. In 2015, information was gathered in fifteen major urban centres across Canada from fifty-eight individuals who participated in a series of separate and/or small group interviews. Each participant presented at least one Canadian-made embroidered *podushka* at their respective session, for a total of 496 *podushky*. Data was documented from artifact analysis and the recorded interviews, then analysed and interpreted. The research approach was successful in producing a significant corpus of relevant data; providing insight from a Canadian perspective with respect to the production, consumption, and change over the last 125 years of this eclectic artifact.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Larisa Nadya Sembaliuk Cheladyn.

The research project, of which this thesis is a part,
received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board,

Thesis Title:

"Stitched Narratives: The Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered Pillow"

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"Embroidered Memories: The Ukrainian-Canadian Embroidered Pillow"

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Dedication

In memory of my grandmothers

Baba Olga (Wawruk) Korpus

&

Baba Elizabeth (Kozniuk) Sembaliuk

Fibre and cloth are a universal part of human life.
They fill an almost endless number of roles in our
practical, personal, emotional, social, communicative,
economic, aesthetic, and spiritual lives.

Beverly Gordon

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 2

Chapter 3

Ukrainian Language Periodicals

Kalendar Kanadyis'koho farmera [Canadian Farmer – Almanac]

Yearly Almanac for *Kanadyis'kyi farmer* [Canadian Farmer] – published in Winnipeg

Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu [Ukrainian Voice – Almanac]

Yearly Almanac *Ukrains'kyi holos* [Ukrainian Voice] – published in Winnipeg

Kanadyis'kyi farmer [Canadian Farmer]

Published in Winnipeg 1903-1981

Ukrains'kyi holos [Ukrainian Voice]

Published in Winnipeg – 1910-present

Promin [Sunbeam]

Published by Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada from 1961 - present

Nashe zhyttia – [Our Life]

Published by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America in Philadelphia and then New York since 1944.

Nova khata [The New Home]

Published in L'viv, Ukraine (Poland at the time) from 1925-1929

Zhinocha dolia – [Women's Fate]

Published by the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's in Lviv, Ukraine (Poland), 1925-1939.

Zhinochyi svit – [Women's World]

Bilingual English-Ukrainian publication, Pittsburgh, 1932-1934.

Abbreviations

BMUFA – Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives

CYM – Ukrainian Youth Association

CUYA – Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association

KuFC - Kule Folklore Centre (Peter & Doris Kule Centre for Ukrainian and Canadian Folklore)

OWA – Ukrainian Women's Association (Affiliated with UNF)

PLAST – Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada

UCAMA – Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Canada

UCC – Ukrainian Canadian Congress

UCWLC - The Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada

UNF – Ukrainian National Federation

USRL – Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada

UWAC – Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada

Glossary

Common Terms

bliuzka – blouse

hlad' – Satin-stitch

iavorivka – A type of embroidery stitch from the area of Yavoriv, Ukraine.

kanva – canvas

kraika – a thin woven ribbon used to finish the edge of fabric (selvedge)

merezhka – Hardangar (cutwork needlecraft)

nytky – threads

nyzynka – a type of weaving stitch worked on from the underside of the fabric

panama – Aida cloth

podushka/podushky – pillow(s)

poltavska hlad' – Satin-stitch done in the style from the region of Poltava, Ukraine

pysanka/pysanky – Easter egg(s)

rushnyk/rushnyky – ritual towel(s)

sorochka/sorochky – shirt/shirts

vyshyttia/vyshyvana – embroidery/embroidered

Introduction

For almost 125 years, within the Ukrainian Canadian community embroidered *podushky* [pillows][1] have been a form of decoration, and their creation a leisure activity; they are also one of the most popular and enduring domestic symbols of Ukrainian Canadian ethnic identity.[2] As we enter the 21st century, North Americans of Ukrainian heritage have begun to inherit embroidered *podushky* created by their ancestors. For many of the recipients there is a deep, intuitive cultural connection; an attraction that directs the preservation and conservation instinct. To others the *podushky* represent hundreds of hours of detailed stitchery, and in many cases they have become keepsakes out of respect for ancestral connections as well as the sheer beauty of the craftsmanship. However, although in many cases there appears to be a clear passionate connection to these cultural icons, in contrast to equally popular Ukrainian folk arts such as *pysanky* [Easter eggs] and *rushnyky* [ritual towels], very little information has been collected and recorded about Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky*, their creators, and their owners.[3] In light of the scarcity of information, the overall objective of this study is to increase the breadth of knowledge pertaining to the phenomenon of embroidered *podushky* and their place in the Ukrainian Canadian community over time; thus addressing fundamental curiosity related to the production and consumption of this eclectic artifact. I applied a multiple method research protocol that included a literature review, artifact analysis, as well as individual and group interviews. This document is a detailed accounting of the research design, protocols and procedures, data collected, and a discussion of the findings.

Like many personal possessions embroidered *podushky* have a life trajectory of their own. Some were created spontaneously, others evolved through detailed planning. *Podushky* have moved in status

[1] "Embroidered *podushka*" has been chosen as the term applicable to the artifact in question based on the following argument. Interviewees, who preferred to speak English, most often referred to the artifact as either an embroidered pillow or cushion. "Pillow" was the preferred, as "cushion" by definition is a pillow or pad stuffed with a mass of soft material, used as a comfortable support for sitting or leaning on. And this artifact was more often decorative than utilitarian. Among the interviewees who spoke Ukrainian, the artifact in question was most often referred to as an embroidered "*podushka.*" One participant suggested that "*navolochka*" may be a better term; which is technically correct according to *Velykyi tlumachnyi slovnyk ukrains'koyi movy*, where *navolochk*a could be translated into English as "pillow case." However, it was not a term that I or any interviewee was familiar with. And, although the pillow (*podushka*) itself is not embroidered but its cover is, i.e., the *navolochka*, there is sufficient reason to invoke synecdoche; in this case using the name of a whole for the (name of the) part or vice-versa; in other words, using *podushka* when we really refer only to the *navolochka*. In addition, it has become accepted linguistically in Canada to refer to the Ukrainian Easter egg as a *psyanka* and the Ukrainian ritual towel as a *rushnyk*. I have therefore chosen to use the term "embroidered *podushka*" and the plural "*podushky*" throughout this document.

[2] Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity," 121.

[3] Swyripa, "From Sheepskin Coat to Blue Jeans," 11-12.

from the top shelf to the bottom, from the living room to the closet. They may have been created for personal use, as gifts, then later re-gifted, donated, or sold at a craft sale. Their meaning and significance is often held within many generational layers. Each pillow has a story, reflecting a "social life" of connections and non-verbal expressions of identity. During this study the major objective of the data collection was to capture a Canada wide, panoramic overview of information including material, geographic, and demographic characteristics that would create a knowledge base for future investigation.

To gain a deeper insight into both the nature of these Ukrainian Canadian artifacts and the artisans who created them, this study approach involved a negotiation between past and present; gathering information from existing items and participants to acquire a greater understanding of the historic subject matter. Chapter one begins with an introduction to the personal backstory which inspired this study, and reflects on the challenges related to the research-researcher relationship. A summary of the research design provides a description of each component that contributed to the multiple method approach; which included artifact analysis, interviews, as well as a literature review of embroidery resources, Ukrainian Canadian periodicals, and women's magazines published in Ukraine between 1925 and 1937. Fieldwork entailed 57 interviews, analysis of 496 Canadian-made hand-embroidered *podushky* (plus one woven and one machine embroidered), and tours of 6 cultural institutions. Information was gathered across Canada, from coast to coast.

Beginning with reference to archeological findings in Mesopotamia, chapter two introduces pillows from a global perspective; with an overview of their historical evolution, followed by a more focused reflection on the role of embroidered *podushky* in Ukraine. Subsequent sub-chapters concentrate on Ukrainian immigration to Canada, cultural identity in the diaspora, and how decorative, embroidered *podushky* were integrated into Ukrainian Canadian lifestyles.

The primary focus of chapter three is on specific information pertaining to the *podushky* documented in this study. A large amount of data was collected including details pertaining to each artifact, each of the artisans who created them, as well as information related to the individuals who are now in possession of the *podushky*. A selected cross-section of facts and figures can be found in Appendix 6, and photographs of each of the *podushky* are recorded in Appendix 7.

Chapter four takes the broader scope of the topic and narrows the focus down to the evolution of embroidered *podushky* in Canada relative to the materials and resources available within a given

time. Upon reviewing all the data garnered during the fieldwork and analysis, there was one outstanding, unresolved detail that stood out more than others; very little information had come to light regarding the sources of influence and inspiration that affected Ukrainian Canadian embroidery patterns. A review of the popular periodicals available during each decade and the biography of Savella Stechishin helped determine a logical sequence of events and the embroidery pattern resources that explain how various patterns became integrated into the Canadian repertoire and found their way onto embroidered *podushky.*

Ultimately, the objectives of the study were met. A large corpus of data was collected pertaining specifically to Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky*. Details regarding production tendencies and peculiarities were recorded for posterity, as were informant opinions and observations concerning consumption, i.e. use, meanings and changes over time.

Chapter 1 – Research Methodology

Research Background

Past research has identified *pysanky* [Ukrainian Easter eggs], embroidered *rushnyky* [ritual towels], and embroidered *podushky* [cushions/pillows] as the three most common categories of household objects symbolizing ethnic pride and cultural distinctiveness in the Ukrainian Canadian home setting.[4] Dozens of books, websites, and published articles have explored the North American adaptations of the *pysanka* and *rushnyk*. However, aside from the research of Canadian Folklorist Robert Klymasz in the 1970s to early 90s,[5] there has been very little exploration of the equally popular *podushka*. Although various publications have established that embroidered *podushky* are a common form of household decoration, little else is concretely known about this phenomenon and its cultural significance.

From personal experience within the Ukrainian Canadian community it seems that the production and display of embroidered *podushky* peaked during the late 1950s to early 1970s. As time has lapsed, many of the artisans who created them have passed away, thus eliminating the primary source of information about these family heirlooms. Therefore, the research problem can be defined as a scarcity of data and a declining population that can provide firsthand information about Ukrainian Canadian *podushky* and the evolution of their typical form, context, and meaning over time. The research challenge is to design and implement a data collection protocol that will uncover new information and increase the breadth of knowledge related to this artifact.

Limitations and Assumptions

While researching and documenting embroidered *podushky*, I noted several inherent limitations and assumptions; primarily the temporal gap between the era during which the production of *podushky* was most popular, and the present. Over fifty years have transpired between the two points in time; many of the artisans referenced in this study have passed away. I therefore interviewed daughters, granddaughters and other relatives of the embroiderers. It is further acknowledged that all of the data

[4] Klymasz,"Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery," 2. Stefaniuk, "In My Baba's House, In My Parents' House," 137-137,146.

[5] Dr. Robert Klymasz is a renowned Ukrainian-Canadian Folklorist. He was educated at the University of Toronto, University of Manitoba, Harvard, and Indiana University. He is best known as Curator of the Slavic and East European Program at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, and for his Canadian prairies fieldwork collecting songs and other folkloric materials of early Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants.

collected for this study is mediated. An assumption was made that the study participants had fairly accurate memory recall. It is also recognized that some of the information is at least one generation removed from the primary source. When designing the protocol it was known that personal cultural experiences, as well as familial and friendship connections to the participants may impact the results. Therefore, being aware of possible biases, strategies that would make prejudices and preconceptions explicit were consciously incorporated into the data collection and analysis procedures. This included following a structured data collection model, creating multiple-gender and generational sampling of participants, and incorporating a data review with peers following the completion of my fieldwork.

Reflexivity – The Researcher's Perspective

Within contemporary folklore texts it is generally understood that when observing a study group and collecting data we "need to understand the perspectives of the people being studied in order to explain or even describe accurately the activities in which those people engage."[6] It is equally important to understand the perspective of the researcher and how it may impact the outcome. Researcher backstories can reveal biases, but can alternately provide insight into the thoroughness of their processes and procedures.

My choice of topic and approach to researching embroidered *podushky* has been influenced by past experiences. I myself am of Ukrainian heritage; a 3rd generation Ukrainian Canadian that grew up surrounded by the trifecta of iconic Ukrainian imagery – the *pysanka*, *rushnyk*, and *podushka.* Many Ukrainian cultural customs and rituals have always been a part of my lifestyle and there is an inherent understanding that is associated with that close connection. When exploring the meaning and significance of embroidered *podushky* I found that I was able to contextualized current research findings by referencing my personal past to support and/or contrast the data.

In the mid to late 1970s, I was exposed to the value of Ukrainian folklore by way of a cultural revival while attending the Ukrainian Canadian summer camp phenomenon "SELO – Culture Immersion Camps" hosted by the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (CUYA). Through these camps I gained a foundational understanding of Ukrainian folklore and established a network of colleagues, friends, and acquaintances who could later be approached for academic consultation and assistance with fieldwork. In addition, as an active participant in the Ukrainian Canadian community, I am familiar with many

[6] Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*, 230.

Ukrainian organizations and institutions across the country including the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA), the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta (UCAMA), the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok), and the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC).

The approach to my thesis topic and research methodology was directly influenced by two previous projects that focused on textile research. In 2013, I participated in procuring a large donation of folklore materials for the BMUFA. One of my responsibilities was to interview the donor with respect to the textiles in the collection, including 20 embroidered *podushky*. In May of 2015, I designed and implemented a research project for a class assignment, in HECOL 569 – Material Culture. That project became the prototype for the research methodology for this thesis. Additional inspiration came from recent studies in folklore, anthropology, and material culture at the University of Alberta.[7] Exposure to approaches in qualitative research by H. R. Bernard and N. Quinn, and the scholarly works of J.D. Prown, G. Finley, E. McLung Flemming, I. Hodder, J. Anderson, U. Hannerz, and A. Appadurai directly informed the design and perspective I applied to this research challenge.

I have also approached my research from the perspective of an artist.[8] Previous academic and career activities as a creator of art have weighed in on my approach to data collection; naturally questioning materials, processes, inspiration, and meaning.

Methodology

The research design for this study involved a multiple method approach that explored artifact-person/family relationships. Emphasis was on data collection specifically related to Canadian-made embroidered *podushky* inspired by Ukrainian folkloric elements including techniques, patterns, customs and traditions. The inquiry focused on both the production and consumption of these artifacts over time and an attempt was made to gather and compare data across the entire country.

The research protocol began with a literature review, followed by a combination of artifact analysis with live interview surveys, as well as visitations to several cultural institutions. The

[7] MLCS 632 – Folklore Research Methods, ANTHRO 587 - Cultural Anthropology, HECOL,569 – Material Culture In Practice, HECOL 661 – Perspectives on Material Culture, HECOL 668 – Material Culture and Curatorship.
[8] BFA – Art & Design, University of Alberta, 1981.

methodology was influenced by H. R. Bernard and his premise that ethnographic information coupled with survey data can provide more insight than either does alone.[9]

Ethics Guidelines

Research design was directed by University of Alberta guidelines for the ethical conduct of research with human participants. Research ethics were central to developing the protocol and supporting data, with a focus on:

> [the] protection of the participants and maximizing benefits while minimizing harms. The review process is determined by the level of risk the proposed research presents for the participants. The level of risk is dependent on the participants, their capacity to provide free and informed consent and the nature of the intervention or activity being studied. Minimal risk and above minimal risk research is conducted in all domains. Using a proportionate review process, the REBs ensure that individual research projects involving human participants, identifiable data and/or human biological material meet the requirements of the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans* and University policy as well as provincial, federal and other legislation and regulations, as applicable.[10]

This study was preceded by ethics approval. Each interview was initiated by reviewing the University of Alberta Information Sheet and Consent Form (Appendix 1). Forms were read and signed prior to the commencement of each interview/artifact analysis session.

Literature Review

To establish a context for this thesis it was important to define key terms, definitions and terminology, as well as to identify models, case studies, and historic data that contextualized and supported the topic. A literature review focused on several aspects including: the history of embroidery in Ukraine and Canada, Ukrainian immigration to Canada, ethnic identity in diaspora, material culture, artifact analysis, and qualitative research methodology.

[9] Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology*, 290.
[10] University of Alberta, Research Ethics Office, http://www.reo.ualberta.ca/Human-Research-Ethics.aspx

Fieldwork: Interviews and Artifact Analysis

In the summer of 2015, I conducted fieldwork in fifteen (15) major urban centers across Canada: Sidney, BC, Victoria, BC, Vancouver, BC, Edmonton, AB, Calgary, AB, Saskatoon, SK, Winnipeg, MB, Toronto, ON, Kingston, ON, Ottawa, ON, Montreal, PQ, Halifax, NS, Dartmouth, NS, Truro, NS, and Sydney, NS. I interviewed 57 individuals,[11] visited 6 cultural institutions,[12] and analyzed 496 different embroidered *podushky* (plus one machine embroidered and one woven). Artifact analysis was a component of the interview protocol, with information from each activity contributing to the overall body of data.

Interviews

In combination with artifact analysis, data was collected from recorded interviews. I chose a semi-structured, open ended script interview strategy because it offered more detail than a questionnaire and can potentially produce ethnographically rich data.[13] Prospective participants fell into two categories: 1) they were known to me personally or, 2) were referred by a mutual acquaintance. All potential participants were invited in person, by email, or by phone. Interview participants in each location were further selected by their availability and accessibility. All but three participants had at least one embroidered *podushka* in their possession.[14]

The protocol for the each session was the same:

- Part 1 – Introductions, review of project goals , protocols, and consent forms[15]
- Part 2 – Analysis of *Podushky* - Each *podushka* was examined individually and photographed; data was recorded on the "Embroidered Pillow Data Collection Sheet" [16]
- Part 3 –Interview - During the course of the artifact analysis I posed several questions to the participant(s) [17]
- Part 4 – Concluding remarks
- Part 5 – Institutions only – I posed additional questions relating to data collection processes and materials.
- With the permission of each participant the sessions were recorded and artifacts were photographed.

[11] Appendix 2 - List of Participants
[12] Appendix 3 - List of Institutions
[13] Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology*, 159-179.
[14] Michael Stepanczak and Pearl Petrash shared *podushka* stories from their past, and Oksanna Ensslen shared her mother's embroidery patterns and information about her creative process.
[15] Appendix 1 - Information Sheet and Consent Form
[16] Appendix 4 - Embroidered Pillow Data Collection Sheet
[17] Appendix 5 - Interview Questions

Jon Anderson's strategy to access knowledge was loosely applied when choosing the interview setting. Based on the premise that information about the "lives of individuals can be gained through making geographical context more explicit within qualitative research methods" the ideal place of interview was determined to be the living room of a home.[18] Embroidered *podushky* are most often displayed in this location.[19] Interviews were indeed conducted in living rooms for each of the sessions with the exception of one participant in Sydney, six participants in Halifax/Dartmouth and three in Edmonton, who all agreed to meet in alternate locations that also provided an ethnographically contextual location.[20] Institution interviews were held within each facility with the exception of the Embroidery Association of Canada, which was held in the living room of a private home in Montreal.

Each session was approximately 1.5 hours long and included both closed and open-ended questions. The strength of the combined method was that the interviewees' personal narratives, coupled with the artifact analysis, allowed for a deeper understanding of the artifacts, and the related practices and traditions.

Artifact Analysis

Artifacts can embody and reflect distinct cultural beliefs and expressions, and though they exist in the present they equally represent the past.[21] As the aesthetics of an object can open a conduit to cultural understanding, I found it important to include artifact analysis in the research protocol; it ultimately became the focal point of the study. Each participant was asked to provide at least one embroidered *podushka* for their interview. Examination of the article relied heavily on Material Culture methods for artifact analysis. Assessment models developed by Prown, Finley, and McLung Flemmng were combined to best meet the criteria of this investigation. The modified model provided an outline for the interview questions and served as a basis on which each *podushka* was documented. To clarify the approach, a summary of each methodology has been included in Appendix 9 – Artifact Analysis Methodologies.

[18] Anderson,"Talking Whilst Walking," 254-261.
[19] Klymasz,"Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery."
[20] BMUFA in Edmonton, a church basement in Sydney, NS, and Sobey's meeting room for the Ukrainian Club in Dartmouth, NS.
[21] Prown, "Mind in Matter," 1-19.

The primary focus of the artifact analysis was to collect information in each of the following categories:

1. **Material Composition** - An analysis of the overall appearance of the artifact and its composition: fabric, embroidery threads, material sources, and stuffing.
2. **Construction** - Consideration of dimensions, proportions, style, fabrication, quality of craftsmanship: size, shape, assembly, and *podushka* back.
3. **Decoration** - Notation of decorative elements including: embroidery stitches, pattern orientation, embroidery patterns, "cross-pollination" of techniques, reverse side, embellishments, and samplers.
4. **Function** - Why the object was created, how it was used and displayed: as art, utilitarian purposes, gifts, and fund-raising.
5. **Provenance** - the chronological story of where and when the object was created.
6. **Significance –** Associated traditions, rituals, and how meaning changed over time.

- Data Types - There were four types of data collected:
  1. Audio recordings: 49 files for a total of 110 hrs
  2. Artifact analysis sheets: 498 – a total of 496 hand-embroidered *podushky* were documented plus one machine embroidered and one woven.
  3. Photographs:
     a. *Podushka* Photos – total: 3465 (including fronts, backs and details)
     b. Family photos provided by the interviewees: 57
  4. Field notes and Correspondence

- Data Organization/Management/Processing
  - Each data type was organized, and processed separately.
  - A photograph of each *podushka* is recorded in Appendix 7 – Embroidered *Podushky*
  - Data related to each *podushka* is recorded in Appendix 6 – *Podushka* Data Chart
  - Upon completion all data will deposited to the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta.

Reliability and Validity

Ideally the analysis of collected information supports the possibility of replicating the results and observations. The validity of a research project is established by determining whether or not the

research has truly measured that which it was intended to do.[22] The process of triangulation is applied to the data to establish validity. This project design is based on a previous pilot study conducted in HECOL 569. In that study the methodology was repeated with three different groups in order to test the reliability and validity of the protocol and the collected information. Based on the outcomes of that assignment, modifications were applied to the protocol and data collection sheets for the fieldwork related to this study. As the researcher, I searched for a convergence among the different sources of information, looking for compatible themes and patterns in the study. I also looked for a consistency in the data collected from each of the sessions. Although participants were unaware of the results of other sessions, there were many similar outcomes between them all; *podushka* data, demographic information, consumption patterns and related traditions were very closely comparable.

Summary

The interview sessions were structured such that embroidered *podushky* became a focal topic of discussions that could stimulate recollections about both past and current production and consumption activities. I found the information was not easily articulated by the participants, especially when each had to negotiate the past and present or contrast one example against another. It was difficult to directly address many of the questions without first identifying who had created the *podushka* and how many generations removed the new owner was from the original artisan. Also, answering why the *podushky* were made was one conjecture that was greatly influenced by the temporal distance between when each *podushka* was produced and the present. For example, some of the granddaughters of artisans found it difficult to identify what would inspire a young pioneer woman, with many domestic responsibilities and no running water or electricity, to find time to embroider a *podushka*. Luckily, the demographic of the interviewees included 24 participants who had embroidered at least one *podushka* and could respond to interpretations of the history and significance of the specific *podushky* that they had each created. Through discussions that referenced the artifacts we were able to get a partial picture of the evolution of meaning through time.

Capitalizing on the synergy between myself and participants, and their connection to the *podushky,* I was able to generate a large corpus of data. The participants each provided information, the objects added more, and the setting stimulated even more discussion, prompting many more questions and comments than were planned for the minimum protocol. After I started, I found that my original

[22] Golafshani, "Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research," 602.

system of matching photos to the audio interviews was cumbersome. I modified my plans in the field to include systematic photography coordinated with the recordings to better organize the data for future analysis.

The multiple method approach was successful in producing a large sampling of relevant data that could help confirm conclusions. Coupling object analysis with interviews produced a plethora of information. The discourse was an exceedingly rich source of data; the interviews provided a great deal of insight into the context and complexity of the topic at hand. This project generated several insights into the production and consumption of Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky* that can be reliably added to the scant amount of information that currently exists. The 496 hand-embroidered *podushka* sampling is a large enough body of information to suggest average sizes, trends in pattern sources and interpretation, and the historic time frame within which the majority of the *podushky* were created. It also helped record and comprehend changes in form and meaning over time.

Chapter 2 – Contextual History

The History of Embroidered *Podushky*

Pillows are something many of us take for granted. In western society, they are primarily a functional object used to support our heads when sleeping in bed or when propped up in a chair, and are often thought of as "everyday" household linen; one of the first items purchased, or received as a gift, when establishing a new home. The first pillows date back to approximately 7000 BC; used by the upper classes in Mesopotamia. Archeological findings indicate that many were made of wood or stone. In Egypt, hard pillows were placed under the heads of the deceased. Other findings suggest that pillows were also used to raise the heads of the living off the floor while sleeping. In Asia, particularly China, pillow-like artifacts have also been unearthed which were made from a variety of other hard materials including porcelain, bamboo, and jade. Their purpose appears to be similar to others with the additional benefit of raising the head to protect elaborate hair styles. The Roman and Greeks of ancient Europe perfected the softer, textile based pillow; characteristically a fabric envelope filled with soft stuffing. Artifact analysis suggests that the pliable form lent itself to increasing comfort while sleeping and kneeling to pray, and served as a protective base for religious artifacts.[23]

In Eastern Europe embroidered *podushky* were originally reserved for the wealthy and not widely documented until the Industrial Revolution. Vira Zaychenko, senior curator of the History Museum in Chernihiv, Ukraine, has identified several examples dating back to the mid-17th century that reflect the higher status of *podushky*; one in particular among the ranks of the Kozaks:

> The daughter of Hetman I. Samoylovych [1672-1687] was married to F. Sheremetyev, a high-ranking Russian boyar; in her dowry several embroidered items are mentioned, among them "a bed sheet embroidered with gold and green thread and six pillow cases to match."[24]

There are other references to the significance of *podushky* within the tradition of Eastern European dowries going back to the times of Peter the Great and the early 18th century. At the time, Peter I issued laws that prohibited women from inheriting any estate or possessions. A dowry became the only way for parents to pass on any material possessions to their daughters. The dowry form and shape depended on the circumstances of the family and usually included whatever was needed and available. In most cases

[23] Juergens, "Ancestral Tablet or Pillow? The Subjectivity of Appearance and Function."
[24] "Magnificent Ukrainian Embroidery of the 17–18 centuries."

the bride was expected to provide the pots, pans, bedding (blankets and pillows), and other household linens. During the Soviet era, a dowry was often put on display to showcase a potential bride; embroidered pillows were frequently stacked to the ceiling to indicate the depth of family wealth.[25]

The invention of the Cotton Gin at the end of the 18th century made mass production of cotton textiles possible, after which pillows quickly became popular and more accessible. By 1897, in the United States, customers at Sears, Robuck & Co. could choose from 63 different pillow styles within a wide price range.[26]

Throughout time, in addition to being a utilitarian domestic item, the pillow has also played a role in the religious rituals of many cultures. Searching the term "ritual pillow" brings up a variety of examples including the Yoruban (Nigerian) Itefa ritual of burning pillows to gain self-identity,[27] the shoe pillow found in the Mexican Quinceanera (a young woman's coming of age ceremony),[28] and the "Pajamas-Inside-Out, Spoon-Under-the-Pillow-Snow-Day" ritual in Glastonbury, Connecticut.[29] I am most familiar with three specifically found within Ukrainian Canadian tradition including the ring-bearer's pillow during a wedding ceremony, the pillow used for the blessing of a new cross, and he funerary pillow that supports the head of the deceased. There were 4 ring bearer's pillows (see Appendix 7 - 11b-8, 24-11, 24-12, 39-4) and one cross blessing pillow (see Appendix 7 - 46-2) documented in this study.

Historically, the application of decorative elements on pillows has evolved. By researching decorative pillows in conjunction with terms such as "porcelain", "jade" and "wooden carved," as well as culturally specific examples including Turkish and Egyptian pillows, one gains a sense of the depth and breadth of pillow ornamentation globally over time. Some of the oldest museum artifacts include examples that were carved or painted with symbolic plant and/or animal motifs, and various collections provide evidence of how the advancements in textiles lead to transferring similar images to surfaces suitable for embroidered embellishments.[30] The designs and techniques for textiles vary around the world. Common ornamentation techniques include embroidery, weaving, and batik.

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[25] Denisova, *Rural Women in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet*, 88.
[26] "Sears, Robuck & Co. Catalogue," 602.
[27] Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual*, 64.
[28] "Quinceañera Celebration." and "Quinceañera Traditions."
[29] Handel, "Snow-Day Superstition."
[30] The Victoria and Albert Museum in London has a large assortment of decorative pillows including one of the world's largest collections of ceramic pillows from the Ming dynasty as well as an extensive collection of domestic textiles from Turkey, North Africa, and Egypt spanning a period of more than 3000 years.

In some circles embroidered *podushky* have been considered a form of folk art; in other words art which is primarily utilitarian and decorative, created by an indigenous culture, or by peasants or other laboring tradespeople.[31] However, as a term originally defined by 19th century aesthetics, "folk art" in reference to Ukrainian Canadian embroidered pillows in the rapidly growing age of globalized culture and urbanization can be confusing. In fact, in Canada since the beginning of the 20th century there are individuals that have made a dedicated effort to elevate embroidery in stature to a form of "Fine Art";[32] justifying the status by implying that it is a work of self-expression and an application of human creativity and imagination produced primarily for its aesthetic value and emotional power. In the 1920s and 30s, Lady Constance Nanton of the Crafts Guild of Manitoba and Savella Stechishin of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada worked steadfastly to promote embroidered artifacts, produced by artisans from all walks of life, as works of fine art to be revered and displayed in homes, museums and galleries.[33, 34] When referring to the embroidery I have interchanged the terms "folk art", "needlework", and "handicraft" depending on the context; "folk art" in reference to cultural influence, "needlework" when commenting on the medium and technique, and "handicraft" from the perspective of historic exhibition and festivals concerning various other art forms.

Terminology referring to a pillow which has been embroidered is varied as well. In fact, the term for the object itself is, in some cases, contentious. Within this study, several participants referred to the object as a "pillow," while others felt strongly that it should be called a "cushion." The "pillow," as defined by Meriam-Webster is unclear "a bag filled with soft material used as a cushion usually for the head of a person who is lying down." And the definition of a cushion: "a pillow or pad stuffed with a mass of soft material, used as a comfortable support for sitting or leaning on"; thus making the cross reference confusing. In English, common names for the decorative pillow cover are: "pillow-case," "pillow sham," or "cushion cover." They can be found among various cultures around the globe, each with its own terminology associated with the overall artifact, and the actual cover.

[31] There are a variety of definitions for the term "folk art." For the purpose of this study I have adopted the definition posted on the on-line Encyclopedia of Art Education Museums http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/definitions/folk-art.htm. Art Galleries such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York often classify embroidered items as forms of folk art from the related culture or country.

[32] Since the early 1920s, the Embroidery Association of Canada and its membership have been towards elevating the status of embroidery. Savella Stechishin, together with Mrs. Illingsworth of Saskatoon, worked with embroidery guilds across the prairies to achieve this goal.

[33] From, Dot, "Manitoba History."

[34] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian, 93.*

I found that in several Ukrainian language publications, published in western Ukraine and in North America prior to 1926 until the late 1950s, the objects were referred to as "*podushky*." For example, in the Ukrainian magazine *Nova khata* [The New Home][35] and in the Canadian book *Mystetski skarby ukrainskyh vyshyvok* [Treasured Ukrainian Artistic Embroidery][36] the artifact was referred to as a "*decoratyvna podushka*" [decorative pillow]. In the publication *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* [Ukrainian Voice – Almanac][37] the artifact is referred to as "*podushky* shcho vyshyti" [pillows that are embroidered]. In the magazine *Zhinochyi svit* [Women's World][38] it is referred to as a "*vyshyvanna poshyvka na podushky*" [embroidered cover for a pillow]. However, in contrast, books published in central Ukraine under Soviet rule use the term "*navolochka*." Examples include *Dekoratyvnoho-prykladne mystetstvo radians'koi Bukovyny* [Decorative Applied Arts of Soviet Bukovyna][39] and *Ukrains'ka vyshyvka* [Ukrainian Embroidery];[40] both books use the work "*navolochka*" to specifically identify samples of embroidered pillow covers. This term made its way to North America; an example was found in an exhibition catalogue from The Ukrainian Museum in New York, in 1980. For the purpose of this study I have chosen to refer to the artifacts as "embroidered *podushky*," whether stuffed or flat, reflecting the terminology most used by the study participants.

Embroidered *Podushky* in Ukraine

Within Eastern Europe, specifically the geographical area of Ukraine, ornamentation of garments and domestic furnishings dates back to the time of the Scythians (circa the 8th century BC).[41] Surviving archeological specimens from that era indicate that embroidery, beadwork, and applique were widespread decorative techniques. Later, remnants of old textiles from Kievan Rus (9th-13th cc) testify to a prevalence of high skill and expressive execution of embroidery.[42] Over time, needlework evolved. The expansion of communication and trade increased exposure to unique techniques and aesthetics from other regions and countries. The blending of local traditions with the Baroque style of the late 17th early 18th centuries saw the emergence of opulent, original pattern interpretations within Ukraine. Luxurious ornamentation became symbolic of prosperity and reflected the vitality and optimism of the upper class. By the turn of the 19th century, articles that were being made for the upper class by serfs in

[35] *Nova Khata*, March 1930, 18. *Nova khata* was a fashion magazine published in L'viv, Ukraine from 1925 to 1929.
[36] Stechishin, *Mystetski skarby ukrainskyh vyshyvok*, 116.
[37] *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu*, 1943, 122.
[38] *Zhinochyi svit*, May 1952, 24.
[39] Bushyna, *Dekoratyvno-prykladne mystetstvo,* 85.
[40] Kara-Vasyl'eva, *Ukrains'ka vyshyvka, plate 266*.
[41] Kara-Vasyl'eva, *Ukrains'ka vyshyvka,* 16.
[42] Zakharchuk-Chuhai, *Ukrainska narodna zakhidnia vyshyvka,* 92.

workshops were being imitated in peasant homes. Throughout the 20th century creativity of individual artisans continued. For example, in the interview Oksanna Ensslen explained that prior to WW2, while her mother and aunt were still in a Ukraine they had begun creating their own patterns for household linens. The designs were inspired by publications such as *Nova khata, and Nasha dolia* [Our Fate], as well as others from Germany and France.

During this era the creation of decorative textiles, including garments and home décor became more common in the Ukrainian village. Clothing reserved for special and sacred events was embellished, and households were decorated with *rushnyky* and embroidered *podushky*. Almost every peasant woman knew how to embroider. In fact "she was taught from early childhood to prepare her own trousseau [dowry]."[43] The exchange of a dowry was a customary ritual in Ukrainian wedding traditions. A woman's dowry included clothes, linens such as embroidered *podushky* and woven blankets, a rushnyk or two, and other utilitarian objects needed to start one's own home. When recalling stories of life in Ukraine, and subsequent visits back to their ancestral villages, many interview participants commented that embroidered *podushky* on the bed reflected the family's prosperity - the more *podushky* they had, the wealthier they were thought to be. Interviewees Pat and Stanley Hawryliw reminisced about the *podushky* they saw: "the embroidery was on the edges…and the pillows were on the bed…stacked so high they almost touched the ceiling."[44] The size of embroidered *podushky* also varied greatly in Ukraine from a rather small 30 cm x 30 cm, to larger formats of nearly a meter square. To this day, the sight of a pile of embroidered *podushky*, stacked to the ceiling, is common in many village homes.

Figure 2.1 – Ukrainian *Podushky*

In a village near Chernivtsi, Ukraine (May 1980).

The parents of a bride-to-be show off their daughter's dowry *podushky* to family visiting from Canada.

[43] Danchenko, *Folk Art From the Ukraine*, 26.
[44] Pat and Stanley Hawryliw, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 10 June 2015.

In Canada – Creating a sense of place one stitch at a time

When the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants settled on the prairies, they came with minimal provisions and supplies; carpenter's tools, simple farming implements, harnesses, seeds, and sewing needles, were among the basics that filled their travel boxes and sacks. They wore most of their clothes in layers and became known for their sheepskin coats and embroidered blouses. There seemed to be little room for decorative objects unless they also had functional or spiritual value.[45] This was echoed in an interview with 96 year old Katie Parchewski who recalled, "My mother came [to Canada] with nothing. Not even her dowry."[46] The first Ukrainian settlers arrived in Canada at the end of the 19th century, between 1891 and 1914. They were typically peasants who had chosen to emigrate primarily for economic reasons. Many were motivated to relocate by the offer of inexpensive tracts of fertile land; they ended up settling on the prairies as farmers. During this first wave of immigration Canada accepted over 170,000 men, women, and children of Ukrainian descent.[47] Though this suggests a large population, the settlement pattern saw the families widely scattered across thousands of acres of land between Winnipeg and Edmonton. In contrast to the clustered villages in Ukraine, settlement patterns in Canada were based on a grid of quarter sections of land. Many homesteads were separated from each other by a half mile in any direction, filled in between with thick forests and open water.[48] Harsh, conditions such as winter blizzards and summers filled with swarming mosquitoes compounded the isolation.[49] Separation and isolation were a Canadian reality. In addition, men often chose to leave the family for months at a time to find work on the rails or in mines. Many were faced with language barriers, discrimination, and depression. Furthermore, with the onset of WWI many of the single men from the city, of Austro-Hungarian citizenship, were arrested as "enemy aliens" and housed in internment camps across Canada.[50]

Historically this was not only a time of ethnic isolation it was also an era that fostered a fear of assimilation. There were ethnic groups in Canada that were being stripped of their identities. Self-confidence and security which often come with "strength in numbers" had been diluted by physical distance and detachment from both cultural homelands and immediate family members. In 2009, in Toronto at an open conference on the *History of the Book in Canada*, Dr. Paul Hjartarson presented his

[45] Lehr, Introduction to *Zhorna*, xix.
[46] Katie Parchewski, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June, 2015.
[47] Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement In East Central Alberta*, 11.
[48] Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement In East Central Alberta*, 165.
[49] Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement In East Central Alberta*, 11.
[50] Luciuk, *Without Just Cause,* 2.

research on the "Manitoba Ruthenian-English Reader." The book had been introduced for use in Manitoba schools from 1896-1918 to teach Ruthenians (Ukrainians) how to read English. In his opening statements Hjartarson suggested that in the early 1900s education experts and Canadian government officials thought Canada to be a "settler-invaded colony – a nation of immigrants that were regarded as the source of the nation's anxieties and anger," with the immigration boom the question at hand was: "How was the colony to transform the immigrants into good English speaking British subjects?"[51] Both sets of my grandparents were children of 1st wave Ukrainian immigrants. They frequently shared stories of how they experienced prejudice and forced assimilation, particularly through the prohibition of native language use. This is not surprising in light of Hjartarson's revelations regarding government policies and concerns at that time. My perception of this era is that it stimulated self-reliance and independence from the old country. Family connections were strong with an emphasis on physical survival, more so than on nurturing cultural heritage.

Second wave immigrants of the interwar period, from 1920-34, were primarily sponsored families of Canadian citizens and war refugees. During this period Canada accepted approximately 67,000 additional Ukrainian immigrants.[52] In contrast to the previous migration, the demographics included more professionals with higher education than the first wave. The Federal Government imposed stricter individual expectations on the migrants including a commitment to work as farm labourers first for at least one year before they could relocate to urban centres. Many did just that, eventually becoming industrial workers or resuming former professions in the city. As a result, a greater percentage of these immigrants rapidly adapted to the Canadian urban environment. The second immigration was also generally more financially secure, and had fewer illiterates than in the preceding wave; facilitating an easier adjustment to life in a new land. Among this wave, there was also a notable continued association with the Ukraine, "This intercommunication elevated the national consciousness of Ukrainian Canadians and injected a more pronounced Ukrainian orientation into the Ukrainian Canadian community."[53] This influence becomes evident when further studying the history of the embroidered *podushky* in Canada, and is elaborated on in chapter four.

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in 1945, in the post WWII era, bringing in another 30,000 Ukrainians over six years. The majority emigrated via displaced persons camps in Western Europe; their journeys often placed them in countries such as Germany, France,

[51] Hjartarston, "Now Then, All Together!"
[52] Kaye and Swyrypa, "A Heritage in Transition," 33.
[53] Kaye and Swyrypa, "A Heritage in Transition," 51-52.

and/or England for months, even years, before their final move to Canada. The demographics were quite different from the preceding groups. For example, many families were forced to leave Ukraine without notice, without time to pack any belongings with them, and "The third wave of immigrants had a much higher percentage of persons with university, college, or technical education… [they were] almost entirely urban."[54]

This era included many experiences that later impacted the both the Ukrainian Canadian community and the development of needlework in Canada. Most adults in the camps worked to financially support their families. Several interviewees for this project shared how their mothers were employed as seamstresses in the camps, often applying embroidery to clothing or linens; others supported their families by selling embroidered items to the American soldiers. Several travelled to Canada with their patterns and embroidery books. For many, a family lifestyle of two working parents was established prior to landing on Canadian soil. The third immigration also fed into the intellectual community, and though their arrival provoked some suspicions and conflicts, they "greatly re-energized the Ukrainian Canadian community."[55]

Place-Making – Living in the Diaspora

The first half of the 20th century marked a period of mass migration to Canada. Whereas the Canadian government was concerned with how the colony was going to control the flood of immigrants, ethnic groups were confronting identity issues and countering assimilation into the Canadian contemporary cultural melting pot. Displacement and issues of ethnic identity in diaspora are phenomenon experienced the world over. The cultural complexity surrounding immigration and diasporic communities have been the focus of many studies within various disciplines and faculties. I apply an anthropological perspective on place-making and locality when studying the embroidered *podushky* relative to the situation of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. Ulf Hannerz has proposed that the symbolic and social aspects of a people exists simultaneously within three dimensions 1) ideas and thoughts, 2) how these are communicated, and 3) how they are distributed within a society.[56] The integration of these variables forms a "locality." In addition, by suggesting that "ideas and thoughts" can be represented by both words and physical objects, the space we live in, this "place-making" can be

[54] Kaye and Swyrypa, "A Heritage in Transition," 53.
[55] Kaye and Swyrypa, "A Heritage in Transition," 54.
[56] Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity*, 7.

further defined by physical, institutional, and semiotic aspects where both property and geographic territory can define a space.[57]

There have been several studies on the impact of diasporas on the production of art. Philosopher and art historian Cynthia Freeland observed that:

> What holds a community together in periods of loss of their homeland is often their cultural traditions, including religions and rituals along with dance, singing, story-telling, painting, and so on…As people are forced (or choose) to move around the globe, their descendants emerge with a new, hybridized identity.[58]

Freeland believes that immigrants preserve their cultural traditions over several generations; also acknowledging that diasporic communities contribute to the changes and evolutions of an art form by introducing new mediums and interpretations. Customs from the past mix with new inspirations to create a new place. From this frame of reference, when studying the complexity of social and cultural integration of ethnic groups into early 20th century Canadian lifestyle, we can imagine that immigrants decorated their homes in part to create a "home away from home." Interviewee Lena Denysyk retold the story from her mother, "when they got here [Manitoba]...the first thing she did [embroidered] was a pillow…there was no room to bring her wedding stuff [dowry]."[59]

Place-making, as examined within the Ukrainian Canadian case study, can be observed in the built environment (architecture, landscape, and sacred locations), material culture (functional and decorative objects), events (festivals), unique experiences (tourism, terroirs), historical commemoration (museums, monuments), performance and the arts (dance, music, theatre, painting and sculpture). All are relevant to the circumstances of a new Canadian. Each form of expressive culture can be studied in depth. For the purpose of this thesis the focus is on material; specifically the embroidered *podushky*.

Ongoing research across Canada has produced several noteworthy papers and publications addressing issues of Ukrainian Canadian history, immigration, assimilation and cultural identity.[60] In his paper sociologist, Wsevolod Isajiw directly addresses ethnic identity and identifies five diasporic ways of connecting to the homeland 1) personal- family-related visits, 2) group-organized visits, 3) organized

[57] Appadurai, "Production of Locality," 178-199.
[58] Freeland, *Art Theory, 55.*
[59] Lena Denesyk, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, 17 June 2015.
[60] The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton and Toronto), Oseredok and the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, as well as the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon are all major research hubs in Canada focussing on the study of Ukrainian culture, language, history, religion and politics from historical and cross-cultural perspectives.

health and poverty assistance programs, 4) organized democracy development programs, including economic development, and 5) a symbolic set of activities.[61] Most relevant for this discussion is the fifth – engaging in a symbolic set of activities. In heterogeneous communities, urban centres such as Edmonton's downtown core, or within numerous prairie farming communities, "engaging in a symbolic set of activities" could easily be translated to the establishment of political reading groups, choirs, dance groups, and embroidery classes. Like many other ethnic groups, Ukrainians have adapted to relocation, displacement, immigration, and other assimilation pressures by constructing new sets of material and immaterial connections in order to [re]establish a sense of belonging and identity. Churches, community halls and museums became important institutions that facilitated the public defining of self, cultural, and national identity.[62] The activities that took place inside these institutions were also intrinsically part of the place-making process. "The making of crafts is a connective process that fosters social, spatial, cultural, spiritual and temporal connections."[63] Embroidery classes brought Ukrainian women together. For example, in the early 1900s, many rural schools as well as Ukrainian Canadian community halls and church basements hosted embroidery classes. Women from the major cities were sometimes invited to share their needlework knowledge with women in the local community.[64]

Embroidery – Defining Identity

How does place-making relate to material culture? And, how did the embroidered *podushky* help redefine the Canadian landscape as home to Ukrainian immigrants? Place-making and expressions of identity can be defined by their attachment to a physical environment such as community and domestic spaces as well as to personal possessions. Canadian folklorist Robert Klymasz points out that immigrant folklore proceeds along a route marked by three stages that run parallel to the integration of immigrants into society: resistance (to change), breakdown (due to change), and reconstitution (adjustment to change).

> "The initial stage...serves to promote and maintain a tight and cohesive framework for continuity…in the hostile social and natural environment…The second stage [is an] attempt to detach from dysfunctional survivals while asserting the need for

[61] Isajiw, "The Ukrainian Diaspora," 316.
[62] Kaplan, "Two Nations in Search of a State," 585-606.
[63] Hadjiyanni, "[Im]Materiality and Practice," 60.
[64] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian,* 106.

> a continuity of the folklore heritage in some form or another….The third stage…acts to resolve ongoing tensions between old and new."[65]

In Canada, particularly on the prairies during the early 1900s, progress (industrial, economic, transportation, communication) was swift. This was echoed in the lives of immigrants. Most Ukrainian Canadians worked rapidly through Klymasz's tripartite sequence of stages; old and new came to coexist quite quickly. Embroidery was one of several cultural elements that transitioned as well. Material culture is closely linked to practice and spatiality; it can be said that "an artifact holds and encapsulates both action and thought."[66]

People from varying ethnic backgrounds embroider for a variety of reasons: to adorn themselves, to distinguish themselves from other communities, to be outstanding among their peers, to express generational differences, to communicate stories and feelings, or simply to make a living. The embroidery itself can embody and represent an entire cultural complex of knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, and customs of a specific socialized group.[67] There are many global examples. In Canada it is particularly evident among aboriginal communities. People of the Dene Nation[68] embroider designs that are aesthetically pleasing and, in many cases, also identify family lineage.[69] There are also examples of Inuit embroidery and applique known to symbolically represent various folk legends from the community. [70]

Historically, within Ukraine, embroidery has been used to "name" or "label" communities and individuals. For centuries, among Ukrainians, including those in the diaspora, it was common to be able to identify a person's village by the type of embroidery on their shirt or blouse, assuming they were wearing one from their home village. Specific colours, motifs and stitches were characteristic of particular, geographic areas.[71] For example, white on white embroidery is representative of the Poltava area (Figure 2.2a); a black, red, pink, green combination embroidered on the diagonal on a blouse sleeve is associated with Bukovyna (Figure 2.2b); and bold geometric patterns in oranges, reds, greens, yellows

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[65] Klymasz, "From Immigrants to Ethnic Folklore," 134-135.
[66] Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture,* 170.
[67] Corona-Berkin, "Indigenous Embroidery in the Construction of Ethnic Identity," 98-102.
[68] The Dene Nation is a political organization in Denendeh, meaning "*The Land of the People*", located in Northwest Territories, Canada. The Dene Nation covers a large geographical area — from present day Alaska to the southern-most tip of North America. http://www.denenation.com.
[69] Thompson, *From the Land*, 1994.
[70] Kobiyashi, *Sinews of Survival*, 1997.
[71] Wynnycka, *Ukrainian Embroidery*, 14.

and black were typical on garments worn in the Carpathian Mountains (see Figure 2.2c). Smaller, more intricate nuances could even identify the specific person that crafted the piece.

a.

b.

c.

Figure 2.2 – Regional Embroidery

a) An embroidered blouse from a village near Chernivtsi, Ukraine featuring beads incorporated into the diagonal pattern on the sleeves.
b) A closed up of white-on-white embroidery on a blouse purchased in Kyiv, Ukraine.
c) A man's shirt from a village in the Carpathian Mountains near Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine.

Regional differentiation was occasionally significant among immigrant families in Canada. In the early 1950s, some University of Alberta students of Ukrainian descent, from outlying farming communities, lived in residence at St. John's Institute on Whyte Avenue. My aunt Sophia (Sembaliuk) Morrison was one of them, and retold the story of how she, like several of the other girls, wore one of her mother's embroidered blouses for special events. She was able to identify the regional ancestries of many of the residents based on the embroidery on their blouses.[72]

Embroidery as an ethnic marker, both regionally and globally, has the inherent capability to identify locality, and therefore the display of embroidery can be interpreted as a form of place-making.[73] It can also be argued that the act of creating the items also plays a role in identifying space. Both in the cities and across the countryside, Ukrainians were motivated to establish themselves within the Canadian social framework. Construction in each settlement included the raising of churches, community halls, museums and supporting businesses. Ultimately these forms of place-making evolved into the forces of commodification and popular imagery the influenced the spatial representation of Ukrainians on the prairies.

[72] Sophia Morrison, Interviewed by the author, Sidney, BC, 11 July 2015.
[73] Corona-Berkin, "Indigenous Embroidery in the Construction of Ethnic Identity," 99.

At the local level, embroidery played a significant role in helping establish identity, possibly due to the nature of the duality of its inherent properties. First, embroidery is one of the most popular manifestations of Ukrainian folk art and visually "…underlines the community's allegiance to its ethnic heritage."[74] It is one of the most accessible forms of cultural expression and gives an object its "Ukrainianess." Throughout the 1950s and 1960s embroidery classes were very popular. They were "attracting Canadian-born women and girls; bringing them together with immigrant-generation women…older women taught younger women and girls how to embroider traditional Ukrainian patterns and designs…and, among 2nd and 3rd generations no language proficiency was required."[75] Many interviewees in this study had memories of Ukrainian embroidery classes that were well attended; some even went on to teach what they had learned. Each community had key figures that came to mind during interviews. Darcia Antonishka's mother Mary taught in both Winnipeg and later in Surrey, BC. In the Edmonton area there were several popular instructors. June Melnychuk remembered Olga Semchuk, Nadia Bodnar, and Ann Emsky; and Lida Lahola remembered Nadia Cyncar as well as her own mother meeting with friends to share embroidery techniques and patterns. They would meet in homes or at the church (either St. John's or St. Josephat's Cathedral). Orysia Yereniuk recalled "[my mother] taught other people. She was "Pani Vyshyvka" (Mrs. Embroidery) in Preston, Ontario."[76] It was the same all across the country. In Sydney, NS, Father Roman Dusanowskyj shared stories of teaching at youth summer camps across Canada and in the United States. The embroidery threads created a bond, and a community was formed. Within the collections at the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta (UCAMA) there are several group photos that capture the cultural pride and personal satisfaction in the completion of a piece of embroidery (see figures 2.3 and 2.4).

Canadian historian Rhonda Hinther has focused on the role of women in cultural, political and domestic environments in the 1960s. She points out that whereas food and its preparation had long played an important function in the survival of Ukrainian identity, during this particular era embroidery and other traditional handicrafts also became significant. "They were readily associated with the Ukrainian community [and] accessible to Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian Canadians alike."[77] Moreover, young women could create items for fundraising ventures and contribute to a positive community image. Craft sales became part of community calendar events bringing together member families, congregations, and neighbours.

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[74] Klymasz, "Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery ," 1.
[75] Hinther, "Generation Gap," 34.
[76] Orysia Yereniuk, Interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.
[77] Hinther, "Generation Gap," 33.

Figure 2.3 – Embroidery Class
An embroidery class in Alberta, c1940.
UCAMA – ref. no. Box 036

Figure 2.4 – Embroidery Class
An embroidery class in Edmonton, c1960
UCAMA – ref.no. PH-78-1-184

Place-making in the home

Embroidery was also easily adaptable in that it offered younger generations an outlet for expressing both their Canadian and Ukrainian identities. Young women, wanting to play a role within their ethnic Ukrainian community as well as the greater Canadian social milieu, found that embroidery was a great facilitator. With the gradual increase in economic stability, educational opportunities, and rise in status, many young Ukrainians began to move to larger cities, marry, and buy bigger homes; young women began to follow popular, North American home décor trends. By the late 1920s, both European and North American women's magazines were featuring decorative pillows as popular home décor.[78] Displaying embroidered items in the home, especially pillows and cushions was the latest in home fashion and it also made another statement: "I am following the latest trend, I am part of the crowd"; embroidered pillows had become symbolic of Canadiana. In 1930, Savella Stechishin authored one of the first North American books on Ukrainian Embroidery - *Mystetskyi skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok*.[79] As a prominent figure in the Ukrainian Canadian community, her opinion on embroidery and home décor was well respected.[80] She advocated display of embroidery in the home and wrote:

[78] Examples can be found in the 1928 issues of both *Chatelaine* (June 1928, page 65) and *Nova khata* (*October 1929, page 18)* of advertisements and articles related to embroidered pillows.
[79] Stechishin, *Mystetskyi skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok*, 1950.
[80] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian, viii.*

> "In every home there should be an embroidered table setting [matching tablecloth and napkins]…it is an indication of a wonderful hostess as well as a point of pride" and "In the modern home, decorative pillows on the chesterfield and side chairs are essential. They can be quite exquisite. Of all the types of Ukrainian handiwork the most applicable would be those that are woven or embroidered".[81]

Stechishin had quite a following, particularly in the Orthodox communities on the Canadian prairies. Many women were inspired to follow her home décor suggestions from both her book as well as the many articles she wrote for Ukrainian and Canadian newspapers, journals, and periodicals.[82] With the display of embroidery, a sense of cultural security was being expressed in the home. The home was being decorated to express the aspect of dual cultural identity – supporting cultural traditions and fostering temporal connections between dislocated planes.[83] These Ukrainians were able to construct new sets of material connections, establish a sense of belonging, and define their distinctiveness.

When studying material culture within the domestic spaces, *The Berber House* written by anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu comes to mind. Bourdieu uses the floor plan and artifacts found in a typical Kabyle house to exemplify what we can learn from the spatial and meaning manifestation of home-based activities; "[Bourdieu] reveals how daily actions and movements within a home are subtle but powerful ways by which knowledge surrounding social relations and local worldviews is both shared and acquired."[84] His analytical approach is applicable to Ukrainian Canadian homes from around 1950 to the early 1970s. A very popular place to display an embroidered pillow in the home was on the back of the couch, or as it was called by some, the "chesterfield." This prominent position would allow the pillow to be seen by everyone in the family and all guests. The location was symbolic and practical. After hundreds of hours of intricate work the maker could show off their creation; close in proximity to the artwork hanging on the wall so as to give it similar status. When asked about how embroidered *podushky* were displayed in his childhood home, interviewee Emil Yereniuk noted that "we were looking at these as more like art pieces, and we were to cherish them."[85] There was also the obvious reminder of connections to ethnic roots and ancestral ties; especially if the pillow was created by an earlier

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[81] Stechishin, *Mystetskyi skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok, 102, 116 (translated from Ukrainian by Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn).*

[82] Savella Stechishin authored one book on Ukrainian embroidery and was also a contributing writer to the bi-weekly Ukrainian periodical *Nova khata*, and the women's section of the weekly Canadian newspaper *Ukrains'kyi holos* [Ukrainian Voice]. The majority of her articles related to domestic issues such as food preparation, home décor, hygiene, and handicrafts.

[83] Hadjiyanni, "[Im]Materiality and Practice," 61.

[84] Hadjiyanni, "[Im]Materiality and Practice," 60.

[85] Emil Yereniuk, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.

generation. Also, the couch location was perfect to relay the visual statement – "Modern Canadian-Ukrainians live here."

Figure 2.5 – Hontaryk *Podushky*
Olya Patan, Anna (Hontaryk) McDonald, Lena Rachmistruk sitting in front of embroidered *podushky* created by Melania (Marciniuk) Hontaryk in the late 1950s.
Photo: Edmonton, May 1965.

Figure 2.6 – Cheladyn *Podushky*
John Mudry and Steve Cheladyn sitting in front of embroidered *podushky* created by Mary Mudry in the early 1950s.
Photo Edmonton c1960.

Some embroidered *podushky* were created as timely "fashion statements" that were specifically embroidered to match sofas or side chairs. In her embroidery book, Stechishin encouraged this sort of creativity, "choose thread colours for the [embroidery] patterns so that they match the colour scheme of the rooms and compliment the armchairs."[86] One such example in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives was created by Elizabeth Holinaty in the 1970s.[87] Holinaty explained that she modified a published Ukrainian pattern from a multi-colour palette to a monochromatic orange so that the *podushka* would match her living-room rug. It remained on display until she changed the colour scheme of her furniture and room. Vera Seychuk of Toronto, displayed two *podushky* that she had embroidered on a muted burgundy wool fabric that matched the rest of her living-room décor (see Appendix 7 - 16-9, 16-12) and Daria Twerdochlib presented a *podushka* that her daughter had recently embroidered to

[86] Stechishin, *Mystetskyi skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok, p117 (translated from Ukrainian by Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn).*
[87] BMUFA, Holinaty Collection, UF2013.45.a2

match the colour scheme in her living room (see Appendix 7 - 15-19). These examples were definitely created with home décor in mind.

Ukrainian Identity Beyond the Home

Whether as a fashion statement or a way to identify the home as being "Ukrainian" the embroidered *podushka* has been recognized as an artifact denoting cultural identity.[88] Memories of *podushky* on the back of the couch are common; especially among the baby boomer generation in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Comments from the participants in this study, as well as family and friends have established that growing up Ukrainian in Canada between WW2 and into the 1980s usually included embroidered *podushky* in some family or community related environment. The symbolism has not gone unnoticed. Two specific examples illustrate how embroidered *podushky* have also made their way into mainstream cultural commentary. The Canadian movie *Another Smith For Paradise* (directed by Thomas Shandel) was released in 1972. It featured a Ukrainian Canadian family from Toronto struggling with their place within society.[89] In response to the stress of imposed Ukrainianess within a predominantly Anglo-Saxon community, one of the characters explodes all the family's collection of embroidered *podushky*, symbolizing the denouncement of her cultural roots; a visual negation of her Ukrainian identity. Contemporary artist Hatalka Husar has also symbolically incorporated embroidered *podushky* into her work. Husar is known for her critical commentary on Ukrainian Canadian societal norms. In her collection "Milk and Blood" one of the paintings titled "Immaculate Conception" features embroidered *podushky* on the back of a couch thus noting that the scene is set in the home of people of Ukrainian heritage.

Klymasz feels that the embroidered *podushka* was a popular phenomenon that was also inspired by other factors, not just identity. He feels that they may have also compensated, to some extent, for the gradual loss of Ukrainian as a viable language among Canadians of Ukrainian descent.[90] This may be valid as each generation began to use English as their operating language and replacing Ukrainian with visual logograms consisting of popular embroidery motifs. However, in my project, most of the artisans that created the *podushky* spoke some Ukrainian. Klymasz's observation may apply more accurately to the current generation of Ukrainian Canadians that no longer speak the language but have continued to

[88] Klymasz, "Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery," 1.
[89] *Another Smith For Paradise*, Thomas Shandel director, 1971 (creation).
[90] Klymasz, "Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery," 2.

display embroidered *podushky* as valued family heirlooms. Klymasz questioned not only the *podushky* but all the embroidered items created for the home; and wondered if the meanings had changed over time. One Ukrainian Canadian noted that after so many years of his mother's non-stop embroidery, he was no-longer sure what continued to motivate her. He had noticed that the pieces no longer had "design purpose," nor was there any particular need to enforce identity; the family had been in Canada for over 50 years, was financially stable and accepted into the community. He could only suggest that there were other reasons to continue creating; that the meaning and motivation to embroider had changed.[91] This notion is not far off from the further musing of Dr. Klymasz when he questioned the continued contemporaneity of Ukrainian embroidery:

> "In Canada, the old distinctions between folk/village/secular embroidery on the one hand and sophisticated/religious embroidery on the other is blurred. Nonetheless, it remains an activity dominated by female practitioners. In this connection, psychoanalytic techniques could be adopted to determine whether (and to what extent) this form of Ukrainian folk art parallels the Ukrainian lullaby corpus and functions covertly to provide a socially approved outlet for the expression of suppressed tension and hostilities. Such approaches to the analysis of Ukrainian embroidery, however, remain underdeveloped and highly speculative – albeit suggestive."[92]

Dr. Klymasz has left the topic of inspiration and motivation to create Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky*, and for that matter all embroidery, open for discussion. The creation of these items has been connected to place-making and identity among Ukrainians in diaspora. What has not been extensively examined is exactly how over time and with each wave of immigration this has been transferred down through the generations. Through the example of a simple domestic object we can also see how cultural transfer has made an impact on constantly changing identities and how people chose to adapt to change. On a micro scale we become aware of how material culture of a people contributes to the evolution of home décor. And on a bigger scale, we see how in the diaspora, the dynamism of identity can be expressed though the adaptation and modification of cultural customs and artifacts. In the case of the first two waves of Ukrainian Canadian immigration, the embroidered *podushka* expresses one of the many ways immigrants established a cultural duality, i.e. retaining an ethnic identity while fitting in to the contemporary Canadian social network. The challenge of this thesis

[91] Roman Onufrijchuk, in an interview with the author, Winnipeg, April 2013. BMUFA, Onufrijchuk Collection, UF2013.45
[92] Klymasz, "Crucial Trends in Modern Ukrainian Embroidery," 3.

has been to identify and record the production and consumption trends over the past 125 years, and to address whether or not these embroidered stitches continue to play the same role as in the past, and how the creation and meaning behind the embroidered *podushky* has continued to evolve.

Chapter 3 – Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered *Podushky*

The Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushka* shares several features with those created in Ukraine, but has also acquired North American characteristics. This study was based on the analysis of 496 embroidered *podushky* that were made in Canada or en route to Canada, between 1920 and the present; examples were studied in major cities across the country from Vancouver, B.C. to Sydney, N.S. Sources included private collections as well as those found in museums and archives. Canadian-made *podushky* were found to have several common defining characteristics. Assessment focused on six aspects 1) material composition, 2) construction, 3) decoration, 4) function, 5) provenance, and 6) significance. Analysis of these traits has provided greater insight into the distinct Canadian qualities that define this unique type of artifact.

Material Composition

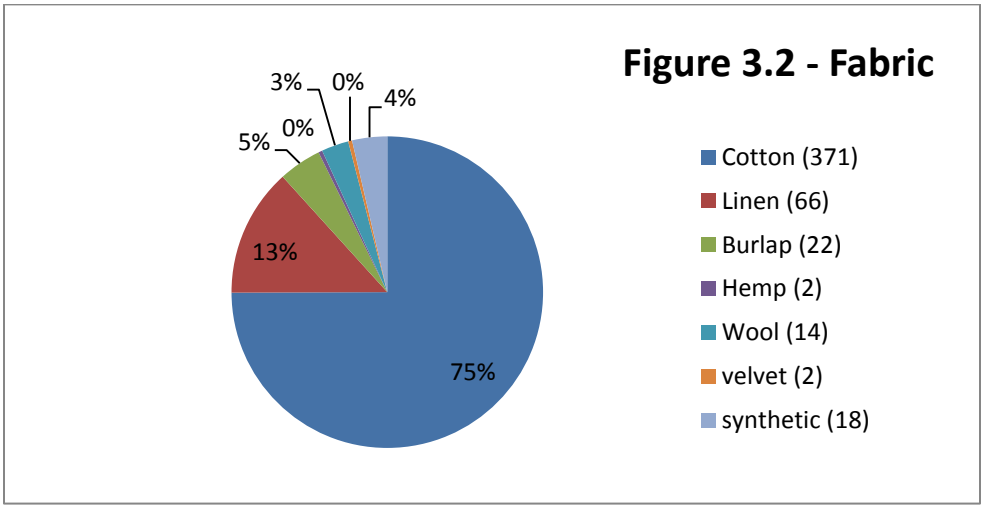
Figure 3.1 – Ukrainian Canadian *Podushka*
Embroidered *podushka* created
by Maria (Makalo) Luciuk in Kingston c1960.
Appendix 7 – 20-1

The typical Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushka* can be simply described as a fabric envelope of cloth approximately 15” x 19” in size, which has been decorated with some form of embroidery, then stuffed and sealed, and displayed decoratively in a room. Characteristically the focal point is the embroidery on one side, which is considered the front, while the back side is left blank and unadorned. The body of the decorative *podushka* is generally more densely stuffed than pillows used for

physical comfort; allowing it to hold its form when propped up for display. There are some variations to this typical appearance. A minority of *podushky* were square rather than rectangular. Three of the 496 hand-embroidered *podushky* were reversible; double sided, with a different pattern on front and back.[93] Some examples had additional decorative details added such as fringes,[94] lace,[95] ruffles,[96] beads,[97] tassels (6),[98] and ribbons.[99] Although the majority were firmly stuffed, there are examples that are softer and less dense, and there are two that were framed. Also documented were three examples of embroidered *podushky* that, while decorative, were primarily utilitarian and used by the owners to sit on.[100]

Fabric

In Canada, the material composition of embroidered *podushky* has varied over time, depending on the availability and evolution of materials. The fabric on the front side, i.e. the piece that is embroidered, was originally either handwoven linen or hemp, purchased cotton, and occasionally wool or burlap. Later, additional types of fibres also appeared; velvet, satin, silk and various synthetic textiles were found among the samples evaluated. Within this study, cotton was the most popular fabric, followed by linen, burlap, synthetic blends, wool, and velvet (Figure 3.2). Notably the two hemp pieces were museum artifacts.



[93] Double sided - pillows no. 40-5, 40-6, 46-21.
[94] Fringes – pillows no. 14-24, 15-14, 16-11, 17-7, 17-8, 37-2, 41-16, 45-5, 45-7, 46-2.
[95] Lace – pillows no. 24-11, 24-12.
[96] Ruffles – pillows no. 3-2, 3-6, 15-4, 15-6.
[97] Beads – pillow no. 40-6.
[98] Tassels – pillows no. 14-8, 14-9, 20-14, 39-3, 46-2, 48-17.
[99] Ribbon – pillows no. 4-4, 38-8, 38-9, 46-2.
[100] Utilitarian – pillows no. 11a-1, 6-5, and 39-1.

Prior to the mid-1930s, handmade linen and hemp were brought with the immigrants from Ukraine, or were handmade or purchased in Canada or the USA. Alice Prociuk[101] and Katie Parchewski,[102] in Saskatoon, at 96 years of age, were the oldest interviewees and spoke of their embroidery experiences in the 1920s. Both recalled how their mothers carefully doled out pieces from a bolt of linen that had been in the travel trunk when the families arrived in Canada prior to 1910. Marika Banias in Winnipeg still had a portion of the bolt of linen that her baba brought with her to Canada in 1949. It had been the source of cloth for several of her baba's embroidered *podushky*.[103] The manufacture of handmade linen and hemp in Canada was relatively short lived due to the negative impact that the retting process had on the environment.[104] In the early 1900s across Canada, early pioneers attempted to ret raw flax and hemp in local lakes. This fermentation/rotting process resulted in the contamination of the local water and death of many fish. Provincial regulations were put in place that banned the process, forcing the purchase of imported handmade or Canadian machine made fabric.[105] Further, hemp could only be grown until 1938, at which time, following the lead of the U.S.A., the Opium and Narcotic Control Act was introduced and it became illegal to grow hemp in Canada.[106] Artisans were then forced to purchase their material.

In the early 1900s the availability of cotton was limited. The cotton plant is indigenous to tropical and subtropical regions and was not found in Eastern Europe nor in Canada at that time. However, in Canada pioneering ingenuity made repurposed cotton flour and sugar sacks a common source of inexpensive fabric. In fact, the early issues of *Kanadis'kyi farmar* included advertisements for bundles of used bleached and unbleached flour sacks "suitable for dust rags, towels, and pillowcases."[107] Two *podushky* (see Appendix 7 - 40-5, 40-6) in this study date back to c1930 and may have been embroidered on fabric from either a sugar or flour sack.

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[101] Alice Prociuk, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.

[102] Katie Parchewski, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.

[103] Marika Banias, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, 15 June 2015.

[104] Retting process - Water retting produces uniform and high-quality fibre, but the process is very labor- and capital-intensive. Stems are immersed in water (rivers, ponds, or tanks) and monitored frequently. Not only is this labor intensive, farmers and/or workers must be knowledgeable about fiber quality. Also, the process uses large volumes of clean water that it thereafter toxic. Water retting has been largely abandoned in countries where labor is expensive or environmental regulations exist. Most hemp fiber currently used in textiles is water retted in China or Hungary. There is speculation that improved microorganisms or direct use of enzymes may allow countries in Europe and North America to produce textile-quality fibres.

[105] *Alberta Provincial Agricultural Operation Practices Act,* and the *Canadian Opium, Narcotic, and Drug Control Act (1938).*

[106] *Canadian Opium, Narcotic, and Drug control Act (1938).*

[107] This weekly Canadian publication was printed in the Ukrainian language, in Winnipeg, MB from 1903 to 1981. It was distributed across Canada to both urban and rural subscribers. Each issue had a one to two page women's section "Dlia zhinok"[Women's Activities] which featured articles on practical subjects such as home remedies and canning. On the women's pages, advertising in issues between 1928-1940 was specific to 'women's needs' such as health tonics for menstrual cramps, mail-order lace patterns, and used flour sacks.

At some point in the mid to late 1930s cotton Aida cloth also became available from urban fabric stores and department stores as well as by mail order. Aida cloth was first invented in Germany in 1890 by the Zweigart Company specifically for the cross-stitch market.[108] This cotton fabric was designed with a wide weave and an uneven grouping of threads that created visible holes making it easy to count threads. It was, and still is, available in various "counts." Aida ranges from 6-count to 22-count (6 stitches per inch, to 22 stitches per inch); the higher the count the finer the fabric. Aida quickly became a popular fabric choice for embroidery for several reasons: it was affordable, the count range made it suitable for use by both the beginner and expert, and enlarged holes made it easy to use where there was limited electricity and lighting. Daria Twerdochlib referred to it as "*panama*"; both she and her mother used the finer count for their *podushky*.[109] Anna Mykytyn and Olga Dusanowskyj commented that Aida allowed them to continue embroidering even as they aged and their eyesight changed.[110] In Canada, in 1938, the increased availability and use of specialized embroidery supplies such as Aida coincided with new advertisements placed by the Ukrainian Bookstore (Edmonton) in various Canadian publications, including *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* (see Figure 3.3). The store's previous advertising featured only books and phonograph records. Then in 1938 the advertisements were reworded to include the availability of "threads, fabric and canvas for embroidery, and embroidery patterns."[111] The Ukrainian Bookstore in Winnipeg also changed their advertising in 1940 to include embroidery supplies including specialized fabric, threads, and patterns.

Figure 3.3 - Advertisement
One of the first Ukrainian Bookstore (Edmonton) advertisements to appear promoting the availability of embroidery supplies.
Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu, 1938, page 137.

[108] Zweigart history: *The Cross-stitch Review*, on-line: http://www.crossstitchreview.com/fabric-aida/
[109] Daria Twerdohlib, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.
[110] Olga Dusanowskyj and Anna Mykytyn, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 23 June 2015.
[111] *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu*, 1938, page 137 (translated from Ukrainian by the author).

Other novelty fabrics such as satin and velvet were also used to back embroidery. Several examples are included in this study. They were embroidered post WW2 and required the use of embroidery canvas referred to in Ukrainian as "*kanva.*" Embroidery canvas is typically a wide weave canvas, similar to burlap that has been stiffened with sizing. It is lightly affixed to the surface of very finely woven fabrics (satin, velvet, cotton) to simulate a wider weave, or more visible grid that can be followed when stitching. After the embroidery has been completed the canvas is pulled out from under the pattern, strand by strand, leaving the embroidery sitting directly on the surface of the fabric. Very few of the interviewees who embroider used *kanva* because they said it added this last, difficult step.

Fabric for the back of the embroidered *podushka* varied. Of the artifacts assessed, several were created from the same piece of material that was just folded in half creating a front and back. Others were embroidered on a fine fabric and then a fabric swatch (often a cotton remnant), in a neutral colour, was attached to the back.

Embroidery Threads

Embroidery thread was typically made of cotton. Though home-dyed threads were common in Ukraine,[112] none of the survey participants dyed their own threads, nor did they recall anyone they knew working with hand-dyed threads in Canada. All reference was to purchased threads - either Clarke's Anchor Brand[113] or D.M.C.[114] Of the participants who embroidered or those that were aware of their mother's/grandmother's embroidery practices, without exception, all indicated that the preferred brand of embroidery thread was D.M.C.. Daria Twerdochlib indicated that they (her grandmother, mother, daughter, and herself) "always used *dem-se,*"[115] a phonetic reference to D.M.C. brand. D.M.C. was first available on the European market in 1886. The colours were said to be stable in the light, rarely fading, and would not run in the wash. They were also considered to have reliable lot colours i.e. colour #900 purchased for one project would still match exactly colour #900 purchased several months later,

[112] *Ukrainian Bukovinian Cross-stitch Embroidery*, 1974, English language insert.

[113] Clarke's Anchor Brand cotton embroidery thread – though this company's owner is credited for inventing twisted cotton embroidery thread it also had the reputation of not holding its colour well, fading rapidly and running in the wash. It fell out of favour quickly among Canadian textile artisans. http://www.sewalot.com/sewing_machine_threads.htm.

[114] "DMC Cotton Embroidery Floss is a soft thread made from 100% long staple Egyptian cotton and double mercerized to give it brilliant sheen. This superior quality thread is perfect for stitching on all types of fabric. It is comprised of 6 size 25 easily separated strands, allowing you to adjust the thickness of your stitching by using a different number of strands. DMC Floss is the most recommended and widely distributed thread in the world. Colors are 100% colorfast and fade resistant. DMC Cotton Embroidery Floss is available in 454 solid colors, 18 variegated colors and comes in 8.7 yards in a pull skein put-up. Made in France." http://www.dmc-usa.com/Products/Needlework-Threads/Embroidery-Threads/Cotton-EmbroideryFloss.aspx?technique=cross+stitch

[115] Daria Twerdochlib, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.

allowing leftover threads to be shared or applied to new projects without fearing a slight colour variation. It was even specifically referred to in Ukrainian Canadian pattern books "Only the best quality thread should be used for embroidery on light colored material. The D.M.C. thread has been proven to be excellent for both colored and white embroidery."[116] When D.M.C. and Anchor were first introduced on the market the pallette was limited; providing a small range of various colours. As time passed and demand grew the pallette expanded. Both companies also began marketing their own patterns requiring some of the new colours. Alice Prociuk noted that she liked to buy the new colours; and as her supply of leftover colours grew she would incorporate them into her next project. However, Alice mentioned that no matter what the original pattern called she would always add her favourite two colours: *Ia zavzhde dodala iakes' zhovte i zelene. Zavzhde!* [I always added some kind of yellow and green. Always!]." [117]

In the 1970s, a new embroidery trend appeared using wool instead of cotton thread. It had become fashionable in Ukraine and North America to embroider on burlap which had a wider weave but was too coarse for cotton thread. This style of embroidered *podushka* was stitched with wool and the pattern was bigger and bolder, and was double cross-stitched so that the entire front side was covered; none of the burlap background showed through the stitching. Supplies for burlap and wool were more accessible in that they could be purchased at most department stores, and made from leftover knitting wool. Within the sampling of artifacts in this study, there were several created here in Canada. However, there were several brought to the interviews that were made in Ukraine and received as gifts. This trend is significant in the evolution of Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky* in that it represents a specific era of relationship between Soviet Ukrainians and Canadians. At first the new patterns and materials associated with the wool/burlap style were embraced as being a new trend out of Ukraine; they were readily copied as "authentic Ukrainian." However, they just as quickly fell out of favour, labelled as Soviet influenced. Scott Armstrong of Winnipeg remembers "[it was] a phase that baba and my aunt were going through… they were copying ones that had been sent to Canada from Ukraine." These specific *podushky* were actually Armstrong's least favourite of the embroidered *podushky* that he inherited, and he chose to donate them to an institution; retaining for himself the older "more authentic…no Soviet influence" which were embroidered with cotton threads and finer patterns. In Saskatoon, the Ukrainian Orthodox church has accepted many donations of embroidered *podushky* of this particular wool/burlap style. Church members suspected that the original owners probably did not have close connections to the pieces; they did not want to keep them but did not want

[116] Ruryk, *Ukrainian Embroidery Stitches and Designs*, 20.
[117] Alice Prociuk, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.

to throw them out either. The church has chosen to repurpose them as cushions on the pews; softening the seating for the elderly (see Figure 3.4).


Figure 3.4 – *Podushky* in Church
These embroidered *podushky* have been donated To Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Saskatoon. Parishioners find them comfortable to sit on during the services. June 2015.

Material Sources

Since this generation was not making their own materials, sources of embroidery materials were limited, therefore suppliers quickly became well known across Canada. Reference was made to the same specific suppliers by interviewees in cities from coast to coast. The most popular in western Canada was The Ukrainian Bookstore (Edmonton) – both mail order and in person. Paul's Music and Bookstore in Saskatoon and The Ukrainian Bookstore in Winnipeg were mentioned as well. In Ontario, Firchuk's and Arka in Toronto were common sources of embroidery thread and fabric, as well as quick trips south, across the American border to "Aunt Mary's Cross-Stitch Store" in Buffalo, New York. Daria Twerdochlib remembered:

> "…it used to be Firchuk's or Arka… Arka would even let us borrow books to read and bring back… so [there] was Arka for *nytky* [threads], and after they became so expensive here, we would do Buffalo [NY] trips…get them at a place called "Aunt Mary's cross-stitch Store"…we would get our *nytky* cheaper there..."[118]

Orysia Yereniuk's father was a priest and the family lived in many cities and towns across Canada. When asked where her mother bought embroidery threads Orysia she replied "Firchuk's! …on main street in Winnipeg, and [when we lived] in Hamilton, from a Ukrainian store in Grimbsy…and from the [Ukrainian] Bookstore [when we lived] in Toronto, and the *Knyharnia* [Ukrainian Bookstore] when we lived in Edmonton."[119]

[118] Daria Twerdochlib, interviewed with the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.
[119] Orysia Yereniuk, interviewed with the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.

Figure 3.5 – "Romaniuk's"
Romaniuk's Dress Shop in Andrew, AB c1950.
L to R: Mary Romaniuk, Jane (Romaniuk) Luchak, Yelena Romaniuk.

By the 1950s small fabric shops had also been established in many small prairie towns. One such example was in Andrew, AB. The store was referred to as "Romaniuk's Dress Store" and was owned and operated by Mrs. Yelena Romaniuk and her daughter Mary. The store primarily sold dresses as well as a variety of fabrics for clothing and home décor. They also carried a limited variety of needlework supplies. Embroidery material and thread from these small town stores was often more expensive than by mail order from the Ukrainian Bookstore, but would do in a pinch. Sophia Morrison reminisced about her mother, Elizabeth Sembaliuk, buying from Romaniuk's store. Though Romaniuk's may have had some contemporary embroidery patterns, Morrison's mother either copied Ukrainian patterns, or purchased them from specialized sources such as the Ukrainian Bookstore or the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.

Stuffing

Assessment of the pillow stuffing was a challenge. In some cases the older stuffing had been replaced with new, modern materials, or the stuffing was removed entirely for easier storage. Several of the interviewees shared insights into stuffing materials of the past and related challenges. Daria Twerdochlib commented that because her grandmother lived on a farm there were plenty of feathers; "if you lived on a farm or had access to one, there was always plenty of stuffing material around."[120] She also noted that by the 1960s you could buy pre-made standardized pillows/cushions that were made of either natural or synthetic fibres and designed specifically to be finished with a decorative cover slip.

[120] Daria Twerdochlib, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.

Alice Prociuk recalled that many of her older decorative pillows were originally stuffed with feathers, denser horse hair, or unspun wool; down was reserved for pillows that you slept on. She embraced new premade, synthetic store-pillows but found it frustrating that they did not come in sizes for the mismatched remnants that she had used for their *podushka* projects. Prociuk said she had to either add fabric to the embroidery to adjust for the size of the bought cushion, or find some sort of flexible stuffing such as new feathers or foam chips to finish the project.[121]

Construction

The two most striking differences between a *podushka* embroidered in Canada and the stereotypical ones created in Ukraine are size, and the placement of the embroidery.

Size

The literature review, specifically *Nova khata*, has revealed that Ukrainian-made embroidered *podushky* come in all sizes. However, ethnographic and promotional materials describing domestic settings have primarily documented large format *podushky*.[122] In addition, several of the interviewees who have had an opportunity to travel to Ukraine over the last 20 years noted that in their ancestral villages one of the outstanding memories were the large embroidered pillows on the beds. Lesia Foty explained "…*To ne ie iak v Kanadi…ukrains'kyi podushky velechezni*! [It's not like in Canada, Ukrainian pillows are enormous!]."[123] As a result, the large size has become the common representation of *podushky* from Ukraine. As is evident in the photo in Chapter 2 (see Figure 2.1) many are very large, approximately a meter square, and the embroidery is featured on the edge.

Of the 496 Canadian-made hand-embroidered *podushky* that were documented for this study, the largest was 18" h x 22" w (see Appendix 7 – 39-1). The average length and width was approximately 15 inches. It is difficult to make concrete conclusions, however, for older *podushky*, created pre-WW2 the smaller size may have been popular in part due to the limited access of fabric for decorative indulgences. Affordability, especially during the depression in the 1930s, would have been a factor; functional items would have had priority and the size of decorative items would probably have been on a smaller, frugal/economical scale.

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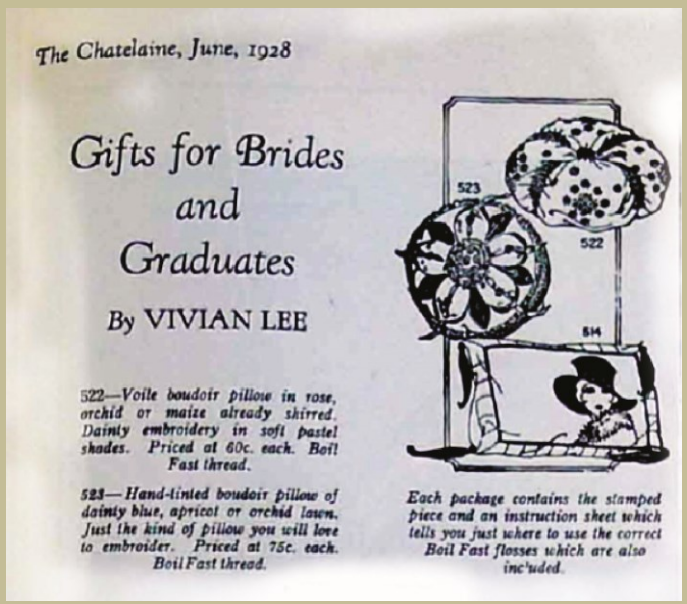
[121] Alice Prociuk, Interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.

[122] In November of 1945, in the November issues of *Kanadis'kyi farmer*, L. Burachyns'ka wrote several articles describing the interiors of typical homes in Ukrainian villages. Her specific example was in the village of Lymnitsia and included details about the embroidered *podushky*.

[123] Lesia Foty, interviewed by the author 12 June 2015 (translated by Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn).

Trending fashions in North American home décor could have been another factor that affected the size of the Ukrainian Canadian *podushka*. The Canadian homemaker's magazine *Chatelaine* was published for the first time in 1928. By this time many of the daughters of the first wave of pioneers were of age, marrying and establishing their own homes. They were likely candidates for subscribing to the new publication. Nadia Korpus shared a story of her mother Olga (Wawruk) Korpus who was born in 1903, near Hubbard, SK.[124] Olga married in 1926 and moved to Regina and as an urban Ukrainian Canadian, she was faced with the opportunity of fitting into mainstream society. Nadia remembers her mother mentioning that she was one of the original subscribers to *Chatelaine*, and often turned to the magazine for both fashion and home making tips. Below is an advertisement from the July 1928 Issue of *Chatelaine* – gift suggestions of decorative, Boudoir pillows are featured; a new era home décor item that many young Canadian women may have found desirable and easily created at home (Figure 3.6).[125] Decorative pillows for the home, as featured in mainstream, English language Canadian and American publications, were generally smaller in size. Specific sizes for the *podushky* in this study can be found on the Artifact Data Chart (see Appendix 6).


The Chatelaine, June, 1928

Gifts for Brides and Graduates

By VIVIAN LEE

522—Voile boudoir pillow in rose, orchid or maize already shirred. Dainty embroidery in soft pastel shades. Priced at 60c. each. Boil Fast thread.

523—Hand-tinted boudoir pillow of dainty blue, apricot or orchid lawn. Just the kind of pillow you will love to embroider. Priced at 75c. each. Boil Fast thread.

Each package contains the stamped piece and an instruction sheet which tells you just where to use the correct Boil Fast flosses which are also included.

523

522

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Figure 3.6 – Bourdoir Pillows
An advertisement for decorative boudoir pillows, "Just the kind of pillow you will love to embroider."
Chatelaine, June 1928, page 65.

Canadian home décor was also being influenced by European sources. For example, Ukrainian Canadian women who had subscriptions to *Nova khata* would read articles and see advertisements

[124] BMUFA UF2014.12.01 - Nadia Korpus, interviewed by the author, Calgary, February 2014

[125] A boudoir is a women's private sitting or dressing room. A boudoir pillow is a small accent pillow that is placed on a chair, couch or bed in the boudoir. It is most often decorated with embroidery or fabric that matches the colour scheme of the room.

related to the latest fashion and home décor trends in major European cities such as Paris and Prague.[126] Contributing writers and designers in Ukraine interpreted the latest European styles by adding Ukrainian ethnic elements such as embroidery to *haute couture* and *décor* suggestions. Subscribers to *Nova khata* would have also been inspired by the monthly featured *podushka*. Although the actual sizes of the *podushky* are never indicated, *podushky* appear to be smaller than the traditional Ukrainian pillows of the past, and the patterns are featured on the front rather than on the edge.[127] It would be interesting to study statistics of *Nova khata* subscriptions in Ukrainian villages to determine if the representation of the smaller format pillows was making its way into rural Ukrainian communities as strongly as into Canadian ones.

Shape

The Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushka* has two distinct shapes: rectangular and square. The rectangular format appears to be the more popular; documented in this study are 308 rectangular *podushky* and 187 square ones. Square or rectangular pieces could be easily created from woven fabric or flour sacks. *Nova khata* also featured an embroidered triangular pillow in March 1928 and a circular example in October of 1930 (see Figure 3.7). I personally recall seeing round and octagonal shaped embroidered *podushky* in Alberta and B.C. However, these shapes were rare and did not appear in the sampling observed for this study.

a) 

b) 
Ч. 3. Кругла подушка з брунатного оксаміту. Оксаміт густо наморщений з обох боків, боки наморщені вільніше. На середині вставлений мотив гуцульської інкрустації, виконаний кольоровими пацьорками й шовком. Спинка подушки гладка. Взір серединки можна замовити в адміністрації „Нової Хати".
За. Оригінальна подушка з м'якого суква зеленої краски. На цьому гаптовані дубові листки чорним шовком та золотою ниткою. Скісні паски, виконані ланцюжком теж чорним шовком та золотою ниткою, перебігають ціле поле подушки. Взір можна замовити в адміністрації „Нової Хати".
ЗАМОВЛЕНІ ТОВАРИ ВИСИЛАЄТЬСЯ ЗА ПОСЛИПЛАТОЮ.

Figure 3.7 *Podushka* Shapes
Patterns in *Nova khata* occasionally featured non-rectangular *podushky*.
a) *Nova khata*, March 1928, page 17. b) *Nova khata*, October 1930, page 16.

[126] In the archives of both UCAMA and UWAC there are issues of *Nova khata* which were mailed to individual households in Alberta including an address in Innisfree, AB, and to Mrs. John Verchomin in Edmonton.
[127] *Nova khata*, April 1939, 11.

Assembly

The type of embroidered *podushka* that is characteristically thought of as being displayed in a rural home in Ukraine, with the embroidery on the edge, was assembled by embroidering a long strip and then affixing it to the end of a pillowcase. This process created the decorative edging and also allowed for it to be removed easily when the pillowcase wore out or got stained; the trim could be re-used on a new pillowcase. In contrast, the format with the embroidery on top, which was found on most of the Canadian-made embroidered *podushky*, involved a two-step process that created a more permanent piece that was less alterable. The first step was to create the embroidered side. Fabric chosen for the embroidery was cut to the required size and shape. If it was a course weave, such as linen or Aida cloth, the embroidery could begin immediately. If the fabric was of a fine weave, such as fine cotton or satin, then embroidery canvas (*kanva*) had to be positioned and attached. Depending on the type of stitch and the actual pattern, embroidery could begin from the edge or the middle. Daria Twerdochlib, as well as Pat and Stanley Hawryliw each explained that they were very particular about the look of the final product and would therefore spend time at the beginning of the process to measure and count threads so that the final pattern would be centred and spaced evenly. They would also take time to estimate how much embroidery thread was required of each colour so there would be enough on hand to complete the project.

There are several examples of *podushka* projects that were started without as much thought; ending up with a finished product that was not quite centred or colours that ran out and had to be substituted with another shade (see Appendix 7 – 11b-1, 20-29, 40-5, 40-7). Once the embroidered side was complete, the entire article could be assembled; the embroidered front was attached to the back. Within the collection there are several unfinished pieces. Chyrstia Chudak of Ottawa explained "I have all these unfinished ones in a box."[128] Her mother didn't always like her projects and would often leave them unfinished and move on to the next, but couldn't bear to get rid of the unfinished pieces. In my own personal collection I have examples created by a relative who was motivated to create embroidered *podushky* as wedding gifts for her grandchildren and great grandchildren. She spent time embroidering several front pieces and then attached them to their backs as needed. She did not live long enough to see all of her grandchildren marry, and as a result there are numerous pre-embroidered front pieces left unassembled, that I eventually inherited (see Appendix 7 – 48-1, 48-2, 48-3, 48-4).

[128] Chrystia Chudczak, interviewed by the author, Ottawa, 27 June 2015.

Podushka Backs

An interesting structural feature of embroidered *podushky* is the variety of ways in which they have been sealed; some permanently, others allowing the cover to be removed for cleaning or storage. The older pillows were either sewn shut, finished with an overlapping flap, or closed with buttons and hand-made loops. Among the *podushky* embroidered in the mid-1940s-early 50s some were even laced closed. Many that were created since the mid-1960s are secured shut with a zipper or snaps, and one uses Velcro. The position of the openings varies. The three most popular systems used are: on one of the seams, across the middle horizontally, and across the middle vertically. There appears to be a consistent application of sealing techniques among each collection, i.e. *podushky* made by one artisan were usually all sealed in the same way.

a) Snaps

b) Open flap

c) Laced

d) Zipper

e) Buttons

f) Sewn closed

Figure 3.8 – *Podushka* Backs

There are a variety of different ways to close the *podushky*. Here are 6 examples.

Even this one simple detail of how embroidered *podushky* are sealed initiated discussions related to differences between embroidered *podushky* from Ukraine and those created in Canada. Study participants Pat and Stanley Hawryliw of Saskatoon, SK, are very familiar with both Canadian and Ukrainian-made embroidered *podushky*; both of their mothers had created embroidered *podushky* here in Canada, and Pat and Stanley have themselves embroidered many as well. They have also travelled to Ukraine several times and have been gifted and have purchased Ukrainian-made *podushky*. They mentioned that "…you can tell a *podushka* is made in Ukraine just by that [the lacing] technique."[129] In their opinion, the lacing of pillows, either on the back or on the side, was unique to *podushky* created in Ukraine. A similar comment was made by Vera Seychuk in Toronto. However, there is one sample in the study that is laced on the side and created in Canada by Olga Dusanowskyj who did not consider it to be unique to Ukraine. She was taught to do it this way in Canada. She was of the opinion that the lacing enhanced the beauty of the item (see Appendix 7 - 18-1, 18-2).

Decoration

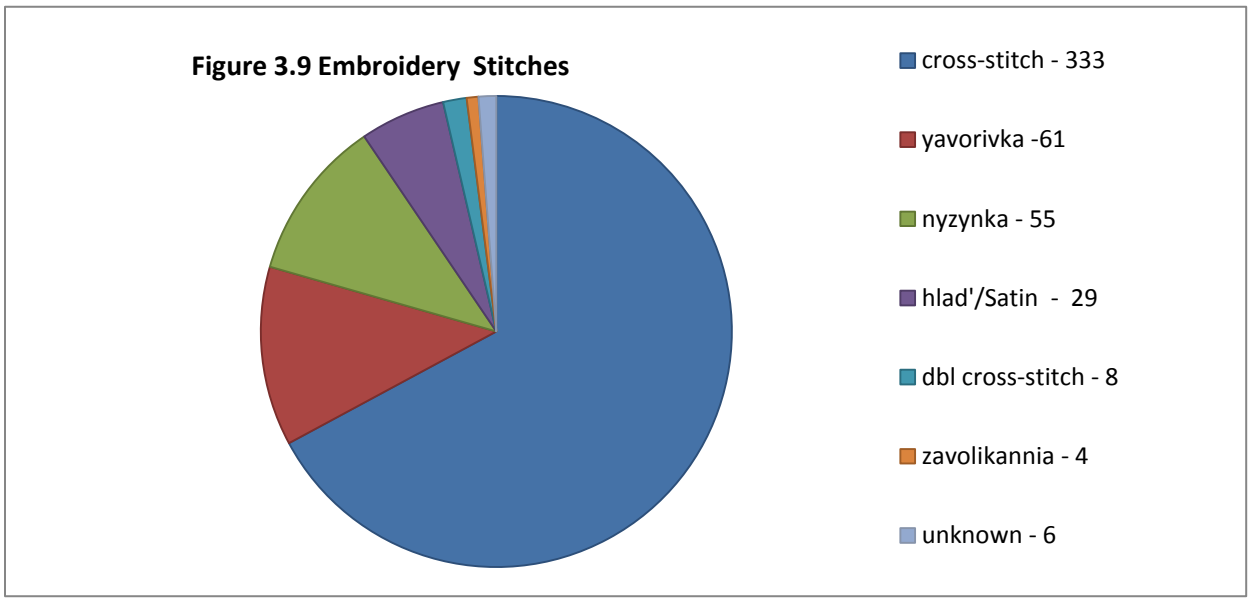
The ornamental characteristics of Ukrainian Canadian *podushky* range from simple, monochromatic embroidered motifs, to opulent, multi-coloured designs festooned with a variety of decorative embellishments. Consistently, the decorative embroidery was the most outstanding feature. In Ukraine, although the placement of embroidery patterns on *podushky* can be found on the top side, the more distinct trend is to place embroidery on one edge so that it faces out and is visible when the pillows are stacked one on top of the other on a bed; this is what makes it unique compared to its Canadian counterpart. Not one of the Canadian-made *podushka* in this study had embroidery placed on the edge. All 496 had the embroidery patterns were stitched prominently on the front side. Occasionally, additional embellishments were added to the completed project including fringes, beads, ruffles, and lace.

Embroidery stitches

The first step in the analysis of the decoration on each *podushka* was to examine the actual embroidery stitches applied. Observations confirmed that three types of embroidery stitches have been in general use in Canada for over a century: cross-stitch, *iavorivka*, and *nyzynka*, with cross-stitch being, by far, the most popular. The dominance of cross-stitch in Canada is supported by the numbers of

[129] Pat and Stanley Hawryliw, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 10 June 2015.

embroidered items that exist in museums and homes across the country.[130] Interviewees Alice Prociuk and Katie Parchewski provided insight into the popularity of cross-stitch among the early pioneers from their own perspective. Both women were quick to mention that they did not learn to embroider from their mothers. In the early years their mothers had no time to embroider while the children were growing up. "There was so much to do on the farm…cows to milk, helping in the field, food to cook, all the children, and the garden…300 heads of cabbage every year! If you wanted something pretty, you had to do it yourself."[131] Both women reminisced how their first embroidery patterns came from looking at other existing items for inspiration, and cross-stitch was the most common. Also, as older teenagers, both moved from the farm to the city of Saskatoon and learned how to perfect their cross-stitch from non-Ukrainian women who lived with them in the same students' residence. It is also interesting to note that for approximately 50 years, from the early 1920s through to the 1970s, the newspaper *Ukrains'kyi holos* had a standing advertisement in its women's section, for embroidery and craft patterns from England. The majority of them were cross-stitched based. This would have had an influence on the types of stitches that were commonly used within the community. Thus, the popularity of cross-stitch was reinforced by influences outside of their immediate family and local Ukrainian community.



[130] Oseredok and the UWAC museums across Canada have large collections of cross-stitched embroidery pieces.
[131] Alice Prociuk and Katie Parchewski, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.

Nyzynka is one of the oldest stitches in Ukrainian.[132] It was developed in the Carpathian Mountains, became prevalent in Western Ukraine, and continues to be used to this day. It is unique in that it is a type of weaving stitch that is worked from the backside of the material. Generally the main pattern is first completed in black or a deep burgundy colour, additional colours are then added into the negative spaces. It is a relatively difficult stitch to master in that it requires good eyesight and fine technical dexterity to perfect the exact count of the fine stitches. Iavorivka is similar to a satin stitch and is associated with the village of Iavorivka (Yavoriv) located in western Ukraine near L'viv. Dominant colours tend to be yellow, orange, red, green, and black. Cross-stitch appeared in Ukraine somewhat later and has appeared in needlecraft from all regions of the country. Its use was dominant in Eastern Ukraine and is typically associated with the red and black rose motifs found on blouses.

Although cross-stitch, *iavorivka*[133], and *nyzynka* appear to be the most common stitches found on Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky* there were also several other stitches found among the artifacts examined, including stitches referred to as *hlad'* (also known as satin-stitch) e.g. Appendix 7 - 19-10, and *zavolikannia* e.g. Appendix 7 - 47-1). *Merezhka* is also a common Ukrainian embroidery stitch. It is a form of cut-work often referred to as hardangar. However, as many of the experienced artisans such as Daria Twerdochlib, Bohdanna Yarosh, and Olga Dusanowskyj explained, although *merezhka* is a beautiful stitch the cutwork makes it inappropriate for *podushky*. *Merezhka* is dainty and intricate, and see-through; therefore requiring an addition step of adding more material on the underside to hide and contain the pillow stuffing. In this collection there are five examples *podushky* with *merezhka* as a supplementary stitch (Appendix 11d-4, 14-18, 14-27, 15-24, and 15-25). Anna Mykytyn in Toronto had a lovely collection of embroidered *podushky*, which featured a wide variety of stitches. She was proud of the fact that she had been able to master an assortment of techniques other than cross-stitch. Unique Ukrainian stitches such as *nyzynka* and *iavorivka* have intrigued many avid stitchers from all walks of life. In fact the Montreal Embroidery Guild shared copies of the notes prepared by Connie Schwarz for the various Ukrainian embroidery workshops hosted by the guild since 1996.[134]

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[132] Ruryk, *Ukrainian Embroidery Designs and Stitches*, 17.

[133] Alternated spellings for the embroidery stitch referred to as *iavorivka* include: *yavorivka*, *yavoriv*, *iavoriv*, and *javorivka*.

[134] Notes prepared by Connie Schwarz of Historical & Ethnic Embroideries, St. John's Newfoundland, were shared at a Ukrainian Embroidery workshop in Montreal in 1996. Participants learned three distinctive Ukrainian styles: *iavoriv*, *horodenka*, and *nyzynka*.

Figure 3.10 Embroidery Stitches (close-ups)

a) Cross-stitch
Appendix 7 – 4-2

b) Nyzynka
Appendix 7 – 10-13

c) Iavorivka
Appendix 7 – 41-2

c) Poltavs'kyi hlad'
Appendix 7 – 19-10

In addition to the main stitches, there were also examples of a variety of auxiliary embroidery stitches including running stitch, chain-stitch, a simple overcast stitch, and outlining stitch, and the flat stitch that were added as finishing touches around the main embroidered sections or on the edges. In the interview with Orasia Yereniuk she noted that it was the application of the auxiliary stitches that helped her identify the chronology of the *podushky* that her mother had made. " …as the years went by she really got into the [new] outlining stitch…which she didn't do at the beginning…here you can see a lot of outlining so [these are] newer."[135] There are numerous resources that recount the history of embroidery in Ukraine and North America, as well as how-to books that provided step by step instructions; many are listed in Appendix 8 - Embroidery Resources.

[135] Orasia Yereniuk, interviewed by the author 22 March 2015.

Pattern Orientation

The second step in the analysis of the embroidery patterns was to examine the placement of the embroidery. Canadian-made *podushky* had embroidery stitched on the front side in one of 6 basic orientations: 1) as a band horizontally, 2) as a band vertically, 3) on the diagonal, 4) centered, 5) complete checkerboard, and 6) a band on the top edge and checkerboard-like grid below. Each of these six orientations included variations.

Figure 3.11
Pattern Orientation

1) Horizontal

2) Vertical

3) Diagonal

4) Centered

5) Checkerboard

6) Band & Grid

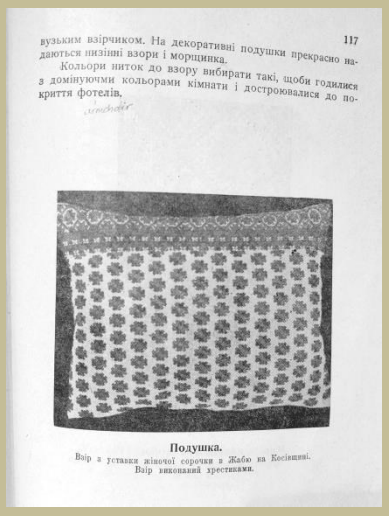
Orientation #1 is the most dominant format. It features a frieze of motifs running horizontally across the surface of a rectangular *podushka*, in landscape position. The pattern is commonly a large band bordered on top and bottom with smaller, thinner bands or repetitive motifs. The popularity of this format could be attributed to at least two possibilities. First, by positioning the embroidery horizontally, more of the pattern could be featured across a greater distance, creating a bigger visual statement. The other reasoning could be that displaying the *podushka* on the back of a couch, in a horizontal position, is most stable. Embroidery running horizontally, parallel to the top of the couch-back could be interpreted as aesthetically appealing.

Placement of embroidery on the vertical/longitude of a horizontal or square pillow is also somewhat common. It is similar to the first orientation and equally striking visually, however the length of the pattern is considerably shorter. Daria Twerdochlib explained that the vertical format would often facilitate a more economical use of expensive threads. Daria, as well as her mother and grandmother often pre-counted the required length of thread in-order to decide the most economical format. Diagonal positioning of an embroidery pattern can create an eye-catching focal point within an arrangement of *podushky*. The diagonal orientation of a pattern is not unusual to Ukrainian embroidery; particularly among items from western Ukraine. For instance, rows of diagonally placed motifs are a reflection of Bukovynian blouse sleeves;[136] bringing visual attention to the item. There are 22 examples found in this study. Several of the *podushky* in the study feature a centered pattern or motif radiating from the middle. Most examples are of a simplified, enlarged single, geometric motif surrounded by several smaller designs; while others are more organic, floral arrangements.

The fifth pattern orientation is one that echoes a checkerboard, where the pattern completely fills the entire front side and follows a repetitive grid. Small motifs are positioned systematically across the entire surface, either independent of each other or linked. One of the oldest of the examples collected for this study was reported to have been created c1930, and features a repetitive pattern filling the surface; it appears to have been inspired by the cover of the 1927 issue of *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu.*[137] Other patterns created on a grid are reminiscent of patterns in *Nova khata*.[138] Orientation #6 is a blending of a band with a grid. Several of the monthly examples in *Nova khata* followed orientation #6, and in 1950, Savella Stechishin's embroidery book also highlighted the band/grid combination.[139] Stechishin also specifically wrote that embroidery patterns for *podushky* could come from various sources including the sleeves of women's embroidered blouses. Accompanying that section, entitled "*Dekoratyvni podushky*" [Decorative Pillows] is a photograph of an example with a band across the top and a checker board of motifs below it. This example resembles a portion of an embroidered blouse sleeve. Stechishin was held in high esteem among Ukrainian Canadian women, and her advice was followed by many in the community. Several of the *podushky* in this study closely resemble this exact example (see figure 3.13).

[136] In this study, the pattern on one side of pillow no. 40-6 is placed on the diagonal and even has beads incorporated into the pattern similar to the blouses from the family's home village in Bukovyna.
[137] *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu*, 1927.
[138] *Nova khata,* October 1930, 17.
[139] Stechishin, *Mystetskyi skarby ukrainskyh vyshyvok*, 116-117.

Figure 3.12
Band & Grid
This *podushka,* embroidered by Olha Pavliuk (Appendix 7 – 47-12), is the same as in Savella Stechishin's, *Mystets'ki skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok, page* 117.



вузьким взірчиком. На декоративні подушки прекрасно надаються низінні взори і морщинка. 117

Кольори ниток до взору вибирати такі, щоби годилися з домінуючими кольорами кімнати і достроювалися до покриття фотелів.

Подушка.
Взір з вставки жіночої сорочки з Жабо на Косівщині.
Взір виконаний хрестиками.

Embroidery Patterns

Analysis of the actual patterns determined that the majority of the patterns were geometric (464 = 94%). A much smaller percentage (31 = 6%) exhibited more organic, realistic representations of natural subject matter such as flowers and birds. Characteristically, the designs and overall compositions were symmetrical, an outcome resulting from the counted threads of the material coupled with the geometric results of the various embroidery techniques. Cross-stitch, *nyzynka*, and *iavorivka* patterns are all dictated by the grain of the fabric, hence the linear and mathematical correlations. The popularity of these stitches directly relates to the abundance of geometric examples. The less prevalent *hlad'* stitch and flat stitch were more conducive to rounder, organic motifs.

The actual motifs stitched into the various designs were similar to those found on other embroidered Ukrainian textiles such as blouses, *rushnyky*, serviettes, and tablecloths. Geometric diamonds, triangles, suns, stars, berries, rosettes, groupings of flowers and grapes, as well as many others, adorned each *podushka* in some combination. In Ukrainian folk lore, many of the motifs have symbolic roots. For example, berries within a pattern may represent kalyna (cranberries) which is the national symbol of Ukraine and has been known to represent beauty, love, motherhood, immortality and national resurgence. Or there could be roses representing love and caring, or wheat for good health and harvest. However, within this study, the symbolic meaning of the various motifs was relevant to only one of the interviewees, Pat Hawryliw in Saskatoon. During the interview, Hawryliw spent a great deal of time talking about the *Berehynia* motif and how it appeared in a variety of different visual

interpretations in most of her work.[140] Passionate about needlework and her Ukrainian heritage, Hawryliw explained that she had been motivated to learn more about the symbolism attributed to her folk art and had enrolled in a Ukrainian Folklore course offered by folklorist Prof. George Foty at the University of Saskatchewan. Her final assignment focused specifically on the *Berehynia* motif.

When researching the Ukrainian women's magazines such as *Nova khata*, and *Zhinochyi svit*, I noted that the embroidery projects that were featured did not bring attention to the symbolism of the motifs. The emphasis was on the decorative characteristics (colour and placement of motifs), stitches, suitability of fabric content, and occasionally the region in which the pattern originated (e.g. *Sokalshchyn*).[141] Other than Hawryliw, none of the remaining interviewees acknowledged the symbolism integrated into the designs. Their discussions focused on the aesthetics (predominantly colour schemes) as well as the technical prowess, exemplified by the attention to the meticulous detail on the reverse side of the embroidery. In fact I found that Stechishin's focus tended to be on the decorative beauty of embroidery and its feminine connections, "The Ukrainian woman is a true artist. Decorative Ukrainian arts are the essence of a woman. [Through embroidery] the Ukrainian woman shares her understanding of beauty and desires, as well as appreciation for ordinary, everyday life."[142] The same focus was also retained by other embroidery resources published by the UWAC; with little if any reference to the symbolic nature of the motifs and patterns.

It was also interesting to note that although many Ukrainian embroidery patterns are associated with the different regions of Ukraine, very few of the interviewees made reference to a regional affiliation for the patterns on their *podushky*. Those that did were descendants of post WW2 immigrants and were involved in teaching Ukrainian embroidery in some capacity, or worked at one of the Ukrainian Museums in Canada and were therefore more aware of the regional characteristics. It wasn't the patterns so much as the colours or decorative and technical details that they were connected to. For example Orasia Yereniuk mentioned "my mother liked to use orange a lot…like in the *hutzul* colours of western Ukraine…close to where she came from."[143] Anne Mykytyn (Toronto) and Pat Hawryliw (Saskatoon) were both proud that they had technically mastered several different types of stitches characteristic of specific regions. However, they both expressed that they were most intrigued by the technical challenge, not the geographic connection nor the symbolism. They also more often applied

[140] Kelly, Mary B. "Goddess Embroideries of Russia and the Ukraine," 10-13.
[141] *Nova khata*, April 1938, back cover.
[142] Stechishin, *Mystetski skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok,* 8 (Translated by Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn).
[143] Orysia Yereniuk, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.

the stitches to their own designs rather than patterns associated with the original stitches and geographic regions. Vera Seychuk (Toronto) also proudly made a point of noting that many examples of her mother's *podushky* reflected the unique decorative techniques typical of the village of Tyahiv (near Lviv) where she was born; but not the stitches and patterns. She referred specifically to the unique type of fringes that were added upon completion of one of the *podushky* (see Appendix 7 - 16-11). Regional identity was underplayed; individual, artistic interpretation, coupled with a generic national Ukrainian identity was a greater inspirational motivator.

"Cross-Pollination" of Embroidery Techniques

An interesting observation that became evident when reviewing all the data from this study was that in many cases the popular cross-stitch technique was applied to patterns that were originally designed for other types of stitches. The most common example of a mixed-application is: cross-stitch replacing *nyzynka*. As mentioned previously, *nyzynka* is a type of weaving stitch that is worked on from the back side of the material and follows the weft – over and under the horizontal threads of the fabric. If done well, the end product could be reversible. Excellence in technical execution is dependent on not only physical skill and good eyesight, but also the availability of fabric such as linen or hemp with a medium count and an even weave. Neither the fine weave of cotton, nor the uneven spacing of Aida cloth is conducive to creating finer examples of *nyzynka*. So, although the *nyzynka* stitch was common in western Ukraine,[144] and many of the first and second waves of pioneers emigrated from that region, few taught this stitch to their children born in Canada.[145] Stitches and patterns had to adapt to the materials that were available. Cross-stitch was an easier technique to apply to cotton and Aida; thus *nyzynka* patterns were transposed into cross-stitch. The motif configuration and colours of the *nyzynka* pattern were retained, and from a distance it had the same visual appearance.

Reverse side

Time and again, during the interviews, interviewees showed off the reverse side of the embroidery. This was a source of technical pride for both the creators and their descendants. Daria Twedochlib captured the sentiment in her comments, "This is what my mom [thought] was important (shows the backside of the embroidery)… [she told me] this is important to teach… that the one side is

[144] Ruryk, *Ukrainian Embroidery Designs and Stitches*, 52.

[145] Though embroidery was predominantly a female activity, within my study there were also examples of males who had learned to embroider from their mothers including Stanely Hawryliw, Bill Konyk, and Roman Dusanowskyj.

as beautiful as the other side," and as a result Daria is as proud of the front of her work as the reverse, "when my friend who does *vyshytia* (embroidery) says 'let me see the back side' I say 'sure see the back side…"(see Figure 3.13).[146] Looking at the reverse side might is also be a way to confirm the artisan who created the piece. Orasia Yereniuk noted that she could differentiate between her mom's work and her grandmother's, "I can tell [it's mom's] because she tended to do stiches vertically rather than horizontally," a detail that you could only know from looking on the back.[147]

Figure 3.13 – Reverse Side
A comparison of the front side (bottom of image) and the reverse side of the same piece (top of image).
Appendix 7 – 24-1.

Embellishments

When assessing the overall visual appearance of the Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky* included in this study, the most prominent element was the embroidered area. However, there are several unique *podushka* examples that stand out due to their added embellishments. Fringes, satin ruffles, ribbons, tassels, a "*kraika*" (embroidered tape), and pom-poms appear as expressive adornments that individualize specific pieces (see Appendix 6 – *Podushka* Data Chart). In fact, the added trimmings have achieved what they were probably intended to do; these examples stand out from the rest. These features only appear on 32 of the examples, and based on the dates they were created, the adornments seem to relate to the introduction and evolution of new materials on the market. Daria Twerdochlib, and her mother Maria (Barynovych) Poshar, often experimented with different embroidery techniques and materials. They were "one-offs"; they tried it only once to see what it looked like. One such example was a *podushka* embroidered with wool on canvas and then trimmed with a satin ruffle (see Figure 3.14).

[146] Daria Twerdochlib, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.
[147] Orasia Yereniuk, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015

Figure 3.14 - Ruffles
Embroidered *podushka* embellished With satin ruffles – created by Maria (Barynovych) *Poshar*, c1970. (Appendix 7 – 15-4).

Fringes appear sporadically on *podushky* created throughout the time-period (1921-present). Some fringe examples are made from the warp of the fabric, ranging in length from approximately 1-3 inches. They vary in appearance; some are single knotted others have been tied like macramé. Other *podushky* have store bought fringes that have been sewn on afterwards. Satin ruffles appear on several *podushky* that were created in the 1970s. The ruffles appear exclusively on *podushky* with embroidery that has been stitched onto canvas or burlap, and fills the entire front side. The ruffles encircle the entire pillow and have been sewn into the side seams. In each of the samples, the satin colour matches one of the colours in the embroidery pattern or is complementary. Another trend associated with the 1970s is the application of commercially manufactured embroidered ribbon or tape, referred to as a "*kraika*." There is one example in the BMUFA at the University of Alberta. It is a small *podushka*, 5"h x 8"w created by Olga Pavliuk (Winnipeg) in the mid-70s. Pavliuk made it specifically for use in a church ritual of blessing a new cross. The donor, Roman Onufrijchuk, explained that "[the] fuchsia *podusha* was trimmed with the *kraika* because baba was too old already to embroider…the cross sat on top of it during the blessing."[148] The *kraika* itself is machine stitched with red and black threads, simulating embroidery and was "probably purchased at Todaschuk's."[149]

Samplers

Analysis of the *podushky* revealed an interesting activity related to the sharing of patterns and the learning process for Ukrainian Canadian embroidery projects. Several of the interviewees, both artisans as well as the relatives of deceased artisans, spoke of or shared examples of samplers and scrapbooks that were created when learning a new stitch or recording a new embroidery pattern. These

[148] Roman Onufrijchuk, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, MB, April 2013.
[149] The Todaschuk Sisters Boutique on Selkirk Avenue in Winnipeg, is owned and operated by Sylvia Todoschuk and has been in existence since the early 1970's. It is located in the front end of Sylvia's beauty parlor, and primarily carries Ukrainian themed souvenir items as well as some sewing supplies.

embroidery samplers served the role of a 3-D sketch book. Artisans had a means to experiment with, practice, and share their patterns. An early example was a book of samples shared by Sophia Morrison.[150] Sophia's mother, Elizabeth (Kozniuk) Sembaliuk, was a first generation Ukrainian Canadian, born in 1908 in Prut, AB. She apparently started to embroider c.1914 at the age of 6, and was winning prizes at farm fairs by the time she was 10. Elizabeth kept many of the small embroidery samples she had made prior to completing a final project. Her earlier scrapbooks were destroyed. However, one with samples from the 1940s has been preserved. Each sample was glued into a photo album, occasionally accompanied by the pattern source from a book, or newspaper clipping. Each of her individual samples consisted of a piece of handwoven linen, approximately 4 inches square, featuring a cross-stitched motif in the middle. Not every sample was totally completed; however, enough of the main motif was stitched out with the chosen colours to get a sense of how it would look on both front and back (Figure 3.15). There are also a couple of instances where the same pattern was "sketched out" more than once, using different colour combinations or a different fabric with a higher or lower thread count. Sembaliuk would then transpose these patterns onto larger projects such as serviettes, table clothes, clothing, and embroidered *podushky*.

Vera Seychuk also kept all of her mother's samplers as inspiration for her own future projects. There were over 40 small individual samples; each had been stitched together with another to form a kind of patchwork collage. Over time, the fabric has begun to deteriorate; therefore Seychuk has made colour photocopies of each section. The originals have been archivally preserved in acid-free plastic sleeves. Bohdanna Yarosh of Ottawa shared an alternate sampler format that she still uses to sketch out *nyzynka* patterns as she sees them. Kept in her purse is a large piece of white fabric, approximately 24" x 17", folded together with a needle and black thread. Yarosh explained that whenever she spots a new motif, she can pull out her sampler, pick a blank spot on the fabric, and quickly stitch the black outline of the pattern. Later, at home she copies the pattern to another piece of fabric and adds colours. The sampler she shared with me was several years old. Approximately 2/3 of it was covered with little sample sections in black, each approximately 2" square. Each motif was laid out next to the other following an invisible grid that could lead her back in time to review her ideas chronologically. This same sampler format was used by Maureen Spira, a member of Lakeshore Creative Stitchery Guild in Pointe Claire, Quebec, and a former director of The Embroiders' Association of Canada (EAC). Spira is of English ancestry, and has lived in Montreal for many years. Her specialty is an embroidery stitch that originated

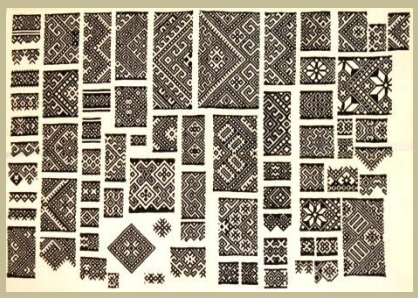
[150] Sophia Morrison, interviewed by the author, Sidney, BC, 11 July 2015.

in England and is referred to as “Blackwork” or the “Holbein” stitch and dates back to the 15th century. This stitch is very similar to *nyzynka* in that it is also a weaving stitch that starts with black thread and is reversible, if so desired. Spira explained that this method of collecting samples of Blackwork was centuries old. In fact, many samplers from the past have become famous and have actually been stretched, framed and exhibited as works of art.[151]

Figure 3.15 – Embroidery samplers

a) Cross-stitch – Elizabeth Sembaliuk c1940

b) Cross-stitch - Sophia Lysy c1950



c) *Nyzynka* – Bohdanna *Yarosh* 2015

d) Blackwork – Maureen Spira 2015

This leads into a discussion of another popular sampler format created in the Ukrainian Canadian community; usually as a project in an embroidery class or folk art workshop for children. Pin cushions (mini embroidered *podushky*) were, and still are, commonly created when learning a specific stitch or motif. Essentially they are samplers that have been repurposed as utilitarian items. Many of the interviewees pulled out at least one pin cushion as an example of a miniature embroidered *podushka* created by themselves or someone in the family. Within this study, all of these types of samplers were cross-stitched. They fall into three groups. The oldest are those created in adult classes

[151] Maureen Spira, interviewed by the author, Montreal, 29 June 2015.

post WW2, mid to late 1940s and into the early 1950s. They were all on linen, approximately 4-5 inches square, and the patterns were geometric. Unfortunately, the original artisans for these older samplers-come-pincushions have passed away; the provenance was shared by someone in the family who had inherited the heirloom. In one particular case, a granddaughter, Nina (Sotnikow) Koroliuk explained that the two pincushions in her possession were created by her baba Anastasia Pavlychenko[152] during embroidery classes hosted by the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) in Saskatoon. Pavlychenko had added a small loop on one corner of each piece, and hung them from a nail by the sewing machine. These two pincushions are still used on a regular basis. They are similar to others that were also created during adult classes at UNF or in church affiliated classes across Canada. The second category of sampler/pincushion includes those created as learning projects by children attending Ukrainian summer camps (PLAST, CYM, CYMK) or in Ukrainian Bilingual programs. Some of the interviewees still had the pincushions that they themselves created at camp. Others shared examples created by their children or grandchildren. Father Roman Dusanovskyj in Sydney, NS talked fondly of how he has used the pincushion project at CYM summer camps to instruct and instill an appreciation for embroidery. Structurally they were the same as examples from the 1940s with the exception that cotton Aida cloth was used in place of linen. The Aida cloth, with its wide weave, helped young children and beginners to count the threads and learn the basics of the stitch. The patterns were usually monochromatic, or black and red. Pincushions in the third category are more accurately defined as finished projects rather than repurposed samplers. They are contemporary pincushions created specifically for their utilitarian purpose or as ornaments (such as for Christmas trees). Some feature simple motifs, created quickly on Aida. Other examples that I examined in this third category bore detailed patterns, on finer specialty fabrics that required the use of embroidery canvas. Many interviewees still considered them as samplers as well as fashionable home décor. Daria Twerdohlib explained that for several years now, together with several friends, they have been creating pincushions to sell at yearly fundraisers for their church in Toronto. They can practice their embroidery techniques, explore new motifs, and contribute to the community all at the same time.

[152] Anastasia Pavlychenko was an active member of the women's group affiliated with the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada (UNF). In the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s she collaborated with other members across Canada, including Tatiana Koshetz (Winnipeg) and Mary Hnatyshyn (Edmonton), to instill pride in Ukrainian heritage, and to promote Ukrainian cultural activities such as embroidery classes.

Figure 3.16 – Pin Cushion Samplers

a) c1938 - Embroidered by Anastasia Pavlychenko Appendix 7 – 5-2.

b) c1970 Embroidered by Irene Lind Appendix 7 – 22-9.

c) c1990 Embroidered by Nicholas Groch Appendix 7 – 41-13.

Function

The interviewees established that the major function of the embroidered *podushka* was decorative. Without exception, all of the interviewees indicated that the artifacts they have and the ones they remember from the past were all, at one time or another, put out on display; especially during the first few years after they were created or acquired. The most popular location in the house was in the living room on the back of the couch.[153] Additional locations included side chairs in the living room, couches in recreation rooms or basements, or on beds in spare rooms. Dianna (Youwza) Groch mentioned that her baba and her mother-in-law both displayed their embroidered *podushky* on the back of the couch; and a family friend "always kept one in the basement on the back of the chesterfield."[154] In keeping with the tradition, Dianna also displays her *podushky* on the back of the living room chesterfield (see Figure 3.17).

[153] The word "couch" refers to a long upholstered piece of furniture that several people can sit on. It is also often referred to as a "sofa" or a "chesterfield."

[154] Dianna Groch, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 17 March 2015.

Figure 3.17
***Podushky* on the Couch**

The Groch household - in keeping with family tradition, embroidered *podushky* are displayed on the back of the couch.

Displayed as Art

Most of the study participants regarded the embroidered *podushky* as pieces of art; meant to be exhibited as creations by the artisans. When asked if he was allowed to touch the *podushka* or use it in any way that a regular pillow would be used, Emil Yereniuk insisted that in his childhood home they were regarded as art, "we were looking at these as more like art pieces, and we were to cherish them."[155] There were others that felt the same way. Maria Zajcew, Vera Seychuk, and Bohdanna *Yarosh* had their embroidered *podushky* arranged very precisely on the backs of their couches; each proud of the display that was intended for visually appreciation, not as functional items. Darcia (Graham) Antonishka shared a family photo where the pillow was brought forward from the back of the couch, so as not be hidden, and carefully cradled in her cousin's lap for a family photo.

In fact it was Darcia's baba Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawrysh that took the art status one step further. When each of her grandchildren had made the decision to move out on their own, Baba Hawrysh chose to un-stuff and frame one of her older embroidered pillows; she then gifted it to the grandchild to mark this rite of passage. Similarly, June Melnychuk in Vancouver, BC also framed her favourite embroidered pillow (see Figure 3.18). As a Home Economics graduate, Melnychuk valued the embroidery as a piece of art, as a keepsake, and also wanted it to fit in with her contemporary home décor. Another participant was quite concerned about the exposure to the elements over time and consulted with an art conservationist on how to protect her collection of *podushky* and still have the

[155] Emil Yereniuk, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.

option to display them all in the living room. She had contemplated various types of semi-transparent fabrics that would protect her *podushky*, yet still allow them to be seen but not touched; a similar function as a frame and glass over a painting.

Figure 3.18
Framed *Podushka*
A framed *podushka* hanging in the home of June Melnychuk, 2015.

Utilitarian *Podushky*

In some cases the embroidered *podushky* also played a utilitarian role. There were cases where the artifacts were actually used as cushions to sit on. Orasia Yereiuk explained that she used a specific embroidered *podushka* on her chair in the sewing room. It was the same one that her mother had sat on when she sewed and embroidered. It was over 60 years old and had not faded much or become worn, "It was used as a seat on [her] office arm chair. My mother spent years sitting on this pillow to raise her up as she shortened."[156] There was also a resident in a senior residence in Winnipeg that used the *podushka* her mother embroidered to soften the seat of her walker. Both women spoke fondly of these *podushky,* making a point of mentioning that they represented a physical connection between mother and daughter. In Winnipeg, Markia Banias sat on one of her own embroidered *podushky* when at the computer, claiming that it had just the right amount of padding. She chose to use one of her own, rather than one her mother made, out of respect for her mother's handiwork. Ludmila Onufrijchuk

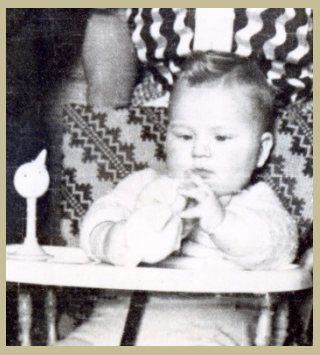
[156] Orasia Yereniuk, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.

embroidered several *podushky* before her son was born.[157] Several photos show young Roman being propped up in his highchair with one of the *podushky*, and a year or two later sleeping on one on the couch (see Figure 3.19).

Figure 3.19 – Utilitarian Embroidered *Podushky*

a) *Podushka* on a walker. Walker, 2015.

b. *Podushka* on an office chair, 2015.



c. *Podushka* propping up a baby in a highchair, 1951.

Scott Armstrong remembers being allowed to prop himself up on the floor with embroidered *podushky* as a child when watching Saturday morning cartoons on TV, as well as sleeping on them: "they were totally functional. I slept on them. These were the pillows that you threw on the floor on Easter morning and had a nap; totally functional."[158] In each of these cases, in addition to their decorative qualities, the embroidered *podusky* have also provided physical comfort in the home.

<u>*Podushky* as Gifts</u>

Embroidered *podushky* have also functioned as gifts; a very important role that demonstrates their esteemed value within the Ukrainian community. I documented several stories and examples of *podushky* that were created specifically as gifts for various occasions including a baptism, gifts to dignitaries, moving-out keepsakes, and weddings. Orasia Yereniuk brought out the small pillow that her baba embroidered as a wedding-ring pillow created especially for their wedding in 1971, and the *podushka* that was gifted to her son Michael when he was born in 1974 (see Appendix 7 – 39-3 and 39-17). Daria Twerdochlib shared a photo of the *podushka* that she embroidered as a gift for her grandson (see Figure 3.20).

[157] BMUFA, UF2013.45.y184
[158] Scott Armstrong, interviewed by the author, 15 June 2015.

Figure 3.20 *Podushka* Gift
Daria Twerdochlib gifted her newest embroidered *podushka* to her grandson, October 2015.

Frank Cedar shared the *podushky* he had been gifted when he first visited his long lost family in Ukraine (see Appendix 7 – 23-1 to 23-4) and Lesia Foty proudly displayed the *podushky* that she and her husband Prof. George Foty had been gifted by Ukrainian dignitaries when they visited Saskatoon. There were many examples of wedding related gifts. The most sentimental was the one that Dianna Groch's baba, Maria (Melnychuk) Hryhor, gifted to her granddaughter Sonia Youzwa at her wedding shower. Pauline (Hryhor) Lysak explaned:

> She [Baba Hryhor] embroidered a cushion for each of her grandchildren; so this one is Dianna's (Groch). It was wrapped like a gift. And this one was a gift to Sonia. The card was Dido's contribution – and he tucked money into the pillow. He had a typewriter and he typed because his hands were shaky…baba even passed on washing instructions! (see Figure 3.21).[159]

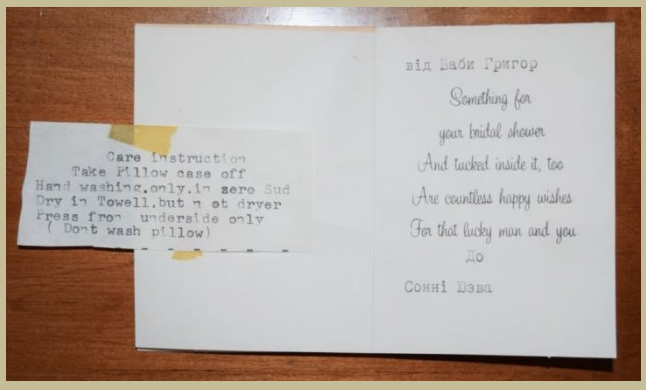


Figure 3.21
Podushka
Shower Gift
Podushka gifted by Baba Maria Hryhor to her granddaughter Sonia Youzwa at her wedding shower c1990

[159] Pauline Lysak, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 17 March 2015.

Fund-raising

Ukrainian food, embroidery, and handicrafts have contributed to fiscal stability in the Ukrainian community; in Canada and abroad. Over the years, Ukrainian churches and community organizations have relied on "Perogie Dinners," bake sales, and exhibitions to help raise the monies needed for new buildings and cultural programming. In the late 1920s, Savella Stechishin was selling embroidery in Canada to raise much needed funds back in Ukraine.[160] As the status of embroidery rose, the sale of this "original and unique" work expanded within Canadian borders. This is most evident following the third immigration. Reflecting on Ukrainian Canadian post war activities Rhonda Hinther has written:

> Ukrainian embroidery and other traditional handicrafts rose in significance, for these were readily associated with the Ukrainian community, accessible to Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian Canadians alike, generally well received, and important for raising much needed money.[161]

During the course of the interviews it became apparent that over the years embroidered *podushky* definitely had economic connections; playing a role in community fundraising. When I asked participants if they, or the artisans they represented, ever sold their *podushky* for personal gain, the response was consistently "no" or "not really." They then clarified, by stating that there were times that *podushky* were created specifically as raffle items for the church or other organizations. Yereniuk, Twerdochlib, Hawryliw, Romas, Banias, Teterenko, Lind, Chudczak, and Konyk all remembered their mothers embroidering a pillow, and then donating it for a fundraising raffle. It seems to have been a common item listed on raffle tickets during the 1960s and 70s. Twerdochlib, and a group of women from the church, still embroider mini *podushky* (pincushions) every November to sell at the Christmas Bazaar.[162] In Edmonton in September of 2015, at the official opening of Alberta Council for Ukrainian Artists Boutique and Gallery, an embroidered *podushka* was auctioned to help raise money for the new space.

[160] Savella Stechishin sold Ukrainian embroidery primarily to the Anglo-Canadian community. It was determined from her personal notes and correspondence that in one year she was able to sell three hundred dollars' worth. Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 80.
[161] Hinther, "Generation Gap," 33.
[162] Daria Twerdochlib, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.

Provenance

When planning the research, an important consideration was the geographic distribution of *podushky* across Canada. Literary reference to *podushky* outside of the major cities was limited, and museum records were not complete regarding original Canadian sources. Expanding the fieldwork from coast to coast was intended to help establish the extent to which Ukrainian Canadian *podushky* had spread across the country and to identify any trends, regional consistencies, and peculiarities. Prior to scheduling interviews, it was determined that over the course of 125 years, many Ukrainian Canadians have migrated across the country; particularly the exodus from rural to urban centres, or to popular retirement communities such as Victoria. Therefore, the interview locations would not accurately reflect the original locations where the *podushky* were created. In order to correlate the production of embroidered *podushky* with migration and settlement trends, the location of origin for each of the *podushky*, and dates they were created, were documented. The data on each of the *podushky* has been recorded in *Podushka* Data Chart (see Appendix – 6).

From the data collected there were two significant findings. The first was that *podushky* were embroidered from coast to coast. The interview with Darcia (Antonishka) Graham established that embroidery was an important component of the Ukrainian cultural milieu in Vancouver and area. While living in Vancouver, Darcia's baba, Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh, embroidered many *podushky*, including two documented in this study (see Appendix 7 – 40-1, 40-7). As an active member of UWAC, Darcia's mother Mary (Hawresh) Antonishka, facilitated embroidery workshops in Surrey, New Westminster, Burnaby, Vancouver, as well as in the BC interior communities of Kelowna, Kamloops, and Vernon. She embroidered three *podushky* documented in this study (see Appendix 7 – 40-1, 40-2, 40-3).[163] Interviews in Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg identified and documented *podushky* embroidered in both urban and rural prairie communities. In email correspondence, Hanya Cvornjek shared information that her mother Maria (Tarnawsky) Sakalo was instrumental in organizing and teaching Ukrainian embroidery classes in Thunder Bay, Ontario.[164] Interviews in Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa were the source of 190 *podushky* documented in this study. Nina Romas,[165] Irene Lind,[166] and Dina Iwanycky[167] shared *podushky* that were embroidered by their mothers in Montreal. Kathy

[163] Darcia (Antonishka) Graham, interviewed by the author, 19 March 2015.
[164] Hanya Cvornjek, correspondence with the author, 16 June 2015
[165] Nina Romas, interviewed by the author, Ottawa, 26 June 2015
[166] Irene Lind, interviewed by the author, Ottawa, 26 June 2015.
[167] Dina Iwanycky, interviewed by the author, Montreal, 29 June 2015

Michalishyn embroidered her *podushka* in PEI;[168] and, Stella Morash and Sandra Hawrylak shared *podushky* embroidered in Sydney, NS (see Figure 3.22 – Map of Canada).[169]

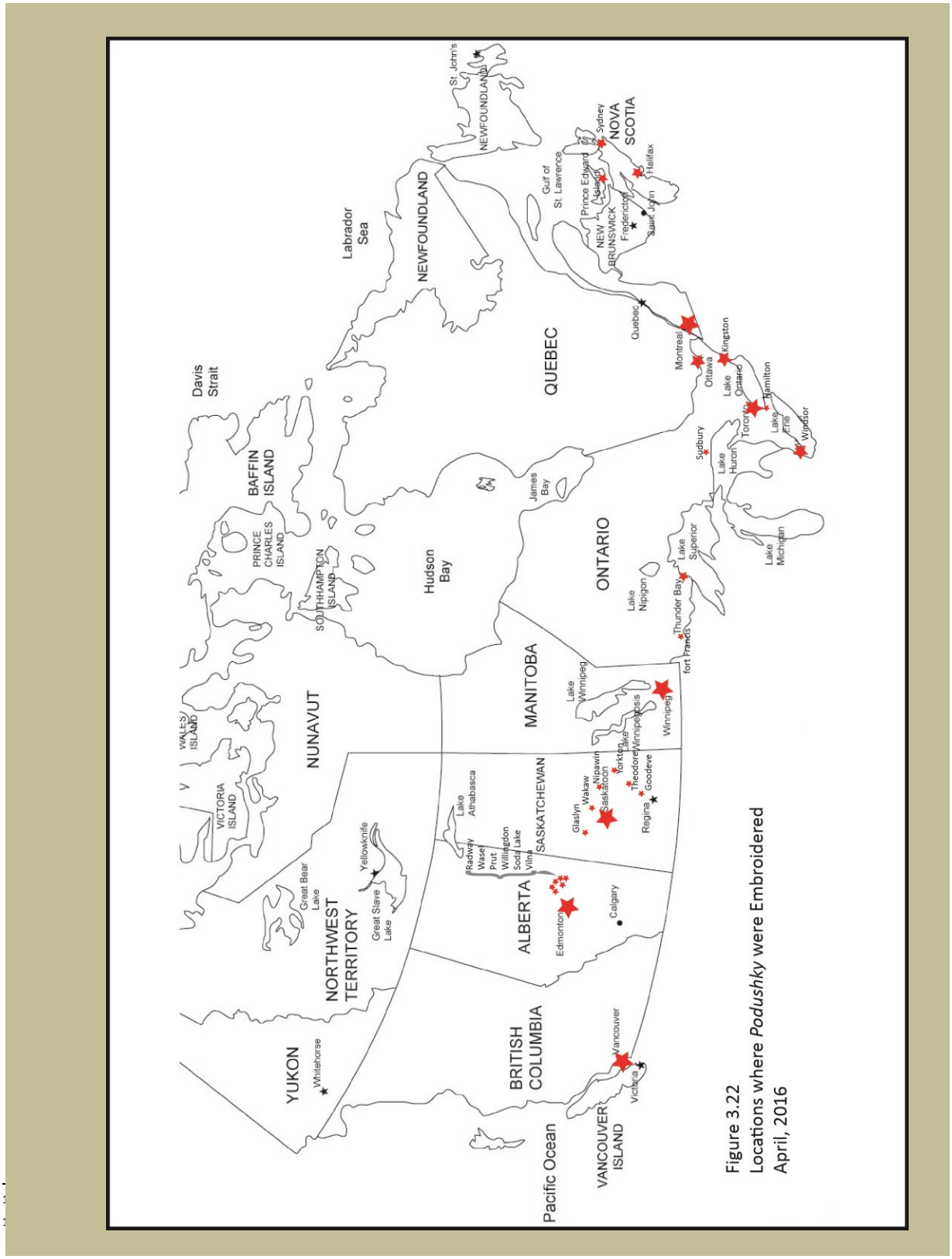
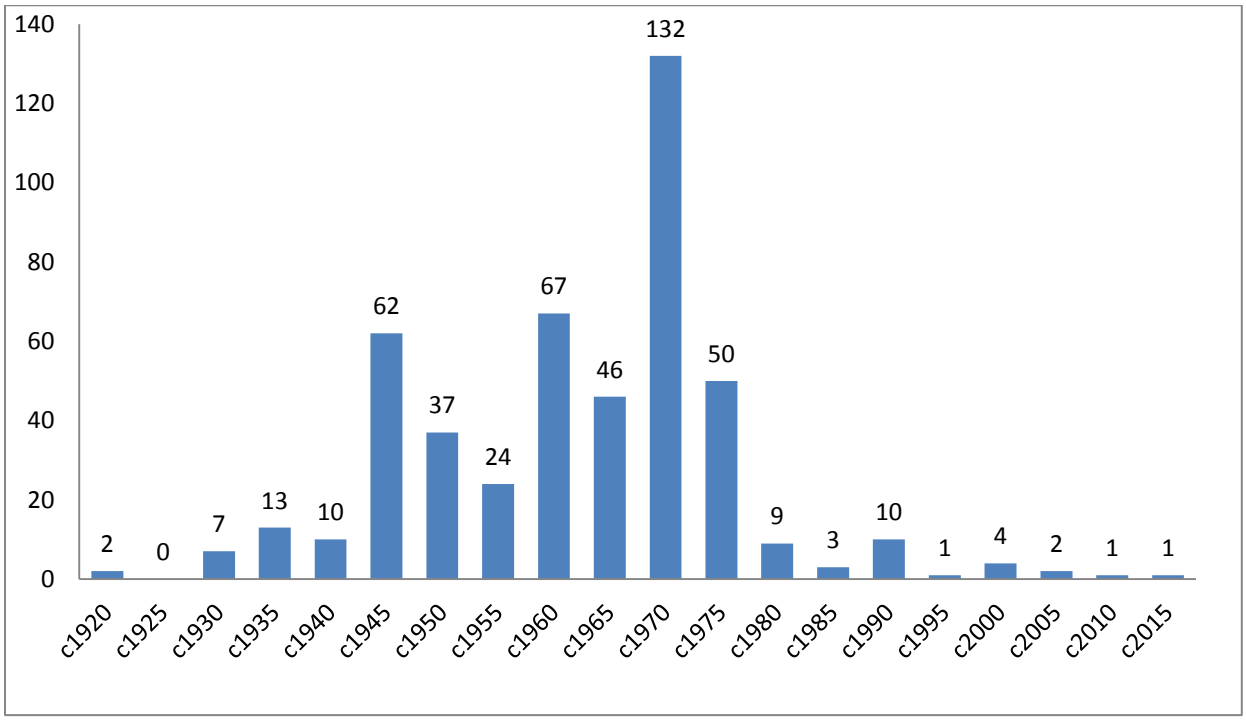


Figure 3.22
Locations where *Podushky* were Embroidered
April, 2016

Additional information established a production timeline. Data collected included the approximate dates that each of the *podushky were* embroidered. Several interviewees had records that established production dates. For example, Vera Seychuk maintains an album of memorabilia related to all of the embroidery completed by her mother, Sophia Lysy; newspaper articles, magazine clippings, embroidery samplers, and notes helped confirm production dates. Daria Twerdohlib referenced her mother's pattern binder. Orasia Yereniuk, whose family relocated several times, correlated each piece her mother made to the location where they were living at the time.[170] Knowing that her mother had continued to learn new stitches, Orasia also cross-referenced the dates to the auxiliary stitches incorporated into each pattern. Olga Dusanowskyj associated the production dates of her *podushky* to significant occasions such as pre- or post-marriage, or the birth of her children. Other participants established dates based on photographic references e.g. by comparing Antonishka birthday party photos we identified a *podushka* in a later photo that was not in the earlier one, thus establishing a plausible time frame within which it had been created. By piecing together all the information, a time-line has emerged illustrating how production of embroidered *podushky* slowly escalated, peaked in the 1970s, and then sharply dropped off in the late 1970s to early 80s (see Figure 3.23).

Figure 3.23 – *Podushka* Production



[170] Orasia's father, Very Rev. Michael Yurkiwsky had been assigned to several parishes across Canada from rural Ontario to Edmonton, retiring eventually in Winnipeg.

There appears to be an association between the drop off in production and the waning interest in embroidering *podushky*. There were several comments that stood out:

> We started to work [embroider] with wool back then [early 1970s]. That's when he [Stanley] started doing things like that! [pointing to a large macramé hanging]. I would embroider and he would do his macramé.[171] – Pat Hawryliw

> There were other things that my mother-in-law embroidered. When my kids were young [late 1970s]. She embroidered "*Otche Nash*" [The Lord's Prayer] for each of them. But I never did put them into frame(s).[172] – Halia Teterenko

> You can only have so many *podushky!* I gave most of mine away. Then I started to embroider crosses…Like this one. One for each of them [grandchildren]. I framed them…it was when they were older [c1980]. And I make [embroidered] Christmas decorations. You get bored of the same thing! [173] - Alice Prociuk

> Baba [Hryhor] made a pillow for each of us grandchildren…for our weddings…but then she stared to embroider crosses. And my Baba Youzwa embroidered crosses…for a framed piece [c1980].[174] – Dianna Groch

In her research on textile art as reflected in North American literature, textile specialist Beverly Gordon also noted a related observation. The late-1960s, marked the beginning of a slow trend towards forms of textile and fibre arts suitable for wall hangings. Gordon found that books that featured displayable fibre art began to appear rapidly on the market in the 1970s. There was a shift from articles about the decorating of everyday items, to a new focus on pieces that reflected artistic statements that could be hung on the wall; macramé and needlepoint became popular projects highlighted in woman's magazines and among crafting groups and guilds.[175]

[171] Pat Hawryliw, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 10 June, 2015.
[172] Halia Teterenko, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, 17 June, 2015.
[173] Alice Prociuk, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June, 2015.
[174] Dianna Groch, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 17 March, 2015.
[175] Gordon, "The Fibre of Our Lives," (1976), 555.

Significance

The physical functionality of embroidered *podushky* and the role they play in the domestic environment became relatively obvious during the documentation process. Where they were displayed or stored, whether they matched the home décor, and how much they had faded were some of the indicators that helped determined how they were used. However, it was during the interview process that participants brought to light the meaning behind each of the items. The *podushky* that appeared to be of greatest significance to their owners were the ones associated with specific stories and traditions. For example, there were various ways in which *podushky* were integrated into church and calendar cycle rituals and traditions; and these stood out in the discussions. Orasia Yereniuk explained that during the 1950s and into the 1960s, her Baba Stefin would always remove all the embroidered *podushky* from the living room at the beginning of lent and stored them away until Easter Sunday or Christmas Day depending on the time of year. She felt that the display of colours was disrespectful during lent, and that it added to the celebration when the rooms were re-energized with colour on the festive day. Orysia has kept all of her Baba Stefin's *podushky*. Emil Yereniuk shared one particular *podushka* that his mom had embroidered specifically as a Christmas decoration (Appendix 7 – 39-14). It would suddenly appear on the couch on the morning of January 7, Christmas Day, and would grace the living room until the Feast of Jordan. Both Daria Twerdochlib and Nina Romas remembered their mothers rotated their *podushky* on a seasonal basis; displaying the brighter ones in the spring and darker, earthier coloured ones in the fall. Both women spoke fondly of their mother's *podushky* and were pleased that they had kept them.

There were other *podushky* that were singled out due to the connections made to church rites and rituals. In the BMUFA collection there is a small fuchsia pillow made by Olga Pavliuk. It was adorned with a machine embroidered *kraika* and tassels (Appendix 7 – 47-2).[176] This specific *podushka* was created on the occasion of the blessing of a newly purchased cross.[177] The cross had been placed on the *podushka* and displayed at the altar during the church service. When I interviewed Pavliuk's grandson, Roman Onufrijchuk, he mentioned that although the *podushka* was not hand embroidered it had a special significance and was displayed by his mother until she passed away. Onufrijchuk felt it was unique due to the ritual connection, and worth donating to the BMUFA. When Commander Yaromir Koropecky passed away, his wife Motria Koropecky chose an embroidered *podushka*, made by the Commander's mother, on which to display all of his medals. During the funeral the medals were

[176] BMUFA, UF 2013.45
[177] Roman Onufrijchuk, interview with the author, Winnipeg, April 2013.

displayed next to the casket and blessed during the service. Koropecky still has the *podushka*, and though it has been frayed and damaged by the pins; she still displays it on the back of the living room couch (see Appendix 7 – 38-5).[178]

It is interesting to note that one other type of *podushka,* associated with church rituals, was remembered and discussed but did not appear in anyone's collection. In conversation with several of the older study participants, as well as other friends and acquaintances, reference was made to the funeral custom of placing an embroidered *podushka* under the head of the deceased. Olga Dusanowskyj recalled "It was very traditional to give a gift of embroidery…at weddings, christenings, birthdays, even funerals! When somebody died they made a pillow, made with dried flowers not feathers, and it was embroidered. They got buried with it."[179] Staff at Oseredok in Winnipeg and the UWAC museums in Winnipeg and Toronto also made mention of funerary *podushky,* and it is also a tradition that has been recorded among several Eastern European cultures, and was probably carried over to Canada from Ukraine.[180]

There was also a significant connection between interviewees and the *podushky* they received as gifts; particularly if it was from a family member or close relative. Whereas many other *podushky* in their personal collections had been tucked away in storage, these gifts more often remained on display. For example, the framed *podushka* Darcia (Antonishka) Graham had received from her baba 40 years ago continues to grace the dining room wall. The *podushky* Frank Cedar received from long lost relatives he thought he'd never meet are all proudly on display in his living room. The *podushka* that Fr. Roman Dusanowskyj received from his mother when he moved to Sydney, NS. is also prominently displayed in his home. The fact that they were gifts is significant; the emotional gesture having added more relevance and personal worth to the item.

Likewise, *podushky* that were personally embroidered by the interviewee were more likely to be on display than others. It did not matter to which generation or immigration wave the artisan was most closely associated. If they had satisfactorily completed the embroidery, the piece was on display. Interviewees born in the 1950s-1960s[181] displayed their needlework just as proudly as the interviewees

[178] Motria Koropecky, interview with the author, Victoria, 11 July 2015.
j[179] Olga Dusanowsky, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 23 June 2015.
[180] Clarke, Robert and Mark Merlin, *Cannabis: Evolution and Ethnobotany*, University of California Press, (2013): 288.
[181] Daria Twerdochlib, Irene Lind, Chrystia Chudczak, and Pamela Shapka.

that were born in the 1920s-30s.[182] Notably though, it was the older artisans such as Alice Prociuk and Maria Zajcew who showed off the reverse side; those with less experience didn't tend to bring attention to details on the back. Daria Twerdochlib also cherished the *podushky* that she had worked on together with either her mother or her grandmother. Daria explained that it was a common practice, especially when her mother got older, to both work on the same piece together. They would pick a mutually appealing pattern, and then one of them would start it. "[This is] one we worked on together. We just left it on the coffee table, and mama would see how far I'd gone and what I had done, and she'd continue on…(see Appendix 7 – 15-16)."[183] Each would add an hour or so of stitching and leave it for the other to continue. Several joint projects, including *rushnyky* and serviettes were proudly on display in the living room.[184]

In contrast to the *podushky* that were singled out as special, I found that 197 of the 415 *podushky* that had been inherited by the interviewees had been tucked away rather than being put out on display. Another 80 inherited *podushky* had been donated to one of the museums. Although the artisans of the stored *podushky* were often family members, without the specific story or emotional significance, or if the *podushky* came into possession without a ritual or special connotation, they did not have the same relevance. Several interviewees also commented that the *podushky* did not fit the décor, or were too difficult to wash; there were many reasons that kept the *podushky* from being displayed. Historic significance gave them the status of "keepsake" and an heirloom worth saving, but not necessarily worthy of being put out for show. Therefore they were relegated to storage. The change of significance and meaning over time was summed up eloquently by Alice Prociuk:

> You know a lot of people get rid of things…I'll tell you a little story about a good friend in Regina, her mother was my neighbour in the city and I stayed overnight there one time, and she had a nice runner on the dresser and I said "Geez that's a lovely little runner, It's embroidered in Ukrainian", and she said, "you know what? I went to a garage sale and I got that for 15 cents," and she said "I was looking and those two young girls selling stuff at the garage sale, and I asked how much, and they said, Oh it doesn't matter, give me 5 cents, give me what you want." And I said, I told them… "If I die, and if my daughter would tell me "give me 15 cents or 5 cents" for something that was so

[182] Alice Prociuk, Katie Parchewski, Bohdanna *Yarosh*, Anna Gimbarsky, Lena Denesyk, Maria Zajcew, Olga Dusanowski, Anna Mykytyn.
[183] Daria Twerdochlib, interview with the author, 21 June 2015.
[184] Daria Twerdochlib, interview with the author, 21 June 2015.

> valuable, I would jump in from heaven, or from where ever I am, hell or heaven, and I'd knock them down… I'd say, "You don't know how much work, how many times I pricked my finger doing that, and it's not valuable to you at all!"[185]"

Although a *podushka* may have meant many things to the original artisan, such as being associated with cultural identity, a first place win at a county fair, or the house warming of a home, the personal importance may not have been communicated to subsequent generations. As a result, time had altered the meaning, and the intrinsic value. Hence many Ukrainian Canadian *podushky* are currently stored in boxes, drawers, plastic tubs, and cedar chests (see Figure 3.24).[186]

Figure 3.24 – Storage of *Podushky*

Podushky in storage at the Chudzak residence – Ottawa 2015

Podushky in storage in the Luciuk residence – Kingston 2015

[185] Alice Prociuk, Interview with the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.
[186] Display and storage details for each of the documented *podushky* can be found in Appendix 6 - *Podushka* Data Chart.

Chapter 4 – Evolution of Embroidered *Podushky* in Canada

My first impression when reviewing all of the embroidery patterns documented during this study, was that most of them are unique. Out of 498 artifacts there were only 9 pairs and one trio that were exactly identical,[187] of which 5 pairs were specifically embroidered to match. The other 4 pairs were from different study participants and happened to be the same pattern. There were 16 identifiable, reoccurring patterns or themes that effected 45 of the *podushky*, indicating similar or shared sources.[188] Artistic licence appears to have played an important role in the [re]creation of the patterns on the remaining 429 *podushky*. This is not surprising, considering two factors that quickly became evident as I continued my research. The first was the realization that during most of the first quarter of the 20th century there was a lack of resources in Canada related specifically to Ukrainian patterns. Living in diaspora meant that the immigrants were no longer surrounded by the variety and quantity of embroidery that they grew up with in Ukraine. Their clothing and the few linens that they brought with them were all that they had for visual inspiration from their Ukrainian heritage. Also, very few "elders" immigrated. Therefore, not many of the first pioneers had the experience, skills, or cultural knowledge that could perpetuate historic techniques, patterns, and motifs; and those that did were primarily focused on establishing a new lifestyle in a new land. Anyone that was inclined to embroider had to borrow or memorize patterns that they came across. Ideas could have come from family members, as well as friends and neighbours who were not always from a Ukrainian background. Modification and improvisation were a common outcome of this process.

The second finding that is connected to creativity and improvisation of embroidery patterns is related to the pride associated with individualism, and respect; most avoided directly copying someone else's work. I recorded several comments and stories related to the sharing and copying of patterns.

> I got my patterns from my friends. When I [would] go and visit them and I would see it, and Oh! I would ask 'can I copy it' and if she's a good friend she let you copy it and if not

[187] *Podushky* with identical patterns in Appendix 7: (1-8, 1-9) (1-6, 1-7) (19-5, 19-6) (25-18, 25-19) (46-24, 46-25) (20-1, 20-12) (37-1, 35-1) (11c1, 41-10,) (1-14, 47-12) (6-13, 46-5, 46-6).

[188] Patterns that have a shared inspirational source are similar to each other; however there are differences in colour, motif groupings, size, and/or format. Source patterns resemble these following *podushky* Appendix 7: 1-3, 1-15, 3-1, 3-6, 6-1, 7-2, 8-3, 10-4, 15-25, 18-1, 20-5, 20-16, 30-1, 39-19, 45-1, and 47-11.

> she doesn't want you to have it. I would always change it a little so that it wasn't the same. Because that was hers and this was mine.[189] – Olga Dusanowskyj

> I would look at the sleeve of a blouse or something and try, try to memorize it…but I would change it a little bit, because you don't want to have exactly the same thing. There was one time at school, in Ukraine, that it was almost the same, and one girl got mad [at me], so I never did it the same again.[190] – Anna Mykytyn

> I liked to make some of my own patterns from ones I saw. I would add some from here, some from there. I would use the [thread] colours that I like.[191] – Pearl Petrash

Documented in this collection are several *podushka* patterns that are similar to each other; variations on a theme but not exactly the same. Of note is one by Anna Mykytyn (see Appendix 7 – 19-10). The pattern is almost identical to one published in *Nova khata* in 1929, however Mykytyn's pattern had been split and flipped as a mirror image. Knowing that she was conscious of not copying exactly, and because Mykytyn claims that this specific *podushka* was embroidered when she was 16 years old (in 1938), ten years after the pattern was published, it is hard to say exactly how her version came to be represented in the way she interpreted it.

It is also important to note, that as time went on, and printed materials became more readily available, many artisans were equally as proud to have produced patterns exactly as portrayed in photographs and pattern plates. Maria Zajcew and Anna Gimbarsky in Winnipeg emphasised the colour accuracy and the exactitude of the pattern replication on the *podushky* that they had embroidered. In addition I found that museums staff stressed authenticity; the accuracy with which an artisan had duplicated a pattern from a specific region of Ukraine was considered to be an indicator of higher quality and technical ability.

Embroidery in the Diaspora

Among the *podushky* documented in this study there were many different designs, yet very few interviewees could confirm the specific sources. When asked where the pattern came from, a typical response was "I don't know"[192] or "I don't remember."[193] Other's alluded to possible sources e.g. "I

[189] Olga Dusanowskyj, interview with the author, Toronto, 23 June 2015.
[190] Anna Mykytyn, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 23 June 2015.
[191] Pearl Petrash, interviewed by the author, Truro, NS, 6 July 2016.
[192] Alice Prociuk, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.

think it was from *Ukrains'kyi holos,* or maybe *Promin."*[194] Only five interviewees kept at least a partial record of their embroidery sources.[195] Some interviewees had partial recall; noting that various periodicals and publications came to mind, but they could not confirm these sources for their specific *podushky*. For example, Halia Teterenko[196] of Winnipeg referred to *Ukrains'kiy holos, Promin*, and *Zhinochi svit* as periodicals that were in her mother's home and may have been referenced for patterns, but she wasn't sure if they were the exact source. In other cases specific embroidery classes and teachers were mentioned but classroom resources have not been confirmed. Over the years, many of the Ukrainian organizations and churches hosted embroidery classes. The instructors usually provided the patterns associated with the various stitches. However, depending on the time period, handouts were not always available. The source sample was more often an existing item or students would share a book. It wasn't until the 1950s that St. John's Cathedral in Edmonton had a Gestetner machine that was used to print the weekly newsletter and was also shared with members of UWAC to print handouts for various cultural classes. Prior to that time, instructors such as Olga Semchuk and Nadia Bodnar would bring existing items or would borrow books from the Ukrainian Bookstore to use as examples. Embroidery pattern handouts were not common in the Orthodox community until 1961 when the magazine *Promin,* (published by UWAC), included an embroidery pattern on the back cover of each issue.

Access to embroidery patterns varied over time. Due to limited space for decorative embroidered items, and the physical lack of printed materials, the first wave of immigrants brought very few articles with them that could later serve as embroidery inspirations and resources. Additional sources appeared with the second wave, most notably existing periodicals such as *Nova khata* from L'viv, as well as new embroidered items. Subscriptions to the magazines were acquired once immigrants had settled and mailing addresses were confirmed. The third immigration brought with it even more resources. Lida Lahola, Oksanna Ensslen, and Lesia Savedchuk all shared *podushky*, patterns and books that their mothers had brought with them on their journeys from Ukraine via the Displaced Persons Camps. The difference between urban versus rural resources also had an influence on the creative process. On the farms and small towns resources were scarce in comparison to the cities, where there was greater access to exhibitions, libraries and museums.

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[193] Anna Gimbarska, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, 17 June 2015.
[194] Lena Denysyk, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, 17 June 2015.
[195] The interviewees that kept a partial record of their pattern sources were: Daria Twerdochlib, Bohdanna Yarosh, Pamela Shapka, Dina Iwanycky, Marika Banias, Kathy Michalishyn, and Oksanna Ensslen.
[196] Halia Teterenko, interviewed by the author, Winnipeg, 17 June 2015.

With all the data collected I have attempted to establish a chronological timeline of possible influences and inspirations that occurred during a century of embroidery within Canada. By far the greatest challenge of this study was identifying the source of embroidery patterns for Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky* created prior to 1920 by the first wave of immigrants. Interviewees who had artifacts created in Canada during this time period could not definitively identify the source of the patterns. In most cases the artisans could not remember accurately that far back. More often, they were deceased and their descendants did not know. The connection to first-hand knowledge was weak. A review of the popular periodicals of the time and the biography of Savella Stechishin helped determine a logical sequence of events and the embroidery pattern resources that may explain how various patterns became integrated into the Canadian repertoire and found their way onto embroidered *podushky*.[197,198] Research conducted in 1976 by American textile specialist Beverly Gordon, also put the Ukrainian diasporic experience into North American context. Gordon noted that:

> In the last 100 years, there has been a steadily increasing body of literature about American textile art, including everything from mass-market women's magazine articles which assure the average housewife that she too can make beautiful pillows for her home.[199]

Gordon has noted that over time many popular women's magazines and newspapers featured articles related to domestic activities such as food, clothing, health and wellness issues, as well as handicraft projects. Her research focuses on the ebb and flow of various textile trends. For example, in the realm of needlework, in 1916, the "Needle and Bobbin Club" of New York began publishing its *Bulletin* which was devoted to textile studies. Depending on the interests of the current membership, the articles would focus on a particular handicraft such as embroidery or weaving for a few issues, which trended for a while and influenced other publications. The trend would later change in response to articles featuring new techniques or mediums.

Gordon compared published material to activities in the community in order to establish various trends and attitudes within the textile arts movements in North America. Although her research focused primarily on American publications, several of her observations are applicable to

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[197] There were four periodicals that were referenced by interviewees as being found in their homes or their parent's homes: *Kanadis'kyi farmer*, *Ukrains'kyi holos, Nova khata and Zhinochyi svit.* A periodical review included the majority of their issues between 1911 and 1955. I also reviewed *Kalendar Kanadis'koho farmera* and *Kalendar* U*krains'koho holosu* that were published during the same time period.

[198] Ostryzniuk, *The Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian,* 2009.

[199] Gordon,"The Fiber of Our Lives: Trends and Attitudes," 501.

Canada. For example, Gordon found that the 1960s surge of interest in fiber and fiber art was reflected in both a rise in the sale of fibre books, as well as an increase in articles related to needlecrafts. This trend is reflected in the Ukrainian Canadian Community with the release of *Promin* in 1961 with its focus on embroidery, as well as a greater emphasis on needle craft how-to articles and sections in the already existing publication *Zhinochyi svit.*

Pre-1914

Although the interviewees in this study are too young to remember the creation of pre-1914 embroidery, it is clear that the earliest Ukrainian Canadian embroidery patterns evolved primarily via a form of word-of-mouth, or more accurately by looking at an existing pieces of embroidery, then transposing and modifying them to specific *podushka* fabrics. Alice Prociuk (Saskatoon), Sophia Morrison (Victoria), Katie Parchewski (Saskatoon), Stella Morash (Halifax), and Pearl Petrash (Truro, NS) are all daughters of first wave immigrants who came to Canada before 1915. They had strong recollections of how their mothers saw an embroidered piece in church or at a neighbour's and borrowed it for a few days, or quickly copied it to their sampler. Their mothers could not read or write, neither in Ukrainian nor English; copying an existing pattern was their main source of inspiration.[200] Prociuk mentioned that when she was a little girl (c. 1925) her mother sent her down the road to borrow the neighbour's pillow so that she could copy it. Her mother always change it slightly to make the pattern her own.[201] In the same vein Morrison mentioned, "My mother would copy anything… and then she would add something to make it better."[202] Parchewski remembered copying a pattern from the linens in the church in Hafford, SK.[203] Morash remembered a pillow: "my mother made one by copying the sleeve of a blouse."[204] Petrash also remembered her mother copying patterns from blouse sleeves, moreover, she still had one of the embroidered sleeves that her mother had cut off a blouse (made in Ukraine pre 1900) and had intended to sew it into a pillow (see Appendix 12 - 29-1). Her mother had made the first sleeve into a pillow and gave it to her other daughter; the second sleeve, photographed for this study, was never finished off.

[200] Some of the mothers did eventually learn to read and write a little; however, the interviewees stated that when they were small children they did not recall their mothers being literate.
[201] Alice Prociuk and Katie Parchewski, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.
[202] Sophia Morrison, interviewed by the author, Sidney, BC, 11 July 2015.
[203] Alice Prociuk and Katie Parchewski, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 11 June 2015.
[204] Stella Morash, interviewed by the author, Dartmouth, 7 July 2015.

1920s

In the 1920s there were several key events and individuals that stimulated embroidery appreciation across Canada among both Ukrainian descendants as well as the general Canadian population. Within the Ukrainian Canadian community, there was a slow but recognizable incorporation of embroidery related articles, photographs, and advertising into Ukrainian language publications. I did not find any printed sources of Ukrainian embroidery patterns in circulation in Canada prior to 1921. Of the periodicals that I carefully reviewed, it wasn't until the 1921 issue of the Ukrainian language Canadian Almanac *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* [Ukrainian Voice – Almanac] that embroidery appeared on the printed pages.[205] In that issue the layout artist incorporated a variety of decorative friezes into the page design. They were black and white graphic interpretations of simple motifs and embroidery patterns that were inserted at the end of articles or as headers to new sections in the publication. In that same year, the weekly counterpart *Ukrains'kyi holos* [Ukrainian Voice] newspaper began to post advertisements for an English brand of needlework patterns (lace, crochet, and knitting). Prior to that, popular Canadian published weekly Ukrainian language newspapers were text heavy, mixed with a few graphic advertisements and photographs that did not contain obvious visual references to embroidery. In 1925, the Ukrainian women's magazine *Nova khata* was first published in Lviv and began to find its way into Canada via a few key individuals and organizations.[206] Articles and advertising had a focus on fashion, embroidery, and home décor. Each issue provided many examples. However, circulation was limited, with access primarily in major urban communities.

In 1927, *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* printed a full colour cover featuring an embroidery pattern that filled the entire page (see figure 4.1). Distribution was Canadian wide, primarily to the farming communities on the prairies. In this study there is one example of an embroidered *podushka* created in the Edmonton area during that time period. It is somewhat similar to the cover, and may have been inspired by that specific design (see Appendix 12 - 48-5).

[205] An example of the many decorative friezes can be found on page 145 of *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu*, 1921.

[206] A brief history of *Nova khata can* be found in the biography of Savella Stechishin: *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian - Savella Stechishin*, by Natalie Ostryzniuk. Stechishin was one of the first to collect Canadian subscriptions on behalf of the publisher in L'viv.

Figure 4.1
1927 – Coloured Pattern
a) *Kalendar Ukrains'koho Holosu - 1927 – Cover*
b) Appendix 12 – 48-5

a) 1927

b) c1930

In 1929-30 there was a noticeable introduction of fashion and embroidery into all of the Ukrainian language, Canadian publications that I reviewed. Notably: 1) the 1929 edition of *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* introduced its first women's section "*Nash shliah*" [Our Way] with an article on comfortable clothing, 2) the 1929 edition of *Kalendar Kanadis'koho farmera* ran an article on how to wash embroidery, 3) in February 1929, the newspaper *Kanadis'kyi farmer* ran an advertisement for the upcoming CP Rail exhibition of "multicultural national songs, dances, and handicrafts" to be held in Regina in March, and 4) in 1930 the *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* ran its first photograph of a child wearing an embroidered garment. Though still far from being regular editorial content, the inclusion of cultural information was on the rise. From 1930 onward, in each of the Ukrainian Canadian periodicals, there is a noticeable, steady increase in articles related to embroidery as well as photographs of embroidery exhibits and people wearing embroidered garments, and the placement of advertisements related to embroidery supplies. The availability of printed embroidery patterns progressively improved.

This corresponds to Beverly Gordon's observations of trends in North American English language publications. She noted that "The 1930s also brought embroidery to the fore again. Most importantly was [the writing of] numerous articles and an important book, *American Needlework: The History of Decorative Stitchery from the late 16th to the 20th Century* (by Georgiana Brown Harbeson)."[207] The focus on embroidery continued through the '30s into the '40s after which interest then shifted to books on rugs and quilts became more popular. During the same period in Canada, from 1930-1940, subscriptions to *Chatelaine* and other women's magazines were steadily increasing across the country;

[207] Gordon, "Fibre of Our Lives: Trends and Attitudes," 553.

access to printed information (articles and advertisements) about embroidery and home decor was on the rise (see Figure 3.6).

Concurrently, cultural activists Savella Stechishin and Anastasia Pavlychenko, young visionaries in Saskatoon, were inspiring the proliferation of Ukrainian cultural activities in Canada.[208] Stechishin was instrumental in organizing Ukrainian Orthodox women, and was one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC) and the Ukrainian Museum of Canada. Pavlychenko moved in circles that later established the Canadian organization known as Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) and Ukrainian Woman's Organization (UWO). Both women had the motivation, energy, and means to organize the community around cultural pride, and are credited with being two of the most proactive in inspiring the maintenance and preservation of Ukrainian culture in Canada during the interwar period. Of particular note are Stechishin's activities directly connected to the promotion of Ukrainian embroidery in Canada.[209] First and foremost were her connections to the media of the time. Stechishin's brother-in-law, Myroslav Stechishin was the editor of *Ukrains'kyi holos* in Winnipeg. He often invited the young woman to contribute articles on Ukrainian culture and women's issues during the 1920s. He later encouraged her to write a weekly women's column; providing a regular opportunity to share ideas, opinions, and cultural projects with Ukrainian Canadian women across the prairies. Savella Stechishin also contributed on occasion to the newspaper *Kanadis'kyi farmer* and its almanac. She was also the Canadian contact for European based women's bi-weekly periodicals, *Nova khata* from L'viv, and *Zhinocha dolia* from Kolomyia, Ukraine. Both magazines carried informative articles about fashion, home décor, and Ukrainian arts and crafts, including embroidery patterns. *Nova khata*, which was in circulation from 1925-39, included various embroidery projects on a regular basis. In fact, subscribers could enjoy a new embroidered *podushka* pattern at least once a month (see Figure 4.2), and in its final year of publication (1939), each issue included a full colour sheet of embroidery. Articles were also published describing how to incorporate Ukrainian folk art into contemporary home décor, often with photographs that included an embroidered pillow within the setting.

[208] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 2009. *Zhinochyi svit,* July 1950, page 5, and February 1951, pages 8,21.
[209] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 122-123.

РУЧНІ

ДЕКОРАТИВНІ ПОДУШКИ З ПРИМІНЕННЯМ НАРОДНИХ МОТИВІВ

ОРИГІНАЛЬНА ТАЦА З ВИШИВАНИМ СПОДОМ З БУКОВИНСЬКИМИ МОТИВАМИ

Figure 4.2 *Podushka* Projects
Nova khata, 1929, page 18
Note: the top pattern is very
Similar to *podushka* no.19-10
See Appendix 7.

In the summers of 1930 and 31, as a travelling provincial home economist, and as an officer of the newly formed UWAC, Stechishin criss-crossed Saskatchewan, visiting most of the rural Ukrainian-block settlements. She was able to combine her official duties of hosting domestic workshops, with lecturing on Ukrainian women's issues, facilitating embroidery workshops, and promoting the sale of subscriptions to both of the magazines she represented. During this same time period Stechishin, acting on behalf of UWAC, organized "folk arts" competitions to stimulate interest in embroidery, *pysanka* writing, and weaving. Patterns and instructions written by Stechishin were distributed to all the UWAC branches as suggested designs for competition projects.[210] Alice Prociuk remembers participating in these early embroidery competitions, but noted that her forte was writing and recitation. Stechishin was often one of the judges for the embroidery competitions and continued to organize, promote, and judge for both Ukrainian and mainstream community organizations well into the 1960s.[211]

In May of 1932, Stechishin with her friends Tetiana Kroitor and Daria (Doris) Yanda, hired a driver and travelled in Yanda's new car from Saskatoon to attend the Ukrainian National Women's League Congress in New York. On the return trip, they travelled through Eastern Canada, visiting Ukrainian communities in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and Windsor; then on to Sudbury, Fort William

[210] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 123.
[211] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 146, 156-157.

and Port Arthur (Thunder Bay), Winnipeg, and home to Saskatoon.[212] At each stop Stechishin had an opportunity to network with women in the Ukrainian community, collect and distribute patterns, and sell magazine subscriptions. Through her efforts, access to printed Ukrainian embroidery patterns grew very quickly. Savella Stechishin's reputation as an expert in Ukrainian textiles was reinforced in the 1930s when she was invited to contribute regularly as a Canadian correspondent to both *Nova khata* and *Zhinocha dolia*. In addition, in 1931, friend Anna Chepasiuk approached MacLean's Publishing Company in Toronto, to feature Savella Stechishin in their new, national woman's magazine *Chatelaine*. An article was printed in August of 1931 commending Stechishin's efficient scientific principles of cookery, diets, home decoration and home management that met the needs of Canadian rural life.[213] This recognition benefited Savella and solidified her status among Canadians, and abroad, as an expert on home décor and Ukrainian arts and culture. Being featured in a mainstream women's magazine also supported Stechishin's personal mission to "raise" the standards of embroidery from peasant crafts to high art.[214]

Another one of Savella Stechishin's major contributions to the access of Ukrainian embroidery patterns in Canada came by way of a trip made to Western Ukraine in 1927 with her husband Julian. The journey to Ukraine was a business trip for Julian Stechishin, and was meant as a buying trip for Savella. She was able to purchase several choice pieces of embroidery that exemplified fine craftsmanship from Western Ukraine to serve as embroidery samples when teaching classes in Canada. Stechishin also sold some of the Ukrainian-made embroidered items to Saskatoon's affluent; then sending the funds back to Olena Kysilevska in L'viv to help with various charitable women's initiatives.[215] Mr. Dmytro Ferbey, who owned and operated the Ukrainian Bookstore in Edmonton, was also part of the same travel group on a buying trip of his own. In later years, his advertisements promoting the sale of embroidery supplies appeared on the same pages as Stechishin's articles on embroidery.[216]

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[212] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 110-112.
[213] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 108-109.
[214] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian*, 93.
[215] From the mid 1920s until the late 1930s Olena Kysilevska was the editor of the Ukrainian woman's magazine *Zhinocha dolia*, from L'viv, and a feminist advocating the development of higher living standards for Ukrainian peasant women. She was instrumental in organizing women cooperatives and encouraging cottage industry in western Ukraine.
[216] One of the first advertisement in which the Ukrainian Bookstore (Edmonton) advertised embroidery supplies on a page adjacent to an article by Savella Stechishin appeared in *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu, 1938, 137.*

CPR Handicraft Exhibits

In 1928, the efforts of Lady Constance Nanton of Winnipeg also directly impacted the exposure to Ukrainian Canadian embroidery and patterns across the nation. As president of the Crafts Guild of Manitoba, along with representatives from the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Montreal, Nanton was instrumental in lobbying the Canadian National Railway (CPR) to host the "New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival" in several major cities across the country. This was a promotional scheme by the CPR created to encourage immigration and settlement across Canada. It turned into the catalyst for many of the first exhibitions of Ukrainian embroidery in Canada. The 1928 festival in Winnipeg was very successful:

> Held 19 to 23 June 1928, it was an extravaganza never before witnessed in Western Canada. The rotunda of Winnipeg's Royal Alexandra Hotel was completely transformed into a bustling, colorful European market place. Countless participants representing fourteen different nationalities were outfitted in their bright, distinctively embellished costumes, proudly exhibiting and demonstrating their exceptional artistic skills in a massive display of handicrafts…The Ukrainian booth, resembling a thatched roof cottage, housed embroideries and pottery, all being demonstrated by its inhabitants…strolling minstrels and concert musicians blended colors and conversations of many lands into the seemingly new Canadian mosaic.[217]

Savella Stechishin, together with Pavlychenko, collaborated with Mrs. Illingsworth of the Arts and Crafts Guild in Saskatoon; rallying the Ukrainian women in Saskatchewan to create a similar Ukrainian presence at the CPR festival hosted in March of 1929 at the Hotel Saskatchewan in Regina (Figure 4.3). Many women from both urban and rural organizations contributed their handiwork. Stechishin was particularly excited about the opportunity to exhibit the embroidery she had collected during her journey to Ukraine the previous year, "Savella was very proud to show off her collection as she was certain that it would be viewed as more than just provincial handicraft, it would be considered art."[218] Among the items on display were several embroidered blouses, *rushnyky*, tablecloths, serviettes, and embroidered *podushky*. The exhibits provided the opportunity to look at various patterns up-close, first-hand.

[217] From,"Manitoba History."
[218] Ostryzniuk, *Blossoming of a Ukrainian Canadian,* 93.

Канадійська Вистава Великого Заходу
НАРОДНИХ ПІСЕНЬ, НАРОДНИХ ТАНЦІВ
і
РУЧНИХ РОБІТ
Реджайна - - Березня 20 - 23

Чотири дні милої музики й кольору, вистава артистичних робіт і пісень людей степових провінцій.

СПІВИ — МУЗИКАНТИ — ТАНЦЮРИСТИ З
20 РАСОВИХ ҐРУП
в принадних строях їх краю походження.

РУЧНІ РОБОТИ ОРҐАНІЗОВАНІ КАНАДИЙСЬКИМ ТОВАРИСТВОМ РУЧНИХ РОБІТ—МУЗИКИ И НАРОДНІ ТАНЦІ ОРҐАНІЗОВАНІ ДЕПАРТАМЕНТОМ МУЗИКИ, КЕНЕДІЄН ПАСИФИК ЗАЛІЗНИЦІ.

Хто хоче виставити ручні роботи повинен порозумітися з Mrs. Illingworth

HOTEL SASKATCHEWAN
The Canadian Pacific Hotel at Regina, Sask.

Figure 4.3
CPR Advertisement
Promoting the upcoming "New Canadian Folksong & Handicraft Festival" March 20-23, Regina, SK Sponsored by Canadian Pacific Railway. Featuring 20 different cultural groups.

Kanadis'kyi farmer
February 20, 1929, page 27.

1930s

The CPR festivals not only energized Ukrainian Canadians and instilled a pride in their heritage; they also provided a new source of inspiration for embroidery classes and projects. Throughout the depression of the 1930s and WW2 there was a spirit of creativity and cultural preservation that kept Ukrainians motivated to embroider. Festivals and exhibits hosted by various Ukrainian organizations sprang up across the country. Savella Stechishin spearheaded many of the ones associated with UWAC; Anastasia Pavlychenko and UWO cohorts supported their own showings, as did the Ukrainian Catholic community and other smaller independent cultural groups and handicraft guilds (see Figure 4.4). Common items on display were: blouses, *rushnyky*, serviettes, tablecloths, and *podushky*. Copying embroidery from actual items, such as those on display, was still the prevalent means of sharing embroidery patterns, including the ones for *podushky*.

Figure 4.4
Exhibition of Traditional Ukrainian Embroidery & Handicrafts
UWAC Convention, Saskatoon, 1935.

UCAMA Collection
Ref. no. 470

By the late 1930s, in addition to the exhibitions, other sources of inspiration became available. Those printed in newspapers were soon good enough to convey the details of embroidery. Cultural reporting in *Ukrains'kyi holos* and *Kanadis'kyi farmer* were often accompanied by photos of exhibits, and group photos of people in embroidered blouses, shirts and ties. Published photographs became another source of embroidery patterns readily available for interpretation onto *podushky*. Many of the interviewees referred to vague recollections of coloured patterns in various publications; often mentioning ones printed on the back of magazines. However, I found that it wasn't until 1939 that *Nova khata* introduced a full colour pattern insert in each monthly publication. And, in Canadian publications such patterns remained rare well into the late 1940s early 1950s. In fact, it wasn't until 1953 that *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu* first published a black and white embroidery pattern notated on graph paper (as opposed to just a photo as in Figure 4.2); it was for a *podushka;*[219] and not until 1961 that UWAC began publishing *Promin* with its signature monthly back-cover embroidery pattern. However, it too was only in black and white.

It is also important to note the trends in advertising within each of the Ukrainian publications as related to the developing trends in North American embroidery. Advertisements for D.M.C. apparently first appeared in a Canadian Ukrainian language publication in 1939; a full page ad was placed in the

[219] *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu, 1953,* 22.

yearly almanac of *Kanadis'kyi farmar,*[220] positioned on the page adjacent to one with the first Ukrainian Bookstore advertisement referring to embroidery supplies. This advertisement coincided with the first DMC ad in "*Nova khata.*" In 1941, *Kanadis'kyi farmer* printed its first article about embroidery[221] and the Clarke Company took out an advertisement on the adjacent page for its Anchor Brand thread.[222] That same year Anchor advertisements were also placed in the weekly newspaper *Ukrains'kyi holos*[223] and *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu*,[224] (almanac and weekly newspaper). The inclusion of an embroidery article in a Canadian Ukrainian language publication, and the introduction of advertisements for related supplies, marked a new era for Ukrainian Canadian needlework.

Figure 4.5
Advertising for Embroidery Threads
Two of the first to appear in Canadian publications.

a) *Kalendar Kanadis'koho farmera*, 1939, page 39.

b) *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu*, 1941, page 15.

[220] *Narodni Ilustrovannyi kalendar Kanadis'koho farmera (Canadian Farmer Illustrated Almanac)*, 1939, 39.
[221] *Kanadis'kyi farmer*, 1941, pg 150
[222] *Kanadis'kyi farmer*, 1941, pg 152
[223] *Ukrains'kyi holos,* 1939, 98.
[224] *Kalendar Ukrains'koho holosu,* 1939, 153.

1940's

In the early 1940s another prominent Ukrainian Canadian figure took on the cause of preserving and promoting Ukrainian embroidery. Tetianna Koshetz, wife of the late renowned choir conductor Alexander Koshtez was, like Anastasia Pavlychenko, an active member of the UNF and UWO. Koshetz was instrumental in collecting much of the embroidery of that time for Oseredok – the Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre in Winnipeg. Like Stechishin in Saskatoon, Koshetz collected embroidery examples and was passionate about sharing them with the public and teaching the various techniques to students. One of her major contributions to the Ukrainian Canadian community was her role in the Ukrainian Summer School Courses – "Kursy", which were hosted in Winnipeg by Oseredok from the mid-1940s into the 1950s. Koshetz oversaw all of the cultural programming including dance and folk art. Nadia Korpus participated in three of the summer camps and fondly remembers "*Pani*" Koshetz teaching all the girls and some of the boys how to embroider. Many of the students returned home after each summer and became instrumental in perpetuating embroidery classes or applying what they had learned from their summer school instructor in other capacities. Koshetz's influence reached far into the community, inspiring the likes of Chester Kuc (Edmonton), Nadia Korpus (Regina/Calgary), Walter Klymkiw (Winnipeg), Petro Marunczak (Montreal), and Yaroslava Surmach Mills (New York); though not all continued to embroider, each inspired the continuation of embroidery through dance and choir costuming, as well as supporting exhibitions and courses in their communities.[225]

In the late 1940s, the end of WW2 brought the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and an exponential increase in embroidery patterns available to Ukrainian Canadians. While en-route to Canada, these new Ukrainian immigrants often spent time in "Displaced Persons Camps" in Germany, Austria, France and England prior to landing on Canadian soil. Tetiana Koshetz was involved in the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, which was entrusted with a collection of embroidery from the camps. Koshetz oversaw the cleaning and restoration of the artifacts. Due to her efforts Oseredok has an excellent collection of over 50 embroidered *podushky* created by third wave immigrants; some prior to leaving Ukraine, but the majority of this collection was made in the camps (including the examples in Appendix 7 – 14-1 to 14-27). Interviewees with ties to the third wave retold stories of their parents' journeys and in some cases their own travel memories as children. Their stories included recollections related to embroidery, and it became evident that with the third wave came an influx of new embroidery resources. There are several accounts of how printed patterns and pieces of

[225] Nadia Korpus, interview by the author, Calgary, March 2014. BMUFA - UF2014.12

embroidered linens were included in the luggage.[226] Interviews with Daria Twerdohlib and Oksana Ensslen provided insight and examples of the patterns and items that had made their way from Europe to Canada. Twerdochlib shared the embroidered *podushka* that her *baba*, Maria (Barynovych) Poshar, had embroidered in Germany, before arriving in Canada via England in 1951. The pillow was large, typical of European sizes, and the main stitch was *hlad'*. Twerdochlib was not sure of the source of this particular pattern; however she had organized most of her baba's patterns in a binder, including some that dated back to 1939. Some of the pre-immigration patterns were hand drawn, copied from other sources, others were clipped from various European magazines. Ensslen shared her mother's collection of patterns that date back to life in the DP camps in Germany and France. Included in the Ensslen collection are coloured plates created by Klemens B. Habdank-Rohozynskyj (1948) as well as hand drawn patterns that her mother and aunt had created on scraps of paper and saved in a cardboard sleeve.[227] Ensslen recalled how both women were very creative and proud of how they would incorporate bits and pieces of patterns they remembered from Ukraine with embroidery they saw in the camps or in European pattern books. It was apparently an approach they developed before they immigrated. Pleased with their ability to create unique designs, they continued the practice in Canada afterwards as well (Figure 4.6). Similarly, Nadia Luciuk and Nina Romas spoke about how their mothers modified patterns based on ones they collected while in Ukraine and in the European DP camps.

Figure 4.6 Original Embroidery Patterns Post WW2

This pattern was designed by Maria (Barynovych) Poshar c1948 and has been modified many times for different projects by her granddaughter, Daria Twerdochlib.[228]

This pattern was designed by Alexandra (Loban) Chomiak c1949 while living in a "Displaced Person's Camp" in Europe.[229]

[226] Oksana Ensslen, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 18 February, 2016.
[227] Ensslen Collection BMUFA. UF2016.
[228] Daria Twerdochlib, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 21 June 2015.
[229] Oksana Ensslen, interviewed by the author, Edmonton, 18 February, 2016.

Not everyone brought actual patterns with them. Emil Yereniuk recalled his mother's stories of how she had to leave everything behind when immigrating to Canada in 1948. "She did embroidery in Ukraina. She was in charge of exhibits, embroidery exhibits in *Lisko* which is now in Poland…everything she did was lost…they had to leave it all."[230]

In Canada during the late 1940s, the period of the third wave of immigration, many of the fledgling Ukrainian women's organizations saw a need to collect and share embroidery patterns. In Saskatoon the head office of the UWAC museum was growing its collection, as were the affiliate museums in Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, and Toronto. However the artifacts were concentrated in the larger centres.

Savella Stechishin recognized that rural communities were isolated; she saw a need to provide easier access to Ukrainian embroidery information. In 1950 she authored one of the first books on Ukrainian embroidery to be published in Canada; *Mystetski skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok* was published in the Ukrainian language by UWAC. Stechishin prefaced the book with a chapter on the history of Ukrainian embroidery. The illustrations provided step-by step instructions for various stitches including cross-stitch, *hlad'*, and *poltavs'ke verizuvannia* [hardangar], as well as patterns for specific projects (embroidered blouses, household linens, church linens, children's clothing). Six pages were specifically dedicated to the embroidered *podushka*. Stechishin wrote that "In the modern home embroidered *podushky* on the chesterfield are necessities,"[231] and went on to encourage individual interpretation;

> The patterns can come from various sources. A beautiful option is to copy a pattern from the sleeve of an embroidered blouse, embroidered across the middle [horizontally] or on the diagonal, or vertically, repeating the small motifs from the same pattern on the sides. One can also cover one entire side of a *podushka* with a motif within squares [in a grid]….the thread colours for your motifs should be chosen to match the home décor and compliment the armchairs." [232]

Three of the *podushka* patterns featured in the book are directly related to *podushky* documented for this study. Savella acknowledges *Nova khata* as the source for many of the patterns and illustrations in her book. Therefore, the patterns in the study may have also been adapted from those

[230] Emil Yereniuk, Interview with the author, Edmonton, 22 March 2015.
[231] Stechishin, *Mystetski skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok,* 116 (Translated by Larisa Cheladyn).
[232] Stechishin, *Mystetski skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok,* 116 (Translated by Larisa Cheladyn).

previously published magazine issues. Three obvious connections between *podushky* in this study and Stechishin's book *Mystetski skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok* are as follows:

1) Appendix 7 - 1-14 and the pattern printed on page 117
2) Appendix 7 – 6-13 and the pattern printed on the top of page 120
3) Appendix 7 - 6-15 and the pattern printed on the bottom of page 120

Late 1950s – Early 1970s

In 1958, UWAC published another embroidery book; *Ukrainian Embroidery Designs and Stitches.*[233] It became very popular and was referred to by many of the interviewees, both Catholic and Orthodox, and appears in most of the book collections that were researched for this project. Only two *podushka* patterns are featured; they are reproduced from Stechishin's book on page 117 and the top of 120. Written in English, this new book made Ukrainian embroidery accessible to a whole new population; non-Ukrainian speaking Ukrainian descendants and stitchers of mixed heritage could also read the instructions and attempt the patterns and unique stitches. Noticeably, only two pages were dedicated to the embroidered *podushka*, the focus of the patterns dealt mostly with fashion and embroidery embellished clothing.

The 1960s saw a continued increase in embroidery. Embroidery classes were popular among members of the various women's organizations (UWAC, OWA, and UCWLC). My mother, who was in her early 30s at the time, participated with her friends in classes both at the church in Edmonton, and in private homes. The majority of the embroidered *podushky* that were documented for this study were embroidered between 1965-1975; with peak production circa 1970. (See Figure 3.23 – in chapter 3). Several other embroidery books were published in North America and Ukraine and became available through the various outlets across Canada that carried embroidery supplies (a list of Ukrainian embroidery resources can be found in Appendix 8). During this era the motivation to embroider *podushky* varied. Some were embroidering for their own homes or as gifts for their children and grandchildren. Others were motivated to embroider pieces to donate for fundraising events at the church or the community organization. Many more were created during this era as a project for an embroidery class; the incentive was often an upcoming exhibition or embroidery competition. Darcia

[233] Ruryk, *Ukrainian Embroidery Designs and Stiches, 94.*

(Antonishka) Graham reminisced about her mother's preoccupation with teaching Orthodox youth in Winnipeg, and Surrey, BC in preparation for the annual embroidery competitions. Graham expressed a great deal of pride associated with creating a unique, exquisite piece, technically correct on both the front and reverse sides. At the annual youth conventions she would submit her projects for judging. They would be evaluated on technical ability, and pattern accuracy. Graham often won the coveted first prize ribbon.

The growing interest in embroidery was also evident in both the literature as well as within other culture communities. Embroidery guild memberships grew across the country, in every province. In June of 2015, during my visit with the Lakeshore Embroidery Guild in Montreal, several members who were also long time directors on the board the Embroidery Association of Canada shared their perspective with me on the history of embroidery in Canada. Maureen Spira spoke of the excitement in the 1970s over the variety of different embroidery techniques and stitches that were being shared by members across Canada from many different cultural backgrounds; theorizing that it was possibly this grass-roots enthusiasm that influenced the acceptance of the multicultural programing introduced in Canada within the same time frame.[234]

Late 1970s to the Present

Towards the end of the 1970s, the creation of embroidered *podushky* appears to have waned. This can be attributed to several factors. The first notable one coincides with the general trend of more women entering the workforce, resulting in less recreational time to embroider. Emil Yereniuk noted that once his mother started to work, she rarely embroidered. The same observations were made by Darcia (Anatonishka) Graham and Chrystia Chudczak. Their mothers came home from work exhausted; and poor evening lighting was often the reason for not to working on an embroidery project. There was also a new generation of young women who did not have to embroider their own items. Nina (Sotnikow) Koroliuk noted that her mother, Lucia Pavlychenko, had acquired, and later inherited her mother's embroidery; she didn't need any more *podushky* or any other household linens. Her Ukrainian cultural activities turned to dance rather than needlework.[235] This was the case among other first and second generation Ukrainian Canadians as well, particularly when it came to *podushky*. Anna Gimbarsky

[234] Maureen Spira, interviewed by the author, Montreal, 29 June, 2015.
[235] Nina (Sotnikow) Koroliuk, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 13 June, 2015.

noted that by the end of the 1970s her children encouraged her not to keep embroidering *podushky*. "*Meni kazaly shcho nema mistse* [they told me there was no more room]."[236]

As suggested by Beverly Gordon's research, additional factors influencing the downturn in embroidery output can be linked to the natural ebbs and flows of personal interests. Gordon indicates that throughout history women have used fibre as a medium for creative expression. However, there have been marked periods of popularity related to the various techniques. In North America, interests have shifted over time. Quilting, rug hooking, petit-point, are all forms of textile and fibre art that have garnered more attention than any other within a given era. Gordon found that in North America, embroidery peaked twice within a 100 year span; in the 1920s and then again from 1960 to the early 1970s. Following the surge in embroidery, by the mid-70s, there was a shift with a new focus on weaving.[237]

Once again, Gordon's observations directly correspond to activities in the Ukrainian Canadian community. By the mid to late 1970s the focus on textile and fibre art had shifted to weaving. Doris (Daria) Yanda, who had travelled with Savella Stechishin in 1932 from Saskatchewan to New York and back, now led a Western Canadian resurgence in weaving. Yanda, together with Elizabeth Sembaliuk, Mary Antonishka, and Elizabeth Holinaty, first attended workshops at the Banff School of Fine Arts. Then working independently, each organized weaving workshops in the communities in which each was most active. Beginners created sampler bookmarks, which later lead to small pin cushions, followed by runners, *rushnyky,* and woven *podushky*. Anna Mykytyn of Toronto shared some wonderful stories of the Banff weaving workshop where she remembers meeting Yanda and Sembaliuk. Mykytyn brought out the one *podushka* that she wove following the weaving session in Banff (see Appendix 7 -19-6), and commented that it was interesting to try weaving, but her true passion was embroidery.[238] Others such as Antonishka and Sembaliuk were re-energized by the new medium, supporting the new wave of creative expression in the Ukrainian cultural context.

[236] Anna Gimbarsky, interviewed by the author, Saskatoon, 17 June 2015.
[237] Gordon, "Fibre of Our Lives (1976)," 554-556.
[238] Anna Mykytyn, interviewed by the author, Toronto, 23 June 2015.

Conclusion

In contrast to equally popular Ukrainian folk arts such as the *pysanka* [Easter egg] and the *rushnyk* [ritual towel], prior to this study, very little data had been collected and recorded about Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky*, their creators, and their owners. Aside from personal experiences, I contributed to filling an information void relating to the structural characteristics, decorative detailing, and means in which this eclectic artifact had become integrated into the Ukrainian Canadian lifestyle. The overall objective of my investigation was to increase the breadth of knowledge pertaining to the phenomenon of embroidered *podushky*; to record consistencies and peculiarities that would define its role within domestic and public domains.

During the course of the fieldwork and artifact analysis I was able to meet my goals. A large corpus of data was collected detailing production tendencies and idiosyncrasies that have appeared since the first immigrants began arriving in Canada in the 1890s. Additional informant opinions and observations concerning the meaning and significance of embroidered *podushky* were recorded for posterity; creating a sizable knowledge base for future investigation. I found that an inherent attribute of the Ukrainian Canadian podushka was its ability to invoke memories of people and places, as well as domestic and cultural activities. The process of artifact analysis, coupled with the interview format facilitated the connections between past and present, enhancing the understanding of each specific item and the role it has played in the home and community. Building on Hodder's concept that the interpretation of mute evidence (such as artifacts) can provide us with material traces of past behavior, the analysis of the embroidered pillow helped stimulate the memory of past processes and relationships.[239]

Upon reviewing all of the data gathered during the study, there was one outstanding, unresolved detail that caught my attention more than others; very little information had surfaced regarding sources of inspiration that influenced Ukrainian embroidery patterns in the diaspora, particularly during the first quarter of the 20th century. A review of popular periodicals during each decade, the biography of Savella Stechishin, and research by textile specialist Beverly Gordon, helped to identify embroidery resources and determined a logical sequence of events that explained how various designs became integrated into the Canadian repertoire and found their way onto embroidered *podushky*.

[239] Hodder, "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture," 160. 94.

The outcomes of this study provide direction for several future research projects. The final research phase identified that an image data base of embroidery patterns can be a useful analytical tool. The ability to cross-reference and compare designs on existing artifacts with each other, and with existing resource materials would enhance the understanding of the creative process as well as the evolution of needlework in Ukraine, Canada, and as well as other communities in the Ukrainian diaspora. To be able to identify a *podushka* pattern in a 1927 issue of *Nova khata*, then again in Stechishin's *Mystets'ki skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok*, and yet again on *podushky* in Ukraine, Canada, the United States, and even further abroad, could provide invaluable insights into creative and cultural trends within a large network of communities.

The multiple method research approach generated over a hundred hours of recorded audio interviews, as well as over 3000 photographs of embroidered *podushky* and other textiles that were important to the study participants. The interviewees were also very generous with their personal lives, sharing information about their heirlooms as well as data related to extended family trees, immigration stories, personal recollections and memories related to Ukrainian textiles and various cultural traditions; all data that can be mined for future studies.

The work of Beverly Gordon was an additional source of inspiration. Her research on the trends and attitudes in textile art as reflected in North American literature was very relevant to this study. Digging deeper I found her more recent paper in which she presents a conceptual framework for looking at textile meanings.[240] It is an overarching model that includes an examination of the roles that all textiles play in our lives: spiritual, personal, aesthetic, cognitive, social, community, and survival. This analytical tool, coupled with all the data already collected, could provide an even greater understanding of the diverse fibre and textile arts that are an integral component of Ukrainian Canadian cultural traditions.

This project identified Ukrainian Canadian embroidered *podushky* as expressions of group affiliation and identity. The interviews saw them as articles that bonded them to their families, even those who had passed on; they are an heirloom that embodies the relationship between individuals and communities. As importantly, *embroidered podushky* have also been able to communicate across generations; providing a glimpse into the historic journey of embroidery in the Ukrainian Canadian community over the past 125 years.

[240] Gordon, "The Fiber of Our Lives: A Conceptual Framework for Looking at Textiles' Meanings." Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings (2010): Paper 18.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1 – Information Sheet and Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies
Faculty of Arts
Room 200 Arts Building www.mlcs.ualberta.ca
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E6 Telephone: 780.492.4926 mlcs@ualberta.ca

INFORMATION SHEET and CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Embroidered Memories: The Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered Pillow **-** (Pro00057099)

Research Investigator:
NAME: Larisa Cheladyn (0964562)
ADDRESS:
Kule Folklore Centre
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MLCS - 200 Arts Building
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2E6
EMAIL: cheladyn@ualberta.ca
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Supervisor (if applicable):
Professor Supervisor: Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky
ADDRESS:
Director, Kule Folklore Centre
Huculak Chair of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography
MLCS - 200 Arts Building
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Edmonton, AB, T6G 2E6
EMAIL: andriyn@ualberta.ca
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Background

- You are invited to participate in this research project that intends investigate the attributes of production and consumption associated with the Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered Pillow. This research is being conducted as part of the master thesis that is required for obtaining Master's degree in Ukrainian Folklore in the department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies at the University of Alberta. The material may also be presented at scholarly conferences and published in scholarly journals.

Purpose

- The purpose of this research is to expand the breadth of knowledge and to gain understanding of the folk art of Ukrainian Canadian pillow embroidery.

Study Procedures

- If you agree to be a part of this study, you will be asked to participate in either an individual or group interview.
- The interview sessions will be audio and video recorded, and the artifacts will be photographed.
- If you are unavailable for a live interview (due to proximity, technical reasons, or other), you will be asked to complete the survey in a handwritten format, and forward it to the researcher by e-mail or prepaid via Canada Post.

Benefits

- There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research; however it does provide you with the opportunity to explore some of the history and attributes of the artifacts (embroidered pillows) that you have in your possession. It is anticipated that this survey will provide insight into the understanding of artistic Ukrainian Canadian community in Canada as well as collect archival data and materials for future use by scholars studying in various fields including, but not limited to, Folklore and Folkart.
- There are no costs involved in participating in this research project.

Risk

- There are no risks associated with participating in this research other than a possibility of mental fatigue associated with interview. There may also be risks to being in this study that are not known. If we learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, we will tell you right away.

Voluntary Participation

- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. Your participation in the study is voluntary at all times. Even if you agree to be in the study you are not obliged to answer any specific questions.

- The last date for data withdrawal by the participants is 30 days after the interviews have been completed, before the beginning of data analysis.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

- The information collected in this interview will be placed in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta, and may be accessible to future students and researchers under the same conditions specified by the Research Ethics Board.
- It is expected that participants will benefit from sharing information about their repositories. Electronic data will be encrypted to guarantee security of data. The participant will receive a copy of a report of the research findings and recommendations developed as a result of this project. We may use the data we get from this study in future research, but if we do this it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board.
- For this study you can choose to be named in future presentations and publications, or can choose to remain anonymous. If you choose anonymity your privacy will be maintained by only using your initials or by using a pseudonym.
- This study seeks permission to use the participant's photo image and/or audio and video recordings for future research, conferences, and publications.
- This study also seeks participant's permission to reproduce the photos of his/her embroidered pillows (craftwork) taken by the researcher during the interviews for future research, conferences, publications and for storage in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta. The reproductions will be properly credited.

Please check the appropriate boxes:

❑ I agree that my name will be used
❑ I agree to be photographed and that my photograph may be used in study presentations and publications
❑ I prefer to remain anonymous
❑ I prefer NOT to be photographed

Further Information

- If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher by e-mail at: cheladyn@ualberta.ca
- The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

***Consent: Please answer the following by circling yes or no**

Do you understand that you have been asked to take part in a University student project?	Yes	No
Has the project been explained to you by the student?	Yes	No
Do you understand the benefits and risks in taking part in this project?	Yes	No
Have you been able to ask questions about the project?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you can stop taking part in this project at any time?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you will be audio and video recorded during the interview?	Yes	No
Do you allow the dissemination of the properly credited reproductions of your Embroidered Pillows (craftwork)?	Yes	No

Consent Statement

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research interviews described above and to be audio and video recorded. I understand that I will receive a copy of this consent form. I allow the dissemination of the properly credited reproductions of my embroidered pillows (craftwork) as indicated in the form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

_____ _____

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature Date

_____ _____

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix 2 – List of Participants

Interview No.	Name	Date of interview	Location
1	Pat Hawryliw	10 June 2015	Saskatoon
	Stanley Hawryliw		
2	Alice Prociuk	11 June 2015	Saskatoon
	Katie Parchewski		
3	Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Church	11 June 2015	Saskatoon
4	Lesia (Yusepchuk) Foty	12 June 2015	Saskatoon
5	Nina (Sotnikow) Koroliuk	13 June 2015	Saskatoon
6	Marika Banias	15 June 2015	Winnipeg
7	Scott Armstrong	16 June 2015	Winnipeg
8	Vera Marchuk	16 June 2015	Winnipeg
9	Halia Teterenko	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
10	Ukrainian Museum of Canada – Manitoba	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
11a	Anonymous	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
11b	Anna Gimbarsky	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
11c	Lena Denesyk	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
11d	Maria Zajcew	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
12	Svitlana Maluzynsky	17 June 2015	Winnipeg
13	n/a		
14	Oseredok	18 June 2015	Winnipeg
15	Daria Twerdochlib	21 June 2015	Toronto
16	Vera Seychuk	22 June 2015	Toronto
	Darlene Kindiak		
17	Ukrainian Museum of Canada - Ontario	23 June 2015	Toronto
18	Olga Dusanowskyj	23 June 2015	Toronto
19	Anna Mykytyn	23 June 2015	Toronto
20	Nadia Luciuk	24 June 2015	Kingston
21	Bohdanna Yarosh	25 June 2015	Ottawa
	Oksana Yarosh		
22	Irene Lind	26 June 2015	Ottawa
23	Frank Cedar	26 June 2015	Ottawa
24	Nina Romas	26 June 2015	Ottawa
25	Chrystia Chudczak	27 June 2015	Ottawa
26	Dina Iwanycky	29 June 2015	Montreal
	Maureen Spira		
	Helene Ansel		
27	Marcia Ostashewski	3 July 2015	Sydney, NS
28	Fr. Roman Dusanowskyj	4 July 2015	Sydney, NS
29	Pearl Petrash	6 July 2015	Truro, NS
30	Kathy Michalishyn	6 July 2015	Halifax
31	William (Bill) Konyk	7 July 2015	Dartmouth
	Michael Stepanczak		
32	Erin White	7 July 2015	Dartmouth
33	Stella Morash	7 July 2015	Dartmouth
34	n/a		
35	Sandra Hawrylak	7 July 2015	Dartmouth
36	June (Miskiw) Melnychuk	9 July 2015	Vancouver

Interview No.	Name	Date of interview	Location
37	Sophia (Sembaliuk) Morrison	11 July 2015	Sidney, BC
	Patricia (Korpus) Sembaliuk		
38	Motria Koropecky	11 July 2015	Victoria
39	Orasia (Yurkiwsky) Yereniuk	22 March 2015	Edmonton
	Emil Yereniuk		
40	Darcia (Antonishka) Graham	19 March 2015	Edmonton
	Eileen (Antonishka) Kuchelyma		
41	Dianna Groch	17 March 2015	Edmonton
	Pauline (Hryhor) Lysak		
42	Pamela Shapka	31 May 2015	Edmonton
	Kathleen Chimko		
	Judy Shapka		
43	Lida Lahola	3 February, 2016	Edmonton
44	Oksanna Ensslen	18 February 2016	Edmonton
45	Grant McDonald	2 February 2016	Edmonton
46	Lesia Savedchuk Jurij Storoshchuk	20 January 2016	Calgary
47	Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives		Edmonton
48	Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn		Edmonton
49	Hanya Cvornjek	15 June 2015	Thunder Bay

Appendix 3 - List of Institutions

Name	Date Visited	Address	Contact
Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Church	11 June 2015	919 – 20 St W Saskatoon, SK (306) 652 - 1364	Larry Klopoushak Stanley Hawryliw
Ukrainian Museum of Canada – Manitoba Branch	17 June 2015	1175 Main St Winnipeg, MB (204) 582-1018	
Oseredok – Ukrainian Cultural & Education Centre	18 June 2015	184 Alexander Ave, Winnipeg, MB (204) 942-0218	Sophia Kachor
Ukrainian Museum of Canada – Ontario Branch	23 June 2015	620 Spadina Ave Toronto, ON (41) 923-3318	Tamara Iwanochko
Embroidery Assoc. of Canada – Lakeshore Embroidery Guild	29 June 2015	Personal Residence, Ile Bizard – Montreal, QC	Helene Ansell
Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives – University of Alberta	ongoing	250 Old Arts & Convocation Hall University Alberta, Edmonton, AB	Maryna Chernyavska

Appendix 4 - Embroidered Pillow Data Collection Sheet

The Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered Pillow
Researcher: Larisa Cheladyn (0924562)

Pillow Number #_____

Participant Information
Name:_____
Address:_____
City:_____Prov:_____Postal Code:_____
Email: _____ Phone: _____Cell:_____
Artisan/Creator information
Who embroidered this pillow?_____
When and where were they born? _____When did they immigrate to Canada:_____
Where did they live in Canada?_____Approx. date created:_____
Where:_____
Where was this pillow originally displayed? Back of a couch☐ Chair ☐ Bed ☐
Other:_____
Pillow Measurements (cm):
Length _____ Width _____Thickness (if stuffed):_____

Fringes: Yes ☐ No ☐ Pattern on one side ☐ two sides☐

Source of pattern: Pattern book☐ _____Unique creation ☐Unknown☐

How pillow is fastened shut: sewn☐ buttons(top)☐ Buttons (middle)☐ Flap☐ Snaps☐ Zipper ☐

Pillow Details		
Description		
Fabric Type		
Field Colour (Background)		
Type of Embroidery Stitches		
Thread colours		
Pattern information		

Is there a story associated with this pillow? (e.g. Who it was made for? How you received it? Where it's been?)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Where is the pillow now stored/displayed?

_____

For administrative use only:
Pillow Number: _____
Date:_____
Location: _____
Photo taken:_____ Date:_____
Photo Number:_____
Photographer: _____

Appendix 5 – Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Embroidered Memories: The Ukrainian Canadian Embroidered Pillow

Principle Investigator: Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn (0964562)
Supervising Professor: Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky

1. Each participant is asked to talk about the pillow/cushion that they brought and share its history and what it means to them.

   Could you share some information about this embroidered pillow?
   Prompts about the pillow:
   - Who embroidered the cushion?
   - Where was it embroidered: Canada? Ukraine?
   - Approximately what year was the cushion made?
   - Where did the embroidery pattern come from?
   - How was the pillow used? Functional or decorative?
   - Where was the pillow originally displayed?
   - How did you end up with this particular pillow?
   - Does this pillow/cushion bring back any memories or stories from the past?
   - Where do you keep the pillow now?
   - Why do you keep this pillow?

2. Semi structured - Discussion

   Additional Questions:

   - What memories do you have of the embroidered the pillow(s)?
   - Was there a specific time of day that the artisan would embroider?
   - Was there a specific location where embroidery took place?
   - What else did the artisan embroider besides pillows?
   - Were the pillows/cushions created for personal use? Gifts? Craft sales? Raffles?
   - Were there any specific colours favoured by the artisan?
   - Do you think/remember the artisan modifying patterns or creating their own?
   - Did the artisan show/teach others how to embroider?
   - Where did the artisan obtain materials?
   - Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 6
Podushka Data Chart

The information presented in this chart corresponds to the images in Appendix 7 – Embroidered Podushky

Note:
Shaded d.o.b. cells indicate that the artisan was born in Canada.

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
	Stan & Pat Hawryliw						
1-1	Stan Hawryliw	1946	c 1970	Saskatoon	burlap	cross-stitch	11" x 11"
1-2	Pat (Wiwchar) Hawryliw	1941	c 1960	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	12" x 15"
1-3a	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	1953	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 18"
1-3b	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	1953	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 18"
1-4	Unknown	*	c 1970	Ukraine	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
1-5	Stanley Hawryliw	1946	c 1980	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	11" x 16.5"
1-6	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	1977	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	12" x 17"
1-7	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	1977	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	12" x 12"
1-8	Pat (Wiwchar) Hawryliw	1941	1977	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
1-9	Stanley Hawryliw	1946	1977	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
1-10	Anna (Klopoushak) Hawryliw	c1900	c1940	Glaslyn, SK	cotton (Aida)	hlad'	12" x 17"
1-11	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	c1940	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 15"
1-12	Unknown	*	c1970	Ukraine	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	12" x 17"
1-13	Pat (Wiwchar) Hawryliw	1941	c 1975	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	12" x 17"
1-14	Stanley Hawryliw	1946	c 1978	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
1-15	Unknown	*	c1970	Ukraine	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	12" x 15"
1-16	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	c 1955	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 15"
1-17	Doris (Wintonyk) Wiwchar	1900	c1955	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 15"
	Alice Prociuk						
2-1	Alice (Mochoruk) Prociuk	1919	c 1955	Wakaw, SK	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
2-2	Anne Humen	c 1890	c 1935	Wakaw, SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
2-3	Anne Humen	c 1890	c 1950	Wakaw, SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
2-4	Anne (Hroback) Hrysiw	c 1820	c 1950	near Saskatoon	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
2-5	Kate Parchewski	1919	c 1955	near Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
2-6	Anne Hroback	c 1890	c 1935	near Saskatoon	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 17"
2-7	Anne Hroback	c 1890	c 1935	near Saskatoon	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
	Holy Trinity UOC						
3-1	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	15" x 15"
3-2	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	15" x 15"
3-3	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	15" x 15"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
3-4	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	16" x 16"
3-5	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
3-6	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	16" x 16"
3-7	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
3-8	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
3-9	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	16" x 16"
3-10	Unknown	*	c 1975	Unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	15" x 15"
	Lesia Foty						
4-1	Unknown	*	c1980	Ukraine	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 22"
4-2	Unknown	*	Unknown	Ukraine	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 20"
4-3	Olya (Piasecky) Yusepchuk	1914	c1955	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
4-4	Unknown	*	c1990	Ukraine	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 17"
4-5	Unknown	*	Unknown	Ukraine	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	17" x 23"
	Nina (Sotnikow) Koroliuk						
5-1	Nina (Sotnikow) Koroliuk	c1960	1993	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 12"
5-2	Anastasia Pavlychenko	c1905	1938	Saskatoon	linen	cross-stitch	4" x 4"
5-3	Anastasia Pavlychenko	c1905	1938	Saskatoon	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	4" x 4"
	Marika Banias						
6-1	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	c1975	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	18" x 17"
6-2	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	c1975	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	17" x 20"
6-3	Marika Banias	1952	1970	Winnipeg	burlap	cross-stitch	17" x 19"
6-4	Marika Banias	1952	1970	Winnipeg	burlap	cross-stitch	17" x 19"
6-5	Marta Banias	1950	c1965	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
6-6	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	c1965	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
6-7	Marika Banias	1952	1970	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
6-8	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	c1965	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 25"
6-9	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	1970	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
6-10	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	1970	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
6-11	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	1960	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 25"
6-12	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	1960	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
6-13	Olga (Rogulska) Banias	1921	c1970	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	17" x 19"
6-14	Marika Banias	1952	1975	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
6-15	Marika Banias	1952	1975	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
6-16	Marika Banias	1952	1975	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
	Scott Armstrong						
7-1	Baba Harnyk/Anna Andruhiv	c1900	c1975	Winnipeg	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"
7-2	unknown	*	c1975	Ukraine	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"
7-3	unknown	*	c1975	Ukraine	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"
7-4	unknown	*	c1975	Ukraine	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
7-5	Baba Harnyk/Anna Andruhiv	c1900	c1975	Winnipeg	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"
7-6	Baba Harnyk/Anna Andruhiv	c1900	c1975	Winnipeg	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"
7-7	Baba Harnyk/Anna Andruhiv	c1900	c1975	Winnipeg	burlap	Cross-stitch	16" x 16"
	Vera Marchuk						
8-1	Maria Chapka	*	c 1965	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 14"
8-2	Maria Chapka	*	c 1965	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
8-3	Maria Chapka	*	c 1965	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 14"
8-4	Maria Chapka	*	c 1965	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
8-5	Maria Chapka	*	c 1965	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
8-6	Maria Chapka	*	c 1965	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 17"
	Halia Teterenko						
9-1	Anna Skibnetska	c1910	c 1965	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12.5" x 18"
9-2	Halia Teterenko	1935	c 1965	Winnipeg	canvas	cross-stitch	15" x 12"
	UWAC Museum - Manitoba						
10-1	Sophia Stratychuk	*	*	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	18" x 13.5"
10-2	Sophia Stratychuk	*	*	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	17" x 13.5"
10-3	unknown	*	*	Ukraine	cotton	iavorivka	17" x 13.5"
10-4	unknown	*	*	Ukraine	cotton	iavorivka	17" x 13.5"
10-5	Harry Marko	*	*	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 12.5"
10-6	Harry Marko	*	*	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	21" x 12.5"
10-7	Nellie Stratochuk	*	*	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	21" x 12.5"
10-8	Nellie Stratochuk	*	*	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	27" x 10"
10-9	Victoria Goriak	*	c1975	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	17" x 18.5"
10-10	Victoria Goriak	*	c1975	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	20" x 14.5"
10-11	unknown	*	1970	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 11"
10-12	Sophia Stratychuk	*	*	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	13" x 12"
10-13	unknown	*	*	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 11"
10-14	Tetiana Olynyk	*	c1975	Fort Frances	Linen	cross-stitch	18" x 13.5"
	Anonymous						
11a1	anonymous	*	c1970	Manitoba	unknown	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
11a2	anonymous	*	c1970	Manitoba	unknown	cross-stitch	7" x 11"
	Anna Gimbarsky						
11b-1	unknown	*	c1975	Ukraine	cotton	hlad'	15" x 17"
11b-2	unknown	*	c1975	Ukraine	cotton	hlad'	13" x 17"
11b-3	Anna Gimbarsky	*	c1945	Austria - enroute to Canada	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 15"
11b-4	Husband's sister	*	*	Ukraine	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
11b-5	Anna Gimbarsky	*	1960	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 17"
11b-6	Anna Gimbarsky	*	c1945	Austria - enroute to Canada	canvas	cross-stitch	15" x 17"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
11b-7	Anna Gimbarsky	*	c1945	Austria - enroute to Canada	canvas	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
11b-8	Mrs Gimbarsky's mom	*	c1980	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	10" x 9"
	Lena Denesyk						
11c-1	Lena (Myhalchuk) Denesyk	1926	1960	Theodore SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 13"
11c-1	Lena (Myhalchuk) Denesyk	1926	1960	Theodore SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	19" x 16"
11c-1	Lena (Myhalchuk) Denesyk	1926	1970	Theodore SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 13"
	Maria Zajcew						
11d-1	Maria Zajcew	*	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 17"
11d-2	Maria Zajcew	*	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 17"
11d-3	Maria Zajcew	*	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 22"
11d-4	Maria Zajcew	*	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch; merezhka	15.5" x 17"
11d-5	Maria Zajcew	*	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
	Svitlana Maluzhynsky						
12-1	Svitlana Maluzhynsky	1986	c1992	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	4" x 4"
12-2	Anna Nazarevych	*	c1920 ?	Lviv, Ukraine	cotton	nyzynka	14" x 16"
12-3	Rozalia (Pylipiw) Machula	c1935	c 1980	Goodeve, SK	canvas	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
12-4	Rozalia (Pylipiw) Machula	c1935	c 1980	Goodeve, SK	canvas	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
12-6	Svitlana Maluzhinsky	1986	c1992	Winnipeg	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	4.5" x 4.5"
	Oseredok						
14-1	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	iavorivka	15" x 18"
14-2	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	iavorivka	16" x 18"
14-3	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
14-4	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	cotton(Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
14-5	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
14-6	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	cross-stitch	14" 19"
14-7	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
14-8	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	burlap	double cross-stitch	16" x 17"
14-9	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	unknown	13.5" x 21"
14-10	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	iavorivka	13" x 16"
14-11	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12.5" x 15"
14-12	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	cross-stitch	12.5" x 14"
14-13	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	iavorivka	13.5" x 16.5"
14-14	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 16.5"
14-15	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	cross-stitch	21" x 30"
14-16	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	cross-stitch	15.5" x 18"
14-17	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	hemp	unknown	13" x 17"
14-18	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	hlad' and merezhka	14" x 18"
14-19	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	cross-stitch	15" x 21"
14-20	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 17"

No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
14-21	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	cross-stitch	16" x 23"
14-22	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	iavorivka	17.5" x 22"
14-23	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
14-24	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	double cross-stitch	21" x 21"
14-25	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 17"
14-26	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	C Linen	iavorivka	15" x 18"
14-27	unknown	*	c1948	DP/ Canada	HW Linen	hlad' and merezhka	14" x 15.5"
	Daria Twerdochlib						
15-1	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1948	enroute: England	cotton (Aida)	hlad'	14" x 16"
15-2	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1948	enroute: England	cotton (Aida)	hlad'	15" x 16"
15-3	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1960	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
15-4	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1970	rural Toronto	canvas	cross-stitch	18" x19"
15-5	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1970	rural Toronto	canvas	cross-stitch	17.5" 20.5"
15-6	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1973	Toronto	canvas	unknown	16" x 16"
15-7	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1973	Toronto	canvas	unknown	16" x 16"
15-8	Maria (Barynovych) Poshar	1906	c 1973	Toronto	canvas	unknown	16" x 16"
15-9	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1960	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	double cross-stitch	16.5" 14.5"
15-10	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1960	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 15"
15-11	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1960	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 13.5"
15-12	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1960	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 15"
15-13	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1970	rural Toronto	linen	cross-stitch	14" x 15"
15-14	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1970	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	15" x 16"
15-15	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1970	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	15" x 15"
15-16	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1970	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
15-17	Rosalia (Panejko) Lewyckyj	1930	c 1970	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 21"
15-18	Katrusia Daria Twerdochlib Petruk	1984	c 1970	rural Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
15-19	Katrusia Daria Twerdochlib Petruk	1984	2014	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 13"
15-20	Daria Lesia (Levytckyj) Twerdochlib	1957	c1990	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" 14"
15-21	Daria Lesia (Levytckyj) Twerdochlib	1957	c1990	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
15-22	Daria Lesia (Levytckyj) Twerdochlib	1957	c 1975	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 19"
15-23	Daria Lesia (Levytckyj) Twerdochlib	1957	c 1975	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 19"
15-24	Anna Melnyk	1923	c 1975	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch; merezhka	15" x 18"
15-25	Anna Melnyk	1923	1977	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch; merezhka	15" x 15"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
	Vera Seychuk						
16-1	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1930	Windsor	linen	cross-stitch	11" x 11"
16-2	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1955	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	10" x 14
16-3	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1955	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	10" x 12
16-4	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1950	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	10" x 12
16-5	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1930	Windsor	linen	cross-stitch	11" x 11"
16-6	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1960	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	10" x 12"
16-7	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1960	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 12"
16-8	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1960	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	14" x 18"
16-9	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1990	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	14" x 18"
16-10	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1975	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	10" x 14"
16-11	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1940	Windsor	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
16-12	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1990	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
16-13	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1975	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
16-14	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1938	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 18"
16-15	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c2002	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	18" x 18"
16-16	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c2002	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	18" x 14"
16-17	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1990	Windsor	wool	cross-stitch	19" x 19"
16-18	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1965	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 16"
16-19	Sophia (Kowal) Lysy	1912	c1950	Windsor	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x18"
	UWAC Museum - Ontario						
17-1	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 16"
17-2	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	cross-stitch	10" x 15"
17-3	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 22
17-4	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	iavorivka	14" x 16"
17-5	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	iavorivka	14" x 16"
17-6	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	cross-stitch	13" x 16"
17-7	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 20"
17-8	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 20"
17-9	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	nyzynka	16" x 21"
17-10	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 16"
17-11	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 17"
17-12	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	12" x 13"
17-13	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	nyzynka	15" x 16.5"
17-14	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	nyzynka	15" x 16"
17-15	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
17-16	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
17-17	unknown	*	c1950	DP/Canada	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
	Olga Dusanowskyj						
18-1	Olga (Makohin) Dusanowskyj	1927	c1955	Toronto	cotton	hlad'	17" x 20"
18-2	Olga (Makohin) Dusanowskyj	1927	c1955	Toronto	cotton	hlad'	14" x 17"
18-3	Unknown	*	c1980	Ukraine	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 17"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
18-4	Olga (Makohin) Dusanowskyj	1927	1948	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
18-5	Olga (Makohin) Dusanowskyj	1927	1948	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 15"
	Anna Mykytyn						
19-1	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1955	Toronto	wool	cross-stitch	12" x 14"
19-2	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	wool	iavorivka	14" x 18"
19-3	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
19-4	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1955	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 18"
19-5	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1955	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
19-6	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	WOVEN	15" x 15"
19-7	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1945	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	18" x 18"
19-8	Anna Mykytyn	1922	1938	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	8" x 10"
19-9	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1945	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	8" x 10"
19-10	Anna Mykytyn	1922	1938	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	poltavs'ki hlad'	15" x 20"
19-11	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1950	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	11" x 14"
19-12	Anna Mykytyn	1922	1938	Ukraine	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 15"
19-13	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	15" x 15"
19-14	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	hlad'	11" x 15"
19-15	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	11" x 15"
19-16	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
19-17	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	8" x 15"
19-18	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 19"
19-19	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 19"
19-20	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton	hlad'	15" x 19"
19-21	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1965	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	15" x 19"
19-22	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	15" x 18"
19-23	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	cotton	nyzynka	17" x 20"
19-24	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 15"
19-25	Anna Mykytyn	1922	c1970	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	hlad'	15" x 15"
	Nadia Luciuk						
20-1	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1960	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13.5" x 16"
20-2	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1960	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-3	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1960	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-4	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1960	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-5	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1960	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-6	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1960	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 16"
20-7	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-8	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
20-9	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-10	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-11	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 17"
20-12	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	14" x 16
20-13	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1975	Kingston	burlap	cross-stitch	16" x 16"

No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
20-14	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 15"
20-15	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1965	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16.5" x 16.5"
20-16	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	15.5" x 17"
20-17	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	15.5" x 17"
20-18	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1965	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	9" x 24"
20-19	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
20-20	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16.5" x 16.5"
20-21	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
20-22	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-23	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-24	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-25	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-26	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-27	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 16"
20-28	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-29	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1945	Kingston	linen	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-30	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	16" x 16"
20-31	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 17"
20-32	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16.5" x 16.5"
20-33	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
20-34	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-35	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-36	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-37	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-38	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-39	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-40	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-14	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-41	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-42	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-43	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-44	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-45	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
20-46	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
20-47	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 15"
20-48	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	17" x 17"
20-49	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16.5"
20-50	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 16.5"
20-51	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 17"
20-52	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1970	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16.5" 17.5"
20-53	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1945	Munich	linen	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
20-54	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1945	Munich	linen	iavorivka	14.5" x 16.5"
20-55	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1945	Munich	cotton	iavorivka	14.5" x 16.5"
20-56	Nadia Luciuk	1956	c1985	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 15.5"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
20-57	Maria (Makalo) Luciuk	1927	c1955	Kingston	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 16"
	Bohdanna Yarosh						
21-1	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1970	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13" x 13"
21-2	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1960	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 13"
21-3	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1960	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13" x 13"
21-4	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1960	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13" x 18"
21-5	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1970	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	13" x 18"
21-6	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1970	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	12" x 15"
21-7	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1970	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
21-8	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1965	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13" x 13"
21-9	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1960	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 19"
21-10	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1975	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	14" x 22"
21-11	Bohdanna (Hawryluk) Yarosh	1938	c1975	Ottawa	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13" x 13"
	Irene Lind						
22-1	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1960	Montreal	linen	nyzynka	14" x 17"
22-2	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1960	Montreal	cotton	nyzynka	14" x 17"
22-3	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1960	Montreal	cotton	nyzynka	12" x 16"
22-4	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1960	Montreal	cotton	nyzynka	13" x 15"
22-5	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1970	Montreal	cotton	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
22-6	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1970	Montreal	cotton	iavorivka	12" x 19"
22-7	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1970	Montreal	cotton	nyzynka	14" x 17"
22-8	Maria (Tomaszczyk) Kostiuk	1925	c1970	Montreal	cotton	cross-stitch	10" x 15"
22-9	Irene (Kostiuk) Lind	1956	c1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	5" x 5"
22-10	Irene (Kostiuk) Lind	1956	c1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	5" x 5"
22-11	Irene (Kostiuk) Lind	1956	c1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	5" x 5"
22-12	Irene (Kostiuk) Lind	1956	c1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	5" x 5"
22-13	Irene (Kostiuk) Lind	1956	c1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	5" x 5"
22-14	Irene (Kostiuk) Lind	1956	c1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	5" x 5"
	Frank Cedar						
23-1	unknown	*	c2000	Ukraine	cotton	nyzynka	14" x 16"
23-2	unknown	*	c2000	Ukraine	synthetic blend	nyzynka	15" x 17"
23-3	unknown	*	c2000	Ukraine	synthetic blend	nyzynka	15" x 17"
23-4	unknown	*	c2000	Ukraine	synthetic blend	iavorivka	15" x 17"
	Nina Romas						
24-1	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1955	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	13" x 16"
24-2	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	hlad'	15" x 15"
24-3	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1955	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 19"
24-4	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1965	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	17" x 17"
24-5	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
24-6	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 17"

No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
24-7	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
24-8	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	iavorivka	13" x 16"
24-9	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	wool	iavorivka	12" x 17"
24-10	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1960	Montreal	wool	iavorivka	13" x 17"
24-11	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1970	Montreal	cotton	cross-stitch	4.5" x 4.5"
24-12	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1970	Montreal	cotton	cross-stitch	4.5" x 4.5"
24-13	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1965	Montreal	wool	cross-stitch	13" x 13"
24-14	Vera (Cechmistro) Wustay	1932	c1975	Montreal	burlap	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
	Chrystia Chudczak						
25-1	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1980	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	nyzynka	16" x 18"
25-2	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1940	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
25-3	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1950	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
25-4	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1960	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	18" x 18"
25-5	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 17"
25-6	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	18" x 21"
25-7	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 16.5"
25-8	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1965	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 16"
25-9	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1940	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 16"
25-10	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1940	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	double cross-stitch	15" x 16"
25-11	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1940	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 14"
25-12	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
25-13	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1940	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
25-14	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
25-15	Chrystia Chudczak	1964	c1980	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
25-16	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
25-17	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
25-18	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
25-19	Anna (Soroka) Konichkowsky	1907	c1970	Sudbury	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 16"
	Dina Iwanycky						
26-1	Dina Iwanycky	1953	1970	Montreal	linen	cross-stitch	16" x 17.5"
26-2	Dina Iwanycky	1953	1970	Montreal	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 17.5"
	Fr. Roman Dusanowskyj						
27-1	Olga Dusanowskyj	1927	c1990	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 23"
	Marcia Ostashewski						
28-1	unknown Gift	*	c1970	Alberta	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
	Pearl Petrash						
29-1	Pearl's Baba	c1885	c1905	NS	linen	Satin stitch	14.5" x 17"

No.	Embroidered by...	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
	Katrusia Michalyshyn						
30-1	Katrusia Michalyshyn	1956	1977	PEI	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
	William (Bill) Konyk						
31-1	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
31-2	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c 1975	Hamilton	canvas	double cross-stitch	15" x 15"
31-3	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
31-4	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 18"
31-5	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
31-6	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 116.5"
31-7	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	linen	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
31-8	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
31-9	Anna (Konyk) Honcherenko	1949	c1965	Hamilton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
	Erin White for Natalie Nazdani						
32-1	Mary (Yaroslawska) Pronko - Natalie's mother	1910	c1960	Syndey NS	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
32-2	Mary (Yaroslawska) Pronko - Natalie's mother	1910	c1960	Syndey NS	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
32-3	Mary (Yaroslawska) Pronko - Natalie's mother	1910	c1960	Syndey NS	cotton (Aida)	double cross-stitch	16" x 16"
	Stella Morash						
33-1	Anne Huk	*	c1938	Ukraine	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	16" x 18"
	Sandra Hawrylak						
35-1	Anne (Maholyk) Hawrylak	*	c1955	Sydney, NS	cotton	nyzynka	14" x 17"
	June Melnychuk						
36-1	Hania Dworanowska	*	1974	Canada	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 23"
	Sophia Morrison)						
37-1	Elizabeth (Kozniuk) Sembaliuk	1908	c1945	Willingdon, AB	cotton sack	cross-stitch	17" x 22"
37-2	Anastasia Kozniuk	1888	c1935	Prut, AB	Handwoven Linen	cross-stitch	15" x 16.5"
	Motria Koropecky						
38-1	Unknown but from mother - Alexandra Krupa	*	c1950	Toronto	cotton	nyzynka	12" x 14"
38-2	Unknown but from mother - Alexandra Krupa	*	c1950	Toronto	linen	hlad	12.5" x 14"
38-3	possibly by Mother-in -law Maria Koropecky -	c1925	c1945	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	11" x 15"
38-4	possibly by Mother-in -law Maria Koropecky -	c1925	c 1945	Toronto	linen	hlad	12" x 13"
38-5	Maria Koropecky	c1925	c1965	Toronto	rayon	cross-stitch	15" x 21"
38-6	Motria Koropecky	c1937	1958	Toronto	linen	cross-stitch	12" x 12"
38-7	Unknown	*	*	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	11" x 16"

No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
38-8	Sephania Budzyk	*	1965	Toronto	Linen	iavorivka	13" x 16"
38-9	Unknown but from mother - Alexandra Krupa	*	*	Canada	cotton	iavorivka	13" x 16"
38-10	Unknown but from mother - Alexandra Krupa	*	c1960	Canada	Linen	iavorivka	13" x 19"
38-11	Unknown but from mother - Alexandra Krupa	*	c1960	Canada	cotton	hlad	14" x 22"
	Orasia & Emil Yereniuk						
39-1	Justina Stefin	1898	c1960	Fort Frances	cotton	nyzynka & hlad	18" x 22"
39-2	Justina Stefin	1898	c1960	Fort Frances	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 20.5"
39-3	Justina Stefin	1898	1971	Fort Frances	cotton	cross-stitch	10" x 10"
39-4	Justina Stefin	1898	c1960	Fort Frances	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 17"
39-5	Stephania (Stefin) Yurkiwsky	1923	c1960	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 15"
39-6	Justina Stefin	1898	c1952	Fort Frances	cotton	cross-stitch	13" x 18"
39-7	Justina Stefin	1898	c1970	Fort Frances	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 15.5"
39-8	Justina Stefin	1898	1948	Fort Frances	cotton	nyzynka	13" x 15.5"
39-9	Justina Stefin	1898	c1960	Fort Frances	linen	cross-stitch	12.5" x 16.5"
39-10	Stephania (Stefin) Yurkiwsky	1923	c1960	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	16.5" x 17.5"
39-11	Stephania (Stefin) Yurkiwsky	1923	c1955	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 15"
39-12	Stephania (Stefin) Yurkiwsky	1923	1948	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	12" x 16"
39-13	Katherine (Hermak) Yereniuk	1923	c1960	Edmonton	cotton	iavorivka	13" x 17.5"
39-14	Katherine (Hermak) Yereniuk	1923	c1960	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	13" x 18"
39-15	Katherine (Hermak) Yereniuk	1923	c1950	Edmonton	cotton	iavorivka	13" x 18"
39-16	Katherine (Hermak) Yereniuk	1923	c1950	Edmonton	cotton	iavorivka	12" x 16"
39-17	Katherine (Hermak) Yereniuk	1923	c1975	Edmonton	burlap	double cross-stitch	15" x 15"
39-18	Mrs. Semansky	*	c1975	unknown	burlap	double cross-stitch	13" x 13"
39-19	Stephania (Stefin) Yurkiwsky	1923	c1960	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	15.5" x 17.5"
	Darcia (Antonishka) Graham						
40-1	Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh	1903	ca 1940	Vancouver, BC	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	11" x 17"
40-2	Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh	1903	ca 1940	Vancouver, BC	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
40-3	Mary (Hawresh) Antonishka	1927	ca 1950	Winnipeg, MB	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	12" x 17"
40-4	Mary (Hawresh) Antonishka	1927	ca 1950	Winnipeg, MB	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 17"
40-5a	Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh	1903	ca 1930	Soda Lake, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
40-5b	Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh	1903	ca 1930	Soda Lake, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
40-6a	Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh	1903	ca 1930	Soda Lake, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15.5" x 16"
40-6b	Anastasia (Sembaliuk) Hawresh	1903	ca 1930	Soda Lake, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15.5" x 16"
40-7	Mary (Hawresh) Antonishka	1927	ca 1945	Winnipeg, MB	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13.5" x 16"
	Dianne Groch & Pauline Lysak						
41-1	Leonia Groch	1923	c1950	Edson AB	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14" x 15.5"
41-2	Leonia Groch	1923	c1950	Edson AB	cotton	iavorivka	16" x 16.5"
41-3	Leonia Groch	1923	c1955	Edson AB	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 18"

No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
41-4	Leonia Groch	1923	c1955	Edson AB	cotton (Aida)	zavolykannia	13.5" x 15.5"
41-5	Leonia Groch	1923	c1955	Edson AB	cotton (Aida)	zavolykannia	16" x 16.5"
41-6	Leonia Groch	1923	c1955	Edson AB	wool	iavorivka	17" x 17"
41-7	Tetiana Snaydukh	*	c1975	Toronto	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	13" x 15"
41-8	Anastasia (Leskiw) Lysak	1925	c1965	Edmonton	Velvet	cross-stitch	16" x 17"
41-9	Anastasia (Leskiw) Lysak	1925	c1965	Edmonton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	14.5" x 17"
41-10	Maria (Melnychuk) Hryhor	1902	c1960	Nipawin, SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
41-11	Maria (Melnychuk) Hryhor	1902	c1980	Nipawin, SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
41-12	Maria (Melnychuk) Hryhor	1902	c1995	Nipawin, SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
41-13	Nikola Groch	1986	c1985	Edmonton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	4" x 4"
41-14	Nikola Groch	1986	c1985	Edmonton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	4" x 4"
41-15	Anna (Hryhor) Zwozdesky	1920	c1970	Edmonton	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	17" x 23"
41-16	Maria (Melnychuk) Hryhor	1902	c1938	Nipawin, SK	cotton (Aida)	cross-stitch	15.5" x 15.5"
	Pamela Shapka						
42-1	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	velvet	Satin Stitch	17" x 17"
42-2	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	Crewel Embroidery	14.5" x 14.5"
42-3	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	11" x 11"
42-4	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	11.5" x 17"
42-5	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	11.5" x 16"
42-6	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	12.5" x 15"
42-7	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	11.5" x 17"
42-8	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	Satin Stitch	11.5" x 17"
42-9	Laura (Fryeskul) Shapka	1919	c1960	Villna, AB	cotton	Satin Stitch	12" x 12"
42-10	Katie (Eudokia) Hnatyshyn)	1901	c1970	Wasel, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	12" x 18"
42-11	Pamela Shapka	1963	2010	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
	Lida Lahola						
43-1	Alexandra (Loban) Chomiak	1915	c1950	Edmonton	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
44	**Oksanna Ensslen**	c1942		Edmonton	Interview only		
	Grant McDonald						
45-1	Melania Hontaryk	1922	c1970	Edmonton	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 18"
45-2	Melania Hontaryk	1922	c1970	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 18"
45-3	Melania Hontaryk	1922	c1970	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
45-4	Melania Hontaryk	1922	c1970	Edmonton	cotton	iavorivka	15.5" x 18"
	Lesia Savedchuk						
46-1	Olena Sawchuk	1898	c1950	Toronto	linen	cross-stitch	14.5" x 17"
46-2	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	14.5" x 17"
46-3	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	cotton	iavorivka	14.5" x 17"
46-4	Stephania Savedchuk	1922	c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	14.5" x 17"
46-5	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	linen	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
46-6	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	cotton	nyzynka	14.5" x 16"
46-7	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 16

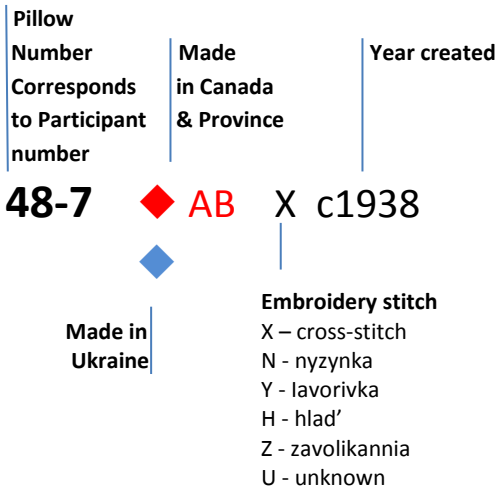
No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
46-8	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	cotton	nyzynka	13" x 15"
46-9	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	cotton	nyzynka	16.5" x 16.5"
46-10	Myroslava (Jauk) Storoshchuk	1916	c1970	Toronto	wool	cross-stitch	16.5" x 16.5"
46-11	Stephania Savedchuk	1922	c1955	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
46-12	Stephania Savedchuk	1922	c1955	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	13.5" x 16"
46-13	Lesia Savedchuk	1956	c1970	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	15" x 15"
46-14	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 16.5"
46-15	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	15" x 16.5"
46-16	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	zavolikannia	14" x 16"
46-17	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	14" x 15"
46-18	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	linen	iavorivka	14" x 16"
46-19	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	hlad'	13.5" x 16"
46-20	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	12" x 14"
46-21	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	13" x 17"
46-22	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	17" x 17"
46-23	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	12.5" x 17"
46-24	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15.5" x 16"
46-25	? Gift		c1970	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15.5" x 16"
	BMUFA						
47-1	Elizabeth Holinaty	1936	c1970	Edmonton	cotton	zavolikannia	15" x 17"
47-2	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1965	Yorkton, SK	polyester	machine	6" x 8"
47-3	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	linen	iavorivka	14" x 17"
47-4	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
47-5	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	16" x 16"
47-6	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	C1960	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	14" x 17"
47-7	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	13" x 16"
46-8	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1970	Yorkton, SK	cotton	cross-stitch	17" x 17"
46-9	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1965	Yorkton, SK	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
47-10	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
47-11	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	1970	Yorkton, SK	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
47-12	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 17"
47-13	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1950	Winnipeg	linen	cross-stitch	14" x 16"
47-14	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1965	Yorkton, SK	linen	cross-stitch	13" x 15"
47-15	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	16" x 16"
47-16	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	iavorivka	15" x 17"
47-17	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	16" x 17.5"
47-18	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	14.5" x 16.5"
47-19	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1960	Winnipeg	cotton	nyzynka	14.5" x 16.5"
47-20	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	14.5" x 16.5"
47-21a	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1960	Yorkton, SK	cotton	cross-stitch	13.5" x 15"
47-21b	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1960	Yorkton, SK	cotton	cross-stitch	13.5" x 15"
47-22	Olha (Kaminski) Pavliuk	c1900	c1950	Winnipeg	cotton	cross-stitch	14.5" x 16.5"
47-23	Ludmila (Pavliuk) Onufrijchuk	1926	1970	Yorkton, SK	cotton	cross-stitch	14.5" x 16.5"

No.	Embroidered by…	d.o.b.	Year Created	Where Embroidered	Fabric	Dominant Stitch	Size
	Larisa Sembaliuk Cheladyn						
48-1	Anna Chaba	c1925	c1965	Radway, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
48-2	Anna Chaba	c1925	c1965	Radway, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
48-3	Anna Chaba	c1925	c1965	Radway, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
48-4	Anna Chaba	c1925	c1965	Radway, AB	cotton	cross-stitch	15" x 18"
48-5	Malanchuk	c1890	c1930	Edmonton	hemp	cross-stitch	18" x 22"
48-6	Malanchuk	c1890	c1938	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	18" x 22"
48-7	Malanchuk	c1890	c1938	Edmonton	cotton	cross-stitch	18" x 22"
49	**Hanya Cvornjek**	c1955		Thunder Bay	Interview only		
	Maria (Sakalo) Tarnawsky (Hanya's mother)	1923					

Appendix 7

Embroidered *Podushky*

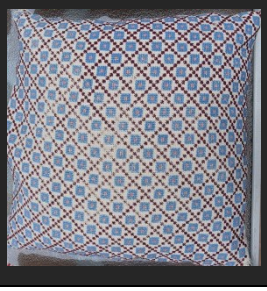
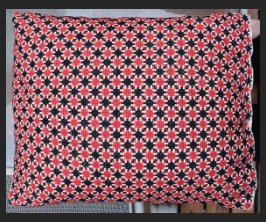
Legend



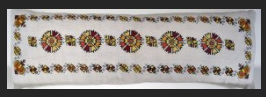
1-1 ◆SK X c1970	1-2 ◆SK Y c1960	1-3 ◆SK X 1953	1-4 ◆ X 1970
			
1-5 ◆SK X 1980	**1-6** ◆SK Y 1977	**1-7** ◆SK Y 1977	**1-8** ◆SK X 1977
			
1-9 ◆SK X 1977	**1-10** ◆SK HN	**1-11** ◆SK X	**1-12** ◆SK Y 1970
			
1-13 ◆SK Y 1975	**1-14** ◆SK X 1978	**1-15** ◆SK N 1970	**1-16** ◆SK X 1955
			

1-17 ◆SK X 1955	2-1 ◆SK X c1955	2-2 ◆SK X c1935	2-3 ◆SK X c1950
			
2-4 ◆SK X c1950	**2-5** ◆SK X c1955	**2-6** ◆SK N c1935	**2-7** ◆SK X c1935
			
3-1 ◆ XX c1970	**3-2** ◆ XX c1970	**3-3** ◆ XX c1970	**3-4** ◆ XX c1970
			
3-5 ◆SK X	**3-6** ◆ XX c1970	**3-7** ◆SK X	**3-8** ◆SK X
			

3-9 ◆ XX c1970	3-10 ◆ XX c1970	4-1 ◆ X c1980	4-2 ◆ X
			
4-3 ◆AB X c1955	**4-4** ◆ N c1990	**4-5** ◆ X 1938	**5-1** ◆SK X 1993
			
5-2 ◆SK X 1938	**5-3** ◆SK X 1938	**6-1** ◆MB X c1975	**6-2** ◆MB X c1975
			
6-3 ◆MB XX c1978	**6-4** ◆MB XX c1978	**6-5** ◆MB X c1965	**6-6** ◆MB X 1965
			

6-7 ◆MB X 1970	6-8 ◆MB XN c1965	6-9 ◆MB N c1970	6-10 ◆MB X c1970
			
6-11 ◆MB X c1960	**6-12** ◆MB X c1960	**6-13** ◆MB X c1970	**6-14** ◆MB X 1938
			
6-15 ◆MB X 1938	**6-16** ◆MB X 1938	**7-1** ◆MB XX c1975	**7-2** ◆ XX c1975
			
7-3 ◆ XX c1975	**7-4** ◆ XX c1975	**7-5** ◆MB XX c1975	**7-6** ◆MB XX c1975
			

7-7 ◆MB XX c1975	8-1 ◆ X c1965	8-2 ◆ X c1965	8-3 ◆ X c1965
			
8-4 ◆ X c1965	**8-5** ◆ X c1965	**8-6** ◆ N c1965	**9-1** ◆MB X c1965
			
9-1 ◆MB X X c1965	**10-1** ◆MB Y	**10-2** ◆MB H	**10-3** ◆ Y
			
10-4 ◆ Y	**10-5** ◆MB X	**10-6** ◆MB X	**10-7** ◆MB X
			

10-8 ◆MB X	**10-9** ◆MB X c1975	**10-10** ◆MB X c1975	**10-11** ◆MB X 1970
			
10-12 ◆MB Y	**10-13** ◆MB N	**10-14** ◆ON X c1970	**11a-1** ◆MB XX c1970
			
11a-2 ◆MB X c1970	**11b-1** ◆ H c1975	**11b-2** ◆ H c1975	**11b-3** ◆ Y c1945
			
11b-4 ◆MB X c1960	**11b-5** ◆ N	**11b-6** ◆MB X c1945	**11b-7** ◆MB X c1945
			

11b-8 ◆MB X c1980	**11c-1** ◆SK X c1960	**11c-2** ◆SK X c1960	**11c-3** ◆SK X c1970
			
11d-1 ◆MB X c1950	**11d-2** ◆MB X c1950	**11d-3** ◆MB Y c1950	**11d-4** ◆MB XM c1950
			
11d-5 ◆MB X c1950	**12-1** ◆MB X 1992	**12-2** ◆ N 1920?	**12-3** ◆SK XX c1980
			
12-4 ◆SK XX c1980	**12-5** ◆MB X 1992	**14-1** X	**14-2** XH
			

14-3 ◆MB N 1938	**14-4** ◆MB X 1938	**14-5** ◆MB X 1938	**14-6** ◆MB N 1938
			
14-7 ◆MB X 1938	**14-8** ◆MB XX 1938	**14-9** ◆MB U 1938	**14-10** ◆MB YH 1938
			
14-11 ◆MB N 1938	**14-12** ◆MB X 1938	**14-13** ◆MB Y 1938	**14-14** ◆MB X 1938
			
14-15 ◆MB X 1938	**14-16** ◆MB X 1938	**14-17** ◆MB U 1938	**14-18** ◆MB HM 1938
			

14-19 ◆MB X 1938	**14-20** ◆MB X 1938	**14-21** ◆MB X 1938	**14-22** ◆MB Y 1938
			
14-23 ◆MB X 1938	**14-24** ◆MB X 1938	**14-25** ◆MB X 1938	**14-26** ◆MB X 1938
			
14-27 ◆MB U 1938	**15-1** ◆ X c1948	**15-2** ◆ X c1948	**15-3** ◆ ON X 1960
			
15-4 ◆ ON XX c1970	**15-5** ◆ ON XX c1970	**15-6** ◆ ON U 1973	**15-7** ◆ ON U c1973
			

15-8 ◆ ON U c1973	**15-9** ◆ ON NM c1960	**15-10** ◆ ON X c1960	**15-11** ◆ ON X c1960
			
15-12 ◆ ON X c1960	**15-13** ◆ ON X c1970	**15-14** ◆ ON Y c1970	**15-15** ◆ ON Y c1970
			
15-16 ◆ ON X c1970	**15-17** ◆ ON X c1970	**15-18** ◆ ON X c1970	**15-19** ◆ ON X 2014
			
15-20 ◆ ON X c1990	**15-21** ◆ ON X c1990	**15-22** ◆ ON X c1975	**15-23** ◆ ON X 1975
			

15-24 ◆ ON X 1975	**15-25** ◆ ON X 1977	**16-1** ◆ON X 1930	**16-2** ◆ON N c1955
			
16-3 ◆ON N c1955	**16-4** ◆ON X c1950	**16-5** ◆ ON X 1930	**16-6** ◆ ON X c1960
			
16-7 ◆ ON X c1960	**16-8** ◆ ON X c1960	**16-9** ◆ ON X c1990	**16-10** ◆ ON XX c1975
			
16-11 ◆ ON X 1940	**16-12** ◆ ON X c1990	**16-13** ◆ ON X 1970	**16-14** ◆ ON X 1938
			

16-15 ◆ ON X 2002	16-16 ◆ON X 2002	16-17 ◆ON X c1990	16-18 ◆ON N c1965
			
16-19 ◆ON N c1950	**17-1 ◆ON X**	**17-2 ◆ON X**	**17-3 ◆ON N**
			
17-4 ◆ON Y	**17- 5 ◆ON Y**	**17-6 ◆ON X**	**17-7 ◆ON X**
			
17-8 ◆ON X	**17-9 ◆ON N**	**17-10 ◆ON X**	**17-11◆ON NX**
			

17-12 ◆ON N	17-13 ◆ON NH	17-14 ◆ON N	17-15 ◆ON X
			
17-16 ◆ON X	**17-17** ◆ON X	**18-1** ◆ON Y 1938	**18-2** ◆ON X 1938
			
18-3 ◆ON X 1938	**18-4** ◆ON X 1938	**18-5** ◆ON X 1938	**19-1** ◆ON N c1955
			
19-2 ◆ON X c1970	**19-3** ◆ON Y c1970	**19-4** ◆ON X c1955	**19-5** ◆ON X c1955
			

19-6 ◆ON X c1970	**19-7** ◆ON X c1945	**19-8** ◆ON X c1938	**19-9** ◆ON Y c1945
			
19-10 ◆ON H 1938	**19-11** ◆ON X c1950	**19-12** ◆ON Y c1938	**19-13** ◆ON YH c1965
			
19-14 ◆ON NH c1965	**19-15** ◆ON X c1965	**19-16** ◆ON X c1965	**19-17** ◆ON Y c1965
			
19-18 ◆ON X c1965	**19-19** ◆ON X c1965	**19-20** ◆ON X c1965	**19-21** ◆ON X c1965
			

19-22 ◆ON Y c1970	**19-23** ◆ON X c1970	**19-24** ◆ON X c1970	**19-25** ◆ON H c1970
			
20-1 ◆ON N c1960	**20-2** ◆ON X c1960	**20-3** ◆ON X c1960	**20-4** ◆ON X c1960
			
20-5 ◆ON X c1960	**20-6** ◆ON X c1960	**20-7** ◆ON X c1970	**20-8** ◆ON X c1970
			
20-9 ◆ON X c1970	**20-10** ◆ON X c1970	**20-11** ◆ON X c1970	**20-12** ◆ON N c1970
			

20-13 ◆ON X c1975	**20-14** ◆ON X c1970	**20-15** ◆ON X c1965	**20-16** ◆ON N c1970
			
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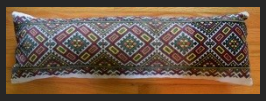
			
20-21 ◆ON X c1970	**20-22** ◆ON X c1970	**20-23** ◆ON X c1970	**20-24** ◆ON X c1970
			
20-25 ◆ON X c1970	**20-26** ◆ON NH c1970	**20-27** ◆ON X c1970	**20-28** ◆ON X c1970
			

20-29 ◆ON X c1945	**20-30** ◆ON N c1970	**20-31** ◆ON X c1970	**20-32** ◆ON X c1970
			
20-33 ◆ON X c1970	**20-34** ◆ON X c1970	**20-35** ◆ON X c1970	**20-36** ◆ON X c1970
			
20-37 ◆ON X c1970	**20-38** ◆ON X c1970	**20-39** ◆ON X c1970	**20-40** ◆ON X c1970
			
20-41 ◆ON X c1970	**20-42** ◆ON X c1970	**20-43** ◆ON X c1970	**20-44** ◆ON X c1970
			

20-45 ◆ON X c1970	**20-46** ◆ON X c1970	**20-47** ◆ON X c1970	**20-48** ◆ON Y c1970
			
20-49 ◆ON X c1970	**20-50** ◆ON X c1970	**20-51** ◆ON X c1970	**20-52** ◆ON X c1970
			
20-53 ◆ON X c1945	**20-54** ◆ON Y c1945	**20-55** ◆ON N c1945	**20-56** ◆ON X 1985
			
20-57 ◆ON X c1955	**21-1** ◆ON N c1970	**21-2** ◆ON X c1960	**21-3** ◆ON N c1960
			

21-4 ◆ON N c1960	21-5 ◆ON HY c1970	21-6 ◆ON Y c1970	21-7 ◆ON X c1970
			
21-8 ◆ON N c1965	**21-9** ◆ON X c1960	**21-10** ◆ON N c1975	**21-11** ◆ON N c1975
			
22-1 ◆ QC N c1960	**22-2** ◆ QC N c1960	**22-3** ◆ QC Y c1960	**22-4** ◆ QC N c1960
			
22-5 ◆ QC X c1970	**22-6** ◆ QC Y c1970	**22-7** ◆ QC N c1970	**22-8** ◆ QC X c1970
			

22-9 ◆ QC X 1970	**22-10** ◆ QC X 1970	**22-11** ◆ QC X 1970	**22-12** ◆ QC X 1970
			
22-13 ◆ QC X 1970	**22-14** ◆ ON X 1970	**23-1** ◆ Y 2000	**23-2** ◆ N 2000
			
23-2 ◆ N 2000	**23-1** ◆ U 2000	**24-1** ◆ QC HN c1955	**24-2** ◆ QC H c1960
			
24-3 ◆ QC X c1955	**24-4** ◆ QC N c1965	**24-5** ◆ QC X c1960	**24-6** ◆ QC X c1960
			

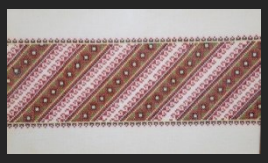
24-7 ◆ QC X c1960	**24-8** ◆ QC Y c1960	**24-9** ◆ QC Y c1960	**24-10** ◆ QC Y c1960
			
24-11 ◆ QC XM c1970	**24-12** ◆ QC XM c1970	**24-13** ◆ QC X c1965	**24-14** ◆ QC X c1975
			
25-1 ◆ ON X c1980	**25-2** ◆ ON X c1940	**25-3** ◆ ON X c1950	**25-4** ◆ ON X c1960
			
25-5 ◆ ON X c1970	**25-6** ◆ ON X c1970	**25-7** ◆ ON X c1970	**25-8** ◆ ON X c1965
			

25-9 ◆ ON X c1940	25-10 ◆ ON X c1940	25-11 ◆ ON X c1940	25-12 ◆ ON X c1970
			
25-13 ◆ ON X c1940	**25-14** ◆ ON X c1970	**25-15** ◆ ON X c1980	**25-16** ◆ ON X c1970
			
25-17 ◆ ON X c1970	**25-18** ◆ ON X c1970	**25 19** ◆ON X c1970	**26-1** ◆ X 1938
			
26-2 ◆ X 1938	**27-1** ◆ON X 1938	**28-1** ◆AB X c1970	**29-1** ◆ U c1900
			

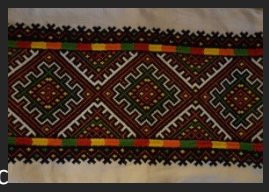
30-1 ◆PEI N 1977	31-1 ◆ON X 1965	31-2 ◆ON XX c1970	31-3 ◆ON X 1965
			
31-4 ◆ON X 1965	**31-5** ◆ON X 1965	**31-6** ◆ON X 1965	**31-7** ◆ON X 1965
			
31-8 ◆ON X 1965	**31-9** ◆ON X 1965	**32-1** ◆NS X 1960	**32-2** ◆NS X 1960
			
32-3 ◆NS X 1960	**33-1** ◆ X 1938	**35-1** ◆NS N 1955	**36-1** ◆ Y 1938
			

37-1 ◆AB X c1945	**37-2** ◆AB X c1935	**38-1** ◆ON N c 1950	**38-2** ◆ON H c1950
			
38-3 ◆ X c1945	**38-4** ◆ H 1945	**38-5** ◆ON X 1965	**38-6** ◆ON X 1958
			
38-7 ◆ON Y	**38-8** ◆ON Y 1965	**38-9** Y 1938	**38-10** Y 1960
			
38-11 ◆ HXM c1960	**39-1** ◆ON N c1960	**39-2** ◆ ON X c1960	**39-3** ◆ ON X 1971
			

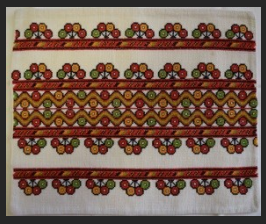
39-4 ◆ON X c1960	**39-5** ◆ON N c1960	**39-6** ◆ON X 1952	**39-7** ◆ON X c1970
			
39-8 ◆ON N 1948	**39-9** ◆ON X c1960	**39-10** ◆ON X 1938	**39-11** ◆ON YH 1938
			
39-12 ◆ON Y 1938	**39-13** ◆AB Y c1960	**39-14** ◆AB X 1960	**39-15** ◆AB Y 1950
			
39-16 ◆AB H 1950	**39-17** ◆ XX 1974	**39-18** ◆ XX c1975	**39-19** ◆ON H c1960
			

40-1 ◆BC X c1940	40-2 ◆ X c1940	40-3 ◆ X c1950	40-4 ◆ X c1950
			
40-5 ◆AB X c1930	**40-6** ◆AB X c1930	**40-7** ◆ X c1945	**41-1** ◆ X c1950
			
41-2 ◆ N c1950	**41-3** ◆ X c 1955	**41-4** ◆ Z c1955	**41-5** ◆ X c1955
			
41-6 ◆ YZ c1955	**41-7** ◆ X c1975	**41-8** ◆ X c1965	**41-9** ◆ X c1965
			

41-10 ◆ X c1960	**41-11** ◆ X c1980	**41-12** ◆ X c1995	**41-13** ◆ X c1985
			
41-14 ◆ X c1985	**41-15** ◆AB X 1970	**41-16** ◆SK X c1938	**42-1** ◆AB U c1960
			
42-2 ◆ AB X c1960	**42-3** ◆ AB X c1960	**42-4** ◆ AB X c1960	**42-5** ◆ AB X c1960
			
42-6 ◆ AB X c1960	**42-7** ◆ AB X c1960	**42-8** ◆ AB U c1960	**42-9** ◆ AB U c1960
			

42-10 ◆ AB X c1960	42-11 ◆ AB X c 2010	43-1 ◆ AB X 1938	45-1 ◆ AB Y c1970
			
45-2 ◆ AB X c1970	**45-3** ◆ AB X c1970	**45-4** ◆ AB X c1970	**46-1** ◆ ON X c1950
			
46-2 ◆ ON Y c1970	**46-3** ◆ ON Y c1970	**46-4** ◆ MB N c1970	**46-5** ◆ ON X c1970
			
46-6 ◆ ON N c1970	**46-7** ◆ ON X c1970	**46-8** ◆ ON N c1970	**46-9** ◆ ON X c1970
			

46-10 ◆ ON H c1970	46-11 ◆ MB X c1955	46-12 ◆ MB X c1955	46-13 ◆ MB X c1970
			
46-14 ◆ MB X c1970	**46-15** ◆ MB N c1970	**46-16** ◆ MB N c1970	**46-17** ◆ MB YH c1970
			
46-18 ◆ MB Y c1970	**46-19** ◆ MB Hh c1970	**46-20** ◆ MB N c1970	**46-21** ◆ MB Y c1970
			
46-22 ◆ M N c1970	**46-23** ◆ MB X c1970	**46-24** ◆ MB X c1970	**46-25** ◆ MB X c1970
			

47-1 ◆ AB Z c1970	47-2 ◆ SK U c1965	47-3 ◆ MB Y c1970	47-4 ◆ MB X c1950
			
47-5 ◆ MB N c1950	**47-6** ◆ SK H c1960	**47-7** ◆ MB Y c1950	**47-8** ◆ SK X c1970
			
47-9 ◆SK X c1965	**47-10** ◆MB X c1950	**47-11** ◆ SK X c1970	**47-12** ◆ MB X c1950
			
47-13 ◆ MB X c1950	**47-14** ◆ MB X c1965	**47-15** ◆ MB N c1950	**47-16** ◆ MB X c1950
			

47-17 ◆ MB Y c1950	**47-18** ◆ MB Z c1950	**47-19** ◆ MB X c1960	**47-20** ◆ MB X c1950
			
47-21a ◆ SK H c1960	**47-21b** ◆ SK H c1960	**47-22** ◆ MB X c1950	**47-23** ◆SK X 1970
			
48-1 ◆AB X 1965	**48-2** ◆AB X 1965	**48-3** ◆AB X 1965	**48-4** ◆AB X 1965
			
48-5 ◆AB X c1930	**48-6** ◆AB X 1938	**48-7** ◆ AB X c1938	
			

Appendix 8
Embroidery Resources

English Language Resources

Danchenko, Lesia. *Folk Art From the Ukraine.* Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1982.

Dillmont, Therese de. *Encyclopedia of Needlework*. Oxford: Benediction Classics, 2011.

Diakiw O'Neill, Tania. *Ukrainian Embroidery Techniques*. USA: Sto Pubns, 1984.

Grabowicz, Oksana, ed. *Traditional Designs in Ukrainian Textiles: An Exhibit.* New York: The Ukrainian Museum, 1977. Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name.

Kulchitska, O.L. *Folk Costumes of the Western Regions of the Ukrainian SSR,* plate 13. Kiev: Academy of Science Press, 1959.

Kulchitska, O.L. *Folk Costumes of the Western Regions of the Ukrainian SSR,* plate 13. Kiev: Academy of Science Press, 1959.

"Specimen Embroideries of the Peasant Home Industry in Bucovina." Accessed February 18, 2015. http://proteus.brown.edu/materialworlds/1825.

Stanton, Yvette. *Ukrainian Drawn Thread Embroidery: Merezhka Poltavska*. Australia: Vetty Creations, 2007.

Ukrainian Catholic Women's League. *Ukrainian Embroidery.* 1982.

Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. *Ukrainian Bukovinian Cross-stitch Embroidery*. Toronto, 1974.

Wynnycka, Jaroslawa, and Maria Zelena, eds. *Ukrainian Embroidery, A Study: Embroidery Samplers of Various Regions of Ukraine*. Toronto: Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, 1982.

Ukrainian Language Resources

Bushyna, T.I. *Dekoratyvnoho-prykladne mystetstvo radians'koi Bukovyny.* Kyiv: Mystets'tvo, 1986.

Kutsenko, Maria. *Ukrains'ki vyshyvky-Ukrainian Embroideries.* Melbourne: Spectrum Publications, 1977.

Stechishin, Savella. *Mystetskyi skarby ukrains'kyh vyshyvok*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1950.

Zakharchuk-Chuhai, R.V. *Ukrainska narodna zakhidnia vyshyvka.* Kiev: *Naukova Dumka*, 1988.

"Ukrainian Embroidery Resources" - CD

The following Ukrainian language books are accessible on this particular CD that was purchased in Ukraine in 2014. The titles represent a collection of detailed information about Ukrainian regional techniques and patterns.

- *155 знаки стародавніх українських вишивок*
- *В. А. Левчук, Червоними і чорними нитками*
- *В.П. Титаренко - Полтавська традиційна вишивка [2000, UKR]*
- *Вишиванка Східного Поділля. Євген та Тетяна Причепій*
- *Вишивки України - Випуск №1 Зібрання вишивок по цільовому призначенню*
- *Гасюк Е.О., Степан М.Г. - Художнє вишивання*
- *Георгій Гарас, Майстри народного мистецтва*
- *Григорій Кисіль, Українська вишивка*
- *Гуцульські вишивки Карпат*
- *Еріх Кольбенгаєр, Взори вишиванок домашнього промислу на Буковині*
- *Захарчук-Чугай Р.В.Українська народна вишивка*
- *К.Р. Сусак, Н.А. Стеф'юк, Українське народне вишивання*
- *Ксения Колотило – Альбом (схеми)*
- *Л. М. Сорокина, Учись вышивать*
- *Л.М. Панченко. Вишивання. Альбом*
- *Мирослав Шадро. Гуцульські вишиванки*
- *Мирослав Шадро. Гуцульські вишиванки*
- *О.Ю. Космина, Українське традиційне жіноче вбрання київщини*
- *Олена Кулинич-Стахурська, Мистецтво української вишивки*
- *Ольга Возниця, Вишивка рідного краю*
- *С.К. Маковський, Народное искусство Подкарпадской руси*
- *Світлана Китова. Полотняний літопис України. Семантика орнаменту українського рушника*
- *Символіка рослинних орнаментів української вишивки на одязі початку XX ст.*
- *Т.В. Кара-Васильєва, А.О. Заволокіна, Українська народна вишивка*
- *Т.В. Косіна, З.О. Васіна, Українське весільне вбрання*
- *Тамара Николаєва, Історія українського костюма*
- *Тетяна Кара-Васильєва, Українська сорочка*
- *Традиційні головні убори українців. Г.Г. Стельмащук*
- *Узоры_вышивания_в_России_(1877)*
- *Украинскіє узоры XVIII въка вип. 2*

- *Украинское народное творчество. Сер. III. Вып. I. Ручники – 1912*
- *Украинское народное творчество. Сер. III. Вып. II. Ручники – 1913*
- *Українська вишиванка*
- *Українська вишивка (Ukrainian embroidery)*
- *Українське народне вбрання*
- *Українське народне мистецтво. Вбрання*
- *Український вишиваний рушник*
- *Український костюм*
- *Українські взори XVIII віку вип. 1*

Appendix 9

Artifact Analysis Methodology

My approach to artifact analysis was influenced by by Jules Prown, Greg Finley, and E. McLung Flemmng. I have combined the following assessment models developed to create a set of questions and protocol designed specifically for assessing embroidered podushky. I have included the following summary to clarify my approach.

Greg Finley's Method

Source: "The Gothic Revival and the Victorian Church in New Brunswick: Toward a Strategy for Material Culture Research." *Material Culture Review. 32, Fall* (1990).

As a historian, Finley's focus is on enhancing historical inquiry through the use of material culture. He argues that: "objects are as valuable to historians as tangible remains of the past that continually convey meaning. He scrutinizes objects according to five properties in sequential order:

1. Material: an analysis of the composition and overall appearance
2. Construction: considerations of dimensions, proportions, style, decoration, condition, fabrication, and quality of craftsmanship.
3. Function: determining why an object has been created and how it is used
4. Provenance: the chronological story of where, and when an object was used, by whom it was created, owned and used.
5. Significance: and object's meaning in its earlier contexts to its makers, owners, and users.

E. McLung Flemming's Method

Source: "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model." *Winthur Portfolio.* 9 (1994): 153-173.

Flemming outlines four operations that are to be performed on five properties exposing information about an artifact:

Five Properties:

1. History: Where and when the object was made, by whom, for whom, changes in ownership, condition, and function of the object
2. Material: What is the object made of
3. Construction: techniques of manufacture and workmanship
4. Design: structure, form, style, ornament, iconography
5. Function: uses and roles (intended and unintended)
6.

The four operations:

1. Identification: establishing facts, classification, authentication and description
2. Evaluation: judgments based on comparison to others of its kind
3. Cultural Analysis: interrelationship of the object with its contemporary culture
4. Interpretation: meaning of the artifact in relation to our culture.

Jules Prown's Method:

Source:

Prown's methodology is an attempt to analyse object to uncover their meanings. He applies the following operations: "Mind and Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory And Method." *Winterthur Portfolio 17, Spring* (1982).

1. Documentation of description: based on observation – physical inventory of materials, dimensions, and iconographic content.
2. Deduction of what the object does and how it does it.
3. Speculation – A free association of ideas to formulate theories and hypothesis
4. Emotional response – linking the object to experiences and feelings
5. Program of Research – formulation of a program for validation of hypothesis using interdisciplinary techniques.