

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

THE STRUGGLE TO RETAIN THEIR IDENTITY

WILLIAM DARCOVICH



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42

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William Darcovich, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Most of the data in this brochure are from the 1961 Census of Canada as published in various reports by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Immigration data are from the Annual Reports of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and from the Canada Year Book for 1925 and subsequent years. Some excerpts of speeches are quoted from the Debates of the House of Commons and reference is made to the Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The author is greatly indebted to Roger Duhamel, F.R.S.C., the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Ontario for granting permission to use these publications as source material.

PREFACE

There are many statistics on the ethnic composition of Canada's people. I have always believed that if these statistics were carefully selected and put together they would tell a revealing and informative story. The idea to do so first arose during preparations to honour the 75th anniversary of the Ukrainians in Canada. There was not enough time to complete the work for this anniversary and, instead, it became a project for Canada's Centennial under the sponsorship of the Ottawa Branch of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association.

The main ideas of this brochure were a long time in the making; as work proceeded on the manuscript, these ideas were supported by the statistics and I became more aware than before of the two sidedness of the identity which the Ukrainians were trying to develop and maintain in Canada: on the one side there was the desire to remain a distinct ethnic group with attributes of its own; on the other to integrate into the main streams of Canadian life. I became convinced that these efforts were not simply casual and that if the Ukrainians had experienced any success in developing and maintaining an identity in this dual sense it was because of their strong and conscious efforts to do so, often under difficult conditions. To do as much in the future will require even more effort and this struggle for identity is the main theme of this work.

I am greatly indebted to Boris Myhal for the many discussions with him on this topic, for his many astute observations and for his careful reading of the manuscript which greatly improved its content and presentation. I am also greatly indebted to the Rev. W. Seneshen for his support of the project from its inception and to Messrs. A. Danyluk, R. Fodchuk, A. J. Lazarowich, A. Mack, N. Mandziuk, O. Sametz, W. Trischuk, W. Zayachkowsky and my wife for their critical comments which improved the manuscript considerably. However, I am solely responsible for any errors which may remain and for the material included. Any views expressed are my own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association.

My sincere thanks are due to Mrs. Gloria Prokopowich for her time and patience in typing several drafts of the manuscript and to Mr. R. Fodchuk for designing the cover.

W. D.
May, 1967.

C O N T E N T S

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
PREFACE	iii
"YOU WILL BE BETTER CANADIANS"	1
THE THREE IMMIGRATIONS	2
First Immigration (1891-1914)	2
The Beginnings of Identity	3
Corporal Philip Konowal, V.C.	4
Second Immigration (1922-1939)	5
Third Immigration (1946-1961)	7
UKRAINIANS IN THE 1961 CENSUS	9
Approaching Half a Million	9
Canada's Ethnic Mosaic	9
The "Third Force"	11
Wide and Uneven Population Distribution	12
The Declining Farm Tradition	13
Urban Communities	14
Winnipeg and its Satellites	14
Edmonton, Saskatoon and the "Northern" Cities	16
Calgary, Regina and the "Southern" Cities	16
Shevchenko Crescent, Canora, Saskatchewan	16
Peter Svarich High School, Vegreville, Alberta	17
Toronto's Rise to Prominence	17
Vancouver, Montreal, Hamilton and other Cities	17
Birthplace and Citizenship	18
Knowledge of English and French	19
Efforts to Retain the Mother Tongue	20
Religious Affiliations	22
Intermarriage	24
Mother Tongue, Mother Church and Within Marriage Complex	25
Lagging Educational Levels	26
Lagging Occupational Pattern	28
The Education, Occupation and Income Complex	32
UKRAINIANS IN CANADA'S CAPITAL	34
Ottawa's Ethnic Groups	34
Religious Affiliations of Ottawa Ukrainians	35
Ukrainians in Parliament	36
THE UKRAINIAN STORY	38

“YOU WILL ALL BE BETTER CANADIANS . . .”

On September 21, 1936, Lord Tweedsmuir, the Governor General of Canada, visited a Ukrainian gathering at Fraserwood in the Interlake region of Manitoba. A large crowd was in attendance and he was welcomed with an offering of bread and salt, a traditional Ukrainian expression of hospitality. The Governor General thanked those present for their welcome and in a short speech referred to their duties as Canadian citizens. The speech has become the classical statement of a concept of nationality which many Ukrainians in Canada have come to accept :

I am very happy to be among you today. I am among people who have behind them a long historical tradition, for it was your race which for centuries held the south-eastern gate of Europe against the attacks from the East. I can well imagine that this country is home to you, for these wide prairies are very like the great plains of southeastern Europe from which you came. During my tour of the prairie I have come across many of your people, and I am glad to see that in a short time you have come to be a vital element in the Canadian nation . . . Wherever I go I hear high praise of your industry and hardihood and enterprise, even under the most difficult conditions . . .

Every Briton and especially every Scotsman must believe that the strongest nations are those that are made up of different racial elements. The Ukrainian element is a very valuable contribution to our new Canada . . . You have accepted the duties and loyalties as you have acquired the privileges of Canadian citizens, but I want you also to remember your old Ukrainian traditions — your beautiful handicrafts, your folksongs and dances and your folk legends. I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions towards our Canadian culture which cannot be a copy of any one old thing — it must be a new thing created by the contributions of all the elements that make up the nation.

We Scots are supposed to be good citizens of new countries, that is largely because, while we mix well with others and gladly accept new loyalties, we never forget our ancient Scots' ways, but always remember the little country from which we sprang. That is true of every race with a strong tradition behind it, and it must be so with a people with such a strong tradition as yours. You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians. J. M. Gibbon, "Canadian Mosaic", McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1938, pp. 305-307.)

THE THREE IMMIGRATIONS

There have been three Ukrainian immigrations to Canada, each differing in numbers, the conditions in Canada which attracted them and the conditions in their homeland which made them leave. The first and largest immigration began in 1891 and ended with the coming of the First World War; the second immigration arrived between the two wars; the third began in 1946 and is still continuing, though after 1961 its numbers were reduced to a trickle.

The number of people arriving is estimated to be about 170,000 for the first immigration; about 68,000 for the second and 37,000 for the third. (Table 1)

The First Immigration (1891-1914)

The first immigration consisted almost entirely of land-hungry peasants from the Ukrainian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina.

Table 1 **Immigration of Ukrainians to Canada, 1891 to 1965**

Period		Number	
1891 to 1914		170,000 (estimated)	
1922 to 1939		68,000 (partly estimated)	
1946 to 1961		37,132	

Years	Number	Years	Number
1925	2,289	1946	171
1926	9,534	1947	2,081
1927	10,899	1948	10,041
1928	16,080	1949	6,602
1929	11,009	1950	3,815
1930	8,133	1951	6,949
1931	541	1952	2,859
1932	482	1953	957
1933	390	1954	724
1934	578	1955	560
1935	483	1956	578
1936	815	1957	530
1937	1,215	1958	405
1938	1,905	1959	346
1939	1,776	1960	349
1940	23	1961	165
1941	18	1962	170
1942	15	1963	215
1943	29	1964	202
1944	26	1965	283
1945	33		

Source: Annual Reports, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. For the years 1891-1914, estimate obtained from C. H. Young, "The Ukrainian Canadians", Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1931, p. 41.

Denied any opportunities to improve their lot in their homeland, they were attracted to Canada by its policy of granting virtually free lands or "homesteads" to settlers. The first two to arrive, Wasył Eleniak and Ivan Pillipiw came in September 1891. More followed in the next few years; but immigration did not begin in earnest till 1896, after Dr. Joseph Oleskow, an agriculturist from Galicia, had visited Western Canada and had personally confirmed that homesteading could be successfully carried on. The immigrants came as families and settled in colonies in the treed areas of what are now the Prairie Provinces — on land that was not always good — and quickly earned a reputation for perseverance and hard work. Place names like "Ukraina" and "Komarno", school names like "Shevchenko" and "Slawa" and post office names like "Mazeppa" and "Sich" attest to the establishment of such settlements.

Among the incomers was a handful of informed individuals with liberal views who had taken part in reform movements at home. There were also a few descendants from the landed though impoverished gentry.¹ Together they provided the immigrants, who were mostly illiterate and lacking in national awareness, the first leadership in educational, community and religious affairs.

Although the Ukrainian immigration was small compared to the total immigration to Canada at that time, it was confined to the Prairie region and to a narrow and fairly homogeneous agricultural belt within that region. The Prairies required settlers to pioneer and to endure hardships and the Ukrainians were able to meet this need well. Accordingly it can be said that the Ukrainians contributed more to the opening up of the Prairies than their numbers alone would indicate.

The Beginnings of Identity

Settlement on farms in closely knit groups greatly influenced Ukrainian development. Nearness to each other gave them security in a strange land and Canada's democratic ways provided an opportunity to use their language and practise their old-country traditions without hinderance from their non-Ukrainian neighbors. The pioneer society around them was on much the same footing as theirs; preoccupied with the problems of existence in a new and harsh land, it accepted people at their face value and cared little about its neighbors peculiar ways.

With opportunities for expression not available before, and with leadership provided by their few intellectuals, the Ukrainians began to develop an awareness of themselves as a separate group and to take an interest outside their farming occupation. Early in their settlement, "Prosvitas" or local reading rooms and "National Homes" or community centres were started, and several Ukrainian newspapers. The settlers began to send their young people to schools, and though much of the training was elementary, it was more than they had been able to obtain themselves; a few trained as teachers and became the first professionals of Ukrainian origin to be educated in Canada.

¹ V. J. Kaye, "Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900", University of Toronto Press, 1964, p. XIV.

In wanting to give their children more schooling, in both English and Ukrainian, the settlers supported the bilingual school system in Manitoba under which English and another language could be taught in public schools. When bilingual schools were abolished in 1916, they began to provide Ukrainian instruction after school hours. They also began to organize educational hostels for Ukrainian students, whose residents attended high schools, teacher training colleges and the University and also received instruction in Ukrainian subjects. These educational institutions, called "Institutes", were founded in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton.

Very early the Ukrainians began to take part in school boards and municipal councils, and just before the First World War, Theodore Stepanyk became the first Ukrainian to be elected to Winnipeg's city council. At about the same time, and extending into the war period, they reached a higher level of participation in Canadian activities when the first Ukrainians were elected to the Provincial Legislatures: Andrew Shandro in Alberta, Taras Ferley in Manitoba and Orest Zerebko in Saskatchewan.

The growing awareness or identity of the Ukrainians was motivated at first by a desire and opportunity to assert themselves as a distinct ethnic entity which had a language, culture and tradition of its own, even though it had no independent country; later it was also motivated by the desire of the Ukrainians to take part in Canadian life, for they had decided that they would be staying in Canada permanently. The two motives have been complimentary and not contradictory: developing an identity helped them gain the necessary self-esteem and respect outside the group and gave them the confidence to partake in Canadian activities; in turn, achievement outside their group contributed to the growth of a more distinct identity.

The first immigration also provided the dual religious base upon which their identity was to grow. Those from Galicia were Greek Catholic, those from Bukovina were Greek Orthodox, and this division still pervades their lives to-day.

Corporal Philip Konowal, V.C.

The coming of the war in 1914 suddenly ended the first immigration. In spite of their efforts to the contrary, the Ukrainians were still little known outside their settlements when war broke out. They had come from Austria-Hungary, Germany's ally in the war, and were suspected of being sympathetic to the enemy. Ukrainian support of bilingual schools in Manitoba further aggravated the situation; for a time during and after the war some Ukrainians were denied citizenship, the right to vote and the right to take up ownership of homesteads.

In spite of this, about 10,000 Ukrainians served in the armed forces.¹ One of them, Philip Konowal, won the Victoria Cross "for most conspicuous bravery and leadership when in charge of a section

¹ C. H. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

in attack".¹ He was born in 1888 and came to Canada in 1913, having served five years in the Tsarist Army where he had become an instructor in bayonet fighting. The action for which he won the Victoria Cross occurred on the 21st of August, 1917, in France. His section was engaged in mopping up operations and under his able direction, all resistance was overcome successfully and heavy casualties inflicted on the enemy. During the encounter he was severely wounded.

After returning to civilian life, he was employed in Ottawa and lived in Hull, Quebec. He died in 1959 and was buried with full military honours in Ottawa.

The Second Immigration (1922-1939)

The second immigration was smaller than the first and numbered about 68,000 people (Table 1). The immigrants began to arrive in numbers in 1923 after the Ukrainian Republic had fallen, and its partition between Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia and the Soviet Union was completed. Ukrainian immigration increased throughout the prosperous twenties and nearly half of it arrived in the three years from 1927 to 1929. With the coming of the "great" depression, Ukrainian immigration fell sharply, but rose again in the late thirties as the danger of war began to loom in Europe.

The main flow of immigrants continued to come from Bukovina and Galicia, then under Poland and Roumania. For the first time, immigrants began to arrive in numbers from Volynia which also had fallen under Poland. Most of the immigrants were still farmers, the unskilled and semi-skilled who were being pushed out of their homeland by the bleak economic and political future which they faced. They still sought land in Canada, but the good homesteads were gone, and they had to choose between free land which was poor or too far from settlement, or better land at a price. The pull of non-farm jobs was increasing and more and more of the immigrants were drawn into Canadian cities and towns.

Some immigrants had taken part in unsuccessful wars for Ukrainian independence during 1917 to 1922, and brought with them a strong sense of nationalism and an old-country orientation. These attitudes complicated the emerging views of the first immigration which were becoming more and more orientated towards Canadian problems. Some skilled and professionally trained immigrants also came, adding to the small numbers already in Canada.

A Canadian-trained professional, Michael Luchkovich, became the first Ukrainian member of the House of Commons. He was elected in 1926 in Vegreville, Alberta, and represented the constituency for nine years; the son of immigrant parents who could not speak English, he was an honours graduate from the University of Manitoba. He became the spokesman for the Ukrainians in the House of Commons, and using fluent English and a dramatic style in his speeches, he gave them a new stature. Thus :

¹ G. C. Machum, "Canada's V.C.'s", McClelland & Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1956, pp. 72-73.

... *The Germans and the Scandinavians make wonderful settlers, but so do the Ukrainians. In a few years they have acquired the language of their country and an understanding of our institutions as good as the best of them...* I repeat that measured by every possible standard, the Ukrainian becomes as good a Canadian as any one of them. I have said that he is a sticker, and I mean it; for what avails it to a country if a native born would rather flaunt his patriotism by waving a flag and rocking the boat than by putting his hands to the oar. I have seen many of our native born run up a debt and leave their farms because they would not live within their means. True patriotism, I insist again, also includes persistence and frugality even under trying circumstances. (*House of Commons Debates, Vol. I, 1928, Feb. 28, p. 778.*)

He spoke also for the other ethnic groups, and took part in debates on the current issues of the day; immigration, railway construction, tariffs, agriculture and the problems arising out of the depression.

The depression of the thirties, damaging as it was in other ways, was a great economic and social leveler. But it was not enough to overcome differences which had arisen among the Ukrainians; controversy between the two churches and several lay organizations with different political orientations was using up too much of the creative energies of the Ukrainians and it was becoming obvious that more coordination of their efforts was essential if their development in Canada was to be unimpeded. The brief independence of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939 and the strong patriotic sentiments which it aroused also showed the need to coordinate activities regarding their homeland.

A year after the close of the second immigration, in 1940, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was founded. The initiative to organize was taken by the Ukrainians and they were encouraged by the Federal Government who wished to see more unity among the Ukrainians to assist with the war effort. The Committee was predominantly Canadian in outlook, a feature imparted to it by the first immigration. It was also a federation of existing Ukrainian organizations, a feature which was necessary to accommodate the two religious divisions and the two major — Canadian versus old country — orientations. Its founding was a declaration of loyalty to Canada for in the ensuing years some 30,000 Ukrainians served in all branches of the armed forces. Since the war it has become more and more the official voice of all organized non-communist Ukrainians.

At the close of the Second World War, one of the first acts of the Committee was to help the Ukrainians in displaced persons camps in Europe to emigrate to Canada. The plight of these persons, Ukrainian and others, was raised in the House of Commons by Anthony Hlynka, member of parliament for Vegreville, Alberta :

The ... request which I should like to direct to the Canadian Government has to do with immigration. I should like to make an appeal to the government to make provision for admission to

Canada of a generous number of close relatives of Canadian citizens.

... If Canada offers a welcome to a number of these homeless people, I am sure they will be forever grateful to the people of Canada ... (House of Commons Debates, Vol. I, 1946, Mar. 25, pp. 229-231.)

A change in immigration policy to admit displaced persons was made shortly afterwards, making way for the third Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

The Third Immigration (1946-1961)

The third immigration contributed the smallest number of people, some 37,000 in all (Table 1). The majority had entered by the end of 1952, though appreciable numbers continued to come until 1960. The immigrants had one common feature — they were political refugees from behind the Iron Curtain — and many differences. Some were professionals from the sciences, humanities and the arts, others were craftsmen, still others were laborers and farmers. For the first time they came from all regions of the Ukraine, so that in this sense the new world became representative of the old.

Although small in numbers, the third group of immigrants made a great impact on the Ukrainians already in Canada. Many of the newcomers accepted fairly quickly the existing institutions developed by the Ukrainians. This was to the benefit of both; it bolstered the institutions with much needed membership and gave moral support and fresh impetus to their efforts; at the same time it provided a haven from which the newly arrived could more quickly find a job and begin to integrate into Canadian life. There were, however, instances in which the third immigration participated too zealously in the work of these institutions, turning away some of the more loosely attached Canadian born Ukrainians.

The newcomers also made noteworthy contributions in the academic, professional, literary and artistic fields. They helped establish and staff Slavic Departments at universities, providing advanced training in Ukrainian subjects and enabling instruction in Ukrainian to develop from the elementary level. With a high proportion of professionals, they were able to increase Ukrainian participation in universities, government and business. They established new journals and newspapers and helped to put Ukrainian language newspapers in the forefront of Canada's ethnic press. Through Canadian branches of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, they contributed to Canadian literature by their prolific output of Ukrainiana.

Not all were able to make an easy adjustment to the new conditions. Some could not find jobs immediately or could not find jobs in line with their abilities, training or preferences; others had to take supplementary schooling, generally past school age, to bring their education in line with Canadian needs. Still others retained their strong beliefs

on old country politics; they could not accept the generally Canadian orientation of the Ukrainian institutions and founded new organizations of their own more in line with their thinking. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee has, however, proven flexible enough to accommodate these organizations without losing its primarily Canadian orientation.

In some ways the first two immigrations contributed to the adjustment problems of the third. Considering themselves charter members, they did not always accept the new arrivals readily. Having established a niche for themselves in Canadian society they were skeptical of the views and motives of the new arrivals and were not ready to accept them fully until they had "proven" themselves sufficiently. The attitude of estrangement on both sides was an inevitable adjustment phase that is gradually dying, to the mutual benefit of each.

The third immigration is likely to be the last for some time to come. Non-Ukrainian immigration will continue and possibly increase, and the Ukrainians will form a declining portion of the total population. Ukrainian life will proceed without the periodic boost given to it by a new immigration, and the stimulus for its further growth and development will have to be entirely Canadian in origin.

UKRAINIANS IN THE 1961 CENSUS

Approaching Half a Million

In 1961, after three immigrations and 70 years in Canada, the Ukrainians numbered 473,337 and formed 2.6 percent of the total population (Table 2); 363,228 or 77 percent were Canadian born, and 110,109 were born outside of Canada or were immigrants. Of these, 72,013 had arrived in Canada before 1946 as members of the first and second immigrations, though it is not possible to determine the numbers of each; 38,096 arrived after 1946 as part of the third immigration.

Table 2

Ukrainians in Canada, 1961

Total population, Ukrainians	473,337
Canadian born	363,228
Born outside Canada, total	110,109
" " " , arrived before 1946	72,013
" " " , arrived 1946 to 1961	38,096
Total population, Canada	18,238,247
Ukrainians, percent of total population	2.6

Source: 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 99-516.

The total of 473,337 includes a small number of non-Ukrainians who for various reasons report themselves as Ukrainians. On the other hand, the total excludes many Ukrainians who report themselves as Russians, Poles or Austrians. In this statistical exchange, the Ukrainians give more than they take, so that the census figures show fewer Ukrainians, perhaps by several percent, than are actually present. A figure close to 500,000 is probably a better estimate of the number of Ukrainians in Canada in 1961.

Canada's Ethnic Mosaic

In the 1961 census Canada had some 35 identifiable groups, truly a mosaic¹ of many ethnic colors. In trying to enumerate these groups separately in the census, Canada is unique among the western hemisphere countries which have a similar diversity of ethnic origins; she has developed an attitude which recognizes this diversity and except in 1891, she has included a broad ethnic classification for every decennial census since Confederation. In the United States, where the "melting pot" idea is prevalent, the ethnic classification was discontinued and what remains is one based on race and color.

Ethnic origin in Canada is traced through the father. In the 1961 census each person was asked the question:

To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent? The

¹ The term was first used in 1922. See Gibbon, *op. cit.*, pp. viii-ix.

language spoken at the time by the person or his paternal ancestor was used as an aid in the determination of the person's ethnic group. Special instructions were provided where the language criterion was not applicable. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics Report, Catalogue No. 92-545.)

Table 3 Ethnic Origin of Canada's Population, 1961

	Number	Percent
French	5,540,346	30.38
English	4,195,175	23.00
Scottish	1,902,302	10.43
Irish	1,753,351	9.61
German	1,049,599	5.75
Ukrainian	473,337	2.60
Italian	450,351	2.47
Netherlands	429,679	2.36
Polish	323,517	1.77
Native Indian	208,286	1.14
Jewish	173,344	0.95
Norwegian	148,681	0.82
Welsh	143,942	0.79
Hungarian	126,220	0.69
Swedish	121,757	0.66
Russian	119,168	0.65
Austrian	106,535	0.58
Danish	85,473	0.46
Yugoslav	68,587	0.38
Belgian	61,382	0.34
Finnish	59,436	0.33
Chinese	58,197	0.32
Greek	56,475	0.31
Czech	48,341	0.26
Roumanian	43,805	0.24
Negro	32,127	0.18
Icelandic	30,623	0.17
Japanese	29,157	0.16
Lithuanian	27,629	0.15
Slovak	24,720	0.14
Syrian-Lebanese	19,374	0.11
Estonian	18,550	0.10
Latvian	18,194	0.10
Eskimo	11,835	0.06
East Indian	6,774	0.04
Others	271,978	1.49
	18,238,247	100.00

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-545.

Under the definition there is no distinction between the varying degrees of attachment to the ethnic group which a person may have. Included in a particular ethnic group are those who felt strongly about their ethnic origin, those only casually interested, those not interested at all, and the range of attitudes in between the extremes. The definition does not include "Canadian" as one of the constituent ethnic groups, as the purpose of the classification is to obtain, in so far as possible, a definition of "Canadian" in terms of racial derivation.¹

The French with 5,540,346 persons (Table 3) are the most numerous, followed by the English with 4,195,175, the Scottish with 1,902,302 and the Irish with 1,753,351. The Ukrainians, with 473,337 persons, are sixth largest and fourth largest if the British groups are considered as one. Further down the list, Canada's Indians number 208,286 and her Eskimo 11,835. Last as a distinct group shown are the 6,774 East Indians. The 271,978 "others" comprise small numbers of Spanish, Portugese, Swiss, Bulgarians, Basques and Mexicans, various small groups of Asiatics and Africans and a large number in which ethnic origin is "not stated".

The "Third Force"

Ethnic groups other than the British and French are sometimes called the "third force";² in 1961 it numbered 4,701,232 and formed 26 percent of the total population (Table 4). Since either the British or French form less than half the population, the third force, if united, could hold the "balance of power" on important issues between Canada's founding members. An example occurred in 1961 when some of the third force groups, including the Ukrainians, supported the French in demanding that the questions on the ethnic origin of the population be retained in the census.

Table 4 The British, French and "Third Force" Groups, 1961

	Number	Percent
British	7,996,669	43.8
French	5,540,346	30.4
"Third Force"	4,701,232	25.8
	18,238,247	100.0

Source: Table 3

The feature common to all the groups seems to be their general tendency to integrate with the British or English speaking populations and not with the French. Another feature common to many is the desire to preserve some part of their background, as exemplified by the founding of an organization to represent the various foreign language newspapers in Canada. But it is their only official forum on a national

¹ Canada Year Book, 1925, p. 102.

² Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Feb., 1965, p. 51.

The Declining Farm Tradition

Until the Second World War, the Ukrainians were a rural people; the great majority of them lived in the Prairie Provinces, and more than 60 percent were on farms. Since the war farm mechanization and industrial growth throughout Canada have been depopulating the Prairie countryside; in two decades the Ukrainian farm population in the Prairies had fallen by a half, to 32 percent of the total in 1961 (Table 6). Saskatchewan, with 41 percent of its Ukrainian population on farms, was the most rural province in 1961, but even this figure is a decline from 69 percent in twenty years.

Table 6 **Ukrainian Population, Farm and Non-Farm, 1961**

	Numbers			Percent	
	Total	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm
Manitoba	105,372	26,708	78,664	25.3	74.7
Saskatchewan	78,851	32,263	46,588	40.9	59.1
Alberta	105,923	32,968	72,955	31.1	68.9
Prairie Provinces	290,146	91,939	198,207	31.7	68.3
Ontario	127,911	5,079	122,832	4.0	96.0
British Columbia	35,640	1,627	34,013	4.6	95.4
Quebec	16,588	234	16,354	1.4	98.6
Atlantic Provinces	2,349	64	2,285	2.7	97.3
The Territories	703	—	703	—	100.0
	473,337	98,943	374,394	20.9	79.1

Source: 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-545.

Depopulation increased the size of farms, increased farm incomes, and loosened up Ukrainian group settlements, the strongholds from which Ukrainian life in Canada began to grow and develop. Although fewer in numbers and changed in character, farming in the Prairie Provinces still has a large Ukrainian population, nearly 92,000 people (Table 6), and should continue to influence, though in a smaller way, Ukrainian development.

Outside the Prairie Provinces agriculture is not an important occupation for the Ukrainians and in no province is their farm population more than 5 percent of the total (Table 6). In Ontario Ukrainians farm in the fruit belt of the Niagara Peninsula, on vegetable farms in the Bradford Marsh, tobacco farms in Norfolk county and on mixed farms in the Rainy River district; in British Columbia the Ukrainians farm on fruit farms in the Okanagan Valley and on mixed farms in the Peace River Country. Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces do not have farming communities with many Ukrainians.

In spite of the recent decreases, 21 percent of the Ukrainian population are on farms (Table 6). This still leaves them as one of the most rural people in Canada, a distinction which they share with

the Dutch, Germans and Scandinavians, whose farm populations are also in the 20 percent range. In comparison, for Canada as a whole, people on farms are only about 11 percent of the total population.

Urban Communities

With nearly 80 percent of their population non-farm (Table 6), with more than half of this number in cities over 100,000 and with their population growing most rapidly in the larger cities, the Ukrainians are quickly becoming an urban people. It is a new and an important status for them and it will influence their future development greatly; in an urban environment which has many assimilative forces, it will be more difficult to continue the efforts at identity which were begun and developed under the comparatively easy conditions of farm life.

Table 7 gives the important urban communities in which Ukrainians live; it includes centres with a total population of 2,000 or more of which at least 500 are Ukrainians.

Winnipeg and its Satellites

Containing 53,918 persons, more than half the Ukrainians in Manitoba and over 11 percent of the city population, Winnipeg is the largest "Ukrainian" city in Canada. It has not attained this position accidentally. Strategically located, it had the necessary conditions to attract and hold its Ukrainian population: it was the gateway through which the first immigration and much of the second passed, some of whom stayed behind to take up jobs; also it was on the edge of several large areas settled by Ukrainians which provided it with an inflow of people. Very early it became the home of the Ukrainian press and the two oldest Ukrainian newspapers, the "Canadian Farmer" and the "Ukrainian Voice" are still published there. It is the home of several other newspapers and is also a book publishing centre.

More recently, as Ukrainians became numerous in Eastern Canada, it has become geographically central. For this reason it is the headquarters of the metropolitans of the two churches, of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and some other Ukrainian, Canada-wide, organizations. It is the home of the University of Manitoba, which attracted Ukrainian students, and encouraged the growth of Ukrainian educational institutions known as Institutes and the establishment of theological colleges.

Largest in numbers, centrally located and reflecting their past history, Winnipeg can be readily called the "capital" of the Ukrainians in Canada.¹

Selkirk, Portage La Prairie and Brandon have Ukrainian populations which average about 10 percent of the total. They were influenced by many of the same conditions of growth as was Winnipeg and can be considered as its satellites. Brandon, in addition, was one of the earliest

¹ P. Yuzyk, "The Ukrainians in Manitoba", University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. 194-199.

Table 7 Centres of 2,000 and over with 500 or more Ukrainians, 1961

	Population		Ukrainians as a percent of total population
	Ukrainian	Total	
Winnipeg	53,918	475,989	11.3
Toronto	46,650	1,824,481	2.6
Edmonton	38,164	337,568	11.3
Vancouver	18,712	790,165	2.3
Montreal	14,519	2,109,509	0.7
Hamilton	10,931	395,189	2.8
Fort William-Port Arthur	9,609	93,251	10.3
Saskatoon	9,072	95,526	9.5
Calgary	8,033	279,062	2.9
Regina	5,741	112,141	5.1
Windsor	5,508	193,365	2.8
Sudbury	4,942	110,694	4.5
St. Catherines	4,742	95,577	5.0
Oshawa	3,982	80,918	4.9
Ottawa	2,985	429,750	0.7
Yorkton	2,820	9,995	28.2
Prince Albert	2,260	24,168	9.4
Dauphin	2,232	7,374	30.3
Kitchener-Waterloo	2,163	154,864	1.4
Brandon	2,119	28,166	7.5
London, Ont.	1,834	181,283	1.1
Moose Jaw	1,797	33,206	5.4
Welland	1,693	36,079	4.7
Sault Ste. Marie	1,661	58,460	2.8
Vegreville, Alta.	1,518	2,908	52.2
Victoria	1,509	154,152	1.0
Lethbridge	1,358	35,454	3.8
Brantford	1,295	56,741	2.3
Portage La Prairie	1,238	12,388	10.0
Canora, Sask.	1,236	2,117	58.4
Selkirk	1,227	8,576	14.3
Kenora, Ont.	1,198	10,904	11.0
Fort Francis	1,171	9,481	12.4
Flin Flon	1,104	11,104	9.9
Niagara Falls	1,079	54,649	2.0
North Battleford	958	11,230	8.5
Timmins	911	40,121	2.3
Sydney-Glace Bay	847	106,114	0.8
Vernon	835	10,250	8.1
Sarnia	782	61,293	1.3
Red Deer	634	19,612	3.2
Melville	525	5,191	10.1

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue Nos. 92-526 and 92-545.

educational centres; for ten years, starting in 1903 it was the home of the bilingual Ruthenian Training School which produced the first Ukrainian teachers. It was also a railway divisional point and the available jobs attracted some Ukrainians.

Edmonton, Saskatoon and the "Northern" Cities

Edmonton and Saskatoon, like Winnipeg, are two large Prairie cities with high Ukrainian populations (Table 7). One reason was their location near Ukrainian farm settlements which served as their sources of population. Ukrainians went there to look for jobs, to go into business, to practise a newly acquired profession or to retire. In turn it was to the farm which he left that the business and professional man, at least at the start, looked to for much of his clientele. Another reason was their Universities; they attracted Ukrainian students and teachers and encouraged the growth of educational hostels or Institutes, making the cities the provincial centres of Ukrainian intellectual activities.

The presence of nearby Ukrainian farm populations was also the main reason for the high population of Ukrainians in several smaller Prairie cities; Dauphin and Yorkton average about 30 percent Ukrainians; similar conditions prevailed for Prince Albert, North Battleford and Melville whose populations are about 10 percent Ukrainian. There were additional local influences; a theological college in Yorkton and railway jobs in Melville and Dauphin.

Calgary, Regina and the "Southern" Cities

In Calgary, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Regina and Moose Jaw, the Ukrainians form no more than 5 percent of the populations of these cities, generally a much smaller percentage than the cities to the north. Ukrainian settlements did not extend south of the parklands and the southern cities lacked Ukrainian farm hinterlands as a source of population growth. It is also significant that Calgary and Regina, comparable in size to Edmonton and Saskatoon, were not university centres.

Shevchenko Crescent, Canora, Saskatchewan

The town of Canora, Saskatchewan, is 58 percent Ukrainian (Table 7), the highest of any urban community in Canada. This characteristic stems from the large number of Ukrainians on surrounding farms, who have also contributed to the populations of nearby Yorkton and Melville. Ukrainians tend to predominate in the business, professional and political life of the town, and one of its streets is named Shevchenko Crescent.

The street was named in 1961 to commemorate the centennial of the death of Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet. He rose from serfdom, championed justice and freedom, and his poetry has inspired Ukrainians everywhere:

Indeed, he has left his mark upon me because, though I was born in this great land, it was he who more than anyone else has

*given me that identity of which men are proud, the identity of being a Ukrainian.*¹

Peter Svarich High School, Vegreville, Alberta

Vegreville, Alberta, is a town of 2,900 people, 52 percent Ukrainian. It was one of the centres in which the Presbyterian Church was active among the Ukrainians, at first by extending material aid to the settlers and then by assisting with the building of the first schools and the first church. Much of the success of this Ukrainian community and its independent growth near Edmonton can be attributed to the efforts of one man, Peter Svarich, the intellectual, business and political leader in the community and a benefactor of many educational projects. In 1955, during Alberta's Golden Jubilee, a public High School was named in his honour as a symbol of his efforts to educate and enlighten the Ukrainians.

Toronto's Rise to Prominence

Toronto is Canada's largest industrial centre; it attracted many Ukrainians from the Prairie Provinces during and after the Second World War and from the third immigration by providing employment in industry, business, the professions, the University and the Provincial Government. The influx increased its Ukrainian population more than threefold in twenty years to 46,650 in 1961 (Table 7) and vaulted it next to Winnipeg in numbers. Toronto grew rapidly in the publishing of Ukrainiana, became the headquarters of the Eastern dioceses of the two churches, developed as an educational and cultural centre, and is considered by some as the "capital" city of the Ukrainians in Canada. But it lacks the central location, the historic depth and the rural population base, and cannot be considered as a real challenger to Winnipeg for this honour.

Vancouver, Montreal, Hamilton and Other Cities

Vancouver, Montreal and Hamilton, like Toronto, are industrial cities whose good opportunities for employment began to attract large numbers of Ukrainians after the second World War. Ottawa is less industrialized than Canada's other large cities and did not attract many Ukrainians. In 1961 greater Ottawa had 2,985 Ukrainians (Table 7) less than one percent of its total population.

Other cities with important Ukrainian populations have had various employment attractions; coal mining and steel manufacturing in Sydney-Glace Bay, the only large concentration of Ukrainians in the Atlantic Provinces; light manufacturing in St. Catherines and Welland, Ontario, and in Vernon, British Columbia; car manufacturing in Windsor and Oshawa; shipping in Fort William - Port Arthur; mining in Sudbury,

¹ John Yaremko, Q.C., Provincial Secretary and Minister of Citizenship, Province of Ontario. Remarks made in the Legislature of Ontario on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Pauline Johnson, a Canadian poetess, which coincided with the 100th anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko. Legislature of Ontario Debates, March 10, 1961, p. 2008.

Ontario and Flin Flon, Manitoba; forestry and railroading in Kenora and Fort Francis, Ontario.

Birthplace and Citizenship

By 1961, the Ukrainians were nearly 77 percent Canadian born (Table 8). The figure reflects the small size of the third immigration, the small number of the two earlier immigrations which now remain in the Ukrainian population and a rapid rate of natural increase arising from a high birth rate and a low emigration rate. The 77 percent figure of Canadian born Ukrainians is higher than a similar figure for most of the third force groups whose recent immigration to Canada has been higher. With little prospect for further immigration, the percentage of Canadian born Ukrainians should increase in the future.

Nearly 97 percent of the Ukrainians were Canadian citizens in 1961, a rate which, due to some special conditions, is next highest to the French. Presuming that most of the members of the first and second immigration are naturalized, it indicates that recent Ukrainian immigrants had a higher rate of naturalization than other immigrant groups. One reason is that the majority of the Ukrainians had entered by 1954 and in 1961 they were able to meet the five year residence requirement for Canadian citizenship; this was not true for many other ethnic groups whose immigration continued to be high after 1954. Also, the Ukrainian immigrants were displaced persons and probably had a greater desire to stay in Canada permanently; consequently, they became citizens as soon as they could qualify.

Table 8 Birthplace and Citizenship by Ethnic Groups, 1961

Canadian Born		Canadian Citizens	
	Percent		Percent
French	98.4	French	99.4
British	85.6	Ukrainian	96.8
Japanese	78.2	British	95.9
Ukrainian	76.7	Russian	95.1
Scandinavian	72.9	Jewish	92.6
Russian	72.9	Scandinavian	92.5
German	72.6	Polish	89.5
Netherlands	63.8	German	86.9
Jewish	60.1	Netherlands	81.2
Polish	60.1	Asiatic	79.9
Austrian	59.0	Italian	60.7
Czech	54.5	Other European	76.7
Slovak	53.3	Others, not stated	97.5
Finnish	51.1	All groups	94.2
Hungarian	43.1		
Italian	41.1		
Chinese	39.5		
All groups	84.4		

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue Nos. 99-516 and 92-560.

Knowledge of English and French

One of the first problems faced by the immigrant was to learn the English language. When life was rural, the amount of English learned was minimal, and some were able to get by without knowing any English, though their children would usually know it well. With time English became more generally known, for it became a must for the ordinary business of life, and particularly to obtain and hold a city job.

English and French are Canada's two official languages. In the 1961 census, the figures on official languages refer to :

... the number of persons who reported they were able to speak either one or both of the "official languages" of Canada. It should be noted that persons indicated as speaking "English only" or "French only" may speak other languages and have a mother tongue other than English or French. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics Report, Catalogue No. 92-561.)

The 1961 status of the official languages spoken by the Ukrainians is given in Table 9. The very large majority, 94.7 percent, speak English, only slightly lower than a similar figure for the Scandinavians,

Table 9 Official Languages Spoken by Ukrainians, 1961

	Numbers	Percent
English only	447,903	94.7
French only	1,173	0.2
English and French	12,375	2.6
Neither English nor French	11,886	2.5
	473,337	100.0

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-561.

Germans and Dutch, to whom English comes fairly easily and who assimilate readily with the British groups. But the percentage is higher than for more comparable ethnic groups, the Poles, Russians, Czechs and Slovaks, partly because these groups have a smaller ratio of Canadian born than the Ukrainians (Table 8). Only 2.8 percent of the Ukrainians speak French, Canada's second official language (Table 9). Some 2.5 percent do not speak either English or French; presumably most of these would speak Ukrainian.

In knowing English to the extent that they do the Ukrainians in this respect have become integrated into Canadian life about as well as the most assimilable groups. In part this knowledge reflects their high percentage of Canadian born, and the opportunity to learn English from childhood; in part it reflects the long time which some Ukrainian immigrants have been in Canada and in part a conscious effort by many of them to learn English in daily contacts and through adult education.

In common with other ethnic groups, the Ukrainians have learned little French except where they were in close contact with it. It is a reflection of the small number of Ukrainians in the Province of Quebec and their high concentration in Montreal where English tends to predominate in business and commerce.

Efforts to Retain the Mother Tongue

As important as learning English was the problem of retaining Ukrainian. As English became more widely known, it tended to displace Ukrainian as the language of daily use in the home. The trend was viewed with apprehension by many Ukrainians for it was a sign of their eventual assimilation and disappearance as a distinct group. Increasingly, the retention of the Ukrainian language became a matter of concern to many parents, the Ukrainian churches, some lay organizations, and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Ukrainian is now (December 1966) being taught to children and young people by their parents, in Sunday Schools, in private schools which are generally supported by the churches, and at the several Ukrainian student hostels or Institutes. After long efforts, it was placed on the high school curricula of the Prairie Provinces and is being taught in the schools in which it is in sufficient demand; it is an accredited subject for senior matriculation in Alberta and Saskatchewan high schools. It is on the courses of study of the Universities of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Toronto and Ottawa and is credited towards a degree in the three Prairie Universities and in Ottawa University. The Ukrainian press is probably the largest and best developed of all ethnic groups and a growing number of books are being published in the Ukrainian language. All these represent an "investment" by the Ukrainians which help them to retain their language. Like all investments, it should, if sound, receive a return.

The 1961 census contains statistics on the mother tongue of Canada's population. Mother tongue is defined as :

... the language a person first learned in childhood and still understands. In case of infants this refers to the language commonly spoken in the home. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics Report, Catalogue No. 92-561.)

Table 10 indicates some of the results of the Ukrainians' efforts to retain their language. For Canada as a whole, the majority, or 64 percent report Ukrainian as a mother tongue; 34 percent report English and less than two percent report French and other languages. In the Prairie Provinces the mother tongue is 70 percent Ukrainian and in Saskatchewan, the most rural province, it is 72 percent Ukrainian, the highest in Canada. In Quebec it is 70 percent Ukrainian, 6 percent French and 21 percent English. In Ontario, the Ukrainian mother tongue predominates, though the figure has fallen to 58 percent. English is the prevailing mother tongue for the Ukrainians in British Columbia, the Atlantic Provinces and the Territories.

Table 10 **Ukrainian Mother Tongue by Provinces, 1961**

	Total	Mother Tongue			
		Ukrainians	English	Ukrainian	French
			Numbers		
Manitoba	105,372	30,894	73,349	136	993
Saskatchewan	78,851	21,152	57,018	26	655
Alberta	105,923	33,111	71,804	77	931
Prairie Provinces	290,146	85,157	202,171	239	2,579
Ontario	127,911	50,575	74,105	403	2,828
British Columbia	35,640	19,321	15,611	34	674
Quebec	16,588	3,527	11,665	939	457
Atlantic Provinces	2,349	1,429	883	6	31
The Territories	703	373	317	4	9
Canada	473,337	160,382	304,752	1,625	6,578
			Percent		
Manitoba	100.0	29.3	69.6	0.1	1.0
Saskatchewan	100.0	26.8	72.3	*	0.9
Alberta	100.0	31.3	67.8	*	0.9
Prairie Provinces	100.0	29.4	69.7	*	0.9
Ontario	100.0	39.6	57.9	0.3	2.2
British Columbia	100.0	54.2	43.8	0.1	1.9
Quebec	100.0	21.3	70.3	5.7	2.7
Atlantic Provinces	100.0	60.8	37.6	0.3	1.3
The Territories	100.0	53.0	45.1	0.6	1.3
Canada	100.0	33.9	64.4	0.3	1.4

* less than 0.1 percent.

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-561.

Mother tongue figures for most of the non-British groups are given in Table 11. The 64 percent for the Ukrainians is much below the 90 percent for the French, which can be expected as French is one of the official languages of Canada. It is also lower than the figures for the Chinese, Italians, Indians and Eskimo and the Finns, for all of whom special circumstances may be claimed: the ghetto-like life of the Chinese, a high immigration of Italians and Finns in the fifties, and the difficult problems of acceptance and assimilation for the Indians and Eskimo.

These groups aside, it leaves the Ukrainians in a leading position in knowing their mother tongue, ahead of the Hungarians whose immigration in the late fifties was high, ahead of the Japanese and Slovaks, and much ahead of groups like the Poles, Dutch, Czechs and Scandinavians.

As a result of their intensive efforts, the Ukrainians appear to have done better in retaining their mother tongue than other ethnic groups. They have done this at the same time as they were learning English about as well as the most assimilable groups.

Table 11 Knowledge of Mother Tongue, Non-British Groups, 1961

	Percent
French	90.0
Chinese	83.1
Italian	73.5
Indian and Eskimo	71.4
Finnish	67.8
Ukrainian	64.4
Hungarian	61.1
Japanese	60.3
Slovak	59.1
Polish	45.5
German	40.0
Netherlands	37.5
Austrian	35.0
Jewish	33.5
Russian	30.0
Scandinavian	28.8
Czech	26.3

Source: 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-561.

The figures should, however, be qualified. Many whose mother tongue is Ukrainian do not speak it or do not speak it well, and the number who can also read and write Ukrainian are still smaller. What the figures show is some minimal amount of language retention. If the minimum represents about the same amount of knowledge per person for all groups, more Ukrainians have retained the minimum than others. A widely held minimum may also mean, in view of the considerable investment in language training by the Ukrainians, a deeper knowledge of the language. These qualifications tend to strengthen the premise that the Ukrainians have retained more of their language than other groups.

There may also be a subjective return from the investment in language training; aside from any knowledge of Ukrainian which it imparts to young people, it may develop in them a basic sympathy towards Ukrainians and their problems.

Religious Affiliations

In the 1961 census religious affiliation is defined as:

... the specific religious body, denomination, sect or community reported in answer to the question "what is your religion?" Thus the census figures do not measure church membership or indicate the degree of affiliation with any religious body. Also enumerators were instructed to accept without question the denomination reported by respondents. They were to inquire more fully when "Christian", "Protestant", "Believer", etc., were reported,

its meaning. The bridge between Greek and Roman Catholicism is not a difficult one to cross and many did so; the United Church, organized in Canada, has also a considerable appeal. To such families, affiliation with one of these or some other Canadian denomination appeared to be a reasonable thing to do.

Perhaps the largest number in the adopted denominations are there due to intermarriage; to them the need to maintain a Ukrainian identity has lost even more meaning or has been put under stress and the entire family tends to follow the religion of the non-Ukrainian spouse or some other denomination to which both parents can agree. It should be noted that this is not true of all mixed marriages; particularly, where the non-Ukrainian spouse is a Slav or European born, the Ukrainian partner and the family may still maintain a religious affiliation with one of the mother churches.

Some Baptist and Pentecostal followers were always present among the Ukrainians and in 1961 they numbered 6,113 and 3,372 persons. Many of the Lutherans and Mennonites are likely Germans who emigrated from the Ukraine, though some Ukrainians may be included due to intermarriage; a similar situation would appear to be true for the Jewish denomination. Combined, the minor and "other" denominations numbered 32,473 persons, some 6.8 percent of the total.

Intermarriage

Intermarriage is considered to be the ultimate in assimilation; maintaining a separate identity by a group does not presuppose that intermarriage will not occur, but only that it will be kept back to a level which the group can absorb and still remain identifiable.

Marriages by ethnic groups are shown in Table 13; the data are for the 1961 census and include :

... all husbands and wives who were living together on the census date and thus comprise 95% of all married persons. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics Report, Catalogue No. 99-516.)

Marriage within a group shows the percentage of husbands in an ethnic group whose wives are also of the same group; intermarriage is the inverse of this figure and shows the percentage of husbands whose wives are of a different ethnic origin.

About 62 percent of Ukrainian husbands had Ukrainian wives. This rate of within marriage is below the figures for native Indians and Eskimo, Jews, French, British, Asiatics and Italians. It is, however, considerably above the figures for the Germans, Dutch and other European groups. About 38 percent of Ukrainian husbands are intermarried or have non-Ukrainian wives, of whom 20 percent are classed as "other and not stated" in ethnic origin; most of them are probably Slavs or other Europeans. About 15 percent are British wives and this figure is one of the lower intermarriage rates of the British with another European group; about 3 percent of the wives are French.

The data in Table 13 are not for new marriages being contracted, and it is not possible to determine whether the percentage figures for

within marriage and intermarriage are critical in terms of assimilation. The data in the table are dependent on conditions which existed in the past and may not represent the current situation. However, on this

Table 13 **Marriages by Ethnic Groups, 1961**

	Within Group	Between Groups			
		Total	British Percent	French	Other
Indian and Eskimo	91.8	8.2	4.1	2.7	1.4
Jewish	91.1	8.9	3.6	1.1	4.2
French	88.3	11.7	8.5	—	3.2
British	81.2	17.8	—	5.8	13.0
Asiatic	79.9	20.1	10.0	4.1	6.0
Italian	76.6	23.4	10.8	6.5	6.0
Ukrainian	61.8	38.2	14.6	3.3	20.2
Netherlands	54.9	45.1	31.0	3.3	10.8
German	52.0	48.0	30.7	4.5	12.8
Polish	49.0	51.0	16.4	4.0	30.6
Russian	47.7	52.3	16.4	2.6	33.3
Scandinavian	31.2	68.8	45.1	5.1	18.6
Other European	60.6	39.4	16.0	5.1	18.3
Other and not stated	43.9	56.1	39.4	4.3	12.4
All groups	76.7	23.3	8.5	3.9	10.9

Source: 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 99-516.

account, they are comparable with data on mother tongue and religious affiliation given in Tables 11 and 12 which also reflect historical conditions.

The greatest possibilities for intermarriage occurred when the parents showed little interest in Ukrainian activities or when they were intermarried themselves. Intermarriage also occurred where the parents supported Ukrainian school and church, sometimes as a reaction by young people, but mostly in spite of these institutions, in the normal course of their growing up under Canadian conditions which are strongly assimilative. Some intermarriage, mostly with the British, was brought to Canada by Ukrainian servicemen; also a number of the third immigration had intermarried in Europe.

In an environment which is becoming increasingly urbanized, and which is affected by modern media of communication, the influence of the family is declining and young people are leaving home sooner. The Ukrainian family, church and school, so important in the past in influencing the cohesion of the group, will have a more difficult task to perform if they are to continue to hold their influential positions.

Mother Tongue, Mother Church and Within Marriage Complex

The more favorable within marriage rate for the Ukrainians than for some other comparable groups in Table 13 can be attributed to their

strong rural tradition in the past, some lack of acceptance outside the group, but mostly to the existence of Ukrainian school and church. These, operating through the family, give some knowledge of the language and the culture, a basic sympathy for the aims of the group and provide an environment through which Ukrainian young people of both sexes can meet, at home and away. This premise is supported by statistics; the figure of 62 percent for marriage within the group (Table 13) is close to the figure of 59 percent for affiliation with the mother churches (Table 12) and the figure of 64 percent for knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue (Table 11).

That this is not an isolated phenomena is shown by the fact that a similar correspondence, at least between the marriage rate and mother tongue can also be observed for some other groups (Tables 13 and 11, respectively) : the French (88.3 and 90.0 percent), the Italians (76.6 and 73.5 percent), the Poles (49.0 and 45.5 percent) and the Scandinavians (31.2 and 28.8 percent).

Lagging Educational Levels

Although the Ukrainians value education highly, they have not attained it to the same extent as other Canadians (Table 14). At the top of the scale, in terms of university degrees granted, their educational level is considerably lower than the average for Canada; thus, while 3.4 percent of Canada's population 25 years and over have university degrees, the Ukrainians have only 2.0 percent; similarly, the Ukrainians are also lower in "some university" taken, and in secondary schooling

Table 14 Education Levels by Ethnic Groups, 1961

	Highest Level of Schooling, Population 25 years and over					
	No Schooling	Some Ele- mentary	Some Secondary	Some University	University Degree	
	Percent					
Jewish	100.0	4.0	32.3	48.3	6.4	8.9
Asiatic	100.0	10.8	44.0	35.9	3.6	5.6
Russian	100.0	8.8	47.7	35.1	3.9	4.5
British	100.0	0.7	36.5	54.5	4.1	4.3
Polish	100.0	4.8	55.1	34.1	2.9	3.1
Scandinavian	100.0	0.5	43.0	50.0	3.7	2.8
Netherlands	100.0	0.7	49.1	44.0	3.4	2.8
German	100.0	1.3	49.8	43.4	3.0	2.6
French	100.0	1.3	60.5	33.7	2.1	2.4
Ukrainian	100.0	6.5	55.3	33.7	2.5	2.0
Italian	100.0	4.0	72.6	21.2	1.1	1.1
Indian and Eskimo	100.0	31.5	59.9	8.2	0.3	0.1
Other European	100.0	0.7	54.7	36.8	4.0	3.8
All groups	100.0	1.7	47.1	44.5	3.3	3.4

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 99-516.

which includes training to the end of high school. Conversely they are heavy at the lower end of the educational scale; the 6.5 percent with "no schooling" is several times higher than the average for Canada and is a remnant of their peasant past which they brought to Canada; they are also higher than average in elementary schooling which includes training up to grade eight.

There are several reasons for the educational lag of the Ukrainians. Most important is the low educational level from which they had to start in Canada. The first and largest immigration contained many illiterates and many more who had very little or no schooling, and this still affects their present educational levels. It does so in spite of the higher levels of schooling which the second and particularly the third immigration were able to bring to Canada.

Another reason is that for a long time the Ukrainians were predominantly rural and subject to the limited educational opportunities that a rural environment provides. The country schools provided primary and some secondary schooling for their pupils and this was generally considered sufficient for rural needs. To some Ukrainian parents, a country school education was an achievement as it was more than the parents had been able to attain themselves. Many Ukrainian parents had higher ideals for their children and wanted to give them more education, but the generally low cash incomes from their farms prohibited higher training for all who wanted it. It was only after the Second World War that the Ukrainians could begin to break away on a larger scale from the obstacles to higher education created by their predominantly rural and low income environment.

Table 15 tends to confirm that by 1961 the rural environment, low income cycle has been broken. In the 5 - 19 age group, more than

Table 15 **Index of School Attendance, 5 - 19 Years of Age, by Ethnic Groups, 1961**

	Percent
Jewish	96.3
Japanese	95.2
Chinese	93.4
Polish	86.5
British	85.3
Russian	85.1
Ukrainian	84.4
Scandinavian	83.5
German	81.5
Netherlands	80.6
Italian	77.9
French	75.8
Indian and Eskimo	65.8
All groups	81.3

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 99-516.

84 percent of the Ukrainians are attending school. It is still below the attendance figures for the Jewish, Japanese and Chinese groups, but above the average of 81.3 percent for the total population of Canada. It is in line with the attendance figures for several other groups including the British whose average of 85.3 percent is only slightly higher. For these young people, in terms of the average school attendance for Canada, the educational lag prevalent among their parents seems to have been eliminated. Given that other conditions are favorable, these school age people will be equipped to up-grade the educational levels of the Ukrainians generally and to narrow the gap in higher education between them and Canada's total population.

Lagging Occupational Pattern

Most of the first immigration, and much of the second entered agriculture. Some also joined railroad and construction gangs, bush and mining camps, and others became carpenters, handymen or labourers, all unskilled and semi-skilled occupations requiring mostly a willingness to work. With time, as the Ukrainians accumulated some capital, learned English, or obtained some training, they began to operate businesses, grocery and general stores, boardinghouses, shoeshops, barbershops, garages, farm implement agencies, hotels and restaurants.

Very early a few Ukrainians began to enter the "white collar" occupations as teachers in country schools. In time, with some increase in training, they began to enter other white collar occupations such as the secretarial, clerical and sales jobs. The increase in university training, especially after the Second World War, provided the Ukrainians with a growing number of opportunities to enter professional and managerial jobs and some larger businesses. The trend was strengthened by the third immigration which contained many trained people.

The present occupational pattern of the Ukrainians is given in Table 16. The number in a particular occupation is given in terms of the labour force which is defined as:

... all persons 15 years of age and over who were reported as having a job of any kind, either part time or full time (even if they were not at work) or were reported as looking for work...
(Dominion Bureau of Statistics Report, Catalogue No. 94-515.)

The labour force excludes people 15 years or over such as housewives, students, the infirm, retired persons and others who are not working or looking for work. By definition it excludes also persons under 15 years of age.

Table 16 also gives the number of Ukrainians in each occupation as a percentage of their labour force; these are compared with similar percentages for Canada's population as a whole, which is considered to be the standard of comparison. The disparities in such a comparison may be used to indicate the extent of Ukrainian integration in Canadian life.

In agriculture (Table 16), Ukrainian farmers and farm workers form about 21 percent of the labour force, more than twice as high as in the total population. In numbers and proportion this is the largest single occupational disparity and reflects their still strong agricultural background. Contributing to the disparity is a large number of women who are classed as farm workers.

Logging, fishing, trapping and hunting are, like farming, primary occupations; they have not been traditional to the Ukrainians and in 1961 they were only a third as high in these occupations as in the total population, 0.5 versus 1.8 percent (Table 16).

Among laborers, which include mostly unskilled persons, the percentage of Ukrainians is greater than in the total population, 5.3 compared with 4.9 percent. In mining the Ukrainians comprise mostly miners and mine workers, occupations with limited skills. Mining provided one of the few employment alternatives in their settlement period and during the thirties and their participation in these occupations is nearly a third higher than for the total population, 1.3 compared with 1.0 percent (Table 16).

In the services and recreation occupations as a whole, the Ukrainians form 12.6 percent of their labour force, slightly above the average of 12.4 percent for the total population (Table 16). The Ukrainians are, however, much higher in what have so far been unskilled or semi-skilled occupations such as janitors, waitresses, kitchen helpers, cooks, barbers, boardinghouse keepers and bartenders. On the other hand, their percentage in the armed forces is about half the country's average; the same is true of entertainers, athletes, guides and other recreational occupations which require dealing with people or an audience. The remaining occupations which include firemen, policemen, guards and others also have fewer Ukrainians.

The largest occupation numerically is craftsmen who have 46,078 Ukrainian workers, forming 24 percent of their labour force, about the same percentage as the average for Canada. In some individual trades however, the Ukrainians are much higher than the average, as in the railroad occupations where they are about three times as numerous (1.6 to 0.5 percent); the situation arose because "extra gangs" in railroading provided them with some of the first opportunities for employment outside of farming. Also, the Ukrainians are somewhat higher than the average in trades which include carpenters, tailors, butchers, bakers shoemakers, motor mechanics, machinists, plumbers and other related workers. But in the electrical trades which require more training, in trades which include bricklayers, longshoremen and related workers who tend to be unionized, and in the remaining craft occupations, the Ukrainians are fewer than the average.

In transportation and communications, the Ukrainians are higher in railroad occupations which include locomotive engineers, firemen, signalmen, brakemen and conductors. On the other hand they are fewer in occupations in water and road transportation and in radio, telephone and telegraph communications.

The percentage of Ukrainians is generally lower in the sales and clerical occupations; the disparity is least for stenographers and typists, sales clerks and bookkeepers and cashiers, occupations which have a high

Table 16 **Mains Occupations of Ukrainians, 1961**

	Numbers	Percent of Labour Force	
		Ukrainians	Total Population
Farmers and farm workers	40,439	21.1	10.0
Loggers, fishermen, hunters, trappers	1,034	0.5	1.8
Labourers	10,150	5.3	4.9
Mining	2,399	1.3	1.0
Janitors, waitresses, barbers, kitchen help, others	16,851	8.8	6.9
Armed forces, all ranks	1,640	0.9	1.8
Artists, athletes, entertainers, guides, others	276	0.1	0.2
Firemen, policemen, guards, other services	5,397	2.8	3.4
Total services and recreation	24,164	12.6	12.3
Railroad sectionmen, trackmen, repairmen	3,083	1.6	0.5
Carpenters, butchers, tailors, others	7,886	4.1	4.0
Mechanics, machinists, plumbers, others	9,904	5.1	4.8
Electricians, bricklayers, longshoremen, others	5,359	2.8	3.5
Craftsmen and tradesmen, others	19,846	10.4	11.3
Total craftsmen and tradesmen	46,078	24.0	24.1
Railway engineers, firemen, signalmen, others	1,195	0.6	0.4
Water, road transport, communications	8,355	4.3	5.6
Total transportation and communication	9,550	4.9	6.0
Sales clerks	5,848	3.1	3.6
Commercial travellers, salesmen, other sales	3,097	1.6	2.8
Total sales occupations	8,945	4.7	6.4
Stenographers, typists	5,783	3.0	3.3
Bookkeepers and cashiers	4,028	2.1	2.4
Clerical, other	11,412	6.0	7.2
Total clerical occupations	21,223	11.1	12.9
Managers: advertising, credit, sales, office	937	0.5	1.0
Proprietors, retail, trade, personal services	5,879	3.1	3.0
Proprietors, manufacturing, other business	4,371	2.3	4.3
Total managers and proprietors	11,187	5.9	8.3
School teachers	4,025	2.1	2.6
Engineers, scientists, doctors, lawyers, others	2,542	1.3	2.1
Nurses, accountants, auditors, social workers	1,748	0.9	1.8
Artists, musicians, clergymen, others	4,259	2.2	3.2
Total professional and technical	12,574	6.5	9.7
Occupation not stated	3,937	2.1	2.6
Labour force	191,680	100.0	100.0

Source: 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 94-515.

proportion of females. The occupations require some secondary schooling or some commercial training, but are allowing Ukrainian women ready access to the higher status white collar jobs.

Among managers and proprietors, the Ukrainians are much fewer than the average in the managerial group, 0.5 to 1.0 percent (Table 16). They are slightly ahead, 3.1 compared with 3.0 percent, as proprietors in retail trade, mostly food and general stores, and in personal service industries such as hotels, motels, restaurants and laundries; these are generally small businesses which require little capital, experience or training to enter. Ukrainian proprietors are fewer in manufacturing and other industries where the requirements to enter are usually more difficult.

The professional occupations require as a rule considerable formal education to qualify. As already shown (Table 14), the educational level of the Ukrainians lags behind the average for Canada. To some extent this lag is reflected in the entire occupational pattern of the Ukrainians; it is noticeably reflected in their professional occupations as 6.5 percent of the Ukrainian labour force is classified as professional, while the average for Canada is 9.7 percent or half as high again (Table 16).

The disparity is least for school teaching which has been a respected occupation among the Ukrainians since settlement and is still their professional mainstay (Tables 16 and 17). Teaching attracted young people of both sexes as the educational requirements were at first not high and it provided an opportunity to improve their social and economic status quickly; also, teaching could be used as a stepping stone to university training and to further professional advancement.

In the group of professions including engineers, scientists, doctors, dentists, lawyers, university professors and others, the Ukrainians have a greater disparity than in teaching; these professions require a university degree, and increasingly, post-graduate training to qualify and it is in university training that the Ukrainians are low (Table 14). The disparity is greater still for nurses, accountants, auditors, social workers and others who have not always required university training in the past. For nurses, the disparity may be due to their high immigration from the British Isles after the war, and the preference of Ukrainian girls to train as teachers and secretaries; for accountants, auditors and others, the reasons are not readily apparent.

The professional occupations are shown in detail in Table 17. Some Ukrainians are found in all of them, an indication of the considerable progress made since arriving in Canada when they had very few or no professionals. At the same time, as a result of their lower educational levels, the numbers of their professionals are fewer than they should be. The professional occupations will be of increasing importance as a field of achievement for all Canadians in the future and if the Ukrainians as a group are to keep pace, they will have to enter professional ranks in constantly larger numbers.

Table 17

Professional Occupations of the Ukrainians, 1961

	Numbers		
	Total	Male	Female
School teachers	4,025	1,936	2,089
Nurses, graduate	988	53	935
Professional engineers	870	867	3
Draftsmen	632	600	32
Nurses-in-training	437	11	426
Medical and dental technicians	430	139	291
Clergymen	363	362	1
Accountants and auditors	363	343	20
Physicians and surgeons	349	321	28
Surveyors	280	280	—
Pharmacists	252	193	59
Lawyers and notaries	196	190	6
Musicians and music teachers	182	117	65
Social welfare workers	176	93	83
Authors, editors and journalists	165	120	45
Chemists	158	144	14
Dentists	147	139	8
Teachers and instructors	123	67	56
Commercial artists	115	93	22
Professors and college principals	82	73	9
Photographers	80	69	11
Agricultural professionals	72	71	1
Geologists	59	57	2
Interior decorators, window dressers	56	24	32
Religious workers	53	25	28
Architects	52	52	—
Librarians	50	20	30
Physical and Occupational therapists	42	19	23
Brothers	42	42	—
Dieticians	41	1	40
Actuaries and statisticians	39	34	5
Nuns	38	—	38
Economists	30	24	6
Biologists	29	24	5
Osteopaths and chiropractors	24	24	—
Optometrists	23	23	—
Artists and art teachers	22	18	4
Veterinarians	21	21	—
Judges and magistrates	12	12	—
Computer programmers	11	11	—
Physicists	9	9	—
Other professionals	1,436	1,031	405
	12,574	7,752	4,822

Source: 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 94-515.

The Education, Occupation and Income Complex

The general conclusion which can be drawn is that in 1961, the Ukrainians were not fully integrated into Canadian life if integration is measured by their educational levels and occupational status. Compared with the total population of Canada, too few Ukrainians

have the higher levels of education and too many still have little or no schooling; occupationally, too many Ukrainians are farmers and farm workers, too many others are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, too many are in the low status "blue collar" trades, such as janitors, carpenters, butchers and bakers and too few are in the more skilled trades and in the "white collar", sales, clerical, managerial and professional jobs. As education and occupation have an important influence on the earning power of individuals, it can be assumed that the incomes of Ukrainians are generally lower and that in this respect they also are not fully integrated into Canadian life.

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA'S CAPITAL

As a capital, Ottawa satisfies certain national needs. It is located in Ontario but is adjacent to and overflows into the province of Quebec, so that it represents the two founding races; it is sufficiently removed from the United States, and it is outside the main east-west stream of Canadian activity, a detachment which is believed to be essential for good government. As a city, Ottawa is less industrialized than it might be; manufacturing and the main immigration flows of this century passed it by and its main economic base was confined to logging, lumbering and the paper industries. After the Second World War Ottawa has relied on the expanding function of government for its main source of growth.

The small Ukrainian community which was established in Ottawa before the First World War lived mostly to itself, out of touch with other communities in Canada and participating little in government employment. This was changed after the Second World War as growing employment opportunities began to attract Ukrainians from all parts of Canada into the secretarial, clerical, administrative and professional occupations of the Federal Government; to Ukrainians with training, Ottawa has come to provide a unique set of "white collar" employment opportunities not available in any other Canadian city.

Ottawa's Ethnic Groups

Being in Eastern Ontario, and including part of the province of Quebec, the French population in Greater Ottawa (Table 18) of 175,374, outranks each of the British groups. Also, outside the main streams of Canadian activity, it has not attracted as many immigrants from continental Europe as other large Canadian cities. In Ottawa the three force groups comprise some 15 percent of the population, while in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Windsor and Calgary, the average is over 30 percent.

There were 2,985 Ukrainians in Ottawa in 1961. The first of them arrived after the turn of the century from Bukovina and Galicia and worked as laborers on the railroad, as waiters in hotels and at various unskilled jobs; many set up small businesses of their own, but in this early period, very few were able to obtain government employment.

Towards the end of the thirties a few professionals, coming from outside Ottawa, obtained positions with the government. During the Second World War, many Ukrainians serving in Canada's armed forces were stationed in Ottawa and were able to obtain civilian jobs with the government after the war was over. At the same time, Ukrainian secretarial, clerical and professional workers began to join government ranks in increasing numbers, and Ottawa's Universities began to attract some Ukrainian students from the outside. The influx increased and diversified the original Ukrainian population as some of the newcomers were Canadian born and others were from the second and third immigrations. But in 1961 the Ukrainians were still less than one percent of the total population of Ottawa.

Table 18 Ethnic Origin of the Population, Greater Ottawa, 1961

French	175,374
English	83,497
Irish	59,928
Scottish	42,465
German	12,300
Italian	9,094
Netherlands	5,585
Polish	4,243
Jewish	3,649
Scandinavian	3,318
Welsh	3,302
Ukrainian	2,985
Russian	1,449
Other European	8,715
Asiatics	3,537
Others	10,309
	429,750

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-545.

Religious Affiliations of Ottawa Ukrainians

Due to the large French and Irish populations, the Roman Catholic denomination predominates in Greater Ottawa, and this feature is also true of the Ukrainians, of whom the greatest number, about a third of the total were affiliated with this faith in 1961 (Table 19).

Table 19 Religious Affiliations of the Ukrainians, Greater Ottawa, 1961

Roman Catholic	935
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	658
Greek Orthodox	558
United Church	359
Anglican Church of Canada	264
Jewish	50
Presbyterian	49
Baptist	31
Lutheran	14
Pentecostal	11
Others	56
	2,985

Source : 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 92-558.

If the United Church, Anglican and "other" denominations are added to the Roman Catholic, only 40 percent remain with the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic and the Greek Orthodox denominations. For all

Ukrainians this figure is 60 percent, indicating that religious assimilation in Ottawa has preceded further than elsewhere in Canada.

Ukrainians in Parliament

As Canada's capital, Ottawa is the home of the Ukrainian members of Parliament while attending sessions of the House of Commons and the Senate. To the end of 1966 there were twelve members in the House of Commons (Table 20), representing seven different constituencies. There were also three senators, two from Manitoba and one from Saskatchewan.

The list of members of parliament in Table 20 represents all the major political parties that have existed or still exist and indicates the diversity of Ukrainian political thinking. It is noteworthy that all the members were long-time residents of their constituencies or of nearby communities and that their constituencies had large numbers of Ukrainians or other immigrant groups. A further feature is that four of the seven constituencies have been rural, reflecting the farm tradition of the Ukrainians and to some extent the greater strength of the rural rather than the urban vote. Redistribution will lessen the importance of the rural vote and may affect the election of Ukrainian members in the future.

The appointment of the first senator in 1955 occurred almost 30 years after the election of the first federal member in 1926. Traditionally senators are appointed on party lines for party service. More

Table 20 **Ukrainian Members of Parliament**

Party	Name	Period Served	Constituency or Province
House of Commons			
United Farmers	Michael Luchkovich	1926 to 1935	Vegreville, Alta.
Social Credit	Anthony Hlynka	1940 to 1949	Vegreville, Alta.
Liberal	John Decore	1949 to 1957	Vegreville, Alta.
Social Credit	Peter Stefura	1957 to 1958	Vegreville, Alta.
Social Credit	Ambrose Holowach	1953 to 1958	Edmonton East, Alta.
P.C.	William Skoreyko	1958 to —	Edmonton East, Alta.
C.C.F.	Fred Zaplitney	1945 to 1949	Dauphin, Man.
C.C.F.	Fred Zaplitney	1953 to 1958	Dauphin, Man.
P.C.	Nicholas Mandziuk	1957 to —	Marquette, Man.
P.C.	Victor Yacula	1958	Springfield, Man.
P.C.	Dr. John Slogan	1958 to 1964	Springfield, Man.
P.C.	Michael Starr	1952 to —	Ontario, Ont.
P.C.	Dr. John Kucherepa	1957 to 1964	High Park, Ont.
Senate			
Liberal	William Wall	1955 to 1961	Man. (Winnipeg)
P.C.	John Hnatyshyn	1959 to —	Sask. (Saskatoon)
P.C.	Dr. Paul Yuzyk	1962 to —	Man. (Winnipeg)

Note : P.C. - Progressive Conservative; C.C.F. - Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.

Source : Canada Year Book, various years from 1926.

recently in some appointments, there has been a tendency to consider the ethnic background of the appointee as well. In doing so the appointments helped to give the Ukrainians recognition as a constituent Canadian ethnic group.

The members of parliament have taken part in debates concerning the general Canadian issues of the time, served on various parliamentary committees and undertaken special assignments for the Government of Canada. On occasion, and generally on a non-party line, the members raised Ukrainian topics on the floor of the House of Commons or Senate. The following is an excerpt from a speech delivered by Mr. Mandziuk:

Mr. Speaker, may I have leave of the house to draw to its attention that to-day, March 10, 1961, is a day of great significance to Canadians of Ukrainian origin being the centennial of the death of their greatest hero and poet, Taras Shevchenko. His name is worshipped by 45 million Ukrainians wherever they may be found and by some half million of that race in Canada who have integrated themselves into the Canadian way of life and who can be counted as constituents of most of the members of this House . . .

. . . To his immortal name, those of his origin in Canada are erecting a monument on the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature in Winnipeg because as a poet he not only enriched the literature of his own people, but inspired them with new hope and freedom . . . (House of Commons Debates, Vol. III 1960-61, p. 2856).

From 1958 to 1963, the Hon. Michael Starr was Minister of Labour, a senior cabinet post in the Federal Government. It was another and the most recent "first" for the Ukrainians in extending their activities in Canadian political life, a process which was begun when they elected representatives to local school boards and municipal councils.

THE UKRAINIAN STORY

The story begins in September of 1891 when the first two Ukrainian settlers landed in Montreal and proceeded west. It stops but does not end seventy years later, when after three immigrations their numbers had increased to 473,000 and they had made a niche for themselves in Canadian society. For the first fifty years most of them lived on farms in the Prairie Provinces and under the influence of a rural environment their ethnic awareness began to grow and develop. After the Second World War, urbanization caught up with them, helped to distribute them more widely across Canada and changed their lives profoundly.

As their stay in Canada lengthened, the Ukrainians began to accept the mosaic concept of Canadian nationality. They attempted consciously to establish themselves as a constituent element in this mosaic by trying to preserve essential characteristics of their own culture and by trying to participate widely in Canadian life. It can be said that they have done both with some success.

Some 60 percent of the Ukrainians have retained a knowledge of the mother language, maintained an affiliation with the mother churches and married within the group, and this appears to be more than other comparable ethnic groups have been able to do. They did this at the same time as their population had become more than 75 percent Canadian born, when 95 percent had learned to speak English, when 97 percent had become Canadian citizens and when they were participating to an increasing extent in Canadian political affairs.

Elsewhere they have less successfully integrated into the Canadian nationality. In education the Ukrainians lag significantly behind other Canadians, though it was not because they lacked the will to learn. The first immigrants came with very little schooling or none at all and their long rural stay and low incomes prevented rapid improvements in their educational level. Occupationally the Ukrainians also lag; compared with other Canadians, there are too many of them in farming and in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and too few in managerial, professional and other "while collar" employment.

While the Ukrainians were able to develop and maintain a separate identity under predominantly rural conditions, it will be more difficult to do the same in the urban environment in which they now live; at the same time the opportunities which city life offers should make it easier for the Ukrainians to reduce the educational and occupational disparities which have become rooted among them. The challenge to the future growth and development of the Ukrainians will be to overcome these important disparities and still continue to maintain a distinct identity.