SLAVS IN CANADA

VOLUME ONE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON CANADIAN SLAVS

INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON CANADIAN SLAVS

Participants of the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs.

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Proceedings of the First National Conference
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June 9-12, 1965

Banff, Alberta

Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs

Edmonton

1966

PRINTED BY
LA SURVIVANCE PRINTING LTD.
10010 - 109 STREET, EDMONTON, ALBERTA
PRINTED IN CANADA

PREFACE

The idea for the Conference on Canadian Slavs originated during the fall of 1964 in the Inter-Departmental Committee on Slavonic and Soviet Studies of the University of Alberta. After ascertaining by means of a questionnaire that there was sufficient interest in the Conference, the Inter-Departmental Committee established a five-man Conference Committee to make the necessary arrangements in conjunction with the University's Department of Extension. Professor B. R. Bociurkiw was chosen as Convener, Professor Yar Slavutych served as Programme Chairman, Professor R. C. Elwood handled financial affairs, Professor G. H. Wright directed publicity and local arrangements, and Professor A. Malycky was Calgary representative.

The most difficult part of planning the Conference proved to be its financing. Representations were made by the Committee to private foundations, provincial governments, national agencies, private individuals or corporations, and to the Board of Governors of the University of Alberta. The Committee was gratified that it received substantial financial support from the Province of Alberta, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, the University of Alberta, and from Mr. Stephen B. Roman, President of Denison Mines Limited.

The First National Conference on Canadian Slavs was held during June 9-12, 1965, at the Banff Centre for Continuing Education. Over one hundred persons heard the eighteen inter-disciplinary papers presented by scholars and civic leaders from across Canada. Among the distinguished guests attending the Conference were the Hon. Ambrose Holowach, Provincial Secretary of Alberta, Dr. Stanley Haidasz, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Hon. Senator Paul Yuzyk, and the Director of Research for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Z. W. Sametz.

In addition to the inter-disciplinary sessions and a panel discussion on the "Canadian Schools and the Slavic Linguistic and Cultural Heritage," the programme also included a banquet sponsored by the Government of the Province of Alberta. Dr. Herbert S. Armstrong, President of the University of Alberta at Calgary, served as Chairman of the banquet, which was addressed by the Hon. Ambrose Holowach and Dr. Stanley Haidasz, M.P.

It was the consensus of the participants that future conferences should be held every two years; the next to convene in Ottawa and/or

Montreal so as to coincide with the Centennial of Canadian Confederation. To organize this Second Conference on Canadian Slavs, the Banff participants authorized the establishment of an Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs to be composed of elected representatives from interested Canadian universities, and concluded by passing a resolution stating the objectives of the newly formed Inter-University Committee. A complete list of members of the Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs and the text of the resolution are published at the end of the proceedings.

The Editorial Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the University of Alberta Publication Committee for financial assistance toward the publication of these proceedings as well as to Dr. H. A. Hargreaves of the Department of English for his editorial touches and proof-reading.

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PRIME MINISTER — PREMIER MINISTRE

I am pleased that Dr. Stanley Haidasz will attend the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs at Banff.

May I offer the cordial greetings of the Government of Canada, together with my personal good wishes to all in attendance at this important Conference. Canada has been greatly enriched by the contribution of Canadians of Slav origin to our national development. I am confident that the programme of the Conference will provide interesting and stimulating discussions.

With best wishes to all for a memorable Conference.

L. B. Pearson

Ottawa.

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CANADIAN SLAVS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

By STANLEY HAIDASZ, M.P.,

Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State
for External Affairs

It is both a pleasure and a privilege for me to have this opportunity of speaking to the participants of the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs. The Conference theme "Canadian Slavs: Problems and Prospects" is, I think, both timely and appropriate. Naturally, it is a subject which affects you individually and collectively in a vital way, and which has interested too few Canadians in the past. Because of the present political developments at home and abroad, this subject merits more attention and research. I appreciate this opportunity to tell you some of my own personal observations and hopes on this subject as a parliamentarian with a special interest in foreign policy.

Both in the formulation of Canadian domestic and foreign policy and in the task of obtaining wide public understanding and support for these policies, it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of all aspects of Canadian life. The theme of your National Conference is one of these important aspects of our life in this country. The University of Alberta Inter-departmental Committee on Slavonic and Soviet Studies is to be commended for its initiative in sponsoring this interesting conference. I am impressed with the high calibre of the participants and of their profound knowledge of the topics of discussion. I am happy to see so many Canadians of Slavic origin, experts not only in Slavic studies, but also clergymen, lawyers, engineers, scientists, businessmen, social workers.

The primary responsibility of the university community must always be to itself, to its own ancient and honoured traditions of freedom and expert scholarship. By remaining true to its own heritage of scholarship and learning, and the relentless pursuit of truth, the university community will respond to the great new demands which confront our contemporary world. At this conference you are studying the historical, educational, cultural and political aspects of Canadians of Slavic origin. You are meeting also to study the implications of these aspects of Canadian life at a time when the internal pressures on Canadian universities have never been greater. Too many projects, too few professors; too many legitimate needs and too few dollars. This is a cruel dilemma facing Canadian universities and Canadian scholars today. And yet, in spite of this dilemma, I think we all recognize that the evolution of the international character of all our institutions today demands every determination and every sacrifice of which we are capable. Whatever may be the difficulties, you, our

professors and scholars, must be in the vanguard of mankind's march towards a just internal and international order.

It is claimed that our Canadian society and indeed our civilization have come to a crisis point of unprecedented gravity caused by a failure in communication and understanding between peoples of different races, backgrounds and continents. The rapidity of change in virtually all areas of human endeavour today has greatly increased our interdependence and made our task of living together in peace with our fellow-men much more complex, much more hazardous, and much more imperative than ever before.

The superlative need, I think, is for knowledge and understanding. It is here that the university community must accept its primary and fundamental responsibilities to provide more knowledge and more understanding, so as better to lay the foundation stones for the new international situation in which we find ourselves. I think it is probably true to say that, when the average graduate of a Canadian university thinks about international affairs, he does so essentially in terms of North America or the North Atlantic triangle, or perhaps the older Commonwealth and even perhaps only Western Europe. In these areas he has a certain background, a certain feeling for history, a certain depth in political theory, and, in general, some basic information. But if he hears or reads about Central and Eastern Europe, about the Slavic cultures, he has little or no background. He has few terms of reference and few points of departure; and he reads what is offered without perhaps enough critical facility or capacity for judgment.

I think it is here that one can see most clearly the relationship between Slavists and international affairs as far as Canadians are concerned. The academic community performs the invaluable function of increasing the basic fund of knowledge in Canada, about developments in international affairs and the problems and attitudes of foreign countries. Slavists and their students can play an immense role in increasing this basic fund of knowledge in Canada. Canada's attitude towards Eastern Europe has traditionally been one of almost complete indifference, reflecting our overwhelming concentration on the North Atlantic triangle and on Commonwealth affairs. Eastern Europe, I regret to say, remains rather low on the scale of priorities of interest in the activity of Canadians, although in our generation, both world wars originated in Eastern and Central Europe. Furthermore, before World War II, cultural relations with Eastern Europe hardly existed at all. For Canadians, Eastern Europeans were peasants, strange persons, people speaking unknown languages. This lack of knowledge of the languages, history and the culture of Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians and other Slavic nations is reflected in the paucity of news about these people in Canadian newspapers, radio programs and television shows.

However, since World War II this Canadian attitude towards Eastern Europe and its people has been gradually changing in view of the heavy post-war immigration. According to the 1961 national census, Ukrainians numbered about 473,000 which is 2.6 percent of

the total population of Canada. Poles, approximately 323,000, have 1.8 percent of the total population. In all there are 1,057,670 Slavs. We also learned from the last census in 1961 that 44 percent of Canadians are of British origin. This includes those of Scottish and Irish forebears. Thirty percent of Canadians are of French origin. But 26 percent of Canadians are from many different origins. This new element is exerting more and more a significant influence in music, art, education, politics and sports. It represents a valuable contribution which will have in the future a still more profound impact on the intellectual, cultural and political life of Canada. That is why we need knowledge and more research on the actual and potential contributions of Slavs of Canadian origin to life in Canada. A greater knowledge and better understanding of the contribution of Canadians of Slavic origin have become very urgent at this moment in the history of Canada, as can be ascertained from the briefs from ethnic groups in the preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Until there exist in our universities stronger centres for studying these contributions and problems of Canadians of Slavic origin, from which more research can be done, and until more knowledgeable experts can be assembled and more graduate and under-graduate courses can be formulated, we shall not develop in Canada that informed public opinion and general acceptance which in our democracy must constitute the bedrock upon which our domestic and external policies are formulated, and upon which national unity and the harmonious development of our multi-ethnic society can be achieved. This need must therefore be a concern of all Canadian universities and, indeed, of all Canadian institutes of learning. It must also be a concern of the federal government, and in view of our present federal system, the concern of the provincial governments. The urgency of this matter demands a new sense of commitment and co-operation and indeed quick action, by all levels of government and all strata of our Canadian society. I was interested in learning about the Hamlin-Lalande study conducted by the Canadian Universities Foundation which revealed the inadequacy of our universities, in library resources, specialized personnel, and course of instruction, as well as in research, in respect of Slavic studies. This study strongly urged government and university action to remedy these defects. We need to get on with this action, and I hope this Conference will mark an important step in encouraging this action.

I would now like to make a few remarks on certain developments at home and abroad which have presented Canada with a major challenge in statecraft and diplomacy. In facing and coping with this challenge, Canadian Slavists may be helpful.

Canadian foreign policy today is being carefully re-examined. Our foreign policy is not only getting more involved with domestic implications such as Canadian uranium sales contracts and the Quebec Provincial Government's insistence upon making cultural agreements with France. But above all the Sino-Soviet split and the process of de-Stalinization in Eastern Europe should be forcing us to focus greater attention on this part of the world. These striking

changes in the Communist world, complicated by de Gaulle's new foreign policy, point to the urgent need to study their implications and our international position.

The direction that will be adopted by Eastern Europe might be influenced by the attitudes that Canada and her allies will take in view of these new developments in the Communist world. Moreover, Canada is faced with a great influx of all kinds of Communist reading material, visiting scholars and other inquisitive and curious persons from Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Canada has inadequately staffed diplomatic trade missions or none at all in Eastern Europe.

All of these developments and problems should be a subject of more intensive study and action. More expert knowledge and understanding are necessary for the conduct of an effective foreign policy. Canadian Slavists can, I believe, play a helpful role in this study and in the training of Canadian diplomats and external affairs personnel. Perhaps this conference and other conferences of Canadian Slavists can sound out more deeply the many possibilities of effective assistance in the formulation of Canadian foreign policy and formation of Canadian diplomats.

In conclusion, may I say that since the history of Slavic nations is filled with evidence of faith in God, and fierce love of one's country, and if Slavic nations have a mission to perform, then you are the missionaries who can teach Canadians how to love God, and to love one's country. This may well be, when all is said and done, the greatest contribution of Canadian Slavs to Canada.

CANADIANS IN THE MAKING: POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE OF THE IMMIGRANT*

By SAVA D. BOSNITCH

University of New Brunswick

In 1604, seventy-nine whites and an unknown number of aborigines inhabited the area now known as Canada. Since that time, the first known founding races, the Indians and the Eskimo, have faded away. Whether the palefaced genocidal intruders or fate have relegated them to the dustbins of history is irrelevant. What is important is that Canada was populated by imported Europeans. Thus Canada became a land of immigrants who, in successive waves, arrived in this "land of opportunity." After the autochtonous elements departed from the scene, Canada changed her ethnic composition three times. The French who were the genuine white "enfants du sol" were conquered themselves by the British. Through the consequences of this conquest, Canada acquired her bicultural character. Later, united in the belief that a good Indian is a dead Indian, the French and the British jointly discovered and agreed that the snow in Canada covered more than just a few yards (quelques arpents de neige). They also felt, despite the tremendous number of mooseheads per capita, that life was somehow lonely. Even the races known for their propensity for splendid isolation and taciturnity soon tired of the Northern visions. To open up the wide spaces and to promote togetherness, more people were needed. There were already more French around than the British desired. When the British islanders or Loyalists were reluctant or not available, the import of lesser breeds was of necessity tolerated. This was the beginning of the "tutti-frutti" landings. This "Third Element," a more dignified collective label for this most heterogeneous Group-Without-a-Name, transformed Canada into a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religious society. (The resulting confusion of tongues and the ethnic mosaic pattern was soon recognized. A century ago, it inspired Henry Joly de Lotbiniere to suggest the rainbow as an appropriate emblem for Canada.)

For a while almost anyone who wanted to become a Canadian qualified if he could obtain, buy or work for a passage and survive the crossing. Thus, with exceptions to confirm the rule, dregs of all countries united to become new Canadians. It was a "sauve qui peut" mob of desperadoes who hoped Canada would prove their promised land. Unfortunately the life of the landed immigrant seldom resembled a terrestrial paradise. In fact, it was often nasty and brutish. Faced with the challenge, the immigrant responded as well as he could. God granted many the serenity to accept things they could

*This is an abridged version of the original paper. Ed.

not change, the opportunity and courage to change things they could, but too many lacked wisdom and attempted, in Sisyphean effort, to change things that could not be changed. First things came first—food, shelter, clothing, les filles du roi, liquid inspiration and father confessors. Services were lavishly provided on the standard pioneer level: do it yourself. Behind every tree there lurked an ideologically innocent Red. (At the time, among the peacekeeping forces, the slogan Better Red than Dead was not socially acceptable nor popular).

Many perished. Some gave up and returned to Europe when they could. (Later, multitudes trekked south. It seemed it was easier to be a foreigner there. Everything in God's own country also seemed, even to many Canadian-born, bigger and better.) Others became criminals or went insane. The fittest survived, by hook or crook. And in deep hibernation snored the muses. (No one saw any point in hurrying as everyone knew the distant twentieth century would 'belong' to Canada.) For years and years, time stood still. Finally the mechanics of daily life were under control. Having learned to enjoy many of their initial frustrations, the established founding races relaxed. Gradually their motley foundlings adjusted and settled. Through miscegenation a hybrid populace grew. As the imported human raw material was underdeveloped and often resembled a tabula rasa, the cultural superiority of the founding races was willingly accepted. On the reluctant individuals and groups all the pressures of regimentation and conformity were brought to bear. In the long run, apart from rare cultural and linguistic outlaws, no one could permanently swim against the stream. (Here and there one could see the obvious connection between the "race" and radicalism of the recalcitrant and between their religious beliefs and the movements of social withdrawal these beliefs created.)

Britannia still ruled the waves. On the empire the sun never set. Yankee imperialist aggressors did not yet exist even in the most vivid imagination. As the American neighbours were not yet motorized, Canada remained outside their reach. The Canucks lived in a cul de sac free from all foreign entanglements. The restless and the otherwise unemployable, or those whose patriotic umbilical cord was still tied to Britain, would occasionally sail to fight some British wars. The French were having nightmares in the Procrustean bed which, of course, was made in England. But their goal of survival was achieved. For better or worse, they could not be assimilated. The same applied to many other more recent arrivals.

The inflow of foundlings continued to be regulated, as it ought to be, by the native guardians of the gates. As a rule, a cheap factotum was always more popular with the employers than among the native industrial reserve army of the unemployed. Each arrival, an apprentice Canadian, was tacitly sentenced to forced labour of fluctuating duration. As the native welcoming parties displayed consumate skill and ingenuity in deploying their chore boys, few, if any, escaped this compulsory purgatory of citizenship. The immigrants endured what could not be cured, knowing from experience that it could be worse. Most of them learned that the first immigrant gen-

eration had to be sacrificed to pave the way for their progeny. (Just as in their alien and primitive legends, living human beings had to be built into foundations of gigantic edifices to make these strong and durable!) The expanding economy was built on their suffering. Most immigrants have paid dearly for their entry into this land of opportunity.

Scattered from coast to coast and populating a rich and fertile subcontinent, inaccessible to would-be enemies and conquerors, Canadians went on living in the customary native way. The slogan "Enjoy yourself, it is later than you think" took hold and shook much of the founding races' laudable frugality and moral tenacity. Money became a most cherished possession as it bought leisure and pleasure. Eggheads were not listed on the stock market, where much of the national life was pulsating. So little for the mind was a nation-wide result. That national god, The Car, gained dedicated worshippers everywhere. A quiet revolution was taking place and an "affluent" society came into existence.

The post-war influx of immigrants consisted to a large extent of internationally recognized refugees, the so-called displaced persons. (All the Slavs belong to this group.) They represented some of the jetsam and flotsam generated by the apocalyptical storm caused by the right and left totalitarian aggression, and washed on these hospitable arctic shores. Many other newcomers arrived, in quest of greater opportunity. They all went the way of those who preceded them.

This brings an intentionally irreverent sketch of the anatomy of immigration (as seen through the eyes of so many marginal men) up to the present when we have all discovered our own America in Canada.

The last war generated such prosperity for those who stayed at home and for those who returned from the battlefields that the majority had never had it so good. Many immigrants are keeping up with the Canadian-born Joneses. But a man does not live by bread alone. The immigrant especially needs more to become happy on this continent where the pursuit of happiness has even been constitutionally guaranteed to every citizen for so long (in the U.S.A.). Until recently it was possible to maintain the status quo with little effort through "scientifically" developed individual selfishness and the widely cultivated collective passion of indifference. But the world is both shrinking and changing. The masses are everywhere, if not in revolt, in turmoil. Things extraneous to Canadian experiences are coming close to home. Many things that "could not happen here" might occur. In the global struggle for men's minds, it is imperative that Canada secure unconditional loyalty and the fullest political allegiance of the immigrant. (To state the obvious, Canada can ill afford to alienate or lose any of its residents.)

Therefore, it is urgently necessary to remove as many as possible of the known obstacles to the achievement of this paramount goal. It is also indispensable that everything possible be done to encourage the inception and the growth of the immigrants' allegiance. So far this has been done only on a limited scale. The allegiance of the im-

migrant can not be manufactured from coast to coast merely by the individual good will of private persons, or even various corporate private do-gooders. It is only Canada that can help its foster children to belong, to sink their roots deep into this foreign soil and enable them all, at long last, to feel at home.

Therefore, I think that we all should, as respectfully as frankly, request urgent aid from OUR government for this Pan-Canadian task. I am taking the liberty of suggesting the dire necessity of a Royal Commission on Immigration. The Canadians in the Making fully deserve it. The founding races have nothing to lose, but a whole imported world to gain. In addition, in view of the fact that immigration is indissolubly intermingled with the state of national education, may a "foreigner" also suggest that it is high time to nationalize Canadian education! Only through such a long-term approach can Canada hope to eradicate preposterous ethnic arrogance of the would-be superior races, check their "cultural" imperialism and combat the rampant and ubiquitous inter-group discrimination based on prejudice. Short of psychosurgery, which is not yet feasible, the total war against prejudice through education is the only way to ensure the integration of the immigrant and keep him both happy and politically reliable here.

At a time when the founding races are bent on home improving, it would be in their interest to consult all members of the family and not to redesign and partition the national home without the consent of the majority of its occupants. Forcing the "sub-culture" dwellers of Canada underground, into the basement of the proposed new national home, is a project similar to the one that John A. Macdonald rejected in the following manner: "I believe it would be impossible if it were tried, and it would be foolish and wicked if it were possible." Thus if the founding races do not wish to build the new and better Canadian mansion on a weak foundation, they should, in my opinion (in this poly-cultural, poly-ethnic, multi-religious and polyglot society), engrave on its corner stone and practice the principles of "pluralism on the basis of equality." The human dynamite constrained in the post-war immigrants' ghetto would be thus gradually "tranquilized" (without drugs which are so popular among the natives). The immigrants would be eased into more constructive attitudes and integrated. For such a Canada, every immigrant will stand on guard!

In the past, the Fathers of Confederation purportedly "buildeth better than they knew." Can we expect always to be so lucky, if indeed we have been? It is most important that the present architects of Canada's future know "better" what they are doing. Bungling could spell disaster. They ought to be absolutely certain that the best plan, which under the circumstances can be selected, is in the end actually chosen. It is imperative that an appealing social purpose be provided for all Canadians. The immigrants, especially in their second generation, are in desperate need of a new, collective cause. Then, and only then, will this divided house perhaps achieve the needed unity on the basis of supra-ethnic solidarity. This accomplished, the twentieth century may, in its last minutes, still "belong" to Canada.

POLES IN CANADA

By WILLIAM B. MAKOWSKI

St. Catharines, Ontario

The census for 1961 shows that there are 323,517[1] Canadians of Polish origin now living in this country. They are active in every phase of Canadian life: in the House of Commons, in provincial and municipal politics, in business and in the universities.

The history of Poles in Canada dates back almost two hundred years. The immigration of Poles to this country, unlike that of other ethnic groups, occurred in a series of waves, and was a reflection of the political and economic situation in East-Central Europe.

The first phase of immigration to Canada was political and occurred between 1776 and 1890. This immigration was composed mainly of members of an unsuccessful Polish uprising against Russia, Austria and Prussia. The second phase of immigration was an economic one. Immigrants poured into Canada between 1890 and 1928. Most of them left Poland because of the economic situation in Europe; however, a few left for political reasons as well. The third group arrived in Canada during and after the Second World War. This last phase was the most diversified and consisted of people from all walks of life.

In the early period there were several Poles who played an important role in helping to shape Canada's cultural, economic and political life. The first Polish immigrant was August Frank Globenski who arrived in this country in 1776 with the Hesse-Heynau[2] regiment; after his discharge, he decided to remain in Canada. He settled first in the town of Vercheres, Quebec. Two years later he moved to St. Eustache where he established a drugstore; this was the first Polish business undertaking in Canada.

Globenski had three sons who distinguished themselves during the war of 1812. One of them, Maximilian, attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Maximilian's son, Charles August Maximilian, was born in 1830; he was elected to the House of Commons in 1875.

Another Pole who distinguished himself in politics was Alexander Edward Kierzkowski. A member of a bloody but unsuccessful Polish uprising in 1830, Kierzkowski arrived in Canada from France in 1841 and settled in St. Hyacinthe, Quebec. In 1867 he was elected to the House of Commons where he served until his death in 1870.

There was another Pole who arrived in Canada about the same time as Kierzkowski. This man achieved the most fame a Pole in

1. **The Dominion Bureau of Statistics**, Ottawa, 1961.
2. **Bulletin des Recherches Historiques**, Vol. 36, 1932, p.705.

Canada has ever attained. He was Casimir Stanislaus Gzovski.[3] It is impossible in this short paper to list all of his achievements, but his impact on Canada's economic, cultural and political life was extraordinarily great, and unrivalled by anyone of Slavic origin in Canada.

He is credited with considerable building of railroads in Ontario. Six hundred miles of track were laid under his supervision. He built seven bridges, one of which crosses the Thames River in London, Ontario. He built six harbours and laid out Yonge Street between Toronto and Simcoe.[4] The well-known International Bridge which crosses Niagara Falls at Fort Erie was engineered by him.

Gzovski did not confine himself to the industrial field only. He was a member of the University of Toronto Senate for almost twenty years, President of Wycliffe College, Toronto, a Visitor of the Royal College of Kingston and Honorary Aide-de-Camp to Queen Victoria. He also acted for some time as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. For his work and achievements, Gzovski was knighted by Queen Victoria.

Another early immigrant was Edvin F. T. Brokovski, a teacher in Ontario. He also served in Canada's Militia during the Fenian raids. In 1870 he moved to Manitoba and settled in Winnipeg, which was then a small village. He became editor of the **Manitoba Gazette** and eventually its owner.

Another group of Poles in Canada was connected with the revolution in Santo Domingo. Some Polish regiments were sent to that island to quell a Negro uprising, and a large number of them were killed or died of diseases. After French capitulation, some soldiers tried to go to the United States, but were captured by the British navy.[5] The English took advantage of these experienced, bold soldiers and incorporated them by force into their own army. These ex-Polish soldiers fought in the Anglo-American War of 1812-13. One of the regiments, de Vatteville, (Swiss infantry), was composed almost entirely of Poles. In an attack on Fort Erie, on August, 14, 1813, the regiment was almost completely routed.

The des Meurons regiment also had a considerable number of Poles. It was from this regiment that Lord Selkirk formed a company to protect the Scottish settlers from the aggressive actions of the North West Fur Company. This company consisted of one hundred men and was under the command of Captain D. Orsomens. Some of the Poles in this company, namely Bartowicz, Jankowski and Bedowicz settled permanently in the Red River District. These early Polish immigrants, though active, were too small in number to survive as a group.

Polish economic immigrants began to arrive in 1850. They came mainly from the Poznan, Gdansk and Pomerania areas. These immigrants also deserve credit for helping to build Canada. They built roads, cut forests and established homesteads. Unknown, forgotten, often exploited, they nevertheless left an imprint on the history of

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3. Dr. V. J. Kaye, **Slavic Groups in Canada**, Winnipeg, 1951, p. 25.
4. **Ibid.**
5. B. J. Zubrzycki, **Polacy w Kanadzie, Toronto, 1947, p.15.**

Canada. The difficulties encountered by these "most wretched men of Europe" were great; they were unfamiliar with the English language, they had no funds with which to start their own businesses, they came from a different socio-cultural society, and they were unused to the mechanization of Canada's industry. Thus integration into the Canadian community was very slow.

The Kashubs were a group from Poland who settled in Central and Northern Ontario in 1844 (1864?). This settlement was named Wilno, and is located seven miles from Barry's Bay. The chief occupations of these immigrants were forestry and a subsistence type of agriculture. Third and fourth generations live at Wilno and continue to speak their native tongue. There is a museum in Barry's Bay which displays some pioneering artifacts, and Wilno is a point of much interest to tourists. The Member of Parliament who represents this district in the Ontario Legislature is a Canadian of Polish origin.

The next wave of mass immigration came from Galicia, then part of Poland, the area of Krakow, Lviv, Tarnopol, in particular, and were farmers by vocation. These people settled on the Canadian Prairies, mostly around Winnipeg. The crystallization of the social structure of the community started early. These immigrants had to organize in order to help themselves, and in 1890[6] the first Polish organization came into being in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Other Polish community centres were soon organized in Montreal and Toronto.

The immigrants tenaciously clung to their old customs, language and religion. The role of the Polish Church in Canada was powerful, and it played an important part in the life of these newcomers. Polish priests arrived right along with the first settlers and worked among them in Manitoba and the other Western provinces. The Holy Spirit Church in Winnipeg was, and still is, a great centre of Polish religious life. Later, the Holy Mother of Czestochowa Church was built in Montreal in 1907. Today each large Polish settlement has its own church and parish priest.

By 1941 there were 167,485 Poles in Canada[7], 84,948 rural and 82,537 urban. Although rural by origin, many tended to settle in the cities, since growing industries offered better working conditions and they wanted to take advantage of all opportunities.

The third phase of Polish immigration into Canada started in 1940 and was the result of the disaster which befell Poland. The mass exodus included people from all walks of life: military, professional, political, intellectual, priests, farmers, labourers. All were either forced to leave or escaped. During 1940 and 1941 several hundred Polish engineers and technicians were admitted to Canada. After Poland found herself under Soviet influence, thousands of Poles decided not to return, and nearly 85,000 were admitted to Canada between 1946 and 1964.

These people who arrived after the war found that a fairly stable Polish community had been established. Many organizations had been formed: the Sokol Gymnastic Society, Saint Kanty Society, the

6. **Bulletin des Recherches Historiques**, Vol. 4, 1897, p.318.
7. L.Garczynski, **Ksiega pamiatkowa Polakow w Kanadzie**, Toronto, 1947, p.17.

Polish Union in Canada, and the Sons of Poland Society. This last united in 1925 with the Henry Sienkiewicz Society and together they formed the White Eagle Society, which is still functioning. The Polish Alliance in Canada was organized in 1922 and branches of this organization were established in Hamilton in 1927, in Kitchener in 1930, in Preston in 1931, in Brantford in 1932, and many other places. There are many other organizations in Ontario, one of which is the Polish National Union which has branches in the larger cities in Ontario.

This incomplete picture of organized Polish communities changed radically after the war. There were many fragmented groups and they failed to meet modern demands. Thus in 1944 a super organization was established; it was called the Polish Canadian Congress. This organization unified most of the Polish organizations in Canada and now represents the Polish ethnic group in this country. All Polish organizations may belong to this Congress, except for communist or anarchist groups which are excluded.

Psychologically, these organizations gave the immigrants a feeling of belonging and a sense of usefulness. There was a negative side, however. Organizing within their own groups led inevitably to isolation and ghettos. Children of the immigrants often found themselves on the margin of community life. They did not wish to continue their parents' way of life; neither were they accepted by the Canadian community, and it was only after the third generation came along that this conflict gradually disappeared. Also, the later generations were inclined to change their religion. Predominantly Roman Catholic, they began to show an increase in other denominations. For example, in 1941, out of 167,485 there were 121,860 Roman Catholics; in 1951, out of 219,845 only 153,059 were Roman Catholics, and in 1961 out of 323,517 Poles there were 210,271. Many of these converted to the United Church of Canada. In 1941 there were 6,357 United Church members of Polish origin, in 1951 there were 13,077 and in 1961 there were 25,229. The total number of Poles in Canada in 1961 had doubled since 1941, and the number of Poles admitted to United Church membership had increased by four hundred percent.

The intellectual and professional classes of new immigrants are very active in Canada. Polish scientists and teachers are found in almost every Canadian university and other institutions of higher learning. The post-war boom has enabled many immigrants to establish new businesses, and to many of them Canada is not only a land of great social and economic progress, but a land where work, security and freedom are found. Some of these immigrants who, only a few years ago, were buffeted from one part of the world to another, have rediscovered themselves, have established careers, and some even have become millionaires.

It is obvious that the Poles in Canada have a long history and their contribution into the life of Canada is considerable. These contributions, although important in themselves, have not left and could not leave an imprint on the general life of Canada, or influenced her direction. The Poles can not claim such credit. The contribution of individuals of the early immigration, the streams of sweat and

hard work of the immigrants from the so-called economical immigration, great as they were, could not alter or change the course of Canada which was established by the two founding races — Anglo-Canadians and Franco-Canadians. To me the great contribution of Poles in Canada is not so much in the spheres of economics, politics or law, but rather in the less tangible but nevertheless important field—freedom. For a Pole, who is by no means alone in this regard, life has no higher bliss than to be free. Beginning with the early immigrants up to the present time, the Poles have been a living example of the men in the struggle with oppression and tyranny. So their presence in Canada helps us to understand the true meaning of freedom and helps us to understand that this is the most important value men can have.

In conclusion I would like to point out that Canada for me resembles a huge tree with Anglo and Franco-Canadian roots, but with a multitude of various branches composed of the Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Slovaks, etc. To bear fruit such a tree must first of all have favourable conditions, which is just another phrase for personal freedom, understanding and brotherhood. There must be also (as it always is in a successful growth) a smooth relationship between the roots and the branches.

SLOVAKS IN CANADA

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Owing to reasons which pertain to the vicissitudes of the history of their homeland, Slovaks in Canada were not listed (as a separate ethnic unit) in the Canadian census until 1961; they were listed first with Hungarians and from 1918 together with Czechs. "But it may be deduced from mother-tongue statistics that about 75 percent of the Czechoslovak group is of Slovakian and 25 percent of Czech origin" says the official publication of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, published in 1960.[1] Consequently, it is hard to say exactly how many Slovaks came to Canada in various periods and how many live in Canada at the present time. If there were about 70,000 Czechs and Slovaks in Canada in 1960, as the same source indicates, there were 52,500 Slovaks in Canada six years ago. This figure is, of course, contested by Slovaks, as we shall see further. We may, therefore, say about Slovaks what Professor Paul Yuzyk said about Ukrainians, that "because of the classification employed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, it will never be possible to determine the exact number of Ukrainians who arrived or were born in Canada."[2]

Prior to World War I Slovaks came to Canada mainly from the United States as citizens of Austria-Hungary and were registered as Hungarians and called Hunkeys or Sclavish.[3] After World War I they came on Czechoslovakian passports and even though this wave of Slovak immigrants had a highly developed national consciousness, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics preferred to shorten the name and called them Czechs or at best Czechoslovaks. Some older immigrants of the Greek Catholic religion passed also as Ruthenians (Ukrainians).

In an excellent survey on Canadians of Slovak origin, V. J. Kaye arrived at an approximate figure of 60,500 persons of Slovak origin for 1959. Adding to this number the average natural increase of about 1.4 percent per annum, the number of Slovaks in Canada should total in 1965 about 65,757 persons. If we take into consideration that in 1951 about 28.8 percent of the persons of so-called "Czechoslovak origin" gave English as their mother tongue,[4] even this "mother tongue" statistical guide is only relatively reliable. But it is acceptable.

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1. See **Notes on The Canadian Family Tree**, Canadian Citizenship Branch, Ottawa, 1960, p.18.
2. Paul Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba**, Toronto, 1953. p.33.
3. **Sessional Papers**, 1887, No. 12; 1893, No. 15.
4. V. J. Kaye, "Canadians of Slovak Origin," **Canadian Slavonic Papers**, Vol. IV, p.151.

Canadians of Slovak origin came to their new country in three waves: prior to World War I, between the two wars and after World War II. The first known Slovak immigrant to Canada was Joseph Bellan, who came to this continent in 1878 and established a wire-work factory in Toronto. With him had come some other Slovaks,[5] but it was in the Western provinces and in mining territories where the Slovak immigrants settled in larger numbers and where the history of Slovaks in Canada began.

Slovak Farming Settlements

The first settlements of Slovaks in Canada took place before the "land boom on the prairie" which started in 1896, when the Canadian government itself began to assume an increasingly vigorous and aggressive attitude toward the problem of filling the open spaces on the prairie under the Liberal minister, Clifford Sifton, who is credited with originating the idea of securing settlers from the United States.[6]

Official documents and newspaper articles offer a beginning to the history of Canadian Slovaks with a group who came to Canada from the United States, mostly from Pennsylvania, and settled as farmers in Western Canada. In 1884 the management of the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) looked for immigrants to settle along the new railway line, especially in Western territories, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. A Hungarian immigrant in New York, who called himself Count Paul Esterhazy, offered his services to the C.P.R. and later to the Canadian government and proposed to move to Western Canada two hundred to three hundred thousand immigrants from Austria-Hungary, who were unhappy in the United States, which at that time was going through a temporary economic depression.

Count Esterhazy (whose adversaries accused him of being an imposter whose real name was John Papp) organized his "Magyar Gyarmatosito Tarasag" (The First Hungarian American Colonization Company) in New York, and in discussions with the government of Canada developed an elaborate plan of settlements similar to the so-called "military frontiers" in Southern Hungary along the Turkish border. Esterhazy's great vision did not materialize. His enemies in New York, and also the authorities in Hungary, opposed his plans and they warned even the Canadian government.[7] In spite of all difficulties Esterhazy was able to move three groups of immigrants to Canada in 1885 who were not happy in the United States and dreamed of large farms, new homes and herds of cattle in Canada. The first group of thirty-eight families was organized in Hazleton, Pa., in July, 1885, and they settled around Minnedosa, Manitoba. In August of the same year the second group came, led by Esterhazy's friend Gejza Dory, and they settled on the virgin lands later called Hun's Valley. In the fall of the same year the third group arrived, numbering ninety-five families. The C.P.R. gave the men jobs on the

5. Fero Zeman, **The Slovakian**, February-May, 1949.
6. See Dafoe, **Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Time**, Toronto, 1931, p.140.
7. **Sessional Papers**, 1887, No. 12.

railway during the winter and in the spring they were to start their colonization.

According to the government agent from Winnipeg, W. C. Graham, these people were "Huns" and they "seemed all to be well pleased with their locations, were thrifty, and hard working and under such conditions they were bound to succeed."[8] The **Sessional Papers** registered them as Hungarians and their leader, Gejza Dory, is referred to as a count. There are indications, however, that he was a clever farmhand from Eastern Slovakia. The railway company provided them with necessary cattle and implements to enable them to make a start. They were supplied with wagons, sleighs and ploughs. A Hun's Valley post office was opened and preparations were being made for building a church and a school.[9]

The second settlement developed around Whitewood and was called Esterhazy. Members of this colony came in June, 1886, from the United States, mostly from the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey. Paul Esterhazy originally advised Ottawa that he had about 3,000 families interested in moving to Canada, and an organization called "Hungarian Immigration and Colonization Aid Society" was set up for this purpose in Philadelphia and Hazleton, Pa. The Canadian government, satisfied with the first groups, gave an allowance of $25,000 for this massive transfer. Various factors, which we shall mention further, stood in the way of Esterhazy's plans, however, providing a more modest success than he expected, and finally bringing an end to his vision to settle in Canada 200,000 to 300,000 hard working and land-hungry inhabitants of Eastern Europe.

As for the ethnic composition, the Esterhazy colony was also composed of Hungarians, Slovaks, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Germans and Czechs. On the monument erected in honor of the founders of the colony, about 50 percent of the names are Hungarian, whereas the rest are mostly Slovak names (Horniak, Sykora, Duricka, Smrekovsky, Babjak, Krupa, Lacko, etc.).

In 1887 a new group of 130 persons came from the United States. They intended to settle in Esterhazy, but a fire destroyed so many houses that it was impossible for this group to settle there. Paul Esterhazy made an agreement with Moore and Hunter Company (mining) that all of the men in the group would work in Medicine Hat. The working conditions, however, very soon forced all of them to leave their jobs. They moved to Winnipeg and Brandon, Manitoba. Some even returned to the United States, unable to find suitable jobs.

The C.P.R. was afraid of bad publicity and terminated its agreement with Paul Esterhazy, who in the following spring brought two small groups of persons. One founded the colony Kaposvar and another settled in Nepawa, Manitoba. There are no documents to prove that there were Slovaks in these last groups, but we can make a safe assumption that among the "Huns" and "Sclavish" from Hungary there was always a good number of Slovaks.

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8. **Ibid.**
9. **Sessional Papers**, 1887, No. 12, p.143.

Slovak claims to these first settlements rest especially on the names of the majority of settlers, such as Kolesar, Zincak, Cizmar, Makon, Kovac, Simon, Kuby, Marcin, etc. The claim is also supported by the fact that it was the period of Slovak massive emigration from Hungary, especially from Eastern Slovakia, and by a report of a government superintendent that "the Huns and Sclavish had a nasty habit to fight among them with long bladed knives."[10]

Some writers and historians of the Canadian West also write about Slovaks in Hun's Valley. Hedges writes, for instance, that the settlers were a "heterogeneous flock, composed of Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Czechs and South Slavs."[11] Anderson also mentions that in a "little prairie school were represented half a dozen foreign nationalities—Swedish, Hungarian, German, Ruthenian, Polish, Slovak . . . ."[12] "There are several Slovak colonies," writes Anderson, "in the Western provinces and in most cases the people are making a success of farming. They are taking an interest in our schools and some are sending their children to the collegiate institutes and high schools."[13]

Finally we find a confirmation that among the first settlers in the West were also Slovaks in a letter written by Dr. Josef Oleskow on October 7, 1896, to the Department of the Interior, in which he urged "the necessity of appointment of an intelligent officer in Winnipeg, who speaks the languages of different Slavic nations from Austria (Ruthenian, Polish, Bohemian, Moravian, Slovakian, etc.)."[14]

Reports of government agents published in the **Sessional Papers** of the Federal Government on these first Slovak settlers are mostly favorable. Some historians of the Canadian West praised them for their hospitality, which they found "very sincere, unforced and agreeable."[15] A report on the colony of Esterhazy, sent by R. S. Park to the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, stresses that "the standing of this colony is of the very best" and that "in all branches of agriculture the prospects and progress are simply marvellous". It is interesting that this government inspector ends his report by saying that "the prosperity of Hungarians and Bohemian colony is assured."[16] There were, of course, critical remarks too, i.e., the settlers were "doing remarkably well since a number brought in by Count d'Esterhazy have been weeded-out and their places filled by a better class."[17] At the agricultural exhibition in Toronto in 1887 several farmers of the Esterhazy colony received prizes. On the other hand, many became discouraged after the first winter, which was extremely hard and long, and they returned either to the United States or to Europe, leaving everything behind them.

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10. **Sessional Papers**, 1893,No. 15. A report by R. B. Deane.
11. J. B. Hedges, **Building the Canadian West**, New York, 1939, p.119.
12. J. M. T. Anderson, **The Education of the New Canadian**, New York, 1918, p.36
13. **Ibid.**, p.85.
14. See V. J. Kaye, **Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada**, p.87.
15. John Hawks, **The Story of Saskatchewan**, Chicago-Regina, 1924, v. I-III.
16. **Sessional Papers**, 1892, No. 7, p.200.
17. Supplement to the Annual Report of the Dept. of Interior for the year 1888, Ottawa, 1889. **Sessional Papers**, 1889, No. 15, p.5.

The First Slovak Mining Colonies in Canada

More or less at the same time, Slovaks from the United States and Hungary moved to Canadian mining camps. The first group of Slovak miners came to Lethbridge, Alberta, in 1885 from the coal-mines of Shelby, Montana. In 1898 over one hundred miners from Pennsylvania moved to Crow's Nest Camp, B.C. (later called Fernie, B.C.), and another group to Derby, B.C. In smaller numbers they moved also to Bellevue, and Frank, Alberta, as well as to Stair, Manitoba.

Two of these Slovak mining colonies became places of sorrow to Slovaks in Canada and the United States because of the explosion in Fernie on May 22, 1902, which killed over 30 Slovak miners, and because of the avalanche of Turtle Mountain in Frank, Alberta, on April 29, 1903. The Slovak colony in Lethbridge on the other hand passed into the history of Canadian Slovaks as one of the best-organized and best-known especially through the Slovak-American press. Slovak miners came to Lethbridge on ox-wagons. They travelled from Montana for over two weeks. Their beginnings were extremely hard, but they did not give up and there still are over 600 Slovaks in Lethbridge.

Before the end of the last century quite a strong group of Slovak immigrants settled in Port Arthur and Fort William, Ontario. They came mostly from the province of Orava in Slovakia and grew fast into one of the strongest Slovak colonies. They closed the first wave of Slovak immigrants to Canada, with a new wave starting only after World War I.

We have some reports on Slovak miners in Canada which indicate that they were more nationally and politically conscious than the settlers on the farms. On the one hand they were accused of "socialist tendencies." According to the letters of the Moore and Hunter Company, owners of the coal mine at Stair, "there seemed to be strong socialistic elements among the miners that were not at all desirable in the country."[18] On the other hand, R. B. Dean superintendent and Mounted Police inspector in the Western Territories, reported on the relations between the Hungarians and Slovaks as follows:

> Hungarians and Sclaves may be very good miners, but they are not altogether desirable citizens. It is true they keep pretty much to themselves and wrangle principally with one another, but there have been one or two ugly knife wounds, inflicted invariably upon a Sclav, for whom he seems to have a contemptuous dislike.[19]

Slovak newspapers in the United States confirmed these reports. The clashes among Slovaks and Magyars were in many cases an echo of the political struggle going on in Slovakia against the increasing pressure of Magyarization.

After more than a half century, in **Notes on the Canadian Family Tree**, we can nevertheless read: "In their early years in Canada the Slovaks played a significant part as farmers, miners, railway construction workers and in other aspects of pioneer life.

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18. **Sessional Papers**, 1887, No. 12, pp.85-90.
19. **Sessional Papers**, 1893, No. 15. Annual Report of Superintendent R. B. Deane, Commanding "K" Division North West Mounted Police, Lethbridge, 1892.

They joined other immigrants and older Canadians in the rigorous but exhilarating task of opening up half a continent."[20]

At Blairmore, Coleman and Lethbridge in Alberta, at Fernie in British Columbia, in northern Ontario and in other parts of Canada Slovaks were among the first to work in the mines. Some remained in mining while others used the money earned to buy their own farms. Today many are enterprising and successful farmers in Eastern Canada as well as in the West.[21]

The Second and Third Wave of Slovak Immigrants to Canada and Their Organizations

The bulk of Slovak immigrants to Canada consist of those who came to this country after World War I, mostly in the years 1921 to 1939. The United States introduced into their immigration policy the so-called "quota system" which limited the number of immigrants from Europe, and practically excluded immigration from Eastern Europe. The dreamland of the young people in Eastern Europe became, therefore, Canada. As a neighbour of the United States, with climate similar to the countries around the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube, and with unlimited possibilities for agriculture and industrial development, Canada attracted hundreds of thousands of young Eastern Europeans, among them some 37,000 Slovaks.[22]

The reasons for this Slovak immigration to Canada were again of economic and political nature. While the general conditions for the Slovak people in comparison to their situation in Austria-Hungary considerably improved in Czechoslovakia, the economic policy of the new state forced Slovaks to emigrate again. Numerous factories and mines in Slovakia were closed in order to make her an agricultural province, which would provide a market for highly-industrialized Czech lands and a source of cheap labour.[23] The result was a massive exodus of young Slovaks. Since very soon political misunderstandings and struggles among Czechs and Slovaks also started, the number of those who left Slovakia grew every year—from 13,373 in 1920 to 35,202 in 1924—and reached the figure of 217,516 in 1937, or close to 10 percent of the Slovak population.

The young and vigorous immigrants, mostly farmers and labourers, were different from the previous Slovak immigrants in the degree of their general education and they also were politically more alert. Nearly all of them had behind them two years of military service, which was a school in itself. Many had some trade and passed through the experience of the social struggles, strikes and political agitation of the first years of Slovakia's integration into the Czechoslovak republic. These political experiences and divisions, brought to Canada from Slovakia, later made it impossible to create

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20. **Op. cit.**, p.23.
21. **Ibid.**, pp.23-24.
22. There were about 3,618 Slovaks in Canada in 1921 while in 1941 the realistic figure would be 37,604.
23. According to C. A. Macartney, one third of Slovakia's industry was dismantled and destroyed by the Czech banks and industrialists who did not wish to have any competition in Slovakia. See **Hungary and Her Successors**, London, 1937, p.130.

one central organization and led to a number of short-lived newspapers, published by individual factions and groups.

The general pattern of the settlement of the second wave of Slovak immigrants in Canada was, however, more or less the same as that followed by the pre-war Slovak immigrants. Some settled on farms and became successful, not only in the West, but also in Ontario. New mining colonies in Ontario—especially the Timmins and Sudbury area—also attracted great numbers of Slovak immigrants: many settled in Quebec too. This time, however, a great number also chose Canadian cities for their new homes and after some time they worked their way up to become excellent contractors, foremen in factories or on construction, carpenters, bricklayers, etc. In 1951 more than one third of Canadian Slovaks were urban dwellers.[24]

New farming colonies were formed in Alberta, around Winnipeg, in Tilly, British Columbia, and in Southern Ontario, mainly on the Niagara Peninsula.

Mostly unmarried or with their young wives and one or two children left back in Slovakia, speaking neither English nor French, Slovak immigrants lived in groups close to each other and close to other Slavs. These social circumstances led to the foundation of parishes, fraternal organizations, community halls and later to newspapers.

It was predominantly this second wave of Slovak immigrants who should be given credit for founding the existing Slovak organizations, newspapers, a great number of community halls, and parishes, as well as for a major part of the Slovak contribution to Canadian life. Learning fast and working hard, they progressed in every direction and those who had their families come to Canada, or married here, gave their children almost without exception, higher education.

From a number of fraternal and religious-educational organizations, which the Slovak immigrants founded on Canadian soil, three major fraternal organizations survived: the Canadian Slovak League, the Canadian Slovak Benefit Society and the Slovak Benefit Society of Canada, which is part of the Independent Mutual Benefit Federation and is considered by other Slovaks as communist. Since 1950 there have also been two political Slovak organizations in Canada, composed mainly of the political refugees who came to Canada after World War II: The Slovak National Council Abroad and the Slovak Liberation Committee united in 1960 in the Slovak Liberation Council. The veterans of the Allied armies of Slovak origin founded their Slovak Legion, patterned on the British Legion, and the veterans of the Slovak army established their Union of Slovak Combatants. In 1960 the Canadian Slovak Business and Professional Men's Association was formed.

Apart from these Canadian Slovak organizations a great number of Canadian Slovaks belong to the Slovak organizations which have

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24. V. J. Kaye gives the figure of 29,109 urban dwellers and 45,516 rural dwellers, remarking that the majority of Slovaks in the prairie provinces were rural dwellers, whereas those in eastern provinces, particularly in Quebec, were mostly urban dwellers. **Op. cit., p.150.**

their head offices in the United States. Among these the most important are the First Catholic Slovak Union, with over 3,000 members in Canada, Slovak Catholic Sokol, Slovak Evangelical Union and Slovak National Society.

According to the official statistics released by the Superintendent of Insurance in 1955, the two major Canadian Slovak organizations had 5,172 adult members and more or less the same number of junior members. The membership of the leftist Slovak Benefit Society of Canada has never been disclosed. Slovak fraternal societies having their head offices in the United States had in 1955 some 3,654 Canadian members. The Canadian Slovak League, founded in 1932, is the largest Slovak organization in Canada, with 63 branches and a total membership of 5,000.[25] The majority of the membership of all these organizations consists of the second wave of Slovak immigrants, but the leadership in many branches is now in the hands of the Canadian-born or the post-war immigrants.

In addition to these benefit organizations, Canadian Slovaks of all denominations—the Roman Catholics, the Byzantine Catholics and the Protestants—organized their social clubs and religious-educational organizations. The religious organizations of Canadian Slovaks were strengthened by the arrival of many highly-educated Catholic, Greek-Catholic, and Protestant priests and ministers who founded new parishes, built new community halls and organized cultural and sport activities.

More numerous than the above organizations were the Slovak newspapers in Canada. Since 1910, when the first Slovak newspaper appeared in Blairmore, Alberta, twenty-eight various Slovak newspapers and periodicals, either printed or mimeographed, have appeared in Canada. Some of them were short-lived, some changed names and survived. Several Slovak newspapers published in the United States have also had, at all times, readers and subscribers among Canadian Slovaks.

This number of newspapers, of which at the present time the **Kanadsky Slovak, Slovensky hlas**, the leftist weekly **Ludove zvesti**, the religious monthly **Maria**, the **Almanach of the Canadian Slovak League**, and the recent monthly **Nase cesty** (Our Ways) are still published, certainly contradicts the myth that the Slovaks who came to Canada were mostly illiterate and uninterested in public affairs.

No doubt a lesser number of newspapers and organizations would have been better. Canadian Slovaks came, however, divided politically as well as along religious lines, and the adversaries of the Slovak aspirations for national freedom and self-government, supported by the consular and diplomatic representatives of Czechoslovakia, used all available means to keep them divided and fighting against each other. At the present time Canadian Slovaks are divided in three main groups; the largest one, mostly organized in the Canadian Slovak League, is on the side of Slovak aspirations for self-government either in the form of state-independence or federal autonomy within a larger Central European confederation; a small

25. See F. Kvetan, **Kalendar KSL**, Winnipeg, 1956, p.63.

number of Slovaks belong to Czech organizations called "Czecho-Slovak" and they stand for an autonomy within Czechoslovakia; the third group, the Communists, follow the policy of Moscow and Prague either in Slovak or Canadian affairs.

The third wave of Slovak immigrants, some 1500 strong, who came to Canada after World War II, are political refugees who fled the communist occupation of Slovakia. They joined the existing organizations and worked and wrote for the newspapers and periodicals published in the United States, Europe, Argentina, Australia, etc. This group, composed mostly of high-school and university educated people with training and careers in various professions, founded two political organizations mentioned before, three short-lived publications—**Rozvoj**, **Domovina** and **Domobrana**—and the religious monthly **Maria**, directed to some 20,000 Slovak Greek Catholics in Canada. In addition they are authors of the first Slovak or English books written by Canadian Slovaks, and editors of the newspapers and almanacs. Politically, 90 percent favor Slovakia's independence and all are anti-communist. A small group of these new immigrants belong to the "Czecho-Slovak" organizations, but they have apparently no writers or journalists among them and only recently they founded their own political group.

This third Slovak immigration has been different from both previous waves of Slovak immigrants to Canada not only in its social stratification and education, but also in the motives behind coming to the shores of this country. While previously Slovak immigrants came to Canada for better economic opportunities, the post-war Slovak immigrants came for political reasons. They fled the communist occupation either at the end of the war, or the communist terror in 1948, with the intention to work in the West for freedom and independence of their homeland. After several years spent in refugee camps in Austria, Germany and Italy, with hopes of an early return vanished in the complex international situation, they settled in Canada and, after some hard years of adjustment, integrated into Canadian life mostly in professions or business. Besides contributing to the fields from which the previous Slovak immigrants were excluded, this third wave of Slovak immigrants helped to change the social structure of Canadian Slovaks so that today the Slovak ethnic group can favorably compare with any other ethnic group in Canada.

Contribution of Canadian Slovaks to Canadian Life

Proper statistical surveys would show that the Slovak group, combining the immigrants of the interwar period, the Canadian-born and the post-war political refugees, is today little different from the English or the other larger ethnic groups as to its social, occupational and professional composition.

Once consisting mostly of farmers and miners, the Slovak group can accept, without being flattered, the words of the minister Kirkland-Casgrain that "today, no one would deny that the Slovak immigrants make up one of the sturdiest groups of Canada's citizens. Whether as farmers (or as) skilled workers, they have made great

forward strides, and a great number of their children are today pursuing successful careers in the professional and business field."[26]

Apart from the ordinary contribution which every citizen is bound to make to his country through his work in daily occupation, trade or profession, there are in the Slovak group, as in many others, some examples of a particular or noteworthy contribution. While in their early years in Canada, "the Slovaks played a significant part by joining other immigrants and older Canadians in the vigorous but exhilarating task of opening up half a continent,"[27] they take part today in education, arts, professions, trades and business. There are young artists like Charles Dobias, Edward Kudlak or Antonia Mazan, who have made headlines as promising or accomplished musicians. There are also oustanding architects like Rudolf Papanek, who is in charge of designing Expo 67, successful lawyers, physicians, teachers, accountants, and at least four of Canada's leading hockey players are of Slovak background. At several Canadian universities Slovak professors (three in Toronto, three in Montreal, two in Ottawa, one in Guelph, one in Sherbrooke, one in Winnipeg) have taught during the past fifteen years in various disciplines and two professors at the Banting-Best Institute of the University of Toronto have even achieved international recognition for Canada. During the same period scores of books, scholarly studies, and poetic works have been written either in Slovak or in English by Slovak writers living in Canada: K. Culen, J. M. Kirschbaum, J. Rekem, K. Murin, F. Zeman, J. Zvonar-Tien, J. Doransky, L. Besenovsky, etc.

The most important and most spectacular Slovak contribution to Canadian economic life has undoubtedly been made by S. B. Roman, the young "farm boy who rules an 85 million dollar empire," as several Canadian newspapers not long ago wrote about this dynamic and hardworking industrialist and successful farmer of Slovak origin, who came to Canada in 1937 at only 17 years of age.[28] Roman's great success in the uranium industry has been made even more important by bringing to Canada one of its largest sale contracts with foreign countries. His contribution to farming has been demonstrated by the many prizes that his Romandale Farm cattle have received at fairs and exhibitions in Canada and the United States. The Slovak ethnic group has benefited from Roman's understanding and support. Several successful Slovak events, as for instance the Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations of the eleventh centenary of Christianity in Slovakia, held in 1963, could not have been undertaken without his generous support and leadership.

In mining, industry and finance, less known but nevertheless making his contribution to Canada's growth is Roman's long-time associate John C. Puhky, secretary and a director of Denison Mines and of other Roman companies. Noted success in various business fields and industry has also been attained by the family Ondrejka,

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26. **Almanac Furdek**, p.50.
27. Cf. **Notes on the Canadian Family Tree**, p.23.
28. D. M. LeBourdais, **Canada and the Atomic Revolution**, 1959, pp.11-112. Also George Lonn, **About Men and Mines**, Toronto, 1962, p.43. **Builders of Fortunes**, Toronto, 1963, and **Executive**, Toronto, January, 1960.

F. Sura and R. Frastacky (the founder of the Metropolitan Trust Company). In trades and business, names came to the fore like that of Stephen Vojtech, the renowned Canadian chef, on whom the government calls when royalty comes to Canada. Some of the most beautiful residences in Montreal were built by Slovak contractors (Stephen Sura and A. Mydlik), and Canadian and American shopping centres have been supplied by the wirework factory of the Slovak immigrant S. Rudinsky, etc. In farming, Zeman of Keneston, Sask., George Roman of Unionville, Ontario, Stefan Liptay of Toronto, the tobacco farmers of Delhi and fruit growers of the Niagara Peninsula deserve mention.

The names of the founders of the two main Slovak organizations, Andrew Kucera, founder of the Canadian Slovak League, and Edward Oravec, founder of the Canadian Slovak Benefit Society, certainly deserve to be mentioned too. The activity of these organizations either in social or educational fields has undoubtedly been beneficial to Canada and not only to Slovaks. Several colorful dancing groups which during recent years have appeared not only at Folk Art Festivals in Canada and won prizes, but also on television programs in the United States, have contributed likewise to the Canadian cultural mosaic and to the good reputation of this country abroad.

The contribution to religious and indirectly to educational and social life was made especially after World War II when some thirty highly-educated Slovak priests immigrated to Canada and founded a number of parishes, a minor seminary and a Jesuit missionary center. Apart from religious activities, the new parishes, with their halls, became important centers of social and cultural life. New publishing activities and promotion of cultural life through sales of books and new periodicals have been added to the previous contribution of Canadian Slovaks by the Slovak priests in all main provinces of Canada. Several priests have also been taking part in teaching, contributing to academic periodicals and publishing scholarly studies (J. Rekem, F. Zeman, J. Vavrovic, etc.).

Integration and Attitudes of Canadian Slovaks Towards Canada

Integration of Slovaks into Canadian life is no doubt as complete as that of other Slavic groups. Even if we notice comparatively keen interest of the second or third generation of Canadian Slovaks in the costumes, dances and songs of their fathers and forefathers, linguistically and culturally Slovaks have integrated rapidly. The intensification of cultural and social activity which may be noticed among the Canadian Slovaks during the past two decades was mainly due to the younger generation of the second wave of Slovak immigrants, to the sacrifices of the old, and to the dedication of a few post-war immigrants among whom there was a comparatively great number of highly-educated and nationally-conscious priests.

Statistical data show that 15 percent of Canadian Slovaks give their mother-tongue as either English or French, and 34.5 percent of Slovaks have married outside their own group, 7.9 percent of them into British ethnic groups. Marriages with other groups—whether from the third element or English and French—usually led to

abandoning their first language, and customs, and many times broke all ties with the Slovak community. There are exceptions, but they are very rare.

Strong impetus to integration and to abandoning the Slovak milieu, even the parishes and Slovak social and cultural associations, has been given by affluence, or material progress. Once living together in tight communities, mostly around or not far from churches and national halls, after World War II, not only the Canadian-born, but also the successful old settlers moved to distant suburbs and slowly but surely loosened all their ties with the organizations and activities of their original Slovak community.

Statistics on naturalization also show that even if many Slovak immigrants left their homeland with the intention to return home, after making some money to buy a piece of land or a house, they have settled permanently now. The same can be said about many immigrants of the third wave, who came here for political reasons and with a firm conviction that they would return to Slovakia as soon as freedom and democracy was re-established there. While in the 1931 census only 25.5 percent of Slovaks in Canada were naturalized citizens, in the following census the figure was 35 percent. Today, Slovaks proportionately form the third largest group of naturalized citizens and we might say that practically every Slovak who could receive Canadian citizenship has acquired it.

The linguistic integration also shows an interesting picture. In 1931, 81 percent of Canadian Slovaks were able to speak either English or French, English prevailing. In 1955, only 14 percent of Canadian Slovaks were listed as not speaking either of our two official languages.

The fast integration was temporarily halted by the communist take-over in Czechoslovakia. Practically all Slovak immigrants to Canada except those who settled in the Canadian West in the 1880's have their immediate relatives in Slovakia and are emotionally concerned with their sufferings. This phenomenon is to a great degree at the roots of the revival of Slovak activities in Canada and the upsurge of interest in the affairs of the "old country." The integration would certainly make much bigger strides ahead if Central Europe were free and Slovakia independent. We can assume that this plays a role in all Slavic communities, but for reasons which do not apply to Poles or some other Slavs the present status of Slovakia plays a role of particular importance in the life of the Slovak community in Canada.

The integration, or the loss of mother tongue and the loss of ties with Slovak organizations do not, however, make of Slovaks English or French Canadians. They are more or less aware of the fact that they belong to the so-called "third element" or "the third force." If some try to forget their ancestry or ethnic origin, there are still forces—even if the general climate in Canada is considerably changed—to remind them that they have either foreign names or that they are new Canadians.

THREE PHASES OF UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION

By V. J. KAYE

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General

Census returns for 1961 gave the number of persons in Canada of Ukrainian ethnic origin at 473,337. They formed (and still form) the largest Slavic group in Canada and for several decades ranked numerically the fourth group after the British Isles, French and German ethnic groups. The cessation of Ukrainian immigration after the exhaustion of the displaced persons reservoir, about 1953, relegated them by 1965 to fifth place in the numerical alignment among the ten principal ethnic groups in Canada. In 1951 the order was as follows: British Isles, French, German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, Netherlands, Polish, Jewish, Native Indian, Italian. In 1961 the first four groups still retained the same sequence, but the Italian group, which in 1951 ranked 10th, had moved to the 5th place, numbering only 17,000 less than the Ukrainian group. The Netherlands groups and Native Indian group retained their places, 6th and 9th respectively. The Scandinavian group moved down from 5th to 7th place, the Polish group from 7th to 8th, and the Jewish group from the 8th to 10th.

Although the Ukrainian group in 1965 passed the half-million mark, its percentage in comparison to the total population showed a decline. In 1951 it attained its highest percentage—2.8 percent of the total population. By 1961 this percentage had declined by two-tenths to 2.6 percent and, if restriction on emigration of Ukrainians from their ethnic territories continues, the percentage could go down still further.

Official statistics gave the following percentages of the Ukrainian group during the decades 1901-1961:

1901—0.4	1911—1.0	1921—1.2	1931—2.2
1941—2.7	1951—2.8	1961—2.6	

Statistics for the years 1901-1931 require some revision. "There are no reliable statistics"—wrote Charles H. Young in 1931—"as to the number of Ukrainians in Western Canada. The confusion in nomenclature, the faulty official classification and the incompetence of the census enumerators combine to leave us very much in the dark."[1]

Improvements in statistical techniques and, above all, a better understanding of ethnic divisions in Canada and in Europe by the enumerators and the enumerated after 1931 have been reflected in subsequent censuses, particularly the higher percentage in the 1931 census. Nevertheless, statistical figures should still be used with

1. C. H. Young, **The Ukrainian Canadians**, Toronto, 1931, p.11.

discretion and checked against more detailed sociological studies if we wish to obtain a true picture of the group. Ethnic statistics particularly need greater scrutiny. Burton Hurd, writing his monograph on the 1931 Census, observed:

> The term 'origin' includes both biological and cultural elements, as in the case of English, French, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, German, Greek, Hebrew, Icelandic, Italian, Norwegian, Swedish, Syrian and so on. With such groups no serious statistical difficulties arise. With certain of the other groups, however, and particularly with those originating in the central and eastern part of Europe, the problem of clarification is not so simple.[2]

Fortunately things have improved since and statistics can be relied upon more readily. Confusion in nomenclature was greatest during the first major phase of Ukrainian immigration—1891-1914. Ukrainians had no state of their own but were subjects of several different states; Czarist Russia and Austro-Hungary before the First World War, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union, after the War; and, therefore, it was difficult to ascertain their correct numbers in Canada. Censuses of 1901-1931 show unduly large numbers of Austrians, Russians, Poles and Rumanians through inclusion of a great number of Ukrainians in the respective figures.

During the first phase of immigration they generally were referred to even in official correspondence, as "Galicians." When the Austro-Hungarian consul general, Edward Schultze, enquired in June of 1899 of the Minister of the Interior what the name 'Galician immigrants' denoted, he received the following reply:

> I have your letter of the 9th instant, and in reply beg to say that by the term 'Galician immigrants' is meant all persons who in Canada are recognized as Galicians, and I presume would include those from Bukowina as well as from Galicia. I do not know what further explanation to give with regards to the people referred to.[3]

There are three distinct phases of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The first phase started in the early 90's when about a dozen families from the district of Kalush in Galicia, following German colonists from the same district, emigrated to Canada. Organized emigration started in the spring of 1896 when the first family group (107 persons) sent by Dr. Josef Oleskow, arrived in the Canadian West. Other groups of Ukrainian settlers followed in ever-increasing numbers, until a few years before the outbreak of the First World War they ranked first numerically among continental immigrants admitted to Canada. The outbreak of the war in the summer of 1914 brought the first phase to a close.

The second phase started a few years after the First World War, approximately 1922-23, and reached its peak in 1929. During the depression period of 1930-1939 and during the war, immigration practically ceased.[4]

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2. W. Burton Hurd, **Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People. A** Study Based on the Census of 1931 and Supplementary Data, (Monograph No. IV) Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1934, p.32.
3. P. A. Interior, File 2614. 13 June, 1899: Jas. A. Smith, D.M. to Edward Schultze, Imperial Austro-Hungarian Consulate, Montreal, P.Q.
4. **Annual Report: 1963**, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, p.41.

The third phase of Ukrainian immigration (and last) started in 1947-48, when shipping facilities, after the repatriation of army personnel, became available for transportation of displaced persons who formed the bulk of admitted immigrants of that period. The third phase lasted approximately until 1953 when the number of refugees diminished and very few immigrants from Ukrainian ethnic territories were arriving.

The First Phase Of Ukrainian Immigration—1891-1914

Ukrainian immigrants of the first phase formed a surprisingly homogenous group consisting almost entirely of agriculturists. Considering the deep attachment of peasants to their ancestral land, we must recognize that it must have been a very grave and convincing cause for their abandoning it and moving into parts unknown across the seas. Although the economic factor was the main reason which caused them to emigrate, discrimination in the social and political fields was also a strong factor contributing to the desire to look for a better place to live.

The first phase immigrants originated almost entirely from the two Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina. Economic burdens imposed on peasants after the abolition of serfdom in 1848, the payment of indemnities to their former landlords, the extremely low income earned by peasant holdings and division of landholdings through inheritance, were the main economic stimulants to emigration. Statistics of 1888 show that the yearly income of the five million peasants of Galicia averaged 37.6 gulden (approx. $20.00).[5] The provincial government was impervious to the needs of the peasant masses. Peasant holdings, due to indemnity payments, were taxed 80 percent in comparison to 20 percent of the manorial lands (1890-1900). The deep feeling of injustice and the desire to improve their economic as well as social conditions compelled Ukrainian peasantry to undertake the drastic step—emigration overseas. It was not an easy step.

> He who turned his back upon the village at the crossroads began a long journey that his mind would forever mark as its most momentous experience. The crossing immediately subjected the emigrant to a succession of shattering shocks and decisively conditioned the life of every man that survived it. This was the initial contact with life as it was to be. For many peasants it was the first time away from home, away from the safety of the circumscribed little village in which they had passed all their years. Now they would learn to have dealings with people essentially different from themselves. Now they would collide with unaccustomed problems, learn to understand alien ways and alien languages, manage to survive in a grossly foreign environment.[6]

The Ukrainian peasant not only survived the odds described by Handlin, but he also wrote a page in the history of the development of Canada which merits recognition and admiration. It is seldom realized by our broader Canadian public what tremendous pioneering work was done by these sturdy settlers with almost limitless endurance and perseverance.

The first phase immigrants differed radically from those who followed them during the second and third phases of Ukrainian immigration. They came to Canada on their own volition with the inten-

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5. S. Szczepanowski, **Nedza Galicyi w cyfrach**. 1888, p.116.
6. Oscar Handlin, **The Uprooted — The Epic Story of the Great Migration that made the American People**, Boston, 1952, p.38.

tion of settling permanently on the land, establishing homes in the new country, bringing up children as future Canadian citizens. Psychologically they did not suffer from lack of vertical mobility, as did many members of the subsequent two phases. Therefore, comparatively few experienced frustration, tensions, "with all their psychosomatic implications, such as fatigue, sleeplessness, vascular changes, and gastro-intestinal pathology," as Dr. Ruesch puts it.[7] The Ukrainian peasant who in his ancestral village was the owner of some five-to-eight acres of land, became in Canada the owner of 160 acres, with woods and meadows, such as only the lord of the manor possessed in his native village. When working for wages, he could earn $1.50 or more per day, instead of ten to fifteen cents on the manorial estates. In Canada he enjoyed equality of rights (at least theoretically), he could participate in self-government, his children could partake of education without restrictions. The settlers could establish schools with assistance of the government as soon as the number of school-age children warranted it. For the Ukrainian settlers it was definitely an up-grading and not a down-grading.

They did not leave their homes on the spur of the moment, compelled to emigrate by external forces, like most of the immigrants of the third phase and partly also like the immigrants of the second phase. Theirs was not a spontaneous action. It was a social process which extended over weeks and months. "It begins with conditions operating on an individual long before his actual change of residence, and does not end until he is a completely adjusted member of the new community."[8]

The adjustment to the life of the new community was gradually accomplished, although new customs and new values were not acquired immediately and not without knocks. The children, most of them already born in Canada, still lived on the fringes of two cultures and more time was required to eliminate the designation of "foreigners," to gain acceptance.

The entry into the educational and particularly into the political field was prompted by the desire of the pioneer settlers to ensure for their children a better future and to participate actively in the political life of the country. As time has proven, they succeeded in their endeavours and gained general recognition. When in 1956 Stephen Juba was first elected Mayor of Winnipeg, **The Toronto Daily Star** wrote:

> Stephen Juba, a man of Ukrainian ancestry, has been elected Mayor of Winnipeg, which should be no occasion of surprise, for this energetic and able group has been forging to positions of leadership in almost every field of Canadian endeavour. They are to be found in the ranks of every profession, in arts and politics . . . .[9]

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7. Jurgen Ruesch **et. al., Acculturation and Illness,** Psychological Monograph No. 292, 1948, Washington, D.C.
8. Lloyd G. Reynolds, **The British Immigrant**, Oxford, 1955, p.3.
9. **The Toronto Daily Star**, October 30, 1956.

In the political field they surpassed all other Slavic groups. During the fifty years since Ukrainians began actively to participate in the political life of the country, seventy-four persons of Ukrainian descent have served in the legislatures of the three prairie provinces, in Ontario, in the House of Commons and the Senate. They have produced five cabinet ministers in four provinces and in the federal government, and a number of outstanding speakers. All members were descendants of the first phase of Ukrainian settlers, the sons, grandsons and even great-grandsons (W. Skoreyko, M.P. for Edmonton East), of original pioneers.

I have devoted more time to the first phase settlers because they form the majority and the backbone of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada.

The Second Phase Of Ukrainian Immigration—1922-1945

The year 1914 brought the first phase of Ukrainian immigration to an abrupt end. Immigration from Austria, at war with Canada, ceased and for nearly a decade only a few Ukrainian immigrants entered Canada.

The establishment of the independent Ukrainian Republic after the collapse of the Austrian and Russian Empires was challenged by Poland and by the Russian Bolsheviks. After a bitter struggle the western part of Ukraine was occupied by Poland, and Ukraine proper was overrun by the Bolsheviks. This disaster caused the egress of many of those who were actively engaged in resistance activities. Among them predominated former officers and men of the Ukrainian armed forces, many of whom succeeded in crossing the Carpathian Mountains and were given asylum in Czechoslovakia. Many civilian refugees emigrated also and spread to other European countries.

When restrictions governing admission of immigrants to Canada were relaxed, many of these refugees emigrated to Canada. The flow began in 1922 and reached sizable proportions in 1923-24, thus initiating the second major phase of Ukrainian immigration.

During the decade that followed (1924-1934), 59,895 Ukrainian immigrants entered Canada.[10] They did not all belong to the refugee class. The majority were agriculturists induced to emigrate by unfavourable economic and political conditions which prevailed in Western Ukraine (renamed Little Poland) after the Polish occupation. They were sponsored and assisted in most cases by their relatives, fellow-villagers, or by benevolent organizations in Canada.

The establishment of the independent Ukrainian Republic in 1918 sparked a strong resurgence of nationalist feeling among the Ukrainian settlers in Canada. It found expression in the formation of various benevolent organizations, collecting of funds for medical and other purposes, and, after the collapse of the Republic, in the calling of hundreds of mass meetings protesting against the occupation of Ukraine by the Poles and Bolsheviks. A Ukrainian-Canadian delegation was sent to the Peace Conference in Paris to champion Ukraine's rights to independence. Financial support was given to the Ukrainian Government-in-Exile and sponsorships were solicited for

10. **Annual Report**: 1963, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, p.43.

those wishing to emigrate to Canada after the Council of Ambassadors finally had ceded Western Ukraine to Poland in March of 1923.

The second phase group of immigrants differed from the first, as it was not composed exclusively of agriculturalists, but of different social classes. There were no illiterate persons among them, and although the agriculturalists still predominated, the intellectuals were next in number. While the peasants came with their families intending to establish permanent homes in Canada, the other group displayed politico-refugee characteristics, remaining European-centered, expecting to return to their home-country "whenever conditions change." Hoping that an armed conflict would break out in Europe at any time, they were determined to be prepared for such an eventuality. This attitude greatly retarded their integration and their economic adjustment in the new country. They tended to remain within the ethnic community and also to maintain close contacts with their European counterparts, but did not wish to become too deeply rooted in the new world. These very active and mostly young former officers and men of Ukrainian armed forces sought and attained leading positions in the Ukrainian community. They became editors of Ukrainian language newspapers, even of such old established weeklies as **The Canadian Farmer** (founded in 1903), and **The Ukrainian Canadian** (founded in 1911). They also became editors of a number of new publications, the weekly **Western** (later **Ukrainian) News**, established in 1927, **The New Pathway**, established in 1929, **The Ukrainian Toiler**, established in 1934, and a number of smaller publications, most of them of ephemeral duration. They formed new organizations, patterned on those they left in Europe, such as the Ukrainian Veterans' Association, the Ukrainian National Federation, the United Hetman Organization, and others.

The Ukrainian National Federation and the United Hetman Organization encouraged their members to join Canadian Militia units, in order not to lose touch with military training. They put great stress on sports, initiated aviation courses for pilots, acquired small training planes which were given such names as Lviv, Kyiv. These vigorous military and sporting activities also appealed to the young Canadian-born generation and they joined these organizations in ever-increasing numbers, taking advantage of the various training courses the organizations were sponsoring. When in September of 1939 World War II broke out, most of the latter volunteered for military service with the Canadian armed forces, became instructors of aviation, attained commissions, served overseas, received decorations for valour and paid the highest sacrifice as well.

The war years speeded up the integration of the group and levelled off differences which existed at the beginning between the members of the first and the second phase groups.

The period of depression which started in the 30's had caused a sharp decline in the immigration movement. During the decade 1934-1944 only 6,595 Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada.[11] The second phase of Ukrainian immigration came to a close. It had in-

11. **Ibid.**

volved approximately 65,000 persons and tended to be more urban than rural at the time when World War II broke out. A trend of movement towards the industrial East had become noticeable. Ukrainians in Ontario numbered 24,426 in 1931, and by 1941 the number had doubled, reaching 48,158.[12]

The core of the first phase Ukrainian immigration, in the Prairie Provinces, remained predominantly rural in spite of the progressive mechanization which began to drain the farms. Census statistics of 1941 gave the following rural percentages for the Ukrainian population in the Canadian West: Alberta—82.2 percent, Saskatchewan—81.3 percent, and Manitoba—66.6 percent.[13]

The Third Phase of Ukrainian Immigration—1947-1965

The third phase of Ukrainian immigration started in 1947 when the International Refugee Organization (IRO), in conjunction with Canadian immigration authorities, made the processing of displaced persons possible and the necessary ocean transportation was secured. The growth and strength of this movement is best illustrated by the following figures:

Ukrainian Immigrants to Canada

1946-47	—	103
1947-48	—	3,386
1948-49	—	10,486
1949-50	—	5,865
1950-51	—	3,559
1951-52	—	7,435

The increase of the number of immigrants in 1951-52 is explained by the closing of the activities of IRO and the speeding up of the resettlement of refugees before its liquidation. After that date the number of Ukrainian immigrants dropped drastically. During the five years ending in 1959, the total number of Ukrainian immigrants admitted was 2,429.[14] The following years showed a still further decline. In 1960 only 340 Ukrainian immigrants were admitted to Canada, in 1961, 165, in 1962, 170.

The reservoir of the third phase immigrants was the displaced person camps on the European continent where refugees and former slave labourers were brought to await resettlement or repatriation. Some did return to their countries of origin, under Soviet control, but the majority preferred exile to life under communist rule. They were not voluntary emigrants like the peasants of half a century before them. Most likely they would never have left their homeland if not for hostile events which compelled them to do so. The refugee immigrant was deprived of the reassuring feeling that if conditions in the new country were not to his liking, he would be free to return to his country of origin. Although, as statistics show, only a very small number of earlier immigrants ever did return to their country of origin, nevertheless the assurance that they could return had a

12. V. J. Kaye, **Canadians of Recent European Origin**, Ottawa, 1945, p.47.
13. **Ibid.**, pp.14-15.
14. **Annual Report: 1963**, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, p.43.

stabilizing effect on the minds of immigrants. The lack of such assurance increased the frustrations of displaced persons. And for five years a refugee remained a stateless person in Canada—also a source of nervous tension.

The third group of Ukrainian immigrants differed again from the two previous groups as to its composition. It contained a considerably higher percentage of intellectuals than the two previous groups. The average educational level of this group as a whole was also higher. The percentage of agriculturists was considerably lower. It was a predominantly urban group. Conscious of the fact that they may be obliged to remain permanently in Canada, they readily took advantage of facilities offered to them to learn the languages of the country, to attend professional courses, to complete internships, to obtain licences to practice medicine or dentistry, and to attend universities to secure recognition of their European degrees.

Whereas the early Ukrainian groups of immigrants came mostly from the two Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, the third phase immigrants originated from the whole Ukrainian territory, from Kuban to Carpatho-Ukraine.

After 15-17 years in Canada, the third phase group became highly integrated. The process of integration of this group was completed much faster than was the case with the two previous groups. They entered professions, and attained vertical adjustment, thus eliminating frustrations which often plague maladjusted individuals. With few exceptions, their children completed Canadian schooling, many of them graduating from universities, and they can be found in all walks of Canadian life—including our universities, literally, from sea to sea.

I shall conclude my sketchy survey of the three phases of Ukrainian immigration to Canada with a few lines from a poem—composed by a young Ukrainian Canadian of sixty years ago, probably the first poem of its kind composed in Canada:

TO CANADA

O free and fresh-home Canada! Can we
Born o'er seas, call thee our country dear?
I know not whence, nor how that right may be
Attained through sharing blessings year by year.
From ancient worlds by wrong opprest we swarmed
Many as ants, to scatter on thy land;
Each to the place you gave, aided, unharmed,
And there we fear not kings nor nobles grand.[15]

15. Michael Gowda in **The Boston Transcript**, October 17, 1905.

PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH ON UKRAINIANS IN EASTERN CANADA

By E. D. WANGENHEIM
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The title of this paper may be slightly misleading. "Research" applies to a multitude of disciplines, and "Ukrainians in Eastern Canada" covers a large number of individuals of Ukrainian origin (approximately 150,000), widely scattered, living in communities of varying sizes, density, and complexity of social structure. My research has focussed on the Ukrainian community of Metropolitan Toronto. I am a non-Slav, and this will of necessity be a rather subjective account, outlining the varieties of methodological problems which I personally encountered.

Problems of Definition

The first and basic problem I encountered was a matter of definition: "What is a Ukrainian?" This is not as facetious a question as it might be if asked of an ethnic group coming from a country whose historical development and whose political and linguistic borders had been more clear-cut and internationally recognized. Even for Ukrainians themselves, the awareness of common identity was long limited to a relatively small group; early immigrants to North America arrived under a variety of more locally-oriented designations—Galicians, Bukovinians, etc.—and it has only been through the political and military struggles of the past fifty years that a wide-spread awareness and acceptance of a common identity has been created. However, it would appear that a knowledge or acceptance of the existence of Ukrainians as a distinct linguistic and cultural entity is not yet a matter of common agreement among non-Ukrainians in various quarters of the globe. It required a great deal of background research before I acquired an understanding of the historical and political reasons for lack of general agreement as to definition.

This problem presents several research aspects. Once I became aware that so many individuals 'suffered' from a nebulous self-image or group image and from a resentment at what they consider the outside world's ignorance of or indifference to their continued existence as a distinct cultural entity, the implications of these facts became subjects for sociological analysis and have occupied a considerable proportion of my time.

Demographic Problems

One very important general problem in this area is the difficulty of collecting reliable statistics. With a population which is so widely scattered across the country and within cities so greatly decentralized

(in Eastern Canada we have no ethnically homogeneous Ukrainian villages and city residents are constantly moving out in various directions), the only possible source of useful statistics is the Canadian census. Unfortunately, regarding Ukrainians and some other Slavic groups, the census is still very unreliable. Hunchak,[1] wrestling with the 1941 census data, brought out many of the problems of definition and identification, but, despite more explicit instructions to enumerators, the 1961 figures are still not too reliable. Also, because of the changes in definition, it is impossible to compare data from the different censuses in order to illustrate, accurately, growth trends and population movements over the past forty years. My findings would suggest a fairly significant under-enumeration of the earlier immigrants and their descendants, whereas post-World War II immigrants are probably more accurately represented.

Just as a side remark, I wonder whether anyone has tried to correct the 1961 census figures on Poles in Canada? My own calculations would suggest that, so far as illustrating Polish ethnicity is concerned, the data on Metropolitan Toronto and Montreal are extremely inaccurate.

Here I might touch on one factor which tends to complicate the gathering of statistics on any ethnic group, viz., intermarriage. The census traces ethnic origin patrilineally. However, sociological and anthropological research has discovered that, in most cases, the mother is the principal "culture-bearer." Thus, to the extent that ethnic identification is a product of childhood socialization, there are good grounds for claiming that the allocation of the products of mixed marriages to the father's ethnic group often makes sociological nonsense.

In general, the statistical problem is closely related to the sociological problem of ethnic identification. One asks the question: "When is a Ukrainian no longer a Ukrainian?" and attempts to construct indices to measure "belonging" in terms of organizational participation, informal social participation networks, intensity of kinship ties, retention of language, cultural values, etc., but my own experience would suggest that the weight one gives to particular factors and the determination of cut-off points on the various continua remain at least in part arbitrary.

Then, too, personal observation shows that one complicating factor is a pronounced tendency, especially among the Canadian-born, to "drift." Contrary to general assumptions, and to much of the older sociological literature, assimilation is not a slow, steady, inexorable, one-way process. When one looks at the historical development of Ukrainians-in-Canada as a group, it is possible to locate factors which, at given points in time, have temporarily halted or even reversed the process, or have deflected the aim toward new reference groups. I will mention only our discontinuous immigration pattern, changes in the character of immigration, changes in the receptivity of the general society, and certain influential events outside Canada.

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1. N. J. Hunchak, **Canadians of Ukrainian Origin, Series I: Population**, Winnipeg, 1945.

When looking at patterns of individual life cycles, one sees that, while many individuals tend at certain ages to loosen deliberately or "subconsciously" the bonds of in-group affiliation, these steps cannot be taken as sure indicators of continuing alienation. Some people, having projected themselves into the impersonal atmosphere of 'mass society,' feel the lack of the psychological and social security which their ethnic community had provided and willingly return to the group. Others, bewildered by their inability to discover what it means to be an "unhyphenated Canadian," may also albeit unwillingly re-establish their in-group affiliations or may simply with resignation accept the inevitability of the designation "Ukrainian-Canadian." Another group of young parents, feeling no need of Ukrainian relationships for themselves, nevertheless wish their children to learn the basic rudiments of the language, history and culture and are therefore themselves forced to renew certain of their old contacts. In all these categories, there is the strong possibility that the conditions which originally influenced their move out of community affairs will again become operative and many of them will after a certain period drift away again.

As you can imagine, the answer given to a census enumerator by such a drifter will often depend upon just what stage of his cycle he happens to be in. There are always a certain proportion who insist on answering to the ethnicity question that they are unhyphenated Canadians and there is no accurate way of determining how randomly these cases are distributed.

A further statistical problem is concerned with internal migrations. From census material, it is possible to isolate proportions of immigrants according to the period of immigration and to locate the total number of the Canadian-born. However, I have found no way of determining the numbers in each of these categories who first settled or were born in Southern Ontario as opposed to the numbers who first settled or were born in the Western Prairies or in Northern Ontario and then moved at a later date to Toronto. I know there was a lot of such internal migration; I know that many retired Prairie farmers are now tending fruit orchards in the Niagara Peninsula, that many born on the Prairies are now active in the professions or as skilled workers in Toronto and other urban areas; I also know that over the past thirty years, there has been a considerable amount of mobility between various parts of Ontario and Quebec. But accurate figures seem impossible to obtain.

Problems of Language

A problem of a different sort has to do with names. At one stage, I wished to do a study of a random sample of Ukrainian students in Toronto high schools. I was forced to abandon the idea because of the extreme difficulty of isolating Ukrainian names accurately from the Slavic names in the available lists. During the exploratory period I learned all about the internationally accepted rules for transliterating from Cyrillic but I also learned that rules are unknown to a great many of the persons most concerned—and certainly not to the numbers of bureaucrats in various countries

upon whom fell the task of first providing a family with official documents written in the Latin alphabet. I also learned of suffixes which should unfailingly denote a Ukrainian name—but then I learned of others which could either be Polish or Ukrainian; or either Ukrainian or Russian. This problem of using lists of names to get a sample, whether they are school lists, telephone lists or what have you, is additionally complicated by the unknown incidence of name-changing.

This brings us to the general question of language. For a sociologist as for an anthropologist, whose primary sources are living individuals, some means of communication are necessary. Where one is administering questionnaires under rigidly-controlled conditions, it is possible to delegate the actual interviewing to members of the in-group with the proper language skills—though one faces the possibility of a reluctance to confide sensitive information to some one finally identified as "the grandson of Wasyl .....," who came from the next village. (Sometimes even more important, one has to pay the interviewer for all the time the interviewee spends discovering the former's ancestry and present religious, political and social affiliations.)

However, for depth interviewing, where a trained researcher attempts to cover wide areas of topics in a deliberately unstructured form and relies on his interviewing skills to elicit facts difficult to discover in formal questionnaires, it is absolutely necessary for both parties to have some knowledge of one common language. Many sociologists, and I among them, will defend the use of empathy—the act of putting oneself in the other person's shoes in order to plumb the emotional depths he cannot express in words—as a legitimate scientific method. Nevertheless, without words, there is a limit to what can be deduced from a friendly smile or a hostile scowl. And from previous experience of using an interpreter, I know how unsatisfactory this can be and how easy it is for the interviewer to lose control of the interview.

To be sure, Ukrainian is not an absolute necessity for interviewing: of the Ukrainians in Eastern Canada, only 3,149 (1,132 in Metropolitan Toronto) do not have some knowledge of English or French and the ones I have encountered have usually known enough German for us to converse. Nonetheless, the two years of Ukrainian I took at the University of Toronto have been of inestimable value. Without them, I would have been unable to analyze the content of radio programmes, I would have gained little from attendance at organization meetings, concerts and other large-scale gatherings; I would have had little or no appreciation of Ukrainian poetry and prose writing and, above all, I would have been cut off from practically all secondary source material on local and other contemporary conditions.

There is in existence a fairly adequate literature in English, French and German relating to the history of Ukraine and Ukrainians in Eastern Europe, while the recently-translated Ukrainian ency-

clopedia[2] when taken in conjunction with **Aspects of Contemporary Ukraine**[3] will yield at least a bare sufficiency of ethnographical material. Then, too, the history of Ukrainians in Western Canada has received considerable attention, from Dr. Young's early contribution,[4] to our chairman's study on the Ukrainians in Manitoba[5] to Dr. V. Kaye's book, **Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900**. There have also been studies of Ukrainian schools, Ukrainian teachers and other sociologically-oriented research, though probably none of this earlier research in any way approached the complexity of the research project presently nearing completion at the University of Alberta.

All the above have appeared in English. In addition, a considerable number of articles and monographs relating to the Ukrainian language, culture and people in Western Canada have appeared in Ukrainian. A large part of the literature published since World War II has been under the sponsorship of UVAN—the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science.

However, there has been extremely little research done on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada—two pre-war studies of the Ukrainian community in Montreal and Mychailo Borowyk's dissertation on **The Ukrainian Press in Eastern Canada**, the latter in Ukrainian. I understand that UVAN is planning in their Canadian Centennial Series (in Ukrainian) a comprehensive study of "Ukrainians in Eastern Canada."

Therefore, in gathering background data on the history of the Ukrainians in Toronto, I have been dependent (apart from a few incidental references in books concentrating on Western Canada) upon individual recollections, a few memoirs written in Ukrainian, and anniversary publication giving historical accounts of the development of particular organizations. All these, unfortunately, tend to give a rather one-sided picture, through a natural even if unacknowledged desire to put oneself and one's own organization in a favourable light. Now, whereas in dealing with contemporary reports I have techniques for compensating for such distortion and filling in obvious gaps, I have been unsuccessful in this historical sphere.

The Ethnic Press and Radio

However, while I have suffered from a relative lack of historical materials, there is almost an embarrassment of riches as regards present-day publications in the Ukrainian language. A recent publication of the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation shows thirty-seven periodicals (mostly weeklies and monthlies) published in Canada in the Ukrainian language—out of the Federation's total of 122 periodicals (some in English) aimed at the non-English and non-French population. This figure does not include the three left-wing

2. Volodymyr Kubijovyc, **Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia**, Toronto, 1963.
3. Prepared by the University of Chicago Division of Social Sciences for the Yale Human Relations Area Files, 1955.
4. Charles H. Young, **The Ukrainian Canadians**, Toronto, 1931.
5. Paul Yuzyk, **Ukrainians in Manitoba**, Toronto, 1953.

Ukrainian papers, nor a variety of small bulletins and journals. Thus, even discounting for the moment publications from other countries, Ukrainians are certainly better provided with periodical reading matter in their own language than any other minority group in Canada. The eleven weekly newspapers alone have together a regular circulation of approximately 100,000, most of it within Canada, while the other periodicals together send out about 32,000 copies.

But, for research purposes, this quantity provides its own problems. When one is studying the effects of the mass media upon an undifferentiated public in a particular metropolitan area, one can legitimately assume that, apart from a few mass circulation national or international magazines, the greatest impact upon the population of the area will be made by the daily newspapers, usually few in number, edited and printed in the same city. However, studies of ethnic communities within a particular metropolitan area cannot assess the impact of the ethnic press solely by studying the newspapers published in that city. This is particularly true of Ukrainians in the larger municipalities of Eastern Canada.

The Ukrainian communities contain many relatively self-contained sub-groups, divided on the basis of religious, political and socio-educational differences. Each of the major sub-divisions is catered to by one or more newspapers across Canada, most of them published or subsidized by some religious or political organization or institution. Ukrainian newspapers and magazines being more polemical in character than straight news reporting agents, people tend in general to subscribe (if at all) to periodicals similar in orientation or affiliation to their own, regardless of the place of publication, and editors usually try to devote some attention to the activities of their particular group in most of the major cities.

Consequently, in order to judge the impact and to analyze the functions of the Ukrainian press within the Ukrainian community of Metropolitan Toronto, I have had to read, in addition to the six newspapers and three monthly magazines published there, a considerable number of other newspapers and other periodicals published in other parts of Canada and the United States, and even in parts of Western Europe. Of course there are compensations, since one gathers a certain amount of comparative data on Ukrainian community life in different parts of the continent. From this material it is often possible to discover some of the characteristics of the community one is studying which are peculiar to it and not representative of all Ukrainian communities.

As one of my main interests has been the education of the young, I have also sampled a variety of Ukrainian language text books, organizational indoctrination manuals, children's magazines, and illustrated children's books. I have only dipped fleetingly into the content of the thousands of hard-cover books published for more adult readers in the Ukrainian language by the many Ukrainian publishers located outside the Soviet Union. I have had to depend upon knowledgeable friends to provide me with broad appraisals of the types and quality provided.

Availability of Printed Material

Toronto is indubitably not as good a centre as, for example, Winnipeg, so far as easy access to secondary sources is concerned. While the University of Toronto Library is now actively engaged in building up its Slavic section, its supply of non-Soviet material on the Ukraine is barely adequate, the majority of the volumes having been donated to the Library by various Ukrainian organizations. The Toronto Public Library Reference Room has a greater collection of Ukrainica Canadiana—mainly gifts, but neither institution has much of a microfilm collection of theses and other such published material. Most of this is available on inter-library loan but this is often a laborious process. Only one organization, the Ukrainian People's Home, has a large library and archive, which they very kindly make available to all interested people. This source would be excellent for someone interested in books and periodicals of the early twentieth century.

I had no trouble getting current newspapers and magazines. There are several large Ukrainian bookstores which provide a wide variety of periodicals, books, pamphlets and tracts, published in a great number of countries. One of them specializes in books and periodicals from the Ukrainian S.S.R.

Before turning to another subject, I should say a few words about my problems of covering the other main communication medium, radio. (Except for a few appearances of Ukrainian choirs or dance groups on special programmes, Ukrainians have had little organized exposure on television). However, on radio, there are at least half a dozen programmes, two of them on a daily basis, which appeal in Ukrainian for the support of the Ukrainian consumer. These programmes are mainly commercial in content and support, but interspersed between the advertisements are music, world news, Ukrainian community activities announcements, and political and cultural discussions. For me, analysis of radio programmes was more difficult than of periodicals; first, because it is more difficult to understand the quickly-spoken word than the written, second, because of the difficulty of finding regular free time at the hour of broadcast, and third, because of the technical difficulty of locating the proper station in the confusion of low-powered stations in the upper end of the dial.

The Position of the Outsider

Many of the above-mentioned problems are such only for the non-Ukrainian, who enters upon his research lacking language skills and a background knowledge of the group's history and culture. However, if I might digress here, I might argue that the outsider has certain advantages—and this holds true not only for research on Ukrainians but for all studies of ethnic groups and, indeed, of any group linked by common values and distinctive behaviour patterns. The main advantage is that the outsider is fully conscious of his general ignorance of the field and starts his research with fresh eyes. The member of the in-group will usually be in some way emotionally involved, either positively or negatively, and this could bias his

results. A scrupulous social scientist, by carefully examining his own value judgements and making due allowances for them, can overcome this distortion and present a fairly unbiassed view. However, a basic problem still remains:—a member of the in-group will tend to overlook many significant data because, having grown up surrounded by them, he takes them for granted. One way to take advantage of the positive qualities and to minimize the weaknesses of both types is to have two researchers working in tandem—an outsider and an insider. But this requires certain types of personality and is not, for other reasons, always feasible.

Problems of Interviewing

I would now like to discuss a problem which besets most sociologists but which I found particularly important in this research—how do you get your informants to talk? Persuading someone to start talking is sometimes the most difficult part of interviewing and indeed in my research on Ukrainians I found it to be a continuing difficulty. I have already mentioned that the Ukrainian community is split into many sub-groups, some of which are openly hostile to each other. In addition, Ukrainians in Europe have a long history of waging guerrilla warfare and other underground action against a variety of oppressors. This may in part account for the fact that in the great majority of my interviews with adults, particularly with post-war immigrants, I was greeted with an attitude of initial suspicion far beyond the usual reluctance to be interviewed. This despite the fact that I always prepared the ground for an interview by establishing my bona fides and usually secured an introduction from some person whose word I believed would have some influence. I was usually able to overcome the resistance—only one person out of approximately one hundred and eighty categorically refused to answer my questions—and some people have gone out of their way to be kind and helpful. Nevertheless, one gets extremely tired of having to spend at least one hour out of every interview overcoming such deep-rooted suspicion.

Of course, a final willingness to talk does not ensure complete frankness. Sociologists do not expect to be told the whole truth—partly because the individual's own experiences tend to distort his perception, but sometimes because people deliberately wish to conceal certain facts. A sociologist or anthropologist working in a homogeneous farming village or even in a strongly-centralized ethnic community within a city has both an easier and a more difficult job. Easier because the "grape-vine" does a lot of his public relations for him. When he arrives at a house, the inhabitants are already aware of who he is, what he is doing and, usually, the kinds of "silly questions" he is asking. His lot is, on the other hand, more difficult because, where a community is rent by political or religious strife, jealous or hostile eyes follow him around and watch which groups he interviews. Often the very fact of his interviewing members of one faction will cause influential members of other factions to boycott him. This is one problem which one is spared when an ethnic community is found so decentralized throughout a metropolitan area

that not only the activities of the researcher but also those of most in-group members are mainly hidden from interested observers. And glad I have been of this when, for example, I drove directly from an interview with a Ukrainian communist to an interview with a right-wing nationalist.

However, this residential decentralization, which is more extensive in the cities of Eastern Canada, does present great problems. A basic one is connected with the concept of "community." It is much more difficult to locate and to measure the types of communication and interaction occurring between Ukrainians where there are few fixed gathering places. With population and institutional facilities scattered all over the Metropolitan area, it could be argued that no real Ukrainian community exists. I have had to discover measures for locating and measuring the types of communication and social participation networks which more or less replace the daily face-to-face interaction patterns of a centralized ethnic neighborhood. I am now developing my argument that there exist three communities with little geographic separation but with differing values, almost separate social networks and with only minimal contacts except at certain specific levels.

Another related problem is that of securing a representative sample of people to interview. My main interest has been in voluntary associations and the factors determining their membership and structure. It is no problem to achieve contact with active members of organizations. However, in order to understand these members properly, it is necessary to gain some knowledge of the characteristics of non-members and it is much more difficult to secure a representative sample of such non-members. I cannot say that I have satisfactorily solved this problem, having relied for assistance upon present members and even upon my personal friends' mentioning a neighbour or acquaintance whom they "think is a Ukrainian." I even delayed the delivery of Her Majesty's mail one day when a relief postman wanted to know what someone with a name like mine was doing subscribing to Ukrainian newspapers. It is possible to get some very interesting information from such haphazard contacts but it is extremely difficult to estimate how representative it is.

Another problem in connection with Ukrainian organizations concerns their multiplicity. Just as Ukrainians have the largest number of ethnic periodicals so, too, do they appear to be the most over-organized. Even before the arrival of the post-war immigrants, the political and religious conflicts had led to a proliferation of organizations, all fairly similar in structure and, to a lesser extent, in function, but virtually mutually exclusive. Since about 1950, this type of differentiation has increased but, in addition, large numbers of interest groups, literary and art societies, veterans' organizations and professional societies have sprung up to fulfill the needs of a new type of immigrant as well as the burgeoning interests of the Canadian-born. As only the bigger groups possess their own buildings, it becomes a problem in a decentralized community to locate and contact all these groups.

A further problem is that several of these organizations operate on several levels—political, social, cultural, etc. (on some less openly than on others) and it is often difficult to acquire a total picture of their activities. Some of them are rent by internal conflicts not all of which are easily visible to the outsider, and it is often only by accident that one learns of these, since the leaders in office are not often interested in exposing and discussing the weaknesses. Then, in addition, some of the organizations—or cliques within organizations—have close ties with similar organizations (often differing in name), or with cliques therein, in other parts of the world and it can require much research to construct charts of organizational networks.

I might mention one last methodological problem. For the majority of Ukrainians in Toronto, the very fact of the city's size enables or forces them to perform their various roles in social settings widely separated. As one young man said: "No one at work knows who I am or what I do or think outside the office. When I come home after work, it is like stepping into a different world." Now these "different worlds" operate on different values and, in particular, have different criteria for determining the individual's social status. For example, a former European school teacher who, because of age and language handicaps, is forced to perform a menial job in factory or hospital, may still be addressed in the evening most respectfully as **pane magister**. And conversely a Canadian-born doctor, highly esteemed in his profession, is looked down upon in certain Ukrainian circles as "the son of peasants" because he speaks an uneducated or broken Ukrainian and—like most Canadian professionals—shows an inordinate interest in "talking shop" and little ability to carry on discussions of European literary or political problems.

Many Ukrainians move constantly back and forth between these two worlds, or more specifically "status systems." For those whose relative rank in the two systems is equally high or equally low, the problems of status are not important, though even for them there would appear often to be some confusion as to which value system is paramount at any particular moment. But for others the status incongruities are of great significance. For the sociologist, one of the main problems is to set out clearly the distinctions between the criteria used to determine status in each system. Another difficulty in an interview or in casual conversation is to determine which set of values are at that particular moment determining the informant's view-point.

Conclusion

I have attempted in this paper to discuss the problems of research on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada as seen through the eyes of a sociologist of non-Slavic origin. I might stress again that this is a rather subjective account and need not even be considered applicable to all sociologists. There are various brands of sociology, each with its own methods. In addition I am perfectly aware that my own personal interests have much to do with my choice of central focus and even my choice of source materials. However, I hope this will in no way influence the objectivity of my final analysis.

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF UKRAINIAN POPULATION IN CANADA

By WARREN E. KALBACH
University of Alberta

Considerable data and analyses have been published for Canadian population both at national and regional levels. Yet, we still do not know to what extent our knowledge of its demographic characteristics is valid for the many diverse ethnic groups which make up the total society. This paper specifically examines the population of Ukrainian origin and attempts to determine the degree to which its demographic character approaches or diverges from Canada's.[1]

Population Growth

Between 1861 and 1961, Canada's population increased from three and one quarter to eighteen and one quarter million. During the first thirty years of the present century, it doubled in size, and increased by another 75 percent during the next thirty years. Canada is currently sharing in the world's "population explosion" with a current rate of growth of approximately two percent per year, a rate equivalent to the estimated rate of growth for the total world.

The most rapid increase in Canada's population during the present century occurred during the settlement of the West with the aid of considerable immigration from overseas between 1901 and 1911. During this decade, Canada's population increased by 34 percent, while the number of Ukrainians increased from a reported 5,700 to 75,400. By 1961, the Canadians of Ukrainian origin had increased to almost half a million people, or 2.6 percent of the total population. In Figure 1, one can see that the rate of growth of Ukrainian population has exceeded that of Canada as a whole for every decade since 1901, with the exception of the period since 1951. (Note that the relative rates of growth can be determined by direct comparison of the slopes of the curves.)

Figure 2 contrasts the growth of Ukrainian population with that of several other ethnic groups in Canada since 1921. Prior to 1951,

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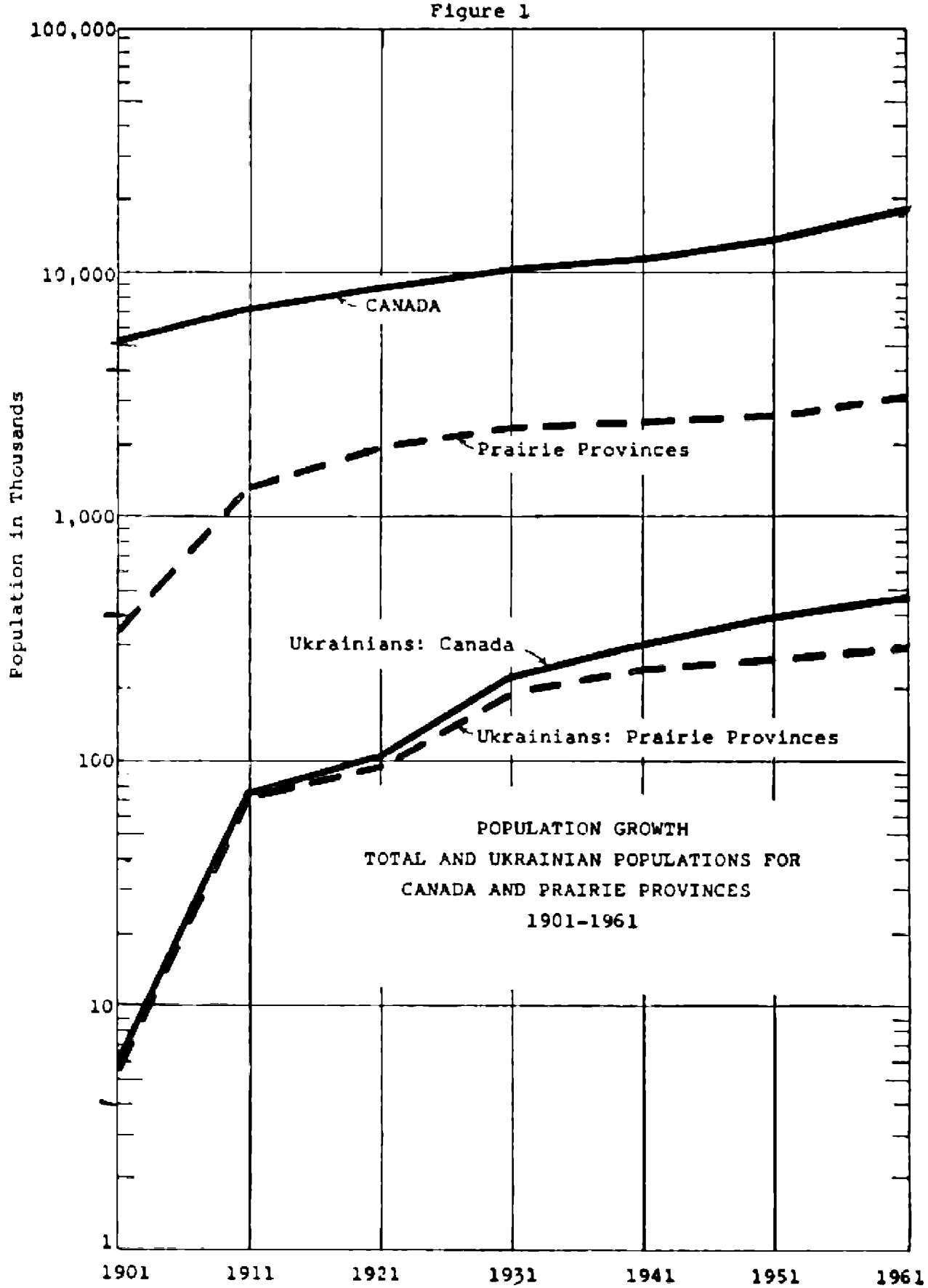
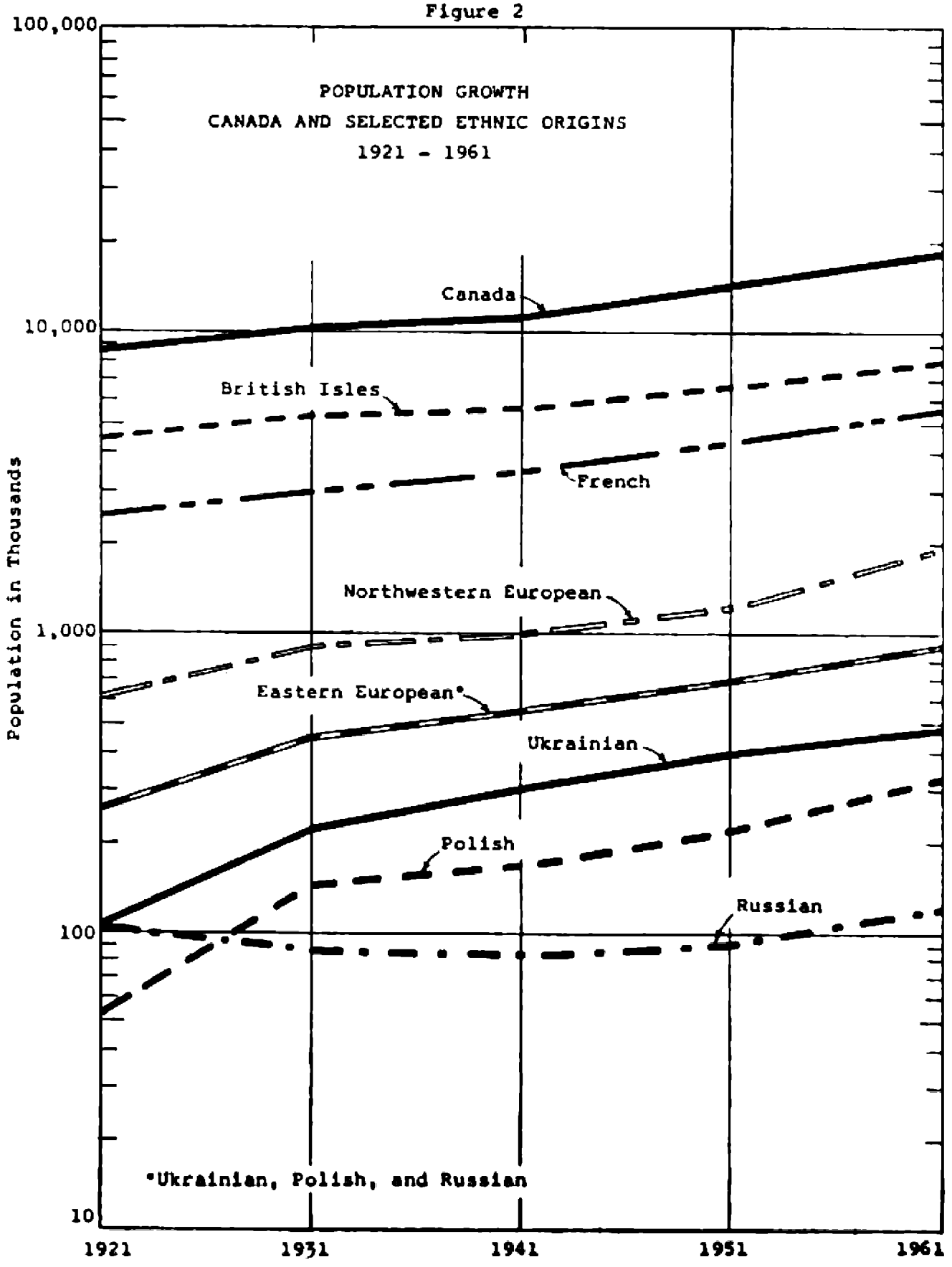
1. Data are taken from published census reports and special tabulations of 1961 census data provided by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for its 1961 census monograph series. No attempt has been made to adjust these data but this should not be construed as a denial of the need for more accurate estimates of ethnic population characteristics, nor a lack of awareness of difficulties inherent in present Canadian ethnic data. These problems are beyond the scope of this paper. Individuals interested in sources of error associated with ethnic origin data or census data in general may refer to the following publications: Economic and Social Research Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, **The Basic 1961 Census Data on Immigration and Citizenship**, Report SR-2, September, 1963, Ottawa; I. P. Fellegi, "Response Variance and Its Estimation," **Journal of the American Statistical Association**, Vol. 59, No. 308, December, 1964, pp.1016-1041; and, Norman B. Ryder, "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics," **The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 21**, No. 4, November, 1955, pp.466-479.

Figure 1



POPULATION GROWTH
TOTAL AND UKRAINIAN POPULATIONS FOR
CANADA AND PRAIRIE PROVINCES
1901-1961

Figure 2



Ukrainians showed greater rates of increase than either the British, French, or "other combined northwestern European" origins. However, by 1961 the rate of growth had fallen behind and its proportionate share of total population had dropped from 2.8 to 2.6 percent. Note that a combined total is shown for Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian origins, as well as separate totals for each. (No political implications were intended by such combination.) Because of definitional problems, and confusion between ethnic origin and country of birth information for these particular origins, they were combined in an attempt to provide a better estimate of the rate of growth for Ukrainian population than the data for this group alone permit.[2] The decline in growth rate which shows in Figure 2 for Ukrainians between 1951 and 1961, is the result of a **reported** decline in the number of foreign-born Ukrainians from 120,000 to 110,000.

Regional Patterns. With one exception, the same trend observed at the national level may be observed between total and Ukrainian populations in the Prairie Provinces. Here too, the Ukrainian component has tended to increase at a more rapid rate than has the total. However, it is to be noted that the growth rate for total Ukrainians in Canada has gradually increased over that for the Ukrainians residing in the Prairie Provinces since 1911. Examination of Figure 3 shows that this is due to rates of growth consistently higher in all other provinces, with the exception of the Maritimes between 1931 and 1941.

British Columbia has shown the highest rate of increase every decade since 1921, with Ontario having the next highest, with the exception of the 1951-61 decade, when Ukrainians in both Quebec and the Maritimes experienced equal or greater rates of growth. Possibly of more importance is the effect of these changing rates on the regional distribution of Ukrainians. It is very evident from data presented in Table I that the bulk of Ukrainian population still resides in the Prairie Provinces, but that the proportion has declined considerably from 90 to 61 percent during the forty years preceding the 1961 census. All other provinces, with the exception of the Maritimes, have shown consistent increases in their proportionate share. Ontario has experienced the largest gain with British Columbia the next largest. By comparing changes in the distribution of Ukrainians with corresponding changes in distribution of total population, it can be seen that the Ukrainians have been affected to a greater degree by these regional shifts than the general population. For example, Ontario's proportionate share of total population increased only slightly from 33 to 34 percent in forty years while its proportion of Ukrainians increased from 8 to 27 percent during the same period.

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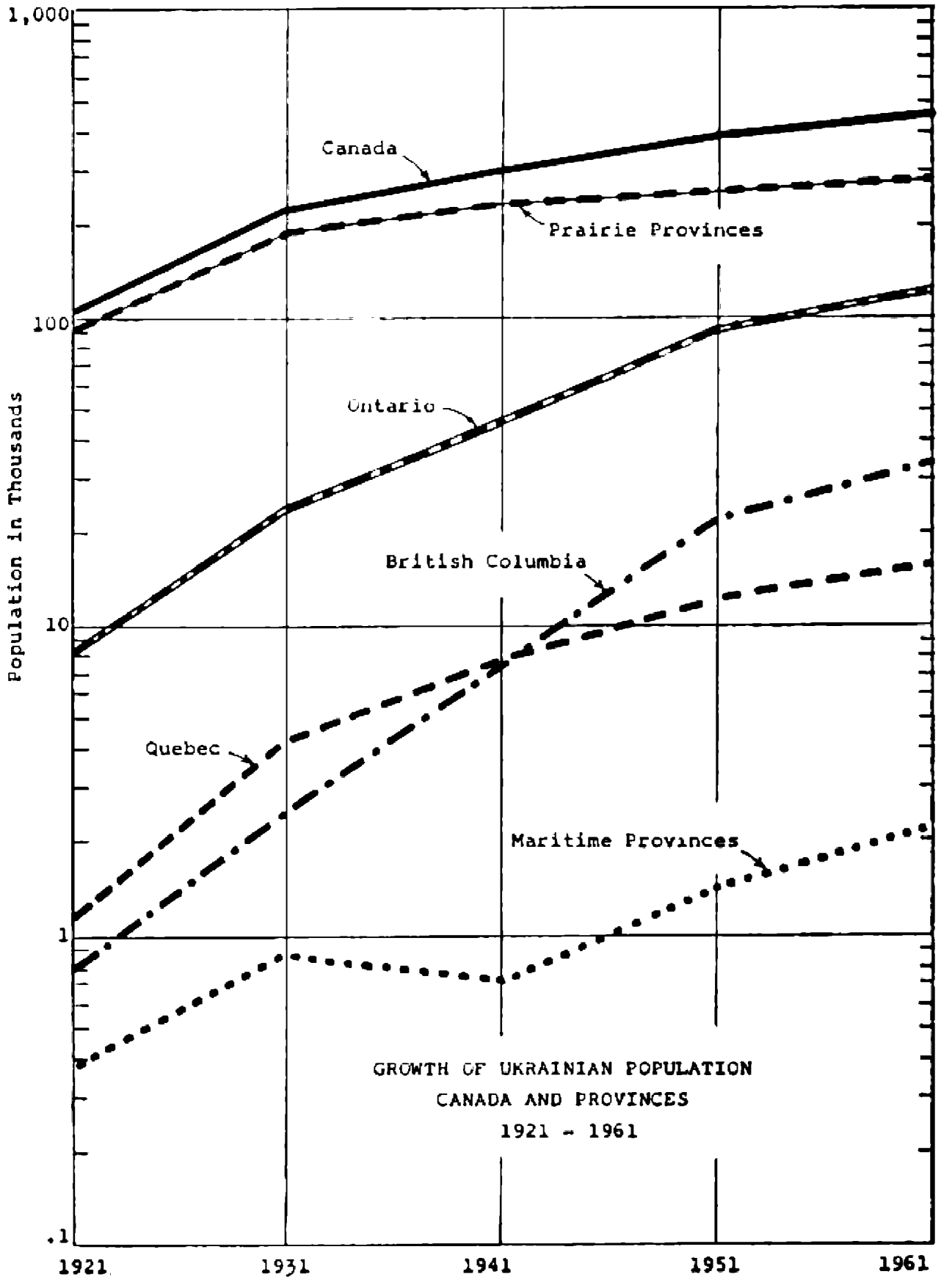
2. The Economic and Social Research Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, in referring to discrepancies in their estimates of changes in Canada's ethnic composition between 1951 and 1961 stated, "The apparent appearance of 2,000 of Russian origin and apparent disappearance of 2,000 of Ukrainian origin seems probably a definitional problem." Report SR-2, September, 1963, Ottawa, p.71.

Figure 3



GROWTH OF UKRAINIAN POPULATION
CANADA AND PROVINCES
1921 - 1961

Figure 4

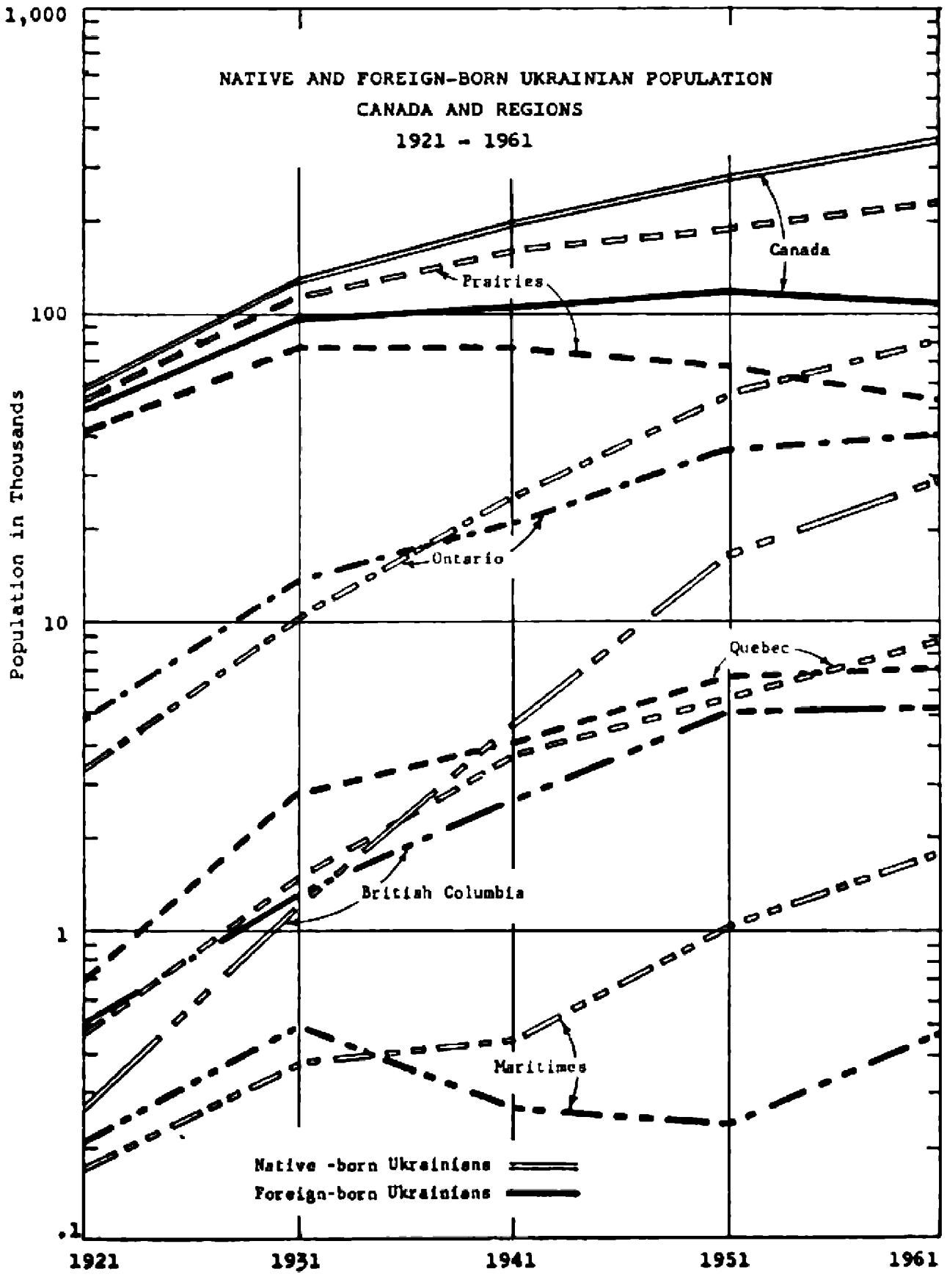


TABLE I
Percentage Distributions of Ukrainian and Total Populations by Province: 1921-1961

	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Ukrainian Population:					
Maritimes	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.5
Quebec	1.1	1.9	2.6	3.3	3.5
Ontario	7.8	10.8	15.7	23.7	27.1
Prairies	90.0	85.7	78.9	66.9	61.4
B.C.	0.7	1.2	2.5	5.7	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
Total Population:					
Maritimes	11.4	9.7	9.8	11.6	10.4
Quebec	26.9	27.7	29.0	29.0	28.9
Ontario	33.4	33.1	33.0	32.9	34.3
Prairies	22.3	22.7	21.1	18.2	17.5
B.C.	6.0	6.7	7.1	8.3	8.9
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

The relative contribution by native and foreign-born populations to these changes can be assessed by referring to Figure 4. In general, native-born Ukrainians have increased at faster rates than foreign-born in every province and in every decade since 1921, with two exceptions in Quebec and the Maritimes.

British Columbia's higher growth rate for Ukrainians can now be seen to be primarily due to the rapid increase of native-born (through both natural increase and migration). The rate of increase of its foreign-born barely exceeded that of its counterpart in Ontario, and then only during the twenty years between 1931 and 1951. The very noticeable slowing down of growth in the Prairies since 1931, and the absolute decline in numbers experienced by the Maritimes between 1931 and 1941 can be seen to be due to absolute declines in numbers of foreign-born Ukrainians.

Declines in the growth rate of foreign-born also have brought about a shift in the balance between native and foreign-born populations. Due to its earlier settlement and to an earlier decline in growth of foreign-born, native-born have exceeded foreign-born Ukrainians in the Prairie Provinces for the forty year period since 1921. In other Provinces, the balance did not shift until the 1931-41 decade, with the exception of Quebec where they did not surpass the foreign-born in numbers until 1961.

Both native and foreign-born Ukrainian populations in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec have consistently grown at faster rates than their total numbers in Canada since 1921. If one takes into account the declining significance of immigration during this period, the prevailing higher fertility in the Prairies and Maritimes, and assuming no significant mortality differentials affecting Ukrainian population, then these trends must reflect the effects of interprovincial migration.

Rural-Urban Movements. Proportionately larger increases of Ukrainians in the three provinces experiencing the greatest urbanization does not in itself prove that Ukrainians are contributing disproportionately to the growth of urban areas. However, data presented in Figure 5, showing the combined populations of Canada's four largest metropolitan areas from 1931 to 1961, do permit one

to determine more precisely the extent of Ukrainian contribution to the growth of Canada's largest urban centers and indirectly to the urbanization of Canada's total population.

Between 1931 and 1951, Ukrainian population grew at a faster rate than did the combined populations of these areas, and during the last decade grew at approximately the same rate. This faster rate of growth was primarily due to the native-born whose rate of increase exceeded that of the foreign-born in these combined areas up to 1951. Very clearly, Ukrainians, with the exception of their foreign-born since 1951, have contributed more than their expected share to the growth of these four metropolitan areas. Additional analyses, not included here, have shown that this growth was not evenly distributed among the four largest metropolitan areas, but occurred more rapidly in Vancouver and Toronto than in either Winnipeg or Montreal. A similar comparison for the five largest central cities in the Prairie Provinces shows the same general pattern of more rapid growth of Ukrainians in contrast to the total up to 1951.

Population Structure

The same forces which have brought about changes in the numbers and distribution of Ukrainians have also affected the basic structural character of their population. Because of their importance to a group's social, economic, and political nature, sex and age distributions for Ukrainians will be examined in considerable detail.

Sex Ratio. One characteristic of an expanding frontier type population is the presence of an excess number of males. This has been characteristic of Canadian population for the fifty years since 1911, and no doubt has been true for most of Canada's history. Figure 6 indicates that there has been a general decline in the sex ratio since 1911, decreasing from 1,129 males per 1,000 females to 1,022 males per 1,000 females in 1961. Being of more recent vintage, the Ukrainians could expect to have proportionately more immigrants, hence more males. This is reflected in their sex ratio of 1,349 in 1911. However, in keeping with over-all trends, this too has declined, and had reached a value of 1,087 in 1961. While relatively high, the Ukrainian sex ratio does not begin to approach that of other ethnic populations, such as the Italians. Their sex ratio in 1911 was 3,220, and 1,150 by 1961. These values were undoubtedly exceeded by populations of Asiatic origins where immigration has been much more dominated by males.

To illustrate further the influence of immigration on sex composition of particular populations, ratios have been computed for native and foreign-born components of Ukrainian and total population. As seen in Figure 7, sex ratios for native-born Ukrainians and total population have been quite similar through time, reflecting the constant sex ratio at birth as well as similar sex-specific mortality experience. The situation for foreign-born populations is quite different. In this case, sex ratios for Ukrainian foreign-born are much higher than for all foreign-born combined. Both show similar trends with peak values in 1931 and subsequent declines. However, the

Figure 5

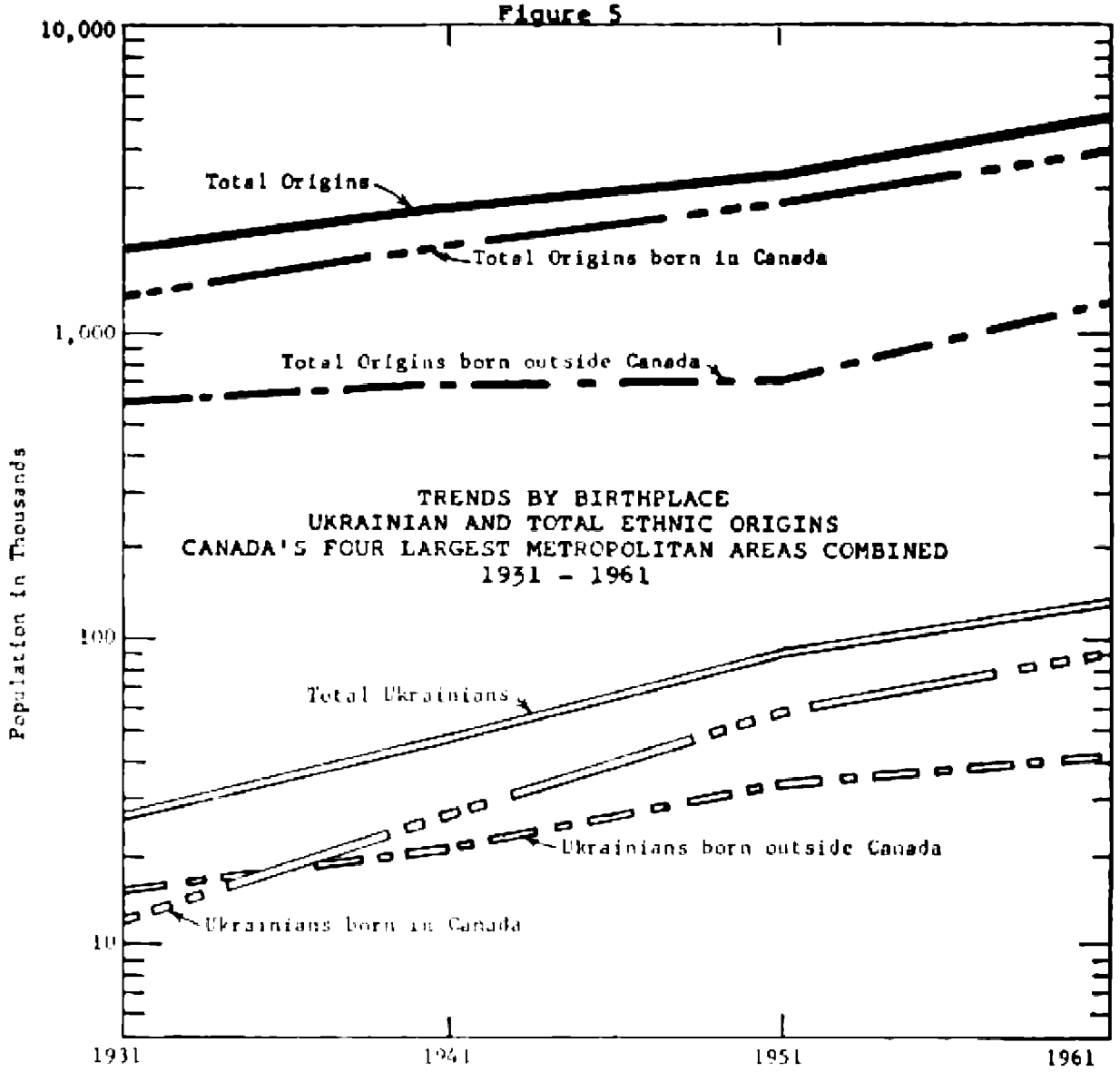


Fig. 6

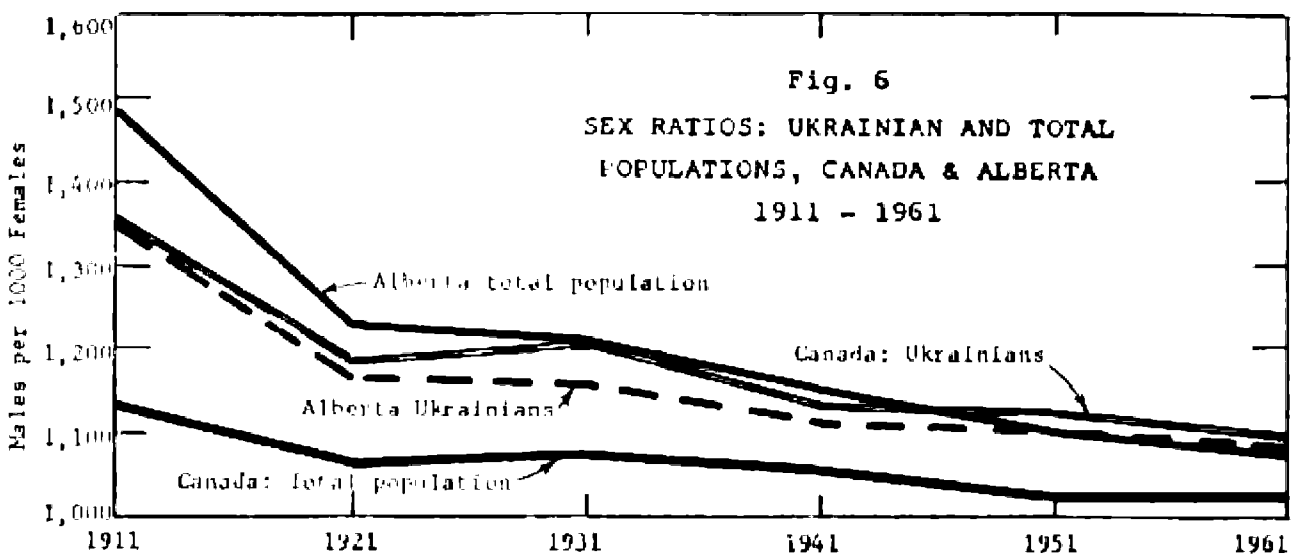


Figure 7

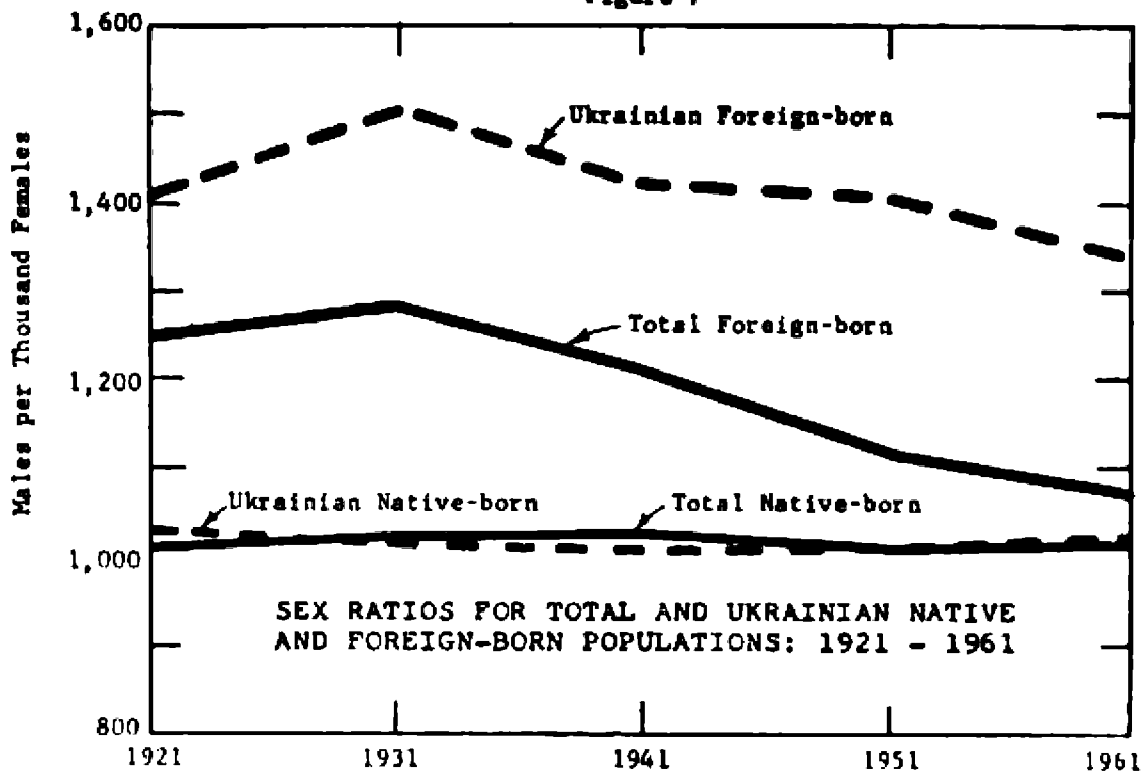
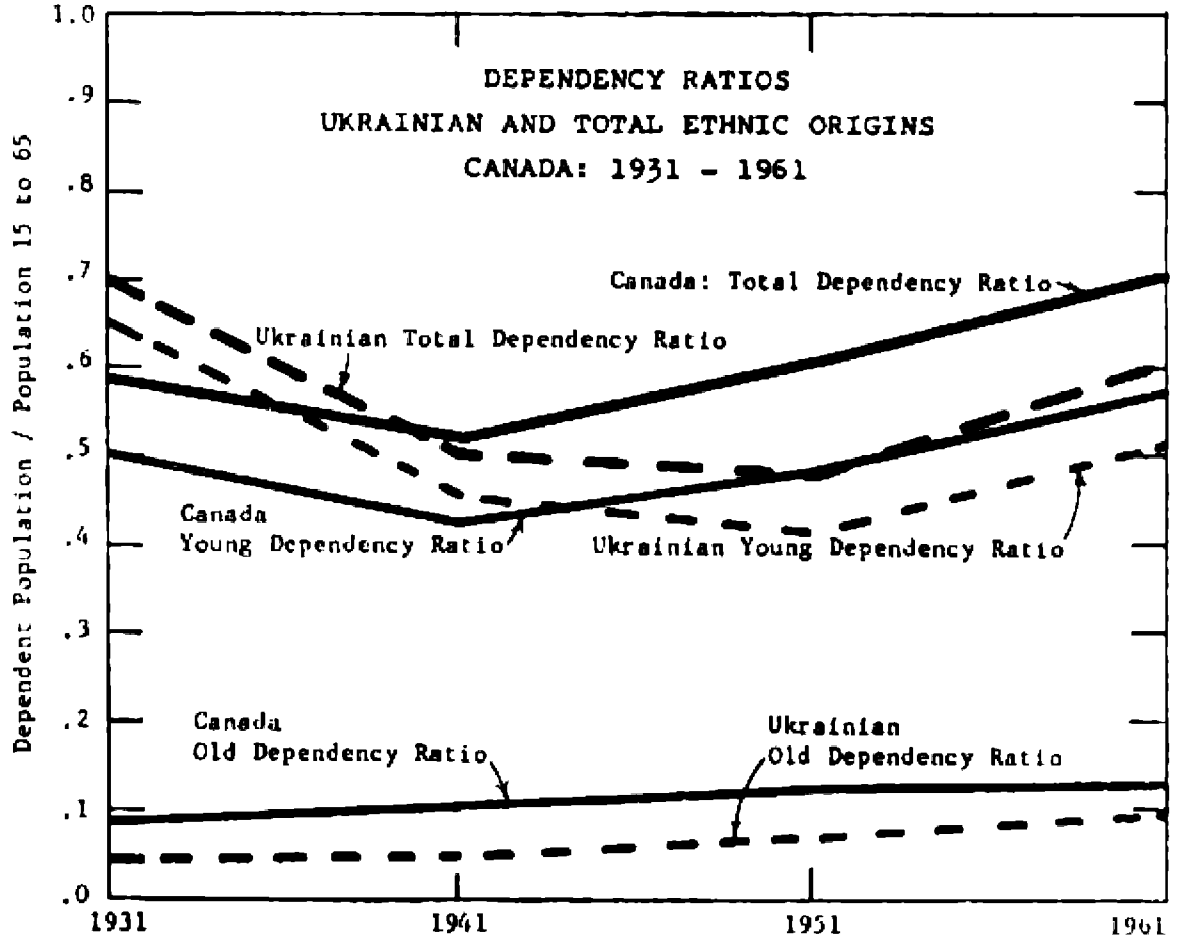


Figure 8



sex ratio for total foreign born appears to have declined somewhat more rapidly than that for the Ukrainian foreign-born.

Further analysis of sex ratios by age groups would indicate more clearly the extent to which existing imbalances might affect future marriage and fertility rates. Population pyramids for Ukrainian origins in 1931 and 1961 (Figure 9) indicate that the excess of males was associated with age groups over 20 years in 1931. Since then, the more noticeable excess of males has shifted to age groups 50 years of age and over as the earlier immigrants have continued their aging process. While sex ratios over 1,000 still exist for age groups between 35 and 50, it is becoming less of a disturbing factor in the Ukrainian age-sex structures.

Age Distribution. Between 1931 and 1961, the age composition of Ukrainians has converged with that of the total age structure, with the possible exception of the 25-44 year age group. In general, Table II shows that changes have been greater for each age group of Ukrainians, either declining or increasing more rapidly than corresponding age groups in the population as a whole. For example, the Ukrainian population, 45 years and over, increased from 13 to 25 percent while the total population in this same age group for Canada increased only moderately from 21 to 25 percent.

TABLE II

Percentage Distribution of Total and Ukrainian Population by Broad Age Groups: 1931-1961.

Population	Age Group	1931	1941	1951	1961
Canada:	Under 15 years	31.7	27.8	30.4	34.0
	15 - 24	18.8	18.7	15.4	14.4
	25 - 44	27.2	28.2	28.8	26.7
	45 - 64	16.8	18.5	17.7	17.4
	65 years & over	5.6	6.7	7.8	7.6
	Total	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.1
Ukrainian:	Under 15 years	38.7	30.5	27.9	31.7
	15 - 24	21.5	22.0	16.9	13.3
	25 - 44	27.0	29.1	32.7	29.9
	45 - 64	10.3	15.1	17.8	18.9
	65 years & over	2.5	3.3	4.8	6.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

Implications of these changes might be more apparent by comparing changes over time in the relative sizes of populations in the dependent ages (under 15 and over 64) to that in the labour force range of 15 to 65. Total dependency ratios, presented in Figure 8, show declines for both Ukrainians and total population between 1931 and 1941. For Ukrainians the decline was greater and continued for another decade after Canada's total dependency ratio had begun to increase. The "young" and "old" dependency ratios, which relate each of these dependent populations to the labour force ages, show that the trends observed for total dependency ratios are primarily the result of fluctuations in the "young" dependency ratios. The "old" dependency ratios have shown a consistent but relatively small increase during the same period.

Figure 9

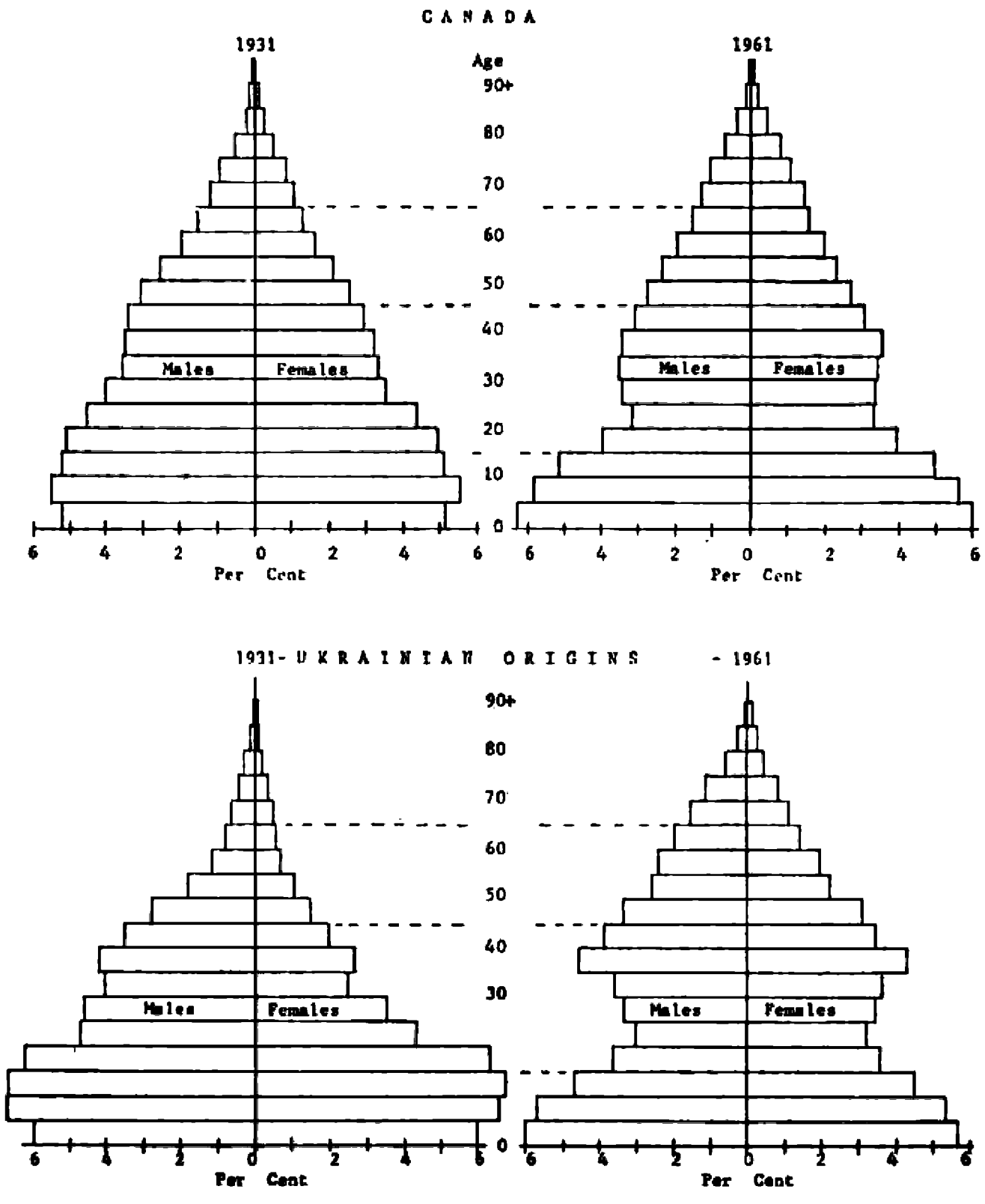
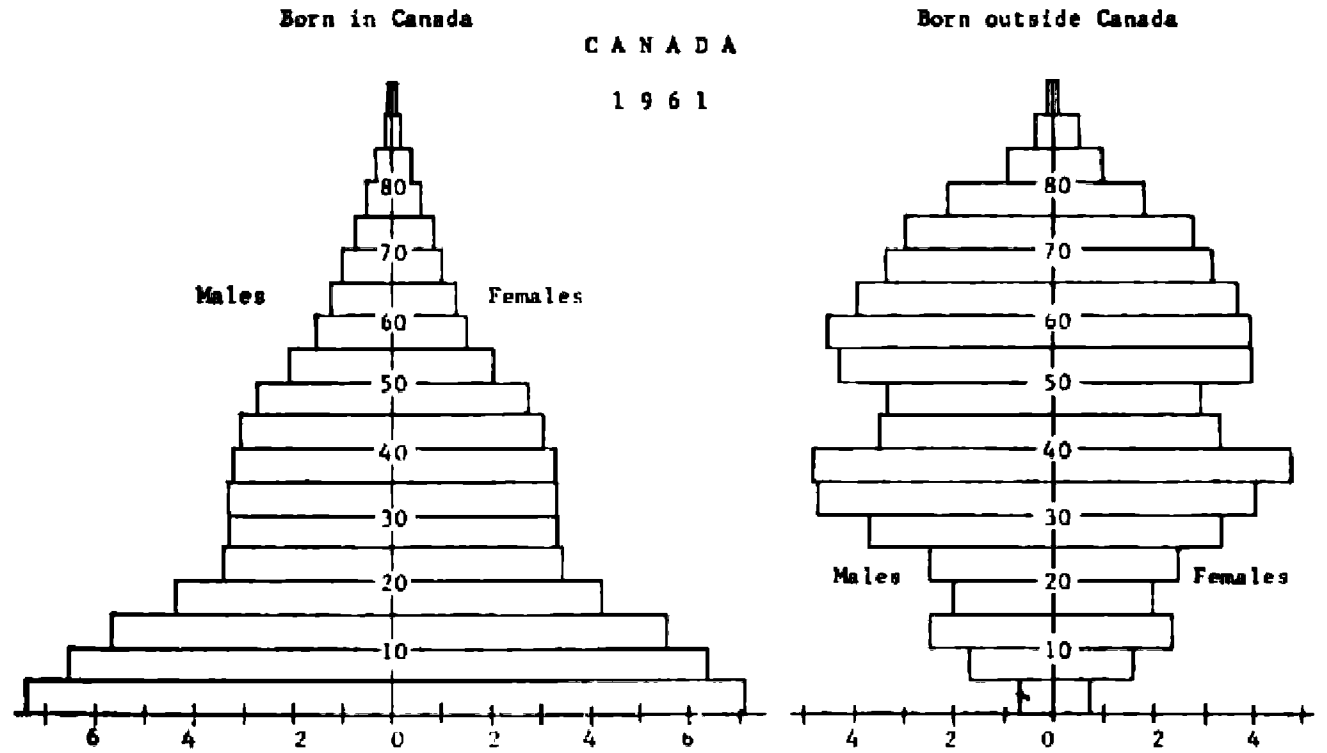
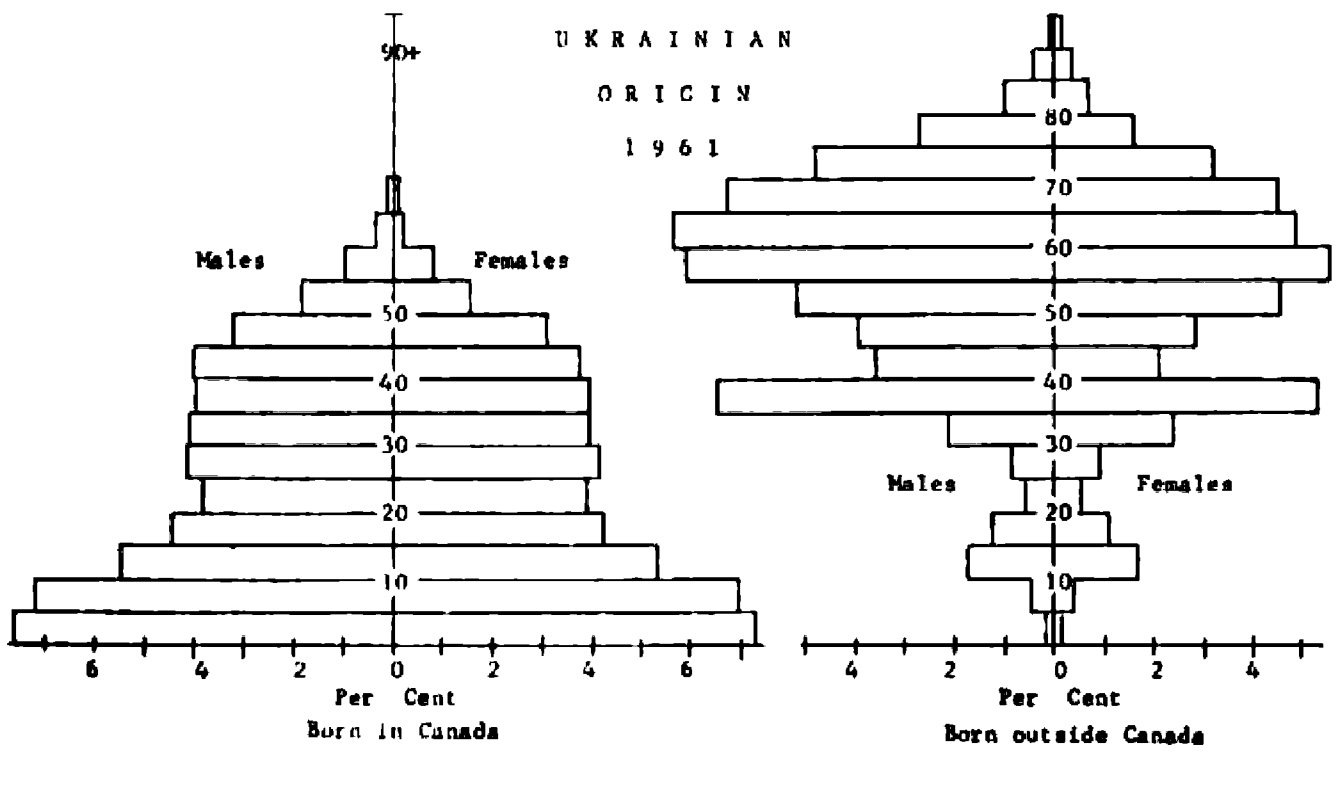


Figure 10





From lows of 53 and 48 percent for Canada (1941) and Ukrainians (1951), total dependency ratios have increased to 71 and 61 percent in 1961. The higher the ratios become, the greater the economic burden the dependent populations are likely to impose on the potentially productive part of the population. This refers to more than just the maintenance of a reasonable standard of living for everyone. It is also relevant to problems of providing adequate facilities for the educating of the young as well as caring for the old, providing the ethnic population in question is interested in providing special facilities for their people. These data suggest that the economic burden imposed by dependent populations is not spread uniformly throughout Canadian society, nor does the period of maximum (or minimum) burden necessarily occur at the same time for different ethnic populations within the total population.

At the present time, the dependency ratio for Ukrainians is less than that for Canada as a whole. However, examination of age-sex structures for this ethnic group, in Figure 9, shows that these lower ratios are essentially due to the proportionately larger numbers in the older age groups of the labour force age range, and smaller proportions under 15 years. Comparison of 1931 and 1961 population pyramids suggests that the Ukrainian population has been aging more rapidly than has the total.[3] Note the fairly consistent proportionate declines in age groups under 24 and consistent increases in proportions over 45 during this period. The more favorable dependency ratio enjoyed by the Ukrainian population at the present time may very well be a temporary phenomenon only. Even so, the dependency ratios for both groups will no doubt continue to increase until a significant decline occurs in numbers of births.

The 1961 Ukrainian Population

The percentage age-sex distributions of the 1961 populations shown in Figure 9 are broken down into their native and foreign-born components in Figure 10. While these are helpful in visualizing the effects of social, economic, and political influences since 1931, care must be exercised to maintain a proper perspective regarding the relative sizes of the native and foreign-born components of the populations concerned. Figure 11 presents the numerical age-sex distribution for Ukrainians with the foreign-born further sub-divided into pre-World War II and post-World War II immigrants.

The following analyses are concerned with an examination of several characteristics of these components of population, and seek to determine the degree to which they differ from their respective counterparts in total Canadian society.

Employment Status. A more complete understanding of the implications of dependency ratio trends requires an examination of the population's employment status. This information is presented in Table III for the 1961 populations shown in Figures 9, 10, and 11, over 15 years of age.

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3. Between 1931 and 1961, the median age for population of Ukrainian origins increased from 18.5 years to 27.7 years. The median age for total population increased from 24.7 years to 26.3 years during the same period.

TOTAL, NATIVE-BORN, AND FOREIGN-BORN
UKRAINIAN ORIGINS BY AGE AND SEX
BY
PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION: 1961

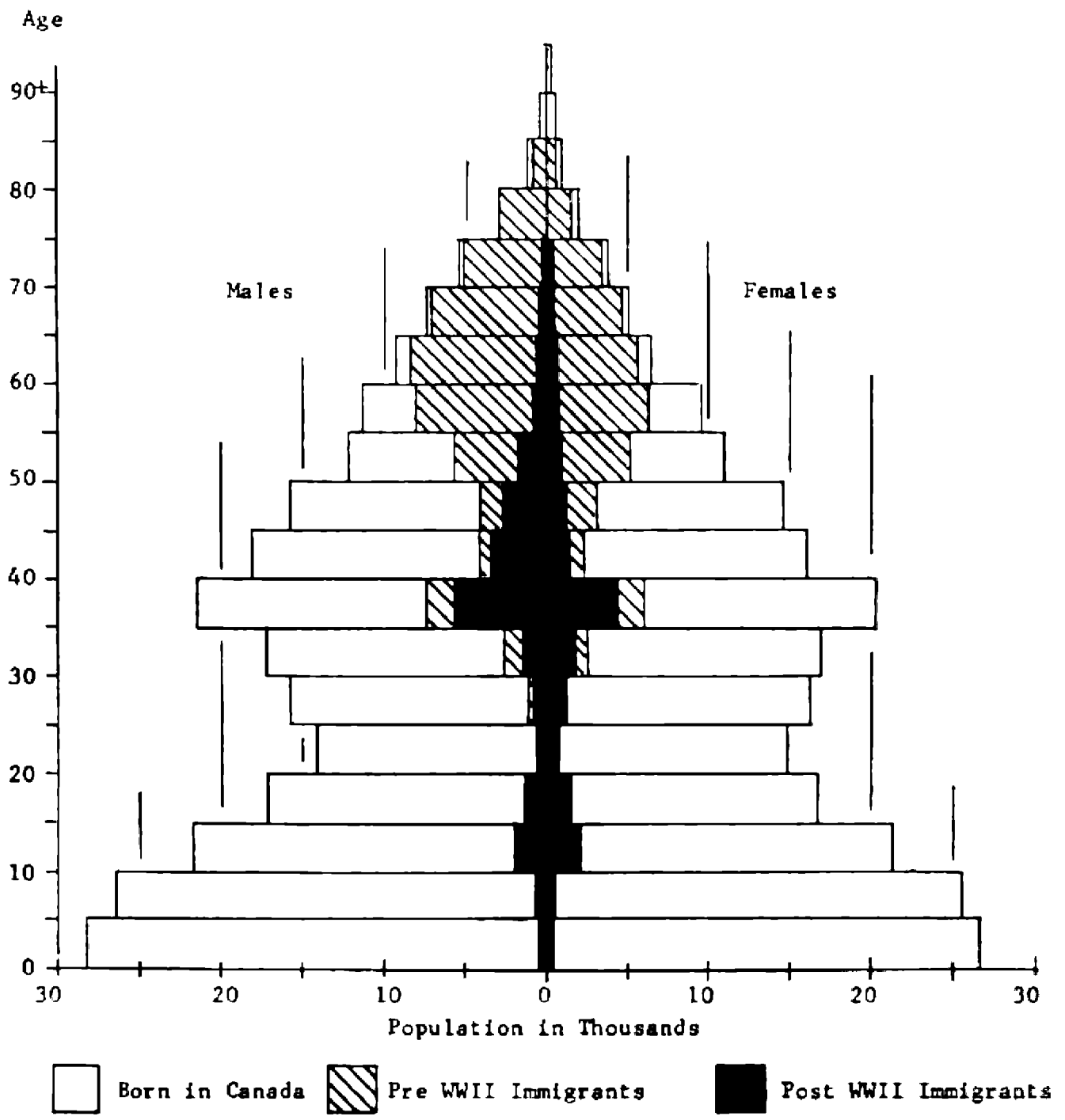

Figure 11.

TABLE III

Employment Status for Native and Foreign-Born Total and Ukrainian Populations by Sex, 1961.

	— Total —		Native-born		Foreign-born	
Males:	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.
Job last week	74.9%	77.7	75.1	83.3	74.0	67.5
Looked (experienced)	2.9	2.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
Looked (inexperienced)	.4	.3	.4	.4	.2	.2
Job last year	3.6	2.9	3.9	2.9	2.8	2.8
Have not worked	18.2	16.6	17.6	10.9	20.5	27.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Females:						
Job last week	28.9%	35.3	28.9	39.2	28.8	25.7
Looked (experienced)	.6	.8	.6	.9	.7	.6
Looked (inexperienced)	.2	.2	.3	.3	.2	.2
Job last year	4.2	4.4	4.2	5.3	3.6	2.4
Have not worked	66.1	59.2	66.1	54.3	66.7	71.1
Total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

In comparing Ukrainian with total Canadians over 15 years of age, both males and females have larger proportions employed (in a job the week prior to the census) than do all male and female Canadians. In addition, the differences between Ukrainian and all Canadian women tend to be greater than in the case of men, with the exception of the foreign-born group.

The comparisons between total Ukrainians and Canadians in the first two columns of Table III obscure the fact that when considered separately, only the native-born Ukrainians have higher proportions reporting jobs the previous week. In the case of the foreign-born, the relationship is reversed. Possibly this reflects, in part, a greater language handicap for Ukrainian foreign-born which tends to make it somewhat more difficult to find suitable employment. However, this would hardly explain why larger percentages of native-born Ukrainians had employment than total native-born. A more likely explanation is to be found in the age-sex differentials for the populations being compared. Practically all the native-born Ukrainians over 15 years of age are still within the range of labour force ages, i.e., between 15 and 65. On the other hand, close to 25 percent of foreign-born Ukrainians are over 65, considerably more than the proportion for total foreign-born in Canada.

Some of the effects of disproportionate numbers of foreign-born Ukrainians being over the age of 65 can be controlled for by comparing post-World War II immigrants only. In this case, 83 percent of the Ukrainians reported having jobs compared to 86 percent for all post-war immigrants (males) combined. The difference is probably not significant between these two groups. In addition, it suggests that the differences between native and foreign-born Ukrainians may be due primarily to differences in age distribution of the two groups.

Occupational Characteristics. Distributions by occupational groupings for Ukrainian and total native and foreign-born populations in the current experienced labour force are presented in Table

IV.[4] It is apparent that both native and foreign-born Ukrainian populations are characterized by disproportionate numbers in the combined farmer and farm worker category. In each case they constitute approximately 20 percent of the current experienced labour force in contrast to approximately 10 percent for the total population. It can not be determined from these data what the decline has been over time, but the underlying causal factors producing the general rural-urban movement of population have not been directed solely towards either group. It appears that the loss of potential native-born farmers has been matched by losses to foreign-born through migration, retirement and mortality.

While most of the other differences between native and foreign-born Ukrainians suggest convergence with the distribution of "total" native-born, the difference is most noticeable in the case of the so-called "white collar" managerial, professional, clerical, and sales occupations. Only 15 percent of the foreign-born Ukrainians were in these combined categories, while 33 percent of native-born Ukrainians were reported in these white-collar groups (compared to 38 percent for total native-born). Another intergenerational change which has occurred is evident in the percentages reported as craftsmen. Thirty-two percent of foreign-born Ukrainians reported themselves as craftsmen compared to only 21 percent of native-born Ukrainians. However, in this respect, Ukrainians differed little from the total native and foreign-born groups in Canada. It would seem that Ukrainians born in Canada have almost, but not quite, achieved occupational assimilation (to the extent that it can be measured by congruence of occupational distributions). The one exception appears to be caused by the relatively strong appeal which farming seems to have for both native and foreign-born.

The more recent arrivals among foreign-born Ukrainians, when compared to total post-war immigrants, are found to be overly represented in craftsman occupations (42 vs. 34 percent), service and recreation occupations (18 vs. 15 percent), and labourers (10 vs. 7 percent). The next largest occupational group for Ukrainian post-war immigrants is the professions, but here Ukrainians were under-represented (6 vs. 10 percent).

Total Reported Earnings for the Current Experienced Labour Force. Data in Table V show relatively small but consistent differences in the total earnings (i.e., wages and salaries, plus income from self employment) for Ukrainians and total population. Of the three Ukrainian groups shown, post-World War II immigrants differ most from the distribution for total Canadians, while the native-born differ least. On the other hand, within the native-born and two foreign-born groups, the differences between Ukrainians and total Canadians appear to be least for native-born, but most for pre-World War II immigrants. The post-war immigrants are intermediate to

4. The current experienced labour force consists of the first two categories in Table III. It consists of those who reported having jobs the week prior to the census, and those who were not working but were looking for work, and had worked before.

the other two with respect to the lower and upper income categories for which data are presented.

TABLE IV

Percentage Distribution of Occupations by Nativity for Ukrainians and Total Canadians in the Current Experienced Labour Force, 1961.

	— Total —		Native-born		Foreign-born	
Occupation	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.
Managerial	8.3	5.8	8.1	6.0	8.9	5.3
Professional	9.7	6.5	10.0	7.5	8.6	3.9
Clerical	12.9	11.1	13.6	13.8	10.3	4.1
Sales	6.4	4.6	6.8	5.7	4.9	2.0
Service & Recreation	12.3	12.6	11.5	11.3	15.2	15.9
Transport. & Commerce	6.1	5.0	6.8	6.0	3.3	2.3
Farmers	6.1	13.3	6.2	12.4	5.7	15.3
Farm workers	3.9	7.8	4.0	8.9	3.4	5.1
Loggers	1.2	.4	1.4	.5	.5	.4
Fishermen, etc.	.6	.1	.7	.1	.1	.0
Miners, etc.	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6
Craftsman	24.1	24.1	22.6	20.8	29.9	32.5
Labourers, n.e.c.	4.9	5.3	4.6	4.2	5.8	8.3
Occupation not stated	2.5	2.1	2.6	1.6	2.2	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9

The rather large discrepancies in income distributions between Ukrainian and total Canadian pre-war immigrants can be explained primarily in terms of the different proportions of these groups reporting white-collar and farming occupations. Similar occupational differences may also account for the somewhat smaller discrepancies in income distributions for the two native-born groups; but, for the two post-war immigrant groups, the major occupational differences appear in the white-collar and craftsman groups. Eighteen and 42 percent of the post-war immigrant Ukrainians are found in these two groups respectively, compared to 32 and 34 percent for all post-war immigrants.

TABLE V

Percentage Distributions of Total Earnings for Total and Ukrainian Native and Foreign-Born Populations by Period of Immigration, 1961.

	— Total —		Native-born		Pre-WW II Imm.		Post-WW II Imm.	
Income	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.	Canada	Ukr.
Under $3,000	45.7	46.9	46.0	46.6	39.3	47.5	48.1	47.5
3,000 - 5,999	42.6	45.7	42.3	44.9	45.3	46.6	42.8	48.6
6,000 & over	11.6	7.5	11.6	8.5	15.3	5.8	9.1	3.9
Totals	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0

Differences in income distributions between Ukrainians and total population, analyzed by nativity and period of immigration, suggest that income differentials will decrease as the proportion of older foreign-born in the population declines, and provided there is no significant increase in numbers of Ukrainians entering Canada.

Summary

Canada's Ukrainians have increased more rapidly than total population for the fifty years prior to 1951. Since 1921, this rapid growth has been due primarily to changes occurring in its native-born. On the other hand, a decline in growth rate since 1951 must be attributed to actual declines in numbers of foreign-born. The bulk

of this ethnic group still resides in the Prairie Provinces, but the overwhelming proportion in former years is declining in the face of rapid increases in Ontario and British Columbia. Both native and foreign-born groups have contributed population to major urban areas at a faster rate than their counterparts in the total population. This is particularly evident in Vancouver, and to a lesser extent in Toronto, since 1931.

Ukrainians today still have a considerable excess of males, but increasingly concentrated in the older age groups. The trend is toward a normalization of the sex ratio as this excess of older foreign-born male immigrants is depleted through the normal aging process.

While the native-born component of Ukrainians is much younger than the total native-born, the disproportionate numbers of older foreign-born may produce a continuation of the aging process for some time to come. Dependency ratios should continue to increase for Ukrainians as well as for the total population.

Employment status of Ukrainians also tends to reflect the unique aspects of its native and foreign-born age-sex structures. It appears that differences would become minimal, if not disappear altogether, if age and sex differentials were eliminated. Differences in occupational characteristics are attributable in part to the heavy influx of early immigrants into the Prairie Provinces as farmers. While disproportionately high numbers of both native and foreign-born remain in farming, the effects of rural-urban movement can be detected in the higher proportion of native-born now in white-collar occupations compared to foreign-born. In comparing occupational and income data for native and foreign-born there is evidence of convergence with characteristics of the total population. Whether or not the differences found here are greater or smaller, or the trends more or less pronounced than those to be observed in other specific ethnic groups, cannot be determined from data presented here. Answers to these equally important questions will require similar analyses of other groups.

If none of these findings seems surprising, this too is not surprising. Most of what has been said has a familiar ring to anyone at all familiar with the more general demographic trends occurring in Canada. This is not entirely unexpected since any part of a complex and interdependent whole is both affected by, and in turn contributes to, the system's over-all character. Differences observed between Ukrainians and total population reported here are related to differences in their basic age-sex structures and to more general demographic and economic trends occurring in the larger society. The importance of a group's demographic character and experience cannot be too strongly emphasized. Too often, social, economic, and even political differences between ethnic groups are attributed to ethnicity **per se**, when in fact they reflect demographic processes and changes common to all ethnic groups.

ADJUSTMENT OF UKRAINIANS IN ALBERTA: ALIENATION AND INTEGRATION

By CHARLES W. HOBART
University of Alberta

The classical concept used in the study of the adjustment of immigrants to a new society was the concept of marginality. According to this concept the world of the immigrant was a marginal world, betwixt and between the culture and the social structure of the society in which he had been socialized and from which he had come, and the culture and the social structure of the new society in which he now found himself. According to this conception, the immigrant's life would remain somewhat marginal. Although his world would tend, in time, to move slowly into congruence with the new society, he would always remain to some extent of the old society, oriented toward it, though no longer in it, and in the new society though not of it.

This concept was applicable, not only to the immigrant himself, but to a degree to his children and his grandchildren as well. His children were of the ghetto, either the urban ghetto of the teeming immigrant slum, or the rural ghetto of the block settlement area. During their early years they might receive much of the old country cultural heritage relatively intact and unchallenged, including language, family roles, work habits and motivation, religious involvements, subsistence patterns or preferences. Or the efforts of parents to pass on their own values to their children might encounter severe competition and resistance from the school, the ethnically heterogeneous peer group, and the mass cultural experiences of their children. In the former case the identification of offspring with the parental culture might be more whole-hearted, in the latter case it might be more ambivalent, perhaps compulsively rejecting. But in both cases the seeds planted during the early care and training of the offspring as children, the seeds implicit in the assumptions about life, the world, people, and purpose which were foundational to parental behavior, inescapably sprouted and bore their fruit in the lives of the children. This remained true even though the second generation might try to deny and destroy these influences in their lives.

The third generation may be the one to make the more ambivalent, perhaps rejecting response to the continuing old country cultural heritage, if their parents did not themselves go through this stage. If their parents did, the third generation is likely to experience something of a renaissance of interest in the old country culture, thus seeking an answer to their quest for a feeling of identity.

Thus, the involvement of at least the first three immigrant generations with both the old country and the new country cultures is likely to be ambivalent, their activity often compensatory, their identifications and rejections chronically compulsive, their motivations reflecting these elements in their life situations.

The renaissance of interest in a venerable concept, alienation, and especially the recent development of scales for the measurement of alienation, make possible a new and more precise study of the "marginality" of immigrant generations. The relevance of the concept is clear; the immigrant is alienated from the old country society most obviously in terms of physical removal, but, also, perhaps in terms of his feelings of guilt at having deserted his fatherland, and perhaps also sensing the jealousy, the rejection of those he left behind. At the very least they cannot really understand his current situation, cannot realize what he must cope with and thus there is irreducible alienation and loneliness from those left behind. He is also alienated from the new society. He may encounter its discrimination and rejection of his foreignness very frequently. His misunderstandings of non-immigrants, and their misunderstandings of him, are constant reminders of their inability to realize and sympathize with the difficulties of his situation.

The immigrant may also be ambivalently alienated from his fellow homeland immigrants, fearing from them pressures toward orthodoxy or toward innovation which will only upset him. His approach—avoidance conflict with respect to both the old and the new, his confused alternation between the old and the new, may tend to cut him off from others who are in the same boat. Since they personify both aspects of his conflict, he may have to fear a double-edged attack, intensifying his conflict, from them. And finally he may be self-alienated, feeling estranged from the earlier self that he had thought he was, but unable really to identify with his current activities and his current life to some extent.

Recent refinement, and operationalization of the alienation concept permits a more precise specification of the nature of immigrant alienation beyond this intuitive discussion. Melvin Seeman has distinguished five aspects of alienation: powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation from others, and self-estrangement.[1] All of these aspects are clearly characteristic of the situation of the first-generation immigrant, and also to some extent, perhaps, of the situations of second and third generation. Three of these aspects, powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation, have been operationalized by Dwight G. Dean using attitude items,[2] and twelve items from Dean's scale have been used in the current study. Dean was not able to construct an index of self-alienation; accordingly we will not be able to say anything in this study about this potential in the immigrant's situation. But the other aspects of alienation which Seeman distinguishes are adequately indexed since meaningless

1. Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," **American Sociological Review**, Vol. 24 (December, 1959), pp.783-791.
2. Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," **American Sociological Review**, Vol. 26 (October, 1961), pp.753-758.

should be understood merely as the subjective or felt consequence of the objective situation of normative confusion. The items constructed by Dean for use in these three sub-scales included the following: "The way of life is today, there's not much room for choice, even in personal matters," which involves powerlessness. "There just aren't any definite rules to live by," which involves normlessness or meaninglessness, and "There are few dependable ties between people any more," which relates to social isolation.

Another short scale of closely related items was included in the interview schedule used in this study, the Srole Anomie Scale.[3] This scale seeks to operationalize Durkheim's concepts of anomie and egoism, in terms of the subjective consequences of experiencing the objective conditions. The content of the items which Srole worded relates clearly to feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. There are five items. "There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man," relates to powerlessness. "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself," relates to meaninglessness, specifically the non-existence of any meaningful future. "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on," relates to social isolation. "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better," and "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future," express general feelings of hopelessness.

It would of course be wrong to imply that alienation is the only, or even the predominant potential in the situation of the immigrant. He may perceive the new country as a land of opportunity and freedom, lacking the restrictions of the old country, where a new life may be built, and where achievement is limited only by ambition and ability. If he is able to avoid being a prisoner of his past, able to resolve the conflicts between the old and the new, he may be able to actualize the dream of jumping from the poor immigrant boy to a wealthy and respected citizen which the new world has inspired in immigrants.

The immigrant thus stands imminently at a crossroads throughout his life in the new country. On the positive side is his awareness of the opportunities that do exist, the better life that he can make his own, the achievements he can make with his abilities, ambitions, and willingness to work long hours and to save frugally. On the other hand, however, is constantly the confusion of conflict between the new and the old. He may feel the sense of social isolation from experiencing disdaining rejection by the dominant group, and ambivalence towards others who are in the same situation. He may experience powerlessness from not "knowing the ropes" in the new society and from being somewhat at the mercy of the prejudices of the dominant group. Preoccupation with the latter may severely handicap him in making a minimal adjustment to the new society, and may produce increasing unhappiness and perhaps personal dis-

3. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," **American Sociological Review**, Vol. 21 (December, 1956), pp.709-716.

organization. This is the pattern we shall refer to as alienation. Effective response to the former will result in a more or less successful adjustment to the new society and perhaps impressive achievement, contentment and sound personal integration. This pattern we shall refer to as successful integration.

This paper presents what we have been able to infer concerning the causes and the consequences of alienation and of integration among Ukrainians in Alberta. We shall seek to answer the questions: What kinds of people are prone to each kind of adjustment? What are the consequences of strong identification with the old culture and with the reference groups which seek to perpetuate it? Are there age-sex differences, educational difference and rural-urban residential differences between those who tend toward alienation and those who tend toward integration? Are the processes pressing toward integration or alienation different in different sex and generational groupings?

The Sample

The sample consisted of 809 adults of Ukrainian ethnic origin who were interviewed between June, 1963, and October, 1964. Forty-nine percent of the sample are men and 51 percent are women. Sixty-four percent of those interviewed are from three small rural communities and farms in the vicinity of these communities where we attempted 100 per cent sampling quite successfully. The communities were Willingdon where we intervewed 23 percent of our total sample, Thorhild, 24 percent of the sample, and Lamont, 17 percent of the sample. Thirty-six percent of the sample members were interviewed in Edmonton. Here a sample was drawn from six voter registration districts in Edmonton selected to include a cross-section of the Ukrainian population of Edmonton in terms of density of Ukrainians, social class, age of the district, etc. This was a systematic sample of those on the voter lists having Ukrainian (or shortened Ukrainian) names. There was of course a certain amount of error resulting from this procedure—Poles and Russians were occasionally misidentified as Ukrainians. However, it was the most feasible procedure available since there exists no list of Ukrainians in Edmonton, and the size of the research budget did not permit recourse to more precise area probability sampling procedures. The adequacy of the sampling procedure may also be questioned because a certain proportion of those on the sample list had moved without leaving a forwarding address, and because of more frequent refusals to be interviewed by the sample members in Edmonton.

The interview schedule was lengthy, consisting of over 200 items. Accordingly, it is not possible to describe it in detail here. It will suffice to say that it explored many aspects of family and personal history, participation attitudes and value identifications of the interviewees. The process of completing one interview took between an hour and a half and three or more hours. The rapport with interviewees was generally quite good though somewhat better in the country than in Edmonton. Interviewers were usually invited to share refreshments by their subjects. One lonely elderly lady

insisted that the interviewer accept a gift as an expression of her gratitude for the conversation. Well over half of the interviews were conducted in the Ukrainian language, and a standard translation was provided to each of the interviewers. They were instructed to refrain from modifying this translation except as necessary to clarify the meaning of questions to the interviewees. Modifications were necessary rather often because of the dialect and educational differences in sample members.

The interviewing was done by five Ukrainian university students, three girls and two boys, all of whom were fluent in their mother tongue. No more than three interviewers were at work on the subject at any one time. Two were involved throughout the duration of the interviewing period. After each interview was completed it was checked over twice, to make sure that there were no inadvertent omissions. The information in the schedule was then coded twice as a check upon coding errors, for punching on IBM cards. The actual analysis of the data was made on the computer at the University of Alberta.

The decision was made rather early that the analyses which are reported in this paper were to be age-sex specific analyses. That is, we anticipated that the alienation-integration process might well be quite different for different generations and for different sexes. For this reason the total sample was subdivided into age-sex subsamples: young, middle-aged and older male and female groups. The age cutting points were to be thirty-four and under, thirty-five through forty-nine, and fifty and over. The error of a research assistant resulted in the division of the sample at the thirty and forty-five year age points and this error was not detected until the computer analysis of the data was almost completed. The analysis which is here presented is in terms of these latter, not completely appropriate division points.

The Analysis

In the analysis which follows, the major indices of alienation (i.e. the dependent variables) which are analyzed are the Srole Anomie scores and the Dean Alienation scale scores. Both of these are viewed as indices of the alienation-integration continuum. Low alienation scores are interpreted as an indication of high integration into Canadian society, and we shall see that there are data which justify this interpretation. High alienation scores are of course self-explanatory. In the remainder of this analysis we shall present: first, the pattern of alienation and anomie scores for different age-sex groups, with discussion of their significance; second, some of the factors correlated with these scores which appear to explain further the meaning of these scores; and third, some of the age-sex differences within these correlation patterns.

The Scores: The mean anomie and alienation scores are found in Table I. The mean anomie score for the total sample is 1.77. This statistic is rather comparable with other published mean anomie scores. For example, the mean score for 586 male and female house-

hold heads in a small New York State city was 1.70.[4] For 401 "White, Christian, native-born public transit lines patrons in Springfield, Massachusetts," the mean anomie score was 2.05[5] For 701 male respondents living in four different areas of San Francisco the mean anomie scores for these four sub-samples were 2.25, 2.25, 1.60 and 1.4 with the scores varying inversely as the social class standing of the area.[6] The sub-sample means in Table I show that women have higher mean scores than do men, a conclusion anticipated by Bell who sees increased anomia as a response "when individuals lack access to means for the achievement of life goals."[7] However, this expectation was not substantiated by data which Mizruchi collected in the New York State small city sample which he studied.[8] These mean scores in the table show that anomia increases with age, as Bell found as well.[9] For men the rate of increase is an unbroken one, but for women the highest mean score is found for middle-aged women rather than for older women. The reasons for this curvilinear relationship will be considered later.

No precise comparison of our alienation scores with those from other studies is possible because we did not make use of all twenty-four items in the Dean Alienation Scale.[10] Because our interview schedule was already inordinately long the scale was cut down to twelve items through an item analysis technique. This involved pretesting all twenty-four of the original items with a Ukrainian sample and then selecting the twelve items which discriminated best between high and low scorers. The mean score for the entire sample on this twelve-item scale was 31.3, where the possible score range was from twelve to forty-eight. The mean scores for age and sex sub-samples show the same patterns of higher scores for women than for men, and for older subjects than for younger subjects, as do the anomie mean scores. However, the pattern for women is a straight line increase in alienation, with age, as it was not for women on the anomie scores. Dean found that alienation scores increased with age when they were based on all twenty-four items of the scale.[11] Unfortunately, no sex comparisons on the Dean scale have been found in the literature.

In the discussion which follows it will be our purpose to discover the causes and the condition of alienation in terms of phenomena which correlate with it. However, before we take this step it is important to raise the question: Do the anomie and the alienation scores signify the same thing for the different sub-samples into which the total sample is divided? This question is best answered

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4. Ephraim H. Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," **American Sociological Review**, Vol. 25 (October, 1960), pp.645-654.
5. Srole, **loc. cit.**
6. Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation, and the Class Structure," **Sociometry**, Vol. 20, pp.105-116.
7. **Ibid.**
8. Mizruchi, **loc. cit.**
9. Bell, **loc. cit.**
10. Dean, **loc. cit.**
11. **Ibid.**

by examining the distributions of responses of the various sub-samples to the items of which these two scales are composed.

Of the five items in the Anomie scale, two show the same pattern of higher incidence of anomic response for female and older subjects. These items are: "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on," which relate to social isolation, and "In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better," which reflects hopelessness. For men there were no age differences in response to the powerlessness item "There's little use in writing to government officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man," but for women the middle-age group most frequently agreed to this statement: "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future," and young men least frequently agreed with it. On this item and the item "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself," the same proportion of middle and older-aged men agreed. On the latter statement, however, it was the young women who agreed most frequently and the older women who agreed least frequently.

It would appear that for men the anomie scores appear to be measuring the same thing for all three age groups. For women, however, the scores of young women and of middle-aged women reflect different preoccupations. For both men and women the most consistently discriminating item is, "In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse, not better." This tends to support the suggestion of Nettler[12] and others that the Anomie Scale is perhaps a measure of generalized despair.

Inspection of the twelve alienation scale items shows that none of them discriminates in a reverse direction, that is either in terms of younger subjects responding in more alienated ways than older subjects, or in terms of male subjects responding in significantly more alienated ways than female subjects. The only item which discriminated significantly better for one sex group than for the other was "It is frightening to be responsible for bringing up a little child" which was agreed with by 14 percent of the young men and 36 percent of the older men, whereas the percentages for comparable female age groups were 28 and 32 percent. For the rest of the items those which discriminated well for men did so for women as well, and the same thing was true of those which discriminated poorly. Thus, it appears that the alienation scores are measuring essentially the same thing in each of the six age-sex sub-samples which are treated separately in the analysis which follows.

The Correlates of Alienation. We have suggested that alienation-integration may be taken as an indication of the immigrant's general adjustment to the host society, and that our alienation and anomie scores may be taken as indices of this adjustment. Data which justify this suggestion, and which indicate with what kinds of personality and performance variables alienation and anomie are

12. Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," **American Sociological Review,** Vol. 22 (December, 1957), pp.670-676.

associated, are found in Tables II, III and IV. In our discussion of this material we shall limit ourselves to discussing the correlates of alienation. The reason is that time does not permit us to consider both, and the implication of the literature is that the anomie scale is a more specific scale, measuring despairing attitudes, and one which is less relevant to adjustment and integration in a host society, than is the alienation scale. The reason for introducing the anomie data has been that this variable best provided us with a basis for comparing our Ukrainian sample with other North American samples which have been studied. We have found that the Ukrainian samples do differ remarkably on this variable from other samples which have been studied. The significance of this seems difficult to evaluate, however, because it seems probable that cultural influences would affect response patterns.

We shall now consider the psychological, attitudinal, life situational, and participational correlates of alienation in turn. In the data in Table II are to be found some of the highest relationships between alienation and other variables in this study. All of the psychological variables, with the exception of extroversion, are significantly and positively related to alienation. The Anomie Scale is apparently best described as a test of general hopelessness and despair, as noted above. The neuroticism score is based on the six items of the short form of the Maudsley Personality Inventory Neuroticism Scale.[13] According to its author, neuroticism refers to the general emotional liability of a person, his emotional overresponsiveness, and his liability to neurotic breakdown under stress. The dogmatism score is based on responses to twelve items drawn from the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale. This scale is designed to measure open-closed mindedness. Milton Rokeach writes that the "basic characteristic that defines the extent to which a person's system is open or closed is the extent to which the person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors in the situation"[14] arising from within the person, such as his own fearful or emotional response to the information, or from the outside, such as the prestige of the source of information.

The dominance of children score is based on seven items from the Parental Dominance sub-scale of the Shoben Parent Attitude Survey.[15] These items reflect a tendency in parents to put the child in a subordinate role and to consider him always as one who should conform unquestioningly to parental wishes under penalty of severe punishment. It thus deals with a tendency in the parent to demand unquestioning submission from the child.

All of these scores correlate positively with the alienation scores and it is clear that a definite pattern emerges. The person

13. H. J. Eysenck, **Manual of the Maudsley Personality Inventory**, Bruckhurst Hill, Essex, 1959.
14. Milton Rokeach, **The Open and the Closed Mind**, New York, 1960, p.57.
15. E. J. Shoben, Jr., "The Assessment of Parental Attitudes in Relation to Child Adjustment," **Genetic Psychological Monographs**, Vol. 39 (1949), pp.103-148.

who is alienated tends also to feel despairing, neurotic or over-emotional, dogmatic and authoritarianly domineering. The person who feels well integrated—that is, who has low alienation scores—is hopeful, realistically emotional, open-minded and able to evaluate information on its own merits, and accepting and more egalitarian in his dealings with children. This pattern is characteristic of all six age-sex groups. To what extent this pattern is a cause of alienation, and to what extent it is a result of alienation is of course not clear. We would expect that the relationship is probably a circular one; that is, neurotic, dogmatic, dominating people are that way, at least in part, because they are insecure and fearful people. Their insecurity and fearfulness tend to predispose them to feelings of powerlessness, of social isolation from dependable relationships with others and of meaninglessness, that is not knowing how to handle the new opportunities and the erosion of the normative orthodoxy in which they were reared. This response on their part to the situations they encounter tends in turn to increase their neuroticism, dogmatism, fearful domination, and despair.

Attitudinal Correlates of Alienation. The attitudinal correlates of alienation found in Table III show no such pattern of strong and consistent relationships. The scores and items found in the table relate to two general areas, attitudes toward work and success and attitudes toward Ukrainianism. We shall consider these two in order.

In general the table shows that alienation-integration is ambivalently related to these two sets of values, as in fact might be expected. Some research which we have done into the history of Hutterites and of Ukrainians suggests that a clear basis for understanding their contrasting adjustments to Canadian society is found in their relative identifications with two values, loyalty to the ethnic group, and successful advancement in the host society. The Hutterite position on these values is of course clear; loyalty to the way of life of the ethnic group is divinely commanded and takes precedence over virtually all other values. Desire for successful advancement is response to the lures of the Devil. The Ukrainian position seems to reverse these values: success, as defined in materialistic terms in Canadian society, takes precedence over loyalty to Ukrainian traditions and orthodoxy. It is our impression, for example, that a "fortunate" marriage of a Ukrainian to a wealthy non-Ukrainian would not be viewed with great disfavor, even by those who are normally quite opposed to intermarriage. Only 48 percent of our sample agreed that they would rather live in a small town where they could raise their children to learn Ukrainian ways, than in a city where their children might get a better job, but might become disinterested in Ukrainian customs.

Let us consider these two value areas, work success and Ukrainianism, in more detail. The Protestant Ethic scores represent responses to a series of six items such as "If you had a great deal of money would you work as much as you do now?" "Would you say that the worst thing about being sick is that your work does

not get done?" "Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?" These items give respondents a chance to respond in such a way as to indicate the importance of hard work and success to themselves in a variety of situations, but nowhere pit this value against ethnic loyalty. They are scored so as to give the higher score to the work-emphasizing response, and the data indicate that for all but one sub-sample, there is a tendency for high Protestant Ethic scores to be associated with low alienation scores. Agreement with two other success-emphasizing items is rather commonly associated with high alienation scores, however. These items are "In my marriage I want the wife to accept the fact that the husband will devote most of his time to getting ahead and becoming a success," and "In my marriage I want the wife to be responsible for training our children so that the husband can concentrate on getting ahead." Agreement with the former item is associated with alienation for the young and middle-aged groups where familism as a value has been established, whereas for the two older groups disagreement with this item was associated with alienation apparently because it was simply expected that the husband naturally **would** devote most of his time to getting ahead and becoming a success. Agreement that the wife should be responsible for training the children to free the husband for success striving, however, was associated with high alienation scores in all six sub-groups. Perhaps this was because in this item success takes precedence over the somewhat male-dominant role that the husband is expected to play in the family. The lower level of an association for the two older sub-samples suggests that such a compromise was more acceptable to the older generation.

Turning to the data relating to Ukrainianism, the rejection of Ukrainianism score is based on subjects' agreement with four items critical of Ukrainians and their traditional customs such as: "Do you think that there is a tendency for Ukrainians to be more tight with their money than they should be?" "Some of our customs should no longer be practiced because they delay the acceptance of Ukrainians into Canadian society." The Ukrainian chauvinism score was based on subjects' agreement with eight items asserting the admirability of Ukrainians and their customs such as "Would you say that one of the things you admire about Ukrainian women is that they will pitch in and do strenuous work when it needs to be done?" and "Do you think that it would be a good idea for Ukrainians to establish a Ukrainian elementary school like a separate school?" "Do you plan to make sure that your children will be able to speak Ukrainian?"

The ambivalence of many Ukrainians toward their people and their customs, which is of course characteristic of all marginal peoples, is shown by the fact that rejection of Ukrainianism and Ukrainian chauvinism scores are both positively associated with alienation. This tendency is stronger in the case of the former scores. In the case of chauvinism scores, the changes between generations are indicated by the fact that for young men and women there is

an inverse relationship between chauvinism and alienation scores, perhaps reflecting a resurgence of interest in the third generation in traditional ethnic practices.

This same ambivalence is reflected in several individual items. The attitude of the younger subjects was generally positive toward intermarriage, so that no relationship to alienation was found in these groups. But among the older subjects opposition to intermarriage, and thus emphasis on Ukrainianism, was associated with alienation, that is, with feelings of social isolation, powerlessness and meaninglessness. Similarly, though the relationships are very low, there was a tendency for those opposed to name changing to be more alienated. The strongest association of an attitude item with alienation was seen in the commitment to support Ukrainian schools, which was associated with alienation for all six age-sex groups. Perhaps it was a feeling of alienation from Canadian society which motivated their support. However, the wish to have children able to speak Ukrainian was rather frequent among all sub-samples, and this attitude was not related to alienation.

Background, Association and Participation Correlates of Alienation. In Table IV are found data which relate various background, intimate associate, and participation characteristics of subjects to their alienation scores. The consistent positive relationship between urban residence and alienation is perhaps best explained in terms of ambivalence toward success and Ukrainianism, since it has involved, for many of the subjects, leaving the predominantly Ukrainian rural block settlement areas where success opportunities were limited, and moving to the city where opportunities for advancement, and pressures toward acculturation were both greater. The relationships between alienation and amount of education, amount of physical mobility (from place to place) and high occupational placement of husbands are all rather sizable inverse relationships, suggesting that those farther up the social class scale are better integrated. Attendance at a Ukrainian language school is negatively associated with alienation.

There are several indications that close personal association with non-Ukrainians, rather than making for more alienation because of finding oneself unacceptable to either Ukrainians or non-Ukrainians, is associated with **low** alienation scores. Our data indicate that having siblings who intermarry and who change churches—which implies close relationships with non-Ukrainians—and having some non-Ukrainian close friends are all slightly but consistently associated with nonalienation. Having many friends is also associated with nonalienation.

There are several data which indicate that participation in associational life is associated with nonalienation. Frequency of church attendance shows this pattern, as does the experience of service as a voluntary public worker. There is a slight tendency for the small proportion of the sample who are Protestant church members to have lower alienation scores than the non-Protestants. The mean alienation score for Orthodox and Greek Catholic church

members is 31.5 and for Protestant denominational church members it is 29.9. Although the difference is slight it is consistent with our other findings. Both participation in voluntary associations and leadership in voluntary associations are inversely related to alienation, for the total sample.

These findings tend, quite consistently, to indicate that integration is associated with upward mobility, with intimate association with non-Ukrainians, and with participation in various kinds of voluntary associations. It is remarkable that there appears to be little tendency for increasing participation in non-Ukrainian associations and relationships to be associated with feelings of social isolation.

General Differences. The mean scores found in Table I indicate that there are a number of generational differences in the data included there. We have already noted the tendency for the older group to have higher alienation and anomie scores. Their dogmatism and child dominance scores are higher as well. But neuroticism scores show curvilinear relationship to age, the young group having the highest scores and the middle-aged group the lowest scores. The conservatism of the aged is shown in their tendency to have high Ukrainian chauvinism scores and low rejection of Ukrainianism scores. There are no generational differences in mean Protestant Ethic scores, suggesting that the hard working orientation of the older generation is effectively being passed on to the younger generation.

When we look at the interrelationships between some of the variables which have been studied we discover some interesting generational differences in correlational relationships. Some aspects of our research which were not included in the preceding analysis will be briefly commented upon here, in relationship to upward mobility and to alienation.

There are differences in correlates of sibling intermarriage which suggest that for the older generation this was related to upward mobility, but not for the younger group. For the older group, intermarriage correlated positively with upward mobility, education, high occupational placement of the husband, and correlated negatively with Ukrainian chauvinism, dogmatism, child dominance, and alienation. For the younger group these relationships were reversed with respect to upward mobility, education, occupational placement, chauvinism, and child dominance. This suggests that whereas outgroup marriages had upward mobility significance for the older group it now has the reverse significance for the younger group.

The declining significance of Ukrainianism value identification in the alienation process is seen in the several relationships. Whereas Ukrainian chauvinism and opposition to intermarriage were positively related to alienation, and attendance at a Ukrainian language school was negatively related to alienation for the middle and older

age groups, these variables were not related to alienation for the younger age group. Thus, we see that the alienation-integration process is different for the different generational groups.

Sex Differences. Since there are rather striking differences between the Ukrainian and the Canadian cultures in the definition of male and female roles it is to be anticipated that there would be sex differences in the process of integration, and these were in fact found. We have seen in Table I that most of the mean scores for women were higher than those for men. This is true of the anomie, alienation, neuroticism, child domination, and Ukrainian chauvinism scores, but it is not true of the rejection of Ukrainianism, dogmatism, and Protestant Ethic scores. The extraversion scores of women are lower than those of men, indicating weaker outgoing tendencies on the part of women than of men. Little can be said about these differences at this time. It is understandable that women, having less contact with the Anglo-Canadian world than men, would be more conservative of Ukrainian values and thus would have higher chauvinism scores than men. It is also understandable, in view of their greater conservatism, and their powerlessness and perhaps social isolation, and the neurotic elaboration from these that their anomie, alienation, neuroticism, and child dominance scores would be higher. The determinants of Protestant Ethic identification and of rejection of Ukrainianism are apparently similar for both groups.

Our data show some differences in patterns of correlates of upward mobility between men and women. Upward mobility in men is associated with a decrease in neuroticism and in Ukrainian chauvinism scores and with membership in Protestant churches, but this is not true in women. Also upwardly-mobile and better-educated men tend to have higher Protestant Ethic scores whereas women with the same characteristics tend to have lower Protestant Ethic scores than their less-educated and mobile sex mates. These differences appear to be understandable in terms of the instrumental or performance nature of men's activities, and the expressive nature of women's activities which have to do with creating a home situation which lives up to the status expectations of themselves and of the community. The increase in neuroticism scores of upwardly-mobile women may reflect the stresses of attempting to integrate their increasing identification with Ukrainianism values which is reflected in their higher chauvinism scores, with their middle-class identification.

Summary

In summary, it is clear that there are rather obvious differences in personality, attitude, achievement and participation between Canadians of Ukrainian background who feel alienated and those whose low alienation scores imply integration into Canadian society. In terms of personality characteristics the alienated are characterized by high neuroticism, dogmatism, authoritarianism in their dealings with children, and feelings of anomic despair, and this pattern of characteristics appears to be true of all six age-sex sub-samples.

In terms of attitudes and values, although the data reflect ambivalence, there is evidence that the integrated or nonalienated subjects tend to identify with work success values and to repudiate Ukrainianism. But this is not to the exclusion of some other values, such as familism: our data suggest that those who set success above all other values tend to have high alienation scores also. The data in this area appear to reflect more of ambivalence that in any other area and this is understandable in view of the extent to which success values and loyalty to Ukrainianism values are inevitably in conflict.

With respect to upward-mobility achievement, interaction, and participation, the implications of our data are quite clear. Indicators of upward mobility, of intimate interaction with non-Ukrainians and of participation in voluntary associations are associated with low alienation scores, that is with integration. That many do not succeed in achieving, relating and participating in these terms, however, is seen in the fact that urban residence is more associated with alienation than is rural residence for the various sub-samples. The significance of this appears to be that the city is the location where more of the opportunities which are associated with integration are available than in rural areas, but many in the sample are unable to seize these opportunities.

The most surprising finding of this study is that there is not more evidence of alienation and social isolation in those who succeed in moving up and more closely into the ranks of Canadians. It may be that those who cannot resolve the conflicts between the old and the new cultural heritages are not able to move up, or it may be that our measuring instruments are too crude to detect conflicts that do exist in those who are mobile.

TABLE I

Mean Scores and Frequencies of Various Scores for Total Sample and for Age-Sex Sub-Samples

	TOTAL		MEN						WOMEN					
			– Young –		– Middle –		– Older –		– Young –		– Middle –		– Older –	
Attitude Scale	No.	Mean Score	No.	Mean Score	No.	Mean Score	No.	Mean Score	No.	Mean Score	No.	Mean Score	No.	Mean Score
Anomie	782	1.77	74	1.28	104	1.60	207	1.74	82	1.63	123	1.80	192	1.95
Alienation	686	31.78	77	28.45	97	31.00	173	32.95	80	29.80	115	31.00	144	34.36
Child Dominance	766	21.67	75	20.22	101	21.20	201	22.28	81	21.24	122	21.57	186	23.09
Dogmatism	694	28.78	78	27.50	99	28.78	174	30.00	82	28.04	116	28.66	145	30.00
Extroversion	766	3.94	76	4.35	104	4.13	197	3.94	84	3.71	123	3.82	182	3.86
Neuroticism	766	5.80	76	5.84	104	4.79	197	5.20	84	6.89	123	5.77	182	6.27
Protestant Ethic	775	20.19	76	19.56	103	19.62	202	20.25	83	20.55	123	20.37	188	20.37
Rejection of Ukrainianism	788	.94	75	1.13	103	1.06	206	.81	83	1.13	124	1.02	197	.83
Ukrainian Chauvinism	744	4.94	73	3.86	91	4.53	193	5.08	82	4.80	123	4.93	182	5.52

TABLE II

Contingency Coefficients Signifying Correlation of Alienation Scores and Various Other Scores, Together With Chi Square Significance Levels*

	Young Men	Middle Men	Older Men	Young Women	Middle Women	Older Women
Anomie Score	+.33(1)	+.38(1)	+.40(1)	+.38(1)	+.40(1)	+.22(5)
Neuroticism Score	+.27(5)	+.27(5)	+.37(1)	+.38(1)	+.30(1)	+.33(1)
Dogmatism Score	+.36(1)	+.43(1)	+.42(1)	+.45(1)	+.47(1)	+.45(1)
Dominance of Children Score	+.41(1)	+.26(5)	+.31(1)	+.15(1)	+.38(1)	+.27(1)
Extraversion Score	+.25(5)	+.18			+.27(5)	+.17

*Chi square probability level indicated in parenthesis—above 5% if none listed.

TABLE III

Contingency Coefficients Signifying Correlation of Alienation Scores and Various Attitude Measures Together With Chi Square Significance Levels*

	Young Men	Middle Men	Older Men	Young Women	Middle Women	Older Women
Work-Success Values						
Protestant Ethic Scores	+.23(5)	−.25(5)	−.13	−.17(5)	−.16	+.22(5)
Wife Alone Training Children	+.32(1)	+.37(1)	+.24(5)	+.36(1)	+.33(1)	+.25(5)
Husband Become Success	+.28(5)	+.16	−.25	+.29(5)	+.27(5)	−.15
Ukrainianism Values						
Ukrainian Chauvinism Score	−.29(5)	+.31(1)	+.21(5)	−.21(5)		+.17
Reject Ukrainianism Score		+.34(1)	+.21(5)	+.28(5)	+.31(1)	+.23(5)
Discourage Intermarriage		+.29(5)	+.21(5)			+.20(5)
Is Name Changing All Right	−.17	−.24(5)	−.16		−.18	−.16
Support Ukrainian Schools	+.26(5)	+.26(5)	+.28(5)	+.20(5)	+.25(5)	+.24(5)
Want Children to Speak Ukrainian			+.21			

*Chi square probability level indicated in parenthesis—above 5% if none listed.

TABLE IV

Contingency Coefficients Reflecting Correlation of Alienation Scores and Indicators of Background, and Social Class, Intimate Association, and Participation Together with Chi Squares Indicating Significance Levels*

	Young Men	Middle Men	Older Men	Young Women	Middle Women	Older Women
Background and Social Class Indicators						
Urban Residence	+.17	+.30(1)	+.34(1)	+.12	+.18	+.18(5)
Education	−.17	−.46(1)	−.26(1)	−.29(5)	−.39(1)	−.21(5)
Husband's Occupation	−.22(5)	−.37(1)	−.25(5)	−.33(5)	−.17	−.13
Frequent Moves	−.28(5)	−.20	−.32(1)	−.31(1)		+.16
Attend Ukrainian School		−.25(5)	−.19(5)			+.19(5)
Intimate Association Indicators						
Siblings Intermarried	+.13		−.18(5)			−.25(1)
Siblings Change Church		−.24(5)	−.28(1)		−.13	
All Close Friends Are Ukrainians		+.22(5)	+.09		+.14	+.11
Having Many Friends	−.42(1)	−.13	−.16	−.18(5)		−.29(1)
Participation						
Protestant Church Member		−.13		−.26(5)		
Attend Church	−.32(5)	−.21	−.22(5)	−.30(5)	−.22(5)	−.15
Voluntary Public Worker		−.23(5)	−.38(1)	−.30(1)	−.26(2)	−.28(1)
TOTAL SAMPLE						
Leadership in Associations		−.18(1)				
Membership in Associations		−.19(1)				

*Chi square probability level indicated in parenthesis—above 5% if none listed.

SLAVIC ETHNIC CULTURES WITHIN THE CANADIAN FRAMEWORK

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The basic factor which underlies the problem of Slavic ethnic cultures within the Canadian framework is to be sought not in our Slavic origins, but rather in our being a minority group which must live in and be integrated with a non-Slavic majority. No serious discussion of this problem would be complete without some analysis of the question of integration. The process of integration begins but does not end with the immigrant. The plain fact is that the newcomer has to become a part of a new society, different from that of his old country. The peace and prosperity of the immigrant depend on that of the host society. It is therefore in his best interest to become part of it and to contribute to the well-being of that society, i.e., to work for the common good. Two fundamental principles underlie the difficult problem of integration. One is the imperative of the common good, the other, the inalienable rights of the individual. A healthy and happy society is one which succeeds in satisfying in a harmonious way the requirements of the common good and the good of the individual.

It must be emphatically stated that no society, no state, no common good can exist without organic unity. Whatever may and should be said about the rights of the individual, the individual needs an organized and unified society. The question therefore which we have to consider is not: unity or no unity for Canadian society, but rather what is the best form of unity and how it may be achieved? What kind of national unity is the best possible in the concrete situation existing in Canada, what kind will prove for the whole country the most beneficial, the most enriching?

The necessity of integration has given rise to much wishful thinking which in turn has produced many oversimplified opinions. Judgments have differed widely depending on whether they were formed by the immigrants or by the host society. As far as the latter is concerned opinions have undergone a remarkable transformation since the early days of the nineteenth century. Since these problems have been more thoroughly studied in the United States, the changes of attitude of Americans towards immigrants are better known. In the United States the problems of integration have given rise to three consecutive ideologies: a) total assimilation, aptly described as Anglo-conformity; b) the melting pot; and c) cultural pluralism. Each successive ideology has obviously been less and less assimilatory, more and more mindful of deep-rooted, genuine national differences, ever more willing to grant immigrants an increasingly greater right

to retain their ethnic identity. The first two ideologies proved impracticable. That the Anglo-conformity was impossible to achieve is not astonishing. But in the long run even the vaunted single melting-pot theory had to be abandoned. In the light of recent sociological studies, there are in the United States at least three melting pots: Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, with little intermixing occurring among these three major denominations. The failure of the single melting-pot theory led to the idea of cultural pluralism. According to this theory, ethnic and religious groups become integral parts of American society while retaining their identity. The ideal pattern for integration would be a society "in which similarities are not coerced and differences do not divide."

The ideology of cultural pluralism helps to answer a fundamental question, namely: integration into or with a group? Are those who undergo the process of integration to be treated as equal partners or not? Obviously in the framework of cultural pluralism there is the question of integration of one element **with** others on the basis of equality. Whether in fact this ideal is realized is another matter.

In view of the failure of the melting-pot theory one may well ask if integration occurs at all, and, assuming an affirmative reply, what are its extents and forms? Answers to these questions are not as simple as may at first appear. Moreover an affirmative answer to the first question does not allow for an automatic reply to the other two. American sociologists (e.g., Milton M. Gordon) have introduced a very useful distinction between behavioral and structural assimilation. According to Gordon's definition, the behavioral assimilation is "the absorption of the cultural behavior pattern of the 'host' society," while structural assimilation is "the entrance of the immigrant . . . into the general civic life of the receiving society." The immigrant adjusts fairly easily and quickly to the external pattern, such as dress, cars, television, etc. The process is aided by mass production and technical uniformity. Although behavioral integration is rather the rule than the exception, it is not followed automatically by the second stage, that of structural assimilation. Thus far, in America the extent of the latter is very limited. Immigrants and even their descendants tend to stay together and form whenever possible communities of their own. Customs, language, and a mentality that is little if indeed at all changed, survive for generations. Pennsylvania Dutch, New York Italians, Chicago Poles, Manitoba Ukrainians, or Louisiana Cajuns are classical examples.

As a rule, the integration of urban population proceeds faster than that of the rural inhabitants, and of the educated class faster than that of the uneducated. But even the more adaptable elements seldom lose all their links with their ethnic background. Moreover, an interesting and understandable process enforces the ethnic identity in later generations of descendants of immigrants. Members of third or fourth generation, already well established and prosperous, find that the longer the lineage they can claim, the greater the social respectability. Quite naturally, they want to match in this respect their Anglo-Saxon fellow countrymen. This newly-awakened in-

terest results in a greater ethnic awareness. Thus the very human desire of social status and of respectability is a strong factor in the process of maintaining the multi-ethnic character of the North American society. The value and the greatness of this society lies precisely in this, that it is a society of societies, a unique and highly-successful blend of very diverse elements.

The corner-stone on which the complex structure was built, and the very condition of its development and continued success, is the basic democratic principle of respect for the individual. The process of harmonious integration, so necessary for the development of the Canadian nation, will succeed if and only if every citizen and each group accepts the other group or individual as equal and as having the right to be somewhat different. The future of Canada is the business of us all. In view of the complex ethnic structure it would be futile and potentially dangerous to close one's eyes to the difficulties and declare that it is an easy business. Quite to the contrary, it is a difficult one. Wisdom and sound realistic judgement are required to build a future fit for the country's potentialities, a future of which all of us, if we lived long enough, could be proud. It is with a thought of, and a concern for, the future that we should envisage the problem of Slavic ethnic cultures within the Canadian framework.

If our goal is to achieve a successful, constructive discussion, we must muster the courage to face the facts squarely. This will in turn require that we ask and answer some pertinent questions. The first and foremost among the questions to be asked is this: why were Slavs admitted to Canada? The answer is none too flattering for us. We and our ancestors were allowed to settle here because there were not enough Anglo-Saxon, Protestant immigrants to fill the country. The next question is hardly more encouraging, namely, why did Slavs come over here? They had to leave their countries of origin because of continuous political persecutions or were forced out by an extreme economic plight or by a combination of these two factors. Those who came over were more often than not simple, uneducated people, willing to work hard but, in the great majority of cases, unable to become anything other than farmers or laborers. On the other hand, emigration involves a process of natural selection. By and large, immigrants represent the more energetic elements of the mother society. Their situation was complicated by the fact that they were alien — tragically, desperately alien. There was very little indeed that they had in common with the Anglo-Saxon settlers. They were disliked and they knew it. In self-defence they kept together and lived in ghettos. They were allowed to live and to work, but it was assumed that they would somehow dissolve as homogeneous groups and disappear into the English-speaking majority.

Although today the situation has very much changed, we must remember the difficult beginnings. Slavic groups in Canada have indeed made significant progress and thus can look toward the future with moderate optimism. They are not threatened with extinction. Canada is not and cannot become a melting pot. In the United States, a unilingual country, there are today at least three melting pots. How

many pots would we have to put on the fire to cook our Canadian stew? Moreover, Canada continues to be a country of immigration. Its prosperity and economic development require an influx of newcomers. Canadian society must therefore continue to be an open society capable of both accepting and accommodating them. Furthermore present-day immigrants are no longer the uneducated, unskilled crowds of the old days. They adapt much faster, but they also exercise much greater influence on the receiving society.

The requirements of "openness" in Canadian society must apply as well to Canadian culture. Composed originally of two major elements, English and French, it becomes more and more a tapestry. Of course, the complex structure still is, and will continue to be, dominated by the two original elements. If we wish to be realistic, we must accept this fact and try to solve our problem in relation to it. The central question with regard to Slavic cultures is this: what status should these cultures have within the Canadian framework? Should we try to cultivate them apart from, and in addition to, the general Canadian culture for, as it were, home use? Or should we aim at including these cultures in the general stream of Canadian culture in such a way that they would become an integral part of the latter shared not only by the Slavs but by all Canadians? Let us call these two alternatives the minimal and the maximal plan. Which one of these two plans is better for us? Which is more sound and more practicable?

It would be rather futile and even dangerous to try to solve this complex problem in an **a priori** manner. Life plays strange tricks with rigid schemes and abstract principles applied to concrete situations. We do not know what the result of our efforts will be, but this should not prevent us from trying to lay down some guiding principles for our cultural policy. One thing is certain. If we want Canadians at large to accept Slavic cultures as an integral part of the Canadian way of life, we must do the best selling job possible. We ask for recognition from the authorities and from the general public, but in turn we must offer concrete values capable of enriching the life of the country. It would be unreasonable to expect more than we are willing or able to give.

In a multi-ethnic country such as Canada a healthy cultural life must be a collective effort of all elements. One dangerous misconception, damaging for harmonious cooperation, is the belief that cultural contributions of groups other than English or French-speaking are limited to the elements of folklore such as costumes or dances. What can we do to change this misconception? Such misconceptions die hard. Whatever we might do, a change of view in this regard will not take place overnight. The best policy seems to be one of daily constructive work coupled with solid cultural contributions. We need of course publicity as well, but publicity alone is not enough. Although we may find the changes of attitudes slower than we would wish, we must remember that there is one extremely important factor in our favour, namely the state of development of Canadian culture. Contrary to old and fully established cultures such

as the French or the English for instance, Canadian culture is still in its early formative years. Its final shape and structure are very much things of the future. There is place and need for contributions from us all.

Culture is not a regiment, it cannot be ruled by command. All attempts to govern culture from above by orders in council or other administrative means always prove to be costly and pathetic failures. Nobody can decide that future Canadian culture will be such and not other, that it will be composed exclusively of only these elements and no other. The cultural heritage of this country will be the result of the free interplay of creative forces. The democratic conditions prevailing in Canada offer great opportunities for all and every potential contributor. Freedom creates great possibilities, but also demands maturity and devotion to the common good. However, if no one can prevent Slavs from enriching Canadian culture with elements of their own, neither can anyone force them to do so. The magnitude and the value of the Slavic share in the common effort of creating Canadian culture depends in the first and in the last place on the Slavs themselves. We may ask the government for financial help, but we have to do the creative work alone.

If Canadians at large come to see the concrete results of Slavic cultural activity, they will learn to respect these ethnic groups and to regard them as fully valuable elements of Canadian society. In this respect contributions to the common culture will have much greater influence and will be more important for our ethnic groups than whatever we may do for ourselves within each group. Once English and French-speaking Canadians recognize us as equal partners, it will be easy to overcome the inferiority complex common among Slavic groups. Respected, and possessed of self-respect, Canadians of Slavic origin will feel more fully integrated into Canadian society, more concerned with, and more willing to contribute to, the common good of their country. Integration resulting from free choice and from genuine desire cannot but prove beneficial for all parties concerned.

Concern for the common good, together with a clear recognition of what is both our duty and our opportunity, namely to share in the task of developing the rich potentialities of Canadian national life — all this should help us find the guiding principles necessary for deciding between the two alternatives of cultural policy: minimal or maximal, mentioned earlier in this paper. It is said that in the Middle Ages Jewish leaders used to provoke persecutions of their communities in the belief that the animosity of the Gentiles towards them would be the best safeguard against their dissolution. Whether these stories are true or false, we all realize how suicidal such policy would be if applied to ethnic communities in Canada. The great national debate concerning the structure of Canadian society, presently going on, will result, let us hope, in the formation of a true family of originally very diverse elements. The alternative would be a Canada of ethnic ghettos, but such a Canada could not survive for long. In fact there is therefore no alternative for this country. All Cana-

dians are bound to live, to work, and to share their common destiny together.

Present difficulties can be ironed out only in a spirit of mutual respect and under truly democratic conditions. We have democracy in Canada. But we need more respect for each other. Respect is essentially a two-way relation. One receives as much of it as one is willing to give. If ethnic groups want to be respected they must first of all have respect for others and for each other. In the first place they should set their own Slavic house in order. If they succeed in doing this, they will be in a much stronger position to gain the respect of the two founding races.

Let us terminate our reflections with the following remarks. The Slavic presence in Canada began as a marriage of reason, not of love. But for all practical purposes it is an indissoluble union. It is therefore of paramount importance for all the parties concerned that this union be made as perfect and as beneficial as possible. This I think should be the task of leaders on both sides. Since we are the minority which stands more to lose in every eventual conflict with the rest of society, it is in the first place up to us to see clearly the issues and to find the solutions.

SLAVIC LITERATURES IN CANADA

A SURVEY

By YAR SLAVUTYCH
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Slavic literatures in Canada are comparatively young. Ukrainian only somewhat more than sixty years old, Polish over three decades, and Russian and Slovak less than two decades. By Slavic literatures I have in mind poetry, fiction and drama written in a Slavic language in this country. Literary criticism as well as scholarly works on history and similar subjects will also be taken into consideration in this survey. Publications in the English language on Slavic topics, however, will be mentioned only occasionally.

Russian Literature

It is assumed that Russians first settled in Canada, particularly in British Columbia, in all probability before the sale of Alaska to the United States. The number of Russians here was 91,279 according to the 1951 census, and it rose to 119,168 in 1961. The number of Russian authors in Canada, however, is so small that we can count them on the fingers of one hand. There are no Russian literary clubs, no distinguished authors and no literary periodicals here, except a thin semi-annual, **Sovremennik**, which has been published in Toronto since 1960.

The best recent Russian poet in Canada was Leonid Strakhovsky (1898-1963), who came to this country in 1948 and taught Russian history at the University of Toronto. A scholar, he occasionally wrote poems and published them in **Sovremennik**, which he founded and edited until his death. Incidentally, the title of the journal is highly misleading. It means "The Contemporary" but, with the exception of brief news items on contemporary topics, as on Russian studies at the Universities of Toronto and British Columbia (Nos. 1 & 2) or notes on the Canadian Association of Slavists (No. 3) and agriculture in Canada (No. 4), as well as a few similar items, there is almost nothing dealing with contemporary literatures either in Canada or Russia. Almost every poem and story, every article or essay in this journal is about the glorious past of Imperial Russia. The editors of the journal set their task "to be in communion with Russia," as is stated in the motto on the title page of every issue. Similarly, Strakhovsky dedicates himself to the cause of Russia and weeps about her past:

Здесь и не здесь я. Объят, окружен.
Старое сгинуло, нового нет.[1]

NOTE—The names of the Czech, Polish, Slovak, and Croatian authors and the titles of their books are given here without diacritic marks, since Edmonton printers lack linotype mats for these marks.

1. **Sovremennik**, 1960, Vol. I, p.4.

Strakhovsky's third collection of poems and the only one published in this country, **Dolg zhizni** (Toronto, 1953), is nothing but a desperate cry permeated with his memories of the days of his youth. His life abroad is suffering and despair:

Как безумный я твержу все то же:
Все, что было, поглотил туман.
Непосильна моя ноша, Боже,
Кровь сочится из открытых ран.[2]

Not a single line of Strakhovsky's poetry concerns Canadian life. A disciple of N. Gumilev and an ardent acmeist, though not typical in his actual achievements, he nevertheless keeps his poetic prosody on a high level. His works, no doubt, assure him a place in the history of Russian poetry; his short stories, however, published under the pseudonym L. Chatsky, have a rather mundane value.

Ella Bobrova makes frequent appearances with her melodious poems in **Sovremennik**. Her **Skazka** (Toronto, 1961) for children, and her lyrical song **Kak sladko** (Toronto, 1951) set to music by Leon Zuckert, were published in separate editions.

Among the Doukhobors in British Columbia are several amateur authors, like I. Sysoev, A. Konkin, P. Stuchnov, V. Makhonin, who from time to time publish their primitive and unpolished verses and short stories in **Iskra**, a mimeographed religious weekly, which flourishes in Grand Forks, B.C.

Czech Literature

According to Watson Kirkconnell, "the first volume of Czech poetry to be printed in Canada was published in Montreal in April, 1943."[3] It was **Noc v hore Kralovské** by Rudolf Nekola, a captain with the Czechoslovak diplomatic mission, "who has recorded in verse of vigour and modernity his impressions of Canada."[4] The titles in this volume of twenty-seven brief poems convey a Canadian flavour: "I saw the Light of Halifax," "Montreal," "Christmas at Quebec," and "Vancouver." The author has a strong feeling of homesickness for his native Czechoslovakia, but he finds enjoyment in his travels across Canada and in observing its beauty. Unfortunately, I did not succeed in obtaining all the poems of this book. Nothing further is known about its author, who probably left this country.

Pavel Javor (actually Professor J. Skvor) came to Canada after World War II. Here he published **Daleky hlas** (Toronto, 1953) and **Horké verse** (Toronto, 1958). His selected poems, **Kour z Ithaky** (New York, 1960) became "the chief poetic event of 1960"[5] in the

2. L. Strakhovsky, **Dolg zhizni**, Toronto, 1953, p.9.
3. **University of Toronto Quarterly**, Vol. 13, p.457.
4. **Ibid.**
5. **Ibid.**, Vol. 30 (1960-61), p.508.

field of Slavic literatures of Canada. The poems were written mostly in the fifties and represent "the effect of exile in this catastrophic age upon a sensitive and imaginative spirit."[6] Watson Kirkconnell whom I have just quoted has translated the title poem of **Kour z Ithaky**, and I can not refrain from quoting the concluding strophe of this beautiful lyric in the translation:

> You call with wild heart but a glacial blizzard blows coldly
> And buries forever all things that you loved in the past.
> In vain the heart pleads, and in vain utters blasphemies boldly.
> Hot tears of despair from my eyes gush in silence at last.[7]

His latest collection of poems, **Nedosneno, nedomilovano** (New York, 1964) shows a further growth of this sensitive and polished lyrist.

As is the case with Russian, Czech fiction in the proper sense of the word does not exist in Canada. From time to time, however, short stories and sketches are published in **Nase hlasy**, a weekly in Toronto. Here we meet Marie Damesova-Hankova, F. Listopad, Josef Martinko, Gertruda Geopfertova, F. C. Sterba, and others.

Polish Literature

One of the first Polish literary publications in Canada was a collection, **Glos pracy** (Winnipeg, 1934), consisting mostly of popular songs and folk poetry.

Arkady Fiedler (1894-19?), after paying a visit to Canada, wrote a good account of his journey, **Kanada pachnaca zywica**, which after its first printing in 1937 appeared in at least seven editions. His **Dywizion 303** (Montreal, 1945) and **Dziekuje ci, kapitanie** (Montreal 1945) consist of stories about "the Polish naval and air forces in World War II."[8] Similar is **Wojenne blyski** (Toronto, 1964) by Alexander Grobnicki.

Melchior Wankowicz has written a novel **Tworzywo** (New York, 1954) based on the life of Polish pioneer settlers. Soon he returned to Poland and was arrested for using his pen too freely. There is no information on his whereabouts.

Among the books of Polish poetry published in Canada, **Wrocimy** (Windsor, Ont., 1942) by Marian Lisowski and **Widzenie wiary** (Montreal, 1946) by Alexander Janta deserve mention. Waclaw Iwaniuk, a resident of Canada, published his **Piesn nad piesniami** in London, England, in 1960.

Perhaps the most active among Polish poets in this country is Stanislaw Michalski who has produced his "fifth book of free verse in the past five years,"[9] **Garbuz i garby** (Montreal, 1962), derisive satires and lyric poems. An extreme modernist, S. Michalski writes

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6. **Ibid.**, p.508.
7. **Ibid.**, p.509. Cf. Pavel Javor, **Kour z Itaky**, p.38.
8. Turek, **Polonica Canadiana**, Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1958, p.38.
9. Watson Kirkconnell in **University of Toronto Quarterly**, Vol. 31 (1962), p.525.

almost exclusively in unryhmed and powerful verse, as in the following poem about the Eskimo girl:

Ty nie rozumiesz, dziewczyno polarna,
Przyczyny mojej bolesnej zadumy —
Niczego pojąć nie zdołasz,
Boś sama — w tundrę wrośnięta,
W śniegach wychowana —
Odcięta od mego i własnego świata
Nożem niewiedzy.

Liczysz w swym sercu maleńkie tęsknoty:
Do ciepła, ciszy . . .
Do sznura korali . . .
Do mnie — mężczyzny,
Którego "nieba" w potrzebie zesłały
By gasił czule — palące pragnienie
Twego miłością płonącego łona . . .[10]

Danuta Irena Bienkowska, of the University of Toronto, writes beautiful often philosophical poems which sink down deeply into the the reader's mind. It is impossible to forget the lines in which the praying man is shown:

Głowa i kolano
Wrasta w kamień.
Myśl nieustannie szuka
Skrętu w wieczność,
A bzy już zżółkły.[11]

It is a pity that poems such as hers have not been published in book form so far.

A distinctly feminine approach is felt in the poems of Romualda Bromke who had lived in Canada for twelve years prior to her death in 1962. Her collection of brief lyrics, **Rymy moje**, was posthumously published in 1964 in London, England, and I quote from it her shortest and perhaps most beautiful poem:

Czy można kochać zawieję
I wiatr zapłakany na dworze,
Czy taka miłość istnieje?
. . . może.[12]

Izabella z Lutoslawskich Wolikowska, an aged lady who has lived in Canada since 1947, was well known in her native Poland where her novel **Corka** went to the fourth edition in 1946. Among her other books, **Bolszewicy w polskim dworze** (Warsaw, 1921) and the novels **Malzenstwo Zazy** (Poznan, 1954) and **Panstwo Bobrowscy** should be mentioned. She published also an excellent monograph

10. S. Michalski, **Eskimoska Ewa, poemat**, Montreal, 1963, p.18.
11. **Kultura**, Paris, No. 11/205, p.66.
12. Romualda Bromke, **Rymy moje**, London, England, 1964, p.39.

Roman Dmowski (Chicago, 1961) and is working now on a book about W. Reymont, the author of the famous **Chlopi**, whose friendship she enjoyed for many years.

The author of the novel **Gwiazdy nad Toronto** (which I could not find in any library of Western Canada), Franciszek Kmietorowicz, has written **Kanadyjski oberek** (Toronto, 1960), a collection of sketches and simple short stories.

The Polish authors have neither a literary journal, nor a literary club of their own in this country, but there is a Polish Research Institute in Toronto founded in 1956. From time to time poetry and fiction appear in **Zwiazkowiec, Glos polski, Czas** and other local periodicals.

Polish folklore in Canada has been compiled by J. B. Rudnyc'kyj and published by the University of Manitoba Press. Literary criticism is resting in the hands of Professors Theodore F. Domaradzki and William John Rose. Though for a short period, Wiktor Turek (1910-1963) was actively engaged in bibliography. His **Polonica Canadiana** (Toronto, 1958) includes a complete list of Polish-Canadian publications in the decade 1948-57. He has also contributed to **Slavica Canadiana**. Finally, I should mention that Watson Kirkconnell, a distinguished Canadian poet, has translated into English A. Mickiewicz's **Pan Tadeusz**; the book was published by the University of Toronto Press in 1962.

Slovak Literature

The first book of verses written in Slovak in Canada, **Zjavnym hlasom** (1952) by Ondrej M. Debnarkin, consists of the meditative poems controlled by the balance between the author's feelings and a rigid contour of plasticity. The poet admits that

> Pre duse dvoch krajin vl'udnosti je malo.
> Vlahy im je treba z rosy slovenskych slov —
> mozno raz vyrastu z ich snazenia ciny . . . . [13]
> There is not enough kindness for the souls of two countries.
> They need inspiration from the dew of Slovak words,
> Since one can grow only from the seeds of their efforts . . . .

Another lyrical poet, Cyril Ondruc (born in 1919, came to Canada in 1952), has published a book **Pahreba** (1954) which is full of love for his lost Slovakia.

Rev. J. Dragos-Alzbetincan, who came to this country in 1951, is the author of two collections of poems—**Neposkvrnena vitazi** (1954) and **Slavme hviezdy jasné** (1963). The latter includes a hymn to Saints Cyril and Methodius, first apostles who gave an impact to the development of culture in many Slavic countries.

Ludo Besenovsky (born in 1910) came to this country in 1948 with two published novels and, in particular, with his big drama

13. Ondrej M. Debnarkin, **Zjavnym hlasom**, Toronto, 1952, p.9.

Zlomena past (1934)—about the Communist efforts to penetrate the Christian labor force in Slovakia. While still in his native country, he won first prize for his poems in a contest sponsored by the daily **Slovak**. Besenovsky continues to write poetry and brief stories which are gladly accepted by Slovak local newspapers, though he has yet not published any book here.

The versified drama **Ohne** (Winnipeg, 1955) by Jozo Zvonar Tien (born 1919, in Canada since 1954) is one of the few in Slavic literatures in this country. It deals with the liberation movement in Slovakia. His poems with patriotic overtones are scattered in various Slovak almanacs and periodicals.

Besides his lyrical and patriotic poems, Jan Doransky (born in 1911, came to Canada in 1949) wrote a dramatic play, **Stara mat neopustaj nas**, which was successfully staged by amateur groups across Canada.

In the field of scholarship, impressive achievements have been made by Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum and Rev. Dr. John Rekem. Kirschbaum (born in 1913) has well introduced his native country, "nation at the crossroads of Central Europe," to the English speaking peoples by his monograph **Slovakia** (New York, 1960). He is the author of **Nas boj o samostatnost Slovenska** (Cleveland, 1958), **L. Stur and His Place in the Slavic World** (Winnipeg, 1958), **Pavel J. Safarik** (Winnipeg, 1962), **Anton Bernolak, the First Codifier of the Slovak Language** (Winnipeg, 1964), **Literature of the Cyrillo-Methodian Period and Slovakia** (1964), **Pan-Slavism in Slovak Literature** (1966), and other publications.

Besides his book of memoirs, **Trencianska Vaznica** (1949), Rev. Rekem has valuable scholarly publications, **The Origin and Development of the Slovak Language** (1962), **Slovak Literature and National Consciousness Before Anton Bernolak, 1762-1813** (1964) and others. The second edition of his **Stefan Dubnicay, 1675-1725**, about a Slovak polemist and historian, appeared in 1966.

Among other writers on political and cultural topics, Karol Sidor (1901-1953) and Constantine Culen (1904-1964) should be mentioned.

Since there is no Slovak literary periodical in Canada, Slovak writers publish their works abroad, usually in **Most** (Cleveland, Ohio) and **Slovakia** (Middletown, Penna.). Every year, however, Slovak calendar-almanacs in this country, as well as those of other national groups, print poems and stories and even scholarly articles.

Croatian and Serbian Literatures

As Mr. Mirko Mehes, a Croat, has informed me, there are only two minor Croatian authors in Canada, namely Stjepan Hrastovec from Windsor who has not published a book so far and Marijan Sladojevic, a miner and the author of two booklets of verses. There are neither Croatian nor Serbian literary periodicals in this country, but brief short stories and poems appear in **Nas put, Hrvatski glas** and other local newspapers.

A Croat by origin, Alain Horic has written a book of poems in French—**Blessure au flanc du ciel** (Montreal, 1957).

It could be mentioned that **Journal of Croatian Studies** has been published by the Croatian Academy of America, Inc., and Canadian Croats from time to time contribute to this scholarly journal. **Nas put** has published **Proviest Hrvata (History of Croats)** in two volumes in Toronto.

Ukrainian Literature

Abundant material for the study of Ukrainian literature exists in Canada. One can speak in this case not only of individual authors, but also of periods and literary trends.

Ukrainians, who now exceed half a million in number, began to arrive in this country in 1891 or earlier and settled in compact masses all over the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. It is not known when the first Ukrainian book was printed in Canada, but such books were circulating in Alberta and Manitoba as early as 1900. One can assume that some of them, especially pamphlets, were of local or at least North American production. For example, a book **Zhuravli**, published in 1903 by the periodical **Svoboda** in Scranton, Pennsylvania, was read on farms near Vegreville, Alberta, as early as 1904. In it is S. Palamariuk's "Pisnja pro Kanadu," from which I quote one stanza:

Ой, Канадо, Канадочко,
Та й ти, Манітобо,
Жиє в тобі руський нарід,
Як тая худоба.[14]

According to M. Marunchak, M. Govda from Edmonton published his poems as early as 1899 in **Svoboda**. He also mentions I. Drohomyrets'kyj, S. Genyk, D. Jarema, V. Hajdash, J. Rykhlits'kyj and M. Kulachkovs'kyj as Ukrainian pioneers who were engaged in writing.[15]

The first Ukrainian writer in Canada was probably Sava Chernets'kyj who came to Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1899, stayed there for a year and moved forever to the eastern United States. His poems appeared in 1900 and later in **Svoboda**, as well as in **Osa** (1902), **Shershen** (1909) and several other American Ukrainian periodicals.

14. Supplied by Peter Zvarych of Vegreville. Cf. **Poety Kanady**, Kyjiv, 1958, p.191. **Kalendar-almanakh Ukrajns'koho holosu na 1966 rik** probably erroneously gives the author's name as "S. Palamarchuk" on p.73.

15. **Ukrajins'kyj holos**, Winnipeg, September 20, 1965; **Vilne slovo**, Toronto, Nov. 6, 1965. M. Govda's poem was published in **Pivnichne sjajvo**, 1965, Vol. II, p.135.

Some of them were republished in **Ukrajins'kyj holos** (No. 5, 1966), from which I quote one poem in full:

ЖОНАТИЙ
Оженився козак Латка,
Та й босий і голий,
Опинився під пантофлем,
В жіночій неволі.
Давно — пишна, недоступна,
Товста, горда штука.
Нині — лисий, худий, бідний,
Мов Іцкова сука . . .
Нема дива — сиротина
Мусить гордо пріти:
Жінка в місті з парубками,
А він — бавить діти. (1901).

Teodor Fedyk (1873-1949) who came to this country in 1905 was undoubtedly the first Ukrainian poet to publish his poems in book form here. His **Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriju**, originally printed in 1908, became a great success. Under the changed title, **Pisni imigrantiv pro staryj i novyj kraj**, the book went to six editions, and some 50,000 copies were sold.[16] There was such a big demand for this collection of **kolomyjky**, primitive folk poetry, that many copies were even sent to the old country. Fedyk's secret of success lay in his appeal to the immigrant's homesickness, as well as in his direct folkloristic approach:

Ой Канадо, Канадочко,
Яка ти не мила,
Бодай ти ся, Канадочко,
Нікому не снила.

Ой тут в літі дні гарячі
І сонічко гріє,
На другий день мороз стисне,
Аж земля біліє . . .

Хто приїде до Канади,
Мусить бідувати,
Як не шуфлев при роботі,
То ліси рубати.[17]

Similar to Fedyk's **kolomyjky** was **Ukrajins'ki robitnychi pisni** (1908) by Dmytro Raragovs'kyj (1878-1957).

Ukrainian folklore has flourished in Canada since the arrival of the first immigrants, who not only retained this kind of spiritual treasure, but also created a great variety of new songs and tales,

16. **Antolohija ukrajins'koho pys'mentstva v Kanadi**, Winnipeg, 1941, Vol. I, p.8.
17. Teodor Fedyk, **Pisni imigrantiv pro staryj i novyj kraj**, Winnipeg, 1927, pp.14-15.

proverbs and sayings which reflected their new environment in all aspects. Many of them have been published in **Svoboda** (Jersey City) since the 1890's and in **Kanadijs'kyj farmer** (Winnipeg, Manitoba) since 1903.

Volodymyr Plavjuk (1886-1961) collected and published proverbs and sayings under the title **Prypovidky** (Edmonton, 1946) and J. B. Rudnyc'kyj contributed greatly to the documentation of Ukrainian folklore in Canada with his three large collections of folk songs, ballads and tales in Ukrainian,[18] and one volume of selected pieces in English translation by Honore Ewach.

An unprecedented contribution to Ukrainian folklore in general has been made by songs about Canada. The Ukrainian settlers loved this vast country as well as their motherland Ukrainia. No wonder that they call it "our beloved Canada" and sing "America is our sister, and Canada is our mother." Only the people who have enjoyed freedom and lived a prosperous and industrious life could state:

No landlords oppress here,
So let us sing![19]

A true folk poet, I. Dziobko, has composed many verses published in Winnipeg in 1956 under the title **Chyje to polechko nezorane?** Many other poets, among them Dmytro Hun'kevych, Mykhajlo Kumka, Ivan Pawchuk, Andrij Gospodyn, Mykhajlo Krypjakevych, Ivan Novosad and his wife Katrja, Anna Prus'ka, Maria Adamovs'ka, Stepan Doroshchuk, Taras D. Volokhatjuk, Ivan Koval's'kyj, Mykhajlo Herasymchuk, Andrij Ponur, Dmytro Zakharuk, Marija Vakaljuk, Ivan Symchyshyn, Jakiv Manchurak, Ivan Petruk, Ivan Mykytyn, Darija Mohyljanka, N. Romanjuk, Dmytro Suvera, Vasyl Petryk, and others have written in the folkloristic vein. A few of these have also published their verses in book form. For example, Vasyl' Kudryk's **Vesna** appeared in Winnipeg in 1911 and Pavlo Krat's **Za zemlju i volju** in 1914. Vasyl K. Holovac'kyj became known for his **Robitnychi pisni** (Winnipeg, 1915); he wrote original poems and made adaptations from the famous works of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and others. A similar book of poetry was **Kanadijs'kyj kobzar** (Edmonton, 1918) by Josyf Jasenchuk. Perhaps the best among these poets is Darija Mohyljanka with her two collections, **Dumky letjat' na Ukrajinu** (1962) and **Pisni moho sercja** (1964), a genuine folk poetry which reflects the hardships of first settlers' life and their expectations for a better future.

The works of Ivan Danyl'chuk (1901-1944), a native Canadian from Saskatchewan, became a milestone in Ukrainian poetry in Canada. His collection of poems, **Svitaje den'** (Winnipeg, 1929), is

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18. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, ed., **Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts**, Volumes I-IV, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1956-1963.
19. **Ibid.**, Vol. III, p.221. Cf. my review of this volume in **Folklore**, Vol. 71, pp.137-139.

on a higher level than the works of the preceding poets. It was original poetry in the proper sense:

Не боюся гураґану,
Гураґану ще від рана,
Бо я певен, бо я вірю, знаю я:
Що по ночі день вітає,
А по бурі тиша має,
Така гарна, така люба і свята![20]

In addition, Danyl'chuk translated into Ukrainian poems of Lord Tennyson, Robert Service and others.

A note of similar quality in Ukrainian poetry was struck by Honore Ewach (Onufrij Ivakh, 1900-1964) who came to Canada in 1909 and began publishing his poems in **Kanadijs'kyj farmer** (1916) and **Ukrajins'kyj holos** (1917).[21] A graduate of the University of Saskatchewan, he made an effort to give his works a polished form. His tiny collection of poems, **Bojova surma Ukrajiny** (Winnipeg, 1931) and the narrative poem about the eighteenth century philosopher, Hryhorij Skovoroda, **Toj, koho svit lovyv ta ne spijmav** (Winnipeg, 1932), were undoubtedly a step forward in the development of Ukrainian literature in Canada. Ewach's best poems are collected in his **Jevshan-zillja v Kanadi** (1960).

Another poetic event of distinction was **Lira emigranta** (Saskatoon, 1936), a collection of poems by Myroslav Ichnjans'kyj (Ivan Kmeta), who came to Canada in 1929.[22] An accomplished poet with a considerable talent, he wrote highly lyrical, descriptive, as well as religious and philosophical poems. He paid much attention to the esthetic quality of his works and was probably the first Ukrainian poet in Canada to write sonnets. One of his best poems is "Sarons'ka lilija:"

Я лілія задумливих долин,
дивлюсь на світ прозорими очима.
Я росами вмиваюсь голубими,
цвіту для Вас . . . Хай візьмуть мати й син.

Біжить . . . Шумить швидкого часу плин,
а мій Сарон рожеві тче килими.
Цвіту для тих, що вмилися рясними
сльозами, та й вмирать лягли під тин.

Жива Я . . . Вічна лілія — для вас . . .
Зігнулися . . . Вогонь життя погас?
Візьміть Мене тремтячими руками
і жить воскреснете ви — враз!
Дні-ночі жду . . . Ваш Друг і Вчитель-Спас,
журюся і в Сибіру Я за вами.[23]

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20. Ivan Danyl'chuk, **Svitaje den'**, Winnipeg, 1929, p.32.
21. O. Ivakh, "Avtobiohrafija," **Ukrajins'kyj holos**, Winnipeg, February 3, 1960, p.10.
22. O. Ivakh, "Ukrajins'ko-kanadijs'ke pys'mentstvo," **Kalendar-almanakh Ukrajins'koho holosu**, Winnipeg, 1960, p.158.
23. Supplied by the author who is now in the United States.

Watson Kirkconnell aptly remarked that Ichnjans'kyj "combines fecundity of inspiration with an artistic consciousness of the resources of language."[24] In his new collection of poems, **Chasha zolota** (Winnipeg, 1964), these qualities are even more evident.

V. D. Tulevitriv (1886-19?) arrived in this country after World War I. His **Dumy i pisni** (1939) are marked by a melodious and polished verse though he lacks an originality in his manner of writing. On the contrary, Stepan Semchuk (born in 1899) lacks musicality in his verses though he composes good descriptive poetry. His "Kanadijs'ke lito" is a fine example of his ability to portray the Canadian landscape and to express his great love for the "new fatherland":

Даль . . . Безмежна даль
і неба синь.
Де оком кинь —
шовки зелених трав
і свердщики скрегочуть по ровах.
Під висотою неба нав
вітрець, невидний птах,
голубить цвіти запашні,
розстелює яр-промені,
і все дзвенить, як арфа раю . . .
Це ти мій краю!
Це ти, Канадо дорога,
моя батьківщино нова!
Люблю Тебе понад життя —
все більш, щодня . . .
Ніхто ніколи не візьме
тебе від мене.
Жене мене до праці і борби
любов — промінная зоря.
Канадо, вітчино моя![25]

On the contrary, Dmytro Zakharchuk does not accept Canada and in his **Na chuzhyni** (1934) he dreams only of Ukrainia, to which he desires to return as soon as possible. His truly patriotic motifs, however, are not matched by his artistry.

Mykhajlo Stechyshyn (1888-1964), a judge in Saskatchewan, revealed his talent in versified fables. His **Bajky** (Winnipeg, 1959) have a distinctive value; many of them could be compared to the **spivomovky** of Stepan Rudans'kyj. Stechyshyn uses wandering themes and simple but accurate language, and his verse which abounds in aphorisms runs along quite fluently:

Кажуть люди: "Не пиріг, —
То не пирожися".
Не під силу тобі діло,
То ти не берися.[26]

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24. University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 7 (1937-38), p.568.
25. Stepan Semchuk, **Kanadijs'ka rapsodija**, Winnipeg-Yorkton, 1959, p.89.
26. Mykhajlo Stechyshyn, **Bajky**, I, Winnipeg, 1959, p.40.

After many years of silence Dr. Mykyta I. Mandryka (born in 1886), who came to Canada in 1928 with three books of poetry to his credit, became very active in the late fifties. Once more his talent shone forth and four impressive volumes of his old and new poetry appeared in Winnipeg: **Zolota osin', 1905-1957** (1958), **Radist'** (1959), **Symfonija vikiv** (1961), and **Soncecvit** (1965). Besides lyrical and descriptive poems, Mandryka has written several versified narratives. In his **Mazepa** he pictures the famous Hetman as the symbol of Ukrainian independence while in his **Kanada** he glorifies the Ukrainian settlers who have helped greatly to develop the western wilderness of Canada. Professor C. H. Andrusyshen of the University of Saskatchewan called Mandryka's poem **Kanada** "a magnificent hymn of praise to Canada for the benefits it afforded to the Ukrainian element and for opportunities enabling these people to add to their well-being as well as to that of other ethnic groups in whose midst they live."[27] M. Mandryka's latest poems are highly metaphoric:

У поли золоті вдягається мій сад,
Літанію розучують берези;
В багрянці чорноклен виконує обряд,
Бо дні тепла вже на хистких терезах.[28]

There was also a long pause in the literary activity of Tetjana Shevchuk (born in 1904) who first published her poems in 1922 in various periodicals. Her philosophical treatise **Probudzhennja dukha** (Winnipeg, 1961) is the first of its kind in Ukrainian literature abroad. The religious meditations of Shevchuk make a deep impression on the reader. Her collection of poems, **Na prestil majbutnikh dniv** (Winnipeg, 1964), is to some extent modernistic in form. She also writes successfully in English.

Mandryka and Shevchuk returned to creative writing perhaps under the influence of a great influx of newcomers to this country. Some fifty Ukrainian poets, writers and scholars came to Canada after World War II and established their homes here. Literary clubs were organized in Toronto, Winnipeg, Montreal and Edmonton. A monthly **Novi dni** edited by Petro Volynjak began to appear in Toronto and became a kind of literary centre for Ukrainian authors abroad, particularly in Canada. Several new weeklies came into being, and literary pages were introduced in the periodicals **Homin Ukrajiny** (Toronto), **Ukrajins'kyj holos** and **Kanadijs'kyj farmer** (Winnipeg), to mention only a few. The injection of new blood into the old veins has contributed greatly to the founding of various Ukrainian publications. As previously, poets once more are dominating the literary scene.

Volodymyr Skorups'kyj (born in 1912) has published five collections of his poems—three in Edmonton: **Moja oselja** (1954), **V dorozi** (1957), **Bez ridnoho poroha** (1958) and two in Toronto: **Iz dzherela** (1961) and **Nad mohyloju** (1963)—the latter is a wreath of

27. **The Ukrainian Weekly**, 1961.
28. **Pivnichne sjajvo**, almanac, Vol. II (1965), p.57.

sonnets. Philosophical meditations similar to those of R. M. Rilke, a German poet, selected words and a rigid control of emotion—these are the salient traits of Skorups'kyj's poetry:

Вселенна наша, наче океан,
А ми у ній лиш прибережні мушлі.
Та нам уваг від неї та пошан, —
Що лицарю по боротьбі ущухлій.

Але якщо вона забагне прав
Своєї величі і непостарінь:
То знак, що нас на безум Той зіпхав,
В чиїх руках дари усі і кари.[29]

Levko Romen (born in 1891) is a versatile figure in the Ukrainian literature abroad. He is a poet and a writer of fiction, a playwright and a journalist. He also writes philological articles, book reviews and versified satire on political events. His collections of poems, **Peredhrimja** (Philadelphia, 1953) and **Poemy** (Toronto, 1956), are permeated with patriotic motifs and with the ideals of being a dedicated servant in the cause of Ukrainian independence. L. Romen's language is always rich and corresponds to the standard literary norms. He is one of the few who advocates the preservation of the purity of Ukrainian abroad. Somewhat similar to Romen was Pavlo Step (1893-1965), poet and editor of the monthly **Moloda Ukrajina** (Toronto).

Melodious verses come from the pen of Bohdan Mazepa (born in 1928). His **Zorjana dal'** (Edmonton, 1956) is marked by a strong lyrical stream, and his cycle on Alberta and the beautiful views of Banff contains many thought-provoking lines, as these from his "The Evening in Banff":

В ґранітах німих — зачарована стежа:
Здається, що поки пробудиться день —
На поклик до бою всю тишу збентежать
Хвилюючі крики смаглявих племен.[30]

An evident growth could be seen in the poems of another Edmontonian, Dan Mur (born in 1914), whose first book of poems is being published now, and Larysa Murovych and Vira Vorsklo. Lev T. Orlyhora, after his **Ljublju** (Edmonton, 1958), shifted from poetry to Ukrainian film production.

Teodor Matvijenko (born in 1924), in his **Sonety** (Toronto, 1961), demonstrates his good knowledge of the Ukrainian language. His sonnets are perfect in form and easy to read. The poet is now working on a long narrative in which he recreates a wide panorama of World War II in Europe.

29. V. Skorups'kyj, **Iz dzherela**, Toronto, 1961, p.58.
30. B. Mazepa, **Zorjana dal'**, Edmonton, 1956, p.56.

Among the youngest generation, at least one poet should be distinguished, Danylo Struk (born in 1940), a modernist and author of **Gamma sigma** (Winnipeg, 1963).

To conclude this survey of Ukrainian poetry in Canada, it could be mentioned that the author of this paper, after his coming to Alberta in 1960, has published three collections of his poetry in Edmonton, **Oaza** (1960), **Majestat** (1962) and collected poems **Trofeji, 1938-1963** (1963). His **Zavojovnyky prerij** (in preparation) deals exclusively with western Canadian themes. He was also responsible for the appearance of two sizable volumes of the literary and arts almanac, **Pivnichne sjajvo (Northern Lights)**, in 1964 and 1965. Nearly fifty authors from Canada and the U.S.A. participated in each volume. Owing to his efforts a Ukrainian literary club was formed in Edmonton in 1961 similar to those in Toronto and Winnipeg.

Ukrainian fiction in Canada began very early. Sava Chernets'kyj published his brief story "Z hlybyny propasty" in **Svoboda** in 1900. The severe Canadian climate and the tragic life of the first settlers in the prairie provinces are powerfully depicted in this realistic work. Vasyl Lasjuk, a lonely settler who lives three hundred miles from the city, freezes to death in the wilderness. Similar stories by other authors were published in **Kanadijs'kyj farmer** (begun in 1903).

The year 1910, marked by the appearance of the collection **Kanadijs'ki opovidannja**, could be called a milestone of Ukrainian fiction here, though the book consists of only four short stories: "Pershyj den' zarobitku" and "Taky postavyv no nohy" by A. Novak, "Shchastja" by Petro Kazan, and "Lysh mjaso" by Myroslav Stechyshyn. Novak's first story is a vivid account of the death of two labourers who were smashed at work by a huge rock, the second is about a son who helped his father to become rich and then tragically died in a coal furnace. In his poetry in prose, Kazan tells of a labourer's desire for happiness which is finally brought to him by a goddess, while Stechyshyn pictures two thieves who unintentionally poison themselves, not having benefited from their easily-obtained diamonds.

The themes of the first stories reflect the hardships of pioneer life, the difficult working conditions on farms, on building the railroads, in mines, etc. Vasyl Kudryk (1880-1963) was first to write about hired men on farms.[31] In his **Pimsta robitnyka** (Winnipeg 1911), he tells of the impulsive revenge of a worker against the farmer who treats his seasonal labourers improperly. The grasping farmer's property is set afire, and he hangs himself as an act of repentance. Pavlo Krat (1882-1946) in his **Vizyt chervonoji druzhyny** portrays a violent strike organized by the workers.[32] In another of his stories, **Koly zijshlo sonce**, he visualizes a wonderful future for Canada around 2,000 A.D., when justice and happiness will reign supreme.

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31. Pavlo Kravchuk, **Ukrajins'ka literatura v Kanadi**, Kyjiv, 1964, p.16.
32. **Ibid.**, p.20.

Apolinarij Novak (1885-1955) in his brief stories deals with the native cunning of prairie people. In his **Skonka**, originally published in 1910, a farmer wants to run off some illegal homebrew, but his wife opposes this. He gives the mash to his pigs which become intoxicated immediately. The impression is that the pigs were poisoned by rotten potatoes, and because of this their limp bodies are taken away to a bushland to be disposed. To the farmer's great surprise next day all the pigs return to his barnyard.

Such stories are very typical of the beginning of Ukrainian fiction in Canada. The life of the old country, as well as that of Canada and the United States, is treated in realistic style by Jakiv N. Kret in **Tajemnyj zlochyn** (Edmonton, 1926), Mykhajlo Petrivs'kyj in **Mahichne misto**, a novel (1927), Dmytro Soljanych (1876-1941) in **Khto vynuvatyj ta inshi opovidannja** (Edmonton, 1932), S. Kuryliv in **Proklin materi**, a novel (Winnipeg 1936), N. Kohuska in **V poleti do voli**, a historical novel (1938) and in **Maty** (Winnipeg, 1941), S. Kotyk in **Nad ozerom** (Winnipeg, 1946), Osyp Kramar in **Ja vernusja** (Edmonton, 1947), Dmytro Kolisnyk in **Moje selo** (Saskatoon, 1950 and 1952), and others. But all these fiction writers and the preceding ones remain on a rather mediocre level of achievement.

Illja Kyrijak (Elias Kiriak, 1888-1955) elevated Ukrainian fiction in Canada to a position of all-Canadian importance. His trilogy **Syny zemli** (first volume appeared in 1939 and the last in 1945) is a wide panorama of the life of Ukrainian settlers in Western Canada. Three generations of the Vorkuns, a hard-working family, are shown here in an epic of almost Homeric approach. Their adjustment to life in Alberta, activities in their community halls and churches, an intermarriage—all these are pictured with the talented pen of a master. Kyrijak's masterpiece is not only an enjoyable reading but also "a sociological document of real value."[33] M. Luchkovych of Edmonton, Alberta, made an excellent abridged translation of **Syny zemli,** which appeared in Toronto as **Sons of the Soil** in 1959.

Another distinguished Ukrainian writer is Oleksander Luhovyj (O. Ovruc'kyj-Schwabe, 1904-1962), author of **Bezkhatnyj** (Edmonton 1946), a novel about Ukrainian settlers in western Canada, **V kihtjakh dvoholovoho orla** (Edmonton, 1955), a historical chronicle from the time of World War I, **Vyznachne zhinoctvo Ukrajiny** (Toronto, 1942) a collection of the biographies of outstanding Ukrainian women, and many other works. Luhovyj also published an educational journal **Ukrajins'ka rodyna** in the late forties.

Among the newcomers, I should mention Fedir Odrach (1912-1964), author of several books of stories, particularly **Pivstapok za selom** (1959) and **Pokynuta oselja** (1960) in which he deals with life in Ukrainia. His novels **Shchebetun** (1957) and **V dorozi** (1955) reflect many biographical events from the author's life.

The hard facts of Ukrainian existence under the Soviet regime and the Kremlin's persecutions have been presented in O. Haj-

33. Watson Kirkconnell in **The University of Toronto Quarterly**, Vol. 13 (1943-44), p.458.

Holovko's two-volume novel **Pojedynok z dyjavolom** (Winnipeg, 1950). His collection of short stories, **Odchajdushni** (1959), pictures the struggle for retention of Ukrainian identity in the caldron of Russianization supported by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Similarly, Ivan Bodnarchuk (born in 1914) in his books of stories, **Znajomi oblychchja** (1961) and **Na perekhresnykh shljakhakh** (1954), depicts the hard life in Ukrainia during World War II, and Ivan Loboda in his novel **Vony pryjshly znovu** (Winnipeg, 1953) presents his views of the Finnish-Soviet war in 1939.

Also a typical realist is Ulas Samchuk (born in 1905), the foremost living Ukrainian author in Canada; he observed the fortieth anniversary of his literary activity in 1965. Samchuk who has made his home in Toronto since 1950 has published some ten novels in Europe and the U.S.A. His **Marija**, about the Soviet-made famine in 1933, went to four editions and has been translated into French. Probably his greatest work is the trilogy **Volyn'**, originally published in the 1930's. It was praised by many literary scholars as one of the best works of Ukrainian fiction in this century. Of similar quality and significance is his other trilogy, **Ost**, which appeared after World War II. Samchuk is working now on his new novel from Canadian life—**Prostir poza namy**, a fragment of which has been published in the almanac **Pivnichne sjajvo (Northern Lights)**, volume II.

I should mention at least two writers of humor, especially Stepan Fodchuk (born in 1888) who created a likeable but demoralized character in the person of Shtif Tabachnjuk, and Svyryd Lomachka (actually B. Oleksandriv), the author of **Svyryd Lomachka v Kanadi** (1953) and **Ljubov do blyzhn'oho** (Toronto, 1961). The first author relies heavily on a dialect permeated with spoiled English words, but the second writes polished stories in a literary genre.

Ukrainian drama in Canada was even more productive than poetry and fiction. There was a flood of primitive but functional plays, due to the constant demand of amateur theatres. Unforunately, many of these booklets disappeared forever because no one collected them or kept a record of them before and after World War I.

Among the first playwrights in this country was Vasyl' Kazanivs'kyj, who dramatized novels of Ukrainian classics, and Mykhajlo Petrivs'kyj (born in 1897) the author of the original play **Kanadijs'kyj zhenykh** printed in installments in **Ukrajins'kyj holos** in 1918.

Semen Kovbel (1877-1966) has written a play **Divochi mriji** which was staged in Winnipeg before its publication in 1920. During the thirties he produced several one-act pieces. Dmytro Hun'kevych (1893-19?) published a dozen of his plays which were staged throughout Canada, and **The Winnipeg Free Press** highly praised them in 1932.[34] Perhaps the best of his works is **Zhertvy temnoty** (Winnipeg, 1923), a didactic drama in five acts "with songs and dances." The author deals here with a drunkard and a ruined woman, the "victims

34. **Antolohija ukrajins'koho pys'menstva v Kanadi**, Winnipeg, 1941, p.39.

of darkness" who are punished for their deeds. Their abandoned children have grown up and happily married.

Myroslav Irchan (1897-1937) stayed in Canada from 1923 to to 1929 and contributed greatly to the literary activities and formation of a Union of Ukrainian Writers in Winnipeg known as **Zaokeans'kyj hart**. He published his play on the theme of a Ukrainian uprising, **Dvanajcjat'** (Winnipeg, 1923). His other five plays, as reminiscences from the Civil War in Ukrainia, **V burjanakh**, appeared in the 1920's. Because he was sympathetic toward the Soviet regime, Irchan returned home and was liquidated there as a "Ukrainian nationalist." A similar fate met the poet Ivan Kulyk who also spent several years in Canada.

Among other playwrights I should mention P. Kivshenko, who wrote **Bezbatchenko** (Winnipeg, 1927)—about the Ukrainian Kozaks living in the region of Kuban, and V.D. Tulevitriv, the author of **Taka jiji dolja** (1940) which is based on T. Shevchenko's works.

In addition to his fiction, Oleksander Luhovyj was also a major playwright. He produced some fifteen plays, most of them staged by the Ukrainian theatrical groups throughout Canada. As a recent publication, a play **Zhovtosyl** (Edmonton, 1965), by L. Romen, could be mentioned. It is a fine piece picturing the struggles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during World War II.

In the field of memoirs, **Spomymy** (Edmonton, 1942) by Vasyl' Chumer deserves a high praise. This is a collection of a dozen eye-witness accounts on how western Canadian prairies began to yield abundant harvests, thanks to Ukrainian settlers and those of other nationalities. To the field of memoirs also belong well-written travel accounts, particularly Olha Wojcenko's **Inshyj svit, inshi dni** (Winnipeg, 1959) dealing with Western Europe, J. B. Rudnyc'kyj's **Z podorozhi po Kanadi** (1959) and his several similar books.

Ukrainian literary scholarship in the full sense began only after World War II. Metropolitan Ilarion (who is also the author of several books of religious and philosophical poems), Leonid Bilec'kyj, Dmytro Dontsov, Pavlo Krat, J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, J. Mulyk-Lucyk, C. H. Andrusyshen, George Luckyj, K. Bida, V. O. Buyniak, Bohdan Stebel's'kyj, Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj, Mykyta I. Mandryka, Volodymyr Zhyla, Ol'ha Wojcenko, Stepan Volynec'. Ivan Syrnyk, Ivan Kejvan, Danylo Lobaj, Valerijan Revuc'kyj, Yar Slavutych and others published their scholarly books, essays and articles on both classical and contemporary Ukrainian literature. Most of these appeared under the auspices of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Toronto. This author has prepared a separate paper on the Ukrainian scholarship in Canada.

Translations from the Ukrainian into English were rare until recently. The most notable was **The Kobzar of the Ukraine**, T. Shevchenko's poems translated by Alexander Jardine Hunter and published in 1922. During the early 1960's, however, three major English language publications were released by the University of Toronto Press, namely **The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1960**, an anthology, and the complete **Poetical Works** of Taras Shevchenko, both trans-

lated by C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, and the very impressive first volume of **Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia** originally prepared by the Schevchenko Scientific Society in Western Europe and then revised and translated into English by its members living here.

Ukrainian literature in Canada is rich and abundant. There is no complete bibliography of books in Ukrainian though J. B. Rudnyc'kyj has published his **Ukrainica Canadiana** every year since the early 1950's, but it can be easily assumed that the number of titles of Ukrainian books published here well exceeds 1,000. It could be doubled if brochures are taken into consideration. These books were printed mostly in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Edmonton, and only occasionally in Vancouver, Saskatoon and Montreal. The great variety of themes and styles of the works published here during the last three decades, their significant ideas and artistic accomplishments, place Ukrainian literature in Canada on a high level—equal to that in Ukrainia.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I should emphasize that Russian, Czech, Slovak and Polish literatures in Canada are represented only by individual authors. Rich and abundant Ukrainian literature, however, in this country could be divided into periods and several trends; there have been over one hundred Ukrainian authors in Canada. From among the many cited here, the most distinguished Slavic authors who have lived in this country are Illja Kyrijak, Oleksander Luhovyj, Mykyta I. Mandryka and Ulas Samchuk (all four are Ukrainians), Pavel Javor (a Czech), S. Michalski (a Pole) and Leonid Strakhovsky (a Russian). In particular, the trilogy **Syny zemli** by Illja Kyrijak can be compared to the best works written in English on this continent.

Slavic literatures in this country are an integral part of Canadian culture as a whole. They prove that various national groups represent a potential source of culture; they have better than average accomplishments because of the boundless opportunities this country offers everyone who is eager to retain and develop a cultural heritage brought here from Europe.

THE CASE FOR SLAVIC FOLKLORE IN CANADA

By ROBERT B. KLYMASZ

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For the past fifty years or so, the folksongs, dances and costumes of Canada's large Slavic minority have attracted a wide and appreciative audience. Together with other ethnic groups, the Slavs in Canada have relied on folk festivals, concerts and cultural displays as a means of holding on to a sense of identity in the face of rapid assimilation, and, also, in order to gain recognition on the local or national scenes. In the course of this process the tendency has been to present the given folklore tradition in a somewhat sophisticated, stylized form, which is suitable for staged presentations, but seldom a true reflection of the living folklore tradition as it is found within the Slavic community in Canada.

In contrast to the conscious promotion of the Slavic folk traditions and the popular notions associated with them is the rich abundance of "raw" Slavic folklore materials in Canada which failed to attract adequate and serious scholarly attention for such a long time. It would, of course, be erroneous to claim that Slavic folklore in Canada has been completely ignored. Important contributions to the study of Ukrainian folklore in this country, for example, have been made by Volodymyr Hnatjuk, Volodymyr Plavjuk, Jaroslav B. Rudnyc'kyj, Tetjana Koshyc' and others. Except for these pioneer efforts, however, the problem remains largely unexplored although the richness of the field has been recently confirmed in a report published by the National Museum of Canada based on a survey of ethnic folk music across Western Canada undertaken in 1963 by Mr. Kenneth Peacock, a musicologist. The report includes the following observations concerning the folklore of Canada's major Slavic group, the Ukrainians:

> The survey confirmed what was suspected beforehand—that Ukrainian-Canadians have the most widespread and flourishing folkmusic and folklore in Western Canada. After French, English, and Indian, theirs is potentially the largest body of folklore in Canada. In fact, if the same amount of time and effort that have been spent on any of these three larger ethnic groups were devoted to Ukrainian research, the body of material would approach, or even surpass, that of the English or Indian collections at the National Museum . . . .[1]

Several barriers have stood in the way of the serious investigation of this wealth of folklore materials. First, the language barrier undoubtedly discouraged any probing on the part of Canada's small nucleus of established folklorists who, quite naturally, were more attracted to French, Anglo-Saxon and native Indian folklore. And

1. Kenneth Peacock, **A Survey of Ethnic Folkmusic Across Western Canada**, Ottawa, 1964, p.11.

it is hardly surprising that the "influx and random dissemination of the motley crowds of European immigrants" in Canada after World War I was somewhat disturbing to those folklorists who viewed the field of European folklore on this continent as being composed of three neatly compartmentalized geographic spheres: British, French and Spanish.[2]

Still another barrier was the lack of a productive cultural elite within the Slavic community (before World War II at least) which could evaluate the Canadian experience of its people with some sense of detachment and objectivity. During the early stages of settlement in Canada, community leaders were more concerned with the social and economic plight of the Slavic immigrant whose traditional folkways often seemed to frustrate their efforts on his behalf. And it was only later, when they were confronted with the threat of assimilation, that the folk tradition, in certain of its manifestations, gained recognition as an important means of retarding this process.

After World War II a number of folklore enthusiasts arrived in Canada but made little or no effort to investigate the field of Slavic folklore in Canada. For the most part, they continued to work within the traditional, established framework of "old country" folklore research. This trend is strikingly illustrated by the late Stepan Kylymnyk's five-volume work on the calendar year in Ukrainian folklore.

And finally, as far as our universities in Canada are concerned, only one Slavic department (University of Montreal) offers a course in Slavic folklore, in spite of the tremendous importance attached to this field within the Slavic countries themselves.

This general neglect, coupled with popular misconceptions as to what in effect **is** folklore, has resulted in the misinterpretation of related fields of Slavic creativity in Canada. For example, an attempt has been made to assess Ukrainian literature in Canada in the light of standard, sophisticated literary criticism without reference to the folkloristic style and content which is especially characteristic of most works published before World War II. The misinterpretation which results from the inability to distinguish sharply between sophisticated literature and folkloristic materials is evident, for instance, in certain comments published by Watson Kirkconnell who in the thirties described the bulk of what, in effect, was but Ukrainian-Canadian folk poetry in print, as "the saddest sort of doggerel." Neglect of Slavic folklore in Canada has also made it almost impossible to check the tendentious views reflected in Soviet writings on Ukrainian folklore in Canada. In this connection, a recent article by Petro Kravchuk leaves the reader with the impression that Canada's early Ukrainian communities were filled with pro-Soviet agitators spouting revolutionary songs.

The major task and ultimate goal of Slavic folklore scholarship in Canada should be to find an answer to the question—what

2. C. Marius Barbeau, "The Field of European Folk-lore in America," **Journal of American Folklore**, 32 (1919), p.187.

happens to a rich folklore tradition when it is transplanted to a new and somewhat different environment. In effect, this calls for an investigation of the acculturative process as it is reflected in the folklore of the Slavs in Canada on all levels of observation including problems of content, style and function. It means that a careful note should be made of all signs of change and innovation in a given traditional folklore genre without, however, permitting so-called classical models to prejudice investigation of a given item in such a way that it is discarded as being unworthy of serious consideration.

As an instance of this kind of approach the remainder of this paper will focus attention on the Ukrainian immigrant folksong tradition: that is, that corpus in the folksong tradition which reflects the process of acculturation and Canadianization. The major source of reference is a collection of approximately fifty folksong texts which form only a small segment of approximately one thousand folksong items which were recorded by the present writer in Western Canada in the summers of 1963 and 1964. The selection of texts is based on one of two criteria: 1) the song is an original item composed in Canada, or 2) it is a traditional item with obvious signs of "Canadianization" through contact with the new Canadian environment.

The texts fall into two broad categories according to function: casual or non-ritual folksongs, and non-casual or ritual folksongs. The ritual texts are fewer in number for the reason that they exist no longer as a productive folksong tradition but survive in a vacuum so to speak, as an extremely conservative corpus of folksongs, divorced from the old, calendaric rituals and various ceremonies with which they were genetically associated. In other words, it is the casual, impromptu-like situation which, for the singer, provides an outlet for fresh comment and which, for the folklorist, brings into relief those processes which are currently active in shaping and conditioning the immigrant folksong corpus.

After applying the criteria of selection outlined above, it is, then, the non-ritual folksong texts which are in the majority because of their ability to change and adapt themselves in keeping with new and different situations. These have been subdivided into the following types according to content: (a) the emigration songs which describe the departure from the immigrant's native village in the old country, his journey to the new world and his arrival in Canada; (b) and (c) songs which are in the nature of firsthand reports and general commentaries on the new, immigrant experience, with the negative and positive aspects of this experience divided into (b) and (c) song-types, respectively; (d) comic, macaronic songs which treat of everyday life in Canada; and finally (e) miscellaneous non-ritual songs. The subdivision of the non-ritual folksong material into the groups outlined above is, in effect, a more or less chronological arrangement of the materials, with each group or song-type offering a perspective into a different stage of the acculturative process. The ritual folksongs have been placed under one single-letter heading—category (f).

The first group of texts, the emigration songs (type a), marks that initial starting point in the immigrant experience which serves as the spring for the formation of an entirely new folksong cycle. It acts as a kind of bridge between the "old country" and the new world. And in addition to their socio-historical significance, these songs are important in that they embody those stylistic processes which were productive at the time of emigration to the new world.

The emigration songs deal with a limited number of motifs: the reasons for emigrating, preparations for the journey, the departure scene, the voyage or journey itself, and finally the arrival in the new world. Similar thematic material is found in a number of texts which have been grouped under other headings. The distinguishing feature in this case is the personal, diary-like narrative which is characteristic of all the type (a) texts:

"Don't go to Canada, my husband,
Don't go there to suffer,
Without you here it's hard for me
To feed the children."
I didn't listen to my children
Or to my wife,
I went to the village elder
And took out a passport.

Armed with his passport, his ticket and money for the road, he bids a tearful farewell to his friends and relatives, reluctantly boards a train and eventually reaches Hamburg or some other seaport. It is the sea and the experience of being transported over the ocean which makes an indelible impression on the emigrant whose life in the old country revolved around strictly agrarian pursuits and who seldom, if ever, had seen any body of water wider than the river, stream or creek which flowed through his native village area. In the songs, such crucial events and experiences tend to be telescoped into a miniature, episodic form which is no longer than one or two stanzas. The ocean voyage is depicted by two of the songs that follow:

a) We got on board ship
And began to depart,
Whoever ate or drank something
Had to bring it up.

b) And on Thursday morning
When the ship began to rock,
We began to call on the help of the Lord God
And Mary:
"O help us, Lord Jesus,
And Saint Nicholas,
Help us to reach
The new world."

Arrival at one of Canada's Atlantic seaports—usually Halifax or Quebec city—only marked the beginning of still another series of trials and hardships for the Ukrainian immigrant: he had yet to submit to an overland journey—by train and then by wagon—

which would take him through half the continent, suffering crowded and unhealthful conditions en route. It is not much wonder that the newly-arrived immigrant was often somewhat dissatisfied and disenchanted with the new environment, as verbalized in this excerpt from one of the songs of the emigration:

We arrived at Selkirk
At four o'clock.
The conductor said to get off
In a forest by a valley.
All the poor people climbed out
Like a bunch of gypsies,
They made a fire to warm themselves
And bedded down.
When the poor people got up
They began to weep profusely;
"Alas! We are doomed in this Canada
Forever!"

It is, then, against this kind of backdrop that the next group of songs (b-group) is to be placed. In them are reflected the hardships, the disenchantment and the homesickness that accompanied the initial stages of settlement. In general, the texts in this group are characterized by a negative, despondent attitude towards the new experience and, stylistically, they are present in the nature of personal reports or general commentaries. Ties with the old country are still strong as letters are sent and eagerly awaited from loved ones left behind; everywhere there is the comparison between the old world and the new environment—with sentiments still very much in favour of the former; and underlying the entire group of texts is the gnawing homesickness which, in many cases, overwhelmed the immigrant to such a degree that he prepared to make the return journey to his native village:

In search of fortune I rushed here
To such a far and distant place
I've suffered much
And I still endure all kinds of hardships.
But happiness is a rare thing here,
And few will ever find it,
More people perish in the mines,
And not one will ever hear again of them.
Others have their hands cut off—
Victims of the machines,
While others die of hunger
Because they don't know the language.
O save us, Mother of God
And all you heavenly powers above,
So that we can earn
A hundred dollars for our pockets,
So that we can sail back to our families
Over that frightful ocean—
It is there that our hearts will be lighter
And the black days will be forgotten.

In spite of the hardships which he encountered, the Ukrainian immigrant usually stayed on. In most cases it took him only a few short years to clear the land, build a house and provide an adequate if not comfortable livelihood—by old country standards at least—for

himself and his family. In time, as he became aware of the opportunities which lay before him, his initial alienation was replaced by acceptance and even direct praise of his new homeland. While the negative or, so to speak, the anti-Canadian songs (group b) were retained as part of the immigrant folksong repertoire, there came to exist alongside of them a number of pro-Canada songs reflecting positive aspects of the new immigrant life in Canada:

Go to Canada, don't put it off,
Although you'll suffer for a year or two;
But later, you and your children
Will all be living the life of a lord.
Here everyone is equal,
At home or in the lawcourt, everyone is a "sir;"
And 160 acres of land is owned
By every Harry, Pan'ko or Ivan.
Work where you want, mow where you can,
Cut the forest where you wish;
Work for yourself, not for parasites,
And pay only five dollars tax.
Here everyone pays five dollars,
Be he a Ruthenian, Pole or Englishman;
And after you've finished your two days on public works,
You've got peace for a whole year.

For others, living in Canada was like living in paradise:

O Canada, Canada, you beautiful country,
We live in you like in some kind of paradise.
O Canada, Canada, it is good to live in you,
We have enough to eat, we have enough to drink,
We have beautiful fertile fields
For which we get a lot of money.

Inevitably, however, as the immigrant community came into more of a direct contact with the culture of the new world, the customs and traditions of the homeland clashed with those cultural and social patterns which had already been established as the "norm" in Canada. And it is this clash between two sets of institutionalized behavior which served as a kind of spring for the creation of those texts which form the next group of songs, the d-group.

The effects of the transition from the old world culture to the new were nowhere more evident than in the children of the immigrants who frequently expressed contempt for the old ways and traditions, resulting in the breakdown of the old, traditional parental authority in the home. Misbehavior was not uncommon among large numbers of the younger generation whose social activities were identified by one teacher as "Dancing, Bootlegging, and Baseball!" The following folksong text with its scene between the mother and her sporting son is a clear reflection of the conflict between the different generations within the family circle:

In Canada the young fellows strut about and show off,
But whenever they go to a dance, they have to ask their mother for a "quarter."
"O mother, you can't do anything with a single 'quarter.'
For I have to buy a 'ticket' for my girl;
And not only a 'ticket,' I also have to buy 'lunch.'"
"O my young son, my wretched son,
I see that even a five dollar bill won't be enough for you."

Still another form of social disorganization within the Ukrainian immigrant family-unit was the wife's rebellion against the traditional dominance of the husband in the home. In the old country he was quite within his rights in beating his wife, and she in her turn took it as a matter of course. But within the framework of Canadian social and cultural patterns the husband who took advantage of such traditional privilege became a common wifebeater. And not infrequently the wife preferred court charges against her husband in such matters.

I must have been blindfolded when I married him,
For now my "husband" tramples over me,
He broke all the furniture in the "room"
And each new day brings new "troubles."
I keep telling him
That I don't "like" it
But he begins to "fight"—
And once I made my feet run me out of there.
I ran out of the "room" "barefooted,"
And met "Mrs." X, a good friend,
And told her all my "troubles,"
And about the hell that I've got in my "house."
She knew the law real well
And she gave me advice that was "alright,"
Right away we called a "policeman"
Who arrested my "man."
And now he's sitting in "jail"
While I'm out having a "good time" right up to my neck,
And when he comes out, he'll know
That he should show respect for a "lady."

A major feature in the style of all the song texts that belong to this stage in the acculturative process is the interpolation of English words into an otherwise all-Ukrainian text. This kind of bilingualism is, of course, a sign of both culture and language contact. The Ukrainian immigrant's personal vocabulary was limited in that, although it was suited to the peasant culture of the old country, it was not wide enough to accommodate those items which he felt were strictly "new world" products, expressions and ideas. In everyday speech, the immigrant uses these borrowed, English words freely and 'naturally' (e.g. "gas," "car," "quarter" and so on). In song, however, he is able to transform these borrowings into a consciously formulated comic, poetic device which, in effect, reflects the tension between the old and new cultures by expressing it in terms of language contact: (English words used in the original Ukrainian text appear in quotation marks)

The only thing you have to worry about, my father,
Is sowing and ploughing,
While I have to worry about
Getting myself a "Ford."
I shall "steer"
And honk with the horn for my "sweetheart;"
Here comes father running after me—
He wants to beat me.

I got up Sunday morning
And dressed up like a "sport,"
I went to the "garage"
To "crank" up the "Ford."
And put it into "high,"
When I rode into a "fence"
And "bust" the "tire."

Maximum effect is achieved by placing the English word at the end of the melodic phrase (or "line") and having it rhyme with another English word in a similar, terminal, parallel position:

Ta koby to lyshen' "**tykyt**," to she treba "**loncha**,"
Ta koby to dlja jednoji, ale to dlja "**boncha**."

It is, then, the macaronic text which best expresses the onset of acculturation and assimilation—not only through its content but also through the macaronic features themselves which provide a vivid and concrete-like index of the acculturative process. As far as the traditional folksong corpus is concerned, the macaronic, immigrant folksong can not be absorbed into and disseminated within the framework of the "all-Ukrainian" folksong corpus due to its hybrid nature which makes it "foreign" to the traditional corpus. Similarly, the English-speaking culture which surrounds the immigrant community is unable to adopt and give currency to the macaronic folksong due to its Ukrainian language features. The Ukrainian immigrant macaronic folksong is, in effect, **the** immigrant folksong **par excellence**, created by and for the immigrant community which alone understands and appreciates it. A striking example of the macaronic folksong's ingroup function is the following brief, nonsense-ditty with its Chagall-like image of an old woman sitting up on the roof:

Up on the house-roof sits an old woman,
Counting "**two-by-two**,"
While the wind keeps blowing, blowing, blowing,
And keeps howling, howling, howling,
While the wind keeps blowing and keeps howling o'er the roadway.

It is the insertion of the English "two-by-two" which acts as the spring for hilarity coupled with the inconceivability of the entire image; it's not merely the old woman's position up on the roof which is a source of humor, but also the fact that she represents the backward, illiterate ways of the old peasant culture, yet surprisingly enough, she is depicted as being able to count in English ("two-by-two"). Here again the tension between the old and the new is reflected through the interpolation of such macaronic features into the song text and their transformation into an effective, comic device.

As far as the immigrant folksong tradition is concerned, not only is the acculturative process observable in terms of content and style, but also in terms of the melody or tune. In the following text, for example, the framework of the original song is still in

evidence in spite of some adaptation while the borrowed melody remains intact (those words and phrases which have been translated from the original Ukrainian appear in boldface type):

O my darling, O my darling,
O my darling Clementine,
I bought a Ford for five dollars
And went off for a ride.
The car stopped—no more fire,
And on top of this—a flat tire,
O my darling, O my darling,
O my darling, Clementine.

Occasionally, the borrowed tune is so popular that the singer is unaware that he is singing his text to a "foreign" melody. One of my informants, for instance, sang a traditional text to "You are My Sunshine" and declared that she had learned both the text and the melody in the old country!

Of the various rituals and ceremonies which the early Ukrainian settlers brought to Canada, it is the popular, so-called "Ukrainian wedding" which survived the longest as a living tradition and which —in certain areas at least—brought notoriety to the Ukrainian immigrant community. These weddings frequently provided (and continue to provide) the male segment of the immigrant population with an outlet for pent-up physical and emotional energies. An analysis of the crime-rate among the Ukrainians in the first two decades of this century pointed to

> the undue prevalence of assault. This is a polite term for fighting which frequently occurs at their weddings and dances, owing to the excessive amount of home-brew consumed . . . . 'A Galician wedding has come to mean a calamity,' said one of the most eminent judges of the west while presiding over an assize court. 'These weddings too often mean a carouse ending in a fight and frequently murder' . . . . Home-brew literally flows at the weddings, as much as two and three hundred dollars being spent on the event, and the demand has stimulated an increasing supply.[3]

It is perhaps, then, hardly surprising that Ukrainian-Canadian wedding songs ("vivat") generally belong to the repertoires of male singers. The fact that the texts appear to depart from and, at times, to ignore completely the wedding-situation in their content constitutes a significant change when compared with standard, traditional materials. In fact, on other grounds, many Ukrainian-Canadian wedding songs could be grouped together with the non-ritual, macaronic immigrant songs with their everyday, casual thematic material. The first two stanzas of one of the wedding songs serve to reflect this trend:

Just think, all you people,
And figure this out—
The fact that he who works for a farmer
Never has any money.
He works for a whole week
And makes some money,
But when Saturday comes
He loses it shooting pool.

3. Charles H. Young, **The Ukrainian Canadians. A Study in Assimilation**, Toronto, 1931, p.267.

Another wedding song describes an immigrant's experience with his Ford (text no. f.3.d.) and a third presents a humorous account of a Ukrainian immigrant's Anglo-Saxon wife and her attempt to make cabbage rolls, a favorite dish (text no. f.3.e.). The only clue to the fact that these are indeed wedding songs is usually contained in the final stanza which either makes direct mention of its being a wedding song or which serves as a toast to the bridal couple:

My glass is from Fork River,
The beer is from Trembovlje—
And to you, the young bride,
May God grant you health!

An important part of the traditional ritual repertoire are those songs which constitute the winter cycle. These survive in the current folksong tradition in the form of religious or, and less often, non-religious Christmas carols, and, for the most part, have been greatly influenced by both the Uniate Catholic and Orthodox clergies which have tried to 'cleanse' the Christmas songs of so-called 'pagan' elements. The winter songs, then, are no longer productive as a folksong genre and form a highly conservative but popular corpus in the folksong tradition. As a result, signs of "Canadianization" are almost non-existent. Occasionally, however, a singer may attempt to 'improve' upon a traditional image in the text which, in effect, he finds incomprehensible or inaccurate, to his way of thinking at least. One such archaic image is that of a young maiden who goes to collect flowers and assorted greens for her wedding wreath which she places in the long, flowing sleeve of her garment. In the following fragment, the singer has replaced the sleeve with a small box in an effort to bring the image up to date. Moreover, the small box is itself expressed by means of a hybridization of the English word **box** plus the diminutive, Ukrainian suffix **-ochka** (**baksochka**).

A beautiful maiden was walking o'er the hill . . .
And as she walked she gathered garlic leaves . . .
And as she gathered garlic leaves, she placed them in a small "box,"
And as she gathered the leaves, she made a wreath . . . .

Like the winter cycle song, the funeral lament (or wail) is no longer productive. Moreover, it has almost completely disappeared and is rarely, if ever, performed at funerals or over the grave nowadays. "For some reason, people simply don't cry anymore at funerals," said one of my informants, "everything and everyone is quiet." If, then, the folksong is to continue to serve as an outlet for the kind of emotion that is characteristic of the traditional, Ukrainian funeral lament, it is performed in a non-traditional setting and in a non-traditional manner. It can, for instance, retain the traditionally stichic and recitative features which were characteristic of the old funeral laments, although it is performed as a kind of commemorative piece which is sung in memory of some friend or relative who has passed away a number of years earlier. A more radical departure is the alteration in style and form in such a way that the song fits in with those folksong processes which are currently productive: that is, lyrical in style with a stanzaic, versified structure.

In general, then, the Ukrainian-Canadian immigrant folksong cycle is non-ritual (casual) in essence. The main factors which have influenced its development are the historical and sociological aspects of the acculturative process. It is not, however, only the content which reflects the different stages in the acculturative process, but also such formal features as macaronic elements in the texts and borrowings in terms of tune and melody. It is, in effect, these hybrid-like folksongs which constitute the Ukrainian **immigrant** folksong **par excellence** since they are special to the Ukrainian immigrant community alone.[4]

The traditional ritual folksongs have not been conducive to "Canadianization;" they continue to be sung in 'frozen' form as survivals from the past and are in the process of disappearing from the Ukrainian-Canadian folksong corpus. However, as discussed earlier, the loss of the **traditional** ritual folksong may be countered, if necessary, by 1) the utilization of a non-ritual folksong in a ritual-like situation (e.g. Ukrainian-Canadian wedding songs), or 2) by a drastic change in style and function (e.g., funeral laments which function as commemorative songs and which take on currently productive stanzaic pattern).

4. Songs of the emigration have been collected and published in the Soviet Ukraine. The Soviet text falls into the "a" and "b" groups only; there are no macaronic songs.

PANEL ON CANADIAN SCHOOLS AND THE SLAVIC LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

A SUMMARY

By VICTOR O. BUYNIAK

Moderator: Victor O. BUYNIAK, University of Saskatchewan

Panelists: Danuta BIENKOWSKA, University of Toronto

M. GULUTSAN, University of Alberta

A. MICHALENKO, University of Saskatchewan

Xenia SHKLANKA, St. Joseph's High School, Edmonton, Alberta

Peter J. WOROBETZ, Department of Education, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Moderator's introductory remarks:

It is my privilege and pleasure to welcome you to this session —a panel discussion, dedicated to Canadian schools and the Slavic linguistic and cultural heritage.

The question of schools and education is of vital importance to the Canadian Slavs in their desire to retain their identity in Canada, just as it is important to the future of the Canadian nation itself. Various points concerning this question were raised in previous sessions by different speakers, commentators and members of the audience. It had even been suggested that a federal Ministry of Education be formed, instead of the existing provincial ones, to standardize the whole system of Canadian education. Early Slavic pioneers in this country were well aware of the significance of education as an instrument, nay, a weapon, which could give their children not only the material values in life but also moral and spiritual ones, values that would help to foster the language, culture and traditions of their forefathers.

There is no doubt about it, we all, Canadians by birth or by choice, want to become better Canadian citizens, want to work actively toward and contribute to a better future for Canada. The question, so often asked, arises: are we going to serve Canada better by preserving the heritage of the country of our origin, of our ancestors, or by assimilating into the prevailing Canadian culture and forgetting our own? On a number of occasions important Canadian personalities of non-Slavic origin emphasized that to be a good Canadian means to cherish and to transmit to Canadian culture the culture and traditions, including the language, of the land of one's origin.

Is this statement or advice true and valid in Canadian schools and do we, Canadian Slavs, adhere consistently to it?

Panel:

The panelists in this session dealt with some specific aspect, or aspects, of the problem which interested them most and in which they were involved, with one of them recapitulating the main points and adding his remarks.

Mrs. BIENKOWSKA dealt with the problem of attitude, behaviour and reaction of grade-school children of Slavic background, in a large Canadian city, in respect to Canadian and ethnic schools. She also presented this aspect from the viewpoint of a parent. The examples in question were provided from Toronto's Polish community. Grade-school children, whatever their ethnic background, desire to associate with each other, like to conform to accepted standards, want a feeling of belonging to a group, and dislike to differ from the rest of their group. They prefer public schools which give them a sense of belonging to Canada, to the detriment of their education in ethnic schools. They would even go as far as to change their difficult-to-pronounce Slavic names to more acceptable Canadian ones. They fear the discrimination of being different, and this causes their open or hidden resentment against their parents and the ethnic schools. A typical attitude of such a child is: "Send me to your ethnic school if you like but I will not learn anything. It will just be a waste of time." Of approximately 11,000 Polish children in Canada between the ages of 5 and 14 only some 1,300 attend Polish ethnic schools, which give classes in Polish after regular school hours. Only some 11 percent of the Polish children in Toronto attend such schools. Mrs. Bienkowska urged reorganization of existing Polish ethnic schools, raising of teacher standards and employment of recent Polish immigrants. Polish culture in Canada will suffer if such reforms are not made.

Mrs. SHKLANKA tackled a similar problem from the viewpoint of a high-school teacher. She quoted examples from her association with the students as a teacher of Ukrainian and other subjects in Edmonton. Although high-school students also have a strong feeling of group belonging, they can acquire a keen interest in the cultural and linguistic background of their ethnic group, if they are properly guided by their teachers or leaders. The main point is to arouse the students' interest in these things and to dispel any feeling of inferiority that they might have in connection with their ethnic origin. Once they have been shown positive values and contributions to world culture by their ethnic group, they can be induced to study the language of their forefathers, literature, history, religion and a number of other cultural disciplines. The point was stressed that a proper approach and guidance be applied by the teacher; improper handling of the problem might cause resentment and lack of interest in his ethnic background on the part of the student. A proper place and attitude must be found for everybody so that the teacher-student team be comparable to a conductor and orchestra—a harmony to teach and to be taught the language and other connected disciplines, with mutual respect of the parties concerned. The work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism effected a positive in-

fluence on the minds of high-school students. Faced with an apparent supposition that Canada is inhabited by people of two languages and cultures, English and French, the student is subconsciously confronted by the question: "And to which group do I belong?" This prompted the students to take a deeper interest in their ethnic background and to participate more vigorously in the activities connected with the Commission.

Professor MICHALENKO dealt with the role of Institutes, which house, board and educate high-school and university students away from home, in the preservation of linguistic and cultural heritage among the Canadians of Slavic origin. His observations were mainly based upon the growth and activity of the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon with which he has been connected since his youth. The Institute attracted and continues to attract active young people of the Ukrainian origin and fills their need for intellectual, cultural and social life. Students of the Institute were instrumental in promoting the study of the Ukrainian language and culture, in founding student organizations and, upon graduation, in providing lay, church and community leadership in many centers in Saskatchewan and across Canada. By fostering the Ukrainian language and traditions the Institute helped greatly to introduce the teaching of that language into the University of Saskatchewan and into Saskatchewan's secondary schools, which fact had its bearing indirectly upon similar developments in other provinces. Many of the Institute's members and graduates attained positions of high trust in various domains of Canadian life, thus the Institute may be credited with molding the characters of responsible and worthy citizens. In contrast to the past situation, when almost all students seeking higher education resided at the Institute and benefited by it, at present only a minority does so. New approaches and methods must be applied to correct this situation.

Superintendent of Schools WOROBETZ outlined the process of introduction of Ukrainian language courses into Saskatchewan's high schools. The first steps in this direction were made in the early 1940's when classes in Ukrainian language and literature were commenced at the University of Saskatchewan. The acceptance of these courses as a full university credit was a strong influence on their further development in high schools. Two Yorkton schools initiated such classes in 1947. The approach was experimental, but when the matriculation credit was approved over 220 students passed the examinations successfully between 1947 and 1952. In 1952, the Department of Education approved a two-year trial period for teaching of Ukrainian in grades IX to XII, which also ended with success. During 1964-1965 eighteen high-school centers in the Province have been offering Ukrainian, with a total enrolment of 1171 students. Beginning with 1963-1964, correspondence courses in high school Ukrainian were commenced. In 1964-1965 the Government Correspondence School in Saskatchewan had 88 students enrolled in Ukrainian. In addition to statistics and the detailed data about course and textbook requirements, Mr. Worobetz presented a number of valuable and helpful

opinions, suggestions, do's and don't's, drawing upon his and his co-workers' experience in this venture.

Professor GULUTSAN recapitulated the problems mentioned by each panelist, stressing the main points and possible solutions. He furnished some examples from his recent trip to the Soviet Union, where he visited several educational institutions and studied their teaching system. There exists in the Soviet Union, especially in its constituent Republics, a linguistic and educational situation, comparable to the Canadian one, where schoolchildren and students are faced with a choice of taking their education in the language of the Republic in which they reside, or else, in Russian. In most cases a form of linguistic and cultural dualism is practised in Soviet schools.

Problems in teaching of Slovak to Canadian children of Slovak origin were outlined by Msgr. John REKEM, and of Russian to Doukhobor children by Mr. P. G. MAKAROFF.

LES PROBLEMES DE LA RECHERCHE SUR LA CULTURE POLONAISE DANS LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC

RESUME

Par THEODORE F. DOMARADZKI
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Les Canadiens-français, à l'instar de leurs cousins de France, portent un intérêt spécial envers la Pologne et sa culture. Ce sentiment de sympathie pour les Polonais a beaucoup aidé l'auteur de la présente conférence dans la fondation, en 1948/49, d'une chaire de la littérature polonaise à l'Université de Montréal dans le cadre du Centre d'études slaves qu'il a organisé en même temps à la Faculté des lettres.

En effet, cette chaire à laquelle s'est rattaché l'enseignement de plusieurs autres matières polonaises (langue, civilisation, philologie, etc.) a marqué le point de départ de la recherche scientifique sur la culture polonaise non seulement dans la Province de Québec mais également au Canada tout entier. Ce fait a eu une très grande importance pour le développement de la slavistique canadienne. Il suffit de remarquer que le premier doctorat en slavistique (Ph.D.) au Canada fut octroyé par l'Université de Montréal en 1950 pour une thèse portant sur la littérature polonaise (y compris certaines comparaisons avec la littérature canadienne). A partir de ce moment les thèses sur les sujets polonais occupent une place de première importance parmi les dissertations académiques concernant les études slaves. L'étendue des problèmes traités par les polonisants de l'Université de Montréal comprend, en plus des sujets littéraires, linguistiques et philologiques, souvent aussi les aspects différents de la culture (histoire, civilisation, politique, etc.). Une place toute particulière est occupée dans les dissertations, présentant les résultats de la recherche comparée concernant surtout la littérature et la culture polonaises, françaises, canadiennes, anglaises et celles des différents peuples slaves. L'auteur de la présente communication fut aidé dans sa tâche de diriger la recherche polonaise et de dispenser l'enseignement par les professeurs suivants: P. Radwanski, L. K. Rabcewicz-Zubkowski, M. Lozinski, M. Angowicz, et feu W. Babinski ainsi que, dans le domaine de la recherche comparée, par le regretté M. l'Abbé Zalesky (ét. ukrainiennes), par M. J. Kirschbaum (ét. slovaques), par Mme A. Stearns (ét. juives) et M. G. Skvor (ét. tchèques). Tous, à l'exception du premier et du dernier, appartiennent aujourd'hui à la catégorie des anciens professeurs de l'Université de Montréal.

A côté des cadres permanents de l'ancien département d'études slaves, dirigé par M. T. F. Domaradzki, plusieurs professeurs étrangers, invités par ce dernier, ont contribué aussi au développement des recherches et des études polonaises à Montréal. Ce fut, en particulier, le cas du regretté S. Kolbuszewski de l'Université de Wroclaw et de J. Trypuc'ko de l'Université d'Uppsala. Les résultats des recherches faites par les professeurs de l'Université de Montréal ont été souvent présentés lors des réunions de l'Association des Slavistes Canadiens et de l'Association des Slavistes et des Spécialistes Est-Européens du Canada de l'Est ainsi que des colloques organisés par l'Institut des Recherches sur l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, remplacé en 1963 par le Centre de documentation et de recherches polonaises dirigé par l'auteur de ces lignes.

Quant au financement de ces travaux, c'est l'Université de Montréal et la Fondation Paderewski (M. Domaradzki vice-président de la centrale à New York dirige sa Section canadienne) et le Conseil des Arts du Canada (à titre de subventions individuelles) qui en reçoivent le mérite. La dite association ASSEECE publie avec le concours de l'Université de Montréal, de la Fondation Paderewski et des autres instituts la revue trimestrielle "Etudes slaves et Est-Européennes —Slavic and East-European Studies" (rédacteur en chef: T. F. Domaradzki, qui l'a fondée au sein du Centre d'Etudes slaves en 1956) offre aux slavistes la possibilité d'y publier les résultats de leurs recherches. Les polonisants canadiens ont contribué considérablement au succès de cette revue. Quant à l'encouragement à la recherche et à la propagation de la culture polonaise, il faut souligner les mérites spéciaux acquis par l'Institut Polonais des Arts et des Sciences en Amérique et plus précisément par sa Section canadienne, fondée en 1942 par l'illustre historien M. Oskar Halecki (ancien professeur de Fordham University et de l'Université de Montréal). A présent la Section est dirigée par le professeur T. Romer (McGill University) ancien ambassadeur de la Pologne à Moscou et spécialiste des affaires internationales et des problèmes de la langue française dans la diplomatie contemporaine. Le professeur L. K. Rabcewicz-Zubkowski est son secrétaire-général et Mme W. Stachiewicz sa bibliothécaire. L'Institut partage avec l'Université de Montréal l'honneur de posséder la plus riche collection au Canada de livres polonais. Il est aussi présent à Québec (prof. T. Poznanski) et rayonne également en Ontario (Sections d'Ottawa et de Toronto). Il groupe les meilleurs artistes et écrivains polonais aux côtés des professeurs d'universités d'origine anglaise, française et autre. Parmi les auteurs qui font connaître la Pologne au grand public québecois se distingue Mme A. Parizeau-Poznanska, romancière et journaliste en langue française qui a acquis déjà une renommée bien méritée.

L'existence des grandes biliothèques et des autres archives appropriées favorise le développement de la recherche scientifique polonaise au Québec et fait que Montréal est le principal centre de la recherche polonaise au Canada. Il représente également un des plus importants foyers des études polonaises en Amérique toute entière.

Grâce à l'intérêt soutenu des Canadiens-français, la recherche polonaise se développe bien à l'Université de Montréal, tandis que la communauté anglaise contribue surtout au développement de l'Institut polonais des arts et des sciences, l'Université McGill ayant hébergé sa Section canadienne.

Il faut souligner également les mérites de l'Association Canadienne Française de l'Avancement des Sciences (ACFAS) grâce à laquelle la chaire de la littérature polonaise de l'U. de M. a pu étendre son rayonnement à toute la Province de Québec.

UNITY AND CONFLICT AMONG CANADIAN SLAVS: TWO EXAMPLES OF ALIEN INFILTRATION

By VINCENT C. CHRYPINSKI
University of Windsor

Preparation of a paper on interrelations of Canadian Slavs meets two formidable obstacles. First is the difficulty in getting adequate information. There is at present a noticeable scarcity of studies on Canadian Slavs, especially in English or French. Consequently, it is necessary to seek sources contained in newspapers, pamphlets, minutes of meetings and personal interviews. This information is scattered throughout the country, and in many cases inaccessible to a researcher with limited time and finances. In addition — as everyone here knows — even available sources often produce unsatisfactory results.

Second is the lack of a broader concept of Slavic interrelations in diaspora. It is beyond doubt that they were, and are, of a complex nature with social, cultural, economic and political factors interwoven in a variety of attitudes and actions. Yet, as of now, there is no broad-gauge model in terms of which widely different situations could be systematically compared and contrasted. Surely, in the course of time such a model must evolve, but it will be construed only after many more monographs build a solid foundation for this task.

This paper is an inquiry into two specific cases. The first illustrates unity overriding traditional divisions among various branches of Canadian Slavs; the second examplifies conflict dividing a single, inherently cohesive Slavic group. Both cases represent, therefore, somewhat atypical situations.

Yet despite their uniqueness, they have roots in certain general phenomena of human behavior. One is that interrelation among men results rather from their attitudes toward particular problems than from intrinsic causes. Race, nationality, language or religion, while of definite importance, do not create automatic consequences. None of these will erect a self-excluding barrier to co-operation on common objectives, and none will provide mechanical immunity to domestic quarrels on specific issues.

Another phenomenon is that no social group is unified to the extent that it would become impregnable to infiltration and manipulation by alien forces. Unity and conflict tend to create situations especially vulnerable to penetration from outside. Up to a point people act according to rational patterns of behavior. Later on, however, due to the operation of various factors, among which emotional involvement is not least important, the participants become susceptible to extravagant views and radical counselors. Usually at

this moment the ends that were sought become discarded and strange ones superimposed on disoriented masses.

While it is popularly assumed that only conflicts open social groups to intrusion by extraneous forces, the fact is that infiltration may exist in the situation of unity as well. The purpose of this paper is to show penetration attracted by both causes.

Let us start with the case of unity first.

Patriotism or subversion? The case of the Slav Committee.

The oft-proclaimed early unity of Slavs hardly existed in reality. Recollection of past struggles, contradictory territorial claims, religious and cultural differences led to many and bitter conflicts even among the Slavs who left their homelands. The ocean they crossed on the way to the new world was not fed by the waters of Lethe, and did not have magic powers of eradicating past memories.

Yet, the urge for unity that enthused many Slavs in Europe and led to several attempts to create a union was not entirely lost by the Slavs living in diaspora. At times, this romantic notion became a political reality. The story of the Canadian Slav Committee is a case in point.

When Canada entered the war in 1939, a great majority of Canadian Slavs loyally manifested their allegiance to the new fatherland. Although some groups were opposed to assisting states which they considered as oppressors (e.g., Ukrainians in regard to Poland),[1] on the whole the Slav organizations in Canada pledged unreserved support to the war efforts. Only the communist-controlled societies (e.g., The Ukrainian Labour Farm Temple Association) obediently followed the example set by the Communist Party and denounced the war as a stage in capitalist development, and urged the masses to utilize this opportunity for revolution.[2]

To counter these seditious activities and to mobilize the Slavs fully for the war effort, the Canadian government took certain steps in 1940 to achieve greater unity among the ethnic groups in the Dominion. Quite naturally the Ukrainians, the largest group among Canadian Slavs, were among the first in this delicate action.[3]

The unwilling entrance of the Soviet Union into the war in 1941, and the creation of a Pan-Slav Committee in Moscow shortly afterwards, pushed unifying efforts to new dimensions. Pan-Slav propaganda from Moscow urged all Slavs to unite in an all-out effort in the struggle against Hitler and in support of the Soviet Union. Canada, with its large proportion of Slavic population, was —together with the United States—the center of attention.

A Canadian All-Slav Committee was formed, and it organized its branches in some of the larger cities and towns. The Slavic National Committee in Toronto acted as a co-ordinator of the activities of the various affiliates throughout the country. While

1. A. Davidson, **The Ukrainians in Canada,** Montreal, 1947, p.19.
2. Watson Kirkconnell, **Seven Pillars of Freedom,** Toronto, 1952, pp.58-61.
3. Paul Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba,** Toronto, 1953, p.191.

there was good reason to believe that the Committee was communist-inspired, it is certain that there were among its membership many who did not have Leftist leanings, and who treated the organization as a genuine expression of their patriotic feelings toward Canada and their old countries as well.

When the war terminated, most of the branch committees went out of existence. Only the Hamilton and Windsor branches continued to operate, but on a much smaller scale. At this time the little All-Slav Committee in Canada appears to have been a front organization, directed by and acting in accord with the Communist Party of Canada. The membership, the composition of its leadership, as well as the activities substantiate this assumption.

Affiliated with the Canadian Slav Committee were eight other organizations, representing segments of corresponding ethnic groups. All of them were long known as auxiliary cadres of the Communist Party, and are still considered as such.[4] They were: Federation of Russian Canadians, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Society of Carpatho-Russian Canadians, Slovak Benefit Society, Polish Democratic Association, Bulgarian People's League and the Macedonian People's League.[5]

The leaders included several well-known communists or fellow-travellers. The chairman was John Boychuk, who at one time served a prison term in Kingston penitentiary for "revolutionary activities."[6] Its Executive Secretary was Michael Lucas, another member of the CPC, while Mitch Sago, at one-time a member of the Manitoba Provincial Committee of the Labour Progressive Party, acted as the Public Relations Director. John Weir, a Moscow-trained communist and at one time a member of the Party's national committee, wrote several pamphlets for the Committee and spoke at many meetings.[7]

The course of consistent pro-communist activities was started after the Canadian delegation returned from the Pan-Slav Congress in Belgrade which convened on December 8, 1946, and was attended by representatives of Slavs from all over the world. At this gathering, patronized by Stalin and personally addressed by Tito, a program was approved that called on all Slavs in the world to co-operate with the Soviet Union and other socialist states in "the struggle for peace and democracy."[8]

The call was taken up by the Canadian Slav Committee which started manifold activities, including cultural and political affairs. Their purpose was "To bring about closer co-operation among Canadians of Slavic descent" in order "to further the cause of peace and friendship between the Canadians and the Slavic peoples."[9]

In the summer of 1950 (June 29-July 1) the first Congress of Canadian Slavs was held in Toronto. The importance attached to

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4. "Alert Service," list of January 4, 1965.
5. The list comprised from a circular of the Canadian Slav Committee of March, 1962, addressed: "To Members of Parliament, Federal Election Candidates."
6. Yuzyk, **op. cit.**, p.105.
7. "Seventh Talk," published by the Alert Service on June 1, 1962, p.2.
8. Hans Kohn, **Pan-Slavism**, Notre Dame, Ind., 1953, p.236.
9. John Weir, **Slavs**, Toronto, 1949, p.48.

this event by the Party hierarchy in the Soviet Union and in Canada was indicated by the calibre of the international delegates who accepted invitations to attend. Among others, the Soviet delegation was to include General Alexander Gundorov, the first chairman of the Pan-Slav Committee of 1941.[10] The refusal of the Canadian government to issue visas to foreign delegates did not prevent the organizers from turning the Congress into a communist rostrum.[11]

While the campaign for "peace and democracy" continued, the Canadian Slav Committee was in later years utilized for the realization of other communist goals, especially for fomenting unrest among ethnic groups by exploiting real or imaginary cases of discrimination. The purpose was, as always, to bring new groups into the "leftward movements," and to extend Party control over new segments of Canadian population.

On March 9, 1962, on the initiative of the Canadian Slav Committee, a meeting took place in Toronto, with the participation of leaders of "progressive" organizations of Slavs as well as other ethnic groups, including Jews, Finns, Italians, etc. From this gathering the National Council of National Groups (NCNG) emerged, whose executive included well-known activists of the Slav Committee and of other front organizations. Thus John Boychuk was elected Second Vice-president, Michael Lucas, Executive Secretary, and Mitch Sago, Director of Public Relations.[12]

The first action undertaken by the NCNG was to take over a "drive for citizenship rights." This campaign had been started three months before by the Canadian Slav Committee with the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "The Case of Canada's Stepchildren," and a visit to Ottawa by a delegation (Sago, Okulevich and Lucas) to confer with NDP parliamentarians.

The NCNG achieved significant organizational success. In the first ten weeks of existence it established seven branches, spread from Vancouver to Hamilton. Meetings, petitions, special publications, etc., poured out in increasing numbers.

The new organization, whose broader membership facilitated Party work among larger segments of the Canadian population seems to overshadow the existence of the Canadian Slav Committee. But it still persists and is ready to be used again whenever necessary for action among the Canadian Slavs.

The Communist Party of Canada is fully aware of "the importance and value of work by communists in these communities."[13] The April, 1965, meeting of the National Committee considered and adopted a proposal for the creation of a Committee on National Group Work, whose job would be to assist the Party leadership on questions involving ethnic minorities. The Party is determined to have its own men in every organization grouping Canadians of foreign descent. It is well illustrated by the demands of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians—one of the strongest and best-known

10. Martin Ross, "The Enemy Within," **Saturday Night**, September 12, 1950.
11. Yuzyk, **op. cit.**, p.110.
12. **Canadian Tribune**, March 19, 1962.
13. "Memorandum on work in national group communities," adopted by the National Committee at its meeting on April 25, 1965. **Viewpoint**, pp.35-41.

pro-communist organizations—to be included in the National Council of Folk Arts.[14] Thus again an organization devoted to unity of patriotic efforts is faced with attempted infiltration by alien forces, completely disinterested in the original cause. But let us now turn our attention to a similar—though less spectacular—attempt of infiltration utilizing the situation of conflict.

Religion or politics? The case of Orthodox Serbs.

The historic past created an identity of Orthodox religion and Serbian nationality, and added tremendously to the cohesiveness of Serbian emigrants who left home for the new world. This cohesion was further strengthened when in 1927, after many years of hard work and great sacrifices, a Serbian Orthodox diocese was established in Libertyville, Illinois, with the jurisdiction extending to the whole of the United States and Canada. Archimandrite Mandarije became its first ruling bishop, having been elected to that high office by the Holy Council of Bishops in Belgrade.

In view of its peculiar location, the Diocese was permitted to have its own constitution. This law was adopted by the first Diocesan Council, convened by Bishop Mardarije in 1927.

According to the provisions of the constitution, the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of America and Canada was to exist as an organic part of the Serbian Patriarchate in Yugoslavia with all rights and duties pertaining thereof. But article 3 stipulated that the Diocese "enjoys full administrative freedom" in matters of local affairs, schools, funds and properties. The constitution, amended in 1931 and 1938, was each time sent for approval to Belgrade, and each time received the sanction of the Holy Council of Bishops.

The same year (1927), the Diocese was incorporated as a religious corporation under a charter issued by the State of Illinois. In 1935, the old charter was allowed to lapse, and a new one was issued. Both charters stated that the duly-elected Bishop of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of the United States and Canada, by virtue of his office, was to be the president of the corporation.

Having its status settled in respect to canonical and civil laws, the Diocese entered a path of continuous growth. New parishes were erected, parochial schools organized, religious and cultural societies started.

In 1939 the Diocese received a new leader in the person of Bishop Dionisije. As all of his predecessors, he was elected to his office by the Holy Council of Bishops in Belgrade. Thus once again the integrity of the organization was demonstrated, and the canonical authority of the Mother Church clearly shown to all the faithful and outsiders.

With the outbreak of World War II and the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941, all communication between the Diocese and the Patriarchate in Belgrade ceased, to be resumed only after the end of European hostilities. By this time, however, Yugoslavia was

14. Peter Prokop, "Time to end this discrimination," **The Ukrainian Canadian,** March 1, 1965.

ruled by the communists, and the status of the Serbian Orthodox Church was radically altered.

Deprived of her former privileged position, excluded from public life, persecuted and martyred, the Church was nevertheless permitted to carry out her ecclesiastical and domestic administrative functions. She was also allowed to resume and maintain bonds with the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of the United States and Canada.

The new political situation seemed to affect the life of the American diocese very little. Relations with the Mother Church were cultivated as before, and the diocese kept on growing. By 1965 it already had more than sixty parishes with almost 100,000 members.

The expansion of activities in North America, as well as the desire to enlarge the territorial jurisdiction of the Diocese to the countries of South America, prompted a plan of elevating the bishopric to the rank of metropolitanate with several auxiliary bishops to assist the chief hierarch in the performance of his duties. Accordingly, several appeals were sent by Bishop Dionisije and the Church People's Assembly to the Patriarch in Belgrade for the election of two or three bishops designated for this task. The names of appropriate candidates were submitted at the same time.

The plan, while justified in many respects, aroused definite suspicion on the part of the clergy and lay leaders as to its true motives. Bishop Dionisije himself was to blame for some of the doubts. On June 1, 1962, he published an "Important Announcement" addressed "To all the patriotic clergy, church and school communities, and to all Orthodox Serbian men and women" in the United States and Canada. In this letter he stated that the Diocese must "strengthen its autonomy and establish it firmly through the reorganization and revision of its constitution" while "maintaining correct canonical relations with our own Patriarchate."[15]

The epistle was greeted with surprise and misgiving by practically all segments of the Orthodox Serbian community in Canada and the United States, including Dr. Slobodan Draskovich and his organization SKK "St. Sava."[16] Bishop Dionisije was forced to disavow his position. In a new letter (of June 30, 1962), addressed to the same people, he denied any thought of separation from the Serbian Orthodox Church, whose head is the Patriarch in Belgrade, and declared that his position on the subject "shall remain unalterable."

The declaration did not dispel the suspicions, and did not pacify the critics who probably then (though I was unable to determine the exact sequence of events in this case) started a campaign against Bishop Dionisije by sending denunciations to the Holy Assembly of Bishops and to the Patriarch in Belgrade. The charges ranged from accusations of unethical conduct and misuse of church property to violation of canons.

Faced with this situation, the church authorities in Belgrade decided to send a delegation to America in order to investigate it on the spot. The delegation, composed of the Metropolitan Damaskin, Bishop Nikanor and Archdeacon Petrovic, arrived in New York on

15. **Glas Kanadskih Srba**, June 28, 1962.
16. **Srpska Borba**, June 28, 1962.

September 12, 1962, and remained until November 25th. Bishop Dionisije was officially informed of the arrival of the delegates and spent a week with them at the Monastery in Libertyville, Illinois.

There are no published records of the investigation, but it is quite clear that Bishop Dionisije realized the seriousness of the situation, for even before the delegation arrived, he started his counteraction. The occasion was provided by the congress of a Serbian organization known as "The Serbian National Defense." Speaking to the delegates to the Eighth Congress, in the beginning of September, 1962, Bishop Dionisije, referring to relations with the Mother-Church, said: "We shall never separate . . . but we must take into account those decisions which we regard as having been made under the duress of Tito."[17]

In April, 1963, Bishop Dionisije sent personal letters to the Patriarch and to the Holy Assembly of Bishops in Belgrade, which he also distributed—contrary to custom and the internal order of the Church—throughout the world. In these memoranda he criticized the operations of the Serbian Orthodox Church, calling them "centralistic and autocratic," and demanded autonomy, not only for his own diocese, but for the entire diaspora. By citing the example of Rehoboam, he warned the assembly that if the bishops rejected his request, the American diocese might break away from the Church as ten tribes broke away from Solomon's son.[18]

The Holy Assembly of Bishops was held from April 25 to May 11, 1963. On May 10, the Assembly decided to divide the American diocese into three, namely Western American, Midwest American and Eastern American-Canadian. At the same time, the new dioceses received their administrators in the persons of Reverends Gregory, Dionisije and Stefan respectively. On the same day, however, Bishop Dionisije was suspended in his functions and Rev. Firmilian appointed temporary administrator of the Midwest Diocese until the case of Bishop Dionisije was tried and concluded by canonical court.

Bishop Dionisije was informed of this decision and told to transfer his functions to Dr. Firmilian. He refused, and countered with a series of his own actions. On May 25, 1963, he published a circular in which he stated that the creation of three dioceses in America was inspired by Tito's regime in order to subjugate free Serbs to bishops loyal to the communist rulers of Yugoslavia. He definitely rejected the partition, as well as all decisions affecting him personally. Instead, he called on the faithful to take the case in their own hands and to reject "unjust and uncanonical" resolutions of the Holy Assembly of Bishops and of the Patriarch. On June 4, 1963, he issued another epistle in which he presented his reply to the decisions of May 10. Again he announced his complete defiance and raised the spectre of open schism to protect the people from being "pushed under Tito's control."

In the meantime, in pursuance of the decision of the Holy Assembly of Bishops of May 10, a four-member commission (Bishops

17. **Sloboda**, September 10, 1962.
18. Djoko Slijepchevich, **The Transgressions of Bishop Dionisije**, Chicago, 1963, p.10.

Chrysostom and Vissarion plus two other priests) was sent to America to carry out an investigation of the case. Soon after their arrival, the commission arranged for a meeting with Bishop Dionisije on July 5, 1963. They met in a restaurant and Bishop Dionisije refused to answer any questions, repeating that he would not accept any decision from Belgrade. Consequently, the commission reported back that "it is absolutely confirmed that he trampled on his hierarchical oath and that he renounced obedience to higher Church authorities."[19]

On July 27, 1963, the Holy Assembly of Bishops convened again and discharged Bishop Dionisije from his episcopal duties. On the same date the Assembly elected the previous administrators of the three American dioceses as their ruling bishops.

Bishop Dionisije, ignoring his deposition, convened the so-called Church-National Assembly which under his presidency sought to free the Diocese from all control of the Belgrade Patriarchate. It declared a complete separation from the Serbian Orthodox Church and elected an auxiliary bishop in the person of Archimandrite Kovacevich.[20] In reply, the Holy Assembly of Bishops divested Bishop Dionisije of his rank, removed him from the roll of the hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church and returned him to the status of layman under his secular name, Dragoljub Milivojevich.[21]

The split which followed deeply divided the Orthodox Serbs in the United States and Canada. Out of approximately 85 priests, only about one-third followed Bishop Dionisije, with the rest remaining with the three newly-appointed bishops. The division among laymen followed more or less the same pattern. In Canada, with its eight Serbian parishes, only Hamilton and Vancouver went with Bishop Dionisije, while the rest, by lesser or larger percentage, sided with Bishop Stefan. Those who were deprived of control over their parishes (e.g., Dionisije's faction in Toronto or his adversaries in Hamilton) formed new congregations. Riots and court suits followed.

The available evidence very strongly indicated that Bishop Dionisije, faced with serious accusations of canonical nature, found it convenient to switch the conflict to a political level by raising his own charges of a communist plot. In this, he received a ready support not only from certain Serbian circles but also from American. On June 15, 1963, men close to King Peter II issued a message "To all Orthodox Serbs" in which they favourably evaluated the activities of Bishop Dionisije and denounced the three newly-appointed bishops as "communist red generals." The King later disassociated himself completely from that message, but the entire matter added a new and drastic aspect in the question of who was for or against the monarchy.

Bishop Dionisije was also assisted by "the Serbian National Defense," an organization composed of post-World War II immigrants, mosty political refugees and violent anti-communists. They

19. **Orthodoxy**, No. 2, 3, 4, of October, 1964, p.74.
20. **The Diocesan Herald**, No.11-12 (1964), p.12.
21. **Orthodoxy**, No. 2, 3, 4 (October, 1964), pp.84-87.

joined hands with Bishop Dionisije, claiming that the establishment of three new dioceses was taken by the Holy Assembly of Bishops "under great pressure." There were no doubts in their minds that it came from the communist regime in Belgrade.

Another group lending energetic support to Bishop Dionisje were followers of Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, a well-known leader and ideolog of the John Birch Society.[22] This group, known as SKK "St. Sava," represented the extreme right wing of the Yugoslav political spectrum. Notwithstanding their former criticism of Bishop Dionisije, they have now joined forces. He was invited to their Twelfth Congress, held in June, 1963, and given the opportunity publicly to denounce his superiors. After this, Dr. Draskovich declared him "a weapon in the hands of Providence" and "an instrument of history."[23]

The controversy is as yet unresolved, and only the future can tell what will be its final outcome. It is, however, certain that it opened the door to forces not interested in religion alone.

Conclusion

It would be only too easy to put the blame for the above-described developments on unscrupulous extremists. But such an attempt would accomplish little in practice and even less for the creation of a theoretical model. The extremists are realistic politicians who have assessed the situations existing in various ethnic groups and have found that they provide them with definite opportunities for interference.

There are two factors which seem to create good chances for the extremists. One is the emotional involvement of Slavs in their interrelations. When likes or dislikes are carried to their uncontrolled heights, the Slavic masses are prone to lose their sense of direction and follow those who display the greater degree of demagoguery. Appeals in the name of "fatherland," "old country," "honor" or "religion" seem to find always-ready recipients among the Slavs.

Another factor is the lack of effective leadership. The division among ethnic groups and within each of them, inability or unwillingness of qualified individuals to assume and exercise leadership, limited education and training of those with stronger wills or greater ambitions, general everyday apathy of the masses—all point to the dilemma. In a vacuum, charged with explosive emotions, those who like to operate in revolutionary conditions move quite freely. The masses should be warned against them. But the best remedy seems to be the natural process of adjustment to the way of life

22. Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, exponent of "Great Serbia" and head of the Serbian movement "Dusan the Mighty," represents the extreme right-wing of the Yugoslav political spectrum. In 1959, Dr. Draskovich joined the John Birch Society and became one of its prominent leaders (see advertising supplement to **Chicago Tribune**, of Nov. 15, 1964). Draskovich's paper, "The Serbian Struggle," continuously propagandizes the aims of the John Birch Society (e.g. of December 19, 1963).
23. Slijepchevich, **op. cit.**, p.22.

of dominant groups, and the gradual elimination of barriers that divide minority organizations from the rest of society.

We should realize that these organizations, be they religious, political or cultural, reflect the same basic human needs as other Canadian-English or French-speaking societies. In creating common platforms for the meeting of these needs, a positive and effective rampart will be built against destructive interferences from outside. The irrevocable process of emotional identification with Canada will take care of the rest.

RUSSIANS OF THE GREATER VANCOUVER AREA

By KOOZMA J. TARASOFF

Broadview, Saskatchewan

Research data for this paper were collected during the eighteen-month period from October, 1961, to March, 1963,[1] and formed the basis for a Master's Thesis in Anthropology and Sociology at the University of British Columbia.[2] The area of study was the Russian population of Greater Vancouver.[3] Various Russian ethnic organizations (past and present) were studied, including their social structure and their intergroup relations. Second, an explanation was sought for the striking segmentation found in this particular ethnic population. This paper is essentially an ethnographic description of Russian organizations in the Greater Vancouver area which include three Russian Orthodox church groups, several cultural groups, two mutual-aid societies, and several Doukhobor groups. More specifically, this is a study of "joiners" in fourteen existing and seven defunct Russian ethnic organizations. The existing organizations comprise less than 12 percent of the 9,324 Russians in Vancouver plus another 15 percent who are non-joiner participants. This leaves some 6,800 people of Russian ethnic origin largely unaccounted for in this study.

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1. My main tool was the standard anthropological approach of "participant observation" or first-hand witnessing of the event. In addition, interviews were made in homes, in halls and other places. Except for organizational papers, literature was quite limited for this area, although the following were helpful: G. Okulevich, **Russkie v Kanade** (Toronto: Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952), pp.39-40; Freda Walhouse, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver," M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, September, 1961, pp.101-111; and G. T. Atamanenko, "The Russian Community of Vancouver," unpublished Sociology 425 essay, University of British Columbia, April, 1961.

2. Koozma J. Tarasoff, "A Study of Russian Organizations in the Greater Vancouver Area." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia, April 1963, viii + 270 pp.

3. The area of study is that employed in 1961 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in reference to the Vancouver "Census metropolitan area" (or, as in this paper, the "Greater Vancouver area"), covering a total of 562.5 square miles. For this period there were 9,324 Russians, or 1.2 percent of the total Greater Vancouver area population of 790,165. In the province there were 27,448 Russians, or 1.97 percent of the total of 1,629,082, and in Canada there were 119,168 Russians, or 0.7 percent of the total population of 18,238,247. By Russian population we mean those people who stated to the census takers that they were of "Russian" ethnic origin (Census 1961: Bullein 1.2-5, Table 39.6). This was determined by asking the question: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" The 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.

Background of the Russians

The Russians were among the earliest explorers and traders of the Pacific North-West coast,[4] but poverty and distance, along with growing competition from Spanish and British traders, restricted any large scale immigration or colonization in this area.

> In the latter part of the 18th Century Russian eyes turned southward from the holdings of the Russian American Company in Alaska toward the fertile and sunny lands of Spanish California. Secretly the officials of the Company hoped some day to possess the southern coastline to act as the bread basket for their northern empire.[5]

The Russians went as far south as San Francisco and in 1812 established Fort Ross. They went no further. In 1867 Alaska was sold to the United States and those who had settled in North America soon dispersed. Some returned to Russia, others moved south to search for gold in California, and a few stopped in British Columbia. In Alaska, many Russian Orthodox churches have remained to this day.[6]

Large scale immigration of Russians to Canada really began in the early part of the twentieth century. Russian immigrants were of five kinds: 1) peasants from the poorer western regions of Tsarist Russia who dreamt of making money in "free America" and then returning to their native lands; 2) religious peoples who sought land where they would be free from military service and where they could work land in common; 3) conscripts who left Russia illegally to avoid military service; 4) people who were directly or indirectly involved in the revolutionary movement in Russia and who were thus forced to leave their homeland; and 5) displaced persons who came to Canada from Europe after World War II, as well as those who came from the Far East (via ports of Vladivostok, Shanghai and Hong Kong).

Early Russian settlers in Vancouver were essentially political immigrants from Tsarist Russia.[7] By 1909 there was a small Russian population in Vancouver composed mostly of young people. In the same year these immigrants formed a small library and around this the Russian Progressive Club was organized. A. Muzychenko reported in 1912 that there were many unemployed Russian workers in the city.[8] He later became a leader of the Russian Progressive Club which existed until 1918, when it disbanded.

The aftermath of the Russian Revolution in 1917 resulted in a wave of Russian immigrants coming to Canada. It consisted largely of European Russians who were anti-Bolshevik refugees. The immigrants came mainly from Europe to the Atlantic coast of America, with the immigration reaching its peak before the onset

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4. Margaret A. Ormsby, **British Columbia: a History**, Toronto, 1958.
5. Arthur Woodward (translator) in Alexander Markoff, **The Russians on the Pacific Ocean**, Los Angeles, 1955, p.viii.
6. Philip Drucker, "The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast," **Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin** No. 163, 1958, p.12.
7. G. Okulevich, **Russkie v Kanade**, Toronto, 1952, p.39.
8. **Ibid.**

of the depression. Very few of these people found their way to Vancouver.

However, over 100 families had found their way to Vancouver at this time by way of the Far East, mainly from Harbin,[9] Manchuria, where a Russian colony of some 150,000 had been formed, partly from workers on the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railways, and partly from those who fled to escape the Soviet administration. These people came to be known as "White" Russians[10] and the city of Harbin as the "Mecca of White Russians."[11] For the most part, these were officers and soldiers of the Imperial Russian Army, officials of the Tsarist regime and their families, all of whom had lost their property in the 1917 Revolution.

Migration was renewed after World War II. This time displaced persons came from Eastern Europe. In addition to these there was a considerable migration of Russian people from the Far East following the Chinese occupation in 1947.

Of the 9,324 Russian people in the Vancouver region, it is estimated that 3,000 of these left Russia prior to the Revolution. When conditions for employment became difficult, immigration regulations required that permits for landing in Canada be granted on condition that the first two years would be spent in farmwork These regulations lasted until the end of the 1930's, and many Russians landing in Vancouver found trains to Alberta and Saskatchewan awaiting their arrival at the dockside. Many Russians in the city today once did two or more years of farming before moving back to the West Coast. The number of Russians permitted to come and join relatives in Canada was greatly diminished. It was estimated in 1952 that per year "approximately 100 families came to Vancouver, usually via Shanghai, but in 1959 this number had fallen to about ten families."[12] In response, a "liberalization and broadening of the immigration policy" has been demanded recently by the Russian Centre of B.C. (a cultural organization composed mostly of "White Russians").

Most of the immigrants who left Russia prior to the Revolution were initially poor and frequently illiterate, or at best, poorly educated. Except for the Doukhobors, many of them were army deserters

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9. Harbin, in Manchuria-China, had been a village in June, 1898, when it was chosen by Tsarist officials as construction headquarters for a railway line to the coast—Dairen Bay and Port Arthur..
10. The term "White" Russians (as contrasted to "Red" or "Communist" Russians) refers to the Tsarist supporters who fought against the new Bolshevik regime. This term was born simultaneously with the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917 when the red banner was the symbol for revolution. Symbolically, this label (i.e., "White" Russian) today implies "anti-communist."
11. South Manchurian Railway Company, Information and Publicity Department, "The White Russians in Manchoukuo," in **Contemporary Manchuria**, Vol. I, No. 3 (September, 1937), p.18.
12. View by Mr. Neichoda and Mr. A. E. Andreef, in Freda Walhouse, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver," M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, September, 1961, p.103.

or political fugitives. Practically all of them went into the laboring class. Most of them have been almost completely assimilated into the city's population.

Those Russians who arrived in Vancouver in the post-revolutionary period form a very diverse element in the city's population. One writer described this latter group of immigrants thus:

> Princesses and duchesses earn their living in the restaurants and beauty parlors of New York, in the cinema scenariums of Berlin, or as fashionable dressmakers in London. The majority of the refugees who have found their way through Manchuria, China and Japan to Vancouver belong to the Russian bureaucratic and professional classes, which, as a Russian reminded the writer, were often recruited from the ranks of nobility when big estates were broken up and given to the peasant communities during the social reforms in Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[13]

These people came from all parts of Russia and differed in level of formal education, in political and religious beliefs, and in occupational and social status. Among their numbers were many more people with specialized and professional training and with university education, as compared to those who had left Russia prior to the Revolution. A number are professors at the University of British Columbia.

Out of this latter movement the Russian Orthodox Church came to Vancouver, with the first church being organized in 1923 by an anti-communist clergyman who came to this city from Harbin, Manchuria. Through his "White" Russian supporters, the first Russian Orthodox Church was built in 1928. Since then two other churches have been built, but these belong to another jurisdiction or autonomous ecclesiastical administrative unit. In North America today there are three Orthodox church organizations which claim "supreme ecclesiastical authority" for all Russian churches outside of Russia. This rivalry is clearly evident in Vancouver.

In all the services the language used is Church Slavonic, a custom which has been handed down through the years, dating from the tenth century with the spread of Christian Orthodoxy to the Slav people. In stabilizing religious language, the use of Church Slavonic "makes the services comprehensive to the few Bulgars and Rumanians in the city, some of whom attend the Holy Resurrection Church."[14] A recent innovation at the latter church was the introduction of English to a part of the service, as is done in most of the churches in the United States; so far, this has only been an experiment and has not become a regular practice in Vancouver. The demand for it came from the young people, but opposition from many of the elders has prevented its implementation.[15]

The Russian Orthodox Society is the controlling body of the Holy Resurrection Church. As such it appears to be unique for

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13. Eleanor Dooley, "Russians in Vancouver," in **The Sunday Province** (May 31, 1931), p.3.
14. Freda Walhouse, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver," p.108.
15. Christmas is observed in accordance with the Julian calendar, and Easter is still considered the "most important" observance in the Russian Orthodox tradition, "the holiday of holidays."

Russian Orthodox Churches in Canada and perhaps the United States as well. The Society was formed in 1935 by a committee of Russian Orthodox laymen for the purpose of raising funds and paying off finance companies for a debt which had been incurred during the early depression years. Since that time, the Society has functioned as the main controlling body of the Church, having full rights of ownership, of levying membership dues, and even of firing priests. This is in contrast to the parish type church in which the priest has supreme authority over the local group.

The Russian Orthodox people have yet another organization and centre: namely, the Russian Centre of B.C. which is located at a former theatre building in the Kitsilano district of Vancouver. Formed in 1956 as a kind of cultural break-away group from the Holy Resurrection Church, this organization today is a civic organization along the lines of a business club. Its total paid-up membership is 133—all of whom, except one, were born in Russia. In contrast to all the other Russian groups studied here, the Centre has an over-proportion of professional and university-educated people in its membership (which has thus been labelled the "high-class intelligentsia"). The list includes several professional engineers, a professor of atomic physics and head of his department, four medical doctors, one owner of a sawmill and manager of two large Vancouver sawmills, a soloist with the General Platoff Cossack Choir, a former actress and graduate of the Moscow Art Theatre, plus Madame Lydia Karpova, an accomplished choreographer and ballet teacher who has performed in major theatres in twenty-three countries and who today is rated "as one of the greatest living dance teachers in the world."[16]

In 1931 those in the city supporting the Russian Socialist movement organized a Russian Workers' Club named after Maxim Gorky. They borrowed the idea for such a club from Toronto, where in March, 1931, the first Maxim Gorky Club was organized. The clubs spread across Canada out of the dissatisfaction of the newly-arrived Russian immigrants over severe unemployment and low wages which closely followed the 1929 "Market Crash" in New York. At that time leaders were available to spearhead the movement. One of these was George Okulevich who in 1928 fled to Canada from Byelorussia, where Soviet sympathizers and non-religious affiliates were under persecution by Roman Catholic-dominated Poland. Claiming to speak for the "working class", the Maxim Gorky Russian Workers' Club functioned until the spring of 1940 when it was banned as an "illegal" and "subversive" organization.[17]

The Federation of Russian Canadians succeeded the Gorky Clubs in 1942. Its head office was set up in Toronto and an organizational paper, **Vestnik**, was established. Its founding member was George Okulevich, the organizer of its predecessor: he remains active today as an executive member. In Vancouver, the Federation of Rus-

16. Program, "An Evening of Ballet," presented by Madame Lydia Karpova, Russian Centre of B.C., May 19, 1962.
17. **Canada Gazette**, June 8, 1940.

sian Canadians (FRC for short) in 1946 purchased the former Croatian Educational Centre and renamed it the "Russian People's Home." This has now become a vigorous cultural, social and educational centre. It does not support any of the Russian Orthodox churches nor do its members associate with the Orthodox Society. Walhouse[18] has estimated that 30 percent of the Russians in Vancouver are sympathetic to this organization; an active member, George Legebokoff, estimates the figure at 60 percent.

Another grouping of Russians in Vancouver is the Doukhobors, commonly known as a "Russian sect." Originally, in 1898-99, some 7,500 Doukhobors left Russia because of intensified persecution by the Tsarist government and the Russian Orthodox Church. Their philosophy ran counter to the church as a whole for they rejected the legitimacy of a religious hierarchy and priesthood, icons, and the Christian Bible. Likewise, they rejected kings and queens and national governments. Ideally, each person was conceived as having the quality of "charisma" (the "gift of grace," to use Max Weber's sociological term), and no one was to claim a position higher than another. Their central belief—pacifism—was ultimately related to their "search for universal brotherhood."[19]

After settling and pioneering on the Canadian prairies, two-thirds of the group split off following a precipitous land loss and migrated in 1908-1912 to the Kootenay and Boundary regions of British Columbia.[20] As the Doukhobor Community expanded it borrowed money, but with dwindling membership during the "Dirty Thirties," another land loss occurred. There was further splitting off, many remaining "Orthodox" Doukhobors, some becoming the so-called "Sons of Freedom," and an increasing number turning to individual enterprise as Independents.

We find the drift of Doukhobors to Vancouver only very gradual, accelerating after World War II. The first few families came to the West Coast, it appears, during the period of World War I. In 1935 they formed their first organization here. Today there are an estimated 3,000[21] people of Doukhobor background in the Greater Vancouver area. The 1961 census, however, found only 171 persons who claimed "to be Doukhobors" by religious affiliation. The 3,000 estimate is difficult to verify because a considerable number of Doukhobors have changed their names, while many more have been scattered about, having little or no contact with their former brethren. To that extent a number of these people have been almost completely assimilated into urban Canadian society. To that extent, too, they have lost their ethnicity. Nevertheless, there is a small core who

18. Freda Walhouse, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver," p.103.
19. K. J. Tarasoff, "In Search of Brotherhood—The History of the Doukhobors," (unpublished manuscript, Vancouver, B.C., 1963).
20. Carl Addington Dawson, **Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement**, Vol. 7, Toronto, 1936, p.39.
21. Estimate by Peter S. Faminow, a lawyer of Doukhobor background.

maintain some of their religious traditions, and many more share the basic tenet of non-violence.[22]

Reflecting the segmented nature of industrial society, the Doukhobors in Greater Vancouver today are characterized by several organizations involving only a relatively few people. No Doukhobor youth organizations existed in 1963,[23] although one did for a short time in 1958-59. Of the adult organizations that exist, only one has the official status of being registered under the Societies Act of the Province. Likewise, no Doukhobor organization on the West Coast has a hall of its own (in contrast to the Russian Orthodox Church groups, the Russian Centre of B.C., and the Federation of Russian Canadians which all have their own organizations and/or religious centres).

Behavior of Russians in Vancouver

One of the striking things that one notices about the Russians in Vancouver today is the general gulf in understanding between the young and the old. In some cases, as with the Lower Mainland Society of Doukhobors (membership, forty-five), young people are generally absent from social-religious meetings. In other cases, as with the Federation of Russian Canadians (membership, eighty-seven), an English-speaking branch has been formed by the youth as a counterpart to the Russian-speaking branch. The Russian Centre of B.C is likewise concerned about its young people and has instituted a Wednesday club. Similar to the Russian Orthodox Society, the young people (some fifteen of them) formed, in 1962, the Canadian Russian Youth Club: previous attempts at forming a youth club had met with failure.

Russian language schools have been used by the Russian ethnics as a way to overcome the loss of one's ethnicity. Thus, with the Russian Orthodox Society, a regular Russian school program is held on Saturday mornings, with Russian language being taught along with history and "God's word." In 1963 some twenty-five children attended, a considerable drop from the previous year. In a similar way, the Federation of Russian Canadians has several classes of Russian school — secular in this case — and these are held as part of a cultural school (dancing, singing, and sports) on Sunday morning and afternoon. A library of Russian books is open for those who wish to use it.

One of the most recent groups, formed in January, 1962, had its own Russian school program before it disbanded. Simply called a "Russian School Group," it involved twenty-five young students and many parents who attended special review sessions. Its members were mostly of Doukhobor background.

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22. Lawyer Peter S. Faminow estimates that less than 8 percent (and perhaps as low as 5 percent) of the eligible men went into the military service during World War II. Here, then, is a central Doukhobor value which is working against assimilation in a society where nationalism and power politics prevail.
23. Since the study was done, a Doukhobor youth group has been formed in Vancouver, headed by a druggist. Its accomplishments have included the holding of a bowling league, a Halloween Party, intervisits with Kootenay Doukhobors and participation in the annual Doukhobor Youth Festival in Grand Forks, B.C.

The language problem is a difficult one to resolve. The older people feel that it is essential to preserve the Russian language in order to preserve one's own distinct culture; the younger people, Canadian-born, on the other hand, tend to be drawn into Canadian society where English is the primary language taught in public schools. As a result, the young and old tend to be drawn further and further apart.

Other attempts at staving off assimilation (and at the same time maintaining a sense of cultural unity and identity) have been the preservation of Russian singing, dancing, the preparation and sale of Russian food (e.g., shchi, pilmeni), bazaars (where Russian handicrafts and needlework are frequently available), the sale of Russian books and records (as with the FRC), and the production of Russian plays, concerts and operas. The Russian Orthodox Society and the Russian Centre of B.C. both hold yearly fund-raising drives in "Aid of the Russian Invalids" from World War I; moreover, both occasionally hold special events to commemorate some pre-Revolutionary poet or writer. The maintenance of Church Slavonic by the Russian Orthodox people in their religious services is another attempt at maintaing cultural distinctiveness. Of course, the offcial status of Russian in business meetings is a way to do the same thing, but this attempt is only partially successful because many of the young people never learn the language and therefore either leave the cultural group or else form an English-speaking section in the process. All of this demonstrates, in sum, that cultural survival in an alien majority culture is most difficult.

There is yet a further explanation of why there are so many ethnic organizations within the Russian group in Greater Vancouver and at the same time so few members and participants within any one group. The non-participants, it seems, are repelled from association with their own ethnic organizations for fear that such association might mean some unpleasant consequences at some future date. They therefore turn to the comfort of their family, their friends and their informal groupings, or otherwise get themselves assimilated into the "outside" groups. Specifically, we find that the perception of communism (a particular view perpetuated by the "cold war" atmosphere and national policy) affects the relationship of group behavior. There appears to be a rather sharp division between the Russian Orthodox people on one hand and the Federation of Russian Canadians on the other. The rest of the Russian people (including the Doukhobors) tend to take the middle or "neutral" path.

Only on one known occasion were all groups able to unite in some common project. This was during the height of World War II, when there was an upsurge of sympathy for the Soviet Union, with the result that Russian Relief Fund Projects sprang up across the country. In Vancouver, the Federation of Russian Canadians, the Russian Orthodox church groups and the Doukhobors united to support the effort with joint concerts, fund-raising drives, and greetings to Russian ships and their crews in port. Apart from that, the annual

Vancouver Folk Festivals bring various ethnic groups (including the Russians) together on the basis of cultural interest: politics and religion in this case are strictly taboo.

The rest of the time is spent with one's own organizations, but with frequent castigation of one's rivals. Thus, the Russian Centre of B.C. and the Russian Orthodox churches have clauses in their constitutions barring people of "leftist" or communist leanings. According to them, FRC members would not be acceptable for they are alleged to have a "Red" tinge. The FRC members, in turn, reply that they are a cultural organization which is against war, against Fascists, and for peace and brotherhood. Their constitution would bar anyone who is a "strike-breaker." The Doukhobors, for the most part, tend to avoid both. Other groups, such as the recent Volga Ensemble (thirteen members) and the Russian School Group have also sought the neutral position.

The sum effect of all this is that walls of prejudice tend to rise (with the pivotal point being the issue of communism). Consequently, there can be no effective integration of these peoples into Canadian society until these barriers are lowered.

Often Canadians espouse diversity in society and claim to be superior to the American with his "melting pot." But in view of the Russian situation in Vancouver, one wonders where and how any unpopular idea fits into a society which supposedly glorifies "diversity." Perhaps it is truer to say that unpopular ideas in Canada are not as readily permitted as one might imply by a "free society."

There are other factors which affect organizational behavior among the Russians in Vancouver and these may be summarized as follows: 1) **Social class.** At the bottom are generally lumped the Federation of Russian Canadians together with the Doukhobors, in the middle is the Russian Orthodox Society, and at the top of the social ladder is the Russian Centre of B.C. 2) **Kinship.** In one case a happy marital union tied together a Doukhobor family with a Russian Orthodox family. In another, marital difficulties resulted in a split and the eventual formation of a new club. 3) **Jurisdictional conflict.** Conflict is official between the "Big" Holy Resurrection Church (which has emotional ties to the Metropoly jurisdiction) and the other two churches (which both belong to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia). 4) **Effective leadership.** With the Doukhobors, segmentation tends to occur when no strong leadership is available to act as a unifying force.[24] 5) **Ecological factors.** The Russian population in Vancouver is scattered throughout the city, with only slight concentrations in several areas. In fact there is no

24. On the other hand, all Doukhobor segments united in the fall of 1964 in reaction to the publication of a sensationalistic book by **Vancouver Sun** reporter Simma Holt, **Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors**, Toronto, 1964. Most Doukhobors were indignant over the condemnatory policy of the author against all Doukhobors and indirectly against all people of Russian background. Consequently, they joined with other Doukhobors in British Columbia to form a committee on discrimination. The whole effect has brought all Doukhobors in Canada closer together.

Russian community in the sense of a Jewish ghetto or Chinatown. 6) **Common interest**. We have already mentioned the effect of relieving tension with respect to the Soviet Union — the Russian groups united in common effort to raise funds. 7) **Place of birth and time of arrival in Canada**. There tend to be differences in outlook between those born in Russia and those in Canada; between those who came to Canada before 1917 and those after; between those who came here from the European part of Russia and those who came here from Harbin and Shanghai, China. Those born in Canada and educated in Canadian schools tend to lose the Russian language rather quickly.

As a concluding thought, the author hopes that a restudy of the Russians in Vancouver might be done in the next five years or so. The area here is ripe for a real contribution to knowledge in the understanding of ethnic groups and how they are affected by the wider Canadian society.

CANADIAN SLAVS
THROUGH THE MIRROR OF THEIR PRESS

By P. J. KELLNER

Canadian Citizenship Branch

The cultural, political and religious needs of the expanding immigrant communities from East-Central Europe, which came into being during the past seven or eight decades, caused, parallel with the creation of their various secular and religious organizations, the establishment of a newspaper press printed in their own languages. The ethnic press became an important ancillary institution of these communities and their organizations. Today, the ethnic press can look back on a history more than half a century old. Its fascinating pages present us with an opportunity, not fully exploited as yet, of historical research into some very exciting aspects of an exciting age and society.

An important motivation in creating the ethnic press, of course, was the emancipation of these settlers from certain restrictions which prevailed in their countries of origin. One of the early commentators, R. S. Park, was right when he remarked in **The Immigrant Press and Its Control** (1922) that one reason why immigrants became so prolific in editing and publishing their newspapers was that they had not always been permitted to do so in their own old countries. Historical evidence would support his view and, undoubtedly, this new "freedom" has helped to enhance the consciousness of the immigrant and has emotionally conditioned him to further this "free" and "new" press, which has given expression to his sentiments in his own idiom. Some forty years later, Dr. Turek, writing on the Polish language press in Canada, went so far as to suggest that the "establishment of a foreign language press on this continent had . . . implications of social and intellectual liberation. . . . The spoken vernacular of the European peasant, even if his ethnic group was in political power, was not found in the columns of the European press of his period." The oldest Slavic (Ukrainian) weekly in Canada is sixty-two years old this year. It would be interesting to compare its language and style of sixty years ago with the language and style of some of our contemporary Slavic publications. As we shall presently see, the transformation of the Slavic press from humble beginnings, some sixty years ago, has been impressive. It is certainly indicative of the society which it has served during this period.

The title of this paper requires an explanation. It is, if not misleading, at least somewhat pretentious. First of all, no matter how observant we are, it is obviously impossible to describe the "Canadian

Slavs" only as reflected in their press. However informative and expressive in opinion these publications may be, there always remains a sense of isolation, due to the absence of continuous living contact with all the groups concerned. Physical inability to do so, in all cases, should serve as an apology. I beg your leave, therefore, to omit any remarks and value judgements on Canadian Slav society and its organizations, except perhaps in some instances when they directly relate to the press. Second, it is not my purpose to comment on the "value" and "degree" of the cultural contributions, or the extent to which some of the precious heritage of the Slavic groups has been infused into the existing host-society. The tabulation of the indices of integration and/or segregation, the assessment of the influence of any particular group on the social, political and cultural life of the country, are obviously of a magnitude better left untouched. Third, the compelling limitations of space and time are self-explanatory. What I hope to contribute to this distinguished gathering is rather a factual presentation of the situation of the Canadian Slavic press in its cultural, political, national and international aspects.

In tracing the growth of the Slavic press from its beginnings, we have to rely on extremely scant sources. While there is some literature available in Canada, and especially in the case of one Slavic group, speculation is still a most important tool. We have noted above that the oldest Slavic publication in Canada claims sixty-two years in the service of its readers. The **Canadian Almanac**, for 1905, on the other hand, listing eighteen foreign-language publications, in German, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic, does not mention any Slavic periodicals. It is not until 1911 that the Slavic press is first mentioned. It is represented by the two most numerous groups, the Ukrainians and Poles, and the circulation is 18,000 and 7,675 respectively. Twenty years later, by 1931, the Croatian, Russian and Slovak press, with circulations of 2,000, 5,000 and 9,000 respectively, are added to the list. Today, in 1965, the Slavic groups, with about seventy-five publications, represent a total circulation of well over two hundred thousand copies.[1]

Let us now look at the composition of Canadian Slavic society today. Canadian Slavs could, conveniently but perhaps arbitrarily, be divided into ten distinct groups. They are, in alphabetical order: Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Czechs, Poles, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Ukrainians. Practical purposes have dictated the omission of the Lemkos, or Carpatho-Ruthenians, and the Montenegrins.

There are, in absolute numbers, some 1,100,000 Canadians of Slavic descent, representing about one-fourth of the total non-English, non-French population of Canada. It is interesting to see, then, that

1. It is interesting to note that during the fifty-year period, 1911-1961, the ratio between increase in population and increase in circulation has grown slightly in favour of circulation and the per capita "consumption" of the press. Total Slavic population in 1911 was 155,000 while the circulation was 26,000. In 1961, the population reached 1,060,000 while the total circulation was 230,000. These figures are approximate.

the Canadian Slavic press, serving only about one-fourth of the total non-English, non-French population, claims one-third of the so-called foreign language press in Canada. Of the approximately 200 "ethnic" publications in Canada (not including, generally speaking, the broad category of the "little press", that is, parish bulletins, credit union and institutional newsletters, etc.) some seventy-five periodicals are published by the Slavic groups listed above. The largest share, of course, falls to the largest individual group, the Ukrainians, with, according to our list, some forty publications, including the papers published under the auspices of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. The Polish group, next largest numerically, has some eleven publications, including the organ of the Polish Democratic Association. The remaining eight groups, representing some 200,000 people, publish twenty-four periodicals, including the papers controlled by the Federation of Russian Canadians, the Federation of Yugoslav Canadians, the Slovak Benefit Society of Canada (Slovensky Podporny Spolok and **not** the Kanadsky Podporny Spolok), and finally, the Bulgarian (or Macedonian) Canadian People's League.[2]

Surprisingly, perhaps, since only about one-fourth of the Slavic population resides in Ontario, more than half of the publications are printed and edited in that province. The publications of four or five groups (notably the Byelorussians, Czechs, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes) come exclusively from Ontario. The Ukrainians, with only 27 percent of their number residing in the province, have almost half of their periodicals published there. Manitoba, and more specifically Winnipeg, is the Western centre of publishing activities. Of the remaining three Western provinces, Saskatchewan contributes three publications, Alberta two and British Columbia one. A differentiation between the nature and character of individual publications relative to their locations in the Eastern or Western parts of the country, reflects most interestingly on the "mentality" and composition of the particular waves of immigration.

As far as circulation and "consumption" are concerned, the available data are far from accurate. Sources, with varying degrees of reliability, indicate around 750,000 for total foreign language circulation in Canada. Again, the share of the Slavic press is almost one-third of this total, the Ukrainian press, with some 150,000 copies, is well at the head of the list. The smallest circulation is that of the Byelorussian press, with around 2,000 to 3,000 copies.[3]

It is clear that several factors should be taken into consideration when we survey circulation. For the purposes of this paper, for example, I have used the 1961 census data, and some approximations, only with reference to ethnic origin and I have ignored data on "mother tongue". When one looks especially at reading habits and skills this is, of course, a very serious omission. On the other hand, evidence shows that there is a sizable exchange of periodicals in all Slavic languages between Canada and the outside world. We shall

2. The latter publication appeared irregularly.
3. It should be pointed out, however, that audited circulation based either on the publisher's sworn statement or on A.B.C. reports, was available for seventeen publications only, for a total audited circulation of some 93,000.

presently discuss this, but it seems important to point out at this juncture the fallacy inherent in our assessment. It follows from the foregoing, then, that while one can calculate the "per capita consumption" of publications, figures must be highly inaccurate. The most we can say is that, in relation to ethnic origins, the rate of circulation is one publication to 4.7 persons. To put it dramatically, one publication in every Slavic Canadian home.

For descriptive purposes, the Slavic press, or the foreign language press generally, can be divided into four categories. Each of these four groupings is distinguished by a particular orientation and purpose. In content, the publications are very much like their English or French language counterparts. Often small, unpretentious and perhaps irregularly published, they have an importance far in excess of the impression given by their physical characteristics.

Let us now glance at the institutions of the ethnic communities. There is, first of all, the church. The ethnic church is one of the three main forces, along with the secular ethnic organizations and the ethnic press, in the life of the immigrant. The numerous ethnic congregations and the so-called national parishes (in contradistinction to the territorial parishes as designated by the Roman Catholic Church in Canada) have, generally speaking, succeeded in maintaining their influence over the ethnic groups. The Greek Catholic Church, to which a very important part, although by no means the majority of Canadian Slavs, belong, has since 1956 been under a Metropolitanate directly responsible to Rome. It has some half-a-dozen publications. The Greek Orthodox Church, larger than the Greek Catholic, has two or more periodicals directly or indirectly written on behalf of that church. The Protestant denominations, small though they are, publish some five periodicals. As evangelism has always relied on a vigorous press policy, this should explain the relatively high number of Protestant publications. Significantly, only one or two periodicals can be designated as publications of the Roman Catholic Church.

The second classification may be called the secular, general information press, read and supported mainly by the foreign-born and to a certain extent by first-generation Canadians. There are less than twenty of such publications in the Slavic group, which shows some, albeit not a significant, deviation from the mean of the ethnic press in general. Among them there are, first, the old established papers whose outlook is almost entirely Canadian, although they retain a definite interest in the affairs of their old homeland. Second, the new papers, which came into existence with the post-war immigration, have a concern with the country of origin which is much more immediate and extensive. Read, for example, the Ukrainian press in the context of the recent cultural exchange programs. It is quite enlightening.

For this reason, it is convenient, perhaps, to classify some, or most, of these newer publications as being "engaged" in promoting a more or less definite line of orientation, which is set out in the charters or statutes of various organizations. While, in this sense, they are organs of these organizations, there is a similarity between

them and the European-style "journals of opinion." This third category is an extremely important and interesting part of the Slavic press.

The fourth category differs from the preceding one only to the very significant extent that it follows, in an ethnic context and colour, the editorial policy of the **Canadian**, or **Pacific**, **Tribune**. Altogether there are some twelve of such periodicals, out of which seven or eight are directed towards the Slavic groups.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the number of ethnic organizations in Canada. A rough estimate of the organizations that have been active in the early sixties and, in all probability, are still functioning, is somewhat less than 6,000 with more than 30,000 people holding executive positions in them. These organizations include the ethnic churches, the schools, and a whole array of social, cultural, political, recreational associations and their branches. Indicative perhaps of the high group consciousness of the Canadian Slav society, its share of some 1,800 units is again higher than the ratio of the Slav population to the total for Canada.

How is the scale of organizational purposes and objectives reflected in the press? There is, of course, no standard by which to measure it. Until the post-war years, for example, there were no publications in Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Czech, Serbian or Slovenian languages, although there is evidence that organizational life existed to some extent. It may be said, therefore, that the creation of organizations or of churches did not necessarily signify the subsequent creation of a newspaper. Yet, as we have noted above, the bulk of the press is, in one way or another, connected with an organization. As a matter of interest, out of the forty-odd Ukrainian periodicals, perhaps only two or three are "independent" or purely commercial undertakings. It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that the periodicals will regularly print organizational news, and often comment editorially on the policy pursued by "their" organizations, be it in Canada or abroad. As all papers have extensive coverage of news from their former homelands and are, with the exception of the so-called progressive press organs, invariably critical of the present regimes in those countries, they could, in this sense, be designated as "émigré" or "exile" rather than "immigrant" newspapers.

The inter-relationships among the Slavic press, vis-à-vis each other, are on the whole, cordial. Sporadically, of course, the traditional conflicts imported from Europe flare up and are discussed with equally traditional vehemence. It seems quite safe to say, however, that the political climate of Canada has helped to cushion the impact of emotions tremendously. Much depends upon the prudence and wisdom of an editor and it is not an overstatement to say that his influence upon inter-ethnic peace is considerable. It is understandable that the press of one particular group will champion its own national point of view. The degree of the arguments and discussions varies greatly, but it should be noted with satisfaction that there is always a conciliatory, balancing opinion being expressed in one or two other papers of the particular group. Dr. Turek suggests

that "between the two world wars the views of the Polish-Canadian periodicals were looked upon by the Ukrainian community in Canada as representative of the whole Polish community, and even of Poland as a whole" and that "the criticism of Poland's Ukrainian policy in the Ukrainian Canadian press was accepted as expressing the attitude of the whole Ukrainian community." No one, of course, can say with certainty that the same situation prevails today. The general disagreement with the present forms of government behind the Iron Curtain has perceptibly lessened the extent of national conflict among the Slavic groups and at the present time it is mainly the internal controversies that are vexing them. Only in a few papers do the emotions of the past erupt with real force, overshadowing the unifying platform of anti-communism.

The interest of the papers in Canadian politics is profound. It can be stated without hesitation that the Slavic press is militantly active in this area. The concern for participation in the political life of the country is very great: pronouncements are very articulate. Of the total number of printed opinions in the ethnic press on the establishment, and the proceedings, of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Slavic press was represented by 52.4 percent. Of this figure, it is interesting to note that 33.2 percent of the comments and reports appeared in the Ukrainian press. Canadian foreign policy and its apparent direction, especially with respect to East-West relations, are constantly discussed.

I leave it to the experts to argue whether it was Mickiewicz or Shevchenko who first conceived the "Promethean-idea." The Promethean conception of participation in all aspects of the life of Canada is Slavic and it is immaterial to search for origins when the idea itself is so clearly manifested in the aspirations of the Canadian Slavs. The press certainly performs a most influential function in promoting such aspirations.

* * *

It was Balzac, a great observer of society, who once said that private life will cease to exist as the newspaper press—"argus moderne," he called it—gains in force and boldness. To call the press a great power is, of course, a truism and a platitude. But Balzac's prophecy has not been fulfilled and the panoptic eyes of Argus did not really penetrate into the private lives of citizens. It is true that the press is one of our best sources of information on the life and activities of the Slavic groups in Canada. On the other hand, having seen its broad background and perspective in the preceding paragraphs, one is tempted to view the Slavic or the ethnic press, in general, as a manifestation of cultural and national perseverance on the part of the Canadian Slavs rather than as an encyclopedia of knowledge. The comprehensive and consistent reading of the foreign language press available to us in Canada is a grand process of personal enrichment. The ethnic editors, I believe, would be the first to disclaim any comparison with the great journals of the world, but they could insist, with justification, upon the cultural significance of their persistent and hard work.

THE SLAVIC VOTE

By R. BAIRD

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It is usually good to place a thing in relation to other things before considering it in some isolation. We will be considering voting, a political act of some importance in human affairs. But there are non-political acts of just as much importance or more importance. Consider economic acts, religious acts, acts in the family, and so on, and think how little we are governed comparatively. What a person does as a consumer or what he does in church or in his family are surely as important as how he votes.

And there are other political acts of as much or more importance in human affairs as voting. When we vote we choose a government. But our choice is a very limited one; the parties have reduced it from about fifteen million persons to several hundred or, considering the prime minister, to five, four, or two. We like to think that we have also chosen governmental policy when we have chosen a government. We like to think we have given the government a mandate to do something or other. But we have grave doubts. We have very considerable doubts as to what the mandate was: we do not know very much what candidates said **they** would do and we know even less what **we** said they could do. We know that the government will face a world that was not wholly contemplated during the election and that it will deal with it somewhat independently of the election.

We know too that people will try to influence the government after the election and that they will succeed to some degree. We think of parties and interest groups. And we know that the government will have to govern with people we have not chosen in a given election. We think of Senators, civil servants, judges, and, of course, provincial governments.

Some people, such as C. Wright Mills and other "power elitists," say that voting has no importance in government.[1] They say that a small number of people control the parties, the government, the legislature, the civil service, the judiciary and the public itself. I know they are wrong, yet I do not know **just** how important voting is and I do not think anyone else does either. I do not know of one careful study of the question. I suppose most of us have thought that voting was obviously so important that we did not need to prove it. In any case, I hope you see the virtue of placing voting in relation to other things. Now as to voting by Canadian Slavs. Most scholars have used census information to study Canadian Slavs. As I understand it, people are asked in the census to state the original language

1. C. Wright Mills, **The Power Elite**, New York, 1959; and Floyd Hunter, **Community Power Structure**, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1953.

of their parents; to state their "mother tongue," the language they spoke first and still understood; and to state their "ethnic group" or "nationality." From their answers they are designated German, Italian, Ukrainian, and so on. Some scholars have used the Gallup poll, in which people are asked to state their mother tongue. Other scholars have devised their own surveys. One asked people to state their "racial or ethnic origin." In any case, I think language and country or region are involved.

The point in grouping people as Germans, Italians, Ukrainians, rich and poor, young and old or anything else, should be to get at groups which determine people's thought or groups which experience special conditions in the world, such that their members think and vote distinctively.[2] We say that a person's vote is determined by the way he thinks about himself and conditions in the world. We say that how he thinks is determined to an important degree by what he is told by others and we group him and those others into psychological or interacting groups. And we say that the conditions he faces are to an important degree a matter of his being a member of a group and we place him in a categoric group according to those conditions. We think of the rich and the poor, for example.

Well, we all know that people in one country, for a variety of reasons, think differently in some respects from other people in another country. And we know that their thought, their culture, is passed on to their descendants. We all know too that people who speak a language think differently in some respects from other people who speak another language. And we all know that people are treated in some respects according to other people's thinking of them as coming from a country or speaking a language. So it is reasonable to look to both kinds of groupings, country and language, as determinants of people's vote. It is reasonable to inquire whether Canadian Slavs, defined as people from particular countries or speaking certain languages, vote distinctively.

As you all know, Canadian Slavs do vote somewhat distinctively. You will find, in some cases at least, that more people among a large group of Canadian Slavs will vote one way than will people among a large group of Canadian Anglo-Saxons or French.[3] And you will be tempted to think, on the grounds of statistics and your understanding of the importance of groups to thought, that they vote distinctively because they are Slavs. You will argue from the correlation between being a Canadian Slav and voting one way and being something else and voting something else that it was necessary to be a Slav to vote that way.

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2. Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes, **The American Voter, An Abridgement**, New York, 1964, Chapters 2 and 11, on the structure of the voting decision.
3. Robert Alford, **Party and Society**, Chicago, 1963, Chapter 4 on the importance of observing differences in the way people vote.

On the other hand, Canadian Slavs do not vote wholly distinctively. Everyone of a large group of Slavs does not vote one way and everyone of a large group of others another way. In fact, quite often very many of a large group of Slavs vote the same way as very many of a large group of others, as we will see. Now our choices in elections are severely limited (though perhaps no more limited than they should be) so that people are forced together. And people may vote the same way thinking very different things. But it still may be true that Slavs vote the same way as others because they think the same way. And that might be the case because the Slavs and the others are members of the same groups of other kinds. They might be members of the same economic groups, the same regional groups, and so on. That is, they might think the same way as others do because they interact with them or because they face the same conditions in the world.

So to understand fully how Canadian Slavs vote, we must inquire about other groups besides ethnic groups. We should inquire about poor Slavs and rich, farming Slavs and non-farming, prairie Slavs and eastern, well-educated Slavs and poorly-educated, Catholic Slavs and non-Catholic, male Slavs and female. We know that these other groups are important for other people; they should be important for Slavs as well. Or we might find other important groups besides these fairly obvious ones.

An inquiry into other groups would also reveal just how distinctively Slavs vote **as Slavs.** It may be the case that the Slavs are poor compared with non-Slavs and vote differently because they are poor. Or it may be that more of them are farmers than non-Slavs and vote differently because of that. To get at the purely Slavic basis of the Slavic vote one ought to compare Slavs with non-Slavs who are like them in every other respect. That is, we ought to compare a group of Slavs who are rich, farmers, from Saskatchewan, well-educated, Catholic, and male with a group of, say, French who are also rich, farmers, from Saskatchewan, well-educated, Catholic, and male. But that will not always be easy, since some other things are involved with being Slavic. Suppose it is found that Slavs have low status **as Slavs.** That is, they have a low esteem in the minds of others—and perhaps in their own minds—because they are Slavs. How would one find a group of Slavs of high status to compare with non-Slavs of high status?

Unfortunately the Slavic vote as determined in the work I will report is the vote of Slavs undifferentiated as to other groups except as to region, province, riding, or city. In some cases the Slavic vote itself is undifferentiated from the non-Slavic vote in the non-British-non-French vote.

One of the most general works on party preferences in Canada is Robert Alford's book **Party and Society.**[4] Professor Alford studied Gallup polls in Canada from 1940 through 1961. He tells us explicitly

4. Robert Alford, **Party and Society,** Chicago, 1963.

and at length how "manual" workers and "non-manual" workers, excluding farmers, felt about the parties in the country as a whole and in the provinces or regions, and he presents a tentative explanation of their feelings. He also tells us explicitly, but more briefly, how "Catholics" and "Protestants" felt about the parties. He says that there are smaller differences between manual and non-manual classes in Canada than there are in the comparable countries of the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States. And he says that that is caused by the great force of religious, ethnic, and regional groups, which unite people across the classes. That is, Catholic manual workers and Catholic non-manual workers vote together as Catholics, not apart as classes. Professor Alford does not take up ethnic voting explicitly, but he implies that such people as Slavic manual workers and Slavic non-manual workers vote together as Slavs, not apart as classes.

Professor Alford tells us that religious, ethnic, and regional groups exist in the other countries too but not to the same degree. Canada, he says, has not yet achieved the national integration that the other countries have.[5] He believes we will achieve that integration with industrialization, economic integration, urbanization, and secularization. For example, he rather predicted the "political integration" of "Quebec" on those grounds, although he saw some things running against that.

I recommend a critical reading of Alford's book, even though it does not deal much with ethnic voting in general, or with Slavic voting in particular. The book is useful on the matter of class, region, and religion, all with which ethnic and Slavic voting are mixed.

Next I want to turn to S. M. Lipset's **Agrarian Socialism.**[6] Professor Lipset was interested in the causes of the C.C.F.'s success in Saskatchewan. Among other things, he studied the party's and its opponents' voters and its leaders. His was one of the first studies of voting in Canada that I know of and it is still one of the most interesting.

Professor Lipset tells us about the party vote in Saskatchewan in the provincial elections of 1934, 1938, and 1944. He finds areas that are distinctive for their large numbers of people of various sorts from census data and he observes their vote to see if it too is distinctive. In that way he sees how the various sorts of people voted. The method is very rough compared with the method of the survey, in which people are asked what sort they are and only people of a sort are included in a statement. But the method is far easier and cheaper to use and its results are not very different.

Professor Lipset tells us that rural voters in Saskatchewan were much more C.C.F. than urban, and he devotes most of his work to them. Of the urban voters he tells us only about the "working

5. "National integration" might also refer to class, in which case Canada would have more national integration than other countries.
6. S. M. Lipset, **Agrarian Socialism**, Berkeley, California, 1950.

classes" and the "middle classes." Both classes voted in the order Liberal, Conservative, C.C.F. in 1934, and both voted Liberal to the same degree. But the working classes voted more C.C.F. and less Conservative than the middle classes. By 1944 the working classes voted far more C.C.F. and far less Liberal and Conservative than the middle classes.

If, as seems likely, Canadian Slavs were more working class than middle class, they too may have been voting more C.C.F. and less Liberal and Conservative than some others.

In rural Saskatchewan at first the upper-class farmers voted more C.C.F. than the lower-class farmers but later the lower classes voted more C.C.F. than the upper. Of the ethnic groups, the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians voted C.C.F. strongly throughout the period 1934-1944. The French and Germans voted C.C.F. very weakly at first but increased their support to 50 percent and 55 by 1944. Ukrainians voted C.C.F. very weakly at first but increased their support enormously. In 1934 their 21 percent for the C.C.F. was higher than only one vote, the 19 percent of the Mennonites. In 1944, however, their 60 percent was higher than every other vote except perhaps the Anglo-Saxons'. The Mennonites voted C.C.F. the weakest throughout.

Lipset explains that many of the Mennonites were refugees of the Russian Revolution and identified with the C.C.F. with Russian communism. He has trouble with the Ukrainians. He does not say so, but many of them may also have identified the C.C.F. with communism. He does say, however, that there were Reds among them. He says that the Roman Catholic Church caused many people to vote against the C.C.F., including some French and Germans. But he says that the church did not cause Ukrainians to do so. They were "the only predominantly Roman Catholic national group whose support of the C.C.F. is commensurate with that of the general population." He says that a large minority of Ukrainians are not Catholic but Orthodox, but that does not help. In the end, he seems to think the class of Ukrainians was important. They were lower-class farmers and voted increasingly C.C.F. on that ground.

Specifically as to the churches, Lipset says the United Church votes more C.C.F.; the Roman Catholic Church, more Liberal; the Anglican Church, more Conservative.

Lipset's statistics are much more carefully chosen than his explanations. In fact I would say his explanations were inexcusably casual.

Professor R. Laskin (University of Alberta) and I are studying voters in Biggar, Saskatchewan. Professor Laskin conducted a survey among a representative sample of the town in 1960 and 1961. He asked what people's "party preference" was in "provincial elections" and "federal elections" and he asked "what Nationality or Language

group" their father's family originally came from. People of the various groups preferred parties as follows:

Percent Preferring Parties in Provincial Elections

	C.C.F.	P.C.	L.	S.C.
United Kingdom[1]	32	11	19	2
German	29	8	26	11
French	20	10	40	10
Scandinavian[2]	50	10	10	0
Slav[3]	45	13	10	3

1. England, Scotland, Wales, "Ireland."
2. Norway, Sweden, Denmark.
3. Ukrainian, "Russian (not Ukrainian)," Polish, Czechoslovakian.

Percent Preferring Parties in Federal Elections

	C.C.F.	P.C.	L.	S.C.
United Kingdom	24	15	23	2
German	21	13	39	0
French	10	20	40	10
Scandinavian	20	30	20	0
Slav	13	39	13	0

As one would have predicted from Lipset's study, in provincial elections, Scandinavians, Slavs, and people from the United Kingdom voted for the C.C.F. more than Germans and French, though the people from the United Kingdom voted considerably less for the C.C.F. than one would have thought. The Ukrainians alone voted 39 percent C.C.F., 15 percent Conservative, 15 percent Liberal, and 8 percent Social Credit.

In federal elections the people from the United Kingdom are back up with the Scandinavians and are now joined by the Germans in voting more for the C.C.F., but now the Slavs have dropped very low and the French have dropped even lower. The Slavs now vote Conservative more than all others. The Ukrainians alone voted 31 percent Conservative, 23 percent Liberal, 8 percent C.C.F. and 0 percent Social Credit.

Did the Slavs vote C.C.F. throughout the period 1944-1960? There is a theory that people of the sort with which we are concerned will continue to vote as they have in the past until they are faced with extraordinarily different conditions.[7] Thinking very casually about the matter, it seems that voters were not faced with any extraordinarily different conditions in provincial politics and so continued to vote as they had.

But why did the Slavs vote Conservative in federal politics? Mr. Diefenbaker is supposed to have attracted very many people who are not Anglo-Saxon or French, in part by his hard line toward the Soviet Union. It seems quite possible that Slavs would vote for the Conservatives and against the C.C.F. for that reason in a federal election and yet continue to vote C.C.F. in a provincial election where that reason seemed irrelevant. But, of course, we should ask them.

7. Campbell, **et al.**, **The American Voter,** Chapter 16.

We found that Slavs vote—or say they vote—just as much as or more than anyone else.

Percent Voting in Provincial Elections

	Yes	No
United Kingdom	92	6
German	82	16
French	80	10
Scandinavian	80	20
Slav	94	6

Percent Voting in Federal Elections

	Yes	No
United Kingdom	88	10
German	84	11
French	90	0
Scandinavian	80	20
Slav	90	10

Robert Lane says that non-Anglo-Saxons in the United States vote more than Anglo-Saxons as ethnic groups.[8] Lower classes vote less than upper classes and more non-Anglo-Saxons are in the lower classes than Anglo-Saxons, making it appear that non-Anglo-Saxons vote less than Anglo-Saxons as ethnic groups. But more lower class non-Anglo-Saxons vote than lower class Anglo-Saxons and more upper class non-Anglo-Saxons vote than upper class Anglo-Saxons. Lane thinks non-Anglo-Saxons see that they can use their numbers in politics to even up matters as they exist outside of politics. They have a greater interest in politics than Anglo-Saxons and they have a great resource.

In Biggar though, even class does not seem to be significant in voting turnout.

Next I want to turn to the book **Papers on the 1962 Election,** edited by John Meisel,[9] and written by a large number of scholars about a large number of subjects using a large number of methods. One paper, by Mildred A. Schwartz, is about the ethnic vote as such but it is much more a proposal of method and hypothesis than a report of an actual vote. Of the other papers, the best for our purposes are the following, in order, beginning with the best:

T. Peterson and I. Avakumovic, "A Return to the Status Quo: The Election in Winnipeg North Centre";
H. A. Scarrow, "Three Dimensions of a Local Political Party";
W. P. Irvine, "An Analysis of Voting Shifts in Quebec";
N. Ward, "The Counter Revolution in Saskatchewan";
Meisel, "Conclusion: An Analysis of The National (?) Results";
R. R. Alford, "The Social Bases of Political Cleavage in 1962."

8. Robert Lane, **Political Life,** Glencoe, Ill., Chapter 17.
9. John Meisel, **Papers on the 1962 Election,** Toronto, 1964.

Peterson and Avakumovic conducted a survey of voters in Winnipeg North Centre after the federal election in 1962. The survey questionnaire is reproduced in the paper and appears to be reasonably devised according to the usual sociological characteristics. Unfortunately we do not know enough about the sample or the results. The authors tell us that members of the United, Lutheran, and Anglican churches voted more C.C.F. than members of the Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic or Mennonite churches, who voted more Conservative. Roman Catholics voted very much Liberal.

Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians voted more C.C.F. than Ukrainians and Germans who voted more Conservative, as one would have predicted from the voting according to churches. Skilled and unskilled workers and union members voted more C.C.F. than clerical workers, housewives, and the unemployed. Professional people voted very much Liberal.

Peterson and Avakumovic say there were large enough differences in voting to conclude that "there is undeniable ethnic and class consciousness in North Centre," but they say too that the differences were by no means complete.

Mr. Irvine studied voters in Quebec by grouping ridings according to their vote, Liberal, Conservative, Social Credit, Other, and observing their social characteristics to see if they were distinctive—Lipset's method reversed.

He tells us that the French voted Social Credit more than did the Anglo-Saxons and people who were neither. The Anglo-Saxons and people who were neither French nor Anglo-Saxon voted Liberal and Other, including N.D.P., more than did the French. Anglo-Saxons voted Conservative more than did the French.

Canadian Slavs are neither French nor Anglo-Saxon, as are a lot of other people who are likely very different, like Jews and Italians.

Professor Ward studied voters in Saskatchewan using some form of Lipset's method. He finds areas that are distinctive for their social characteristics and observes their vote. He says that the French and German Catholics voted Liberal more than some others. The German Catholics voted N.D.P. much less than others. The Ukrainians, many in Yorkton constituency, voted Conservative more than some others, but voted less Conservative than in 1958, following the "provincial pattern." Like Peterson and Avakumovic, Ward finds ethnic differences but not great ones.

Professor Meisel studied Canadian voters as a whole, using Irvine's method of grouping ridings according to their vote for the parties and observing their social characteristics. The ethnic vote for Meisel is the vote of people who are other than French and British. He says that these Others did not vote consistently Conservative compared with the French and British presumably but that they did vote consistently less Liberal. Still the Others, like the Ukrainians in Saskatchewan, voted less Conservative than in 1958 and more Liberal.

Meisel thinks that Others on the prairies, like Slavs and Scandinavians, were chiefly responsible for the Others' voting so Conservative, implying that eastern or far western Others voted less Conservative. As I said earlier, we should inquire about the other groups, regional, economic, and so on, of which Slavs are members. Meisel criticizes the use of "mother tongue" to distinguish between ethnic groups, as is done for the Gallup polls.

Professor Alford studied the Gallup poll conducted just before the election in 1962. He gives us the following tables (among others):

The Social Bases of Political Cleavage
Party Support by "Mother Tongue"*

	"Mother Tongue"			
	English	French	Other	Total
PC	44%	23%	26%	36%
Liberal	35	45	36	38
NDP	13	4	19	12
Socred	8	28	19	14
100%=	(1342)	(572)	(276)	(2190)

*"Mother tongue" means the language the respondent first spoke and still understood.

Party Support by Religion

	Religion				
Party	Protestant	Jewish	Catholic	Other*	Total
PC	47%	19%	24%	27%	36%
Liberal	29	58	49	17	38
NDP	13	23	8	27	12
Socred	11	—	19	29	14
100%=	(1187)	(47)	(915)	(41)	(2190)

*"Other" includes those not answering the question on religion.

A fair summary might be:

> The "English" voted Conservative more than others did; voted Liberal less than the French, voted N.D.P. more than the French but less than the "Others"; and voted Social Credit less than others, in that order, according to party.
>
> The "French" voted Liberal and Social Credit more than others did and voted Conservative and N.D.P. less, in that order.
>
> The "Others" voted Liberal less than the French; voted Conservative less than the English; voted N.D.P. more than others; and voted Social Credit more than the English but less than the French, in that order.

Or more briefly: the English voted Conservative; the French and Others voted Liberal.

Canadian Slavs are Others, as are a lot of other people who are likely quite different. Notice that Jews voted Liberal more than Protestants, Catholics, or Others.

Finally I want to turn to a study Professor R. R. Gilsdorf (University of Alberta) and I are doing of voting in civic elections in Edmonton.

Robert Lane writes that "the seat of ethnic politics (in the United States) is the local community, not the national capital."[10]

10. Lane, **Political Life**, p.239.

He means by ethnic, non-WASPs (non-White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants). He recognizes the great stake ethnic groups have in national politics, with respect to domestic conflicts with other ethnic groups, immigration policy, and foreign policy, but he believes they have an even greater stake in local politics. Here they are interested in jobs in the public service; protection from the police;[11] adequate streets, street lights, sewage disposal, and schools; and public office, with its recognition by themselves and others of their worth. We have found a lot of ethnic voting in Edmonton, or at least a lot of differences between ethnic groups.

In 1963 William Hawrelak ran for Mayor of Edmonton against Stanley Milner. We thought, for a lot of reasons, that the ethnic groups would vote very differently. One reason was that Mr. Hawrelak was of Ukrainian ancestry and so might be especially supported by Slavs seeking recognition by having one of their own in office. We used Lipset's method of finding areas that are distinctive for their large numbers of people of a sort.

The following tables show the mean percent vote of census tracts grouped by the percent Slavs and British in them. Our sources of information were the **Census of Canada**, 1961, and the **Reports** of the Edmonton Chief Returning Officer, 1961, 1963.

Percent Vote For Candidates By Census Tracts
Showing Percent Slavs

	Percent Slavs						
	5-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-25	36-40
Hawrelak	36	49	62	65	73	80	78
Milner	64	51	38	35	27	20	22
	(10)	(17)	(5)	(8)	(3)	(1)	(1)

Percent Vote For Candidates By Census Tracts
Showing Percent British

	Percent British									
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70
Hawrelak	80	75	69	65	50	55	48	39	33	26
Milner	20	25	31	35	50	45	52	61	67	74
	(2)	(2)	(2)	(7)	(4)	(11)	(8)	(5)	(2)	(2)

We also studied the election in 1961. We wanted to see the vote when Mr. Hawrelak was not running, though we knew he was not completely out of peoples' minds. Mayor Roper was re-elected.

Percent Vote For Candidates By Census Tracts
Showing Percent Slav

	Percent Slavs						
	5-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
Leger	18	22	28	27	30	32	30
Roper	74	65	56	56	48	49	42
Simmons	8	14	17	17	22	18	29
	(10)	(17)	(5)	(8)	(3)	(1)	(1)

11. I mean "protection from the police," not "police protection."

Percent Vote For Candidates By Census Tracts

Showing Percent British

	Percent British									
	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70
Leger	35	29	27	30	27	24	21	16	13	11
Roper	46	48	50	50	61	61	67	74	79	85
Simmons	19	24	24	19	12	15	13	9	9	5
	(2)	(2)	(2)	(7)	(4)	(11)	(8)	(5)	(2)	(2)

The tracts with the largest percentages of Slavs and British are, of course, the best tracts for isolating them. People in the five tracts with the largest percentages of Slavs, or "the Slavs," voted on the average 47 points more for Mr. Hawrelak than people in the four tracts with the largest percentages of British, or "the British." This is an enormous difference comparing it with differences based on class, races, ethnic group, or anything else anywhere else.[12] The "same" Slavs voted on the average 33 points less for Mr. Roper than the same British. This too is an enormous difference.

What may we conclude from all of this? We may conclude first that a lot more work needs to be done. We need to consider ethnic voting together with voting according to other groups, to get a complete explanation of any ethnic group's voting and to isolate the ethnic basis of the group's voting. We ought to study attitudes as well as social characteristics to get a complete explanation. We speculate too much about attitudes.[13]

Yet in spite of the work we must do, we may say there is a good chance that there is distinctive ethnic voting with an ethnic basis. There is a considerable range in the amount of ethnic voting, but there is no absence of it and no complete existence of it, in terms of different groups voting just alike or completely differently. As far as we know!

Canadian Slavs, where we can see them at all clearly, have voted as follows. They voted very weakly for the C.C.F. in 1934 in Saskatchewan provincial elections but by 1944 voted very strongly for the C.C.F. Slavs in Biggar, Saskatchewan, and in other parts, if Biggar is representative, still voted very strongly for the C.C.F. in 1960 in provincial elections. But they voted very strongly Conservative in 1958 in federal elections. Slavs in Saskatchewan also voted Conservative in 1962, in federal elections, though less than in 1958. Slavs in Winnipeg voted Conservative in 1962. Slavs in Edmonton voted for Mayor Roper in 1961 though far less than the British. They voted for Mayor Hawrelak in 1963, and far more than the British.

Why did the Slavs vote as they did? I will speculate.

People may have all kinds of interests in view by voting. They may be interested in domestic matters or foreign. They may be interested in things having to do with ethnic group, race, church,

12. Alford, **Party and Society.**
13. Campbell, **et al., The American Voter.**

region, class, industry, occupation, sex, age, family, individual people, animals, and so on. They might be interested in anything. They might vote for party, man, or something else. They might have conflicting feelings or feelings supporting one another.

One great interest people have is in equality of well-being, as to ethnic group, class, sex, and so on. Another great interest people have is in maintaining a state of well-being. People with an interest in equality are often called liberals or left wingers; people with an interest in maintaining a state of well-being are often called conservatives or right wingers. People might be liberal or conservative in some respects but not in others or, more rarely, liberal or conservative in every respect. And of course they might have other than liberal or conservative views about things.

Parties too might be more or less liberal or conservative—or other. Or better, they might be regarded in that way.

If, as I think, Canadian Slavs lack well-being compared with some others, they might well be liberal and vote for a liberal party or a party they regarded as liberal. I think Slavs may lack well-being comparatively as an ethnic group, as a religious group, as to class, as to industry, as to region, and perhaps as to other things. I think they could easily regard the C.C.F. and Mayor Hawrelak as liberal parties in significant respects and vote for them. Americans in their circumstances have voted Democratic for such reasons.[14]

But why have Slavs voted Conservative? They may have done so, against their liberal views, on other grounds, say on grounds involving foreign policy. Some ethnic groups in the United States have apparently done that.[15] Or they may easily have regarded the Conservatives as sufficiently liberal in the circumstances — the circumstances involving the party system. Actually, we do not know very well how people regard parties. (And I want to add we do not know ourselves very well how to regard them.) I can well imagine a person's wanting to vote liberal, preferring the Conservatives to the Liberals on those grounds, and preferring them to the N.D.P. on other grounds. I have thought that way myself.

The decision in voting can be very complicated. Again, we should ask people. Whereof I know nothing I do not like to say very much.

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14. S. M. Lipset, **Political Man**, Garden City, N.Y., 1963, Chapter 7; and Neil McDonald, **The Study of Political Parties**, New York, 1955, Chapter 3.
15. McDonald, **The Study of Political Parties**, p.43.

PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1965

8:00- 9:00 a.m.—Registration

9:00- 9:15 a.m.—OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Opening Remarks
—**Bohdan R. Bociurkiw**, Chairman
Inter-Departmental Committee on Slavonic and Soviet Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Greetings from the Canadian Association of Slavists
—**H. Gordon Skilling**, President, C.A.S.

Greetings from the Eastern Canada Association of Slavists and East European Specialists
—**Theodore F. Domaradzki**, President, E.C.A.S.E.E.S.

9:15-12:00 a.m.—Session I

Chairman —**H. Gordon Skilling**, University of Toronto

Papers —Political Allegiance of the Slavic Immigrant
—**Sava D. Bosnitch**, University of New Brunswick

Unity and Conflict Among Canadian Slavs
—**Vincent Chrypinski**, University of Windsor

The Slavic Vote
—**Richard Baird**, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Discussants —**D. Dorotich**, University of British Columbia
Very Reverend S. Sawchuk, St. Andrew's College, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Peter Savaryn, Edmonton, Alberta

7:00- 9:00 p.m.—Session II

Chairman —**Honourable Paul Yuzyk**, The Senate, Ottawa

Papers —Problèmes de la Recherche sur la Culture Polonaise dans la Province de Québec
—**Theodore F. Domaradzki**, Université de Montréal

Problems of Research on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada
—**Elizabeth D. Wangenheim**, University of Toronto

Research on Slavic Groups in Canada
—**Jaroslav B. Rudnyc'kyj**, University of Manitoba

Discussants —**Pierre A. Radwanski**, Université de Montréal
Andrew Gregorovich, University of Toronto Library

THURSDAY, JUNE 10

9:00-12:00 a.m.—Session III

Chairman —**Leonid Ignatieff**, University of Western Ontario

Papers —Slavs on the North American Continent: Some Reflections on Their Contribution to History and Culture
—**Anna Stearns**, Université de Montréal

The Case for Slavic Folklore in Canada
—**Bohdan Klymasz**, Indiana University

Slavic Literatures in Canada
—**Yar Slavutych**, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Discussants —**Danylo Struk**, University of Alberta, Edmonton
Alexander Malycky, University of Alberta, Calgary
R. C. Elwood, University of Alberta, Edmonton

3:00- 5:00 p.m.—Session IV

Chairman —**Tadeusz Romer**, McGill University

Papers —Poles in Canada
—**William B. Makowski**, Lakeport Secondary School, St. Catharines, Ontario.

Polish Contributions to Canadian Society
—**Louis Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski**, Université de Montréal

Discussants —**Vincent W. Adamkiewicz**, Université de Montréal
Peter M. Czartoryski, Edmonton, Alberta

6:00 p.m. —Cocktails

7:00 p.m. —Banquet—The Government of the Province of Alberta
Chairman —**Herbert S. Armstrong**, President, University of Alberta, Calgary

Greetings from the Government of the Province of Alberta
Honourable Ambrose Holowach, Provincial Secretary

Guest Speaker —**Stanley Haidasz, M.P.,**
Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa

FRIDAY, JUNE 11

9:00-12:00 a.m.—Session V

Chairman —**Zenon W. Sametz**, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa

Papers —Some Demographic Aspects of Ukrainian Population in Canada With Special Reference to the Prairies
—**Warren Kalbach**, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Ukrainian Settlers in Canada
—**Vladimir Kaye**, Ottawa

Adjustment of Ukrainians in Alberta: Alienation and Integration
—**Charles W. Hobart**, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Discussants —**Bohdan Kazymyra**, Saskatchewan Power Corporation, Regina, Saskatchewan

Walter Hlady, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Winnipeg, Manitoba

3:00- 5:00 p.m.—Session VI

Panel —Canadian Schools and the Slavic Linguistic and Cultural Heritage

Moderator —**Victor O. Buyniak**, University of Saskatchewan

Panelists —**Danuta Bienkowska**, University of Toronto
M. Gulutsan, University of Alberta
A. Michalenko, University of Saskatchewan
Xenia Shklanka, St. Joseph's High School, Edmonton, Alberta
Peter J. Worobetz, Department of Education, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

7:00- 9:00 p.m.—Session VII

Chairman —**F. G. Heymann**, University of Alberta, Calgary

Papers —Slovaks in Canada
—**Joseph M. Kirschbaum**, Toronto, Ontario

Russians in the Greater Vancouver Area
—**Koozma Tarasoff**, Broadview, Saskatchewan

Discussants —**Msgr. John Rekem, S.T.D.**, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Peter G. Makaroff, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

SATURDAY, JUNE 12

9:00-11:45 a.m.—Session VIII

Chairman —**Gerald H. Wright**, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Papers —Canadian Slavs in the Mirror of Their Press
—**Paul Kellner**, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa

Slavic Ethnic Cultures Within the Canadian Framework
—**Jerzy A. Wojciechowski**, University of Ottawa

Discussants —**Isidore Hlynka**, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Reverend S. Semczuk, Winnipeg, Manitoba

11:45-12:00 a.m.—OFFICIAL CLOSING OF THE MEETING
Concluding Remarks
—**Bohdan R. Bociurkiw**, Conference Committee Convener

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, Convener
Yar Slavutych, Programme Chairman
Gerald H. Wright, Publicity and Administration
R. C. Elwood, Financial Arrangements
Alexander Malycky, Calgary Representative

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN SLAVS JUNE 12, 1965

1. The participants of the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs wish to express their sincere gratitude to the following:
   a) the Inter-departmental Committee on Slavonic and Soviet Studies and the Department of Extension of the University of Alberta for organizing this Conference;
   b) the Government of the Province of Alberta, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Stephen B. Roman, President of Denison Mines Ltd., and the Board of Governors of the University of Alberta for their financial support of the Conference;
   c) the Honourable Ambrose Holowach, Provincial Secretary of Alberta, the Honourable Senator Paul Yuzyk, and Dr. Stanley Haidasz, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs for their valuable contributions to the programme.
2. In view of the success of this Conference and the obvious need for further research on Canadian Slavs, **be it resolved** that conferences of this kind shall be held every two years; the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs to convene in 1967 in Ottawa and/or Montreal so as to commemorate the Centennial of Canadian Confederation.
3. **Be it resolved** that a permanent body be established under the name THE INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON CANADIAN SLAVS the executive of which shall be elected by the faculty members here present to conduct the affairs of the Committee until the next National Conference.
4. **Be it resolved** that the purpose of this Inter-University Committee shall be to convene bi-annually conferences on Canadian Slavs and thus:
   a) to encourage and co-ordinate scholarly research on all aspects of Slavic life in Canada:
   b) to seek funds for this purpose from Federal, Provincial and local authorities, universities, foundations and other sources;
   c) to co-operate with learned societies and individual scholars with similar or converging interests;
   d) to support and encourage scholarly publications on Canadian Slavs.
5. **Be it resolved** that the proceedings of this Conference shall be published under the auspices of the Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs.
6. The First National Conference on Canadian Slavs appeals to Federal, Provincial and local authorities as well as to universities, foundations, public organizations and individuals, for moral and financial support.
7. The participants in the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs express their appreciation for the hospitality extended to the Conference by the Banff Centre for Continuing Education.

INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON CANADIAN SLAVS
1965-67

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