

SLAVS IN CANADA

VOLUME TWO

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON CANADIAN SLAVS

INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON CANADIAN SLAVS

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PREFACE

This book is the result of a common effort and, even more significant, of a community of interests. It bears witness to the growing awareness of basic ethnic unity among Canadian Slavs. It also attests to the sound judgment of Professor Bohdan R. Bociurkiw and his colleagues at the University of Alberta who conceived the idea of the Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs and made it a reality. Two conferences have given ample proof that the idea underlying the IUCCS is not only sound but one that is capable of generating interest and enthusiasm.

There is genuine need for thorough, scholarly research on Canadian Slavs. The Slavic community is sufficiently large and distinct from other elements of the Canadian population to warrant this research. Not only do Slavs owe it to themselves to further the research but they owe it also to their fellow Canadians. A society as heterogeneous as Canada's cannot afford any longer to be unaware of its complexity, nor can it continue to ignore its component parts. The IUCCS firmly believes that the aim which it pursues of sponsoring research on our Slavic group and of creating a forum for the exchange of information and ideas for interested scholars, serves more than the Slavs. Improved understanding of the Slavic community should help other Canadians to know and appreciate that feature of the Canadian mosaic. Adequate knowledge of all elements of Canadian society by all elements, and mutual respect for every group by every group is a necessary condition for the development of that society and its well-being.

I should like in conclusion to thank all the contributors. May the book be to them a reward for, and a justification of, the work they have done. The task of editing was a formidable one. The Editorial Committee composed of professors C. Bida, V. O. Buyniak, R. C. Elwood, V. J. Kaye, Y. Slavutych and J. W. Strong has more than earned our gratitude for its work. Professor Constantine Bida as Chairman of the Editorial Committee carried not only the main responsibility for the publication of the

volume but also the greatest burden. He deserves to be thanked in a very special way.

May the present volume be the Slavs humble contribution to the formidable task of generating unity in multiplicity, of building a society in which ethnic variety is not a source of weakness but a source of cultural richness and of national strength, a society with which every member can identify and recognize as his own, irrespective of his ethnic background.

Jerzy A. Wojciechowski
President IUCCS

I

IMMIGRATION
ADAPTATION
INTEGRATION

POLITICAL MOBILITY OF SLAVS IN THE FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES IN CANADA

by
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John Porter suggests in his work *The Vertical Mosaic*¹ that the French and English ethnic communities in Canada have inordinate leverage in the major power structures in Canada. He finds that the Slavs are virtually excluded from the most important positions in the worlds of high finance, top labour unions, and the upper echelons of the federal civil service.²

This paper will examine whether Professor Porter's propositions also hold true in the composition of the membership of the legislatures in Canada, in order to see whether, at least in this arena, the Slavic community has achieved proportionate representation. The paper defines representation to mean the participation by Slavs as candidates for higher public office³ in the provincial and federal elections. It will also compare rates of participation as candidates with rates of electoral success.

Before presenting the evidence for such participation it will be useful to consider some of the theoretical reasons why the role of ethnic groups in the political arena should be examined.

In the first place the lack of representation of ethnic groups in the legislatures is a crude index of various forms of discrimination. One form of discrimination between ethnic groups of course, is found in formal legal restrictions on access to the political arena.⁴ These prohibitions are based on restricted citizenship requirements for voting and candidatures, and are especially debilitating for non-Anglo-Saxon, non-French immigrants to Canada. Another form of discrimination arises

¹ John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 53-79.

³ An individual is deemed to be of Slavic extraction if his father is of Slavic descent. Slavs include the usual East European ethnic groups, the Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Czechoslovaks, etc. Persons of the Jewish faith whose parents lived in Slavic nations are not counted as Slavs.

⁴ The *Wartime Elections Act* of 1917 deprived many people of the vote.

from self-effacement by ethnic groups in the face of a strange political system. Many immigrants may have come from areas where either they had been denied the vote, or where the vote had been meaningless. Consequently they tend not to participate in Canadian politics.

As a consequence of all these formal and informal restrictions on political participation by Slavs and other non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups, it is to be expected that the rates of participation would be very low at first. But if ethnic groups do not have a significant degree of representation in major political offices what are the possible consequences for the Canadian political system? First, if it can be accepted that the policy of most Canadian governments has probably been a desire to see a rapid assimilation of the ethnic groups into the cultural ways of the majority of citizens, this policy would probably have failed if ethnic groups had been denied access to political power by not receiving some token representation. This would hold true particularly for the second and third generation of minority ethnic groups born in Canada who would probably resent strongly any relegation to second-class citizenship.

If experience in the United States can serve as an example it would seem to indicate that minority ethnic groups are not easily absorbed into the North American melting pot.⁵

Canadian governments have claimed that they do not rely on the melting-pot concept as an example for cultural policy. They have claimed they wish to foster a Canadian way, to create a *mosaic* of cultural groups. If this is the Canadian example of ethnic and racial harmony for other societies, it is well that scholars examine the reality of the mosaic to determine whether it exists or whether it is merely the shadow cast by wishful political thinking.

⁵ Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor, A Sociological Enquiry*, (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1963), Chapter 4, "Religion and Politics", notes the continuing strong relationship of party preference by working class White Catholics, Table 15. Philip E. Converse in an article "Religion and Politics: 1960 Election", in A. Campbell, P. Converse, *et alia*, *Elections and the Political Order*, (New York, John Wiley, 1966), after examining the continued religious antagonism which pervaded American politics in 1960, writes: "These findings have an odd ring when couched against theories of the urban metropolis as a melting pot, the focus of secularism and cosmopolitanism.... (T) he wrinkles in the pattern (of religious bias in voting) serve to remind us of the proposition that intergroup contact does not, in and of itself, reduce intergroup tension; under many common circumstances it can lead to broadened competition. Lenski and others have recently challenged the older view of the city on grounds that the religious subcommittees remain more distinct and vital in metropolitan life than has commonly been supposed. By and large the data we have presented here (on the 1960 U. S. election) support this view", p. 122.

Traditionally, access by minority ethnic groups to the political system provides access to the economic levers in society, whereas, for established groups, the pathway to political power is smoothed for the dominant groups by their control over the economic levers. Therefore, one would expect that Slavs as a group would begin their climb to status and power in Canada through the provincial legislatures. The reason for this is that, once enfranchised, the minority ethnic groups are provided with political capital in the form of votes. These votes can be used as commodities to be exchanged for status, power, and wealth in competition with other ethnic groups.

For this paper the procedure that was used to discover the extent of the participation of Slavs in the electoral process in Canada was this: The names of every candidate for every provincial general election between 1940 and 1960 was examined in order to determine whether the name was Slavic. The task of identifying these people was much easier for all elected members for the same elections, because their origins were checked against the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide's*⁶ biographical sketches. Naturally, some Anglicized names have been overlooked, except where additional information was discovered, or the individual was so well known as to permit correct classification.

First of all, let us look at the rates of participation of Slavic candidates in the various provinces from 1940 to 1960. The results are presented in Table I below.

TABLE I
A COMPARISON OF SLAVIC CANDIDACIES WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPINGS IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

<i>Province and Years examined</i>	<i>Total Candidates</i>	<i>Total OEG</i>	<i>Total Slavs</i>	<i>% Sl./ Tot. Cand.</i>	<i>% Sl./ OEG</i>
B. C.					
1952-1960	614	61	9	1.46	14.7
Alta.					
1940-1959	1,068	238	95	8.8	39.91
Sask.					
1938-1960	995	254	64	6.4	25.19
Manitoba					
1941-1958	691	148	69	9.98	46.62
Ontario					
1943-1959	1,775	163	26	1.46	15.95
Quebec					
1944-1960	1,393	17	3	0.21	17.64
Total N	6,536	881	226	4.06	30.19

⁶ R. Normandin, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, Ottawa, 1938-1960.

An examination of Table I reveals that in the period examined, Slavs accounted for only 4.06 per cent of the 6,536 candidacies⁷ for provincial office. However, the regional variations are rather significant, as one would expect, because of the varied concentrations of Slavs in the Canadian provinces.⁸ For example, Manitoba Slavs accounted for 9.98

TABLE II
NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
BY ETHNIC GROUP FOR CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1961

	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Manitoba</i>	<i>Sask.</i>	<i>Alberta</i>
Poles	1.8	4.8	3.1	3.0
Ukrainian	2.6	11.4	8.5	8.0
Russian	0.7	0.9	2.4	1.3
Other European	3.9	4.4	6.5	5.4

per cent of the total candidacies, Alberta 8.8 per cent, Saskatchewan 6.4 per cent, British Columbia and Ontario 1.46 per cent each, and Quebec, 0.21 per cent. In no province did the Slavic candidacies surpass the proportionate concentration of Slavs in the province.

It was considered useful to compare the contribution of the Slavs with that of all other non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon candidates for the same period. It was found that although non-French, non-Anglo-Saxons as a group constituted 13.47 per cent of the candidacies, the Slavic proportion of this group was 30.19 per cent. Again, Manitoba Slavs far surpassed all other non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups in their contributions. It was found that 46.6 per cent of this "other ethnic" group in Manitoba were Slavs, 39.9 per cent in Alberta, 25.19 per cent in Saskatchewan, 17.6 per cent in Quebec, 15.9 per cent in Ontario, and 14.7 per cent in B. C. It would appear then, that in the prairie provinces at least, the Slavs are an important segment of the candidacies in the provincial general elections, but they form smaller, in fact, insignificant proportions in other provinces.

More important than mere activity as candidates is success in being elected. If one looks at the composition of provincial legislatures since

⁷ The Maritimes and Newfoundland were excluded from the table because there were virtually no Slavs or "other ethnics" during this period. The word "candidacies" is used here because the unit being measured is not an individual who may have run as many as seven or eight times in various elections. He has no reason to believe that Slavs and members of other ethnic groups are more tenacious in running for provincial office than are members of other groups. "OEG" is Other Ethnic Groups, or all non-French, non-Anglo-Saxons.

⁸ See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1941, 1951, 1961, "Population: Ethnic Groups"*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer. Slavs are proportionally heaviest in the Prairie Provinces.

they entered Confederation one finds that only fifty-four individual Slavs (or 1.2 per cent) have been elected to all the provincial legislatures. The non-French, non-Anglo-Saxons as a whole, fared badly, as they represent only 4.36 per cent of the elected individuals. The Slavs elected, have almost equalled their rate of participation as candidates, since they have constituted 27.2 per cent of the non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon members. Nevertheless, the proportions of elected members are very small.

TABLE III
PROVINCIAL ELECTED SLAVS, OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS
COMPARED WITH OTHER MEMBERS

<i>Province</i>	<i>Total Slavs</i>	<i>Total OEG</i>	<i>DK</i>	<i>Total all Members</i>	<i>% Slavs to OEG</i>	<i>% OEG to All Members</i>	<i>Total Number</i>
B. C.	2	19	—	510	10.5	3.7	0.39
Alberta	19	39	—	404	48.7	9.6	4.7
Sask.	14	59	67	422	23.7	13.9	3.3
Man.	16	45	—	547	35.5	8.2	2.9
Ont.							
1914-1964	3	21	—	716	14.2	2.9	0.41
Que.							
1867-1960	0	6	—	918	0.0	0.65	0.0
N. B.	0	5	—	519	0.0	1.9	0.0
N. S.	0	4	—	496	0.0	0.8	0.0
Total	54	198	—	4532	27.2	4.36	1.19

Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were excluded as they have had no members from non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups.

In a paper presented by Professors M. Stein and R. March in the series of Carleton University Centennial lectures, it was postulated that the basis of support for the majority political parties in the three prairie provinces rested with groups which were called "other ethnics", that is, among non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups. If one compares the ratio of Slavs to all other candidacies for the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and if this is broken down by party, one finds the following: Some 7 per cent of all Liberal candidacies were Slavic, 6 per cent of the Social Credit, 9 per cent of the Conservative, and 10 per cent of the CCF. The conclusion is that the Slavs constituted only a small proportion of the total candidacies and they did not appear to favour any political party in particular. In other words, Slavs do not seem to have been discriminated against by any particular party, but rather by all of them.

A better index of the comparative degree of discrimination among the parties is to compare the parties on the basis of their over-all willing-

ness to permit candidacies from all the "other ethnic groups" for the prairie provinces. Here it is seen that both the CCF and Social Credit parties were less discriminatory than the Liberal and Conservative parties. The percentage of candidacies from all other ethnic groups for each party is as follows: Liberals, 19 per cent, Conservatives, 21 per cent, CCF, 24 per cent, Social Credit, 30 per cent.

In recent years all parties have exceeded this long-term average. For example, in the prairie provinces if one compares the proportions of all non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon candidacies by party for selected provincial elections, one notes that the Liberals and Conservatives today are only slightly behind the CCF and Social Credit parties, whereas once they were far behind the two former parties.

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CANDIDATES, BY PARTY,
OF THE PROPORTION OF OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

<i>Party</i>	<i>Manitoba</i>		<i>Saskatchewan</i>		<i>Alberta</i>	
	1936	8.3	1938	20.8	1952	18.1
Conservative	1959	28.0	1960	25.4	1959	26.6
	1936	30.7	1938	32.2	1958	25.4
C.C.F.	1959	37.7	1960	40.0	1959	28.1
	1936	23.5	1938	34.1	1948	20.0
Social Credit	1958	25.0	1960	61.8	1959	29.2
	1936	12.7	1938	15.0	1948	20.4
Liberal	1958	33.3	1960	32.7	1959	33.3 ⁹

It is possible to make a similar comparison of the proportions of Slavs. This can be summarized by saying that the Slavs followed the same evolutionary path trodden by all the non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon groups. That is, the minority ethnic groups at first stood as candidates for parties other than the Liberals and Conservatives, but in the 1950's all parties in the prairie provinces had almost equal proportions of Slavs and other minority ethnic groups. It is not yet known whether the Slavs deliberately chose not to run as candidates for the Liberals and Conservatives, or whether there was outright discrimination by these parties. However, given the persistent competition among ethnic groups, one suspects that latter was the case, at least in the provincial arena.

⁹ The dates selected for Alberta are chosen because the Liberals and Conservatives did not revive from the Depression disaster of the 1930's until the 1950's, to field a respectable number of candidates. Source: *Canadian Parliamentary Guides*. Scandinavians are also excluded from the percentages.

One may ask whether a similar situation has occurred in the federal arena with respect to candidacies for the House of Commons. In this instance attention will be restricted to the years after the second World War, because prior to this period, Slavic candidacies were totally insignificant.

From the federal general election of 1949 to the general election of 1965 inclusive, there were 6,371 candidacies, of which 205 or 3.21 per cent were by Slavs. However, the Slavs constituted 27.3 per cent of the 750 non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon candidates. During this period the number of Slavic candidacies increased slightly. In 1949 they constituted only 1.88 per cent of the candidacies. In 1953 the percentage was 2.66, in 1957, 3.45; 1958, 3.31; 1962, 2.6; 1963, 3.36 and in 1965, 4.54. The sudden rise in numbers results from the tripling of the number of Slavic candidacies in Saskatchewan between 1962 and 1963, when they jumped from three to fourteen. When one examines these figures for the Federal elections one sees that the increase in Slavic candidacies has been extremely slow, and that there is still a great deal of slack. However, if the figures cited above are indicative of trends, then any sharp increase in future elections should not be expected.

It might be asked whether this very small rate of participation by Slavs is due to the fact that Slavs may have been shunned by the more successful political parties, the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives. It may be that the Slavs have found their political outlet through the minor parties. The results of this investigation into this hypothesis at first lend some credence to this suggestion. For example, of the 205 Slavic candidacies, 32.19 per cent were CCF/NDP, 17.56 per cent were Social Credit, 7.31 per cent, Communist of The Labour Progressive Party, 2.43 Independent, whereas only 20.97 per cent were Liberal and 19.5 per cent were Progressive Conservative. This means that 59.4 per cent of the Slavic candidacies were neither Liberal nor Progressive Conservative. Moreover, the non-Liberal and non-Conservative candidacies only represented 42.5 per cent of all candidacies, therefore the number of Slavs was proportionately higher among the minority parties, particularly the CCF and Social Credit, than in the two major parties. As in the provincial candidacies, there was no significant difference between the number of Slavic candidacies for the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties. The Liberals had forty-three and the Progressive Conservatives forty.

No political party in Canada was over-represented with Slavic candidacies. During the entire period from 1949 to 1965, the percentages of Slavic candidacies for each party were.: The Progressive Conservatives, 2.2 per cent; Liberals, 2.32 per cent; Social Credit, 4.1 per cent;

CCF/NDP, 4.8 per cent; Communist 8.92 per cent; Independents and Others, 1.72 per cent. Even less exciting for all non-French, non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada is the fact that as a group they accounted for only 11.77 per cent of all candidacies during this period. This leads to the conclusion that the two founding ethnic groups are still proportionately over-represented among candidacies.

Again, if one examines the percentage of non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon candidacies from 1949 to 1965, it is found that the rate of increase was very slow. For example, these other ethnic groups (the non-French, non-British) accounted for only fifty or 5.88 per cent of all candidacies in 1949; 9.76 percent in 1953; 10.73 per cent in 1957; 13.88 per cent in 1963, and 14.6 per cent in 1965. This represents a three-fold increase in their numbers between 1949 and 1965. The figures lead one to suspect that any further increases will be slow, perhaps 1 per cent an election. At this rate, assuming a federal election every three years, the Slavs and other ethnic groups will be proportionately under-represented among political candidates for many years, since they constitute some 30 per cent of the present population of Canada.

Attention should be given to the over-all success of Slavs as elected members of the Canadian Parliament. Between 1867 and 1963 inclusive, and including all by-elections, 2,731 individuals were elected to the House of Commons. Slavs constituted nineteen or 0.69 per cent of this total. The total of other ethnic groups constituted ninety-seven or 3.5 per cent of the members, while the Slavs accounted for 19.58 per cent of the "other ethnics".

Obviously it is unfair to accept the figures cited above as evidence of lack of interest in participation by Slavs, or evidence of discrimination by the political parties or the electorate. The mechanism of the process of nominating candidates, the electoral prejudices and/or values, are unknown. Moreover, it is unfair to lump the number of Slavs elected with the total of all members elected since 1867 as, manifestly, Slavs could not have been nominated and elected in any numbers during the first half-century of Confederation, since they constituted only a tiny proportion of the total population of Canada. Breaking down the figures into periods, one sees that the number of Slavs elected since 1953¹⁰ is substantially greater than in the first eighty-six years of Confederation. For example, of the nineteen Slavs elected between 1867 and 1963 only

¹⁰ V. J. Kaye has studied the period before 1953 both for provincial and federal legislatures. His studies show that between 1913 and 1953, 44 or 45 members of Ukrainian descent had been elected to provincial legislatures and to the House of Commons. "Political Integration of The Ukrainian Ethnic Group", *Revue de U. Ottawa*, (Vol. 18, 1957), p. 471.

nine were first elected in that eighty-six-year period, whereas ten were first elected in the last decade.

Obviously the Slavs participate in politics much more actively at the provincial level than they do at the federal. It might be argued that in the future one should expect a greater number of Slavs to move into federal politics from the larger reservoir of Slavic members at the provincial level. However, this author's research into the political background of federal members since 1867 reveals that very few federal members today have left provincial politics to enter the federal arena, whereas around the 1880's, over half of all federal MP's had served as members of, or had run for seats in provincial legislatures. In recent decades only 20 per cent have done so. Therefore it may be expected that most Slavs will enter the federal field directly, as an apprenticeship in provincial politics is no longer a prerequisite for federal candidates.

It seems quite clear that in assessing the degree of political mobility of the Slavs in Canada over the course of the last century, several points may be made. First, the extent of the Slavic participation, as indexed by candidature for provincial and federal office, is low in comparison to their numbers in the population. Slavs are not yet equal with the two founding peoples, — the French and British. Nevertheless, participation by Slavs in politics has increased substantially in the last two decades, and is likely to increase slowly in future elections. Much of the participation by Slavs in federal politics has been through the mechanism of minority parties, but even here the Slavs constitute only a small proportion of these parties. It is only at the provincial level in the three prairie provinces that Slavs form an important segment of the legislatures and this is because the CCF and Social Credit parties have been much more ready than the Liberals or Progressive Conservatives to allow Slavs to stand as candidates. However, in recent years the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives resemble the other parties in their "other ethnic" components, so that the Slavs will continue to have representatives in the legislatures regardless of the fortunes of political war.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF UKRAINIANS IN ALBERTA

by
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The induction of an individual or group into the political life of a community or society is referred to as political socialization. It is viewed as a process whereby individuals acquire knowledge (even if very limited) of their political system and those aspects of their environment which are somehow related to politics. Such knowledge may be acquired during adolescence by direct training in the family and school, and through peer-group associations. Political socialization is a continuous, on-going process, and consequently, an adult's political attitudes may be traced to childhood associations and associational activity in adult years, including exposure to mass media. The later experiences may either challenge or reinforce attitudes acquired in childhood.¹

Political socialization studies in the past have been concerned mainly with native populations, that is, people born into and matured in a particular society. The individual has been viewed as developing from birth to adulthood in a stable system. Socialization has been treated as a continuous development and this kind of formulation can be applied to the integration of Canadian-born Ukrainians into the Canadian political culture. On the other hand, an explanation of the socialization phenomenon of adult Ukrainian immigrants to Canada will be adequate only if new conceptual tools are introduced into the existing theoretical framework.

¹ A number of books and articles describing the phenomenon of political socialization are readily available. See: Herbert H. Hyman, *Political Socialization* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959); Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp.323-74; Joseph LaPalombara, "Italy: Fragmentation, Isolation, Alienation," *Political Culture and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 317; and Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," *The Annals*, Vol. 361 (September 1965), pp. 1-9.

The concept of "resocialization" affords such a tool.² As used in this paper, the term refers to the socialization of those adults who have been inducted into a particular political culture, and then, due to displacement or migration to another country, have re-experienced the process in a completely new cultural and environmental setting. As the study of socialization is, in large measure, the study of attitude formation, a theory must account for those kinds of experiences that have an effect on attitudes. One such experience, rather common to certain Ukrainian immigrant sub-groups, is trauma, which, as Herbert Hyman contends, suggests *abrupt* attitude formation at some point in time.³ The traumatic experiences which must be taken into consideration may have occurred prior to, during, or after migration.

In their joint work, *The Civic Culture*, Almond and Verba describe the political culture of a nation as the particular distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members of the nation.⁴ They then classify political cultures into three types; parochial, subject, and participant. In societies having parochial political cultures there are no specialized political roles. Members within these societies do not differentiate between specifically social, religious, and political orientations. A parochial orientation implies a relative absence of expectations of change initiated by the political system.⁵ In the subject political culture the citizen differentiates between political and non-political roles, exhibits an awareness of government, has affective orientation to it, but does not participate in the making of policy and does not exhibit any appreciable degree of political competence.⁶ The member of the participant political culture has orientations to both political and administrative structures and processes. He tends toward an activist role in the system and feels politically competent.⁷ Understood in this way, the term political culture becomes a useful conceptual tool for the analysis of the resocialization process of Ukrainian immigrant groups. It enhances the understanding of former and later cultures and facilitates the choice of relevant variables.

This does not imply that trauma and former political culture are the only important factors to consider in Ukrainian immigrant socialization. Such things as occupations, and the environment of the various

² Dwaine Marvick introduces the term "resocialization". See his article "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," *The Annals*, Vol. 361 (September 1965), p. 113.

³ Hyman, pp. 51-52.

⁴ Almond and Verba, pp. 3-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

groups must also be given due consideration. Of utmost importance is the manner in which these people have viewed political objects. One should examine their past culture, and specifically the political cultures, as well as their earlier experiences to appreciate their cognitive, affective and evaluational orientations.

It is analytically useful to divide the Ukrainians in Alberta into four sub-groups. Distinctions among three of these are based primarily on the time of their arrival in this country and their former political culture. The fourth sub-group, which could be further subdivided for a more complete analysis, includes all those born in Canada and those who entered this country as young children. It is the hypothesis of this paper that there is a strong relationship between the nature and degree of Ukrainian immigrant socialization into the Canadian political culture and the type of political culture from which they came.

There have been three distinct phases of Ukrainian migration to Canada.⁸ The first and pioneering phase began in the early 1890's with the arrival of a small group of peasants. The flow increased in subsequent years and reached a peak shortly before the outbreak of World War I. It was almost exclusively a movement of peasants directed toward the settling of farm lands on the prairies.

The second phase of immigration started shortly after the World War I and lasted until 1929 when the depression interrupted the flow. Many Ukrainians of this group relate how very anxious they were to return to their homeland but were prevented from doing so by lack of financial resources. Whereas the first group was composed almost exclusively of peasants, many of them illiterate or with only elementary education, the second group contained a mixture of rural and urban people with greater proportion of persons who had had secondary or university education.

The third phase started soon after the Second World War and consisted of thousands of displaced persons. The post-World War II flow lasted until 1952. This group contained a much higher percentage of well-educated people than the first two. Among them were various professionals including engineers, doctors, artists and university professors.

The first group of Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada came from a society and culture where the peasant was alienated from politics, not by choice, but by custom and tradition. The peasant did not

⁸ Dr. V. J. Kaye gives a detailed account of the three phases of Ukrainian immigration and cites the place of origin of each; see his "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration," *Slavs in Canada*, I, (1966), pp. 36-43.

seem to distinguish between political and economic roles. His whole life, and indeed, the life of his community, was involved in a particular and traditional way of doing things and with eking out a subsistence from the overworked land. In *The Uprooted*, Oscar Handlin points out how the peasant tenaciously clung to tested and proven norms, for change or experimentation might easily disrupt the fine balance upon which life itself depended. The church, being the most traditional institution was looked to for guidance. Politics were not as yet differentiated.⁹

The political culture of the Ukrainian peasant society approached what Almond and Verba describe as parochial. The individual had few if any orientations toward his nation, the state, or the government. He did not distinguish between various procedures involved in making political decisions. Furthermore, he did not see how these could affect him personally, and normally he did not expect anything from the government. His usual participation in government was in paying taxes and this was not voluntary. Upon arrival in Canada these early Ukrainian peasants settled in the rural areas where homesteads were available on terms they could meet. All they wanted was a plot of land they could call their own and which would also be the best security they could imagine.

The Canadian prairies presented numerous obstacles to the peasant's dreams. The language was incomprehensible, the culture was totally alien, and the old ways of doing things were less than adequate. The peasant's hope was to receive a plot of land where he could have neighbours speaking the same language and thus a sort of barrier could be erected against the outside world.

Although the first Ukrainian immigrants formed distinct communities in the prairie provinces, which permitted them to communicate in their own language, their hopes and dreams were far from fulfilled. The experience of facing a hard cold winter without food and shelter had long-term effects on most of the group. They determined that their children would not have to experience the same hardships. One particular pioneer relates how they all planned to work hard to satisfy their material needs and save toward the future. This would be the measure of their success.¹⁰ They soon realized that land alone could not satisfy their needs. Schools, post offices, roads, railways and grain elevators were as necessary to them as the land itself. The Ukrainian communities built their own churches soon after arrival but they could not satisfy their other needs without assistance. Handlin expresses it this way:

⁹ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston; Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p. 109 and pp. 117-143.

¹⁰ Interview with a Ukrainian immigrant who arrived in Alberta with his parents in 1899 and settled on a farm north of Vegreville.

To many pursuits of the New World the immigrant was strange upon arrival; to politics he was strangest of all. His European experience had included no participation in government; every question related to these matters would be new to him.¹¹

During their infrequent trips to the nearest towns for supplies, the immigrants learned that the government had built roads, schools and bridges in other communities. They took this as a cue and approached the provincial government for aid. For many this was the first direct and conscious participation in politics. Furthermore, they began to rely upon it as the only solution to many of their problems. Because their problems were related to everyday life, they became oriented only to the local or provincial government.

Many Ukrainian immigrant farmers took employment on various construction projects, particularly the railroads, to augment their incomes. This provided an opportunity to communicate with other people and get new ideas. Some even learned to speak English well, and this was later to be quite rewarding. When municipalities were incorporated, and schools and post offices built, Ukrainians were often employed as municipal clerks, postal workers and even teachers. These people had a minimal education, but because of the lack of more highly trained personnel they were needed to fill the newly created positions. Ukrainians often became postal and municipal clerks in communities with a predominantly Ukrainian population, and served as interpreters. These particular individuals soon became the leaders of the immigrant communities. They travelled more extensively than the peasant farmers and their knowledge of the Canadian way of life rapidly increased.

In 1905 the Ukrainian immigrants began to take an active role in politics. Previously they were conscious of governmental output but they were now gaining an awareness of input as well. It seems that their first input participation was almost completely on a group basis. The group decided to support the existing government and voted as a bloc.

The earlier success with political action helped the immigrants to view politics not only as an avenue of advancement but also as a desirable career. Mildred Schwartz suggests that a small measure of success acts as an additional incentive and greatly encourages a group to participate in politics.¹² In 1915, for the first time, the Ukrainians successfully ran their own candidate in Vegreville, Alberta. It was not until political parties began to compete actively for the Ukrainian vote that

¹¹ Handlin, p. 201.

¹² Mildred A. Schwartz, "Political Behaviour and Ethnic Origin," *Papers on the 1962 Election*, ed. John Meisel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 263.

these people started to view politics with an issue, rather than candidate, orientation. Significant political party competition began shortly after World War I.

The war had a significant socializing effect upon the Ukrainian group. Not only was the group concerned about its status in Canada, but individuals also showed concern for close relatives in the old country. Generally the group began to acquire an awareness of the national government and the role it played in Canadian life. The first Ukrainian to contest a federal seat was defeated in 1922, but in 1926, a Ukrainian Member of Parliament was elected.

Federal jurisdiction over immigration helped the new immigrant gain an awareness of the national government. Many settlers had left families behind with the hope of sending for them later. At first these people only worried about any change in policy that might adversely affect them. However, they later began consulting with Members of Parliament to influence either general policy or a particular decision to let more Ukrainians into Canada.

Many of the old people recall how they were discriminated against in the old country by the landlords and even by the law. This had a long term effect upon them and they tried to implant the idea in their children that they must be prepared for discrimination here in Canada.¹³ Every action for or against the Ukrainians, they said, should be measured by discrimination. If anyone did anything politically relevant for the group, it was to be viewed either as a bribe for votes or as support of proposed legislation. They did not seem to realize that politics was a method of peacefully reconciling conflicts and not a game where the cards were stacked against them.

The important factors contributing to the political socialization of the first Ukrainian immigrants can be summarized as follows. Their desire to achieve material success, economic security, and education for their children forced them to seek governmental assistance. This assistance came from local governments and the group participated in local politics in so far as this was related to everyday life. With increased political sophistication of the group, the issues which the candidate represented became more important than his ethnicity. The orientation of the Ukrainians was mainly towards the provincial government until the war. Later the welfare of their relatives in the old country directed their attention to, and developed an awareness of, the

¹³ The author interviewed, at length, seven retired farmers, all over seventy years of age. Each one expressed a similar attitude with respect to discrimination.

national government. Their fear of discrimination induced them to view all politics with continued caution and apprehension.

The second group of Ukrainians to arrive in Canada may be described as having a subject political culture. It should be noted that many of these people did not intend to make Canada their permanent home. They came with the intention of earning sufficient money to comfortably re-establish themselves in the old country. Because of their various experiences in independence movements, a short period of self-government, and the gradual democratization of their homeland, these people had learned to distinguish between political and non-political issues. They had acquired an awareness of government and law, and had learned to accept both. They had, however, little input awareness, and voting, especially for the less educated, was unknown. Participation in politics was something quite unfamiliar to most.

Upon arrival in Canada about half of this second group settled on farms and the rest took employment in the cities. The farmers homesteaded in predominantly Ukrainian districts and acquired knowledge of the new political environment mainly through contact with their neighbours and the established cultural, religious, and social organizations. The pattern of socialization into the Canadian political culture for this group was in large measure similar to that of the earlier group, but it was both facilitated and accelerated by the leadership of the earlier immigrants.

There were two traumatic experiences that affected both groups. These were the depression of 1929 and the great prairie drought which followed. These people still refer to both catastrophes as one event and do not distinguish between them. The great depression was seen as the cause of many farms being lost to cover the tax debts and mortgage foreclosures. Many Ukrainians, and particularly the second-phase immigrants, were especially vulnerable because of insufficient capital. They were forced to look for work and in their travels learned of the various progressive movements which demanded political action to ameliorate the economic plight of the farmers. The Ukrainians also learned that only the national government could initiate the necessary reform for the survival of the marginal farmer. Consequently they joined existing political movements and sent delegations representing Ukrainian communities to Ottawa. This was the initial experience with the input side of politics for most of the second-phase immigrants.

The Ukrainians felt they had a special grievance when they detected what they thought was discrimination in the distribution of relief parcels. One retired farmer, told how his neighbours received monthly relief packages but he did not because, as he claimed, he was discriminated

against. This was not an unusual complaint among Ukrainians of this period. The Ukrainian communities sent delegations to both provincial and federal capitals to have this practice rectified. The important point is that this activity increased immigrant awareness of, and participation in, both levels of government.

The fate of those Ukrainians who remained in the cities was even worse and had different socializing effects on them. When the depression came, they were among the first to lose their jobs and like most others they went to see the mayor, the M.L.A., and the M.P. Results were not readily forthcoming. Disenchantment with Canada was the most common sentiment among this group. The normal political channels were seen as inadequate to rectify the situation and many tried unsuccessfully to return to the old country. Three trends seem to have developed: (1) Part of this group attempted to improve conditions by working through the normal political channels; (2) A larger portion of the second-phase immigrants became totally alienated from politics. One member of this group described his feelings in this way: "Why should I become involved with politics? It's a game. When I don't need anything, they (the politicians) promise me everything. When I needed it most, during the depression, they wouldn't listen."¹⁴ (3) A small number of the second group joined the Communist party. It should be noted that a portion of the first-phase Ukrainian immigrants also joined the Communist party at that time.

The post-World War II immigrant group was highly political in outlook because of its experience with political parties and independence movements. These people were relatively well educated and perceived government as a means to achieve at least some of their goals. Of all Ukrainian immigrant groups, they had the highest degree of national consciousness on arrival in Canada. The most appropriate term to describe their political culture would be participant. In Canada they settled in urban centres where they could find work suited to their skills.

One of the first politically relevant actions by these people was to join the cultural and social Ukrainian organizations. They sought an increased commitment by Ukrainians in Canada to the idea of liberation for the Ukraine. The group's avowed purpose was to develop favourable public opinion, and to pressure the national government for action towards gaining independence for the mother country. It was also concerned with the socialization of youth into the Ukrainian community. This group was not particularly concerned with local politics because it was secure in its employment; living conditions were satisfactory, and

¹⁴ Interview with a labourer who, as a young man, arrived in Alberta in 1925.

schools were available for the children's education. Anti-Communist propaganda and propaganda for a free Ukraine were among the group's chief, if not exclusive, activities. Success appeared near at hand when in 1959 Prime Minister Diefenbaker at the United Nations criticized Soviet "colonial" policy and made a plea for Ukrainian independence.

After 1959 the latest Ukrainian immigrants supported Diefenbaker and it is safe to say that his pro-Ukraine, anti-Communist stand was the decisive factor in winning their allegiance. Neither of the earlier Ukrainian groups displayed such allegiance to Diefenbaker. Mildred Schwartz's study on ethnic voting behaviour indicates a similar conclusion.¹⁵ While the first group formed religious organizations and turned to local political activity, the third group used the existing ethnic organizations for nationalistic purposes. As Robert Lane states, ". . . these organizations brought people together, but in these instances (for the third group of Ukrainians) the focus of interest was political though foreign. For the most part, the initial orientation was to look homeward to the old country, not toward the local issues of jobs, street-paving, and protection from the police."¹⁶ By extension of this involvement, these people became interested in politics of a local nature and gained experience in the democratic method of Canadian political society.

There were both domestic and foreign policy questions which had a direct effect upon this third group. One local issue which increased the level of political participation was the matter of teaching the Ukrainian language in universities and public schools. This issue drew these people into direct contact with the political and governmental process and inspired many of them to seek positions of influence with respect to this question. This had the effect of accelerating their political socialization.

Most of the Canadian-born Ukrainians have been socialized into the Canadian political system following what would appear to be the normal pattern for all Canadians. Those in the cities have had an opportunity to interact with other groups and they have been exposed to new and different ideas in the schools and at work. It is in this group that the use of the Ukrainian language has greatly diminished and marriages with persons from outside the group are frequent.¹⁷

Membership in a minority group has had serious consequences for

¹⁵ Schwartz, p. 263.

¹⁶ Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 247.

¹⁷ Interview with a Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish priest in Edmonton. He informed the author that his perusals of marriage registers in both urban and rural parishes indicated that urban Ukrainians have been more prone to marry outside the group than their rural counterparts.

the socialization of some of the children. The children of the Communist parents appear to be alienated from politics and have deviated from their parental party affiliation.¹⁸ Undoubtedly these individuals experienced cross pressures in childhood when their parents' political attitudes were contrary to the anti-Communist sentiment of the country as a whole. A former politician who frequently campaigned in their districts has stated that most of these people are totally alienated from all politics and have negative attitudes toward government in general. Upward social mobility may also have been instrumental in causing them to reject their family political affiliation. Ukrainian Communists have generally held low-paying jobs and have had little hope of improving their economic status.

Those children who were raised on farms in Ukrainian communities have generally retained the use of the Ukrainian language and have maintained strong ties with their cultural heritage. They exhibit sentiments similar to their parents; as for example, criticism of other groups as being discriminatory. Consequently they tend to stay close together and maintain strong social ties with the group. They have followed the broader socialization pattern of adopting their parents' political affiliations, and are oriented toward that area of politics which is most clearly related to them, such as jobs, taxes, roads, etc.

An example of the distinctions between the latest immigrant group and second and third generation Ukrainians is found in the controversy over the use of particular languages within the churches. In the Ukrainian Catholic Church there has been a debate over the use of English in sermons and the liturgy. Until recently Old Slavonic was the liturgical language of the Church. In the proposed changes the priests of the old Ukrainian stock, those born in Canada, generally favoured the new trend towards English. Priests who came to Canada since World War II were generally opposed to the former position and urged the adoption of the Ukrainian vernacular in church services.

The same debate exists within the Ukrainian Orthodox Church where the vernacular has been in use for many years. The priests of Canadian stock are pressing for the use of English whereas the new Ukrainians resist the change. Some Ukrainian Catholics of the third immigrant group express the attitude that they were born Ukrainians, not Catholics, and threaten to join the Orthodox Church should the use of the Ukrainian language in the Catholic Church be abandoned.

¹⁸ Interviews with six industrial workers, whose fathers were members of the Communist Party during the 1930's, revealed that none of them had even voted in an election other than in their union.

Earlier in this paper the hypothesis was introduced that there is a relationship between one's former political culture and the nature and degree of an immigrant's political socialization in Canada. The first two immigrant groups who came from parochial and subject political cultures became oriented first to local and then to federal politics. Their socialization was gradual except for traumatic interruptions during the depression and the drought. They viewed politics and government as a means to assist them in making Canada their home. They developed an awareness, first of governmental output, and then of an input in which they exhibited a fairly high degree of participation, initially on a group basis and then as individuals. The last group of immigrants came to Canada highly experienced politically. However, they were oriented quite extensively towards nationalism and accepted politics as a means to protect their national identity. Their orientation was at first directed toward the federal government and only later did they become identified with local issues and interests.

L'IMMIGRATION ET LE PEUPEMENT DU CANADA

par
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Les immigrants, enjeu de la lutte entre les deux collectivités fondatrices du Canada

Depuis sa fondation au XVII^e siècle — le Centenaire de la Confédération de 1867 ne doit pas nous faire oublier que notre pays a existé bien avant l'entrée en vigueur de l'Act de l'Amérique du Nord britannique —, le Canada a compté sur l'immigration pour assurer son peuplement et sa mise en valeur. Dans un langage typiquement administratif, *l'Annuaire du Canada 1966* décrit ainsi cette politique : "Le Canada a toujours cherché à accroître sa population au moyen de l'immigration, en vue d'élargir son marché domestique, de réduire ses frais d'administration par habitant, de stimuler son activité économique par un nouvel apport de talents, d'idées et d'enthousiasme, et de maintenir à un niveau plus élevé son indépendance culturelle et sa puissance créatrice." Des débuts du XVII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours, les territoires qui forment le Canada contemporain ont accueilli quelque 9,000,000 d'immigrants.

A l'époque de la colonisation française, l'immigrant qui s'établissait dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent avait la réaction spontanée de tout individu isolé qui vient faire carrière au sein d'une société culturellement homogène et unitaire. Il ne demandait qu'à s'intégrer le plus tôt possible à la collectivité franco-canadienne qui avait fondé et peuplé le pays qu'il avait librement choisi comme nouvelle patrie. C'est ainsi que des soldats allemands, polonais, italiens, irlandais et écossais de régiments français venus en Nouvelle-France et des ouvriers et artisans étrangers, engagés pour certains travaux spécialisés, sont devenus, après avoir décidé de demeurer en Amérique française, les fondateurs de nombreuses familles franco-québécoises. La plupart d'entre elles ont francisé leur nom patronymique et elles ont toutes oublié que leur ancêtre n'était pas Français ou Canadien-français.

Après la capitulation de Montréal (1760) et le traité de Paris (1763), la vallée du Saint-Laurent reçut des étrangers qui n'étaient pas

des immigrants comme les autres. Le premier groupe se composait de militaires et de fonctionnaires britanniques chargés d'administrer un territoire conquis après une lutte continentale qui avait duré soixante-dix ans. Ces conquérants avaient une psychologie bien différente de celle des immigrants. Ils n'étaient pas installés au Canada avec l'intention d'y faire leur vie en s'assimilant à la population francophone. Néanmoins, plusieurs d'entre eux épousèrent des Canadiennes et apprirent la langue française ou perfectionnèrent la connaissance qu'ils en possédaient déjà. Quelques-uns se convertirent même au catholicisme. Si la population anglophone de la colonie s'était limitée au petit groupe d'administrateurs envoyés par la métropole et si les Franco-Canadiens avaient occupé la majeure partie du territoire, les conquérants et leurs descendants se seraient graduellement assimilés aux anciens conquis. L'histoire l'Angleterre, où les Anglo-Saxons assimilèrent finalement leurs conquérants normands, se serait répétée sur les rives du Saint-Laurent.

L'évolution de la conquête britannique au Canada fut différente de celle de la conquête normande en Angleterre. Le Canada était une terre de colonisation et de peuplement. C'était d'ailleurs dans le but de mettre en valeur ce demi-continent ouvert à leur expansionnisme que les Anglo-Américains, plus nombreux que les Franco-Canadiens, avaient fait la guerre à ceux-ci pour finalement les vaincre. Quelques dirigeants de l'Empire britannique, appuyés par les groupes les plus dynamiques et les plus ambitieux de la métropole et des colonies anglaises de l'Amérique du Nord, rêvaient de fonder une quinzième colonie, peuplée de loyaux sujets britanniques anglophones et protestants, dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent. Les défenseurs de ce programme audacieux de colonisation partageaient de l'hypothèse que les Franco-Canadiens seraient submergés en moins de deux générations par des milliers d'immigrants britanniques auxquels ils se seraient finalement intégrés. Dans les colonies de New York et du New Jersey, les colons anglais n'avaient-ils pas assimilé les Hollandais et les Suédois qui avaient d'abord habité ces territoires et y avaient formé des collectivités distinctes, disparues en moins de cent ans?

Les hommes proposent mais l'histoire obéit à certains événements et déterminismes qui échappent au contrôle de la volonté humaine. De 1760 à 1776, moins de 2,000 Britanniques s'établirent dans la *Province of Quebec* — c'est ainsi que Londres avait nommé sa quinzième colonie de l'Amérique du Nord. Les masses d'immigrants que Benjamin Franklin et les partisans de l'expansionnisme britannique avaient espéré attirer dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent ne vinrent pas. Leurs calculs s'avérèrent beaucoup trop optimistes. Prenant leurs désirs pour la réalité, ils n'avaient pas tenu compte du fait que la vallée laurentienne ne pouvait pas, au

XVIII^e siècle, faire vivre une population nombreuse. La rigueur de son climat, son éloignement des grandes voies maritimes, la pauvreté de son sol arable et le nombre limité de ses ressources naturelles facilement exploitables avaient empêché l'immigration d'un plus grand nombre de colons français et placé l'Empire de Louis XIV et de Louis XV dans une position extrêmement précaire en Amérique du Nord. Les mêmes facteurs limitèrent les progrès de la colonisation britannique entre 1763 et 1815.

Les quelques centaines de colons britanniques qui s'installèrent sur des terres à l'intérieur des seigneuries s'assimilèrent facilement aux Canadiens. Des milliers de familles québécoises portent aujourd'hui des noms patronymiques authentiquement britanniques mais leurs membres sont francophones et se rattachent à la collectivité canadienne-française. Dans les villes de Québec et de Montréal, aux Trois-Rivières et à Sorel, que les conquérants avaient rebaptisé William Henry, dans quelques postes de garnison et de douanes, des groupes britanniques distincts se formèrent dès les quinze premières années qui suivirent la capitulation de Montréal. Leurs porte-parole parlaient au nom d'une population qui, même si elle constituait moins de 4% des habitants de la *Province of Quebec*, ne manquait pas de moyens de pression auprès des autorités gouvernementales. En effet, les hommes d'affaires britanniques de la colonie, grâce à leurs liens avec l'Empire et bénéficiant d'appuis officiels, avaient réussi à prendre le contrôle de l'économie laurentienne. Soutenant qu'ils habitaient une colonie britannique et conscients de leur force, ils réclamèrent, dès 1764, l'introduction immédiate des lois et des institutions de leur mère patrie. La présence de quelque 65,000 habitants francophones et catholiques ayant le sentiment très net de leur identité distincte et capables, dans une certaine mesure, de faire valoir leur point de vue comme collectivité, le petit nombre des immigrants britanniques et le soulèvement imprévu des colonies anglo-américaines forcèrent Londres et ses représentants au Québec à pratiquer une politique de rapprochement avec les conquis. Il n'était plus question de les angliciser et de les protestantiser pour la simple et bonne raison que l'assimilation se révélait impossible — pour le moment du moins.

L'Acte de Québec (1774) rencontra les principales demandes des dirigeants de la collectivité franco-canadienne. Quant aux chefs de la minorité anglo-protestante, ils maugrèrent en vain contre une législation impériale qui les privait, soutenaient-ils non sans raison, de leurs droits de sujets britanniques. En fait, ils lui reprochaient surtout de mettre fin à leurs ambitions politiques. N'avaient-ils pas espéré dominer l'Assemblée législative dont ils avaient réclamé la convocation? Seuls auraient été éligibles comme députés, selon leur interprétation rigide de la cou-

tume suivie en Grande-Bretagne, des candidats protestants. Les gouverneurs de la colonie, appuyés par la métropole, n'avaient pas voulu autoriser l'élection d'une Assemblée où les représentants des Canadiens, si ceux-ci avaient eu le droit de vote et d'éligibilité, auraient naturellement formé la majorité des membres élus. Les conquérants n'ont pas l'habitude de se laisser gouverner par ceux qu'ils ont conquis. D'autre part, les administrateurs coloniaux et métropolitains avaient jugé qu'il aurait été indécent de remettre tout le pouvoir législatif entre les mains de l'infime minorité anglo-protestante, si celle-ci avait obtenue seule le droit de présenter des candidats aux élections.

Des immigrants britanniques continuèrent à venir dans la *Province of Quebec*. Quelque 8,000 Loyalistes que la Révolution avait chassés des colonies anglo-américaines cherchèrent asile dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent. Le gouvernement les établit à la périphérie des anciennes seigneuries. S'ils avaient obtenu des terres dans les régions déjà peuplées, il est permis de supposer que la plupart d'entre eux se seraient assimilés à la population majoritaire franco-catholique. Cependant, ils ne voulaient pas vivre dans les seigneuries et le gouvernement n'avait pas l'intention de les y forcer. Le retour à la paix, l'indépendance des Etats-Unis étant reconnue par leur ancienne métropole, et la venue des Loyalistes encouragèrent les dirigeants de la minorité britannique à reprendre leur campagne contre l'Acte de Québec et à réclamer une réforme constitutionnelle.

Des difficultés économiques, le désordre qui dominait dans l'administration de la justice et le manque d'imagination des administrateurs coloniaux semblaient donner raison aux adversaires de l'Acte de Québec. Plusieurs Canadiens influents, qui n'étaient pas alliés aux anciens porte-parole de leurs compatriotes pour lesquels ils avaient peu d'admiration, se joignirent aux chefs de la minorité britannique pour demander l'adoption d'une constitution qui mettrait fin au pouvoir autocratique d'un gouverneur assisté d'un Conseil dont les membres, en général, lui étaient entièrement dévoués. Mieux renseignés sur le mécanisme des institutions britanniques, ces nouveaux interprètes de la collectivité franco-canadienne se montraient favorables à l'introduction d'un pouvoir législatif électif. Tous les partisans de la réforme constitutionnelle, d'origine canadienne ou britannique, s'entendaient pour reconnaître qu'il n'y aurait aucune discrimination dans l'octroi du droit de vote et d'éligibilité.

Londres se rendit, en 1791, aux vœux des Comités de Citoyens qu'avaient organisés les Canadiens et les Britanniques qui avaient demandé le rappel de l'Acte de Québec. Les dirigeants de la minorité anglo-protestante eurent, cependant, une bien désagréable surprise. La *Province of Quebec* avait groupé en une seule colonie toute la vallée du Saint-Laurent. Les membres britanniques des Comités de Citoyens, qui

formaient l'*English Party*, avaient naturellement supposé qu'il en demeurerait ainsi. Or l'Act constitutionnel, conséquence d'une information insuffisante chez les membres du cabinet impérial et d'une mauvaise évaluation de la conjoncture dans la colonie, donnait au roi le pouvoir de diviser la colonie laurentienne en deux nouvelles provinces : celle du Haut-Canada, devenue depuis l'Ontario, et celle du Bas-Canada, appelée aujourd'hui la Province de Québec ou l'Etat du Québec.

Adam Lymburner, représentant à Londres les intérêts de la minorité britannique de la colonie, tenta désespérément mais sans succès de prévenir le démembrement de la *Province of Quebec*. Celui-ci réduisait à néant les espoirs des chefs de la population anglo-protestante de Montréal, de Québec, des Trois-Rivières, de William Henry, des Cantons de l'Est et de Gaspé. En effet, en proposant une Assemblée législative élue par tous les habitants, ils avaient délibérément pris le risque d'y voir siéger une majorité de députés canadiens. Ils avaient la conviction que cette situation ne serait que temporaire car ils prévoyaient que l'immigration modifierait graduellement à leur avantage l'équilibre démographique. En attendant le renversement électoral qui s'ensuivrait, ils se flattaient de pouvoir diviser la députation canadienne et d'exercer ainsi le leadership au sein de l'Assemblée. Les châteaux en Espagne, qu'ils avaient péniblement et patiemment édifiés, s'écroulaient devant leurs yeux horrifiés! Leur réaction de stupeur et de mécontentement convainquit les dirigeants canadiens, qui s'étaient accidentellement associés à eux, que la décision de diviser la colonie servirait les intérêts de la collectivité franco-catholique. Une fois de plus, l'*English Party* jugea que Londres l'avait abandonné. L'historien Lower, rappelant ces événements, a écrit que la minorité britannique du Bas-Canada, qui avait été placée dans une poêle à frire depuis l'adoption de l'Acte de Québec, venait d'être brutalement précipitée dans le feu lui-même.

Dès les premières séances de l'Assemblée législative du Bas-Canada, élue en 1792, le conflit éclata ouvertement entre les deux collectivités qui habitaient la colonie. Les députés anglophones proposèrent le choix de l'un des leurs à la présidence de la Chambre et soutinrent que seule la langue anglaise pouvait être officielle dans un parlement britannique. Les représentants des électeurs canadiens répondirent qu'il n'appartenait pas à la minorité d'imposer sa langue à une population qui habitait le pays depuis plus de cent soixante-quenze ans et de décider seule qui serait élu président de l'Assemblée. De 1792 à 1837, la lutte entre les Canadiens et leurs co-sujets d'outre-mer — c'était ainsi que les premiers habitants de la vallée du Saint-Laurent appelaient les nouveaux concitoyens que le sort des armes leur avait donné — ne cessa de s'envenimer. Comme il fallait s'y attendre, une épreuve de force devint inévitable.

L'explication armée fut naturellement à l'avantage de la minorité anglophone qui bénéficiait de l'appui du gouvernement et de l'armée. Au XIXe siècle, les majorités électorales n'avaient pas toujours gain de cause lorsqu'elles s'opposaient à un gouvernement arbitraire. A l'époque victorienne, la politique de la canonière servait régulièrement à légitimer et à faire triompher toutes les causes, surtout les mauvaises.

Parmi les facteurs qui avaient nourri le mécontentement des Canadiens entre 1818 et 1837, celui de l'immigration occupa une place très importante. Les chefs de la minorité britannique du Bas-Canada savaient que l'avenir de celle-ci dépendait d'une politique de peuplement. Le programme expansionniste de Benjamin Franklin et de tous les colonisateurs anglo-américains, qui avaient ambitionné de fonder un grand royaume britannique dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, demeurait toujours valable. Il fallait, à tout prix, mettre en minorité la population franco-catholique. En histoire, c'est d'abord le nombre qui compte : premièrement, le nombre, deuxièmement, le nombre et troisièmement, encore le nombre. Ensuite, il est possible d'aborder d'autres questions. En 1788, James Monk, procureur général et membre influent de la minorité britannique, avait déclaré qu'il ne fallait jamais confier le pouvoir législatif à un corps représentant le peuple aussi longtemps que les habitants anglophones et protestants de la colonie ne constitueraient pas la majorité des électeurs. Londres n'avait pas suivi ce sage conseil et, quelque années plus tard, l'expansion même de la colonisation britannique en Amérique du Nord était menacée parce que les descendants des conquis de 1760 avaient obtenu, grâce au régime représentatif, des institutions politiques qui, sans remettre entre leurs mains le pouvoir exécutif, leur donnaient les moyens de paralyser partiellement celui-ci et de manifester leur vouloir-vivre comme collectivité distincte dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent. Le gouvernement et les dirigeants de la minorité britannique avaient conclu qu'il fallait donc peupler au plus tôt la colonie de bons et loyaux sujets de Sa Majesté, venus de la mère patrie.

La fin des guerres de la Révolution française et de l'Empire napoléonien et les difficultés économiques de la Grande-Bretagne favorisèrent, après 1817, l'immigration massive des habitants des îles britanniques vers l'Amérique du Nord. La majorité se dirigea vers les Etats-Unis mais, néanmoins, des milliers d'immigrants débarquèrent chaque année au port Québec. Leur nombre varia entre 8,000 et 50,000 annuellement durant la période 1822-1837. Les Canadiens n'assistèrent pas indifférents à ce mouvement migratoire. Ils y virent tout naturellement une menace à leur survivance comme collectivité distincte. Leurs chefs politiques, qui dominaient l'Assemblée législative, proclamèrent que le Bas-Canada était la patrie de la "nation canadienne" et que les terres encore incultes

devaient être mises en réserve au bénéfice de la majorité qui en aurait un jour besoin pour y établir ses descendants. L'Assemblée eut recours à toutes les mesures en son pouvoir et à toutes celles que lui suggérait son imagination pour décourager les immigrants qui songeaient à s'établir dans le Bas-Canada. Ceux-ci étaient prévenus que les terres qu'on leur offrait avaient été concédés à des compagnies de colonisation formées de spéculateurs protégé par le gouvernement — ce qui n'était pas faux — et que ces concessions arbitraires n'étaient pas approuvées par la Législature du Bas-Canada. Celle-ci se reconnaissait l'autorité de contester le droit de propriété des immigrants qui cultiveraient ces terres. Ainsi prévenus et craignant de se faire un jour confisquer leurs propriétés, la plupart des immigrants jugèrent plus prudent de se diriger vers le Haut-Canada. C'était exactement ce que souhaitaient les dirigeants du parti canadien que leurs électeurs appuyaient avec enthousiasme. De plus Papineau et ses lieutenants ne cessaient de rappeler aux membres de la minorité britannique de la colonie qu'ils devaient mettre fin à toute distinction de race et s'intégrer à la majorité canadienne. S'ils ne voulaient pas devenir Canadiens, ils étaient invités à émigrer.

Est-il nécessaire de préciser que les Britanniques du Bas-Canada, ceux de 1837 tout comme leurs prédécesseurs de 1764, demeuraient décidés à faire échouer le programme des porte-parole de la collectivité canadienne-française ? La révolte armée de 1837-1838, mouvement légitime mais irréfléchi exprimant la colère d'un peuple que l'*English Party*, associé aux bureaucrates, avait systématiquement provoqué, fournit aux autorités impériales et à l'oligarchie coloniale l'occasion de mater des chefs politiques et une population qui avaient eu le tort d'oublier que, même s'ils formaient la majorité, ils devaient se soumettre au leadership des héritiers et descendants des conquérants de 1760. Lord Durham, chargé d'enquêter sur les événements, comprit que ceux-ci résultaient du fait que "deux nations [étaient] en guerre au sein d'un même Etat". Une seule politique pouvait apporter une solution globale et finale à ce problème : l'assimilation intégrale de la nation canadienne-française dont la présence mettait en danger l'expansion de l'Empire britannique en Amérique du Nord. Il préconisa donc l'union du Haut et du Bas-Canada, que réclamait depuis plusieurs années l'*English Party*, et une politique audacieuse de peuplement sur le territoire habité par les Canadiens. Ces conditions étant remplies, une *British American Nation* puissante et culturellement homogène deviendrait une réalité au nord de la république américaine.

Les deux colonies de la vallée du Saint-Laurent formèrent le Canada-Uni. Les auteurs de la nouvelle constitution (1840) commirent l'erreur d'établir un système électoral qui ne respectait pas le principe

de la représentation selon la population en accordant un nombre égal de députés aux deux régions bien que le Bas-Canada eut 650,000 âmes tandis que Haut-Canada n'en comptait que 450,000. Cette décision arbitraire avait pour but d'empêcher l'élection d'une majorité de représentants canadiens français à l'Assemblée législative du Canada-Uni. Les auteurs de cette constitution auraient dû se rappeler que parmi la population du Bas-Canada il y avait plus de 200,000 Britanniques. Il aurait été beaucoup plus habile de s'en tenir au principe de la représentation proportionnelle même au risque — très improbable d'ailleurs — d'avoir une faible majorité de députés canadiens-français dans le premier parlement. Les progrès rapides du peuplement dans le Haut-Canada depuis 1820 autorisaient tous les espoirs. Lorsque le recensement de 1851-1852 révéla que le Bas-Canada avait perdu sa supériorité numérique, l'injustice de 1840 se retourna contre les *British Americans* et devint un puissant instrument de pression et de négociation entre les mains des chefs politiques de la nationalité canadienne-française. En fait, l'union de 1840 s'était transformée en une alliance de caractère fédéral entre les deux collectivités qui cohabitaient dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent. Quant à la mise en vigueur d'un programme d'immigration massive dans le Bas-Canada, selon les recommandations de Lord Durham, il ne pouvait en être question. Les représentants du Canada français dans le gouvernement, où leur présence était nécessaire au bon fonctionnement de la responsabilité ministérielle, n'auraient jamais permis l'adoption d'une politique de peuplement destinée à submerger leurs propres électeurs et compatriotes. En proposant son programme, Lord Durham, aveuglé par son racisme et son impérialisme, avait manqué de réalisme. Les hommes les plus lucides subissent ainsi des éclipses de jugement.

Un concours de circonstances a donc assuré la survivance des Canadiens français comme collectivité distincte sur le territoire québécois. En 1763, lorsque la Grande-Bretagne commença la colonisation de la vallée du Saint-Laurent, quelque 65,000 hommes, femmes et enfants qui y habitaient alors avaient conscience de constituer un groupe culturel autonome. Aujourd'hui, leurs descendants sont 5,000,000 au Québec. A la fin du siècle, ils auront donné naissance à une nouvelle société québécoise de quelque 9,000,000 d'âmes qui affirmera plus que jamais son vouloir-vivre collectif. Certains déterminismes soustraits à la volonté humaine, l'entêtement séculaire et la résistance passive de six générations de Canadiens qui ne peuvent être des *Canadians*, la tenacité quelquefois incohérente mais toujours réelle de leurs porte-parole qui ont patiemment cherché, quoi qu'en pensent des critiques mieux intentionnés que bien renseignés, à servir les intérêts de leur collectivité en utilisant

à cette fin les moyens dont ils disposaient, enfin, les erreurs de calculs et de jugement commises par ceux qui avaient tout avantage à prévenir cette survivance nationale expliquent pourquoi le Québec n'a jamais été, n'est pas et sera de moins en moins une province comme les autres.

Après l'adoption de la constitution de 1867 et la formation de la Confédération canadienne, appelée à devenir l'Etat continental contemporain, la politique de peuplement suivie par le gouvernement d'Ottawa eut pour but de coloniser les anciens territoires de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson où trois provinces — le Manitoba, la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta — se sont organisées entre 1870 et 1905. Les immigrants ne se sont pas établis uniquement dans ces provinces. Chaque région du pays en a reçu un certain nombre. Néanmoins, la concurrence entre les deux collectivités fondatrices du Canada s'est particulièrement manifestée dans la colonisation de l'Ouest canadien. Lors de sa création en 1870, le Manitoba fut doté d'une constitution semblable à celle de la province de Québec. Le français y obtenait le statut de langue officielle au même titre que l'anglais et les écoles franco-catholiques avaient droit à l'aide financière des pouvoirs publics. Georges-Etienne Cartier et plusieurs dirigeants canadiens-français de l'époque s'imaginaient que leurs compatriotes qui quittaient le Québec, surpeuplé et victime d'une stagnation économique chronique depuis la décennie de 1850, pour se trouver un emploi aux Etats-Unis ou pour améliorer leur niveau de vie, iraient dorénavant peupler le Manitoba. De leur côté, les chefs politiques du Canada anglais et leurs électeurs orangistes ne souhaitaient nullement favoriser l'expansion en dehors du Québec de la *French and Popish Domination*. L'échec partiel que les *British Americans* avaient subi sur les rives du Saint-Laurent, échec rendu plus sensible après le recensement de 1871 qui montra que les Canadiens français étaient devenus la majorité dans les Cantons de l'Est, ne devait pas se répéter à l'échelle pancanadienne.

De leur côté, quand ils se voyaient forcés de s'exiler, les Canadiens français du Québec préféraient immigrer aux Etats-Unis où les propriétaires des manufactures de la Nouvelle-Angleterre accueillaient avec plaisir des employés plus dociles que les *Yankees*. S'ils demeuraient au Canada, ils traversaient la rivière Outaouais pour aller en Ontario où ils fondèrent plusieurs paroisses agricoles. Leurs descendants travaillent aujourd'hui dans les centres urbains ontariens et sont engagés dans un processus accéléré d'assimilation. Quant à l'Ouest, le gouvernement fédéral n'a jamais eu l'intention d'encourager les Québécois franco-catholiques à s'y établir. Sir Clifford Sifton, procureur général et ministre de l'éducation dans le gouvernement Greenway qui avait fait adopter les lois ne reconnaissant plus la langue française comme langue officielle

et abolissant les écoles franco-catholiques au Manitoba, fut ministre de l'intérieur dans le cabinet Laurier de 1896 à 1905. Responsable de l'administration des chemins de fer et de l'immigration, il donna une impulsion nouvelle à la politique de peuplement de ses prédécesseurs. Les immigrants ne venaient plus exclusivement des îles britanniques et de l'Europe occidentale du nord. Aux Britanniques, aux Allemands et aux Scandinaves se joignirent des Italiens, des Polonais, des Roumains, des Russes, des Ukrainiens, des Serbes, des Croates, des Slovènes et des Juifs chassés par les persécutions de l'Empire tzariste. Néanmoins, les dirigeants de la politique de peuplement du *British North America*, connu maintenant sous le nom de *Dominion of Canada*, devenu également l'Etat *Canadian*, veillèrent toujours soigneusement à maintenir une majorité Britannique parmi les nouveaux venus. Par ses institutions politiques, économiques et scolaires, la collectivité *Canadian* encadra les immigrants. Loin de contester son hégémonie, ceux-ci vinrent, en fait, la consolider. Frank Oliver, successeur de Sifton entre 1905 et 1911, poursuivit méthodiquement le même programme. Et, ne l'oublions pas, celui-ci se réalisait sous l'autorité d'un premier ministre fédéral d'origine canadienne-française qui, d'ailleurs, se nommait Sir Wilfrid Laurier ! Les compagnies de chemin de fer et de navigation y trouvèrent leur profit — il ne faut pas s'étonner d'apprendre que le C.P.R. a toujours soutenu activement le parti libéral — et les expansionistes impérialistes du XXe siècle, fidèles aux objectifs de leurs prédécesseurs du XVIIIe, étaient de l'avis du duc de Connaught, fils de la reine Victoria et gouverneur général du Canada de 1911 à 1916, qui réclamait "une immigration exclusivement britannique pour combattre la natalité canadienne-française".

Dans ces conditions et malgré les promesses des politiciens québécois, impuissants malgré leur bonne volonté, est-il nécessaire de rappeler que jamais le gouvernement *Canadian* d'Ottawa ne s'inquiéta de rapatrier les Canadiens français émigrés aux Etats-Unis. Se considérant comme les seuls propriétaires du pays, les *British Americans*, qui se disaient des *Canadians*, un synonyme de Canadiens selon leur prétention, entendaient n'y accueillir que des immigrants ayant la plasticité psychologique nécessaire pour se soumettre à leur domination. Un Canadien français du Québec qui désirait s'établir dans l'Ouest, une région que ses ancêtres avaient découverte, explorée et évangélisée, devait déboursier pour s'y rendre un montant supérieur à celui exigé d'un émigrant quittant l'Europe pour venir au Canada, où souvent il n'était qu'en transit avant d'aller s'établir aux Etats-Unis, la terre promise dont rêvait chaque Européen à la recherche d'un sort meilleur. L'Etat fédéral *Canadian* ou *British American* subventionnait le transport de l'émigrant

européen mais refusait le même avantage aux Québécois. Ceux-ci, conscients de la discrimination dont ils étaient victimes, continuèrent donc à s'exiler aux Etats-Unis. Si le Canada reçut, entre 1901 et 1921, 3,500,000 immigrants, il est bon de se rappeler que 2,000,000 de ses habitants émigrèrent.

La crise économique de 1929 réduisit considérablement l'immigration et l'émigration. Les Canadiens français du Québec, obligés de demeurer à l'intérieur des frontières de leur province natale, la seule région du pays que leurs ancêtres ont fondé où ils ne sont pas complètement étrangers, commencèrent à se demander pourquoi le Québec ne deviendrait pas leur territoire national. Quelques porte-parole de la collectivité parlèrent de plus en plus de la création souhaitable d'un Etat français sur les rives du Saint-Laurent. Au recensement de 1941, les citoyens du Canada — c'est une façon classique de s'exprimer puisque la citoyenneté canadienne n'existait pas encore en 1941, tous les habitants du pays étant alors uniquement des sujets britanniques — apprirent que les Canadiens français qui formaient à cette époque 30% de la population canadienne avaient fourni, grâce à leur forte natalité, près de 50% de l'accroissement démographique entre 1931 et 1941. En supposant que le même phénomène se maintiendrait inchangé pendant trente ans, les démographes conclurent que la nationalité canadienne-française constituerait la majorité de la population du Canada vers les années 1972-1977. Cette découverte encourageante ou troublante fit croire aux deux collectivités en concurrence depuis la fin du XVIIe siècle pour s'approprier l'hinterland de l'Amérique du Nord que l'heure du règlement des comptes sonnerait bientôt. Quelques dirigeants du Canada français, inspirés par l'ancien nationalisme messianique, s'apprêtèrent à racueillir les avantages que leur donnerait enfin la revanche des berceaux à l'échelle continentale. Plusieurs *British Americans* ou *Canadians*, frappés de panique, crurent que les dieux protecteurs de l'Empire britannique et de l'hégémonie anglo-saxonne les avaient soudainement abandonnés et que la fin du monde était proche.

Dans tout pays où l'histoire et la géographie ont imposé la coexistence de deux collectivités, groupes naturels, nationalités ou nations — chacun est libre de choisir le terme qui lui plaît — ayant le sens d'une continuité et d'une identité distinctes, la population linguistiquement homogène qui forme la majorité ne peut pas tolérer d'être mis en minorité si elle possède les moyens politiques de s'épargner cette échéance. Immédiatement après la fin de la guerre 1939-1945, durant laquelle à peine 70,000 immigrants vinrent au Canada, le gouvernement fédéral et la province d'Ontario, fidèles gardiens de l'hégémonie *British American* et *Canadian*, adoptèrent une politique énergique de peuplement qui

rappelle celle de la fin de la période de 1880-1930. De 1946 à 1966, le Canada a accueilli 2,700,000 immigrants. On calcule qu'au moins 2,000,000 d'entre eux se sont établis définitivement au pays. De plus, la prospérité relative des vingt dernières années a diminué l'émigration. Dès le recensement de 1951, Canadiens et *Canadians* ont constaté que les statistiques vitales de 1941 ne voulaient rien dire. La majorité anglophone a poussé un soupir de soulagement. Les chefs de la collectivité canadienne-française se sont entraînés depuis lors à ne plus prendre leurs désirs pour la réalité. Les recensements de 1956, 1961 et 1966 ont confirmé celui de 1951 et obligé les Canadiens français du Québec, surtout après les élections de 1957 qui donnèrent le pouvoir fédéral à M. Diefenbaker sans leur participation, à abandonner, une fois pour toutes, le vieux mythe de la reconquête démographique du Canada — illusion tenace qu'ont entretenue sans trop se l'avouer les générations précédentes. C'était pour elles une façon de se consoler de leur impuissance à l'époque de la démocratie libérale. Leurs descendants, qui ont saisi les avantages et le dynamisme de la démocratie sociale, ont d'autres projets — moins ambitieux sans doute mais plus réalistes.

Les membres les plus lucides des nouvelles générations appelées à diriger la collectivité franco-québécoise ont appris à évaluer une situation que leurs prédécesseurs connaissaient mais devant laquelle un fatalisme séculaire leur avait appris à s'incliner. Le peuplement du Canada a été conçu et réalisé de façon à limiter l'expansion de la nationalité canadienne-française. Dans les provinces anglaises du pays, les Canadiens français ont toujours été réduits au statut d'immigrants et forcés, à plus ou moins brève échéance, de s'assimiler à la majorité des *Canadians*. Seule la population francophone du Nouveau-Brunswick, dont l'histoire est encore plus tragique que celle des Franco-Québécois, semble avoir la possibilité de s'organiser comme groupe culturel distinct. Ses dirigeants, auxquels la conjoncture impose des responsabilités particulièrement lourdes, devront prendre des options fondamentales au cours de la prochaine décennie. En Ontario, des îlots francophones peuvent encore se maintenir. Cependant, il est permis de se demander si une survivance anémique favorisera les intérêts personnels et la promotion sociale des individus dont les énergies s'épuiseront dans des luttes linguistiques et folkloriques sans lendemains. L'ultime service que les dirigeants d'un groupe culturel, dont les membres sont individuellement engagés dans un processus accéléré d'assimilation, peuvent rendre à ceux, dont ils prétendent défendre le bien-être, c'est de les préparer à s'intégrer aux échelons supérieurs de la collectivité majoritaire. Une résistance stérile et sans imagination aux pressions assimilatrices toutes puissantes condamne ceux qui s'y réfugient à demeurer des citoyens de

classe inférieure, incapables d'ascension sociale et économique dans des cadres qui leur sont étrangers, sinon hostiles, et auxquels ils ne sont pas adaptés. Dans l'Ouest canadien, seuls quelques illuminés attardés conservent encore les mythes dont se nourrissaient les propagandistes du nationalisme franco-catholique messianique du XIXe siècle. Les porte-parole les plus dynamiques de la jeunesse francophone des Prairies savent que, s'ils veulent faire carrière et réussir dans leur milieu natal, ils devront accepter les conditions que celui-ci leur impose. Ils sont prêts à devenir *Canadians*. Ceux d'entre eux qui désirent fermement demeurer membres de la nation Canadienne-française émigrent ou songent à émigrer vers le Québec.

C'est à l'intérieur de l'Etat québécois dorénavant que se déroulera la dernière phase de la lutte engagée entre les deux collectivités fondatrices pour le peuplement du Canada. Il est normal qu'il en soit ainsi puisque c'est sur les rives même du Saint-Laurent qu'elle débuta durant la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle. L'histoire se complait parfois à se ménager de curieux retours. Encore majoritaire sur le territoire québécois, la collectivité canadienne-française se demande de plus en plus à quelles conditions elle le demeurera. Consciente du fait que son influence — qui fut toujours très limitée — dans l'ensemble du Canada diminue de recensement en recensement, elle s'inquiète de constater qu'un phénomène identique la menace sur le territoire même avec lequel trois cent soixante ans d'histoire l'identifient. Appelés à représenter quelque 18% de la population pancanadienne d'ici une génération, les Franco-Québécois viennent de découvrir que, pendant qu'ils se préoccupaient stérilement de l'expansion de leur collectivité à l'extérieur du Québec, leurs dirigeants n'ont jamais eu une politique d'ensemble destinée à assurer le progrès social et économique de la population francophone du Québec. Pour respecter la justice qui est due aux anciens porte-parole du Canada français, il faut préciser que ceux qui ont assumé, entre 1854 et 1954, la responsabilité de diriger leurs compatriotes ont été victimes de circonstances particulièrement difficiles. Les moyens d'action collective dont ils disposaient étaient très limités. Nous ne devons pas commettre l'anachronisme de les juger à la lumière des informations et de l'expérience dont nous bénéficions en cette seconde moitié du XXe siècle.

La prise de conscience que traverse actuellement la population et les électeurs franco-québécois a déjà fortement influencé la pensée et la politique de leurs dirigeants depuis une quinzaine d'années. Au cours de leur histoire depuis la Conquête anglaise, les Canadiens français n'ont eu aucune raison d'être favorables à l'immigration et aux immigrants. Ceux que ce fait scandalise ignorent l'enjeu de la lutte que se sont livrée les deux collectivités fondatrices du pays depuis les débuts de la colonisa-

tion britannique. Cependant, il est urgent pour les Franco-Québécois de se libérer des traumatismes du passé. Peuvent-ils continuer à demeurer impassibles quand 90% des immigrants établis dans les villes du Québec jugent préférables de s'assimiler à la minorité anglophone de la province ? Plusieurs d'entre eux, d'ailleurs, s'interrogent de plus en plus sur la sagesse de leur option. Aucune collectivité majoritaire qui n'a pas renoncé à l'avenir ne peut tolérer un tel phénomène sociologique. Celui-ci condamne tout l'ancien ordre social établi qui l'a permis : depuis le système scolaire confessionnel, qui a empêché la majorité d'intégrer les minorités et de donner ainsi naissance à une nouvelle société québécoise pluraliste animée par un sentiment commun de solidarité, jusqu'à la domination séculaire et néfaste du capitalisme anglo-américain qui a toujours considéré le Québec comme une colonie d'exploitation et ses habitants francophones comme des domestiques à son service. C'est l'hégémonie même des *Canadians* et de l'*Anglo-Saxondom*, à l'intérieur du Québec, qui est remise en question. Les défis à relever et les problèmes à résoudre ne manquent pas. Ils sont de nature à créer des tensions inévitables parmi la population de l'Etat du Québec et entre celui-ci et le reste du Canada. Celles-ci, qui ont toujours existé, deviennent de plus en plus évidentes et aiguës. Les luttes socio-culturelles, économiques et politiques s'accroîtront. Les hommes et les institutions réussiront-ils à les maintenir dans les bornes d'une évolution relativement ordonnée mais suffisamment dynamique pour répondre aux aspirations légitimes mais longtemps refoulées et frustrées de la majorité franco-québécoise ? L'historien peut l'espérer mais il n'a pas la responsabilité de répondre à cette question. Sa tâche se limite à décrire comment les siècles précédents ont engendré la conjoncture présente.

REFLECTIONS ON INTEGRATION BY AN ENGINEER OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN

by

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From the outset I must make it clear that I do not possess the qualifications of a person who usually prepares reviews of this kind — an ethnologist, a sociologist, nor even one trained in the humanities. Rather, I regard myself as an average observer who has had some analytical training as an engineer, a person who in his lifetime has met many people in various occupations and who has to exercise logic and judgement in his profession. I am a first-generation immigrant as I was born in Russia and came to Canada after receiving my high school and university education in Britain, and after working professionally in several countries other than Canada. These circumstances have undoubtedly had some influence on my outlook.

That Canada expects all immigrants to integrate into her society but does not demand assimilation may be a cliché, but it is one that bears repeating. This is demonstrated in Canadian elementary and high schools where no deliberate demands are made on the immigrant child to break with the past and forego his heritage. On the other hand, it is true that he is encouraged in every way to develop a pride in his adopted country and to become an integrated citizen. This is a natural course that most countries in the world follow with their naturalized citizens.

Integration is a two-way “traffic”: the immigrant should make an effort to join the mainstream of Canadian life, but an equal effort should be made by the receiving society to gain a well-oriented citizen who feels at home, without expecting him to take part in the divisive influences that may be present in the country.

An immigrant should accept the bilingual character of the country. Canada, with its two distinct founding races, is probably one of the best examples in the world of evolutionary transformation from dependent to independent status, and this continuous though gradually fading link with the past has had a profound influence on Canadian society and thought. It is at the root of the efforts made to transform the society into a truly bilingual and bicultural country. If revolutionary processes

had been in evidence, there would then have been, I believe, a result similar to the situation existing in the United States, namely an arbitrary decision for a monolingual and monolithic new society to emerge, in contrast to Canadian "unity in diversity".

Speaking for myself, I find the attitude and expectations in relation to the two founding races quite natural, as the original arrivals in Canada in the early colonial days were often posted on duty to Canada, whereas the vast majority of immigrants since the period of "service overseas" have come here by choice, albeit driven by necessity. In other words, I cannot accept the argument for multilingualism. On the other hand, multiculturalism, in the sense of retaining an interest and pride in one's heritage, is not only understandable but enriching to a country: In this connection, good examples are Great Britain (more correctly the United Kingdom) and France. In actual fact, the United Kingdom, originally composed of Saxons, Picts, Celts and others, constitutes a present-day federation of English, Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish; in the case of France, of Gauls, Franks and, again, others, which has resulted in a much more homogeneous French nation. The unifying languages are English and French, respectively, but the cultures of the various ethnic constituents of the two countries are quite distinct.

Turning now to the general case of Slavs and to the specific case of Russians, much has been published on this subject, but perhaps it bears summarizing. By far the largest proportion of Slav immigration up to the depression years of the thirties was mainly due to the interaction of two factors: economical and political environments in countries of origin, and the favourable "climate" of Canada for the reception of men ready to work on the land and in mines and forests, particularly in the under-populated West. Until the middle of the last century Slav immigration was minimal. The tragic division of Poland was probably the stimulus which, after 1830, started, with Poles, the waves of arrivals in Canada that have continued for nearly 100 years. As an engineer, I wish to pay my tribute to Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski who rose to eminence in Canadian engineering in the second half of the last century. Unquestionably Canada profited by the reputation of the American Revolution which drew many to the "land of the free" with the added attraction of the reputed wealth of North America.

Many hardships were experienced by the Slavs in their early years, but probably no more than those suffered by the early arrivals from other countries of Europe with, the exception of the military, officialdom and some entrepreneurs of the day. Most of the Slavs had come from more temperate climes and found a forbidding land sparsely populated by an aloof people who had little rapport with alternately ebullient and

melancholy but always polemical Slavs. In the western countryside, on the farms and railways and in the forests, they were deprived of the village communities which they had left. In the scattered and small urban centres, with few exceptions, they had to perform heavy manual work under supervisors with whom they had little communication. A tribute should be paid to the Slavs and in fact to peoples of many lands who laboured for modest wages in the pioneer days, opening up a country not blessed, for the most part, with a temperate climate but which has achieved a high standard of living.

The early Slavs worked hard for their families, and the fruits of their labours combined with progressively improving educational systems in Canada, have afforded the second and third generations the opportunities this land grants to all who wish to advance their careers. The few Slavs with some training, even vocational, who arrived in the past and who are still arriving today, can integrate much faster than persons of low educational backgrounds. There is no question that people with higher education, provided that they are reasonably young and, above all, that they possess open minds, can integrate reasonably quickly into Canadian life. A sojourn in one of the western countries of Europe — preferably Britain or France — where one of the two main languages can be learnt, is a great help. The much higher competitiveness existing in the urbanized and densely populated countries of western Europe, together with the usual negative reaction to the foreigner, prepares the immigrant for the western-oriented but less competitive Canadian society. I confess that, as much as I am an Anglophile as well as a Francophile, when working in those countries I was reminded much more frequently of my foreign extraction than I am when living in Canada.

It is often commented on that few immigrant Slavs or others have settled in Quebec. I feel this is a natural phenomenon. Southern Quebec is the oldest settled area of Canada; the northern part, beyond the tree line, is only now being opened up. The agricultural land, which is lean and limited in area, had been cultivated in large measure by family units long before the Slav and other immigrants of the last hundred years arrived. The Slavs have come from countries influenced by, and in many cases part of, the Germanic state system where German was the official language. With the exception of the intellectuals, they had little contact with French culture and language. The largest proportion of “new Canadians” arriving since the last war passed through Germany or Austria. In the past, the wide and open spaces of the West were the obvious areas for settlement and that is where the Government of Canada wanted them to go. The drift to towns in search of work allowed

them wider choice in Ontario and later in the western provinces, than the one large urban centre of Quebec — Montreal.

The Russian is a minority Slav in Canada. Very few settled on the coast as they did in California during the period when Alaska was part of the Russian Empire. The first large group, about seven thousand, to emigrate to Canada were the Doukhobors (“spirit wrestlers”) in 1899, who as farmers settled in western Canada. The majority of these folk in the second and third generation have completely integrated into Canadian society. Some of them have completed their higher education, have entered various professions, and are found all over Canada, like a friend of mine, an engineer in this very city. As is usually the case, a minority — little more than a thousand — separated into the extreme sect, Sons of Freedom, and refuse to this very day to integrate into Canadian life. However, there are recent indications that it is only a question of time before the coming generation themselves will finally solve this unfortunate problem. When dealing with extremism, the most important problem of human relations, that of communication becomes paramount. If only the Sons of Freedom sect in Canada (and there are many extremist groups in the world today) would understand that Canadians must curb extreme behaviour for the sake of the majority and the rule of law. The Canadian, heir to the habeas corpus concept, is most reluctant to carry repression to the persecution level that is freely practised by dictatorships. The original Doukhobors were followed by other groups from Russia, the largest flows being in the periods of 1905-10, 1917-22 and 1945-52, all of them related to political events in Russia or the U.S.S.R. as it is known today: first with the revolutionary movement of 1905, the Revolution itself, and then the Second Great War. The Canadian Census* provides the following figures for persons claiming Russian origin:

1901 — 17,825	1911 — 44,376	1921 — 100,084
1931 — 88,148	1941 — 83,708	1951 — 91,279
1961 — 119,168		

Russia, the present-day U.S.S.R., is a vast country of many races; many non-Slav minorities included in these figures would probably represent a high proportion of the refugees, and it is therefore believed there may not be more than fifty or sixty thousand Russians of Slav origin in Canada. In contrast, there are nearly one million other Slavs and of these, Poles and Ukrainians account for about eight hundred thousand.

* 1961 Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, published in March 1964.

Integration patterns in the Russian case follow those of other immigrants. The first generation, if of low educational background, contributes to Canadian life by the "sweat of their brows", whereas those with higher educational standards, if they do not possess one of the main languages, usually have to "rough it" at first, ultimately gravitating with their more fortunate compatriots who are linguistically equipped, to positions in commerce, industry or government. The lower-income groups look for some community life, while the better-paid have a more individual existence, usually belonging to some association or group. The church is still the strongest centripetal force for believers and a heritage-rallying institution. With the present affluence, the days of want, except in unfortunate cases, are gone. Most new arrivals since the last war have been able to establish themselves in Canada. They, like the early immigrants, have become good producers and consumers and therefore are of benefit to the country.

The second generation of both groups, under the influence of the present trend to conformity, endeavour to shed their foreign associations as quickly as possible and this may unfortunately result in an accelerated loss of interest in their heritage. Modern communications and the impatience with the past and with the attitudes of the older generation that characterize natural-born Canadians might become important factors in this regard.

It is supposedly customary in reviewing an ethnic group to speak of the noteworthy achievements of some of its members. This review is concerned with integration, hence achievements must be judged in regard to the direct and most applicable benefits to Canada. Making available a greater knowledge of Russian culture, I think, must be regarded at this time in Canada's development as a fringe benefit. On the other hand, a first-class teacher of Russian as a developing language of international use seems to merit first priority.

I am disinclined to give a long dissertation on the achievements of Russian-Canadians because this leaves out many who have quietly but consistently contributed to Canadian society and the economy. My observations on a random sampling have made me conclude that the Russian group has produced the same order of success stories as any other group, where the backgrounds and opportunities of individuals are comparable. I have met people of Russian extraction in most professions and occupations such as painters, sculptors, doctors, lawyers, professors, singers, dancers, military men, engineers and scientists. These are immigrants of the older generation, particularly those intellectuals in the arts and humanities who brought their knowledge of Russian art, literature, etc., and who have continued with their creative work in

Canada, providing the country with cultural benefits often on the international scene. The same would apply to any country where they might have settled. However, with few exceptions, they found it difficult to join the mainstream of Canadian life. On the other hand, others with technical or commercial training have impressed their particular Russian-Slav personality on their work and creativity.

The saying, "no man is an island" expresses the concept of integration, mutual respect and understanding. Canada asks groups of individuals coming to settle here to join the Canadian "team" without disowning their heritage. The interdependence of human groups, communities, and above all countries, is constantly stressed today in relation to resolving conflicts without resort to violence. To attain this millennium it will be necessary to discard our stereotyped ideas largely derived from histories taught in elementary schools the world over. That men of every race and outlook can unite when challenged by a common purpose has been demonstrated over and over again when, for example, danger threatens their survival — on the field of battle, in a sinking submarine, or in a mine disaster. In less heroic vein, my own experience has consistently demonstrated to me that when persons are engaged on some creative, concrete project such as building a bridge or an engine, ministering to the ailments of humanity, or exploring the universe or a scientific frontier, racial, national and religious divisions are incidental. Perhaps the evolution of the human race to achieve universal tolerance is unattainable, but a benign influence in this direction on the man in the street could be developed to some degree by the correct leadership from the politician, philosopher and others concerned with human behaviour.

Surely, therefore, it is not too much to expect in the loftier human endeavour — the common purpose of building a nation — that individuals and groups will shed the stereotyped ideas derived from their countries of origin and will not import these divisive influences into this new land. Instead, let us apply the late President Kennedy's challenge to his people and think what we can do for Canada. The Canadian Slav has this opportunity now.

CANADIAN SLAVS: THEIR ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL ROLE IN CANADA'S EVOLUTION

by
Anna Stearns, Montreal

A summary
The Demographic Aspect

Whether we use census data which are *the most recent* available concerning the total of Canadian population or the numerically obsolete census results found in encyclopaedias, we are confronted with the unalterable fact that Canada's geography dwarfs her demographic count.

In his latest book, Gerard Bergeron says with considerable justification: "*On prête à l'ancien premier ministre du Canada Mackenzie King, cette boutade: 'Si quelques pays ont trop d'histoire, nous avons trop de géographie'. Et le Canada apparaît comme l'involontaire champion mondial de l'accumulation des paradoxes historiques....*"¹ This demographic aspect of Canadian history has indelibly influenced the Canadian population's character and has also placed much more responsibility, for both political and cultural development in the country, on the shoulders of each and every minority group in the country.

The Canadian Slavs are the most important minority group in the country for reasons which I hope to clarify in this paper. Although the numerical superiority of Slavs in Canada is undeniable—in relation to other European and non-European minority groups and, I might add, in spite of all faulty ethnic designations in the different census takings — I am basing my statement on achievement rather than on numbers.

A mere glance at immigration data since 1900 and a superficial statistical comparison—which immigrants went to which Canadian province—leaves no doubt that the Prairie Provinces owe a tremendous debt to immigrants who were *ethnically* Slavs.²

¹ *Le Canada Français: Après deux siècles de patience*, (Paris, 1947). Voir recension et extraits dans *La Presse*, Montréal, du 24 avril 1967.

² I am emphasizing Slavic ethnicity because a regrettable confusion exists in census classifications where Ukrainians from Galicia were classed as Austrians and Carpatho-Ruthenians as three different nationalities; or other cases, the ruling ma-

In the very first years of our century, there was a tremendous rise in the number of immigrants who were *neither British nor American*, namely 28 per cent of the 800,000 immigrants. A sizable portion of these were Slavic groups which chose or were directed towards the Canadian West. According to André Siegfried,³ 54 per cent of the total immigrant influx went west, 42 per cent to the Prairie Provinces and 12 per cent to British Columbia. Siegfried also discusses the *impact* of this influx of immigrants who were linguistically as well as culturally completely dissimilar from the Franco-English founders of the country. He notes that the new, different and Slavic element represented a “stimulant for growth and expansion.” (The adjective he uses is “an exotic stimulant” to which some Slavs might object: On the other hand, he makes the slightly extravagant statement that by dint of this growth stimulant or impact of immigrant groups, the Canadian West immediately assumed a cosmopolitan aspect which Ontario and Quebec never had, a statement to which both provinces and especially Quebec would, I believe, strenuously object.)

M. Siegfried was carried away by his enthusiasm for the Canadian West thus opened and developed when he dedicated a very long table to the ethnical constellation of immigrants who passed through Winnipeg in 1903—he calls Winnipeg rather poetically “*cette porte de l’Ouest*” and quotes the statistics given to him by the immigration officer during his visits in Winnipeg in 1904.⁴

The Cultural Contribution of Canadian Slavs

Whether or not my conclusions will be criticized by both “friend and foe,” I maintain that Slavs have played a unique role in the cultural evolution not only of Canada but of North America. Their influence has worked in three, quite different, ways: a) by contributing an important

jority of the country of origin was used to classify Slavic immigrants. (To say nothing about the *intra*-Slavic hostilities harking back to historical entanglements or political differences as for instance, between Czechs and Slovaks, etc. To quote Chateaubriand: “great sorrows are like native lands, each of us must hold fast to his own.”)

³ In *Le Canada: Puissance internationale*, (Paris, 1937).

⁴ Ordinarily, I lose little time on the analysis of statistical material ever since I found out that, whatever the motivation for doing so, it can be juggled so as to bolster one set of conclusions as well as the absolute opposite, but this table of Winnipeg-entrances is of interest: Ruthenians — 9,514; Russians — 732; Poles — 725; Czechs — 322; Slovaks — 99; and Bulgarians — 5. There are also large groups designated as Canadians coming back from the States (3,338 persons) and Canadians from Eastern Canada (16,514 people). One wonders what percentage of these two groups, as well as of the Hungarians (1,047) are of Slavic origin.

demographic part of the Canadian population, the true tillers of the soil, which neither the French discoverers nor the English traders were able to do; b) by being culturally closer to their roots, they presented the Canadian people, by way of folk-lore and national art media, with a *panoramic view* of how a national or ethnic culture develops (besides cultural enjoyment, this is a highly important medium of education which both Anglo-Saxons and French Canadians lacked since they started a nation from the two upper classes rather than from the peasant class, the backbone of the history of nations, and were completely unable to "reproduce" the beginnings of their respective nations culturally, a thing which the Pole, Russian or Ukrainian could and did when starting life here; c) by transplanting certain national aspirations, by keeping alive certain national, religious or simply human ideals, each Slavic group gave something to a new nation which it could not possibly evolve in a mere hundred years of existence.

Folklore and Art Media

Ethnologists teach that a civilization can be advanced or evolved by a heterogeneous group of people. Technology, the true daughter of what ethnologists call "civilization," is a case in point: a Swede, an Italian or a Russian can build a good computer, as long as they can communicate on the technological level. A culture is always the historical achievement of a homogeneous group of people, the clan, the tribe, a nation. To put it in a more jocular manner: three excellent musicians and composers of three different nationalities will never be able to create anything resembling a mazurka of Chopin.

Not only is culture a slow moving, historical evolvement and achievement beginning with the group creations of folk-lore in all its forms (music, ballads, dancing) and then evolving into the creative achievements of outstanding individuals in each field, but it depends for its excellence on each individual composer, poet or choreographer keeping close to his cultural roots (whether he be aware of doing so or not).⁵ Painting and sculpture are art media which, by definition, transcend national or continental borders. (But even here, we could argue the point of *cultural tenacity*.)

⁵ I am afraid art critics might revolt at the idea of "artistic excellence being related to, etc.," but I, of course, did not mean to eliminate the fact of genius or great individual ability, but merely wish to make a point which is seldom mentioned that cultural tenacity is a tremendous force in the lives of great creators, be they composers or poets. One of Chopin's biographers said that Chopin's finest music was composed on his heart strings which kept him tied to his native Poland.

John Murray Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic: the Making of a Northern Nation* impressed me as an ethnologist, by its inclusion of numerous well-known poems, folk-lore, ballads, dancing song lyrics translated into English, *and their history*. These, as well as being accurate descriptions of customs, religious practices, and family ways as they were practiced in the homeland and as they are still being observed in the new land, are of priceless value.

Such a presentation falls in the category of a panoramic view of how a specific culture evolves, of which I spoke earlier in this paper, but it also has two other connotations for me. First, I have found that good translators of poetry from any Slavic language into English are rare and hard to obtain (the French have a slight advantage since a number of good translations from Russian and Polish have appeared in France). The procedure is that you submit a word-by-word translation from the original language into English to an English poet who will put it into free verse. But while the first half is very easy, the finding of someone willing to do the versification, if one is unable to pay a good fee for it, is quite difficult. Secondly, I remember an experience I had with a newcomer hailing from Ukraine, a very gifted carpenter who received good wages although he was practically illiterate. As a very young boy during World War II, he came with a forced labor gang to Germany from where he made his way to Canada, married a Ukrainian girl and had three children. He impressed me when he said that he insists that his Canadian-born children, besides getting a good education in English schools, must also learn the fundamentals of Ukrainian, in reading, writing and speaking. They could ask for anything in the way of books and encyclopaedias which would advance these aims. And his reward? —“Do you know moja Pani”, he asked, “how my heart jumps with joy, when my oldest recites to me the poems of Shevchenko? I would like to share it with my Canadian neighbours”, he continued, “but I asked everywhere for a Canadian translation and couldn't find it.”

It seems to me that if ever we need to present the case for cultural roots, my Ukrainian carpenter would be a crown witness!

The All-Important Question

I think we made our point for and in favour of the past record of Slavs in Canada. But the question which looms all-important is, where do we go from here?

Contemporary achievement in education, civil service, diplomacy and the professions of individuals are, I dare say, higher than the pro-

portion of Slavs or descendants of Slav immigrants in relation to the native population. Naturally, I do not intend to present statistical data, but I base my statement on two factors culled from twenty-five years of work with newcomers: first, that minority-group members in professions very often achieve more than the native sons because of the law over-compensation (the same law which operates for some economically underprivileged children, for those physically handicapped, or the youngest child in any family). Instead of strenuously searching for statistical and biographical data of a member of the one or the other group of Canadian Slavs who have made good, to bolster my theory, I propose secondly that we all pay attention to name endings: ski, sky or kyj or to Slavic sounding names, in different walks of life. (I am bad in arithmetic but I added up the findings of *one* day in TV, newspaper and radio to something like ninety).

But these wonderful facts also present the greatest danger to cultural survival: nostalgia which keeps national home fires burning is a safeguard of cultural tenacity and so is failure in the new land to make good. With affluence mounting and contacts with Canadian neighbours becoming natural or *de rigueur* (as it is in civil and diplomatic service), assimilation becomes a much-desired end in itself.

And then, in regard to younger generation, the children and grandchildren of immigrants, if we do not provide them with very good and *effective* reasons to keep the memory of a distant land clear, they will retain nothing but a hazy, dream-like souvenir.

In all my writings, I have advocated teaching our children about our real native land as well as about a *homeland of the heart* where the literary treasures of our poets and composers come from. I am honest enough to confess that the *practice* is much harder than the preaching. (I have given to the Immigrants Archives of the University of Minnesota many priceless volumes of Polish, Czech, Russian and Ukrainian literature—priceless because they are out-of-print or because they are very beautiful editions which friends or students gave me throughout the years—because my own children cannot read them and I feel that the treasures of the mind should not be stored away, but rather should serve a purpose of teaching or pleasure.)

But lest I appear discouraged, even if I do not know the answer today, I do not lose hope that a workable answer may be found by someone among us. Also, the prime duty of an intellectual aware of his cultural heritage is to “teach it to his children” as the Old Testament exhorts us about ethical law, and if we cannot do it with our children, let us make a resolution of passing on each day one of the gems of this heritage to a casual passer-by who crosses our way.

A GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE CITIZENSHIP BRANCH,
DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MULTI-ETHNIC
PROGRAMME

by
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Citizenship Branch
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A GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE CITIZENSHIP BRANCH WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MULTI-ETHNIC
PROGRAMME

Introduction

It was indeed kind of you to invite me to participate in your conference. I regard it a great honour as it gives me an opportunity to meet socially with many friends from various parts of Canada as well as to develop new friendships. Friendship is an important aspect in the development of human understanding and in the promotion of Canadian unity. This conference provides me, too, with an opportunity to discuss with you some aspects of the work of the Citizenship Branch. It may be that as a result of our discussions, we will find that we have many concerns in common and it may be mutually beneficial to arrange for frequent consultations on an on-going basis. In this way, through a complementary partnership, we may achieve our goals and objectives more easily. I believe a beginning has been made. For some years, I have worked very closely with several persons who are here today, in relation to particular situations within their individual communities. I note, too, that Mr. Steve Jaworski, a colleague of mine in the Citizenship Branch, is a member of your Programme Committee.

In the past few years, much has been accomplished in the building of a partnership between government and voluntary agencies. Safeguards, however, must be established to ensure that the voluntary agency does not become merely an arm or extension of government. A voluntary agency must always remain free from government domination of either

a direct or indirect nature so that it may serve as a kind of ombudsman in our society.

Mr. G. G. E. Steele, the Under-Secretary of State, in an address given at the Planning Conference for the International Year for Human Rights, held in Montreal from March 31st to April 2nd, 1967, said: "...the real ombudsman in our society at the present time is the voluntary organization which resolutely sets itself the task of educating itself and the public generally within its own sphere of interest and then not only moves government to action but helps government to implement policies and keeps government informed of the results of its activities. Governments, as they expand inexorably into areas previously preserved for the volunteer in our society, must in their turn undertake to nourish and preserve the volunteer group while the two must complement each other and not compete". That statement by Mr. Steele, I believe, represents one of the fundamental principles of the Citizenship Branch and is an essential tenet on which officers of Citizenship Branch approach their work.

Historical Background

The idea of the Citizenship Branch was conceived in the year 1941 and subsequently named the Nationalities Branch. In 1945, the Nationalities Branch was transferred to the Department of the Secretary of State and the name formally changed to the Canadian Citizenship Branch. In 1950, it became a branch of a new department known as the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. With the dismemberment of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, the Citizenship Branch returned on October 3rd, 1966, to the Department of the Secretary of State.

The history of the Citizenship Branch indicates that from the time of our inception, as the name Nationalities Branch suggests, we have been active in the field of intergroup and intercultural relations, or a multi-ethnic programme to develop a greater sense of citizenship responsibilities on the part of all Canadians and to promote national unity. With our transfer to the Department of the Secretary of State, we are approaching our task from a new perception point, with new enthusiasm and a greater degree of specialization.

The Citizenship Branch has nine main programme areas as follows:

(1) Language Classes (2) Immigrant Integration (3) Multi-Ethnic (4) Indian Integration (5) Travel and Exchange (6) Human Rights (7) Youth Services (8) English-French Relations and (9) General Citizenship Development.

General Citizenship Development includes all those activities of the Branch, not included under the eight previously mentioned specialized programme areas, such as the promotion of:

(a) programmes leading to the strengthening of the Canadian identity;

(b) the observance of national holidays;

(c) programmes of training and orientation for community organizations and voluntary action;

(d) programmes leading to a better understanding of the structure and operation of any of the three levels of government in Canada;

(e) leadership training for democratic action;

(f) better liaison with the many organizations active in the field of citizenship, such as Chambers of Commerce, service clubs, church organizations, adult education and cultural agencies.

The Citizenship Branch publishes *Citizen* and *Citoyen* five times a year as a programme aid for voluntary organizations engaged in citizenship activities. Free subscriptions are available to officers of voluntary agencies responsible for the citizenship programmes of their organizations. In addition, pamphlets, booklets and films are produced to assist groups in the study of subjects in which the Citizenship Branch has a concern. You will be interested to hear that a new edition of the *Canadian Family Tree*, which has been updated and vastly expanded, will contain monographs on forty-six ethnic groups in Canada. We expect this publication to be available in late summer of this year. All of our publications are, of course, available in both French and English. Material resources are available for study purposes, for pilot projects or where there is a shared responsibility for a specific programme.

Important as these material resources may be, we believe our main strength lies in our human resources which are made available through the consultative services of our officers. These officers have received specialized training in the humanities and have professional skills in the development of a social climate which hopefully makes it easier for all Canadians to participate in shaping the character of their community and their nation.

It is not my intention to give you a detailed account of the work of the Citizenship Branch but rather to concentrate on those areas which I believe are of special interest to you. I made reference earlier to our nine programme areas. It seems to me that the first named three programmes—language classes, immigrant integration and multi-ethnic are very closely related, and at times interwoven with one another, although they have been divided into three units for administrative purposes. Language classes, for example, are an important tool in the integration

of the immigrant and at the same time they provide a vehicle for the development of understanding between various cultural groups. Brief statements will be made concerning language classes and immigrant integration but the main emphasis will be on the multi-ethnic programme.

Language Classes

The Citizenship Branch regards a knowledge of French or English, depending upon where the immigrant settles, as an important factor in his economic, social, cultural and political integration. When the immigrant can communicate in at least one of our two official languages his integration into Canadian society is more rapid and is partially accomplished. It has been observed that many immigrants, especially during their first years in Canada, are very mobile and therefore a knowledge of both French and English is an added asset for them as it is for all Canadians. Language instruction, therefore, has been regarded as a fundamental part of the immigrant's integration.

The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State has an agreement with all provinces, except Quebec, under which the Government of Canada shares with the provinces the amount expended by the provinces towards the teaching costs of language and citizenship classes. There is another agreement whereby the Government of Canada, through the Citizenship Branch, reimburses the provinces for the cost of textbooks used in adult immigrant instruction. The formula is based on the current five-year average of expenditures for such textbooks in respect of each province. All of the provinces have entered into the textbook agreement with the exception of Quebec and British Columbia.

Immigrant Integration

One of the functions of the Citizenship Branch is to assist the immigrant to adjust to a new life in Canada. Our theory and practice in this matter is referred to as integration. This is a two-way process of change and adjustment on the part of both old and new Canadians so that together they may achieve common goals and objectives. The relationship is on a complementary rather than a subordinate basis. Its principle is to unite the people of Canada by accepting individual and group differences rather than endeavouring to make all people culturally

alike or striving for a levelling process in language, customs, traditions and social values. It enables all groups to make their peculiar and distinctive contributions to the total growth and development of the nation. Another way to express integration is to say that it is a sharing process with the objective that Canada will be enriched by the contributions of all groups, minority as well as majority. Integration emphasizes that the receiving society must change as well as those being received.

If one is to work effectively in the field of immigrant integration one must have a knowledge of some sixty cultural groups making up the Canadian mosaic. This must include historical information of their homelands and the particular problems they face as immigrants to Canada. It involves, too, a working knowledge of more than eight hundred ethnic organizations (although in total they would number at least six thousand); five hundred ethnic churches; two hundred foreign language newspapers and periodicals in some thirty languages. The ethnic press in Canada is organized into four press clubs located in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. These are affiliated with a national organization, the Canada Ethnic Press Federation. In addition there are approximately 130 foreign language broadcasts emanating from about sixty radio and T.V. stations.

Immigrant integration must be concerned with the whole person, not with segments of his life. For administrative purposes, however, the work is shared between two departments of the federal government—the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Department of the Secretary of State.

In general terms, the Department of Manpower and Immigration is concerned with the economic integration of the immigrant and provides him with initial and emergency services of an individual nature. Briefly, this includes the immigrant's reception at port of entry and destination, documentation, temporary accommodation, interviews in matters related to his employment including assisting him in becoming established in business or agriculture and providing him when required, with emergency medical and welfare assistance. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State is concerned with the social, political and cultural integration of the immigrant and provides group services to the total Canadian community whether the group be French, English, Indian or the more recent immigrant groups. In addition, officers of the Citizenship Branch must relate to sub-groups within individual ethnic communities, having diverse views concerning their political, social and religious life. The Citizenship Branch is concerned with the development of attitudes in both the immigrant and host

societies which permit a respect for individual and group differences. This means that the services provided are for all people of Canada.

The Citizenship Branch also provides an interviewing and counselling service. These interviews, in most instances, are not related to a particular social problem associated with the individual being interviewed but are for the purpose of assisting him in a leadership role or of interpreting unusual immigrant situations to leaders in government or community agencies. Another role of the Branch is to assist the community to recognize gaps in immigrant services. When gaps are recognized the community is encouraged to either expand the work of existing agencies or to create new ones.

Multi-Ethnic Programme

The primary goal of the multi-ethnic programme is to provide and guarantee an opportunity for all members of ethnic groups to participate fully in all phases of Canadian life and to prevent the isolation of any particular group or segment thereof.

A multi-ethnic programme is essential in the continuing development of a Canadian identity and Canadian unity. Members of ethnic groups must be provided with the opportunity, if they so desire, to belong to a particular ethnic community but, at the same time, they must feel that they are a part of the Canadian community and not just marginal or second-class citizens.

How does one define a multi-ethnic programme? Is it just another word for intergroup relations? Do these two terms mean the same thing? Perhaps the simplest way to answer that question is to say it all depends on who uses them and in what context. Intergroup relations in the broadest sense include interracial relations, interreligious relations and interethnic relations. Such a broad definition would encompass virtually all the programme areas of the Citizenship Branch. In a narrower and more restrictive sense, intergroup relations in Canada is concerned with the *inter* and *intra relationships* of certain defined groups and the basic concepts which characterize a democratic way of life. The multi-ethnic programme of the Citizenship Branch is defined in the latter sense. It would seem, therefore, that the most satisfactory way to define the multi-ethnic programme is to describe, in general terms, the programme area.

The multi-ethnic programme is concerned, in particular, with those groups sometimes referred to as the third force, whose ancestry is of non-British, non-French, non-Indian or non-Eskimo origin. It must be

emphasized that the “intragroup” aspect of our work is equally as important as the more obvious one of “intergroup” relations.

Many ethnic organizations place more emphasis on protecting and maintaining democratic freedoms than some of the older established Canadian institutions. In describing ethnic organizations, one must be conscious of the fact that they are just as Canadian as any other organization. This sentiment is nobly expressed in the following quotation from a speech by Thomas D’Arcy McGee:

Dear, most justly dear to every land beneath the sun, are the children born in her bosom and nursed upon her breast; but when the man of another country, wherever born, speaking whatever speech, holding whatever creed, seeks out a country to serve and honour and cleave to, in weal or in woe—when he heaves up the anchor of his heart from its old moorings, and lays at the feet of the mistress of his choice, his new country, all the hopes of his ripe manhood, he establishes by such devotion a claim to consideration not second even to that of the children of the soil.

Our Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson in his 1967 New Year’s message said:

One of the most exciting and creative things about Canada is our social and cultural diversity. This gives Canadians a far broader opportunity of personal and national growth and fulfilment than could ever be found in cultural and social uniformity.

We speak of a person as belonging to a group. In reality, he simultaneously belongs to many groups and easily moves from one to another provided he feels a sense of belonging, being wanted, being able to contribute as well as to receive some particular benefit.

The main descriptive difference between a designated “ethnic” and “Canadian” organization is that the membership of an ethnic organization usually comprises one cultural group. It is realized, however, that certain ethnic federations may embrace more than one cultural group, for example, the Baltic Women’s Federation.

If the primary goal of the multi-ethnic programme is to provide and guarantee an opportunity for all members of ethnic groups to participate fully in all phases of Canadian life and to prevent the isolation of any particular group or segment thereof, the need for such a programme seems self-evident. The following information, in addition to that already given, may be helpful in focusing attention on this programme:

(1) Canada’s population has increased sixfold in the past one hundred years.

(2) Persons of ethnic origin, other than French, English, Indian or Eskimo, now represent almost one third of the population of Canada.

(3) At the time of the last census in 1961, the foreign born comprised 15.5 per cent of the total population.

(4) Since 1946, Canada has received about 2.7 million immigrants who came from virtually every country in the world.

(5) Since 1900, Canada has received more than six and one-half million immigrants.

(6) The preceding statistics give an idea of Canada's population explosion and some appreciation of the rapid change in its cultural composition.

(7) We have heard and read a great deal about such forces within our society as the population explosion, the mobility explosion, the education explosion and many others. In addition to and at the same time as the outward bursting is taking place, there is a bursting inward. Marshall McLuhan on page 5 of his book entitled *Understanding Media*, makes the following observation: "...Electric speed in bringing all social and political functions together in a sudden implosion has heightened human awareness of responsibility to an intense degree. It is this implosive factor that alters the position of the Negro, the teenager and some other groups. They can no longer be contained, in the political sense of limited association. They are now involved in our lives, as we in theirs."

Your Suggestions Please

The multi-ethnic programme is an area of work in which the Citizenship Branch has had an interest for more than twenty-five years. The dimensions of the task have changed tremendously during that period. With the beginning of an intensified multi-ethnic programme, have you suggestions to offer which may assist the Branch in developing a more effective programme? The designs are merely on the drawing-board and therefore your views would be most welcome. The Citizenship Branch believes that one of its roles is to listen and then, by making use of the partnership principle, assist in the development of programmes to meet particular situations. I am now prepared to listen.

II

SOCIAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND STATISTICAL SURVEYS

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE; ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE CANADIAN SOCIETY

by
John H. Szymick
Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee came into being in November, 1940, slightly more than fifty years after the first two Ukrainian immigrants settled permanently in Canada. They were followed by many thousands more in the last decade of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth.

It should be borne in mind that the Ukrainian people belong mainly to two churches—the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox. Because of certain facts of history, dating as far back as the closing years of the sixteenth century, the relationship between the two churches was often strained. These historical differences were accentuated in Canada and this state of affairs was not conducive to close collaboration and co-operation between the two main bodies of adherents.

Yet even before the formation of the Committee there were several occasions when common action of various sorts, was undertaken. I might mention, for example, the formation in 1916 of a Central Committee in Winnipeg, whose chief task was to rally the Ukrainian community in defence of the bilingual school system in the province of Manitoba, when it was threatened with abolition, as eventually it was, later that year. The bilingual school system permitted not only the teaching of Ukrainian in Ukrainian settlements but also allowed the use of Ukrainian as a language of instruction.

In 1918, immediately after the First World War, a Ukrainian Citizenship Committee was formed and funds were raised in order to send a delegation from Canada to Paris. The purpose of the delegation was to assist the official delegation from Ukraine in pressing for an independent Ukrainian state. The delegation from Canada consisted of Ivan Petrushevich and Osyp Megas.

In 1919, the Ukrainian Red Cross was formed in order to organize relief for the needy Ukrainian war victims in the old land.

Then again in the latter part of 1938 there was common action to protest against the persecution of Ukrainians in central-eastern Europe,

and when Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed its independence, a common relief committee was formed to raise funds in aid of the newly-proclaimed state.

Laudable as these efforts were, they were organized to meet specific needs and the special bodies that were created ceased to exist when their specific goals were either achieved or for the time being became unachievable.

Many Ukrainian leaders saw a need for a permanent central body, and the Second World War, in which Canada was engaged to the hilt, heightened this necessity. The Ukrainian-Canadian youth volunteered by thousands into the armed services of their country, and it was widely felt that the Ukrainian community should display a united front by submerging its differences and through united action contribute more effectively to Canada's war effort.

As a prelude to the formation of one common committee, two separate bodies were at first organized: The Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians, and the Ukrainian Central Committee.

The first named was formed by the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the secular organization of the Greek Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian National Federation.

The second one, namely the Ukrainian Central Committee, consisted of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, oriented towards the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, the United Hetman Organization, the United Labour Organizations, the Ukrainian National Home Association and the Ukrainian Reading Association.

After several meetings and some assistance from Professor George Simpson, Head of the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan, and Mr. Tracy Phillips, at that time with the federal Department of National War Services, Nationalities Branch, the two bodies united under the name of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. This fusion took place in November, 1940.

The founding member-organizations, of Dominion-wide scope, were as follows:

- The Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada
- The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada
- The Ukrainian National Federation of Canada
- The United Hetman Organization, and
- The Ukrainian United Labour Organizations.

We might add that these organizations are still members of the Committee and are regarded as founding members. The United Labour Organizations subsequently assumed a less pretentious name, the Ukrainian Labour Organization. All editors of Ukrainian publications con-

nected with these organizations participated as members of the Committee.

Apart from charting the general policies of the Committee, one of the main terms of union between the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians and the Ukrainian Central Committee dealt with the manner in which the presidium of the executive organ of the Committee was to be constituted. It was mutually agreed that the President of the Committee should come from the ranks of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the First Vice-President and the General Secretary from the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the Second Vice-President from the Ukrainian National Federation, the Treasurer from the United Hetman Organization, and the Financial Secretary from the Ukrainian Labour Organization.

This arrangement is still binding, although some additions were made after the Second World War when approximately forty thousand Ukrainians came to Canada from displaced persons' camps in western Europe and founded some new organizations.

There have been some critical observations that the manner of filling executive posts in the Committee is not in keeping with democratic principles. Although these observations may have some merit, it should be emphasized that the Committee is not an organization in the popular sense of the word, and hence has no direct individual membership. It is rather a coalition of democratically-minded organizations and draws its strength from the strength of the member-organizations upon which it rests. By designating to the Executive its leading members from the respective member-organizations, the Committee as a whole can count upon the support of the entire Ukrainian community.

This method of forming the Executive eliminates the possibility of grouping or forming blocks in order to secure some imaginary advantage.

While this established practice has worked very well up to the present, there might be some danger in the future if it remains rigidly inflexible. Since the headquarters of the Committee are in Winnipeg, it naturally follows that the members of the Executive, at least a substantial majority, should reside in that city in order that the Committee may function properly. The Committee has been very fortunate in having for its President Rev. Dr. Basil Kushnir since 1940, with the exception of one brief interval. But there is no guarantee that the organization which delegates the President will at all times be able to provide a commanding personality with the necessary qualities of leadership, since this person has to be someone from Winnipeg.

We have singled out the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, because the office of the President is a very important one. But the same would

apply in some measure to the other organizations which delegate members to important executive posts. It might, therefore, become necessary in the future to modify this rigid system, while at the same time retaining intact the organizational structure of the Committee.

We should review now very briefly the principles and objectives which the Committee set for itself at the time it was formed. To do this we will quote relevant excerpts from an address delivered at the First Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg, June, 1943, by Mr. J. W. Arsenych, K.C., later a judge in Manitoba.

He said:

1. First of all, we, all combined, stand for democratic principles and the maintenance and the development of British institutions, and we are opposed to any and all totalitarian philosophies in whatever form they may ever appear.
2. We believe that, through the representatives of the Dominion-wide organizations of Canadians of Ukrainian descent which form this Committee, the Committee does and shall serve for the exchange of opinions, for the clarification and the consolidation of public opinion, and for the action of Ukrainian Canadians towards the following objectives:
 - a) Co-ordination and intensification of the participation of Canadian Ukrainians in Canada's war effort with its concomitant principles of democracy, Christian civilization, social justice and freedom to all nations. This, in short, is the immediate purpose of the Committee.
 - b) But we have a further purpose, namely, to maintain this body for the purpose of devising ways and means of solving problems in Canada common to all of us.
 - c) We hope, also, to be of some assistance to the aspirations of the 45,000,000 Ukrainians in Europe so that they, too, may receive equal treatment and equal rights in the family of free nations.

From the foregoing quotation it is evident that the primary objective of the Committee was to encourage and promote a more effective contribution of Canadian Ukrainians to Canada's participation in the Second World War.

We might add that this primary objective met with a greater than ordinary success. The voluntary enlistment of Ukrainian youth was higher than the national average. Some forty thousand of them served in the armed forces and participated in battles on various battlegrounds, including Hong Kong. Quite understandably, the Committee does not claim for itself any special credit. However, it did encourage enlistments; the Ukrainian press connected with the Committee gave wide coverage

in this area. The Committee encouraged the Ukrainian community to support and participate in Victory Loan drives, Red Cross campaigns and participation in War Service Clubs.

When the First Ukrainian Canadian Congress was held in June, 1943, the war was still in progress, and the statistical data was far from complete. However, I would like to quote a few figures, gleaned from an address by Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, the First Vice-President of the Committee, and one of four Ukrainian army chaplains.

Mr. Sawchuk stated that in fifteen districts in Alberta, where Ukrainians constituted 50 per cent or more of the population, they purchased 129 per cent of their quota of Victory Loan Bonds. In the Ethelbert district of Manitoba, which is 95 per cent Ukrainian, the quota was oversubscribed by 14 per cent. In one Saskatchewan locality 2,350 persons of Ukrainian origin purchased \$227,000 worth of bonds during one drive. The Radway district in Alberta oversubscribed by 98.6 per cent.

The participation of the Ukrainian-Canadian community in Canada's war effort was generally recognized by other Canadians. In its June 2nd issue, 1943, the *Winnipeg Free Press* commented editorially as follows:

When the war came, the best leadership among our Ukrainians sought to unite our Ukrainians behind the war effort. At the time when the Communist Ukrainians were trying to sabotage our war effort at every turn, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed of the other elements. It is no secret that getting this organization functioning was extremely difficult... But the organization was formed. It has done real service to Canada while the way that 30 to 40 thousands of young Ukrainians joined the Canadian armed forces, most of them long before Russia entered the war, is proof of the extent to which Canadianization has gone.

It should be mentioned here that the work of the Committee was not confined exclusively to Canada. With thousands of Ukrainian youth overseas, the Committee maintained a hostel in London, England, for Ukrainian servicemen, who happened to be in England on leave, undergoing special training or awaiting placement. The hostel and a canteen were great morale boosters. For many the hostel was a home away from home, if only for a brief period.

In June, 1946, the Committee convened the Second Ukrainian Canadian Congress, this time in Toronto. The President of the Committee, the Rev. Dr. Basil Kushnir, had just recently returned from a visit to western Europe. His stirring address in which among other issues, he dealt at length with the sorry plight of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees, evoked spontaneous sympathy and a firm resolve to come

to their aid. The refugees were composed of those who had been forcibly uprooted from their homeland and sent to Germany to work in munition factories. There were also war prisoners and those who in the final stages of the war had fled westward to seek freedom before the advancing Soviet armies. Many thousands of them were forcibly repatriated to their former homes before the western allies finally realized why they stubbornly resisted being sent back.

As if in anticipation of this great human tragedy resulting from the war, the Committee brought into being the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund and the new body commenced its operation of February 15, 1945, under a government permit. Starting with \$1,000 loaned to it by the Committee, in a short period of time it had ten thousand contributors, and by the end of 1945 had collected over \$65,000 for humanitarian work. In twenty years of operation over \$400,000 were collected, 75 per cent of which was spent on relief in western Europe. In 1962 the name of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund was changed to the Ukrainian Canadian Welfare Service, as being more appropriate in the changed circumstances.

Apart from organizing shipments of food and clothing for the refugees, the most important immediate task of the Ukrainian Relief Committee was to bring to an end deportations to the Soviet Union, and to secure for the displaced persons some legal status. Relief missions were dispatched to western Europe, which were headed at various times by Bohdan Panchuk, A. J. Yaremovich, E. Wasylyshyn and Miss A. Chraplywa.

The next important step of the Committee was to arrange for these displaced persons to resettle in other countries and particularly in Canada. To this end a delegation of the Committee met with the Government of Canada and as a result Canada opened its doors to those hapless people. Approximately forty thousand of them were resettled in Canada and are making valuable contributions to her growth and development. Among them was a sizeable proportion of intellectuals and highly educated people. Many of them joined professorial staffs in our universities. They also formed two learned societies: the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

The newly-arrived Ukrainians underwent a period of transition and adaptation and for a while disturbed the established pattern and tranquility of Ukrainian-Canadian community life. Some of the newcomers joined the existing Ukrainian organizations, but the vast majority of them formed their own organizations, patterned mostly on those organizations which functioned in the old land or were created in western Europe. Some of these organizations joined the Committee without much delay but the largest of them, the League for Ukraine's Liberation,

stayed aloof until 1959. On joining the Committee this organization delegated two members to the presidium.

It should be mentioned at this juncture, that in 1946 the newly formed Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association joined the Committee and was numbered among the founding members. Its first National President was Captain John G. Karasevich and he participated in the Second Congress, which was held in Toronto.

At the present time there are some twenty-eight organizations in the Committee. Of course, not all of them are Canada-wide. A Canada-wide organization must have several branches.

On June 28, 1963, the Committee was incorporated as a body politic and the following purposes and objects were set out in the Act of Incorporation:

- a) to act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian-Canadian community before the people and Government of Canada;
- b) to strengthen and co-ordinate the participation of Ukrainian-Canadians in the Canadian social and cultural life based on Christian and democratic principles, for justice, freedom and independence;
- c) to safeguard the justifiable aspirations of the Ukrainian people in Europe for independence and sovereignty of its ethnic territories;
- d) to sponsor and maintain among the member organizations mutual respect and tolerance and to co-ordinate the work in all matters that are of common interest to them;
- e) to plan and develop among the Ukrainian-Canadians sound community life in all its aspects.

Although it is a non-political body and favours no particular political party, the Committee encourages full participation in Canadian political activities and in Canadian institutions. Its particular interest in recent years has been in the field of education, especially in the extension of teaching the Ukrainian language in the public schools and universities.

A few years ago the Committee acquired its own building, a three-story structure at 456 Main Street in Winnipeg, with plenty of office space, committee rooms, board-room for the Executive, club room and a big hall for larger gatherings. The maintenance and activities of the Committee are financed by regular annual contributions of member-organizations as well as by the community at large. Since its inception over one million dollars have been contributed to the upkeep and activities of this body. No one serving on the Executive receives any remuneration. There are six paid employees who work under the direction of the Executive Director. The Executive meets regularly every two weeks

and holds a special meeting whenever some special problem arises. A much larger body, known as the Advisory Council meets every month. The Executive Director from 1948 until his death in 1966 was Mr. Wolodymyr Kochan. His service to the Committee has been invaluable. The present Director is Dr. Simon Kalba. The supreme moral authority rests with the All-Ukrainian Canadian Congress, which is convened every three years. To date there have been nine such Congresses.

The perpetuation of the Committee rests on the proven truism that in unity there is strength, and on the realization that no one organization, however strong, can do singly what can be accomplished by a concerted united group.

The Committee, of course, has performed no miracles, but it has some notable achievements to its credit. We may list a few. In 1959 the Committee launched a drive for funds to erect a statue of Ukraine's greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko, on the hundredth anniversary of his death. The Manitoba government of the day graciously consented to donate for that purpose a plot of land on the Legislative grounds in Winnipeg and the succeeding government honoured that commitment. The fund drive brought \$175,000, and the monument, the work of a Ukrainian-American sculptor, was officially unveiled on July 9, 1961, by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, in the presence of some fifty thousand gathered on the Legislative grounds.

It was at this unveiling ceremony that the Honourable Duff Roblin, Premier of Manitoba, made an announcement that the teaching of the Ukrainian language would be introduced into Grade IX in the academic year, and would be progressively extended in succeeding years to Grades X, XI and XII. This has been done.

Almost immediately after the unveiling ceremony, the Committee set to work to establish a million-dollar Taras Shevchenko Foundation, the proceeds from which were to be used for cultural and educational needs of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. On the 22nd day of July, 1963, the Foundation was incorporated by an Act of Parliament. As stated in the act of incorporation, the Board of Directors, which is a separate body from the Executive of the Committee, is empowered to:

- a) use or grant to other organizations such portion of the income of the Foundation as the Board may deem proper for the preservation, fostering, promotion and advancement of the Ukrainian culture, with the stipulation, that any organization which receives such a contribution from the Foundation may not use any portion of such receipts for its administration, operational or organizational expenses; and

- b) grant to individuals scholarships, fellowships and bursaries for the preservation, fostering, promotion and advancement of Ukrainian culture in Canada.

To date some \$250,000 have been donated to the Foundation. When the ultimate objective is reached, the Foundation will have at its disposal between fifty and sixty thousand dollars annually to contribute to the cultural enrichment of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

Another notable achievement of the Committee was the translation and publication in English of the complete poetical works of Shevchenko. To work on the translation, the Committee engaged the services of two Canadian scholars, Prof. C. H. Andrusyshen, Head of the Slavic Department at the University of Saskatchewan, and Prof. Watson Kirkconnell, President of Acadia University, who is well versed in Ukrainian and other languages and is a poet and writer in his own right. The book was printed by the University of Toronto Press. These two gentlemen also translated and compiled for the Committee an anthology of Ukrainian poetry, which was published in 1963, containing 500 pages of selections from 112 Ukrainian poets. The *Kobzar* translation of Shevchenko's poetry, to which I have referred, was published in 1964, to coincide with the 150th anniversary of the birth of the poet. A third book in this group, printed in both languages, is entitled *Shevchenko the Artist* and contains some seventy reproductions of his paintings about half of them in colour. This is something that no single organization could have undertaken on its own.

The Committee can justly take some credit for the promotion of teaching the Ukrainian language in high schools and universities, particularly in Manitoba. This was a very long process, the beginnings of which date back to 1957, when the delegation of the Committee, consisting of the late senator William Wall, Mr. John M. Hawryluk, at that time Member of the Legislature, and Mr. John H. Surnick, presented a brief to the Royal Commission on Education requesting the introduction of Ukrainian into secondary schools on an optional basis.

This request was partially met in July, 1961, when Premier Roblin announced that Ukrainian would be introduced into Grade IX in the 1962-63 academic year and extended to higher grades in succeeding years. However, a student selecting the Ukrainian language was still required to have either French, German or Latin in order to satisfy university language requirements.

The Committee pursued the matter further and in June 1966 met again with Premier Roblin and the Minister of Education, Dr. George Johnson, both of whom adopted a sympathetic attitude and promised

to use their good offices to secure equal treatment for the Ukrainian language. An immediate result of that meeting was the authorization by the Department of Education to proceed with the preparation of a Ukrainian correspondence course for Grade IX. That course has now been completed by Mr. W. J. Sarchuk, a deputy director of the Correspondence Branch of the Department of Education.

The final success of these efforts came on February 21, 1967, with the announcement that the Senate of the University has accorded the Ukrainian language equal status with French, German and Latin, with the sole exception of the School of Music. Shortly after, the same recognition was given by the new Brandon University.

In its efforts to have Ukrainian fully recognized, the Committee had support from the Legislature of Manitoba, the Winnipeg School Board, the Manitoba Teachers' Federation and some educationists; and here I would like to mention particularly Dr. Cornelius Jaenen, Professor of History at United College in Winnipeg, who through his articles and public pronouncements expressed disapproval of the existing inequalities.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism also afforded the Committee the opportunity to present its views on the matter of language and culture by briefs and appearances at the hearings.

I should also mention the meeting of the Committee's representatives with Quebec Premier Jean Lesage in Winnipeg, upon his return from speaking engagements in other western provinces. The meeting took place in early October, 1965. Mr. Lesage was very sympathetic to the stand taken by the Committee in respect to language and culture. He emphasized that any group desirous of preserving its culture, must preserve its language and it should be done through the school system, beginning with the elementary grades. The daily papers carried extensive reports of this meeting and some reporters called it sensationally a great "break-through". This stemmed from some previous slanted reporting, which had created the impression that the Ukrainian community was steadfastly opposed or inimical to the cultural aspirations of the French Canadians. This was not so. While the French in Manitoba demanded that their language should be used as a language of instruction, the Ukrainians on the other hand requested that theirs be a subject of study, with equal treatment at the university. There was no clash of interest here. There never was any objection to French being used as a language of instruction in French communities. I might say that this matter has now been satisfactorily resolved for both groups.

In its main brief to the Royal Commission on B and B, the Committee set forth its views as to the direction in which Canada should move in order to preserve the precious heritage brought to this country

and for its enrichment, by many citizens of diverse origins, and to safeguard the equality of all its citizens. The Committee endorsed the widely accepted concept of unity in diversity, as a fundamental basis of Canadian society. In the matter of language and culture, the Committee took the stand that every Canadian should have a mastery of one official language in order to communicate with other Canadians, but not necessarily both official languages. It maintained that each ethnic group of citizens that so desires, should have an opportunity to study its own language, as a second language, through our public school system and through the universities, since both are supported by public funds. The same, on a regional basis, should apply to other governmental or semi-governmental institutions that rely upon the public purse.

In closing I want to say that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has become an institution and an integral part of the Ukrainian-Canadian society. If for any reason the Committee should ever cease to exist, and I personally don't think that will happen, it will not take long before a similar representative and co-ordinating body will again be formed.

The Committee has given the Ukrainian community a third dimension, a broader realization that it is far better to speak with one united voice, than with many varied voices. It has given the Canadian citizens of Ukrainian origin a feeling of greater security, as well as a sense of greater interdependence, so vital in this modern age. It has given them a sense of greater worth and usefulness not only as regards its own group, but also in the wider area of Canadian citizenship and in communication with other groups of citizens.

All this does not mean that there are no differences among the organizations that constitute the Committee. That would indeed be undesirable. But in the Committee we have learned to respect the opinions of others and to resolve differences that are capable of being resolved in an amicable manner.

At the present moment the Committee with its counterpart in the United States of America, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, (with which and along with similar bodies in South America it forms the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference) is engaged in preparation for convening the World Congress of Ukrainians in the Free World, which will take place in New York in November, 1967. We hope that this World Congress will bring closer together the Ukrainian democratically-minded organizations in the free world.

Born in time of war, the Committee has found new responsibilities and challenges in times of peace, as it is only when the blessings of peace and tranquility are with us that humanity can hope to build a better world and safeguard the sanctity and dignity of the individual.

CANADIAN POLISH CONGRESS

by
W. A. Krajewski

Canadian Polish Congress, Toronto, Ont.

The first Polish settlers landed in North America with other pioneers from Europe, in Jamestown, Virginia, in October 1608. That was twelve years prior to the arrival of the famous Mayflower with the Pilgrims.¹

These Poles were probably not the only ones to venture upon the voyage. Poland in those days was a first-class European power and could easily have produced adventurers who may have reached Canadian shores. According to known records, August Globenski came to Canada in 1776 and was regarded, for a long time, as the first Polish settler.² Recently, Dr. L. Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski published an article in the *Polish Voice Weekly* containing a new revelation regarding Polish settlers.³ He claims that another Pole, Barcz, came to Montreal before the year 1752. Further research among Canadian archives may lead to the discovery of yet earlier settlers.

The first Polish settlers often played an important role in contemporary Canadian life. However, they did not produce an established Polish community. Such a community was gradually created by the mass immigration of Poles. This immigration started in the second half of the nineteenth century and has continued until the present time. We know about five hundred Poles arrived between 1860 and 1870 in Renfrew County, Ontario, and started a settlement, naming it Wilno. In 1895 Father Jankowski founded the first Polish parish at Barry's Bay and Round Lake.⁴ In a similar way by the end of the nineteenth century, about ten thousand Poles had settled in Manitoba. There, Father Kulawy founded the first Polish parish in 1898.* Secular organizations came later.

¹ *Jamestown Pioneers from Poland*, Published by the Polish American Congress, 1958, 1514-20 West Division St., Chicago 22, Illinois.

² *Notes sur la famille Globensky*, L. Kos-Rabcewicz Zubkowski, *The Polish Past in Canada*, Studies of Polish Research Institute in Canada, Toronto, 1960.

³ *Polish Voice Weekly* (Glos Polski) No. 8, 23 February 1967.

⁴ Information received from Mrs. Anna Zurakowski of Barry's Bay, Ontario.

* "Early Polish Priests in Manitoba," Edward M. Hubicz, *The Polish Post in Canada*, Studies of Polish Research Institute in Canada, Toronto, 1960.

Synowie Polski, the organization started in Toronto in 1907, changed its name later to the Polish Alliance Friendly Society, or *Zwiazek Polakow w Kanadzie*. This important organization celebrates its sixtieth anniversary this year.

The first Polish settlers in Ontario and Manitoba were very poor and simple people. In the year 1905, an average Polish immigrant possessed a meagre twelve dollars in cash.⁵ In fact, these immigrants were from the poorest peasant classes of Poland, partitioned at that time by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

In conclusion, we may summarize that the first Polish settlers arrived in Canada 200 to 250 years ago. Polish mass immigration started about a hundred years ago, and community and social work among Canadian Poles began sixty years ago.

The Federation of Polish Societies in Canada

In the years 1910 to 1940, the number of immigrants fluctuated. During the First World War the number decreased, then after the war it stepped up, but in the depression dropped down again. During this period immigrants were still mainly of peasant stock. The life of the Polish settler especially during the economic crisis was not an easy one. In spite of this, many new Polish organizations were founded all over Canada. Links were established between Ontario Poles, Quebec and Manitoba Poles. The Polish press started to flourish in Winnipeg and in Toronto. Poles across Canada became more and more conscious of their common heritage, common customs and language. The idea of an organization representing all Poles in Canada became an aspiration of many.

On the 26th of January, 1933, in Winnipeg, Bernard Bronislaw Dubiński, Barrister-at-Law, Kasimir Konarski, a railway employee, Andrew Wach, manufacturer, and Jan Sikora, editor, applied for a federal charter to organize the Federation of Polish Societies in Canada. They received an affirmative answer on February 7, 1933.⁶

However, the ideological differences between organizations were still very great. The Polish Alliance Friendly Society did not join the newly created Federation. The other organizations followed this example. Thus, the Federation of Polish Societies gradually ceased its activities.

⁵ "Early Polish Priests in Manitoba," Edward M. Hubicz, *The Polish Past in Canada*, Studies of Polish Research Institute in Canada, Toronto, 1960.

⁶ Letters Patent Incorporating Federation of Polish Societies in Canada, 7 February 1933, Canadian Polish Congress, Head Office, Toronto.

War and Post-War Immigration

The Second World War brought great changes into the life and social structure of Polish people in Canada. The war in Europe — the occupation of Poland by the German and Soviet armies — and mass deportations of the Polish population by Soviet or German governments — and the Polish army formed abroad, resulted in the great immigration during the post-war years, 1946-1955. This immigration consisted of about 55,000 immigrants from almost every sector of the Polish nation. First to arrive was a group of Polish engineers in 1940 who founded the Association of Polish Engineers in Canada in 1941. In 1947 the Association of Polish Combatants was organized. Another important organization created by the new immigrants was the Polish Scouts of Canada.

One must realize that the post-war immigrant is not only the representative of the Polish village, he is also an engineer, a doctor, a lawyer, a businessman, a high-class specialist, scientist or university professor. The character of the Polish ethnic group, or as it is very often called "Polonia", has been transformed and has become a truer, more balanced representation of the Polish nation. The group has increased also in number. Whereas the pre-war Polish ethnic group numbered less than 150,000 people, in 1961 according to the population census, this same group has risen to 323,517. According to Mr. R. Kogler of the Polish Research Institute, the table below gives the number of the immigrants in various periods,⁷ and it shows that for the nine years between 1946 and 1955 the number equalled 43 per cent of all the Polish immigrants who came to Canada before 1961.

Number of Polish Immigrants in Canada in various periods:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Before-1921	19,125	14.8
1921-1930	30,503	23.6
1931-1945	7,863	6.1
1946-1950	31,967	24.8
1951-1955	23,410	18.2
1956-1961	16,083	12.5
Total	128,951	100

⁷ Quarterly of the Polish Combattants Association in Canada Inc., No. 2, 1967, p. 6.

Foundation of the Canadian Polish Congress

The great influx of fresh forces, the different type of immigrant and the new organizations that spread across Canada made possible the stable establishment of the newly born Canadian Polish Congress. This organization was founded in the most critical time of the Second World War in the year 1944. It was the year of the Monte Cassino battle and of the Warsaw uprising. Polish soldiers had fought in almost all fronts of the war.

One must remember that during the period 1940-1944, the Federation of Polish Societies existed only on paper. However, the idea of an organization that would represent all Polonia, was much alive. Uncertainties as to the final result of the World War and the fate of Poland, stirred the minds of many. Thus, the year 1944 became the year of decision.

In this year the leaders of Polonia called a great convention of delegates from all the Polish communities in Canada. The Polish Alliance Friendly Society of Canada, with the remnants of the Federation of Polish Societies, took the major part in preparation for this convention.

Fr. Glogowski, editor of *Zwiazkowiec*, a newspaper of the Polish Alliance Friendly Society, wrote at that time:

The great Convention of the Canadian Polonia will take place on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of September, 1944.

- Only in unity can Polonia create something good and help Poland.
- Very often the federal government met with difficulties when it wanted to co-operate with Polonia as a whole. It had always to deal with so many organizations.
- This convention should be a starting point of our work. It should result in the election of the permanent executive body, a Council of Polonia. The interest of all Canadian Poles, the interest of Canada and the interest of Poland demands this from us.

And he stated clearly in his numerous articles⁸ that the aim was threefold: Polonia, Canada and Poland. The convention was called to discuss these ideas.

In such an atmosphere the delegates of 118 Polish organizations and parishes held their meeting in Toronto at 62 Claremont Street (Polish

⁸ *Zwiazkowiec* (The Alliancer) 1944, articles signed by F. G. Glogowski) written in connection with the convention of the Canadian Polonia — 16 April, 20 August, 3 September, 10 September, 17 September and others. See also *Zwiazkowiec*, Monograph of the Polish Newspaper in Canada, B. Heydenkorn, Polish Alliance Press Ltd., Toronto, Ontario, 1963, pp. 94, 96.

Friendly Alliance Hall) and at 1087 Queen Street West (Polish National Union Hall) on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of September, 1944. They decided to organize the Canadian Polish Congress and elected the first Head Executive Board: President—J. Grocholski; Vice-Presidents—J. Pankowski for Toronto, J. Grebski for Vancouver, A. Prokop for Winnipeg, J. Roszkowski for Montreal, J. Kamienski for Windsor; Executive-Secretary—F. Glogowski; Assistant Secretary—P. Bilewicz; Treasurer—S. Justynski. B. Dubiński, former President of the Federation of Polish Societies, became the President of the Congress Council. The charter of the Federation of Polish Societies was accepted as the charter of the Canadian Polish Congress.

The Aims of the Canadian Polish Congress

The present constitution of the Congress differs very little from the original one. The aims are the same and are stated in the following paragraphs.⁹

- Par. 5: The Canadian Polish Congress is an institution embracing Polish secular and church organizations and associations acting legally in Canada. The Canadian Polish Congress has no political affiliations.
- Par. 6: The aims of the Canadian Polish Congress are as follows:
- a) The Canadian Polish Congress represents the Polish community with respect to the Canadian authorities and whenever it is called for.
 - b) It co-ordinates and agglomerates the efforts of all Polish organizations acting within Canada.
 - c) It agglomerates all moral strength, intellectual and material powers of the Polish community in order to promote the Polish cause in every field and with all available means, to preserve on a high level the moral, cultural and material state of the Polish community, to aid and protect new Polish immigrants, to tighten the bonds between the Polish community and Canadian society, to safeguard and foster democratic tenets and Polish traditions and to guard and defend the rights and the good name of every Pole.

⁹ Canadian Polish Congress Constitution with the amendments introduced by Canadian Polish Congress Convention in Winnipeg (1962). Printed in February 1963.

Any Polish organization or association acting legally within Canada may be a member of the Canadian Polish Congress. The only exception is a Communist organization. The Canadian Polish Congress is a voluntary institution composed of 192 Polish organizations and has at present thirteen branches spread from Montreal to Vancouver. Some branches like Toronto, Winnipeg or Montreal are large and encompass twenty to thirty organizations. Others like Kitchener and Brantford are smaller and consist of three or four organizations. According to the constitution, any two organizations can form a branch of the Canadian Polish Congress. The Executive Board of the branch is elected every year from delegates of organizations belonging to the given branch. The Head Executive Board of the Canadian Polish Congress is elected once every two years at the general convention of delegates of all member organizations. The Head Executive Board of the Canadian Polish Congress is the main executive body and is composed of a president, five vice-presidents, vice-secretary and treasurer, and five members of the Board. These positions are honorary.

The seat of the Canadian Polish Congress is at present in Toronto but this varies according to the Head Executive Board. The seat has a permanent office that is financed from the budget of the Congress. The budget is based on membership fees of all participating organizations. At present the membership fee is a dollar annually for each member of the participating organization.

The Canadian Polish Congress is a politically neutral organization. It does not participate in any political activities in Canada or take part in actions of any political organizations of Polish *émigrés*. It acts only in the interests of the Polish ethnic group in Canada. This in essence is its social position.

The Canadian Polish Congress is primarily an organization for social work in a broad sense.

Social Work of the Canadian Polish Congress

The Canadian Polish Congress endeavours to follow the above described aims and principles in its day-to-day work. The various tasks and social projects are executed through special committees organized under the guidance of the Head Executive or by the branches of the Canadian Polish Congress.¹⁰

¹⁰ This part covers well-known facts of the social work in various Congress Committees. More detailed presentation of the social work goes beyond the scope of this brief study. It may be obtained by the examination of the reports that are prepared annually by the Canadian Polish Congress Branches and the Head Executive Board for their conventions.

Charitable Work

The best known of its activities is charitable work. It proceeds along two main lines: help to the poor and help to the war invalids. The Social Welfare Committee takes care of destitute Poles in Canada, Europe and Poland. Similarly, the Invalid Committee looks after the Polish invalids in Canada and outside of Canada, mostly in Europe. Special fund-raising campaigns are organized to help finance this activity. In 1956, after political changes in Poland, the Congress called a special committee to collect money for the destitute in Poland. A sum of \$180,000 was collected and sent to Cardinal Wyszynski for his charitable fund. At this time a cobalt bomb was purchased in Canada and donated to a Warsaw hospital. The Montreal branch of the Canadian Polish Congress succeeded recently in building a Polish home for the aged which, no doubt, is a great achievement. It is almost impossible to describe all the charitable work carried on by the committees.

Canadian Problems

A special committee for Canadian problems propagates contacts with other ethnic groups in Canada, promotes Polish cultural groups that take part in interethnic competitions and in Canadian celebrations. Representatives of this committee participate in the meetings of the Canadian Citizenship Council and others, e.g., the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Through this committee, the Canadian Polish Congress tries to encourage Poles to take an active part in the political life of Canada. The Congress stresses the need and importance of having Canadian-Polish representatives among Members of Parliament. The Canadian Polish Congress has a realistic approach to the integration of ethnic groups into Canadian life. However, in case of any discrimination or prejudice towards Polish Canadians, the Congress does not hesitate to protest and defend the good name of Poles.

Immigration Problems

The Congress takes a lively interest in immigration problems, as there is a continuous flow of Polish immigrants to this country. The Vice-President of the Congress in Ottawa has ample opportunity to intervene on behalf of Polish immigrants. Particularly vital, from our point of view, is the matter of relaxation of regulations regarding immigration from

behind the Iron Curtain, especially Poland. Only this year the Canadian Polish Congress submitted to the Special Standing Committee on Immigration, several suggestions with reference to this matter.

Cultural Activities

The other fields of Congress activities cover education and culture. The Congress remains in close contact with the Polish Teachers' Association and extends a helping hand in the preparation of teachers' conventions. Also, the various branches of the Congress are known for their lively activities in the educational field; there are special committees in branches, taking care of Polish evening schools. In spite of all efforts, there are certain set-backs, caused mainly by the lack of necessary funds. To overcome this difficulty, ten years ago, the Adam Mickiewicz Foundation was initiated with the main purpose of giving scholarships, bursaries, and help to Polish artists and publications, etc.

Another cultural institution affiliated with the Congress is the Polish Research Institute, founded ten years ago upon Dr. Turek's initiative. The activities of this Institute are well known through its publications.

The recent celebrations in connection with Polish Millennium were the result of Congress initiative in 1960, when the general convention of Poles was organized in order to make the preparations for the forthcoming anniversary. It would take too long to mention all the events in connection with this great occasion. To give a general idea of the character of the celebrations, we would like to mention: concert tour of W. Malcuzyński, well-known pianist; the Polish Youth Jamboree at Kaszuby (Barry's Bay); the foundation of a Canadian Polish Millennium Fund with the main purpose of promoting culture (similar to Adam Mickiewicz Foundation); the publication of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* in an English translation; also several smaller concerts of various kinds. In some instances, Millennium and Centennial celebrations overlapped. Such was the case with the Copernicus monument in Montreal, in commemoration of both anniversaries. Similarly, a monument to Sir Casimir Gzowski will be erected in Toronto. The Centenary Council of Canada lists these two monuments among the most important of Centennial projects.

Information Service and Political Problems

In accordance with its constitution, the Congress pays special attention to its information service. This service deals with the problems of the Polish community, ideology, with programs for the future, and with

the work of the Head Executive Board. It co-ordinates the efforts of all organizations. The information service acts through the representatives of Congress who visit various branches, and through the press.

The Congress is an advocate of Polish community interests and as such it makes it its business to keep in touch with the federal government and to take care of all matters concerning that community. For this purpose, one of the Vice-Presidents chosen from an Ottawa organization acts as liaison officer between Head Office of Congress and the federal government.

Since the Polish October Revolution in 1956, a thaw resulted in Poland's internal politics giving more freedom to its citizens and to external relations with other countries and Poles abroad. Since that time one has noticed frequent visits of various Polish orchestras, theatrical groups and such to Canada. There were several visits of Mazowsze, Slask (folk ballet), Poznan Boys' Choir, Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra, etc. Also several excursions of Polish Canadians to Poland are being organized every year. Poles come for visits to Canada and members of the Polish community are free to go to Poland. Closer contacts with the mother country did not change the general attitude towards the Communist government in Poland and the Canadian Polish Congress considers it its duty to guard the community against the harmful infiltrations of aliens to our way of life.

This is the reason why during the last several conventions of the Canadian Polish Congress in Edmonton, Montreal and Winnipeg, special resolutions were passed to warn people against contacts with official representatives of present-day Poland. Although the Canadian Polish Congress sympathizes with the efforts of the Polish nation in the field of cultural and economic expansion, it cannot condone the present political regime that was imposed on Poland. But even so, in some cases, like the problem of recognition of Poland's western boundary, the Congress sides with Poland's demands.

The Congress must have a realistic approach to all matters concerning the Polish community in Canada. This community has to be well adjusted in the country of settlement and must take part in the life of the country, but, at the same time, it cannot break its ties with the mother country and must be well oriented in political situations. It is a very complex problem faced probably by many ethnic groups in this country.

The Factors Influencing the Canadian Polish Congress

We come now in our discourse to the question of the development of the Canadian Polish Congress. There are three elements that have to be taken into consideration. The most important one is the quality of member organizations. When well organized and conscious of their obligations towards Congress, they are able to give the best support to Congress in all its activities. Secondly, there is the relationship with the mother country. A correct attitude towards the country of origin, cultivating cultural traditions and knowledge of the language as well as level-headed and factual appraisal of present realities in Poland, should underlie the attitude of the Polish ethnic group. Finally there is the orientation within Canada. The younger generation born here has a different outlook from the older generation, and does not share the problems of their fathers who had to adjust to the new conditions. There is no need for double loyalty because the young generation is loyal to Canada primarily, but the young people should not forget their Polish heritage and they should be conscious of this factor in their lives. They should not shy away from the activities of the Polish ethnic group.

All three elements must be well balanced in the life of the community. Well organized Canadians of Polish origin are the basis of the future of the Polish community and the Canadian Polish Congress, its official representative. Should the attachment to Poland be accentuated too much, there will be a tendency to become Polish political émigrés. Stronger stress on the Canadian element would lead to assimilation and loss of ethnic identity. Lack of organization would lessen the Polish importance both as a group and economically. It is quite clear that only well balanced elements, as mentioned above, will decide the proper future.

In closing this short presentation of the activities of the Canadian Polish Congress, one should give thought to the role that this organization plays in the life of Canada. Obviously, it is possible for such an organization to exist within a democratic society. Can it, however, be considered useful or is it just tolerated in the spirit of democracy?

If, in fact, it can be assumed that Canada has an enlightened approach to its internal problems and is truly a mosaic composed of various national groups, then the existence of the Canadian Polish Congress seems to be desirable and may well play an important role in the general structure of the Canadian nation in the making. It would be, then, in the best interests of Canada to see the Canadian Polish Congress develop in strength and importance.

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY CANADIAN SLOVAKS TO CANADA

by

J. M. Kirschbaum

Ethnic Press Association of Ontario

Canada was conceived as a multicultural society and nation, and while for a long time the Anglo-Saxon and French patterns were used as the basis for the Canadian cultural development, contributions by newcomers of other backgrounds and cultural heritages were not excluded. Not all Canadians were receptive to the concept of a multicultural Canada,¹ but it would be unjust not to recognize that Canada has allowed, and at times even encouraged, cultural expression of the ethnic groups that immigrated during the past one hundred years. Canadian men of letters, using two official languages, set a pattern which was inevitably imitated by the immigrants from Slavic and other countries. On the other hand, there was no official or conscious policy of a cultural "melting-pot," as was adopted in the United States. Canadian leaders since the time of Sir Wilfrid Laurier have been invoking instead such "sensory symbols as the beauty of the mosaic, the flower garden and the rainbow."²

Thus Canadian culture has been open to contributions from many ethnic groups and as a result Canada is enriched and strengthened by

¹ According to Prof. Watson Kirkconnell, Canadian national attitude towards the immigrants has passed through two phases. In his opinion, "their poetry, however, may help us to develop a third and much truer attitude towards them, as 'beings breathing thoughtful breath', men and women as capable as any amongst us of appreciating the beauties and the philosophies of this world." *Canadian Overtones*, pp. 3-5.

² Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians*, (Toronto 1967), p. 76. In this respect, Sir Wilfrid Laurier is often quoted by politicians as well as by the ethnic leaders:

"I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith, has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world."

the cultural contributions of many peoples, whose culture and civilization are centuries old. It is still, however, an unanswered question whether all the cultural expressions in the arts and in literature, for instance, written in ethnic languages, are a part of Canadian culture or of the respective ethnic cultures. Should only direct involvement in the cultural activities of the two official languages be considered as a part of the Canadian culture or should the cultural activities in any language on Canadian soil be so considered?

Regarding cultural contributions by ethnic groups in Canada we have necessarily to speak about them in the broad sense, that is, all the aspects that make up the cultural life of a people, particularly when we deal with groups which came to Canada at a time when large parts of the country were not yet open to civilization. Secondly, we have to take into consideration not only the direct contributions to Canadian cultural life made in English or French, but also the indirect contributions of cultural activities within the ethnic groups in their mother tongues, aiming at the preservation of their cultural heritage. In this respect, we are thinking particularly of literary activities in spite of the fact that the question remains unanswered as to whether or not literature in the ethnic languages is a part of the Canadian literature or only of Slovak, Ukrainian, Polish or other literatures.³

Cultural contributions of the first wave of Slovak immigrants was limited to bringing the rudiments of culture into the wilderness. The Slovaks helped to open the vast territories in the Canadian West to civilization. But at the same time their efforts to preserve their cultural heritage and to adjust to the ways of life in Canada prepared the Slovak ethnic group to take an active part in Canadian cultural life.

As in the case of other ethnic groups, the first waves of Slovak immigrants contributed mostly by their folklore, which, during the past decades, has developed in all Canadian provinces into a component part of celebrations, national or provincial, and has been accepted as one of

³ Prof. W. Kirkconnell considers literature in various ethnic languages as a part of Canadian literature "in foreign languages." See his regular surveys in *University of Toronto Quarterly*. Prof. Y. Slavutych also speaks of Slavic Literatures in Canada, *Slavs in Canada*, (Edmonton, 1966), pp. 92-109.

Prof. J. A. Wojciechowski is of the following opinion: "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." See "Slavic Ethnic Cultures within the Canadian Framework." *Slavs in Canada*, p. 89.

the many expressions of Canadian culture. Maintained at the beginning in community and church halls, the colourful Slovak dances, songs and costumes, have been seen on stage and on television and have won prizes at Folk Art Festivals.⁴

This contribution to the cultural life of Canada represents the first phase of cultural activities by the Slovak ethnic group. The multicultural character of Canada not only allowed ethnic groups to maintain and develop their folklore, but also to integrate it into Canadian culture.⁵ A particularly important role was played by the church organizations of all three faiths (the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Lutheran) and by Slovak fraternal organizations and the Slovak-language press. The church, as has been recognized by Canadian historians, was never merely a religious institution in Canada. From the very beginning there was a deep historical tie between culture and religion. Religious institutions have been in the forefront of cultural development.

For Slovaks (as well as for other ethnic groups) the social and cultural role of the church was of particular importance in the early periods of immigration. In certain respects it was the main cultural centre. Parishes with their parish halls and schools provided a type of community centre bringing people together for the enrichment of soul and spirit and for the maintenance of the cultural heritage they brought to Canada. It also helped the immigrants to integrate and acquainted them with the culture of their new country. The fifteen Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic parishes have made a more important contribution to Canadian cultural life than is generally recognized. It was a twofold contribution. the parish was a cultural centre for preserving the values brought to Canada, and parishioners were either directly or indirectly

⁴ Among the most successful Slovak dancing groups was the *Nitra Dancers* from St. Catharines who won first prize at a Freedom Festival in Toronto and appeared on television in several American cities. Later a group from Toronto called *Zemplin*, the group *Tatra* from Oshawa and *Slovakia* from Hamilton made successful appearances at "Nationbuilders" festivals and at Expo 67. In Montreal several dancing groups were organized, but Slovaks of Montreal became known mainly through their outstanding folk-song singers: Helen Micak-Corej, Margaret Schneider and Ann Vyooch.

⁵ As R. B. Klymasz of Indiana University writes "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." See "The Case for Slavic Folklore in Canada", *Slavs in Canada*, p. 110.

induced into higher education by the priests or by the spirit of competition which developed within the parish community.⁶

The role played by the Slovak-language press and by the Slovak organizations in this first phase of cultural contributions by Slovak Canadians was also of considerable importance. But for lack of space let us consider and evaluate only contributions of Slovak-Canadian poets, writers, artists and scientists, which are both direct and indirect, and represent mostly a little-known part of the overall contribution of Slovak Canadians in the past eighty years. Some of them distinguished themselves in their services to the Slovak-Canadian community; others to the Canadian people as a whole. In either case, they brought something of lasting value to Canada and its people.

Literary Contributions

In the post-World War II period, a second wave of Slovak writers and poets came to Canada, and their writings in Slovakia or in Canada certainly meet the criteria of literary works either in poetry or in prose. Prof. Yar Slavutych partly covered this period of Slovak cultural activities in his paper at the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs in Banff in 1965, and later in his survey of Slavic literature, published in the symposium *Slavs in Canada*. For several years the writings of Slovak scholars in Canada were also reviewed by Prof. Watson Kirkconnell in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* (1963-1966), among "foreign language publications". And *Slavica Canadiana*, published by Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj, has registered all books by Canadian Slovak writers. Because of these studies Slovak literary contributions will be mentioned only briefly here.

To Slavutych's survey of the writings of six Slovak poets (Besenovsky, Doransky, Debnarkin, Dragos, Ondrus, Zvonar), two authors of scholarly works (J. M. Kirschbaum, John Rekem) and two political writers (K. Culen and Karol Sidor), we should add the successful novelist and short-story writer Ludovit Kandra of Kitchener, Ontario, the literary critic Jan Mestancik of Sarnia, Ontario, and three writers on cultural and political subjects: Fr. Jan Gleiman, Vladimir Cincik and Dr. Frano Tiso, whose contributions have appeared in Slovak and foreign-language symposia, almanacs and periodicals in Canada, United

⁶ On the role of ethnic churches see Allan R. Boyd "The Foreign Language Press in Canada", in J. Kosa, ed., *Immigrants in Canada* (1955), p. 47, and P. J. Kellner, "Canada Slavs through the Mirror of their Press", in *Slavs in Canada*, p. 151.

States and Europe. There is also a score of contributors to Slovak newspapers and symposia whose writings are directed to the readers of the weeklies, almanacs and religious periodicals. Among them are the Rev. Francis Fuga-Vinansky, editor of the monthly *Maria* and publisher of popular books *Nasa Otcina* (3 volumes), Stefan Reistetter, editor of *Kanadsky Slovak*, Jozef Kutka, T. Stolarik-Kysucky, Anton Murin and Jan Elias.

In this second wave of Slovak immigrants also came editors of newspapers and calendars (F. Kvetan, S. Hreha, S. Zuber, V. Dudak, J. Durjancik, etc.) G. R. Kurdell published his *Europe's Greatest Exodus* in Toronto in 1962. While Ludovit Kandra's and Jan Mestancik's writings undoubtedly meet the criteria of literary works, some of the other names belong rather to the category of publicists, journalists and newspapermen.

Contributions to the Arts, Science and Scholarship

The second generation of Canadian Slovaks and also some of the post-war immigrants became directly involved in Canadian artistic life. They penetrated all professions and their contributions to Canadian life "have far outdistanced the numerical strength of the Slovak ethnic group,"⁷ as we shall see later. There was a great desire among Slovak immigrants to give their children higher education, as we have already mentioned, and many grasped the opportunity. As a result, a number of Slovaks are active in the creative and performing arts as well as in literature, scholarship and science. Their contributions arise from direct involvement in Canadian cultural life in one or the other official languages and represent a second phase of Slovak contributions to Canadian culture.

In the creative and performing arts several young Slovaks have been recognized as of outstanding or promising talent. Charles Dobias (born in 1924 in Slovakia), a well-known violinist and concert-master, attracted the attention of music teachers in his early school years.⁸ After his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Toronto, he studied at the Royal Conservatory of Music, became a gold medalist at a Canadian National Exhibition competition and began an outstanding career. From 1950 on, when he finished his artist's diploma course at the Royal Con-

⁷ The Hon. Allan MacEachen, in an address on April 29, 1967, in Toronto. See *Kanadsky Slovak*, May 13, 1967.

⁸ In 1940 he tried examinations for violin with the Trinity College of Music, London, England, and was granted 95 per cent which at that time was the highest mark a Canadian student had achieved.

servatory of Music, Dobias was concertmaster and assistant conductor with symphony orchestras, the National Ballet of Canada, soloist with the CBC Symphony Orchestra, the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, guest soloist and visiting concertmaster with the Palace of Fine Arts Opera Orchestra and the Radio Symphony Orchestra in Mexico City.

As a member of the National Festival Orchestra, Dobias played for six summers at the Stratford Shakespearean Music Festival⁹ and for seven years he made regular appearances on the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In chamber music Dobias performed with some of the world's greatest artists such as Rudolf Serkin, Martin Could, Jose Iturbi, Leonard Penario, and others. In 1965 he took part in the European tour with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra under Seiji Ozawa, a tour which won unanimous critical acclaim in Europe; in 1966 he toured Europe and Scandinavia with the Hart House Orchestra, under the direction of Dr. Boyd Neal, acting as concertmaster on various occasions.

Antonia Mazan (born in 1938 in Slovakia) was acclaimed by music critics in Canada as having outstanding talent at the age of fourteen. Gold medallist of the Sacred Heart School of Music in London, Ontario, she studied music at the University of Western Ontario, at the University of Toronto and at the Academy of Music and Dramatic Art in Vienna, obtaining six diplomas pertaining to composition and performance and a gold medal from the Western Ontario Conservatory of Music. Her first composition, "Fantasia for Two Pianos," had its public performance when she was fourteen years of age. At the age of sixteen she received a scholarship for studies at the Papal College of Music in Florence, Italy, and at the age of seventeen a solo recital was organized for her by the Ontario Registered Music Teachers' Association at the Music Building of the Canadian Exhibition in Toronto.

Besides playing her own compositions, Antonia Mazan excelled, before she was 21, in performances of classical pieces, particularly by Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, Liszt, Chopin and Rachmaninov. She also received a Canada Council fellowship which enabled her to continue her studies in Vienna. Among her own compositions performed in Canada have been "Prelude," "Toccata," and "Humoresque." During her studies in Vienna she performed with great success in Brahmssaal, one

⁹ Only seven violinists are chosen each season from Canada and the United States. Being chosen for a seventh consecutive year, which is the longest period anyone has been engaged in Stratford, Dobias achieved a recognition of his artistic talent that only few Canadians can match.

of the most famous concert halls in the world.¹⁰ For the past few years she has been an associate professor of music at the University of Western Ontario.

Helen Hajnik (born in Vranov, Slovakia) came to Canada in 1935 and after receiving her primary education in Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, she studied in music schools and conservatories in Regina, Peterborough and Toronto. Like Charles Dobias and Antonia Mazan, she attended the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto and was soon recognized by music critics as a talented vocalist and singer. She became known mostly by her appearances on the CBC television network. She appeared as a mezzo-soprano in *Eugene Onegin*, *Othello* and other television opera productions as well as in many musical programmes and recitals.

In painting Andrew Lukachko of Toronto (born in Slovakia in 1927), who paints exclusively in water colour, displayed in his early exhibitions the talent of a professional artist. He was educated at the Central Technical School in Toronto, where he won four scholarships at the Ontario College of Art, at the Art Students League in New York, and at the Art Association of Montreal under Jacques de Tonnancour. He also spent some time in London, England. He has exhibited with the Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, and the Canadian Group of Painters in Water Colour.

Lukachko's one-man exhibitions of his works at Antoine's Art Gallery in Montreal and at the Odeon Theatre in Toronto in 1955 were enthusiastically received by art critics. Some of his water colours were described as having "a delightful glowing quality and most interesting as a composition" and his work as being "fresh and vigorous, suggesting considerable potentialities to emerge."¹¹ Of his water colour exhibition of eighteen pictures in Toronto, Hugh Thomson wrote that "the artist is a three-mood man: one melodramatic, seen in wind-swept skies silhouetting the bare branches of trees and rugged, rocky shorelines; one mood is bright, in which he does his best work, such as 'Tugs on the Thames' and 'Waterloo Station'; and one mood is in cynical wit."¹² His work was seen by critics as "strong, free from dilettantism and of warm spirit", and he was described as "a young painter certain enough of his own mind that he can look at the world without being afraid of losing his judgement and taste."¹³ As a practising commercial artist, his design

¹⁰ Her concerts are frequently reported in *The London Free Press*, *The Sarnia Observer*, *The Windsor Daily Star* as well as in Slovak newspapers in Canada and the United States.

¹¹ Rose MacDonald, *The Telegram* (Toronto), Sept. 24, 1955.

¹² Hugh Thomson, *The Daily Star* (Toronto), September, 1965.

¹³ Pearl McCarthy, *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), September 24, 1965.

abilities have been recognized by his membership in the Typographical Designers of Canada and the acceptance of his work by the Art Directors' Club of Toronto. For the past several years Lukachko has been Art Director of Seccombe House Publishing Company. In 1965, in a nationwide painting competition organized by Price Brothers Paper Company, his painting was rated among the sixteen best entries and received an award.

Frank Mikuska (born in 1930 in Winnipeg) attracted the attention of art critics in several provinces with his ink paintings and ink graphics. Mikuska studied at the Winnipeg School of Art. Exhibitions of his paintings and graphic works have been shown in major art shows in Canada, including the fourth Biennial Exhibition of Canadian Painting at the National Gallery of Canada, the Montreal show, the Winnipeg show, the Art Institute of Ontario, and the Confederation Art Centre at Charlottetown in 1966. He received an award in the 1964 Western Ontario Exhibition in London, Ontario, and several of his works are now in private and public collections. In 1965, Mikuska took part in a dual exhibition in Winnipeg at the Grant Gallery with Al Dutchshen. Art critic Ken Winters found both "very good artists" and the display "handsome, mannered, technically skilful..." Although in the view of Winters "both artists handle colour well... both dispense with the troublesome refinements of literal drawing," Mikuska's "mind, like his use of colour," interested the critic more.¹⁴ In 1966 Mikuska's first major exhibition of paintings and graphics at the Yellow Door Gallery was received by the critics of the Winnipeg press with particular acclaim. Several reproductions of his abstract paintings were published in Winnipeg papers.¹⁵

Besides Lukachko and Mikuska, several other Slovak artists have been contributing to the visual arts and enjoying professional status. John Michalicka (born in 1924 in Dobra Voda near Trnava in Slovakia) came to Canada at the age of nine. He completed an art course at Westdale Secondary School in Hamilton and after spending two years in the Royal Canadian Air Force, attended the Ontario College of Art in Toronto. He worked for several commercial art studios including the T.D.F. Artists Limited, one of Canada's major studios, where he has been on the staff as a lettering designer and artist. Michael Lukac (born in 1926 in eastern Slovakia) has worked for various publishers in Toronto as art director and advertising artist and like other Slovak commercial

¹⁴ *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 9, 1965.

¹⁵ See *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 15, 1966, *The Winnipeg Tribune* (Showcase) October 15, 1966. In Slovak, see an account by J. Rekem in *Jednota*, November 9, 1966.

artists has contributed to higher advertising art standards. Michael Safka (also born in eastern Slovakia in 1926) is a sculptor who has worked with Toronto architects as a specialist in decorative motifs and coats of arms for public buildings. One of his well known creations can be seen in Toronto on the Postal Building on St. Clair Avenue East. Peter Kochuta (born in 1925 in Slovakia) came to Canada at the age of thirteen years. After spending one and one-half years with the Canadian Army in Europe, he worked for some fifteen years for the Platinum Art Company in Toronto and became a highly qualified jewellery designer. Some of the most sophisticated and finest jewellery on display at Canadian jewellery houses have been designed by this talented artist and his studio.

Among many Canadian-born or Canadian-educated Slovaks who have received degrees in science, engineering or architecture, two have distinguished themselves.

Rudolf Papanek, B. Arch., M. Arch., M.R.A.I.C. (born in 1926 in Slovakia) was educated at McGill and was the first student to obtain a Master of Architecture degree at that university. In 1948 he received a fellowship in community planning and established himself as a successful architect first in Montreal and later in Timmins, Ontario. After building some fifteen churches, hospitals, schools, homes for the aged and hotels in Northern Ontario (Timmins, Kirkland Lake, Elliot Lake) for which he received favourable comment in the press of Montreal and Timmins as well as in professional periodicals,¹⁶ he was invited to become Deputy Chief Architect for the World Exhibition — Expo 67. As a co-designer of Expo 67, Papanek took part in conferences in many countries and was “responsible for administration and construction of pavilions and installations”¹⁷ which is undoubtedly a great distinction for a young architect born of Slovak immigrant parents and raised by them during the depression years in Montreal. His list of special projects includes, among others, St. Mary’s Hospital in Timmins, Golden Manor, a Home for the Aged in Timmins, Timmins High and Vocational School technical addition, CFCL Television and Radio Broadcasting Station in Timmins, the Notre Dame De Lourdes Church, the Notre Dame du Perpetuel Secours and the United Church in Timmins, the Cochrane Home for the Aged, the Kirkland Lake Home for the Aged and the Northern Ontario Technical Institute in Kirkland Lake.

Frank G. Oravec (born in 1927 in Slovakia) was raised in Kirkland

¹⁶ *Architectural Record* (U.S.A.), *R.A.I.C. Journal*, *The Gazette* (Montreal), *La Presse*, *Daily Commercial News*.

¹⁷ *La Presse*, (Montreal), April 15, 1964.

Lake and educated at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, where he received a Bachelor of Science degree in mechanical engineering. He did his post-graduate studies at the North Carolina State University. The nuclear age inspired Oravec to specialization in nuclear industry, particularly in atomic reactor construction and operation. Employed by the Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, Oravec assisted in the commissioning and setting-up of the Canada-India Reactor in Bombay, worked for several years in the Chalk River Nuclear Laboratories, and since 1964 has been employed at the Whiteshell Nuclear Research Establishment in Pinarb, Manitoba. His reports and scientific writings are of a classified nature and as such are not released to the general public. The abilities and knowledge of this young Slovak scientist raised in the family of a gold-miner can be deduced from the fact that he was sent by the Atomic Energy of Canada to a number of countries: Japan, Jamaica, Hong Kong, Thailand, India, Egypt, Italy, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Germany, France, England and the United States.

Contributions to Canadian scholarship and science have been made by Slovaks born in Canada as well as in Slovakia. Before 1960 some twenty Slovaks found their way to teaching positions at Canadian universities. In Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Guelph, Waterloo and Nicolet,¹⁸ immigrants from Slovakia taught various subjects from philosophy and astronomy to medicine, sociology and Slavic as well as Latin, ancient Greek, and Oriental languages and literatures. Among the post-war immigrants, the first one to obtain such a position was Professor August Rakus, who after several years with the University of Ottawa and Royal Military College, became professor at the University of Toronto. Several of these professors contributed to Canadian scholarship by their writings either in the sciences or in the humanities. Their writings or the results of their scientific research have been published in Canada, the United States and Europe in book form, as contributions to periodicals and symposia or as part of the proceedings of international conferences.

Among the first to seek an academic career but not be satisfied merely with teaching was Charles Murin, LL.D., M.A., Ph.D. (born in 1913 in Slovakia) who became professor of philosophy at the Université de Montréal just a few years after his arrival in Canada. Even though he had a solid academic background, he added to his degrees from

¹⁸ In this survey we deal only with professors who contributed by their writings or research. Among lecturers should be mentioned Francis Tiso, Ph.D., Mrs. Isabella Murin, M.A. and Eva Culen at the University of Montreal. Rev. A. Buydos at St. Mary's University and Msgr. J. Vavrovic, at the Grand Seminary of Ottawa.

Europe an M.A. and a Ph.D. in philosophy from the same university where he has been professor of philosophy for ten years.

Dr. Murin's scholarly writings were published mostly in Europe, but he also contributed articles and book reviews to the Canadian periodicals *Revue Dominicaine* and *Dialogue*. In the well known French periodical *Etudes d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinale* (Paris, 1962) appeared his extensive study: *De l'être morale dans l'oeuvre de St. Thomas*. His thesis, *Inquiry into the Nature of Moral Being in the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas*, was published in *Slovak Studies II*, (Rome, 1961). Although it is not generally easy to satisfy the critics in the field of philosophy, Dr. Murin's writings were received favourably as mature philosophical works. The fact that the highly sophisticated and selective French periodical *Etudes d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinale* published one of them, indicates in itself that the writer achieved high standards.

In the field of theological studies, the Rev. Francis Zeman (born in 1918 in Slovakia), professor of Oriental Languages at the Grand Séminaire de Nicolet and l'Université de Sherbrooke, made a noteworthy contribution by his three scholarly publications and by his numerous papers published in *Communications du Congrès de l'A.C.E.B.A.C.*

Professor Zeman received a solid academic training first in Slovakia and then in Rome, where he obtained his doctorate in theology at the Lateran University in 1949 and a doctorate in Biblical studies at the Pontifical Institute in 1949. His first publications, *Demons in the Prophetic Literature* and *Ermeneutica Biblica*, were published in Latin in Rome in 1950 and 1951 respectively. His French work, *Eglise dans la Bible*, was published in 1962 in Belgium and his scholarly papers in Montreal. He also contributed to Slovak literary periodicals on Dead Sea scrolls and other academic subjects.

In the field of medical science Ottakar V. Sirek, M.D., Ph.D. (born in 1921 in Bratislava) and his wife Anna Sirek, M.D., Ph.D. (born in 1921 in Slovakia), associate professors at the University of Toronto, who came to Canada in 1950 by special invitation from the Banting and Best Department of Medical Research at the University of Toronto, have to their credit an impressive list of publications in the field of physiology especially with regard to diabetics and insulin. Both graduated from the University of Bratislava *summa cum laude* and were in Stockholm on scholarship for post-graduate studies when they received the Canadian invitation. Talented and hard-working, they earned their Ph. D.'s from the University of Toronto while working at the Banting and Best Institute and soon after started to teach and write papers for international congresses in Europe, the U.S.A., and lately in Japan.

Professor Ottakar Sirek's list contains some forty scientific papers

which he prepared between 1949 and 1966 either alone or in co-operation with his wife or other renowned scientists, including Dr. Charles Best. Several of Dr. Sirek's papers were read at international congresses and subsequently published in major medical journals. An equal number of scientific papers are included in the list of publications by Dr. Anna Sirek. Some of them were prepared by her alone, some in co-operation with her husband or other scientists as is customary in scientific work. She also took an active part in various international congresses and lectured at foreign universities, raising at the same time four children, which makes her achievement even more remarkable.

In medical research and teaching, a good name and reputation was also achieved by Stanley C. Skoryna, M.D., D.Sc. (born in Slovakia in 1918). Dr. Skoryna comes from a long line of physicians dating back to 1507. He obtained his medical degree at the University of Vienna and came to Canada in 1947. Gifted and hard-working, he earned a few years later a science degree at McGill and became a member of that university's teaching staff. In 1957 Professor Skoryna was awarded a medal in surgery from the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, and in 1962 served as chairman of a world-wide symposium held in Munich. He directed twenty-five highly specialized scientists in extensive research on remote Easter Island in 1965. At present he is director of the Gastro-Intestinal Laboratory at McGill University and continues his research as well as writing for medical periodicals. Even after achieving prominence, he remained in touch with Slovak as well as other Slavic and Central European groups, among whom he has been always highly regarded.¹⁹

Two professors of Slovak origin at Canadian universities, Gustav Bakos and A. Zitnak, made their contributions in writings on natural sciences: astronomy, biochemistry and horticulture.

Gustav Bakos, M.A., Ph.D. (born in 1918 in Trnava, Slovakia) came

¹⁹ In the field of medical science two more outstanding Canadian scientists were born in Slovakia. Professor Hans Selye, director of the Medical Research Institute at the University of Montreal, and author of books and studies on "stress" in human life, was born in Komarno, Slovakia, but claims Austrian and Hungarian ancestry. Dr. Joseph Roberts, co-inventor of a new anti-leukemia drug, announced recently under the name L-asparaginase by the National Cancer Institute of Bethesda, Maryland, was born in Bardejov, Slovakia. He came to Canada in 1948 as a young boy (b. 1937), graduated in pharmacy from the University of Toronto in 1949 and obtained his Ph.D. from McGill University in 1963. Then he joined Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore and a year later went to the Wadley Institute of Molecular Medicine in Dallas, Texas, where he began research on a five-year scholarship of the Leukemia Society of America. The new drug was described as a major breakthrough and "possibly a cure" for leukemia.

to Canada in 1951 from Holland, where he had pursued post-graduate studies. With good references from the University of Leiden as a mathematician and astronomer, he obtained a position with the David Dunlap Observatory near Toronto and worked on his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Toronto. Subsequently, he worked for several years for the Smithsonian Institute and several observatories and universities in the United States, did research in various parts of the globe, and returned to Canada to teach at the University of Waterloo as an associate professor. Fluent in several languages, Dr. Bakos contributed to scientific periodicals in Europe as well as in Canada. His bibliography contains studies on the following topics: "Discussion of 31 Variable Stars", *Leiden Annals*, Vol. 20, 1950; "Photometric Observations of 12 Lacertae," *Comm. David Dunlap Obs.*, No. 41, 1957; "Brightness of Artificial Earth Satellites," *Moonwater Special Bull.*, No. 53, 1961; "Measures of the Earth Shine," *Research in Space Science*, No. 162, 1964; "Observations of Asteroids and Pluto", *Astronomical Journal*, Vol. 70, 1965; and "Photometric and Spectroscopic Orbit of EE.", *Reg. Publ. David Dunlap Observatory*, Vol. 11, 1965.

Ambrose Zitnak, Eng. Agr., M.Sc., Ph.D. (born in 1922 in Bratislava, Slovakia) added to his academic studies in Slovakia a degree of Master of Science in horticulture and a Ph.D. in plant biochemistry at the University of Alberta, before he achieved his professorship at the Ontario Agricultural College, University of Guelph. From 1960, the results of his research were published either in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Society for Horticultural Science*, the *Canadian Journal of Botany* or the *Canadian Journal of Biochemistry and Physiology*. His bibliography contains the following studies: "Cholinesterase inhibitors," *Science* 131 (3393): 668: 1960; "The Occurrence and distribution of free alkaloid solanidine in Netted Gen potatoes," *Canadian Journal of Biochemistry and Physiology* 39: 1257-1265, 1961; "The significance of glycoalkaloids in the potato plant," *Proceedings of Canadian Society for Horticultural Science* 3: 81-86, 1964; "Isolation of new glycoalkaloids from the potato plant," *Proceedings of Canadian Society for Horticultural Science* 4: 92, 1965.

John P. Zubek, (born in Slovakia in 1925) has made quite an impressive contribution in psychology as professor, researcher and author of many academic papers. He is a research professor in the Department of Psychology, University of Manitoba. Professor Zubek came to Canada at the age of five and was educated, first at the University of British Columbia (B.A.) and later at the University of Toronto (M.A., social psychology) and at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland (Ph.D. in physiological psychology). (From 1950, Professor Zubek held

academic positions as Assistant Professor of Psychology, McGill University, 1950-1953; Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychology, University of Manitoba, (1961-); Research Director (1959-) of a long-term research programme on the behavioural and physiological effects of sensor isolation (supported by the Defence Research Board); Research Director (1964-) of a research programme on the behavioural and physiological effects of prolonged immobilization of the body (supported by the United States Public Health Service).

In co-operation with P. A. Solberg, Professor Zubek published two books: *Doukhobors at War* (Toronto, 1952) and *Human Development* (New York, 1954). His list of scholarly articles and contributions to scientific periodicals and encyclopaedias which he prepared alone or in co-operation with known scientists contains forty-nine items. Together with T. J. Meyers he has prepared a symposium, *Sensory Deprivation*, to be published shortly in New York. Professor Zubek has been a member of: Society of Sigma Xi, Canadian and American Psychological Associations, American Association for the Advancement of Science and has been listed in the *World's Who's Who in Science* and *American Men of Science*. He has also been a member for seven years of the National Research Council (Division of Experimental Psychology) and chairman for six years of the Psychophysiology and Human Engineering Division, Human Resources Scientific Advisory Committee of the Defense Research Board.

Thomas Kubicek, Ph.D., R.I.A., associate professor of Commerce and chairman of the Department of Management at Sir George Williams University in Montreal, is making a contribution in a field which did not have much of a tradition in Slovakia. When his university studies in political science were interrupted by the communist *coup d'état* in 1948 he left his native Slovakia, where he was born in 1920, and came to Canada. Working hard during the day, he registered for night courses at Sir George Williams and in 1952 obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts and two years later the degree of Bachelor of Commerce. In 1966, he obtained the degree of Registered Industrial Accountant at McGill University and in 1963 the Ph.D. degree at the Université de Montréal.

For both his Master of Arts and Ph.D. degrees, Dr. Kubicek specialized in the field of Soviet studies. After presenting a comparative study in industrial growth of the Soviet Union under the title "Two Faces of Soviet Industrial Expansion" for his Master's degree, he wrote a critical analysis of the Marxist and Soviet institutions and their impact on the development of a new type of civilization within the Soviet orbit. It was accepted as his dissertation under the title "The Concept of State in Soviet Civilization".

Although he made a successful career in business management, this hard-working and ambitious Slovak immigrant is set for a teaching career and has marked his years of university studies by publishing a series of articles, on his native country in Slovak and English, as well as articles on subjects in his field of graduate studies.²⁰

²⁰ Among his writings the following may be mentioned: "Kanada vcera a dnes" (*Canada Yesterday and Today*), a series of twenty-six articles which appeared in 1954 in *Kanadsky Slovak*. "Introducing Canadian Slovaks". *Programme of the Grand Opening of Canadian Slovak Cultural Centre*, (Montreal) September 28, 1958. "The Canadian Taxes", series of articles in 1955 in *Kanadsky Slovak*. "Managing a Construction Contracting Company", in *Cost and Management*, journal of the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants – June, July and August issues. "How to Account for Costs", in *Engineering and Contract Record*, a Maclean's publication – Toronto, November, December, 1960 and January, 1961 issues. "Depreciation – Don't Overlook This Major Cost of Equipment Ownership", in *Engineering and Contract Record*, Toronto, January 1962 issue. "The Department – a Professional and Integrative Approach", *Post-Grad*, Association of Alumni Sir George Williams University, Winter, 1966. *How to Prepare and Present A Good R.I.A. Thesis*, monograph in English and French distributed to R.I.A. students.

BULGARIAN ETHNIC GROUP AND CANADA'S CENTENNIAL

by
Stoyan S. Nicolov
Bulgarian Canadian Centennial Committee

A summary

Together with all Canadians, the Bulgarian ethnic group is proud to participate in the national celebration of Canada's first centenary. Among the many celebrations taking place on this occasion is our joining the initiative for a Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs. It is our firm belief that the next hundred years will lead Canada to higher achievements and a better future for all.

While proud of their origin and their heritage, Bulgarian Canadians are just as proud of their country Canada, loyal to it and ready at all times to defend its freedom and its democratic institutions. Modest as their contribution may be, it is nevertheless the contribution of a community which feels part and parcel of the exciting and challenging undertaking which is the building of a great Canadian nation.

Under the conditions prevailing during the hundred years since Canada's Confederation, there can be no doubt that the heavy inflow of immigrants of various ethnic origins has been of great importance in the formation of a distinct Canadian nationality. Nobody has ever dared to question the fact that all these ethnic groups, including the Bulgarian one, have found in Canada equal opportunity for prosperity, educational and cultural development, and complete freedom to maintain the heritage of their countries of origin. In this way they are building, together with the two founding races, *their own great Canadian culture*.

Furthermore, out of the heterogeneous population of Canada, there is gradually emerging and taking shape the concept of a united nation—the Canadian nation—a wonder which is only made possible by the freedom and true democracy prevailing in our country. The Bulgarian ethnic group is convinced that all ethnic groups in Canada share this view and feels that this unique Canadian multiculturalism will continue through the next century to lead towards the final establishment of an original Canadian culture and a united Canadian nation.

The Bulgarian ethnic group in Canada is a relatively recent arrival. Except for isolated individuals, Bulgarians did not come to Canada in Canada's first hundred years until the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and World War I (1914-1918). These events resulted in repeated and substantial changes in the political boundaries of the Balkan peninsula in south-eastern Europe. These changes and upheavals affected most strongly the region of Macedonia, situated in the centre of the Balkans, and they resulted in massive population movements within and away from Macedonia, including a substantial emigration to the New World. This period marked the beginning of the Macedonian-Bulgarian group in Canada.

The end of World War II brought to Canada a new wave of immigrants of Bulgarian origin, the great majority of whom were motivated not by economical considerations, but by their love of freedom and their disapproval of the dictatorial regime established in Bulgaria.

Regardless of the motives which led them to Canada, the Bulgarian immigrants brought with them their most characteristic virtues: their capacity for hard work, their strong appreciation of the importance of education, their attachment to the religion and traditions of their homeland and a deep sense of gratitude and involvement in the future of the new country of their choice.

Most Canadians of Bulgarian origin came to this country rather young and poor and before having had, in their country of origin, the opportunity to obtain a solid education. Therefore, they mostly started working as unskilled labourers on roads and railroads and in general construction. One can say without exaggeration that there is hardly a railway line in this country to which they have not contributed their labour. After a period of assimilation and the building up of some savings, many of the original immigrants moved into independent business, mostly in the restaurant trade. In this field, too, their success was based on hard work. Twenty working hours a day, seven days a week, was the rule for these people. It seems hardly imaginable today in the age of the forty-hour work-week, or less.

As in their home country, Canadians of Bulgarian origin continued to be deeply aware of the importance of achieving the best possible education and they have been ready to undergo any sacrifice in order to achieve this for themselves and their children. As a result, we see today among the second and third generation of Bulgarian Canadians numerous professional people—engineers, architects, medical doctors, lawyers, etc. In addition, the immigrants arriving after World War II consisted for the most part of such professional people as well as skilled technicians. They thus found it easier to integrate quickly into Canadian

life. Last, but not least, the Bulgarian ethnic group in Canada has produced its share of successful businessmen and industrialists, whose contribution to the progress of this country is increasing continuously in quantity as well as in quality.

The orthodox religion and church played a most important role from the very beginning for Bulgarian and Macedonian immigrants to Canada. Their first organized communal achievements consisted in the building of their own churches in Toronto, as they had done in the adjoining cities of the U. S. A. These churches were the centre of the cultural and social life of the Bulgarian-Macedonian communities, and to this day continue to be their most important ethnic institutions. At the same time, the churches have been of great help in integrating this ethnic group into the Canadian community. The leading architect of this remarkable religious and cultural achievement of the Bulgarian ethnic group, but mainly of the immigrants from Macedonia, was their inspired leader, the late Dr. Dymitar Malin of Toronto.

Attachment and Loyalty to Canada

There can be no doubt concerning the loyalty of the Bulgarians in Canada towards their new country. Bulgarian Canadians have never been implicated—through all the turbulent events of the past half-century—in any subversive activity, nor in any instance of organized or serious crime. They have always strongly supported the ideals of an independent and united Canadian nation, firmly standing in the defence of human rights and freedoms and for world peace. They have always appreciated the opportunity which Canada has afforded them and their families to live and prosper in security and freedom, and they have responded by giving their best to Canada.

THE CZECHS IN NORTH AMERICA

by

J. Malik

University of Arizona

It is not the objective of this paper to leave the impression that the Czechs were the only nationality to play an important role in the development of North America or even to suggest that the part they played was greater or more significant than that of the immigrants of other countries of the world who came to America. However, it is the hope that this paper will serve to draw attention to the contributions that the Czechs made to North America during its early development.

Time does not permit me to give a complete and detailed story, neither do I claim to know all the facts. This paper was pieced together from fragmentary information collected and summarized for this occasion.

During the rule of the Hapsburgs, the Czechs endured great sufferings. They lived in poverty and were persecuted for their religious and political beliefs; even their language and culture were suppressed. Many of the Czechs, refusing to accept Austrian domination immigrated to other European countries.

Some of the first Czechs to come to America came from Holland with the Dutch. Among them was Augustine Herrman, who arrived in 1633 in New York. Later Herrman was commissioned to draw a map of Virginia and Maryland. For his services he received from Lord Baltimore 20,000 acres of land in Cecil and New Castle counties of Maryland. Herrman named his estate Bohemia Manor.

In 1647 Frederick Philipse arrived in America on the same ship with Stuyvesant. Both Herrman and Philipse lived in New Amsterdam. It has been established from old church marriage records that there were other Czechs also living there at the time. Ship manifests and obituaries show the names of Czechs who settled in Delaware, Massachusetts, Virginia and Georgia.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century when Protestantism was crushed in Bohemia, the Czech Moravians moved to other countries of Europe. Many of them came to America settling in Pennsylvania, Ohio and later in the Carolinas and Georgia.

The immigration continued in waves. For example, it is estimated that about 44,000 Czechs came to America between 1850 and 1868.

Because of poor transportation facilities, the immigrants had to find their way into the heart of America by way of the Erie Canal and by following rivers as well as travelling on the lakes. After 1850 the immigration of the Czechs to America increased in tempo and number and by 1910 the census records of thirty-one states listed among their population people of Czechoslovak origin numbering in the hundreds of thousands.

When the Czech immigrants arrived in America, they brought with them only the personal possessions they could carry on their backs. However, they brought along something of greater value, a determination to make a new life for themselves in their new home. They did this by hard labour and perseverance, thus demonstrating their capacity for becoming exemplary citizens of their new country.

The skills that they brought from their native land soon began to bear fruit. In agriculture, business, skilled trades and professions the Czechs were found to be self-reliant and excellent workers.

Non-Czech authorities attested to their industriousness, and devotion to their occupations. The *Bohemian Review* has this to say about the industry of the Czech: "Czechs have not been satisfied to do only the things that were expected of them as adopted children of America; they have gone farther with schemes of their own to show a spirit of sacrifice greater than that."

Leroy Hodges, writing about Czech farmers in the *United States Senate Documents*, states: "As a farmer, the Czech ranks high. He farms intelligently and uses the most improved implements and methods of cultivation."

Records show that most of the Czech farmers soon owned their own farms and the workers their own homes.

Although upon their arrival, the primary emphasis of the Czechs was on making a living, they keenly appreciated the importance of education and immediately began to educate themselves and their children. Since they inhabited areas where there were relatively few schools, if any, the Czechs started their own private schools. In Texas, where there was a high concentration of Czech immigrants, there were no public schools at all, so the Czechs founded their own. They opened their first school in 1859 near Wesley, Texas, in Washington County. The instruction was given in the Czech language by Joseph Masek, who had passed a teacher's examination in Bohemia before coming to Texas. It has been authoritatively estimated that Masek was the first Czech teacher in America. In addition to this distinction, the school was taught in the

first Czech Protestant church to be erected in America. Although Masek is given the credit for being the first Czech teacher, it is known that private instruction was being given in Czech homes at a much earlier date.

Most of the schools founded by the Czechs later became public schools, still bearing such names as Bila Hora, Kopecky, Vysehrad, Novohrad.

Even as far west as Arizona we find that Augustus Brichta, a Czech, was the first teacher of the first school opened in Arizona Territory in the community of Tucson in 1867.

Several books were published to assist the Czechs in learning English. Among them was a spelling book and a reader by Karel Jonas and in 1870, an English grammar by F. B. Zdrubek.

In order to preserve their Czech language, schools were opened as early as 1862 in Milwaukee, and 1864 in Chicago and New York. Czech was also introduced in private colleges such as Oberlin in 1885, and St. Prokop College in 1887. The number of higher institutions of learning offering Czech began to grow, including such universities as California, Columbia, Wisconsin, Chicago, Ohio State, Nebraska, Iowa and Texas. The first professor of Czech nationality was Charles Hruby who came to America in 1834 and taught at Ohio State University.

Along with the establishment of schools, the Czechs built churches. Dr. Henry Maresh, writing about the Czechs in Texas, states: "The first impulse of the early Czech families or groups was to build a church. A schoolhouse followed; soon a reading club or fraternal or benevolent organization was formed to co-ordinate the common effort."

The first Czech Catholic church was built in 1854 in St. Louis and the first Protestant church by the Czech Moravians in 1859 near Wesley, Texas. Soon every Czech community in America had either a Catholic or a Protestant church or both.

The cultural, spiritual and social life of the immigrants revolved around the church, which served as a school as well as a common meeting place.

The fraternal and benevolent organizations were established for mutual aid and protection and with the Sokol clubs provided much of the cultural and social activity in addition to encouraging the perpetuation of the Czech language, customs and traditions.

The Czech immigrants depended heavily on newspapers to introduce them to the American way of life. The early settlers learned through the newspapers about their new country, its government, laws and the part they were to play in its development. They came to America not

knowing English, so the newspaper served as a connecting link between the two cultures—Czech and American.

Some of the first Czech newspapers founded were *Slowan Amerikansky* in 1860, *Slavic* in 1861, *Slowan Americky* in 1867, and *Narodni Noviny*. In Chicago, a daily, *Svornost* was founded in 1876 and another, the *Hlasatel*, somewhat later. There were daily newspapers published in Omaha and two each in New York and Cleveland. Between 1860 and 1911, 326 Czech journals were being published.

The Czech newspapers also aroused the interest of the Czechs in political activity. Many of them served in public office and were active in government. Beginning with William Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the Czechs have held office as constable, judge, mayor, member of the state legislature, congress, governor, and many others.

One cannot overlook the large number of Czechs in the professions: beginning with Augustin Haidusek, the first lawyer of Czech birth to be admitted to the bar in 1870, to the host of lawyers, doctors, teachers and other professions who have made their contribution to the building of America.

There are still many areas that should be mentioned such as music, art and drama, and the large number of Czechs who have served their new country in all of its wars from the American Revolution to the present.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, still another wave of Czech immigration to America started. The United States limited the number that could come, so they immigrated to Canada and Mexico. Before World War I a group of Czech Catholics settled in the area of Chatham, Ontario near Detroit. Also many Czech Moravians who had settled in Ohio earlier moved to Canada into the same area because they were being persecuted in the United States.

After World War I, many Czechs arrived in Canada who had first immigrated to Volhynia. They joined the large exodus of Ukrainians to Canada and settled in the area of Winnipeg. The Czech immigrant to Canada, like his predecessor, quickly adjusted to his new home and began to contribute in all areas of life to the growth of Canada.

For example, in Toronto a Czech weekly, *Novy Domov*, was established, edited by Rudolf Nikola, followed by *Nase Hlasy* after World War II and a Slovak quarterly, *Nase Snahy*.

The Czechs, in adjusting to their new homeland in America, have been assimilated into the culture of America. At the same time, they have left their imprint upon the country itself.

The contributions of the Czechs of America are so numerous and

of such value that they have been found quite sufficient in their relationship to the development of the New World to become an integral element.

Schools of every kind were organized, such as language, industrial, commercial, and music schools; together they created an educational system which embraced the entire gamut of subjects from kindergarten up to schools of theology. This process, although having lost its momentum, is, nevertheless, continuing with the establishment of a Czech Chair at the University of Chicago in 1962, another anticipated at the University of Toronto as well as of Colorado and Ohio.

Although the number of Czech publications, such as newspapers and periodicals, has been reduced because of the lack of a reading public that still knows the Czech language, there are still many publications flourishing.

In some parts of America, the sermons in a few of the churches, where there is a high concentration of Czechs, are given in Czech.

The Czechs are even more active in politics and government than ever before. In agriculture, business, industry and other endeavors, the Czechs have played an important role by introducing new ideas of farming, manufacturing and merchandizing.

As a result of all this activity, it must be concluded that the contributions of the Czechs have been many and that they have given something of themselves and their culture to America and have received much in return.

America is enriched by inheriting the culture, technical skills, industriousness and devotion of the Czechs and it certainly has profited from its inheritance.

CROATIANS IN CANADA

by

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In the year 1800 a handful of Croatian fishermen, residents of the neighbouring United States coast, came to British Columbia and, after completing their job, returned to United States. They were the first Croatians positively known to have come to Canada. However, recent research in this connection indicates the possibility that the first Croatian to visit Canada may actually have been an explorer by the name of Kozulic who allegedly came to British Columbia in 1779 aboard the ship of the Spanish explorer Botega Quadra, and who with Quadra, explored Quadra Island on the British Columbia coast. This island was later re-named Vancouver Island, after Captain George Vancouver. Kozulic allegedly paid another visit to British Columbia in 1790, this time with the French explorer, Buchand, in order to explore fishing possibilities at the mouth of the Fraser River. While for the time being this story of Kozulic's visits to British Columbia represents only a cause for further research, it is interesting to note that, about one hundred years later, among the first permanent Croatians settled at the mouth of the Fraser River there were other Kozulics who told the story of their predecessor's alleged early visits to British Columbia. Before the arrival of these permanent settlers another group of Croatians had come temporarily to British Columbia to work in the gold mines during the Caribou Gold Rush in 1858, but after completing their work, they returned to their settlements in the United States.

The first permanent Croatian settler in Canada was a boy of sixteen whose first name was George but whose last name remains unknown. He quit the crew of a Croatian ship which in 1872 was in Vancouver harbour loading lumber. In the 1880's the first group of permanent settlers came to the Vancouver City area, and settled at Ladner at the mouth of the Fraser River, as mentioned above. Thus at Ladner, British Columbia, the first Croatian permanent settlement in Canada was established, and gradually new settlers started arriving.

At the outbreak of World War I there were about 4,000 Croatians

in Canada; at the outbreak of World War II there were some 21,000; and at the present time the number of Croatians slightly exceeds 50,000 comprising approximately 60 per cent of the so-called Yugoslavs in Canada. Croatian settlements are concentrated mainly in the Provinces of Ontario and British Columbia, the two largest settlements being in Toronto and Vancouver with some 13,000 and 4,500 people respectively.

This is an introductory glance at Croatian immigration to Canada, the main point of this monograph being the contributions of the Croatians to their new country.

Contributions to the New Country

In dealing with the contributions of a relatively small ethnic group in Canada we face two problems. First, we could hardly expect a profound effect by such a group on the civilization and culture of their new country as compared to the contributions of large immigrant groups. As pointed out in a recent circular letter from the chairman of the preparatory committee for this conference, there has been little research done on the contributions of the Slavic groups to Canada. This applies in particular to small groups and to specific aspects of their contributions. Therefore, I intend to give rather a brief survey of Croatian contributions to Canada, and to elaborate on typical aspects of these contributions by mentioning the outstanding examples in folklore and music, the arts, literature, science, the economy, sports, and in the two World Wars.

Folklore and Music. Together with other ethnic groups, Croatian folklore groups such as choirs, tamburitza (a native mandolin-like stringed instrument) players, and the *Kolo*, that is Hay Dancers, in their colourful native costumes, participate each year in many Canadian festivals, celebrations and displays—the Festival of neo-Canadians and the St. Jean Baptiste Day festivity in Montreal, the Dominion Day celebration in Ottawa, the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, the international Freedom Festival in Windsor, the Pacific National Exhibition and the Easter Parade in Vancouver, to mention only a few.

The best known Croatian folklore groups are found in Hamilton, Toronto and Vancouver. However, the Montreal group is somewhat interesting and worthy of note as some of the members are French Canadians and not of Croatian extraction.

In addition to the participation of these groups in Canadian folklore and music, we may single out three individual contributors. Nenad Lhotka, formerly ballet-master of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, now has

his own ballet school. Andriana Kalanj of Vancouver showed an exceptional talent for piano playing, during her childhood, and as a little girl in 1958 won first prize in a piano contest in Vancouver. Later she won a scholarship and went to study in the U.S.S.R. Another little girl, Hilda Irek, formerly of Toronto and now ten years old, is widely known as a piano virtuoso. She began playing the piano when she was four years old; at six she began to compose. Hilda gave many piano performances in concert halls and appeared on TV stations in Toronto, Hamilton, Sudbury, Vancouver and Buffalo. She also appeared on the Hollywood programme "Who's Who", and in New York City at the World's Fair. She has composed more than thirty pieces, of her own, some of which have been recorded and are available for purchase. Hilda is recognized by music critics as a child prodigy; some critics consider her to be the greatest living child musician, and compare her to Mozart. At present she is studying in the United States.

Art and Literature. There are four names which should be mentioned. Augustine Filipovic, sculptor and lecturer at the University of Toronto, now in his thirties, ranks among the best young Canadian sculptors. He studied in Rome where he became known through eight exhibitions; he also had a show in Stockholm. In Rome he won the international award *Roma Patria*.

Filipovic came to Canada in 1959 with an established name, settled in Toronto where he continued his work. He exhibited several times in Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal. Some of his sculptures are to be found in the National Gallery, Ottawa. In November, 1960, Filipovic, assisted by the Canada Council, opened his own sculpture school of post-graduate studies. According to art critic Pearl McCarthy, Filipovic, expresses himself very subtly. This critic noticed a plastic charm in some of his works. Art critics on the whole have recognized Filipovic's contribution to Canadian sculpture, and he has won commendation by Henry Moore.

N. P. Zunic, Sr., became known after having lost his eyesight in 1931 in a Manitoba mine explosion. He switched to handicraft and became widely known for his knitting. He has demonstrated his handicraft skill several times on television in Winnipeg.

Two names may be mentioned in connection with Canadian literature or, more specifically, with poetry. Nada Stipkovic, formerly of Ottawa, author of a motion picture scenario for the National Film Board, began as a poet and had published in 1961 a collection of poems entitled *Lignes*.

Better known in Canadian poetry is Alan Horic from the Ottawa-Hull area. Now forty-three years of age, he has been contributing for more than fifteen years to French-Canadian literary publications. The

first collection of his poems was published in 1957 by Erta in Montreal under the title *L'Aube assassinée*; his second collection, *Blessure au flanc du ciel*, published by Les Editions de l'Hexagone in 1962, was sponsored by the Canada Council. Two of Horic's poems appeared in the publication, *Livre d'or de la poesie française contemporaine* (Paris, 1962). Six of his poems were included in the *Anthologie de littérature du Québec*, edited by G. Robert (Montreal, 1964). On the whole, Canadian literary critics have considered Horic's poetry a valuable contribution to Canadian literature. According to the critic, Clément Marchand, Horic's poetry expresses a philosophical criticism of our era, which is the result of a rich human experience. The critic Jean Guy Pilon attributes a freshness to Horic's poetry that brings a new spirit to Canadian poetry, and this spirit is the product of the poet's numerous contacts with several peoples, cultures and civilizations in Central Europe, Italy, France, North America, Vietnam, and finally, Canada. I personally find in Horic's poems a sort of melancholy which is characteristic of *Sevdalinke*, the love folk-songs of his fellow Moslems in his native province of Bosnia.

Science. Two names must be mentioned: Veljko Dubokovic, college teacher at Trail, British Columbia, and Fr. Kresimir Kmjevic, Welcome Professor at McGill University, Montreal. Dubokovic has been doing research in maritime history. He is particularly engaged in the research of salmon migrations and was appointed head of an international expedition for practical research in this field. Dr. Kmjevic is an internationally known medical expert in the field of the lymbic system.

The Economy. In the domain of the Canadian economy; the main contribution of Croatians as a group is to be found in the work of the miners in the gold mines of Schumacher nenar Timmins, Ontario, and that of fishermen in the Canadian Pacific waters. Together with Norwegians and Indians, Croatians comprise the largest group of British Columbia fishermen; it is believed that one out of three British Columbia fishermen is of Croatian extraction. Besides their contribution to the Canadian fishing industry, the Croatians played an important role in the foundation of the United Fishermen and Allied Worker's Union, Vancouver, in which they are steadily active. Most of these fishermen live in Vancouver and Ladner.

I should like to mention two individual names which to a certain extent belong in the economic domain. Nicholas Zunic, Jr., of Winnipeg, a former R.C.A.F. officer in World War II, was vice-chairman of the Manitoba Architects' Association, chairman of the Manitoba Chamber of Commerce, and in 1964 was appointed to the Board of Directors of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Dr. M. G. Zorkin is a well known and successful real-estate man from Nanaimo, British Columbia.

He was president of the B. C. Real Estate Board, and credit goes to him for the foundation of the first university chair of Real Estate, in Canada which was established at the University of British Columbia in 1960. Dr. Zorkin has contributed greatly to commercial development and construction in Nanaimo; so much so, that the city, in acknowledgement of his contribution, has named one of its streets "Zorkin Road." Currently Zorkin is vice-chairman of Canada's Board of Real Estate Associations, and in this capacity he has represented Canada at three congresses of the Federation of International Real Estate Associations in Paris, Tel Aviv and Tokyo.

Before mentioning sports, let me cite one individual contribution to tourism. In this connection the name of Joseph Torbar is well known since he is Secretary-General of the Universal Organization of Travel Agents' Associations with headquarters in Montreal.

Sports. In dealing with sports, we must start with soccer as most young European immigrants are enthusiastic about it, and the Croatians are no exception. They have seven soccer teams, the best ones being in Hamilton, Toronto and Vancouver, and they contribute to sports through these teams, by playing in the first soccer divisions of their provinces.

A few individuals in sports may be singled out. Mladen Perosh from Schefferville, Quebec, was one of six young Canadians who received from the hands of Queen Elizabeth II a medal which he earned as a distinguished member of the Canadian Boy Scouts. Anton Furlany of Toronto is active in the Canadian Volleyball Association, acts as referee-in-chief, and is known as the editor of *The Canadian Volleyball Annual and Rule Book*. Zeljko Pokupec of Hamilton is a high-ranking member of the Canadian National Cycling Team. Frank Mahovlic had an outstanding record as a member of Toronto's Maple Leaf hockey team and is now with the Detroit Red Wings. At his best Mahovlic was rated with the hockey stars of North America. George Chuvalo of Toronto is Canadian heavy-weight boxing champion.

Contributions in two World Wars. Together with other Canadians, young Croatians participated in both World War I and World War II. The total number of Croatians living in Canada during World War I was very small as many of them left Canada at the outbreak of war, and some of them still being citizens of hostile Austro-Hungary, were arrested for a certain period. Consequently one would not expect much as their share in World War I. However, the *Book of Remembrance* in the Peace Tower, Ottawa, gives among others the names of five Croatians who lost their lives for Canada.

The Croatian contribution during World War II, similar to that of other Canadians, consisted of war efforts within the country and on the

battle-fields. For example, in the buying of Victory Loan bonds, Toronto's *Globe and Mail* of October 21, 1942, noted the name of a Croatian factory worker, Stanley Misetich, who had bought at one time \$1,000 worth of Victory Loan bonds. *The Windsor Star* of about the same time mentioned Croatians among other Slavic groups who had enthusiastically joined the Canadian and Allied war efforts. Croatians in Hamilton presented an ambulance to the Canadian Red Cross.

Since the records with regard to Canadians who lost their lives during World War II have not yet been published, we do not have the information on Croatians who gave their lives for Canada. There can be no doubt that the number of those killed in World War II must have been much higher than in the first war, when the number of Croatians living in Canada during the two wars is compared. This question suggests a need for further research.

At the end of World War II, the Croatian contribution was acknowledged (as it was in the case of many other ethnic groups in Canada) by King George VI who awarded a decoration to Stjepan Bradica, at that time president of the Central Committee of Croatian Peasant Associations in Canada.

CONTRIBUTION OF SLOVENES TO THE SOCIO-CULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRE-CHARTER CANADIANS,
THE CANADIAN INDIANS

by
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Even before the occasional economic immigrants from Slovenia towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, Slovenes influenced greatly the pre-charter inhabitants of Canada, the Canadian Indians, even before Slovenian immigrants came, for economic reasons, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. These immigrants, who became more numerous after World War I when the United States closed its doors to European immigrants, contributed to the development of the young Canadian nation in mines of northern Ontario and Quebec, on railroad gangs in the West, and later in the fruit-belt of the Niagara peninsula.

In the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* we read under "Missions" the following:

The most distinguished of these later missionaries was the noted author and philologist, Bishop Frederick Baraga of the imperial house of Hapsburg, who, after having voluntarily forfeited his estates to devote his life to the Indians, came to America in 1830, and for 36 years thereafter until his death labored with success, first among the Ottawa at Arbre Croche in lower Michigan, and afterwards at St. Joseph, Green Bay, Lapointe, and other stations along the upper lakes, more particularly at the Chippewa village of L'Anse, on Keweenaw bay, which he converted into a prosperous Christian settlement. Even when past 60 years of age, this scion of Austrian nobility slept upon the ground and sometimes walked 40 miles a day on snowshoes to minister to his Indians. Besides numerous devotional works in Ottawa and Chippewa, as well as other volumes in German and Slavonic, he is the author of the great Grammar and Dictionary of the Chippewa Language, which after half a century

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still remains the standard authority, having passed through three editions. (6. p. 885)

The essence of the report is true. Unfortunately some essential points are reported incorrectly.

Frederik (Irenej) Baraga was born in Slovenia on June 29, 1797. His family was economically well situated, but did not belong to the nobility. The last relative having such a claim was Baraga's grandmother. Baraga's mother tongue was Slovenian. He wrote later (in America) that he knew only Slovenian until his departure to Ljubljana to attend schools. He studied at the classical college in Ljubljana, and law in Vienna. There he came under the influence of Rev. Klement Hofbauer, who was later proclaimed a saint. After completing his law studies, Baraga entered the seminary in Ljubljana, renouncing his rights to the family possessions. He was ordained a priest in 1832 and served as assistant priest in two parishes. He was very much liked by the parishioners, but he had difficulties with his confrères most of whom had been strongly influenced by Jansenism and Josephinism. When, in 1829 in Vienna, a new missionary society for the support of missions in North America, the Leopoldine Society, was established, Baraga applied for dismissal from his own diocese of Ljubljana and for acceptance as a priest in the diocese of Cincinnati.

The first missionary sponsored by the Society, Baraga landed in New York on December 31, 1830. His main mission posts were Arbre Croche, Grand River, La Pointe, and L'Anse.

As Vicar General of Upper Michigan (1853) and later Bishop of the Sault Ste. Marie diocese, Baraga resided officially (mainly during the winters months only) in Sault Ste. Marie until 1867, when he moved the seat of the diocese to Marquette. There he died on January 19, 1868.

As missionary, Baraga made regular trips to other Indian settlements far away from his stations, and later, as bishop, he visited each year every one of his communities whether it had a regular priest or not. On these visits he performed all regular missionary duties for Indians, especially in places without a regular priest or where the priest did not know or did not know well enough the Ottawa or the Ojibway languages.

In almost all cases (with some noticeable exceptions such as the Swiss) language is considered to be one of the most important characteristics of an ethnic group. The language is not just an instrument for expression and communication of thought and feeling, but by its very structure a revelation of the national character of a group. It is possible to create an artificial language for the commercial traffic (such as Esperanto, Interlingua, etc.) and also to use computers for translations of

such messages, but their usefulness ends there. They are not much help in translating Shakespeare or Goethe—or even jokes. It is the close connection between the identity of a group and its language which explains the bitterness of conflicts between a dominant group and others in a multilingual state if the state institutions are used to the disadvantage of the minority groups. For example, the use of German and Hungarian as opposed to the Slav languages in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, or the Serbian language as against Croatian, Macedonian and Slovenian in royalist and Communist Yugoslavia.

For every ethnic group the transition from the “spoken only” to the “written also” language is extremely important. While an ethnic group could, at least in the past, survive for centuries as a folk-culture, it can attain a high culture only after it develops a literate form of its language. In our industrialized society, it is questionable whether a group without a written language and a school system using it, could survive at all.

It would not be surprising if the numerically increasing Indians in Canada who claim today to be going through “a bloodless revolution”, wanting “to walk again with a straight back, head held high, eyes sparkling”, will also want again to cultivate and use their literary languages on the bases they have at their disposal.*

In the process of transformation of some of the Indian languages into literary languages, Slovenes played a very important part. The most visible figure here, as the quotation from the *Handbook on Indians* indicates, is Bishop Frederik Baraga.

Baraga knew at least to some degree what were the conditions in the diocese of Cincinnati which had been established only in 1821. Besides the state of Ohio it covered all the Indian territories towards the North. All priests in Austria were sent a brochure of some sixty pages, describing in German the history of the diocese written by its Vicar General, later Bishop of Detroit, Most Rev. D. Resé.

Intellectually, Baraga was well prepared for his future work. He was an expert in canon law as well as theology and a recognized writer of religious literature. His linguistic knowledge was very extensive. Besides his Slovenian mother tongue and German, the main language of instruction in school, he mastered Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English. When his sister Antonia, who stayed for some time with him in La Pointe, left him, he wrote for her the following acrostic of her name:

* Phrases in quotation marks used by Rev. R. Blacquièrè O.M.I. on the program “The Window on the World” presented by the students of the Coady International Institute over the radio station CJFX in Antigonish on May 6, 1967.

Angel Boshji najte vedno spremlja,	(Slovene)
Nie verlasse Dich des Himmels Schutz,	(German)
Tuta sis et salva in aeternum,	(Latin)
Observez toujours la loi de Dieu,	(French)
Nuovo sempre sia il Vostro zelo,	(Italian)
Imitate the Savior's holy life,	(English)
Angawamisin, mino bimadisin.	(Ojibway)

During the winter months of 1831, Baraga stayed in Cincinnati where he started to take lessons in the Ottawa language from a young seminarian, William Makatebinesi, the son of the chief in Arbre Croche where Baraga started his missionary activities. While he cared also for white settlers, and it was not unusual for him to preach sermons twice on Sunday in three languages, Baraga considered himself nevertheless till the end "essentially an Indian missionary" (5, p. 95).

In Arbre Croche his interpreter was chief Agisinak who was fluent in French. According to a letter of Rev. F. Pirc (May 1, 1836 as quoted in: 8, p. 84) it was only towards the end of 1835 that Baraga started to preach to Indians without an interpreter.

This did not prevent him from getting involved in Indian literary activities even before that. At the mission he found a prayer-book in the Ottawa language which had been prepared by his predecessor in Arbre Croche, the Rev. John de Jean. It was composed on the basis of another prayer-book in the Algonkian language. Despite the assistance of the teacher, Miss Elizabeth Williams who spoke the Ottawa language, Father de Jean had retained too many Algonkian expressions and had added an appreciable number of completely French sentences. With such deficiencies the prayer-book had not been used to the full extent by Indians. Baraga, therefore, decided to rewrite it. He prepared it with the help of his interpreter Agisinak who had studied and even taught for a while in Canada.

The 207-page prayer-book, *Ottawa. Anamie-Misinaigan*, was printed in 1832 in Detroit in an edition of 1000 copies. While it was a big improvement over the original, it still contained some mistakes. Baraga, therefore, prepared a new and enlarged edition together with an edition in the Ojibway language (*Otchipwe. Anamie-Masinaigan*). Both editions were printed in 1837 in Paris, 2000 copies of each. They have been reprinted many times. Dr. Jaklic reports reprints for the years 1841, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1853, 1855 and 1858 (8, p. 130), and it seems that they were reprinted in Cincinnati as late as 1861 and 1863.

Rev. Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, O. P., translated and printed the prayer-book into the Winnebago language.

These prayer-books have been used also as a means of teaching the Indians to read. Rev. Franc Pirc, another Slovenian missionary who came in 1838 to Grand Portage, was able to teach one-third of his Indians to read in two months with the help of Baraga's prayer-book. (9, p. 17).

I was not able to find any evidence that these prayer-books were reprinted in Canada as some other Baraga books were. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence, as shown below, that they found their way over the waters to the Canadian side.

Baraga was able to finance most of his books by gifts from his friends of Slovenia, by donations from the Leopoldine Society in Vienna and the Mission Society Ludwig in Munich, and by some additional contributions from Catholics in Cincinnati. He distributed the books to Indians, free of charge. Dr. Jaklic reports this explicitly for the prayer-books printed in France, adding that missionaries and teachers used them to teach their pupils to read and write, (8, p. 142) and for the book *Kagoge Debwewinan* (8, p. 217). Baraga himself reports in a letter (August 25, 1843–11, p. 184): "Indians love very much their prayer-books and take them with them on their travels so that they are able to read and sing from them in places where they stay overnight." In a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna he mentions that the book *Managatawendamomasinai-gen* "is made in pocket size because the Indians want to carry their books wherever they go." (quoted in: 11, p. 91).

There are many reports that during Baraga's time Indians from the United States moved in increasing numbers to Canada (e.g. 8, p. 116; also 12, p. 13, 14 and 16). It would be surprising if Catholics among them would not take their prayer-books with them, especially since they could not be sure that there would be Catholic priests who would know their language. The Indians were used to practising their religion by common prayers and readings, during the absences of their missionaries.

As the Vicar General of Upper Michigan (1853) and then as the first bishop of the new diocese in Sault Ste. Marie (1857). Baraga was given jurisdiction over Indians not only by the neighbouring bishops of Detroit, Milwaukee and St. Paul, but also by bishops of Toronto and Hamilton. In his letter to Mr. Choiselat, dated October 9, 1855, Baraga mentions among others:

"The diocese of Upper Michigan includes only the northern peninsula of the state of Michigan, but the neighboring bishops of *Detroit*, of *Milwaukee*, of *St. Paul*, & of *Toronto*, not knowing the Indian language at all, have entrusted to my care, with all the responsibilities attached to episcopal jurisdiction, the following missions:— ...

"4th. From the bishopric of Toronto in Canada, the entire coast which runs from *Fort William*, on the north shore of Lake Superior,

up to Bruce Mine. The two missions establish on this immense shoreline, at Fort William & Sault Ste. Marie on the Canadian shore, contain many intermediate stations, very difficult to visit: Lake Nipigong, Pic, Michipicoton, Badjuanang, Goulais Bay, Garden River, St. Joseph, Bruce Mine, etc. etc. . . .

“ . . . The Indian missions of Fort William and of *Garden River* are in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers and are maintained by their superiors with money from the Propagation. . . .

“The Indians of Michipicoton need a missionary, and nothing more is to be done there. Sault Ste. Marie, *Canadian shore*, has an unfinished church with two small rooms. A resident priest, with a school is needed, and in view of the extreme poverty of the white, metis, and Indian residents all ought to be maintained, if possible, by the help of the Propagation (Courtesy: Cause of Bishop Baraga, Marquette, Mich.)

According to Dr. Jaklic, Baraga's prayer-books were used also by Jesuits working among the Indians in Canada (8, p. 184; also 10).

Baraga's confessor, Rev. Edward Jacker, who was caretaker of the diocese after his death referred in his lecture on Baraga on January 31, 1868, to Baraga's writings as follow:

The demand for his Indian books was also increasing; he printed new editions, and wrote a larger and very valuable work for the better instruction of his flock of converts which now extended from Grand River on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan to places beyond the head of Lake Superior, a stretch of over 600 miles. Nay: from the distant wilds of Lower Canada, and the Prairies of Minnesota, from the islands in Lake Huron and from the north shore of Lake Superior, frequent demands for prayer and hymn books or works of instruction were made and liberally supplied by the obliging missionary. (7, p. 27)¹³

Baraga's main contributions to the linguistics of Indian languages, were his grammar and dictionary of the Ojibway language.

In his letter to the Leopoldine Society (June 19, 1847) Baraga reported that he had been asked by Bishop Lefèvre (Detroit) and other priests to write the grammar of the Ojibway language, which he had now completed. He asked for a contribution towards the printing, and reported also that he was working on the dictionary. Besides the chief Agisinak, he was helped by Benjamin Clautier, a French-Canadian who lived in L'Anse.

The full title of the grammar, printed in 1850 in Detroit by J. Fox was: “A theoretical and practical grammar of the Otchipwe language,

the language spoken by the Chippewa Indians; which is also spoken by the Algonquin, Ottawa and Potawatami Indians, with little difference. For the use of missionaries and other persons living among the Indians of the above named tribes.”

The dictionary on which he worked for ten years was printed three years later in Cincinnati: “A dictionary of the Otchipwe language, explained in English. This language is spoken by the Chippewa Indians..., etc.

Both books have been in use not only on Catholic missions, but also in schools, offices and in businesses. They must have been much in demand also in Canada because second editions of both were prepared by the Oblate priest, Rev. Albert Lacombe. In 1878, he published a second edition of the grammar “by a missionary of the Oblates” (Beauchemin & Valois), and the English-Otchipwe part of the Dictionary, while the Otchipwe-English (Part II) was printed in 1880.¹⁴

Rev. Lacombe, O.M.I., reduced the number of examples in the grammar, and made some changes in accentuation. He also added “Notes for the aid of beginners” from the little Sauteux Grammar of Rev. G. Belcourt. In mentioning places where the language was used, he mentioned for Canada, Lake Superior, Lake Manitoba and the shores of the Great Saskatchewan.

The dictionary has a few references to the Slovenian language which is called Illyrian (much of the Slovenian territory was from 1809 till 1813 under French occupation and was called the Province of Illyria). The copy of the dictionary in the Library of Saint Sulpice in Montreal includes also *La chanson de St. Nicolas* as well as an unfinished manuscript, *Petit Dictionnaire Française—Algonquin*.

Rev. Gaston Carrière, O. M. I., informed me that Rev. François Régis Déléage (at that time—1858/59 at Albany, James Bay) translated into Maskegon, almost all the letter A of Baraga’s dictionary, in the course of the winter. Unfortunately, the manuscript was lost in a shipwreck. (Baraga’s manuscript of 1700 pages, almost got lost too in the waters of Lake Michigan, when his sleds fell through the ice in the vicinity of Green Bay more than a mile away from the shore).

Baraga’s sermons *Katolik gagikewe-masinaigan*, printed originally in 1846 in Detroit and reprinted in 1858 in Cincinnati, have been translated into Maskegon and published twice in Montreal as: André Garin, *Sermons de Msgr. Baraga traduits de l’“otchipwe” en “maskgon” pour l’usage des sauvages d’Albany, Severn, Martin’s Falls (Baie d’Hudson)*. Montreal, Louis Perrault 1858, 120 pages. The Canadian translation was reprinted in 1887.

As late as 1939 another of Baraga's books was republished in Canada. Dr. Jaclic claims that this is not only the largest, but also the best of Baraga's books in Indian languages. The first edition of *Meditations in the Chippewa Language for Catholic Christians* (712 pages) was published in Winnipeg by J.-Omer Plourde, editor, as *Katolik enamiad Inanagatawendamovinan*. I was quite surprised when I saw this book in the hands of one of the students at the Coady International Institute (class 1963). The student, Rev. Daniel M. Hannin, S. J., of Sturgeon Falls, was using the book in his mission. He said that Indians have no difficulty in understanding the sermons even if read by a person who does not know their language. Thus the high praise of Rev. Cadeau, S. J., and Rev. Comte, S. J., does not seem to be exaggerated:

Le Sauvage ne peut donner aucune explication de sa langue; ses connaissances linguistiques et philologiques sont nulles. Toutes ces difficultés, Baraga les a vaincues. Il a saisi toutes les syllabes de chaque mot et avec toutes leurs variations grammaticales. Aussi sa grammaire est complète et l'indiologue le plus grincheux n'y trouve rien à corriger, ajouter ou changer. (2, pp. 31-32).

On his appointment as Vicar General for the Upper Michigan vicariat in 1853, Bishop Baraga issued two pastoral letters, one in English and one in Ojibway. Dr. Jaklic claims that this pastoral letter in Ojibway was the first official ecclesiastical document in any of the Indian languages in North America. He is supported by the same two Jesuit authors:

Ajoutons que c'est un monument unique du genre, car aucune lettre pastorale n'a été écrite dans la langue des aborigènes du Canada et des Etats-Unis. (2, p. 33).

They wrote that this brochure could still be found in many Indian houses and with most of the missionaries. It was printed in Cincinnati in 1853 as a ten-page brochure with the title: *Kitchi—Mekatewikwanaie Frederic Baraga, O Masinaigan. Ge-Wabandamowad Kakina anishinabeg enamiadjig*. It starts (in translation): "My children, whom I love, I salute you well." (7, p. 110-11). The original and its English translation are included in Rezek's book (11, pp. 110-123), while the French translation can be found as an appendix to the study *Un hero* (2, pp. 38-42).

Rev. Franc Pirc, the Slovenian missionary mentioned previously, established missions on the Canadian side of Lake Superior (Fort William, Michipikoten, etc.) where he used Baraga's books and contributed some books in Ojibway, himself. In a letter on October 2, 1843 he wrote:

"In my spare time I write because we have in this beautiful language

only two books by Father Baraga and I have contributed to this poor Indian literature the *Life of Jesus Christ* and a small catechism. Now I have in preparation a large catechism and seventy Indian sermons on the gospels for Sunday and Holydays of the year, where they will be printed I do not know". (quoted in 11, p. 350). In 1872 there is a report that Father Pirc delayed his return to his homeland because his Indian book on temperance was not yet quite ready for printing (11, p. 358).

Slovenes made substantial contributions to Christianization of Indians as well as to their transition from a nomadic to a more sedentary way of life, but this will have to be dealt with in another paper.

¹ Baraga, Frederik, (Most Rev.), Letter to Mr. Choiselat. Sault Sainte Marie, October 9, 1855. Copy received from: Cause of Bishop Frederik Baraga, Marquette, Mich.

² Cadieux, Lorenzo, S. J. — Comte, Ernest, S. J.: UN HERO DU LAC SUPERIEUR FREDERIC BARAGA. Sudbury, Ont.: La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Collège du Sacré-Coeur, Documents Historiques, No. 27; 1954.

³ Carrière, Gaston, O. M. I., *Contribution des Oblats de Marie Immaculés de langue Française aux études de linguistique et d'ethnologie du Nord Canadien*. Extrait de CULTURE XII (1951), pp. 213-226, Quebec, Que.

⁴ Carrière, Gaston, O. M. I., (Rev): Letter to R. Cujes, April 28, 1967.

⁵ Gregorich, Joseph, *The Apostle of the Chippewas. Life Story of the Most Rev. Fred. Baraga. D. D. The First Bishop of Marquette*. Chicago: The Bishop Baraga Association, 1932.

⁶ Hodge, Frederick Webb (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. In Two Parts. New York: Pageant Books Inc., 1959.

⁷ Jacker, Edward, (Rev) *Life and Service of Bishop Frederic Baraga*. Lecture by Rev. Edward Jacker: Friday, January 31, 1868 in St. Peter's Cathedral, Marquette, Michigan. Taken from The Marquette Weekly Plaindealer, Edition of January 30, 1868. Published by Bishop Baraga Association, 444 S. Fourth Street. Marquette, Michigan, 1957.

⁸ Jaklic, Franc (Rev.) Frederick Baraga, 2nd enlarged edition Buenos Aires: Slovenski misijonski odsek, 1951.

⁹ Jaklic, Franc (Rev.), Slovenski misijonarji, Baragove naslednkiv Ameriki, Celje, Slovenia: Unio Cleri, 1931.

¹⁰ McKey, J. E., S. J., from the Headquarters of Jesuit Ontario mission in Spanish, Ont.: The letter from Rev. J. E. McKey, S. J. dated May 4, 1967 to R. Cujes, contains the following information:

Bishop Baraga must have spent considerable time on this side even though there is little indication in the book referred to "*By Cross and Anchor*", because he had built the church still being used at Goulais Bay, about 28 miles north of Sault Ste. Marie... His dictionary has been the standard for our missionaries as long as I have any knowledge of, and his grammar is also the standard. An exercise grammar by Fr. Verwyst, O. F. W., is also widely used, usually in conjunction with Bishop Baraga's. Very few of our missionaries now speak Odjibway so the study has dropped to too great an extent. He also published a book of simple sermons and a book of conferences which are greatly treasured.

¹¹ Rezek, Antoine Ivan (Rev.) *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette*. Houghton: Vol. I., 1906; Vol. II. 1907.

¹²*Indians of Ontario. An Historical Review*. Ottawa: Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration. Indian Affairs Branch. February, 1962.

¹³ As examples of current use of Baraga's books in Canada I quote from answers send to missionaries:

Saskatchewan: Rev. A. Lacelle, O.M.I. from Kamsack, Sask., reports:

My experience is limited to the territory which is occupied mostly by Seaulteux Otchipwe Indians west of Great Lakes in the Province of Saskatchewan . . . We are studying out of Baraga's combined grammar and dictionary...

(letter, May 27, 1967)

Rev. Lacelle, O. M. I. reports present use of the following books: Jesus obimadisiwin, Winnebago translation of prayer-book, Jesus obindisiwin, Gete dibadjimowin, Katolik gagikwe masinaigan, Kakige debwowinan, and Grammar and Dictionary.

Manitoba: Rev. J. Brachet, O. M. I. Lake Manitoba Indian Reserve (Vogar, Mann.) writes:

I have used the Baraga Otchipwe-English dictionary for the last 52 years and it has helped me to master the language. I am astounded to find that Bishop Baraga was able to perform such precise work through his constant and difficult travels.

(letter, May 26, 1967)

Ontario: Rev. Hawkins, S. J., from Christian Islands reports the following books being presently in use: Katolik enamiad, Grammar and Dictionary; he also reports that there are reports of previous use of Kakige debwowinan.

¹⁴ In 1966 the Dictionary was reprinted as a facsimile of the 1878 Canadian edition by Ross and Haines, two volumes in one.

BELORUSSIANS AND CANADIAN STATISTICS

by
V. Zuk-Hryskievic
Belorussian Canadian Alliance

Officially Belorussians are not known in Canada. There is no trace of Belorussians in Canadian statistics although they have lived in Canada in considerable numbers for at least three generations. I quote from an article by Dr. V. J. Kaye, "Canadians of Belorussian origin"—the first Canadian work about Belorussians and a small but very valuable one: "Canadians of Belorussian origin form one of the most interesting although at the same time one of the least known ethnic groups in Canada. It is not listed in Canadian census statistics as a separate ethnic group, which makes it difficult to estimate their numbers." And farther on: "In Canada the public became aware of the new (in fact—a very ancient) Belorussian ethnic group only quite recently, after the arrival of the post-war immigration."¹ A very ancient group indeed. In this very significant year 1967 when all Canadians celebrate the centenary of Confederation, Belorussians, besides this common celebration, have two more occasions to celebrate: the nine hundredth anniversary of their homeland capital Minsk and the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Belorussian printing (in 1517 Doctor Francisk Skaryna from Polotzk printed the first book of the Bible translated into old Belorussian).

Why the Belorussians are not listed

Belorussians began to come to Canada in the beginning of this century when their homeland was under Russian tzarist rule. There was further immigration between the wars from West Belorussia which was then under Polish rule. In the first case they were listed as Russians and in the second as Poles. Later on, when new Belorussian immigrants came

¹ V. J. Kaye, „Canadians of Belorussian Origin”, *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, July-September, 1960. p. 300.

to Canada after the World War II, even if they had a highly developed national consciousness, nobody seemed to comprehend their ethnic origin for a variety of reasons.

With some exceptions Canadians were accustomed to defining nationality by the name of a state. And this is the key question. Definition of nationality or nation, with interpretation of this basic notion of term, is made in close relation to such terms as ethnic group, birthplace and language.² *The Oxford Dictionary* defines nationality as national quality or character, nation feeling, the fact of belonging to a particular nation. And for the term nation, it gives distinct race or people, characterized by common descent, language or history and organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory. The question arises now if a people which has all the above mentioned attributes except a separate political state could be considered as a nation or nationality. In a European approach to this question the answer would be positive. Europeans, especially Eastern Europeans, distinguish very clearly between state and nationality in their treatment of a state with different national groups. But for most Canadians nation or nationality is synonymous with the state. This is what brings confusion to the definition of stateless nationalities.

Canadians confuse the name Belorussian with Russia and White Russian with anti-bolshevik Russian immigrants. There was and still is among Canadians a great deal of ignorance about Eastern Europe, especially about Eastern Slavs and the peoples of the Soviet Union. It is not well known in Canada that Belorussians, like the other peoples of former Czarist Russia, have struggled continuously since the Russian Revolution of 1917 for their real independent democratic state, and that for this reason the Moscow bolshevik rulers established the Belorussian Soviet Republic and made it a member of the United Nations.³

Generally, the Soviet Union is considered by Canadians as Russia. You can notice this in the press, in textbooks and maps. You may find information in geography textbooks about the Soviet Union and Russia, but very little on the other national Soviet republics and peoples as being different nationally from Russians, although they form half of the population of the Soviet Union—over one hundred million altogether. Not too many Canadians realize that the Belorussians and other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have their own territory with their own population, their own language, history and culture and that in spite of

² *The Oxford International Dictionary* (Toronto, 1957) p. 1311.

³ I. Mienski, "Establishment of the Belorussian SSR," *Belorussian Review*, Munich, Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., Vol. I, 1955, pp. 5-33.

the denial of self-determination by the central Moscow government they strive for their real independence and not a fictitious one.

The recent textbooks give more information on the peoples of the Soviet Union, but still consider Belorussians and Ukrainians as Russians. I quote from a geography textbook for Grade 10 published in 1961: "The name of U.S.S.R. emphasizes the fact that it is a union of many different peoples; in fact, there are over a hundred different ethnic or racial groups within the Union's borders. By far the largest group, however, comprising over three-quarters of the total population, are the Russians—a Slavic people related to the inhabitants of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other East-European countries. Even the Russians are divided into three major groups:

The White Russians or Belorussians, numbering one million, who inhabit the region of the upper Dvina and Dnieper Rivers.

The Little Russians or Ukrainians, about forty million in number, live in the black-earth steppes and the surrounding territory.⁴

In another textbook for Grade 12 published in 1963 we read: „Technically the R.S.F.S.R. is "Russia", but this term has come to be used for the U.S.S.R. as a whole"⁵

It is very interesting that such a rather Russian, very conservative nationalistic view of Belorussians and Ukrainians should be introduced in Canadian high schools. It is in contradiction to the scientific classification of Slavs, which considers Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians as separate peoples of the East Slavic group.⁶ It contradicts also the Soviet official view of Belorussians and Ukrainians.⁷

This general attitude of the Canadian public towards Belorussians is shared by Canadian civil servants and enumerators of the Censuses of the Canadian population. This can be seen from the Census questionnaires and Enumeration Manuals. The population questionnaire for the 1951 census included questions on mother tongue, birthplace and origin. Belorussian is not in the list of languages, nor is Belorussia mentioned in the question on origin.⁸

⁴ D. A. Clee, *Through Europe and Asia a Regional Geography of the Eurasian continent*. (Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1961), p. 314.

⁵ *Selected Studies in Regional Geography* (McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, New York, Toronto, London, 1963), p. 216.

⁶ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 20, 1966, „Slavonic languages, (classification),” p. 787.

⁷ See *Bolshaya Sovietskaya Encyclopedia*, Vol. 39, Moscow, 1957, „Slovianskiya yazyki,” p. 305; and Vol. 4, Moscow 1950, „Beloruski yazyk,” p. 531.

⁸ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1951* (Ottawa, 1955), Vol. II., p. 189.

In the question on birthplace different European countries are listed, but none that have fallen under Soviet rule, including Belorussia and the Ukraine. Of course Poland and Russia or U.S.S.R. are in parenthesis. Under lists of languages and countries there is the remark: "If not listed write below." The question arises as to what to write in the case of the Belorussians.

It is easy to guess the dilemma of the enumerators who knew nothing of Belorussians and of the Belorussian respondents who look for all means to explain the name of their country, their origin and their language. The result was that, with very rare exceptions, they were listed as of Russian or Polish origin because their birthplaces were under former Russian or Polish rule. It is impossible to state with certainty how Belorussians were listed during the census in 1951, but an analysis of interviews with even a small group of people can give an idea of what happened.

I held interviews with a small group of nationally conscious Belorussians in Toronto—24 highly active members of the Belorussian Canadian Alliance. Of this number only three succeeded in convincing enumerators to list them as Belorussians by origin. One of them showed to an enumerator his birthplace on the map of the Belorussian Soviet Republic; another presented his French document in which his birthplace was marked "Bielorussie" in French; the third one was lucky because the enumerator was his friend and allowed him to write in the name of his country. The rest of the twenty-one in spite of their efforts to prove their Belorussian origin were listed as Russian or Poles. One girl refused to give any information because the enumerator did not want to enter her Belorussian origin. She received a compromise: she was listed as "other." It is easy to imagine how those Belorussians were listed who had not the ability to explain and prove their origin or who were less insistent. As far as mother tongue was concerned, some enumerators agreed to write in Belorussian.

In census statistics it is not the rule to describe Irish, Scottish or Welsh as of English origin. The same distinction is made in regard to French Canadians, whether born in Quebec or in English-speaking Canada. That is why it is difficult to understand a different approach to the similar case of Eastern Slavs—Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians.

For the 1961 census the enumerators received more instructions about birthplaces that were uncertain because of changes in national boundaries in some parts of continental Europe or elsewhere, including the Soviet Union. We can find this in the Enumeration Manual for the 1961 census. But in this Manual too the Soviet Union is considered as

Russia. True, the manual mentions U.S.S.R. and gives instructions on how to enter the birthplace for those respondents who state that they were born in one of the Soviet Republics including the Belorussian. However the subtitle of the paragraph is "If Born In Russia."⁹

This subtitle is very significant. It gives inspiration to enumerators to consider all respondents born in the Soviet Union as Russians, especially those, who are not sure, or are not able to explain to which Republic his birthplace now belongs. According to instructions, in such a case enumerators may write in U.S.S.R., but then the respondent was considered Russian.

It is an improvement that in the 1961 census an ethnic group question was introduced with thorough explanations and examples in the above-mentioned Manual as to how to make the entries.¹⁰ Unfortunately no instructions were given on how to enter the ethnic groups from the present Soviet Union which was still considered as Russia. I think because of such an attitude many Belorussians during the 1961 census were listed as Russians, or Poles if they were born in West Belorussia, although with some insistence it was easier than in 1951 to persuade enumerators to write in Belorussian origin. It seems to me that the questionnaire itself had much to do with the inaccuracies during this census. The fact that not all ethnic groups or languages were listed in many cases put enumerators and respondents in a confused position.

Population Questionnaire (Form 2A) of the 1961 census had among others three very important points—birthplace, ethnic group and mother tongue—in which different nationalities were listed, but some ethnic groups, including Belorussians, were missing.¹¹ I understand that larger nationalities had priority in this case. But this fact put them in an advantageous position in relation to the smaller groups, which, because they were not listed in the population questionnaire, did not have equal chances during the census. True, there was a "write in space," but this puts them in a doubtful position; it looks as though they are less important than the groups mentioned in the lists and are dependent upon the views of enumerators who write in their statements. Some could even think; if their ethnic origin is not listed in the questionnaire it is not recognized by the authorities, and so what is the use of referring to it.

Also from the practical point of view it would be much easier for enumerators and respondents to co-operate if there was a list of all

⁹ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961: Enumeration Manual* (Ottawa, 1961), p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961* (Ottawa, 1962), Vol. I, Tables 34, 48, 63.

Canadian ethnic groups and their languages without regard to how large or small they are. I understand that there is not enough space in the questionnaire for this, but a full list of ethnic groups, countries and languages could be printed separately, and attached to the questionnaire. This could be a big help to both enumerators and respondents.

We may agree that it is very difficult to list precisely all the different ethnic groups in such a mixed population as Canada's. But the question is how far we can afford this lack of precision. In some cases the figures for Canadian censuses of population present very uncertain results. If we compare the general figures for some ethnic groups with figures by religious denominations we can notice distinct discrepancies. We can take as an example the Russian figures from the 1961 census. It shows us that this group actually consists of several ethnic groups of which the Russians proper formed a minority. In his above-mentioned work, Dr. Kaye came to the same conclusion in analyzing the religious affiliations of the Russian origin group from the 1951 census.¹²

The total figure for the Russian ethnic group according to the census of 1961 is 119,168.¹³ Let us see now how this group looks when broken down by religious denominations.

Total number of Russians	119,168
Anglican	4,341
Baptist	3,468
<i>Greek Orthodox</i>	13,761
<i>Jewish</i>	23,461
<i>Lutheran</i>	8,237
<i>Mennonite</i>	9,415
Pentecost	1,011
Presbyterian	1,325
<i>Roman Catholic</i> ¹⁴	16,644
Ukrainian Greek Catholic	1,180
United Church	15,981
Other	20,344

We know that Russians, with the exception of a small number of converts, are Greek Orthodox. But as the figures show there are only 13,761 Russian Greek Orthodox in the whole number of 119,168. We can consider the 20,344 "Others" as Dukhobors—definitely Russian—and

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

¹³ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961*. (Ottawa, 1962), Vol. I, Table 110.

¹⁴ All underlining mine, V.Z-H.

can add 26,126 of different Canadian Protestant denominations. But what of the remainder This includes 16,644 Roman Catholics, 9,415 Mennonites, 8,237 Lutherans and 23,461 Jews. Are these Russians? Possibly a small fraction are, but not all the 57,757. And how can we interpret the fact that there are only 13,761 Greek Orthodox and 16,644 Roman Catholics in the Russian group? From this example we can see that in some cases Canadian censuses of population are quite a distance from the real figures for the Canadian ethnic groups.

There are some difficulties in preserving Belorussian origin on Canadian citizenship paper too. The trouble is that in many cases clerks who fill in applications, and prepare the papers refuse to recognize the unfamiliar name of Belorussia and put instead the countries under the rule of which were the applicants born—Poland or Russia. Interviews with some members of the Belorussian Canadian Alliance are very convincing. To mention only a few: in Toronto, 1957, Mr. J. Baran despite his insistence that his birthplace was Belorussia was marked in Canadian documents as of Polish origin. Mr. N. Prakopchik of Cobourg named his birthplace Belorussia but, because he served in Polish army, "Polish origin" was written in his document. Against their insistence that they were of Belorussian origin Mrs. N. Baranovich (Toronto) was marked as Russian, Mr. M. Rachicki (Toronto) as Polish, and so on. Other examples are A. Protas (Stratford), N. Silvanovic (Toronto) and B. Lischonak (Oshawa). We could expand this list much more. Others—Mr. A. Monid (Brantford) succeeded in preserving his Belorussian origin in Canadian documents because in his previous French document his origin was stated to be Belorussian.

There were some more dramatic cases. Mr. K. Akula the Belorussian writer and one of the founders of the Belorussian Canadian Alliance, before becoming a Canadian citizen found it necessary to travel to the States and applied for a Canadian temporary travel document. In spite of his protest Poland was put as his birthplace instead of Belorussia. Because of his urgent need for this document he could not afford to refuse it. When in 1954 he applied for Canadian citizenship a city clerk again intended to write in Poland as his birthplace. But this time he refused to accept the document, and after some time the clerk conferred with a higher official and agreed to put in Belorussia.

Something similar happened to Mr. L. Karyba in Toronto. In September 1966 he refused to accept the certificate of Canadian citizenship for the same reason. Again a higher official had to intervene and told him to wait two weeks for correction. And indeed after two weeks he received a corrected document.

How do Belorussians themselves feel in such situations? In the past

they could not express their national identity under Polish rule. The Bolshevik rulers tried to russify them, and some Belorussians, because of their national convictions, even had to endure Russian forced labour camps. After the end of World War II many Belorussians in Germany were chased by the Soviet Repatriation Commission who wanted to force them to return. And after they came to such a free country as Canada they never expected that even here they would have difficulty in preserving their national identity.

I do not intend to insist that Belorussians are not listed in Canadian statistics only because of ignorance about them and some technical disadvantages in questioning. I know that the old Belorussian, so-called "dollar" immigrants had not enough national consciousness and did not care at all how they were listed. I know that many Belorussian immigrants accepted alien identities—Russian or Polish, as they were taught for years by Russian or Polish teachers, priests and officials in the old country and by the Communist propaganda in Canada. But we cannot dismiss other causes which obstruct the expression of Belorussian identity for those who are proud of it.

Maybe the question of how Belorussians are listed in Canadian statistics is not so important; they are Canadians now anyway. But we have to keep in mind that Canada is not a melting pot. As distinguished Canadian statesmen believe, the basic strength of Canada is diversity in unity—diversity in the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups and unity in the common rich Canadian culture. From this point of view it is important indeed to secure an expression of identity for all ethnic groups, to give an equal chance to all of them, big and small, better known or less known. Canada our new homeland is big, beautiful, rich and a free country. It is the country which gives equal rights, equal opportunities and equal chances to every citizen. That is why the question of how Belorussians are listed has some importance.

UNITED STATES POPULATION OF POLISH ORIGIN

by

A. Jaworski

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Estimates of the United States population of Polish origin vary significantly, from 4.0 million to 9.6 million for the same period. It might be worth-while, therefore, to summarize the estimates in tabular form and to make a new attempt, because Poland's boundary changes, after World War II, are bound to blur future official census data, where a person's origin is determined by his (or his ancestor's) birth-place.

It was pointed out in the U. S. Census of Population; 1960 that Foreign-born persons were asked to report their country of birth according to international boundaries as recognized by the United States on April 1, 1960. . . . There may have been considerable deviation from the rules specified in the instructions, in view of numerous changes in boundaries that have occurred. Moreover, many foreign-born persons are likely to report their country of birth in terms of boundaries that existed at the time of their birth or emigration, or in accordance with their own national preference; such variations in reporting may have been intentional or the result of ignorance of the boundaries recognized by the United States.*

For Poland, the 1960 boundaries relative to 1938 represent striking changes as the total area of 120,359 square miles includes 38,974 square miles that have been gained from Germany but excludes 68,667 square miles, lost to Russia, that is, a credit and debit of Poland's present total area of 32.38 per cent and 57.05 per cent respectively.

It is interesting to note that the Bureau of the Census criterion of the 1960 boundaries is not recognized by the U. S. Immigration Department, where the applications from persons born in Poland are considered on the basis of 1938 boundaries.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that census data do not indicate the total number of Americans of Polish origin, because the largest

* Final Report PC (1)-D, p. XIII.

group of the country's total population namely "native white of native parents" is not broken down by its national origin.

Census data about origin show the particular nationalities only for the foreign-born and the natives of foreign or mixed parentage. In the 1960 census these two groups accounted jointly for only 18.99 per cent of the total population.

Finally, if in the "national origin" category we substitute mother tongue of the immigrants for birth-place which is used by the census, the discrepancy between these two criteria for Polish origin is significant. The 1940 census—the last census with details about the mother tongue derived from a 5 per cent sample—pointed out that among the persons born in Poland in the order of 969,360, only 727,060 (i.e. 75 per cent*) reported Polish as their mother tongue, to be followed by 162,520 or 16.8 percent of the total born in Poland with Yiddish as their mother tongue, and 24,400 or 2.5 per cent of the total with English as mother tongue. On the other hand, in the 1940 Census, 74,620* foreign-born—not in Poland—gave Polish as their mother tongue.

Regarding the 1920 official basis for the immigrant quotas allocations, all names of the descendants of the original stock of 1790 were thoroughly investigated and the English element reduced by 10.4 per cent with the amount of reduction pro-rated to all other nationalities. The experts suggested such correction, in order to equalize the growth rate of the descendants of the immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Ireland, who constituted the largest part of the original stock of 1790. As these descendants in 1920 before the correction accounted for 85 per cent of the total, a reduction by 10.4 per cent, meant for other nationalities, including the Polish one, an increase of 53.55 per cent of the content originally recorded in 1920 for the 1790 descendants. The immigrant totals prior to 1890 were pro-rated among nationalities on the basis of that year, and the 1920 boundaries were retroactively applied to the records since 1890 by taking into account also the data about the mother tongue and official statistics from foreign countries.

The highest estimate of 9.6 million in 1940 stems from two basic assumptions. The first was wrong in principle and the second, although categorically stated, was submitted with no proof at all. The author, referring to the census data of 1910 and 1930 for Polish origin, indicated there had been an increase of the total of almost 100 per cent, and he applied this growth rate to the third generation of Polish origin in 1920

* During the 1960 census the corresponding figures were 70.52 per cent of the total of 747,750 and 54,654 of the foreign born—not in Poland—had given Polish as their mother tongue.

to obtain an estimate for 1940. As was pointed out in the census, data about Polish origin (or any other origin) do not include the third generation. And it does not follow that an increase rate between 1920 and 1940 must equal the period from 1910 to 1930.

The second assumption derives from the author's statements
 “. . . there is no doubt that the error in counting the Polish Group by the Census was very high and that it wavers between 10 per cent and 50 per cent. Using 25 per cent as the average of the statistical error we will arrive closer to the truth.”*

The author does not produce pertinent evidence and overlooks the fact that any upgrading of census data about Polish origin, must point to an equivalent downgrading for specified nationalities, as the grand total is a correct figure.

Regarding the writer's estimate with the calculation method shown in the footnote of Table 2, it might be noted that the official total of 1920 was taken as a starting point. For 1940, that is in the middle of the period concerned from 1920 to 1960, the assumption that among the natives of native parentage of Polish origin, the percentage of women in the age bracket between 15 and 44 years is the same as for all natives of native parentage, could be verified by the census of the mother-tongue data. For the whole group, with the Polish mother-tongue percentage in brackets, the age distribution was as follows:

1940 Census: Age Distribution Among All Natives of Native Parentage (Percentages for the Persons with Polish Mother Tongue in this Group are in brackets).

	<i>Per Cent of Total (All Ages)</i>					
	Under 25	25 to 30	35 to 45	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 & over
Total ¹	48.2(70.2)	16.1(16.5)	12.9(6.8)	10.1(4.3)	6.9(1.6)	5.8(0.6)
Female ¹	48.0(71.1)	16.3(15.5)	12.9(7.0)	10.1(4.4)	6.8(1.4)	5.9(0.7)

We might conclude from the age distribution that the sub-group with Polish mother tongue relative to the totals for the age brackets under 25 years and over 65 years showed significant discrepancies: a higher percentage for the former and a lower for the latter. Consequently, the net increase of natives of native parentage and Polish mother tongue is bound to be higher than the assumption in Column 6

* *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹ In absolute figures, the number of persons with Polish mother tongue in this group—total and for females only, was 185,820 and 89,040, respectively.

of Table 2 for the total group's average, as no census data for the whole Polish sub-group i.e. including the majority with English mother tongue are available. But the majority of the sub-group, in its age distribution, is likely to follow the group's average.

This assumption is supported by the available census records about the percentage of women in the age bracket from 25 to 34 years for the natives of mixed parentage where the total Polish sub-group indicates a small discrepancy relative to the group's average: 19.6 per cent vs 19.0 per cent, whereas for the pertinent tongue it was as high as 26.9 per cent.

The correction for the 1940 grand total of Polish origin in the order of 5,053,625 based on the higher net increase for natives of native parentage with a Polish mother tongue than the assumption in Column 6 of Table 2 based on the group's average, is unlikely to be significant because in absolute figures the person with the Polish mother tongue in this group accounted only for 185,820 or 3.68 per cent of the grand total.

It is interesting to note that the ratio between the ethnic origin and the corresponding mother tongue on this continent could be quite accurately determined in Canada because during the population census in 1951 and in 1961 only 1.2 per cent of the total population was unable to answer the question: "To what ethnic group did you or your ancestor (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 determining the person's ethnic group. In respect to all natives of Polish origin in Canada in the 1951 census, 37.37 per cent of them recorded Polish as their mother tongue, thus for 1940 a lower percentage was more probable because the children born in Canada to the immigrant who came after World War II had raised the 1951 ratio of natives with the Polish mother tongue.*

It should be mentioned, with respect to the mother-tongue data from the U. S. census in 1940 and Canada's in 1951, that the latter covered the whole population, whereas in the former, only a five per cent sample has been taken. And in Canada the question about the mother tongue was worded as "the language a person first learned in childhood and still understands," whereas in the U. S. the mother tongue was defined as "the principal language spoken in the home of the person in his earliest childhood." Thus the Canadian additional qualification "and still understands" was not incorporated.

* For 1940 the corresponding ratio for Poles born in Brazil was 43 per cent (Supplement to Population Statistics, March 1950, p. 41, Cambridge University Press).

On the other hand, the United States ratio of Polish mother tongue and ethnic origin, was probably lower than the corresponding ratio in Canada, as historically, mass immigration from central and eastern Europe to the United States started several decades earlier. Consequently, if we take the 1951 Canadian ratio of .3737* and apply it to the 1940 census figure of native Americans with Polish mother tongue in the order of 1,614,640, the number 4.4 million would be a conservative estimate of the native-born Americans of Polish origin in the United States in 1940. Even so, it might be noted that in Table 2, with the census criterion by country of origin, that the corresponding figure in 1940, that is the sum of Columns 4 and 6, is only 4,060,146. Therefore, the 1960 final estimate in Column 2 should be considered conservative too.

Admittedly, if we take the 1920 historical figure of 3,626,692 that was officially established as the total U. S. population of Polish origin and multiply it simply by the 1960 total white population over that of 1920 (i.e. 58.8 million over 94.8 million), we derive a figure for 1960 in the order of 6.1 million versus our estimate of 7.2 million. But the estimate might be explained by the fact that the ratio of "Natives-Female" of Foreign or Mixed Parentage in the age bracket 15-44 years, and the Natives of Native Parentage (it should be recalled that the children of the former are statistically recorded in the latter)—is significantly higher among the Poles than the national average: (Relate to Columns 5 and 6 vs. Columns 13 and 8).

Furthermore, among the natives stemming from the historically younger immigrants like Poles, the representation of the age group over 70 is probably below the national average for all the natives. Consequently, the Attrition Index (see Column 12 of Table 2) that is based on the national average, actually overestimates the losses for the Polish "Natives".

In short, the 1960 estimate of the total U.S. population of Polish origin of 7.2 million is on the low side.

The figures in the estimates, as shown in Column 2 of Table 2 for

* The 1951 Canadian census recorded for the Polish ethnic origin a total of 219,845 including 97,530 for immigrants, thus the difference between these two figures of 122,315 implies the number of Polish ethnic origin population born in Canada. For the Polish mother tongue three aggregates are shown in the 1951 census: a total of 129,238, a sub-total of 80,255 for the immigrants and a total of 120,603 corresponding to the Polish ethnic origin. From these figures for the born in Canada i.e. Canadian natives, according to the U. S. terminology, the ratio of the Polish mother tongue and the Polish ethnic origin has been calculated as: $(1-80,255: 129,238) (120,603: 122,315) = .3737$. By using Canadian census data, the writer presented in Polish, an analysis: "Uprooting of Poles in Canada," in the monthly magazine *Kultura*, Paris, June 1957.

the years 1930 to 1960, are given to illustrate the calculation method and no claim to full accuracy would be justified. And, as an estimate of entirely historical origin, like the 1920 official estimate that was taken as a basis of calculation, it is unlikely to be confirmed in full by the census.

The method that was outlined in Table 2, with a cross-check of the 1940 mother-tongue data and a pertinent Canadian coefficient, might be used for estimating the U. S. total population of any origin that was enumerated in the Senate Document No. 65, 70 Congress, 1928 and in the 1940 census (the 1951 Canadian census, in great detail, covers practically the same twenty-five ethnic origins).

By the end of 1943, the *U. S. Census Population 1940*, giving the mother tongue of the total population; based on a 5 per cent sample, was published. On the basis of these figures and the 1960 estimate of the total U. S. population of Polish origin of 7,162,617 (see Table 2), the following „guesstimate” about the U. S. total population of Slavic groups is submitted below.

The figures in Column 4 are the product of Column 3 and the figure of 7,162,617. The “guesstimate” of 13.1 million* is admittedly hazardous,

<i>Slavic Origin</i>	<i>U. S. 1940 Population Census Mother Tongue</i>		<i>“Guesstimate” of the U.S. 1960 total popu- lation of Slavic origins (In Thousands)</i>
	<i>1940 Total</i>	<i>As Ratio of the Polish Mother Ton.</i>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Polish	2,416,320	1.000	7,163
Russian	585,080	.242	1,733
Slovak	484,360	.200	1,433
Ukrainian	83,000	.035	251
Czech	520,440	.215	1,540
Serbian-Croatian	37,640	.016	115
Slovenian	178,640	.048	344
Total Slavic Groups	4,421,520	1.830	13,106

because it implies several assumptions. To begin with, that the ratio of the mother tongue and ethnic origin is practically the same, and that the distribution in age groups between sexes is similar too. But as the

* The corresponding aggregate for the Slavic Ethnic Origins in the 1951 Canada Census added up to 1,057,670. In descending order we note (mother-tongue data in brackets): Ukrainian: 473,337 (170,917); Polish: 323,517 (161,720); Russian: 119,168 (20,210); Czech and Slovak: 73,061 (Slovak, 18,208) and Yugoslavic: 68,587 (Serbo-Croatian: 11,796).

historical process of immigration of the various Slavic groups to the United States was not significantly different, it appears not unreasonable to make such a cavalier assumption.

Finally, we may take the U. S. 1920 totals of population originating from the Slavic countries, as indicated in the U. S. Senate Document No. 65, of February 27, 1928. (the basis for calculating immigration quotas up to 1966).

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>U.S. 1920 Totals</i>
Poland	3,626,692
Russia	2,108,283
Czechoslovakia	1,623,438
Yugoslavia	440,318
TOTAL Slavic Countries	7,798,731

It might be noted that the ratio of all Slavic countries and Poland of 2.150 for the 1920 data is higher than the 1940 mother-tongue ratio of 1.830, and from the higher ratio for 1960 a Slavic aggregate of 15.5 million might be inferred.

Obviously, it cannot be expected that even the writer's lower estimate of 13.1 million of the total U. S. population of Slavic origins (7.3 per cent of the 1960 census grand total of 179,323,175) could be verified by an official census. And it would be unrealistic to expect that in the United States a census would cover the ethnic origins of the whole population as in Canada. It would be possible, however, to make a rather inexpensive sampling that would also commemorate the U. S. service men of Slavic origins.

As of September 30, 1966, the number of parents receiving pensions for their sons who died in the U. S. military service during World War II and the Korean conflict, was officially listed as 234,501. If from the replies of a questionnaire that might be addressed to the parents asking for Slavic origins, 16, 400 names were brought forward, it might be claimed then with good justification, that Slavic origins account for *at least* 7 per cent of the total population. And a book commemorating soldiers of Slavic descent should be published and sent to the parents free of charge.

Let us end with a note of caution about presenting high population estimates. Such estimates call for a high number of achievements too. For example, if a critic were to say that the 1960 estimate of 13 million for all Slavic groups in the United States is by 50 per cent too low, and that a figure of 19 million is more probable, it would bring such estimates

close to the U. S. 1960 census figure of 18,871,831 for the Negro population.

And according to an article in *Time* (issue of August 27, 1965) in which the following list of achievements was presented, Negroes account for at least thirty-five millionaires, eight federal judges, one hundred city, county, and state judges, four ambassadors, a Solicitor General, the President of the Cleveland Academy of Medicine, and \$53 million assets in Negro commercial banks. To *Time's* listing, should be added: two Nobel Peace prize winners, the appointment of the Solicitor General to the Supreme Court as a judge, election of one Senator, and brilliant contributions in music and sports.

For all Slavic groups, taken jointly, it would be quite hard to present such a list of achievements.

TABLE I
U. S. TOTAL POPULATION OF POLISH ORIGIN — PUBLISHED ESTIMATES 1908—1960

<i>Item</i>	<i>Year of estimate or publication</i>	<i>Estimated Total</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	1908	4,000,000	Polish Press	Quoted by Paul Fox in "The Poles in America", 132 pp. Publ. G. Doran, New York 1922. On p. 62 the author's comment about Item 2 reads: "The figures, however, are very conservative and unquestionably below the actual number of Poles in the United States...", and about Item 3: "The estimate . . . is probably nearest to the actual fact."
2	1910	3,063,000	Polish National Alliance Calendar	A special investigation was conducted by the research experts employed by the American Council of Learned Societies.
3	1919	4,000,000	The American Assoc. of Foreign Languages Newspapers	
4	1920	3,626,692	Immigration Quotas on the Basis of National Origin, Message from the President of the United States, February 27, 1928, Senate Document No. 65.	
5	1937	5,000,000	William Seabrook in the article: American All , in the American Magazine , issue of August 1937, p. 75.	The pertinent statement reads: "Most of our five million Polish Americans and their first generation descendants now live in the region of the Great Lakes, lower New England, New York and Pennsylvania".
6	1938	5,000,000	William Seabrook: The Foreigners , 358 pp., Publ. Harcourt Co., New York, 1938 at footnote on page 259.	Just repeats his statement of 1937, quoted under Item 5.
7	1940	5,000,000	E. C. Olsyk: The Polish Press in America , 95 pp., (M.A. thesis), Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1940.	On page 7 the author says: "Today there are some 5,000,000 Poles (nearly all citizen, naturalized or born) in the United States and more than 1,000 churches with Polish parishioners." The author is quoting as a source Item 5.

TABLE I
U. S. TOTAL POPULATION OF POLISH ORIGIN — PUBLISHED ESTIMATES 1908—1960

Item	Year of estimate or publication	Estimated Total	Source	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
8	1940	9,600,000	Dr. Stefan Wloszczewski: History of Polish American Culture, 150 pp., Publ. The White Eagle Publishing Co., Trenton, New Jersey, 1946.	On page 49 we read: "...it may be said that in 1940 Poles of all generations numbered about 9,600,000. This is the approximate number of the Polish population in America, that is the "Polish Ethnological Group". The Author has derived his estimate from the official figure about the third generation in 1920 calculations (see Item 4) and second and third generations data for 1930 recorded at the Census by assuming that: (a) 25% should be added for underestimation, and (b) a 100% growth rate in 20 years. See text.
9	1945	4,000,000	One America, Editors and Co-authors, F. J. Brown and J. S. Rouseck, 717 pp. Rev. Ed. 1945, Sixth Printing 1947, Publ. Prentice-Hall, New York.	On page 136, the authors simply say: "Today there are about 4,000,000 Poles widely distributed over the United States. About 80% of them are naturalized."
10	1949	5,000,000	R.A. Schemmerhorn, THESE OUR PEOPLE, Minorities in American Culture, 635 pp. Publ. D. C. Heath Co., Boston, 1949.	"...we conclude that Olszyk's computation of 1940 is probably as close to the mark as any and it will be accepted as approximately five million." (on page 266). Olszyk's estimate is shown as Item 7.
11	1951	6,000,000	Encyclopaedia Britannica 1965, Vol. 18 p. 154.	"By 1951... the greatest single group was in the United States, where there were probably 6,000,000 persons of Polish descent."
12	1954	6,000,000	Hon. Alexander Wily, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Pulaski Day, 1954..., in the Foreword to <i>Tensions within the Soviet captive countries, Poland, Parts, Senate Doc. No. 70.</i>	"The 6 million Americans of Polish descent are....."
13	1955	5,000,000	<i>Life Magazine</i> , issue of April 25, 1955 in the article "Lively Americans: The U. S. Poles."	The Editor in his letter of August 16th, 1955, kindly informed the writer that the estimate was based on Schemmerhorn's: These Our People. See Item 10.
14	1960	7,200,000	Writer's estimate. See Table 2.	The estimate is likely to be on the low side. See text.

TABLE 2
U.S. TOTAL POPULATION OF POLISH ORIGIN
WRITER'S ESTIMATE FOR THE CENSUS YEAR 1930-60

Census Year	White of Polish Origin				White of All Origins							Growth Index Col. 10, $\frac{1}{2}$ (Col. 9) - 1 + Col. 13) (14)	
	Grand Total (Col. 3 + Col. 4 + Col. 6)	Foreign Born Total i.e., Born in Poland	i.e. NATIVES Born in the U. S.		Of Native Parentage			Of Native Parentage			Of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Female 15-44 yrs -Col. 8 N-10		
			Foreign or Mixed Parentage Total	Female 15 - 44 yrs.	Total	Female 15 - 44 yrs.	Male & Female 0-9 yrs.	Increase from Previous Census Col. 8 -Col. 8 N-10	Attrition Index (Col 10 - Col. 11 N + Col. 8 N-10				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	
1920	3,626,692	1,139,978	1,303,351	305,611	1,183,363 ¹⁾	268,154	58,421,957	13,238,620	N.R.	N.R.	N.R.	5,319,489 ³⁾	N.R.
1930	4,942,567	1,268,583	2,073,615	477,769	1,600,369	368,622	70,400,952	16,215,835	16,354,335	11,978,995	.07489204	6,524,942	.8812501
1940	5,053,625	993,479	1,912,380 ⁴⁾	689,920	2,147,766 ⁴⁾	518,364	84,124,840	20,304,560	16,250,720	13,723,888	.03589201	6,391,340	.7146071
1950	5,834,609	861,184	1,925,015	737,385	3,048,410	684,449	100,804,575	22,633,315	24,073,920	16,679,735	.08777651	6,533,313	.9014088
1960	7,162,617	747,250	2,030,960	N.R.	4,384,407	N.R.	125,759,340	N.R.	31,410,700 ²⁾	24,954,765	.06404407	N.R.	1.0769397

Notes: N.R. - not required in the calculations

1) Equals Col. 2 - (Col. 3 + Col. 4)

a) Include 23,300 as descendants of the original native stock of 1790.

2) Estimated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in a letter of June 30, 1965 to the writer.

3) The total for all areas in that group amounted to 22,656,204.

Source: Col. 2 for 1920: Senate Document No. 65, 70th Congress, 1928, (See above Table 1). Cols. 3, 4, 5, (except for 1920) 8, 9, 10 and 13: U.S. Bureau of Census Data for the Census of Population for the years 1920-1960, in particular the Special Report P-1-No. 3A of the 1950 Census. Col. 5 for 1920 estimated as the product of Col. 4 x (Col. 13 + Col. 13 + 22,656,204). See Text. Col. 7 has been estimated as the product of Col. 6 x (Col. 9 + Col. 8). For the calculation of Cols. 6, 11, 12 and 14, see an example below for 1930.

Example for 1930:

Col. 6₁₉₃₀ = Col. 6₁₉₂₀ (1-Col. 12₁₉₃₀) + (Col. 5₁₉₂₀ + Col. 7₁₉₂₀) = 1,183,263 (1 - .07489204) + .8812501 (205,611 + 268,154) = 1,600,369

Col. 11₁₉₃₀ = Col. 4₁₉₃₀ - Col. 8₁₉₂₀ = 70,400,952 - 58,421,957 = 11,978,995

Col. 12₁₉₃₀ = (Col. 10₁₉₃₀ - Col. 11₁₉₃₀) + Col. 8₁₉₂₀ = (16,354,335 - 11,978,995) + 58,421,957 = .07489204

Col. 14₁₉₃₀ = Col. 10₁₉₃₀ + (Col. 9₁₉₂₀ + Col. 14₁₉₂₀) = 16,354,335 + (13,238,620 + 5,319,489) = .8812501

4) Natives add to 4,060,146. When the Natives with the Polish Mother of 1,614,640 are divided by the Canadian ratio of Mother Tongue and Polish Ethnic Origin of .3737 a Natives' estimate of 4,321,000 emerges. See text.

UKRAINIAN CREDIT UNIONS IN CANADA

by
Mykola Plawiuk
Ukrainian Canadian Committee

A. *Introductory Notes*

In considering the question of the historical development, importance and significance of Ukrainian credit unions in Canada we should keep in mind the fact that Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen founded the first credit union in 1848 in Germany. The first Savings and Loans Association in Ukraine was organized in Hadiach in 1869. In Canada the first credit union appeared at Levis, Quebec in 1900 founded by Alphonse Desjardins; it was the first venture of this kind in North America. The beginning of the Ukrainian credit union movement in 1939 in Saskatoon indicated that the idea of credit unions among Ukrainian Canadians was received quite readily.

It is generally known that credit unions are most firmly established in the province of Quebec among the French Canadians. This is due to many favourable conditions existing in that province including suitable provincial laws and the very active role of the Roman Catholic Church in the organization of parish credit unions.

Let's look at the comparison of the credit unions in Manitoba as given in the magazine *Self Help*, No. 19, December 1963.

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Organized in</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>No. In 1962</i>
1. French	1937	St. Malo	33
2. British	1937	Winnipeg	180
3. Germans	1938	Low Farm	12
4. Belgians	1939	Winnipeg	1
5. Ukrainians	1940	Winnipeg	20
6. Jews	1948	Winnipeg	1
7. Icelanders	1949	Gimli	1
8. Dutch	1952	Winnipeg	1
9. Poles	1953	Winnipeg	2
10. Indians & Eskimos	1961	Dawson Bay	1

And so at the end of 1962 there were in Manitoba 252 credit unions and 20 of these were Ukrainian. If we take into account that in the

British category are included all English-speaking credit unions, which were not on an absolutely ethnic principle, this will confirm our thesis that next to the French ethnic group in Manitoba stands the Ukrainian group.

A similar situation exists in Toronto. However, where we find in Manitoba that the Ukrainian element, settled there for many decades, is related to a farming population or its descendants, in Toronto we have a concentration of an industrial population settled there mostly since the Second World War. It is generally accepted that there are 65,000 Ukrainians in Toronto. The annual reports for 1966 of seven credit unions in Toronto, when compared with data for the whole province of Ontario as given for the beginning of 1965, shows the following:

	<i>Ukrainian Credit Unions In Toronto</i>	<i>The Whole Province Of Ontario</i>
Membership	14,907	700,000
Assets	\$20,083,005	\$448,000,000
Shares	7,626,897	279,383,000
Deposits	\$10,926,279	\$83,688,000
Loans	\$15,707,136	\$250,204,000

Even a cursory glance at these figures shows that the membership of the Ukrainian credit unions in Toronto is approximately 23 per cent of the Toronto Ukrainian community, while the average membership for Ontario is only 10 per cent of the total population.

Of more interest is this comparison. For each member of the credit union there are:

	<i>Ukrainian Credit Unions In Toronto</i>	<i>In The Province Of Ontario</i>
Assets	\$1,333	\$640
Shares	508	399
Deposits	\$728	\$109
Loans	\$1,050	\$3,570

B. Why Were Ukrainian Credit Unions Organized?

There is not the slightest doubt that organization of the Ukrainian credit unions was caused by the general movement on this continent towards the co-operative principle of using group savings of the members to satisfy their individual credit requirements. There were also social reasons.

The economic crisis in the nineteen-thirties put many farmers and newcomers to Canada into a category of people whom banks regarded as a bad credit risk. At this time Ukrainians became an object of interest

to the leftists, especially the Communist Party in Canada. It is interesting to note that in spite of the widespread Communist Party propaganda among Ukrainians, the party did not take the initiative to organize credit unions. This initiative may be credited to members of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, especially to individuals like Mr. Mykhailo Babiy, Secretary to the Dominion Executive of the Ukrainian National Federation at that time, and to Mr. V. Topolnytsky, one of the leading members of the organization, who launched a campaign to organize Ukrainian credit unions. This was not only an answer to the difficulties which our people were having with banking institutions but also a convincing answer to Communist propaganda in Canada.

Some see in the credit union idea a manifestation of our integration into Canadian life, for others it appears to be a separation of the Ukrainian element into a kind of ghetto. The truth in such matters, as a rule, lies somewhere in between. All our credit unions are doing business under provincial laws and are affiliated with the established Canadian leagues or unions. But it is also true that our credit unions form part of the totality of life of the Ukrainian community in Canada. As has been said, they were organized or sponsored either by our national organizations or church parishes. The Ukrainian language and common area of operations made it easier for the Ukrainian organizers to found credit unions in places where general Canadian credit unions had no access. The Ukrainian credit unions use, besides the official languages, their own language in dealing with their members and some even keep books in the Ukrainian language. In general, through credit unions the Ukrainian people in Canada manifest their maturity in economic matters, beside being very active in church, cultural, educational, and political life.

C. Historical Development and Position of the Ukrainian Credit Unions

The first Ukrainian credit union was organized in Saskatoon in 1939 under the name of *Nova Hromada* (New Community). Then the *Karpatia* credit union was founded in Winnipeg in 1940.

The first Ukrainian credit union in Eastern Canada was founded in Hamilton in 1943. In 1944 came Toronto, Sudbury, and Sifton, and in 1945 Poplarfield and Fisher Branch. These were the pioneer credit unions. After the Second World War credit unions were founded in almost all larger Ukrainian communities in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec. By now we have over sixty credit unions in Canada.

As we mentioned before, all these credit unions are regulated by respective provincial league or unions and an evaluation of their operations is not at all easy. It is only due to the fact that our credit unions have cultivated the practice of exchanging their annual reports that we can collect at least approximate information about their operations. Closer contacts between our credit unions exist in the two larger centres, Winnipeg and Toronto. In Winnipeg they are united into *Kooperatyvna Hromada* (Co-operative Community) which publishes *Samodopomoha* (Self Help). In 1960 in Toronto was organized the Co-ordinating Committee of Ukrainian credit unions in the United States with positive results. Worth mentioning are such things as co-operation with the magazine *Nash Svit* (Our World); meetings of co-operative leaders of the United States and Canada and the publication of the monumental work *History of the Ukrainian Co-operative Movement* by Dr. Ilya Vytanovich.

Ukrainian co-operators played an important role in the general Canadian co-operative movement. The work of such men as Ivan Petrushevich and Ivan Stratrychuk of Regina has been generally acknowledged. It is regrettable, however, that so far other Ukrainian credit union leaders have not received wider recognition. There is a desire to elect a representative from the Ukrainian co-operators to the executive of the Ontario League of Credit Unions. So far this remains in the realm of unaccomplished wishes and our co-operators are seen only in local operations.

The Winnipeg credit union *Karpatia* collected some interesting data which is indicative to a great extent of operations in other credit unions. Here are a few interesting figures:

During 20 years *Karpatia* had 2,867 members, of whom 1001 or 35 per cent withdrew, leaving 65 per cent of the members steadily availing themselves of its services. Of the membership 37 per cent were born in Canada and 63 per cent in Europe. The members: male 78 per cent, female 22 per cent, single 27 per cent, home owners 53 per cent, car owners 24 per cent.

This is a good indicator of the average membership in Ukrainian credit unions. It shows that the greater part of the membership is formed of people that were not born in Canada. This means that there is a great membership potential for the credit unions from among over 77 per cent of Ukrainian Canadians who were born in Canada. A large percentage of credit union members are home owners.

The Toronto credit unions published these figures in 1957 about the nature of their loans:

	<i>Per Cent</i>
To pay for houses already purchased	45.3
For buying houses	25.6
For building new houses	8.0
For buying new houses	5.8
For buying cars	5.2
For home repairs	4.9
For farms	3.4
For furniture and other needs	1.8

Total	100

The amount invested in shares and deposits as well as the productive character of loans throw light upon the category of people united in the Ukrainian credit unions and indicate the firm basis of their existence.

The condition of these credit unions is perhaps best illustrated by a statistical statement comparing them on December 31, 1959.

MANITOBA

<i>Credit Union</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Members</i>
Karpatia - Winnipeg	1940	1,075,435	83,454	1,417,592	1,808
North Winnipeg	1943	136,592	2,403	171,853	341
Sifton	1944	458,894	35,922	555,275	725
Poplarfield	1945	49,499	7,424	75,971	281
Fisher Branch	1945	5,558	3,000	7,449	146
Ethelbert	1947	84,182	4,590	112,981	290
Dnipro - Winnipeg	1950	64,404	4,188	75,723	196
Vira	1950	258,255	22,488	296,369	548
Dnister - St. Boniface	1951	3,455	494	6,008	64
St. Michael - Transcona	1951	18,812	2,698	28,617	130
Sandy Lake	1952	58,207	4,098	89,303	284
Step - Winnipeg	1953	8,282	159	8,845	95
Oakburn	1954	42,596	1,193	55,540	150
Dauphin	1957	5,094	126	5,312	49
Pine River	1957	143,530	7,506	169,042	481
Postup - Winnipeg	1958	41,132	910	44,233	186
Holy Eucharist	1959	1,041	20	3,824	81
Winnipegosis	1959	836	105	1,807	45
Totals		2,455,774	180,778	3,125,744	5,900

SASKATCHEWAN

<i>Credit Union</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Members</i>
Saskatoon	1939	163,657	7,040	186,726	257
Regina	1941	42,373	2,647	49,330	209
Arran	1941	117,594	13,717	154,482	519
Smuts	1943	4,952	1,798	6,721	101
Redberry	1944	238,355	30,157	519,423	500
Totals		566,931	55,359	916,682	1,586

ALBERTA

<i>Credit Union</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Members</i>
Andrew	1943	34,820	4,176	57,618	202
Edmonton—Ukr. Nat. Home	1946	176,571	17,908	210,655	380
Edmonton—Ukr. Nat. Fed.	1946	33,458	3,007	59,599	207
Totals		244,849	25,091	327,872	789

ONTARIO

<i>Credit Union</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Members</i>
Hamilton—Ukr. Nat. Fed.	1943	54,095	5,364	66,728	121
Toronto—Ukr. Nat. Fed.	1944	1,641,940	112,738	1,925,565	2,395
Sudbury—Ukr. Nat. Fed.	1944	102,784	3,595	110,373	215
St. Catharines	1946	145,144	6,485	170,954	428
Windsor	1946	249,893	22,904	310,287	500
Fort William	1949	50,736	3,898	66,439	278
St. Mary—Toronto	1950	1,027,194	75,217	1,270,776	2,056
Soyuz—Toronto	1950	1,171,181	77,409	1,399,177	2,083
Holy Ghost Parish—Ham.	1950	108,353	17,298	178,665	340
Buduchnist—Toronto	1952	1,483,578	32,896	1,820,167	2,144
Ukr. Nat. Home—Toronto	1955	5,000		7,000	30
London	1955	138,403	1,300	145,587	230
Ukr. Legion—Toronto	1956	22,418	721	28,132	100
St. Nicholas—Toronto	1957	80,043	4,019	102,856	200
Vilna Ukr. Hromada	1959	111,330	1,787	123,546	250
Totals		6,392,092	365,631	7,726,252	11,370

QUEBÉC

<i>Credit Union</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Members</i>
Montreal—Ukr. Nat. Fed.	1944	517,241	23,443	618,531	792

CANADA

<i>Province</i>	<i>Loans</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	<i>Assets</i>	<i>Members</i>
Manitova	2,455,774	180,778	3,125,744	5,900
Saskatchewan	566,931	55,359	916,682	1,586
Alberta	244,849	25,091	327,872	789
Ontario	6,392,092	365,631	7,726,252	11,370
Quebec	517,241	23,443	618,531	792
Totals	10,176,887	650,302	12,715,081	20,437

The foregoing tables summarize twenty years in the development of Ukrainian credit union in Canada. From modest initial efforts they have grown in twenty years into a large co-operative family with over twenty thousand members and with assets of over twelve million dollars.

Now a question: What is the future of the Ukrainian credit unions? Will they develop or decline?

We shall base our answer on statistical data which is accessible to

us, breaking it into two sections, one in the West (Winnipeg) and the other in the East (Toronto).

For analysis of the situation in Winnipeg we shall use the information about membership and reserve funds at the end of 1959 as compared with 1964. The membership increased from 3,449 in 1959 to 5,288 in 1964 which is almost 53.33 per cent in five years or 10.66 per cent a year. This large increase in membership was paralleled by an increase of profits in the credit unions. The guarantee fund, to which is added at least 20 per cent from the annual profits, is an indicator of progress in a credit union; thus the total rose from \$116,910 in 1959 to \$201,323 in 1964. This amounts to 72 per cent in five years or 14 per cent a year. Both figures point to a much more rapid development than our economy experienced during the same period.

For comparison of development of the Ukrainian credit unions in Toronto we use statistical data for the years 1959 and 1966. The membership increased in that time from 8,978 to 14,907, that is approximately 66 per cent in seven years or 9.4 per cent a year. The total guarantee funds grew in that time from \$303,000 to \$695,000, that is 130 per cent or 18.6 per cent a year. The assets rose from \$6,545,673 in 1959 to a record sum of \$20,083,005 in 1966—20 per cent in seven years or 20 per cent a year.

This is a phenomenal growth for the Ukrainian credit union movement and there is no reason to think it has reached its zenith. It should rather be considered as proof that after two decades of initial difficulties in connection with the organization of credit unions, the training of administrative personnel and building the confidence of members, these credit unions now enjoy people's confidence as well as a sound financial position which gives them great dynamism and possibilities for growth.

And so in about a quarter of a century the credit unions became a very stable and dynamic factor in serving their members.

D. Problems of Further Growth of the Ukrainian Credit Unions in Canada

While we are very optimistic about prospects for the growth of our co-operatives in Canada in the next decade, we cannot close our eyes to some potential dangers which should be mentioned even if only for the purpose of doing all we can to neutralize them at the proper time. The first and fundamental problem is the question of personnel. As we pointed out before, the credit unions were founded mostly by the older generation of Ukrainian co-operators who worked mostly without or for

very little pay. Now comes a time for change and their places must be taken by the new generation, which is not always ready to follow in the steps of its predecessors.

If the community-minded co-operators are followed by those who think strictly of business these people might introduce a number of innovations, but at the same time also slow up growth. This is because credit unions do not need a type of bank director, but a type of co-operator whose dominant attribute is service to members and not profit.

Another danger comes from the pressure to tax credit union profits. If this should happen, not only Ukrainian but all credit unions will find themselves in a critical situation. If they have to pay taxes in future, gains from small loans will not bring them profits such as the banks have and this will result in reduced dividends.

Finally, the Ukrainian credit unions are faced with another problem namely the approach of the younger members. They often avail themselves of the services of credit unions where they work and join them rather than the ones in churches or organizations.

Executives of the Ukrainian credit unions see these dangers. This is why they draw closer to the Ukrainian communities, make contributions for their needs, co-operate with the *Economic Council* of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and try to maintain the credit union membership and promote its growth by such means as more convenient loans for productive purposes, the introduction of chequing accounts, and free or low-cost insurance.

In spite of all the threats and dangers we see a bright future for the Ukrainian credit unions in the next decades. Along with the progress of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada may come closer organizational ties between credit unions, a strengthening of their publishing activities, training of new community leaders and the growth of their influence in the life of our community.

Consulted Literature:

1. Dr. Ilya Vytanovich *History of the Ukrainian Co-operative Movement*. Tuk Publishers New York 1964.
2. *Canadian Almanac* 1967.
3. *Samodopomoha* (Self Help) quarterly, Winnipeg, Canada.
4. *Nash Svit* (Our World) a magazine of economic-co-operative and community thought, New York.
5. *Financial Reports of the Credit Unions*, Toronto, Canada.

POLISH ENGINEERS IN CANADA

by

Eryk Kosko

Association of Polish Engineers in Canada

The following survey is intended to present a summary of the activities and achievements, technical, economic, and cultural, of Polish engineers who have settled in Canada. First, the circumstances are described which brought the various groups of engineers to these shores. Then, brief case histories and a few statistical data complete the survey. Some attention is also given to the Association of Polish Engineers in Canada, an organization which has played an important part in all phases of the life of this group.

The Forerunners

The accomplishments of Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski (1813-1898) are well known. He was one of the first builders of railways and bridges in this country, a founder-member of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers (later to be renamed the Engineering Institute of Canada), a founder of Wycliffe College at the University of Toronto, the first chairman of the Niagara Falls Parks Commission, the organizer and president of the Ontario Rifle Association and the Dominion Rifle Association, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Canadian Engineers, a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto, honorary aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, knighted for his services to the Crown. As implied by the above, far from complete list, Gzowski took an extraordinarily active part in the life of Canada in many and varied fields, and was one of the foremost citizens of the country in that period.

Less known was another Polish *émigré*, Alexander Edward Kierzkowski, an engineer turned politician (1818-1870). He settled in St. Hyacinthe, in what was Lower Canada, was elected in 1858 to the Legislative Council, unseated, then elected to the Legislative Assembly, only to be unseated again. In the Confederation year, 1867, he was elected to the House of Commons, representing St. Hyacinthe until his death.

Wartime Immigration

In the initial phases of World War II, when Canada was rapidly expanding its defence industries, the lack of trained technical personnel was being felt rather acutely. On one of his visits to London the Minister of Munitions and Supply, the Hon. C. D. Howe, learned that a number of experienced Polish engineers, technologists and craftsmen had arrived in the United Kingdom and could perhaps be brought to Canada to help in the war effort. These people had been evacuated by the Polish authorities in September 1939 before the onslaught of the Nazi armies. Many of them were specialists in the design and production of aircraft, aircraft engines, instruments, controls, and related fields. Most had found their way to France and, after the fall of that country, some had remained trapped there, while others had managed to escape to the United Kingdom, to Portugal, Turkey, Northern Africa, and South Africa.

With the co-operation of the Polish Government-in-Exile, represented in Ottawa by Victor Podolski, Consul General soon to be named Minister Plenipotentiary, an agreement was promptly reached. As a result the first group of about twenty Polish engineers landed in Halifax in March 1941. Further groups were to follow at irregular intervals. Mainly through the efforts of Mr. Lesslie R. Thomson of the Department of Munitions and Supply, and later on of the Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel, headed by Mr. H. W. Lea, the newcomers found employment in various sectors of the wartime industry of Canada. As special officer of the Bureau one of the Polish engineers, R. Herget, was entrusted with supervising relations with foreign technical personnel. Some initial difficulties had to be overcome with employers who had known Poles only as farm labourers and who needed convincing that the same nation could produce capable engineers. Other obstacles arose from the Poles' insufficient knowledge of the English language and of the foot-pound system of measures, but these difficulties were soon mastered.

For better liaison with the Canadian and Polish authorities the engineers, in May 1941, formed an organization, the Association of Polish Engineers in Canada, which is still active to-day. Although a certain number did not join the Association, the membership statistics give a fair idea of the influx of technical personnel during the war. Thus the number of members grew with the years as follows: 29 in 1941, 112 in 1942, 221 in 1943 and 190 in 1944, a slight drop. It should be noted that the skilled workers who immigrated at the same time had their own organization, while technologists were admitted as regular members of the engineers' association.

These immigrants had been allowed into Canada only for the dura-

tion of the hostilities, and as victory for the allied side was in sight, they were faced with a difficult choice. Their own country had fallen prey to a Communist regime imposed by force of arms, and only a few were willing to return there. A small number found better opportunities in the United States, but the majority decided to stay in Canada. Their position was regularized by an Order-in-Council passed in 1945, which granted them immigrant status. The total number was estimated by the Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel to be about 265 professionals and technologists, not counting the families, plus another 300 skilled workers.

Wartime Activities

The branch which put to best use the talents of the Polish engineers was the aircraft industry. Some of the engineers, owing to their previous experience, were able to make important technical contributions to the general effort. Such was W. J. Jakimiuk, an aircraft designer of some renown, who at the De Havilland plant in Downsview headed a team (including many Poles), responsible for the design of the Chipmunk trainer and for initiating the design of the Beaver bush plane. Several members of this group who had been engaged in various phases of the gliding and soaring sport in Poland were instrumental in organizing gliding clubs in Canada, building gliders, serving as instructors, and promoting the movement in many ways. Their initiative led to the founding of the Soaring Association of Canada in 1943. One name to be mentioned in this connection is that of W. Czerwinski, who in Poland had designed more than fifteen successful types of sailplanes and gliders, and in Toronto was using his spare time to carry on with designs (such as the Sparrow, the Robin and the Loudon) suited to the local conditions.

Another team, headed by G. A. Mokrzycki, formerly professor of aeronautics at the Technical University of Warsaw, organized courses in aeronautical engineering at the Ecole Polytechnique de Montréal. Members of the staff were Dr. B. Szczeniowski, Dr. J. Pawlikowski, Dr. A. L. M. Grzedzielski, and E. Kosko. The course was discontinued after the war, when the demand for graduates in this field lessened. It may be worth mentioning that Dr. Szczeniowski is still with the Ecole, a full professor of fluid dynamics, thermodynamics, thermal engines and turbines, in charge of the mechanical engineering laboratory.

But the Polish engineers made their presence felt in fields other than aeronautical. As early as 1943 A. Rosciszewski was the recipient of a letter from C. D. Howe, thanking him "for the part you played in the

development of the Long Branch Training Rifle". When in 1946 the Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour was discussing post-war policies of immigration, a report submitted by the Department of Labour listed in detail the following accomplishments of the Polish group of immigrant engineers: foundation of six factories and five machine shops; pioneering of extraction of alcohol from waste sulphite liquor; introduction of many new industrial practices and processes; development of a number of substitutes for natural resins, of cements, paints and adhesives, covered by thirty-five patents; improvements in metallurgical processes; and devices applicable to machine tools and production methods.

It is therefore not surprising that informed Canadians were loud in praising the positive role played by these immigrants. Thus, in a letter dated 26 November 1948 to A. L. Joliffe, Director of the Immigration Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, Mr. L. Austin Wright, Secretary General of the Engineering Institute of Canada, wrote in part: "Our experience with these (Polish) engineers has been excellent... Several employers have told me that they found the men to be extremely valuable. In fact I have never heard from an employer a single adverse comment. The one thing that has made them particularly valuable to us during the war and even now is that they have been specialized in branches of engineering of which we know less than our brethren in Europe. These were the mechanical and electrical and aeronautical fields particularly... You may be assured that in the engineering field the Poles are extremely well qualified. Before the war they had enjoyed great success in the industrial field and, in many cases, had excelled the Germans who, up to that time, had always thought themselves the best in these fields. I think we are fortunate, to get them here as they are good citizens and as well will add a great deal to the knowledge of our profession..."

While united with their Canadian colleagues in all-out effort to speed victory, the Polish engineers were giving some thought to the future, that of their mother country, their own, and that of their relations with the Canadian hosts. A forum for the discussion of these vital topics was provided by the publication of the *Polish Engineering Review*, the first issue of which appeared in January, 1944. Unfortunately, due to lack of advertising revenue, the Association was forced to abandon the venture after publishing seven issues in the course of two years. One of the aims of the *Review* had been to acquaint Canadian circles with Polish technology and technical education; much attention was also given to problems of post-war reconstruction in Poland, in which the *émigrés* were hoping to play a part.

Post-War Adjustment and New Immigration

With the cessation of hostilities those engineers who had been working on wartime contracts suddenly found they now had to fend for themselves and look for new jobs. Luckily this adjustment was accomplished without much difficulty. The Association's mutual aid fund proved its value in several cases.

At the same time the Association was facing a new problem. During the war a large number of Polish engineers had found themselves in the United Kingdom, either with the armed services, or engaged in war production. Immediately after the end of the war most of them could not, or would not, go back to Poland, and prospects of employment were not bright in the British Isles. A similar situation existed in regard to engineers who had been liberated from German prisons camps and whose status was that of displaced persons. The Association of Polish Engineers in Canada, keeping in touch with its counterpart in London and with similar organizations on the Continent, undertook to persuade Canadian immigration authorities that here was a source of excellent manpower which could greatly benefit the country.

In 1948 a trial batch of twenty visas were granted to applicants sponsored by the Association—a rather exceptional privilege. In the following few years well over one hundred further visas were issued under similar conditions, with generally favourable results. The membership of the Association was again on the increase; its ranks were further augmented by young graduates of British universities, among which the Polish University College affiliated to the University of London deserves special mention. A mutual aid fund operated by the Association helped the newcomers through their initial difficulties.

Polish Engineers at Work—A Few Illustrations

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a complete list of the contributions of the Polish engineers to the technological and economic life of Canada. No good statistics on the subject are available. The purpose is better achieved by giving a series of examples, gleaned from personal contacts, from mention in the Polish-language press, and from the *Bulletin* of the Association of Polish Engineers in Canada (a private publication which has had well over two hundred issues over the past twenty years). The listing is far from exhaustive; for instance no mention is made of fields such as mining, petroleum industry, nuclear engineering, municipal works, agriculture or forestry, although it would be easy to name Polish engineers active in these fields.

New Enterprises

An outstanding instance is that of Computing Devices of Canada, a company founded in 1948 by two electronics specialists, J. Norton-Spychalski and G. Glinski, jointly with a Canadian investor, P. E. Mahoney. The company, located near Ottawa, develops and manufactures electronic computers, navigation instruments, and automatic control equipment, with great emphasis on research and development. It now occupies a large plant with about three hundred engineers on its staff. Although the company is now an American subsidiary, Mr Norton is still on the board of directors, and is a vice-president. Mr. Glinski, on the other hand, has joined the faculty of the University of Ottawa, where he is now head of the Department of Electrical Engineering and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Science.

Other examples of industries founded and operated by Polish engineers are:

Polytronics Ltd. in Toronto, manufacturers of precision resistors, instruments and controls for electrical furnaces (J. Zubko).

Taymouth Industries, Toronto, originally manufacturers of the motorless Astral refrigerator, now of steel partitions for offices and factories, and steel desks, with L. Zakrzewski, as President and General Manager. His son, A. Z. Zakrzewski, is General Manager of Selectra Industries, also in Toronto.

E.G.M. Machine Products Ltd., in Toronto, suppliers for the aircraft industry, of precision-machined parts (Ed. Gniadek).

Aeronautics

In all the plants and design offices of the Canadian aeronautical industry Polish engineers have been and are playing their part. This is understandable, since a large portion of the original contingent were specialists in this field. We find them with such companies as Canadair and De Havilland Aircraft of Canada, and with the National Aeronautical Establishment.

S. Krzyczkowski, who before the war was technical director of the Polish national airlines LOT, served, until his recent retirement, a long term as technical director of the International Air Traffic Association (seated in Montreal).

B. Sznycer in Montreal was the first to design and build a helicopter in Canada, which in 1947 obtained from the Department of Transport a certificate of airworthiness.

W. Czerwinski, already credited with the design of sailplanes, is now active on the Committee for Man-Powered Flight of the Canadian Aeronautical and Space Institute; for his paper "Man-Powered Flight—Myth or Reality" he was awarded in 1961 the F. W. Baldwin Silver Medal of the Institute.

Among the many Polish pilot-engineers perhaps the most widely known is Jan Zurakowski, formerly test pilot with Avro Aircraft. He won in 1959 the McKee Trans-Canada Trophy "for his outstanding contribution to experimental flying of jet aircraft in Canada and for his outstanding contribution to Canadian aeronautical achievements".

Architecture

Since at Polish universities architecture is usually treated as a branch of engineering, and a good number of architects are members of the engineers' association, it seems appropriate to mention a few in this survey.

Z. Matthew Stankiewicz of Ottawa is a specialist in the design of exhibition buildings: Canadian Pavilion in Brussels, 1958; co-designer of the Federal Government Pavilion at Expo 1967; professional advised on the competition for the Canadian Pavilion at the Exhibition in Osaka, Japan, 1970. He seems to be equally at ease with the design of high-rise apartments, of university buildings (current project: University Union at Carleton University), and of private homes (award for the 1965 Canadian Home of the Year of the *Canadian Homes* magazine).

Z. J. Nowak, designer of several modern school buildings and churches, also has his office in Ottawa. T. Konopacki, after leaving the civil service, opened his office in the same city.

A husband and wife team of Jan and Joanna Ozdowski, both architects, have settled in Toronto. A few years ago Mrs. Ozdowska won an award from the Canadian Houses Design Council for her "most pleasant approach providing originality within a classical framework" in a project of a private home. Most of her work has been in the field of church architecture in Toronto, Oshawa, St. Catharines and elsewhere.

In Montreal, Z. Kowalczyk has won some acclaim for his tasteful design of the church of Our Lady of Czestochowa.

Several Polish architects, as well as civil engineers, are employed by the Federal Departments of Public Works and of Transport. A few manage to produce designs in their spare time: such is Roman J. Stankiewicz (no kin of the former), the architect of the graceful St. Hyacinth Church in Ottawa.

Civil Engineering

An engineer who, during the war took part in the construction of the Alaska Highway, is C. P. Brzozowicz, now successfully running his own consultant's office in Toronto. Another Polish consultant in that city is Z. Przygoda, D.Sc., who was recently named Canadian consultant of the United North American Research Corporation of Princeton, N. J. Dr. Przygoda is the author of many papers on construction practice, also of a book *Pictorial History of Building in Canada*, to be published this year by McGraw-Hill of Canada.

Cass Stankiewicz-Wisniewski, vice-president of P. T. Mikluchin and Associates Limited, is a prominent structural engineer, responsible for the design of new buildings on the campus of Queen's University in Kingston, and of some hospital buildings.

M. Laubitz, also in Toronto, specializes in the design of mining installations. W. A. Wyszowski, while with the Toronto Transit Commission, worked on planning the subway stations: he has now joined the ranks of a large consultants bureau as chief civil and structural engineer. Z. Tworek, president of Torfar Limited, has been building single family homes for about twenty years; in 1957 he obtained Design Awards for three of his projects.

In Montreal it is also possible to name several Polish civil engineers who have achieved some measure of success. Such is A. Chmielenski, since 1963 president of the Foundation of Canada Engineering Corporation, Limited.

On one of the more important recent building projects in Montreal, the Place Victoria Building, we find Polish engineers taking part in various phases of the construction. This twin-tower sky-scraper, designed by the world-famous Italian builder Pier-Luigi Nervi, is reputed to be the tallest reinforced-concrete building yet erected anywhere (*Reader's Digest*, April 1964). Jack Barbacki, of the consulting firm D'Allemagne and Barbacki, was entrusted with the detailed execution of the concrete work. Architect W. Kubarewicz (of J. M. Marin, Greenspan, Friedlander and Dunne) was the co-ordinator of the architectural project.

W. M. Marcinkowski (of Wiggs, Walford, Frost and Lindsay, Limited) is an authority in the field of large central heating systems using high temperature water as heat carrier. He has designed such systems for the Army camp in Gagetown, New Brunswick, for the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa, and for the Montreal International Airport.

R. Jezek is the Chief Engineer of the Harbour of Montreal.

Mechanical Engineering

Probably few of the passengers on the new Montreal metro-subway realize that they owe the comfortable and safe ride in large part to two Polish engineers employed by the Canadian Vickers Company: W. Czerwinski (no kin to the sailplane builder), head of the Metropolitan Division, and K. Slaboszewicz, responsible for stress analysis and testing of the cars.

H. U. Wisniowski at the National Research Council has conducted a long series of tests resulting in the adaptation of locomotive Diesel engines to Canadian crude oils, thereby saving the railway operators huge sums.

W. Michalski is Chief Development Engineer with the Free Piston Development Company, Limited of Kingston, Ontario.

Metallurgy

A prominent metallurgist, formerly professor at the Technical University of Lwow, is Dr. W. J. Wrazej, recently retired from the Mines Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources in Ottawa. In recent years special awards have been conferred upon two other Polish metallurgists of the Mines Branch. J. W. Meier, Principal Metallurgist (nonferrous metals), received the John A. Penton Gold Medal of the American Foundrymen's Association (of which he is an honorary member) in 1963 "for distinguished contributions to the fund of scientific knowledge in the field of nonferrous metals, particularly in the area of aluminum and magnesium base alloys, covering more than a quarter-century of dedicated work in America and Europe". Mr. Meier has been associated with the Mines Branch since 1941. Dr. T. W. Wlodek, a senior scientific officer, was awarded the Leonard Medal of the Engineering Institute of Canada for 1961 for his paper entitled "The Double-Notched (V-V) Bar Tension-Bending Test".

K. Kornfeld is chief metallurgist at the Materials Laboratory, Air Materiel Command, RCAF.

The technology of welding may be regarded as an important application of metallurgical engineering. In this area Joseph T. Biskup, Chief Welding Engineer with the Canadian Welding Bureau in Toronto, has represented Canada as a delegate to several meetings of the International Institute of Welding. Formerly with a steel construction company, he was responsible for the welding of some important steel frame structures (Shell Oil Tower, Maclean-Hunter Building and Sun Life Building in Toronto, as well as the Stratford Festival Theatre).

Military Engineering

A specialist in military tracked vehicles in pre-war Poland, M. G. Bekker, shortly after his arrival in 1942 joined the Canadian Army and started a program of research regarding the trafficability of soils. Later on, as part of a joint Canadian-American project, he organized laboratory research and post-graduate courses at several United States universities on related subjects. Upon his retirement with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel he headed for several years the Land Locomotion Laboratory of the U. S. Army Ordnance Tank-Automotive Command in Detroit. He is the author of numerous papers and articles, as well as of two books, *Theory of Land Locomotion* (1956) and *Off-the-Road Locomotion* (1960), published by the University of Michigan Press and recognized as standard work in the field. Colonel Bekker is now head of the land mobility laboratory at the General Motors Defense Research Laboratories in Santa Barbara, California. In 1962 he was awarded an honorary degree, *Doktor-Ingenieur*, by the Technical University of Munich, "in recognition of his great merit in bringing about a synthesis of vehicle mechanics, soil mechanics, and statistical data processing into a closed discipline of land locomotion".

Another specialist in military vehicles is S. Mordasewicz (with the Canadian Army Equipment Engineering Establishment in Ottawa, who among other projects designed an articulated sledge for arctic transport.

A. Rosciszewski, designer of the training rifle, is now Technical Manager, Canadian Arsenals Ltd., Long Branch, Ontario.

Electrical Engineering

Although it would be difficult to single out any one of them, mention should be made of an important group of Polish electrical engineers successfully working for the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power.

Surveying and Photogrammetry

In these activities, so important for the development of a vast country, two Poles, educated partly in Switzerland, are making their mark.

T. J. Blachut was invited in 1951 to organize within the National Research Council Division of Applied Physics a photogrammetric section. To-day he can look back with pride at the section's achievements

and scientific standing: entirely new methods of automatic mapping have been developed and are finding universal recognition; equipment of Canadian design is manufactured abroad under licence. Mr. Blachut takes an active part in the work of the International Society of Photogrammetry, where he is chairman of the Commission on Small-Scale Mapping; he is chairman of the Commission on Urban Surveying and Mapping of the Pan-American Institute of History and Geography. In 1962 he was president of the Canadian Institute of Surveying, and was elected honorary member of the *Corporation des Arpenteurs de la Province de Québec*.

Dr. J. M. Zarzyski, a specialist in aerial surveying, had been working for thirteen years, lately as vice-president and director, with Canadian Aero Service Limited in Ottawa, an American subsidiary. Among other activities, he was engaged in the Shoran survey of the Northwest Territories for the Army Survey Establishment; also (under the External Aid programme) in aerial surveys of Nigeria, where he successfully applied a new mapping system, and in Tanzania. In 1966, he formed with associates a purely Canadian company, Terra Surveys Limited, of which he is also vice-president and director. One of the company's present projects is a survey of British Guyana, again under the External Aid programme.

Research

Among the more than twenty research officers of Polish origin who work for the National Research Council about one half are engineers. Only a few can be listed here, in addition to persons like W. Czerwinski, H. U. Wisniowski, and T. J. Blachut, mentioned under other headings.

In service seniority the oldest is J.J. Samolewicz, a mechanical engineer who started with the Council in 1943. For ten years he was head of the Low Temperature Laboratory, and has moved since to the Engines Laboratory, a relief from administrative work.

A. J. Smialowski is credited with great ingenuity in developing precision surgical instruments in collaboration with members of the medical profession; a fixture for suturing blood vessels has been particularly successful.

Of the late A. L. M. Grzedzielski, who died in 1961, the Director of the National Aeronautical Establishment wrote: "His work won him international recognition as the progenitor of a whole new analytic technique in aircraft structures, and pride-of-place among the dozen world leaders in this field of science".

K. J. Orlik-Rückemann is head of the Unsteady Aerodynamics Section which operates a hypersonic wind tunnel unique in this country.

Outside the N.R.C. we may mention G. M. Bornet, a specialist in textiles and yarns who works as a research engineer with the Ontario Research Foundation. He has represented Canada at the International Organization for Standardization, and has been given the task of devising a world standard method for measuring yarn elongation.

Education

Among the engineers who came to Canada some had been on the staff of universities and were glad to resume teaching in their new surroundings. This was the case with most of those who undertook teaching duties at the Ecole Polytechnique during the war.

Others have found a new challenge in trying to impart their industrial experience to the younger generation. In this category we may count Professor Glinski, already mentioned, and his former associate, O. Celinski. His present associates, Dr. J. A. Brzozowski and S. W. Wierzbowski, however, belong to a younger generation.

Dr. S. J. Mazur is professor of Structures at the Nova Scotia Technical College, Department of Civil Engineering. In addition to his teaching duties he does valuable research into strength, performance, and design of laminated engineering structures of Eastern spruce lumber.

Dr. H. P. Herbich is head of the Department of Civil Engineering, Faculty of Applied Science, University of Windsor.

H. K. Malinowski, a veteran aeronautical engineer, has been teaching for eight years at the School of Agricultural Engineering, University of Guelph.

Dr. J. W. Stachiewicz, when an engineering student at McGill University during the war, enrolled in the Polish Armed Forces, and took part in the invasion of Normandy. After demobilization he returned to get his degree and is now Professor of Mechanical Engineering at his Alma Mater.

Another young Polish scientist educated in Canada is Dr. T. A. Brzustowski; he came to this country at age fourteen with his father, J. M. Brzustowski, a talented mechanical engineer himself. After graduating in Engineering Physics from the University of Toronto he won a fellowship at Princeton University and is now Associate Professor with the Department of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Waterloo. At the same Department K. R. Piekarski, a graduate of the Polish University College in London, is Assistant Professor. Dr. J. T. Pindera,

recently arrived from Poland, where he developed new techniques in Photoelastic stress analysis, is now finding new applications of these methods as Professor of Civil Engineering at the same University.

At the University of Toronto Department of Chemical Engineering two lecturers, Z. May and J. Binkiewicz, are Polish engineers, while P. Wodzianski is a Special Lecturer in Civil Engineering.

B. P. Wisnicki, formerly an aeronautical engineer, has settled in Vancouver; for the past twenty years he has been Professor of Structures at the School of Architecture of the University of British Columbia.

The Younger Generation

As the pre-war alumni of Polish technical universities begin to think of retirement, a new generation emerge, full of promise. We have just named some of its representatives, Professors Brzozowski, Stachiewicz, and Brzustowski. But there are many more. A whole Pleiad of talented young people, mostly born in the old country, have successfully completed their studies here and joined the engineering profession. Thus, in the late fifties and early sixties, awards for graduate studies were made on graduation from the Engineering Faculty of the University of Toronto to the following: M. Laubitz (Cambridge), J. Nowakowski-Norton, W. Kipiniak (M.I.T.), J. Dukowicz, J. Perz (Gold Medal of the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario and Athlone Fellowship at Cambridge).

An example of two sons following in the footsteps of their father are S. W. P. Wyszowski and A. Wyszowski, the sons of W. A. Wyszowski referred to under Civil Engineering.

Organizational Activities

Busy as they are with their professional duties some of the engineers, out of a sense of social duty, manage to be active in social organizations, mostly among people of Polish origin. This should not come as a surprise to this audience at the Congress on Canadian Slavs. Their assistance to these communities is often valuable and is usually appreciated, be it in the form of advice when it comes to erect a church, a parish hall, or an assembly house, or organizing a credit union.

In the Canadian-Polish Congress, an organization to which the great majority of the Polish-Canadian associations belong, two names of Polish engineers stand out. Z. J. Jaworski was the indefatigable president for

about eight years and would have carried the burden still further had poor health not forced him to resign. He is succeeded by W. Z. Jarmicki, who until the end of 1966 had been the head of the executive Committee which co-ordinated throughout Canada the celebrations of Poland's Millennium of Christianity.

In Montreal, E. Baranowski, also an engineer, was one of the moving spirits behind the Polish community's centennial gifts to the city of Montreal, the monument of Nicholas Copernicus. During 1967 the monument was placed at Expo for all visitors to admire.

Another centennial project, that of erecting a memorial mausoleum to Sir Casimir Gzowski, was initiated by Dr. Przygoda, who is Executive Vice-Chairman of the memorial committee.

Conclusion

The listing of names could easily be extended. The membership of the Association of Polish Engineers in Canada at present exceeds four hundred, and the total number of engineers and technologists with a Polish educational background can be estimated at well over a thousand. Still, when compared with the total engineering manpower of Canada, this seems to be an insignificant fraction. The inadequacy of a purely quantitative approach is thus demonstrated, and the qualitative factor must be considered: be it the quality of a long established educational tradition, or of the men themselves.

From a slightly different point of view, the examples cited should prove the benefits to be derived from an enlightened immigration policy. They also serve to illustrate the possibility of successful adaptation to a new environment of a whole group of people raised in a far-away country.

UKRAINIAN ENGINEERS IN ONTARIO

by
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In this paper, on the basis of sample case histories, the participation of Canadian-Ukrainians in the engineering field in the province of Ontario is studied. The study indicates that Canadian-Ukrainian engineers are engaged in Ontario in varied fields of activity, in the primary and secondary industries, in provision of energy resources, in research establishments and in universities. They are emotionally inclined toward Canada and consequently little susceptible to the "brain-drain" process. In view of opportunities presented and of the interests among the young generation of Canadian Ukrainians, an increased involvement of this Canadian group in the engineering field in the province of Ontario is to be expected.

Ontario is not one of the Canadian provinces in which early Ukrainian settlers made their home. The Prairie Provinces were the first to attract the immigrants from the Ukraine, primarily because of the contemporary favourable agricultural climate in that part of Canada.

Historic Notes

The majority of Ukrainian pioneers came from peasant stock in search of better living conditions. As is commonly known, the first Ukrainians to arrive in Canada were Elyniak and Pylypiw, who disembarked at Montreal from the S.S. "Oregon" on September 7th, 1891. In his book *Ukrainian Settlements in Canada*, Dr. V. J. Kaye pointedly states, however, that even at that time not all immigrants left the Ukraine for economic reasons; there were also many who came to Canada in the late 1890's because of political prosecution incurred at home. These were liberally educated people who, because of their political persuasion, were denied suitable employment in the monarchy of Austria-Hungary. One of them, by the name of Cyril Genyk-Berezowskyj, arrived in

Canada with his family in the summer of 1896. In view of his knowledge of languages, he was recommended for employment as immigration officer in Winnipeg, and thus became the first known civil servant of Ukrainian origin. It ought to be stressed that even he settled in Western Canada. Ukrainian immigrants of that time arrived in Canada in groups, these being formed in the Old Country by the Emigrant's Aid Committee. The immigrants also settled in groups. Settlement sites were selected ahead of time in Alberta, Saskatchewan or Manitoba and educated people in the group stayed right with the farmers. Consequently, although the settlers had to pass Ontario on their way to the Canadian West, none of them stayed in Ontario.

It was only immediately before and during the First World War that Ukrainians, attracted by its industries, started to move to Ontario. This was partially a move away from the farm on the part of the younger generation, affecting also children of original Ukrainian settlers. Having enjoyed the privileges of the Canadian democracy, they completed schools of higher learning and entered many professions, including engineering. They were soon joined by the second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. After a bitter three-year struggle, the Ukrainian National Republic, which at the end of World War I had proclaimed its independence, was overpowered by the Red Army. Tens of thousands of Ukrainian patriots chose to join the defeated government, to leave their country and to go to the West; many of these eventually arrived in Canada, and a portion of them settled in Ontario. This second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada was comprised to a large degree of well-educated people. Among them we find the first Ukrainian with engineering training entering Canada.

The most recent wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred after the Second World War. At the end of hostilities many hundreds of thousands of East Europeans found themselves in displaced persons' camps in Germany and Austria. Some had been taken by Germans into labour or concentration camps; others fled their homes before the advancing Communist armies. Several hundred thousands of these displaced persons were Ukrainians. When Canada offered itself as the new home for displaced people, Ukrainians were the largest group to enter. Attracted by economic possibilities, a factor often not consciously known to themselves, they stayed mainly in the East, to a large degree in Ontario. Many among them were technically educated people. Significantly, they found upon their arrival a very large number of Canadian-born Ukrainians already in the engineering profession.

Classification

After setting the stage by this brief historical interlude, I would like to come to the core of my paper, that is to the discussion of the present state of Ukrainian engineers in Ontario. In a short treatise such as this it is impossible to present a comprehensive picture of any one aspect of the topic. On the other hand, it is quite difficult to take a purely statistical approach, since no comprehensive statistical data are readily available. What I therefore propose to do is sketch the outline of the topic as far as it appears to me and to illustrate my points by several examples. In this way, I would hope that this paper will provide some contribution to a more general study of Ukrainian engineers in Canada.

Considering the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, Ukrainian engineers in Ontario may be divided into three distinct groups. To the first group belong persons who arrived in Canada as mature engineers, with schooling as well as experience obtained in Europe. The second group is formed by those who completed their engineering schooling in Europe but, however, had none or little engineering experience prior to entering Canada, and finally, the third group includes those who completed their education in Canada.

Experience Offered to Canada.

Let us refer to the first group of engineers as those who, on their arrival to Canada, were able to aid the country of their choice with their engineering experience. Adjustment for this group of people was certainly not easy; some were actually unable to adjust and in such cases their skills were lost to Canada. One of the most predominant barriers to their full acceptance was, of course, their lack of sufficient command of the English language. This group of people had in general, upon their arrival in Canada, reached more than the mature age, an age that renders the learning of a new language a most difficult task. Those more fortunate were accepted in industry, often with an existing language handicap, which, however, they were able to overcome in time due to their constant exposure to English. In general, these individuals contributed considerably to Canadian life, although at times it was necessary for them to be satisfied with a less attractive position than they had previously enjoyed in their homeland. A few dozen Ukrainian engineers belonging to this category could be counted at present in Ontario. Most of them are now reaching the end of their careers; some are retiring, and a few have already retired.

An exceptionally suitable representative of this group may be found in the person of the late Arsen Fedir Shumovsky, a welding specialist who retired two years ago and passed away just a few months back. Born in 1887 in Wolhynia, he graduated in 1921 as Mechanical Engineer from the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, decided not to remain under Communism in the Eastern Ukraine and soon after graduation settled in Poland. For eighteen years he occupied various responsible positions at the First Locomotive Works in Poland, Limited, in Chrzanow. In the early 1930's he became superintendent in charge of locomotive production and distinguished himself by introducing the austenitic electrode process in the construction of all-welded locomotives, an innovation for the whole of Europe at that time as he reported in a paper to the Twelfth International Congress of Oxy-Acetylene Welding held in 1936 in London, England. In 1951 Shumovsky came to Canada, briefly held various unattractive positions in Toronto, where companies were reluctant to employ a person of practically retirement age, but in 1952 joined Vulcan Iron and Engineering Limited in Winnipeg, Manitoba, as supervising welding engineer. In 1956 he was nominated to the position of educational officer at the Canadian Welding Bureau in Toronto. In this position he was the editor of the *Welding Digest*, contributed to *Canadian Welder*, and wrote *Canadian Welding Manuals*. In 1961 he was one of about a dozen Canadian delegates to the Fourteenth Annual Assembly of the International Institute of Welding held for the first time outside of Europe, in New York City. Among the five hundred representatives from twenty-two countries he participated as a Canadian expert in the work of Commission 14 on welding education. The illustrious career of Mr. Shumovsky ended in 1965 when at the age of seventy-eight he retired from the Canadian Welding Bureau. He died in March, 1967.

Basic Knowledge Brought to Canada

A much more numerous group is composed of those Ukrainian engineers who graduated in Europe but essentially founded their professional careers in Canada. A large number of these arrived in Canada after the Second World War; several, however, came and established themselves in the years between the two Great Wars. For the sake of illustration, some details in the lives of two persons belonging to this group will be presented. The first is Jacob D. Nesterenko, father of the well-known hockey player Erik Nesterenko; the second is Stephan Genyk-Berezovskyj, a member of the well-known Ukrainian clan of Berezowsky's of

Bereziew to which previously-mentioned Cyril Genyk-Berezowskyj, the first known Canadian civil servant of Ukrainian origin, also belonged.

J. D. Nesterenko was born in 1901 in Kyiv, the capital of the Ukraine. He completed his secondary education there and left the Ukraine after the Communist occupation. He pursued his professional studies in Czechoslovakia, where he obtained his B.A. in agricultural engineering from the Ukrainian Agronomical Academy in Podebrady in 1928, soon after graduation, he arrived in Canada and settled in Winnipeg. Unfortunately, the depression soon set in and it was not until 1933 that Mr. Nesterenko was able to embark on his professional career. For ten years he was located in Flin Flon, Manitoba, eventually being put in charge of the chemical laboratories studying gold, silver, and zinc ores. In 1944 he moved to Toronto, where he joined the newly-established firm of X-ray and Radium Industry, and became the engineer in charge of its laboratories. The company grew fast, establishing its subsidiaries in other Canadian cities, and Mr. Nesterenko became well known through his efforts on radium applications in the medical field. In this capacity he participated in the 1961 International Conference, appeared on television, and lectured to the Emergency Measures Organization. For the last three years Mr. Nesterenko has been semi-retired, continuing to be active in his old firm as a consultant.

While the first case history concerns an agricultural engineer-turned-chemist arriving in Canada at the time between the two Great Wars, the second deals with an electrical engineer who came to Canada after the end of the Second World War. Stephan Genyk-Berezowskyj was born in 1910 in the city of Kołomyia in the Western Ukraine. He completed his professional education at the Technical University of Danzig, where he earned the Dipl. Ing. degree in electrical engineering in 1936. In the early 1940's he was employed by Siemens and Halske in Nuremberg and in Poznan. He had a fortunately shortlived experience as crane operator at a Toronto iron foundry, but was finally able to return to his professional career in 1951 when he joined the Ward Leonard Company, a firm that specialized in switchgear and high-voltage circuit breakers. In 1957 he joined the Inverse Time Element Breaker Company and has since been a member of its consulting staff on switchgear and relay application. One of the more interesting projects supervised by Mr. Genyk-Berezowskyj was the installation of series-compensating capacitors in the 230 kV transmission lines of the British Columbia Electric Corporation in 1964. More recently Mr. Genyk-Berezowskyj was involved with the protection and control of the Douglas Point atomic power station of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. It should be emphasized that high-voltage engineering, the area of Mr. Berezowskyj's

activities, belongs to the few engineering areas in which Canada enjoys the role of world leader. The 400 mile long, 735 kV transmission line employs the highest voltage ever used for transmission of energy from the Manicouagan and Outard Rivers complex to the city of Montreal.

The two examples cited indicate that engineers in this second category were products of West European technical education, arrived in Canada at a comparatively young age, were capable of adjusting well to requirements of the Canadian professional scene, and for this reason were in a position to contribute substantially to the advancement of the profession, and are continuing to do so.

Skills Developed in Canada

I have chosen to comment lastly on those Ukrainian engineers in Ontario who have completed Canadian university courses and have developed professionally as Canadians. At present there are two kinds in this category, those who were born outside of Canada and those who are natural-born Canadians. Naturally, the Canadian-born portion is constantly increasing and should continue to do so, as under the present major immigration wave from the Ukraine taking place.

The group comprised of those engineers who developed their skills in Canada is by far the largest and the most active of the three groups specified. This is the only category whose membership is continuously being replenished by fresh graduates from universities across Canada. Not only are equal opportunities available to them, an asset of the Canadian scene that should not be overlooked, but also the members of this group have qualifications that make them competitively eligible for top positions in Canadian professional life. Members of this group may be found in all areas of engineering endeavour in Ontario: public works departments, public utilities, in mining, metallurgy, electrical, chemical and all other possible branches of engineering, in universities and research establishments, with consulting firms and private enterprises. Most of them are in responsible technical or managerial positions, many among the important policy-making bodies of various companies, universities or government agencies. They are member of scientific societies, and represent Canada on national and international committees and conferences. It is not possible to do justice to this group within the framework of this paper. The few names that will be mentioned here, only faintly reflect the contribution of this group as a whole to the engineering potential of Ontario, the most industrially important of the Canadian provinces.

For the operation of industry, sources of energy are of vital importance. Canada as a whole, and Ontario in particular, derives a large amount of its energy from white coal, the hydro-electric resources. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario is the agency entrusted with the generation of electric power in the province. On its vast staff we find a large number of Ukrainian engineers, too numerous to mention. They are employed in various divisions of the Commission, many of them occupying responsible supervising positions.

Another form of energy is constituted by fuels derived from the crude oil found in various parts of the world, including the Canadian West. The area of Sarnia, Ontario forms the most important concentration of oil refineries in the province. There, at the research laboratories of the Imperial Oil Company, an important contribution to the research programme has been made by Mr. Stephan Ilnytsky, born in Western Ukraine. Mr. Ilnytsky started his studies of chemistry in 1942 at the Polytechnic Institute of Lwiw, and continued these at the Fredericiana University in Karlsruhe, West Germany, in the years 1948-50. He arrived in Canada in 1950, immediately entered the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon and graduated from there in chemistry in 1951. After graduation he joined the Imperial Oil Company's research laboratories at Sarnia, where he was first responsible for oil hydro-analysis and investigated the nitrogen compound in crude oil. For the past eleven years he has conducted research on additives to various fuels and he holds twenty-five patents in this field.

At present the most important area of engineering endeavour in Ontario is the primary industry, that is the production of raw materials. The International Nickel Company in Sudbury, is in its turn, the world's largest enterprise in its field. In charge of INCO's research is Canadian-born Walter Curlook. Educated at the Metallurgy Engineering Department of the University of Toronto, he obtained his Ph.D. in 1953. Upon completion of his graduate work he was invited as Post-Doctoral Fellow to the Imperial College of the University of London. On his return to Canada he joined the International Nickel Company, became the superintendent of Research (Ontario Division) and at present hold the position of Assistant to the Vice-President in charge of research.

Another internationally important primary Canadian industry is the aluminium industry. Its major exponent, the Aluminium Limited group of companies, has of its staff many Ukrainian engineers in its Canadian subsidiary, the Aluminium Company of Canada, popularly known as Alcan. Some of these engineers are employed in the two Ontario plants in Kingston and Etobicoke. Several have risen through the Aluminium subsidiary and are now occupying responsible positions in sister com-

panies throughout the world. One of them is Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, presently on the staff of the Centre d'Etudes Industrielles in Geneva, Switzerland. This is an international management development institute created by the Aluminium Limited group and serves as the instruction medium for the highest level of managerial staff of international companies. Vice-presidents and presidents of various such companies are often students at the CEI. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was born in 1926 in Western Ukraine. Upon arrival in Canada in 1948, he was one of the first among the so-called "newcomers" to enter the university, graduating in 1952 from Mechanical Engineering at the University of Toronto as number one in a class of ninety-five, and completing his M.A.Ss. in 1954. In the same year he joined Alcan at their Arvida, Quebec reduction plant, and became a member of staff at the CEI in 1960, where he lectures in the fields of economy and management and has for several years held the position of Director of Studies. As an authority in his field he presents lectures in various European countries, being invited by industry and governments on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

It might conceivably be argued that the case of Mr. Hawrylyshyn falls into the category of the "brain-drain" from Canada. I, indeed, would welcome such objection as an opportunity to discuss this topic in connection with the attitude of Ukrainian engineers in Canada. I myself do not consider Mr. Hawrylyshyn as a "brain-drain" case. The Centre d'Etudes Industrielles, although operating in Switzerland, is the venture of a Canadian-based corporation and for this reason Canadians on its staff should be considered as Canadian emissaries abroad and not as foreign employees. Mr. Hawrylyshyn falls into this category.

In considering the entire Ukrainian group in Canada an interesting observation may be made about their positive approach to Canada as a country and to the Canadian way of life. In the case of engineers of Ukrainian origin this fact, as was previously mentioned, makes them little susceptible to the "brain-drain" process. There are those, particularly among the younger generation, who go to the United States or the United Kingdom to obtain their post-graduate education or a post-doctorals; however, all of them tend to return to Canada to commence their professional careers here. Literally only one or two cases are known to me where Canadian-educated engineers of Ukrainian origin have left Canada for the United States, in all cases personal motive being responsible for the move. Concurrent with this stay-in-Canada attitude, Ukrainian-Canadians, including their engineers, contribute significantly to the economic and cultural life of Canada.

As a sample of this contribution let us mention Mr. M. N. Switucha, a metallurgical specialist on the staff of the comparatively recently-

established Department of Industry in Ottawa. Born in 1928 in Western Ukraine, he commenced his engineering studies in 1947 at the Ukrainian Technical-Husbandry Institute, then located in Regensburg, Germany. After his arrival in Canada, 1948, he continued his studies, at first part-time, and obtained the M.Sc. degree in Metallurgy from McGill University in 1956. For eight years he was on the staff of the Steel Company of Canada, being responsible for the development of various manufacturing processes until in 1964 he was invited to join the Department of Industry. In his present position he not only represents the views of the Department at various technical conferences and in negotiations with individual industrial establishments, but also travels abroad as the Canadian delegate to various international bodies.

In addition to the attempts of the Federal Government to promote Canadian-based research, a similar effort may be recognized also in Canadian private industry. As a suitable example of the contribution in this area by Ukrainian-Canadian engineers in Ontario, a Toronto-based private enterprise may be mentioned which is not only promoting the expansion of Canadian secondary industries but is active in the establishment of Canadian subsidiaries in the United States as well. The co-owner and General Manager of Sinclair Radio Laboratories, a company specializing in antennas, filter systems and related devices, is Alberta-born Peter Yachimec, who graduated from the Electrical Engineering Department of the University of Alberta in Edmonton in 1946 and completed his post-graduate work at the University of Toronto in 1951. The company has one of the highest Ph.D. to employee ratios of the Canadian industry and is pursuing a vigorous research programme. Not only was the company able to establish for itself a healthy market south of the border, but found it also attractive to form its own subsidiary with manufacturing plant in Buffalo, New York in 1960. A second out-of-town manufacturing plant was built in 1965 in Vancouver. The company is expanding its activities throughout the world not only by exporting its goods outside of North America but also by having licensed manufacture of its products in England and in Australia. As General Manager of the company, Mr. Yachimec is the moving force behind the expansion.

Conclusion

In the foregoing paper I have attempted to reflect, by means of personal histories, on the contribution of Ukrainian-Canadians to the various areas of engineering endeavour in Ontario. The subject is too wide to be treated exhaustively within the framework of the paper. On the

other hand, there are no statistical data available that would permit simplification of the treatment to a few tables and charts. Nor do I think that this would be desirable, as an important human aspect of the situation would be lost by a purely statistical approach.

I was unable to consider any aspect other than the contribution to Canadian engineering. At the same time there are many other fascinating areas of this group of engineers that warrant detailed treatment. I cannot omit mentioning at least one such area as I conclude the topic. This is the area of activity of the Ukrainian Technical Society in Canada, an organization pursuing both the professional and personal goals of its members. The activities of its several branches in the principal Canadian cities include a quarterly, the *Ukrainian Engineering News* published jointly by this society and the Ukrainian Engineers Society of America, and three Engineering Congresses held on the North American continent in the course of the last fifteen years. This is but a faint reflection of the work done on behalf of the Society by its members.

The case histories presented show how contributions of Canadian-Ukrainians to the engineering endeavour in the province of Ontario commenced with isolated attempts after the end of the First World War and how they have grown to a broad participation after the end of the Second. The favourable industrial climate of Ontario and the personal involvement of the individuals concerned must take the credit for the growth rate observed. If the present interest of the young generation of Canadian-Ukrainians in university education can be taken as any measure, it must be concluded that in the future this group of Canadians will contribute even more to the progress of engineering on Ontario.

THE SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS TO THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA

by

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Shevchenko Scientific Society, Edmonton

This paper is an attempt to review the scientific contribution of Ukrainians to the industrial development and growth of Canada. Naturally, it covers a very large area, and therefore only a very condensed presentation can be made.

Canada's Centennial Year is an appropriate time to evaluate the past, to think again of activities and achievements, and to develop new and vigorous plans for the future. In agriculture, the Ukrainian settlers have achieved the greatest measure of success and have made the greatest contribution to the wealth and prosperity of their adopted country. As truly "Sons of the Soil," by their industry, tenacity and resourcefulness they cultivated the lonely, unbroken prairie of the West and made a new life for themselves and new wealth for Canada. Therefore, as Prime Minister Lester Pearson remarked: "All Canadians are in debt to those sturdy pioneers. Their descendants enriched Canada greatly by their contribution to its political, cultural, educational, professional, and industrial development."¹

Some of them, in the field of scientific research, have made a name for themselves and Canada.

Mark Gerald Smerchanski, for example, is one of the leading consulting mining geologists in Canada. He is also a member of the University of Manitoba Board of Governors. In 1932, he graduated in science with honours in geology and chemistry from the University of Manitoba and in 1938 received his master's degree with geology as the major and mining engineering as the minor subject. He has been chief engineer and geologist at the Cochenour-Willans Gild Mines, Ontario, mining engineer at the Demerara Bauxite Company in British Guiana, construction and design engineer for Defence Industries Limited, and consulting mining geologist for a large number of mining companies. Smerchanski

¹ Address to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Celebrations, commemorating the 75th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, Elk Island National Park, Alberta, Sunday, July 17, 1966.

is the owner of Eco Exploration Company and Riverton Airways Limited. He is also on the Board of Governors of Canadian, American, and Pan-American Institutes of Mining and Metallurgy and the Manitoba Association of Professional Engineers. He has gold and uranium interests in northern Manitoba and Quebec and is the owner of several chemical plants in Moncton, New Brunswick and also in Winnipeg, Manitoba.²

Another notable Ukrainian-Canadian is Dr. Eugene Wertyporoch, author of over forty scientific papers. Two examples from his works are: "The Improvement of the Industrial Method of Insulin Production" and a book on inorganic chemistry. After Dr. Wertyporoch's arrival in Canada in 1948, he was associated with the E. B. Shuttleworth Chemical Company in Toronto as a research chemist working on formulas and methods for the manufacture of new products. He was also a research chemist in the Connaught Laboratory at the University of Toronto. From 1956 until the present time he has been teaching chemistry at the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto. He is president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Canada and also a fellow member of the Chemical Institute of Canada. Dr. P. H. Groggins noted Dr. Wertyporoch's research in the synthesis of Friedel-Crafts and the effect of aluminum chloride in the development of leading complexes in his book *Unit Processes in Organic Synthesis*.³

Dr. Harry Messel, a Manitoba-born Ukrainian, graduated from Queen's University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in mathematics and a Bachelor of Science degree in engineering physics. In 1953 he was appointed Director of Cosmic Research and is presently head of atomic research and a professor of physics at Sydney University in Australia. He has written numerous monographs and articles pertaining to atomic research.⁴

Another Canadian-born Ukrainian who studied at the University of Alberta is Dr. Joseph V. Charyk. His achievements in the scientific field, though they were mostly in the United States, reflect upon the Canadian scientific society in that Canada was the spring board from which Dr. Charyk began his climb in the scientific field. His rapid rise is illustrated in the various positions he has held.

In 1942 Charyk received his B.Sc. in engineering physics at the

² *Ukrainian Year Book*, 1954-55, page 110, Sen. P. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life*, 1967.

³ *The Shuttle*, Toronto, 1951, Nos. 29 and 30; *Ukrainian Engineering News*, January-March 1967, n. 1(94), Vol. XVIII, *News of U.T.H.I.*, Munich 1958, N. 1. (21), A letter from Prof. Dr. E. Wertyporoch, dated April 23, 1967, Toronto.

⁴ *Alberta Historical Review*, "Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada" P. J. Lazarowich, Vol. 5, No. 4; *Ukrainian Year Book*, 1954-55, page 111.

University of Alberta in Edmonton. For ten years he was a professor of aeronautics at Princeton University. For four years he was a director of aerophysics and chemistry laboratories at the missile systems division of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and later for the Aeronautic Systems, Incorporated. At the present time he is president of Communications Satellite Corporation. He has many patents and scientific papers to his credit and is also the editor of *High Speed Aerodynamics* and *Jet Propulsion* (12 volumes) which has been extensively used in both Canada and the United States.⁵

Our country's brain drain can be another nation's brain gain. Vladimir N. Mackiw, forty-three, director of research and development, Sherritt Gordon Mines Ltd., is a sparkling illustration of how Canada is benefiting from the post war immigration waves."⁶ Mackiw joined Sherritt Gordon, then a small mining company in Ottawa, in 1949. Along with Professor Frank Forward and others, Mackiw has introduced new techniques in hydrometallurgy, metal powders, and indeed in aqueous chemistry in general.⁷

The Sherritt process entailing aqueous ammonia leaching of the concentrates, nickel, cobalt, and copper by the hydrogen reduction of the metals from their amine-sulphate systems, is now applauded around the world. In the early fifties, though, it was a daring step to consider pressure hydrometallurgy as an alternative to conventional smelting and refining. While the concept of the aqueous ammonia leach had been adopted, the Research Laboratory and pilot plant in Ottawa was busily engaged in elaborating metallurgical techniques required to economically recover the metal values from leach solutions. The pilot plant unit incorporated the pressure leaching autoclave that is the new standard in the Sherritt Gordon Mines refinery. V. N. Mackiw and his colleagues steadily elaborated new techniques. They realized that a controlled oxidation of the slurry could alter the product mixture so they developed the oxydrolisis step to insure low sulphur and hydrolysis of the sulphamate to sulphate. They came up with ferrous sulphate as a catalyst in the initial stage of reduction, with the nickel particles functioning as nucleating agents in the desifications that followed.

⁵ *World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry for 1966-67*, Chicago, page 222.

⁶ *The Financial Post*, Toronto, June 18, 1966.

⁷ "Carving a career in hydrometallurgy", *Canadian Chemical Processing*, September 1964, Vol. 48, No. 9; *The Northern Miner*, April 28, 1966. Section 3 Page 29; *World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry*, 1966-1967, page 816; *The International Year Book and Statesmen's Who's Who*, 1966, London, Page 1183; D. J. I. Evans, "Review of Inventions by Sherritt Gordon Mines Ltd.", 1964; *Toronto Stock Exchange Review*, January, 1967.

Fort Saskatchewan, eighteen miles north-east of Edmonton, was selected as the site for Sherritt Gordon Mines Limited, for several reasons: the ammonia for leaching required a source of cheap natural gas and also the recovery of by-product ammonia sulphate demanded a site reasonably close to major fertilizer markets. For Saskatchewan was close to a large labour pool; the North Saskatchewan River provided adequate process water; and the CNR gave direct rail connection with the mine at Lynn Lake, Manitoba. V. N. Maskiw was kept in Ottawa during the plant construction period to handle special problems that arose when the refinery in Fort Saskatchewan was in its first stage. His title in the beginning was research chemist but later when the laboratory was set up in Fort Saskatchewan he became director of the research laboratory. A research and development division was set up in 1956 with Mackiw at its head.

In the past eighteen years Sherritt Gordon Mines Limited has made many contributions to the field of hydrometallurgy, the development of metal powders with special properties, composite powders and compacted forms of these powders. Sherritt Gordon has also developed processes for recovering zinc from lead sulphides, nickel and cobalt from laterite, and high purity lead from lead sulphides. Sherritt Gordon is now Canada's third largest producer of nickel and cobalt. Sherritt powders are composed of core powders uniformly coated with metal. The core material may be a metal powder, a metal oxide or compound such as carbide, boride, silicide or nitride; non-metallic powders such as phosphorus, glass, certain plastics, graphite or diamonds. Composite powders are used in flame-spraying applications, dispersion-strengthening materials, sintered electrical contacts for strength improvement, hard facing materials, self-alloying bearings, abradable seals for jet engines, and in melting and alloying metals. These special powders are used for coating welding rods, sintered porous parts, fuel cell electrodes, nickel-cadmium battery plates, electrochemical devices, electronic components and in electroplating applications.⁸

Based on pure nickel and cobalt powders, high purity nickel and cobalt strips are produced at Sherritt. In 1961, Sherritt began the manufacture of coin blanks from pure nickel strips. Since that year, Sherritt has been the sole supplier of blanks to the Canadian Mint for Canadian five cent pieces. Blanks have also been supplied to South Africa for that country's new pure nickel coinage.

Research in special powders and wrought forms of nickel and cobalt

⁸ Letter from General Manager T. H. Glynn Michael, F.C.I.C.—The Chemical Institute of Canada.

by powder metallurgy have widened Sherritt's production. Sherritt is Canada's second largest producer of chemical fertilizers: ammonium sulphate, urea, and ammonium phosphates. Under the sponsorship of the Government of Canada, a process was also developed for the manufacture of dispersion-strengthened nickel and its alloys for high temperature applications.

V. N. Mackiw was awarded the Medal of the International Nickel Company of Canada "In recognition of his outstanding achievements in the Science of Metal Recovery with particular reference to his key role in the development of the Ammonia-Leach Process and of his many publications based on research that have added much to our knowledge of Hydrometallurgy. In addition, his related work in powder metallurgy has significantly increased our knowledge of the production and utilization of powdered nickel." He also was awarded the Jules Garnier Prize by the *Société Française de Metallurgie* of Paris, as co-author of a paper on hydrometallurgy. In 1967 he was selected as the R. S. Jane lecturer of the Chemical Institute of Canada. He received this award on June 6, 1967, in Toronto.

V. N. Mackiw is the inventor or co-inventor of thirty-five patents and the author of forty papers based on scientific research and published in Canada, United States, and Europe. Mr. Mackiw is Director of Research and Development and also Vice President of Sherritt Gordon at the present time. He has lectured in the United States, Japan, Australia, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Finland and Canada.

Head of the chemical metallurgical department of Sherritt Gordon, Research Division, is Wasyl Kunda. He joined the research group of Sherritt Gordon Mines Limited in 1951. From 1951 to 1953 he was actively engaged in the investigation of the hydrometallurgical process in its various phases and contributed to the development of the process for precipitation of metallic nickel sulphate catalyst. He moved to Fort Saskatchewan in 1953 where he continued his research work with new success. He is the author or co-author of ten published papers in Canada, the United States and Europe as well as the holder or co-inventor of many patents.

Kunda's interests are primarily concerned with the hydrometallurgical processes and powder metallurgy. In hydrometallurgy, he has contributed toward the development of processes for the treatment of nickel, copper, cobalt, zinc, molybdenum, iron, and lead ores and the separation of metals. In powder metallurgy, he was active in the development of special nickel powders for nickel-cadmium batteries and fuelcell applications. Dispersion-hardened materials were also in the scope of his

interest. He is a member of many scientific and professional societies and clubs.

The Fort Saskatchewan metal refinery has a greater capacity than the company's mine can supply. In the past, additional feed has been purchased, but today the largest part of this feed is supplied by the Société le Nickel from ores mined in New Caledonia, which is lateritic. Treatment of laterites, newly developed processes for recovering of nickel and cobalt from laterites, is the domain of senior research chemist Dr. N. Zubryckyj, assistant head of the Chemical Metallurgy Research Department. He is the author of three papers and the holder of six patents.

Another research chemist who has been very active in Sherritt Gordon research from the beginning in 1951 is Boris Rudyk, first as a senior analyst, then as a research chemist. He co-operated on many projects and was the co-author of "The Recovery of Molybdenum from Cupriferos Molybdenite," published in Canada and translated into German.

Other feed materials to the company's refinery in Fort Saskatchewan come from scrap and high alloy grindings. The research chemist, Michael Kohut, is busily engaged in improving the process for recovery of nickel and cobalt from scrap and high alloy grindings, with prime concern going to the purification of nickel and cobalt from chromium, iron, molybdenum and tungsten. He has also worked on zinc extraction processes, and has written several papers on the subject.

Steve Romanchuk and Bud Kushnir are two chemists who are associated with the research and development department of the company and have several scientific papers to their credit.

All projects and research work are dependent upon the analytical laboratory. George Czornodola has been employed since 1952, first in Ottawa, then in Fort Saskatchewan as senior chemist analyst. He is the author of seven papers published in Europe.

Alexander Maslanyk, assistant head of the Analytical Laboratory, has been associated with Sherritt Gordon since 1953. He is working as a senior chemical analyst on the improvement of different methods for the determination of various elements. He is the author of many articles published in Europe, Canada and the United States.

Two very promising Ukrainian scientists in the titanium industry are Roman Osadchuk and Mychajlo Soloducha.

Roman Osadchuk studied at the University of Toronto and graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree as an engineer metallurgist. With the International Nickel Fellowship he completed his studies at the University of Cincinnati receiving two honors degrees, Master of Science

and Ph.D. as a metallurgical engineer. Dr. Osadchuk then returned to Canada and began to work in a research laboratory for Alcan Aluminum Limited. He became chief research engineer for Atlas Titanium and now holds the position of Director of Research at Atlas Steel Company. He is a specialist in the technology of such metals as zirconium, titanium, aluminum, corrosion of metals and metals assigned to atomic reactors. He is the author of six papers published in both Canada and the United States and in addition to this he holds a few patents and is a lecturer at symposia and conferences in Canada as well as the United States.⁹

Mychaylo Soloducha is active in the titanium industry, working for Continental Iron and Titanium Company. He is the author of many papers about special processes of titanium metallurgy.¹⁰

Dr. Walter Curlook is one of the leading specialists at International Nickel Company of Canada, occupying the position of Director of Research and is the manager at Copper Cliff, Ontario. He received his Ph.D. at the University of Toronto. He did some further studies at the Imperial College in London, England.¹¹

Bohdan B. Bilan is a senior plant metallurgist for National Steel Corporation of Canada. He is responsible for both the concentration and the pelletizing plants, as far as metallurgical problems are concerned (process control and improvement, quality control and plant improvement). After receiving his B.Sc. in metallurgical engineering at the University of Toronto, he was in charge of the mill experimental and process control laboratory for Falconbridge Nickel Mines for three years. He was also junior research engineer in steel design and development for Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, for one year. At National Steel, Bilan completed four important projects and is presently working on two others.¹²

Dr. Lubomyr Romankiw is another Ukrainian-born professional engineer who received the Invention Achievement Award for his work in electroplating of thin metal films. He is the author of four papers, holder of three patents and four patent applications as well as being a member of the Professional Engineering Association of Alberta and other societies.¹³

Dr. M. O. Holowaty has contributed scientifically to the industrial

⁹ *Metal Progress*, Oct. 1953, Page 129; Nov. 1963, Page 93.

¹⁰ *Chemical Engineering*, Nov. 21, 1966, Vol. 73. No. 24, page 110.

¹¹ Letter from Ukrainian Technical Society in Canada, President Prof. W. Yarnishewskyj, with the list of Ukrainian Engineers and their positions, dated April 15, 1967. Also a letter from Mr. B. B. Bilan, Hammer, Ont., dated April 23, 1967.

¹² Letter dated April 23, 1967.

¹³ Letter from Dr. L. T. Romankiw, October 10, 1966.

development of Canada in an indirect way in that his various papers and patents have been put to use to a certain degree in Canada.¹⁴

Dr. Isydore Hlynka is a leading Canadian-Ukrainian scientist whose research in cereal chemistry and technology has produced about a hundred scientific papers published in leading scientific journals in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. He has also contributed several chapters to multi-author scientific monographs. He was honoured by the American Association of Cereal Chemists and received the Brabander Award for 1966 for his "outstanding contribution to the field of cereal chemistry."

N. M. Switucha is an industrial development officer for the federal government's Department of Industry (Materials Branch). In 1961 he received the Wire Association's Medal for a paper "Wire Electro-galvanizing Proces at the Steel Co. of Canada." In 1962 he received the first award (Fred Smith Staff School open awards of 1962) for a paper entitled "Lead Annealing and Galvanizing of Steel Wire". During April, 1967 he travelled as leader of the powder metallurgy delegation of Canada across the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the Scandinavian countries.¹⁵

Stephan Ilnykyj is another leading Ukrainian Canadian scientist. Since 1951 he has been associated with Imperial Oil Limited of Canada and is now senior research chemist. He holds twenty-four patent in Canada, the United States and in many European and South American countries. His research helped to solve the problems of fuel composition.¹⁶

Nestor Chornyj is also a research chemist associated with the oil industry. At the present time he is working at the Sun Oil Company Limited, Sarnia, Ontario. His research is connected with the production of the refinery and it includes the blending of high octane gasoline, processing of furnace oil, blending of diesel fuels, blending of aromatic solvents, caustic treatment of gasoline and kerosene, stability of thermo-cracks, heavy fuels and corrosivity of gasoline in the presence of brine. He has also done some research on water pollution.¹⁷

Myrosław Puziak, a civil engineer, when employed as a field supervisor in the Catalytic Construction Company of Canada supervised subterranean construction work in petroleum refineries for White Rose (Canadian Oil) and Sun Oil, and is presently working in Labrador. Joe

¹⁴ *The American Men of Science*, Eleventh Edition, 1966 and also a letter, dated April 16, 1967.

¹⁵ Letter from N. M. Switucha, dated March 25, 1967.

¹⁶ Letter of S. Ilnykyj from April 11, 1967.

¹⁷ Letter from Nestor Chornyj, dated April 17, 1967.

Evanchyna, a chemical engineer, is a supervisor of the Stereo Unit in the Polymer Corporation, Sarnia, Ontario. David Makuch is a maintenance engineer in Canadian Oil (Shell) refinery. Peter Kupa, a chemical engineer, is a supervisor of Butyl Rubber Unit in the Polymer Corporation Limited. Harry Sabada is a supervisor in the insulation department (Rockwool) of Holmes Foundry in Sarnia.¹⁸

Roman Spolsky, a Ukrainian-born chemical engineer, is associated with Polymer Corporation Limited in Sarnia. As a research chemist in the polymerization laboratory, he contributed to the development of cold polymerization of styrene-butadiene elastomer, then in semi-commercial production of styrene-butadiene lattices. He also studied the Ziegler type for the production of isoprene and butadiene rubbers. In the capacity of a research chemist, Spolsky wrote alone or jointly five scientific papers which appeared in the *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, *Chemistry in Canada*, and *Canadian Chemical Processing*.¹⁹

Stephan Mandryk was associated with the Fiberglass Ltd., Sarnia, Ont. Later he was an employee of Ethyl Corporation of Canada, also in Sarnia. Since 1959 he has been working for the Fiberglass Company in Edmonton. He discovered a new resin for coating glass fibres. He also worked out and modified a method for processing local sand and replaced the use of imported sand from the United States with this new method. He has modified glass composition to achieve durable and easily workable glass. At the present time he is the head of the technical control department and is solving the problems of production.

Oleh W. Iwanusiw has been associated with the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario since 1957. As research engineer in the Electrical Research Department, he is responsible for the maintenance of the Commission's standards of electrical units, the calibration of electrical instruments, and instrument current and potential transformers. He has published articles dealing with such topics as meteorological instruments, automatic chart followers, and standard cell enclosures.

Roman Gonset is a well-known pioneer in the electronics industry. This Ukrainian born inventor has approximately one hundred patents in the field of electronics. His son, Faust, also an electronics engineer, has to his credit the invention of the "walkie-talkie." In memory of Roman Gonset, his widow and son established a Ukrainian Library fund for Ukrainian students²⁰ at the University of Alberta.

¹⁸ Letter from Roman Spolsky, dated April 27, 1967

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ O. Starchuk, *On the traces* (Na Slidakh), Vol. I. No. 4, (August-December 1955)

Vsevolod Chaly is a noted geologist associated with Inland Cement Industries Limited in Edmonton. He has been with the company since its beginning in 1956. Myron Stefaniw is a plant chemist in Edmonton and Walter Babiuk occupies the same position with Inland Cement in Winnipeg. Naum Solony is a well known research chemist at Inland's plant in Edmonton, and is responsible for special analysis and research. He is the author of many papers on corrosion of metals and gas absorption. Yaroslav Skrypnyk is chief chemist in the Regina plant and represents Inland Cement Industries Limited on the Canadian Standards Association and other professional organizations. He is the co-inventor of a new standard for "sulphate resistance" cement in Canada.²¹

Dr. Thomas K. Pavlychenko has written numerous monographs and articles of a scientific nature pertaining to plant ecology. He was the director of the Agricultural Research Department, American Company and head of the Plant Ecology Department at the University of Saskatchewan.²²

Another noted scientist and researcher is S. Symko, author of ten scientific papers, published in the *Canadian Journal of Plant Science* and other scientific magazines.²³

Philip Gimbarzevsky occupies a leading position among scientists as an air-photo-interpreter and photogrammetrist. From 1956 to 1965 he was employed as photo-interpreter and photogrammetrist with North Western Pulp and Paper in Hinton, Alberta. He was awarded the annual Elwood Wilson Award for the development and application of a photogrammetric method for determining the volume of wood on mill block piles. He has presented several papers at conventions and symposia in both Canada and Portugal.²⁴

The diversity of Ukrainians in their occupations throughout Canada is illustrated by Senator Paul Yuzyk in his book; *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life*.²⁵ He notes the occupations of Ukrainians in Canada during 1961 as follows:

²¹ Letter of Yaroslav Skrypnyk, dated April 4, 1967.

²² *Ukrainian Year Book*, 1954-55, page 110.

²³ Letter from S. Symko dated April 30, 1967.

²⁴ Letter from Ph. Gimbarzevsky, dated April 4, 1967.

²⁵ Senator P. Yuzyk, page 23.

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
All industries	135,987	55,693	191,680
Mines, quarries, oil wells	3,903	206	4,109
Manufacturing industries	28,904	7,891	36,795
paper and allied	2,179	326	2,505
primary metal	3,251	147	3,398
metal fabrication	2,973	19	2,992
machinery	1,199	127	1,356
transportation equipment	3,823	276	4,099
electrical products	1,199	427	1,546
chemical products	992	289	1,281
Construction	10,725	277	11,003

Contrary to the belief that Ukrainians are primarily engaged in agriculture, Senator Paul Yuzyk states: "In the course of 75 years, the Ukrainian Canadians have developed from a preponderantly rural-type of society engaged in agriculture to an urban-type engaged in industry, business, professions, requiring education and training for skills... The Ukrainians have taken their place alongside the British and the French as partners in the industrial and economic development of Canada, whose contributions are steadily increasing in every field."

Thus it can be said upon examining the industrial structure of Canada that the Ukrainian element has a most profound effect upon the efficient operation of our industry in research as well as the managerial aspects. The large infusion of Ukrainians provided a basis of rapid growth and expansion during the twentieth century. Much of the expansion accompanied the large and rapid population growth as the immigration of Ukrainians rose and as population shifts within the country occurred with the opening up and development of western Canada. With the many Ukrainian contributions, Canada has moved farther into the age of mass production and mass consumption and has achieved a higher standard of living.

This brief and far from complete review of the technological contributions of Ukrainians indicates that a great number of them are contributing to the scientific and technological development of industry not only in Canada but other countries as well. The numerous scientific publications, patents, awards, positions of trust in industry and positions in our higher educational system are the best indications of their vitality and desire to improve the Canadian society.

III

RESEARCH,
SCIENCE,
ARCHITECTURE,
EDUCATION

CANADIAN LIBRARY RESOURCES FOR SLAVIC STUDIES

by

Andrew Gregorovich

Scarborough and Erindale College Libraries
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Canadian library resources for Slavic studies may be characterized today by their rapid growth in quantity and quality from the bleak picture of inadequacy they presented a half dozen years ago. In many cases the academic Slavic collections of 1960 were barely adequate for undergraduate studies while in Canada today there are a number of Slavic collections of graduate level. An average figure of 10,000 volumes per graduate student is usually considered adequate for academic libraries. For undergraduate studies the minimum library is considered to be 100,000 volumes.

I will not attempt to give you a detailed survey of Slavic collections in Canada which would undoubtedly be impossible in the time available to me today. However, I would like to present a general picture of Slavic collections with examples, as well as indicate some of the problems facing those institutions which are seeking to improve their Slavic libraries.

First of all, what are Slavic studies? Very often Slavic studies have been limited in definition to the study of the language and literature of the Slavic peoples or nations or even only to Russian language and literature. Probably the most useful concept of Slavic studies is that they include the language, literature, history, politics, geography, arts, religion and civilization of the Slavic nations. In Canada Slavic studies have been limited largely to Russian, Ukrainian and Polish studies. Other Slavic nations such as the Belorussian, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, Bulgarian and Lusatian have been given less attention in university curriculums and Slavic library collections.

A special field of study still largely neglected is that of the Slavs in Canada. Another paper at this conference on the University of Minnesota Immigrant Archives should provide some inspiration and guidance on initiating a specialized collection on Slavic Canadians. The Ukrainians in Canada have been in the most favourable position of all Slavic Canadians, with several excellent scholarly work published in Ukrainian and English.

Before World War II Canadian Slavic studies could be said to be nonexistent. As the war raged across Eastern Europe the universities began to take an increased interest in the Slavic peoples which led to the growth of library titles on the subject and then eventually to the addition of courses. From about 1950 the Canadian universities' rapid expansion programmes penetrated the Slavic field. With the addition of Slavic Departments, the launching of the Soviet sputnik and the growth in university enrolment, the Slavic library collections also began their slow growth to a more respectable balance with other parts of the library collection.

Today there are several universities in Canada with excellent collections on Slavic subjects. It should not be forgotten, however, that there still exist numerous outstanding private, organization and church libraries which are superior even to some of the smaller university collections.

Surveys of Library Slavic Resources

There have been several surveys of Canada's library resources but no exhaustive general study of Slavic collections. There are perhaps four that are worth while mentioning, two of which are now in progress. Of course some libraries, such as the University of Toronto, have made several assessments of their Slavic collections to guide their selection policy but these have been intended chiefly for administrative use.

The earliest survey of Slavic libraries in Canada was made in 1954 by J. B. Rudnyckyj and was limited to Ukrainian libraries.¹ Although now out of date it can still serve as a general guide. Prof. Rudnyckyj did not provide any general analysis or conclusion. His is a pioneer work "tentative and incomplete" but one that is a useful contribution nevertheless. UVAN has also published other brief booklets on the Ukrainian Prosvita Library in Port Arthur and on Vancouver Ukrainian libraries but these are of marginal importance.

The study *Ukrainian Libraries in Canada* divides libraries into church, organization or institutional and private. A brief historical account is given as well as the names of librarians, and donors, subject emphasis, circulation figures, hours, titles of the rare or important volumes, and the size of collections. A new edition of this work would serve a useful purpose in indicating the growth and development of the Ukrai-

¹ *Ukrainian Libraries in Canada*, by J. B. Rudnyc'kyj. 2d rev. ed. Winnipeg, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1954. 46 pages. In Ukrainian with English resumé.

nian libraries in Canada, which are probably the most numerous of all Slavic Canadian libraries.

Perhaps the single most important library survey conducted in Canada and the one that has had the greatest impact to the present time is that prepared by Edwin E. Williams, the Counsellor to the Director on the Collections, Harvard University Library.² The survey, made in 1962, studies the humanities and social sciences research resources at fourteen Canadian universities.

Williams gave Canadian university administrations a jolt when the results of his survey revealed that their libraries were inadequate for graduate research in most areas of the humanities. Although a rich nation, Canada's university libraries have had impoverished collections due to the inadequate funds allotted them. Williams provides this interesting comparison: "Canada has a population slightly larger than either California or New York, but each of the two states has research library resources substantially in excess of Canada's total" (pp. 14-15). Williams says flatly that, "The Canadian total is clearly inadequate." For this reason interlibrary loans, he feels, are abused in Canada because holdings of other libraries should serve as a supplement but not as a substitute. "It is not enough", he quotes a Library of Congress statement, "to share resources if their total is inadequate."

He makes a number of recommendations for the improvement of Canadian university library resources, such as building on strength, and specializing in some subject areas. Interlibrary loans, conducted through the national union catalog in the National Library, Ottawa, facilitate the co-operative use of our book resources.

Of special interest to us is the assessment of the Slavic collections which Mr. Williams made in his report. For the history of the Slavic nations he places the University of British Columbia in first place followed by the University of Toronto. The University of Alberta has a strong Ukrainian history collection. Communist Party history is also emphasized. Williams concludes by saying that the Slavic history collections of McGill, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Queen's and Montreal Universities, are all "in their infancy".

The leading collections in Slavic languages and literature are at the Universities of Toronto, B. C., Ottawa and Alberta. U.B.C.'s collection of Slavic linguistics is the best in Canada according to Williams. McGill is stressing Russian while Montreal is stressing Polish.

² *Resources of Canadian University Libraries for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Report of a survey, by Edwin E. Williams. Ottawa, National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1963. 87 pages.

The third survey has been conducted by A. H. Mrozewski of the Bibliothèque, Université de Sherbrooke. The deadline for the return of the questionnaire of this *Survey of Slavic Resources in Canadian Libraries* was December 31st, 1966. To my knowledge Mr. Mrozewski has not yet published the results of his findings. Questions have been asked regarding monograph and serial holdings, annual book budget, classification system, special librarian, sources strongest subjects. A periodicals check list was enclosed, and questions were asked about the courses in Slavic studies offered at the university. The results of Mr. Mrozewski's survey should provide useful information when used in conjunction with the most important Canadian library survey which is now in progress.

In 1964 a *Forecast of the Cost of Academic Library Services in Canada, 1956-1975* was published by the Canadian Association of College and University Libraries (Ottawa, 1964, 37 pp.).

This brief suggested that an average annual total of \$50,000,000 for operating costs would be required in the following decade. This was four times the current total at the time. Between \$110 and \$145 million would be required for the construction of library buildings during the same period. Finally, it was recommended that library budgets should be at least ten per cent of institutional budgets, and that the implications of automation for research libraries be studied.

In order to anticipate this rapid library expansion the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and the Canadian Association of College and University Libraries prepared a proposal to study the development of academic library resources in Canada.³ The Director of the study is Robert B. Downs, Dean of Library Administration, University of Illinois, with three assistants, Father P. E. Filion of Sudbury, Bruce B. Peel of Alberta, and Professor Peter Russell of Toronto. The Chairman of the Steering Committee is Dr. Robert Blackburn, Chief Librarian, University of Toronto.

I have included this information on the Downs Survey which will be publishing its report later this year, because the results will be of vital importance to Slavic collections in the next decade.

It is well to keep in mind that the general Canadian university library resources, as well as the Slavic studies resources are inadequate for the student enrollment in both undergraduate and graduate studies.

³ *A Proposal for a Study to Provide Guidelines for the Development of the Resources and Services of Academic Libraries in Canada*. Ottawa, Assn. of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Canadian Association of College and University Libraries, June 1966. 7 leaves.

Ontario has the largest library holdings in Canada yet out of fourteen universities only five had sufficient holdings for undergraduate study and none had sufficient holdings for the graduate studies they were offering.⁴

The final ingredient in any library survey is the judgment, based on the experience and knowledge, of the director. With two surveys in progress it seemed superfluous for me to attempt a special one on Slavic studies resources in Canadian libraries. Some useful purpose may be served, however, by an informal description of my observations of Slavic collections which I have personally assessed in conjunction with a bibliography I have been preparing for many years.

The University of Toronto Library with a collection of 2,344,797 volumes in 1965-66 has, because of its sheer size, a dominant place among Canadian libraries. Among Canadian and American libraries it is eleventh, and its book budget of \$1,348,938 will continue to widen the gap with McGill which is thirty-seventh, with holdings of 1,036,248 volumes and a budget of \$507,055. Of interest in the plans for Toronto's new Humanities and Social Sciences Research Library is provision for a bibliographic centre.

Toronto has matched quantity of acquisition with quality of selection and cataloguing in Slavic titles. The appointment of a Slavic bibliographer about five years ago gave the collection a systematic approach to growth and development. The growth of the University of Toronto's Slavic collection has been rapid and is directly and proportionally related to the budget which has grown from much less than \$10,000 in 1961.

Growth of University of Toronto Library Slavic Collection

<i>Year</i>	<i>Volumes</i>
1961	12,500
1963	15,000
1963	18,500
1964	25,000
1965	30,500
1966	40,000

A special effort was made to obtain important retrospective titles and large numbers of titles were ordered on the expensive Xerox University Microfilms system as well as in microforms. In particular, large sets

⁴ *A Brief to the Commission Appointed to Study the Development of Graduate Programmes in Ontario Universities*. Presented by the Ontario Assn. of College and University Libraries of the Ontario Library Assn. Toronto, April 1966. 6 pages. See tables I, II.

of nineteenth century Russian documents and serials were obtained this way. Soviet and Russian studies form the backbone of the collection in history, literature and language. The Ukrainian literature collection is excellent, outstanding in Canada, and the history collection is good. The Yugoslav and Polish history collections are of good quality, while a beginning has been made on the Bulgarian, and substantial additions have been made to the Czech and Slovak collections. There has been a strong emphasis on Slavic reference materials such as dictionaries, encyclopedias and national bibliographies. Among Slavic authors Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Gorky, Mayakovsky, Shevchenko, Franko and Mickiewicz are well represented by their work and criticism.

Substantial gifts and purchases of private libraries have enriched the Toronto Slavic collection. One of the most recent important acquisitions is a library of about 500 volumes from estate of John B. C. Watkins who had served as Canadian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. It is strong in Russian classical literature and music composers, and includes some valuable and very rare items of early Ukrainian and Russian printing.

The most important item of the whole collection is undoubtedly the first printed edition of the Church Slavonic version of the *Kiev-Pecherskii Paterik* (The Patericon of the Kiev Cave Monastery), published in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev in 1661. Chronologically next to the *Paterik* is the Church Slavonic version of the *Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles*, popularly known as "The Apostle" published in Moscow in 1671. It is based on the edition prepared by Ivan Fedorov, whose *Apostle* of 1564 was the first book printed in Russia.

The University of Toronto Library Slavic collection holdings are: Russian 60 per cent, Ukrainian 10 per cent, Polish 8 per cent, Serbo-Croatian 8 per cent, Czechoslovak 5 per cent, general Slavic 5 per cent, other Slavic 4 per cent.

The University of British Columbia has a good overall collection on Slavic history with special strength in Russian, Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav histories. The Ukrainian collection is average. Slavic serials are strong with approximately 228 titles. Not all are full holdings but many are complete, especially Academy of Science serials of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Slavic linguistics is also a strong area at U.B.C. library, which has been building its collection systematically by maintaining lists of desiderata. The Canada Council contributed \$10,000 for the Slavic collection of the University of British Columbia Library.

The University of Ottawa Slavic collection has been marked in recent years by a rapid growth reaching the total of approximately, 12,000 volumes. The collection emphasizes works pertinent to the fields of literature (Russian, Ukrainian, Polish), Slavic philology, and culture

(philosophy, folklore), which correspond to the well developed graduate studies programmes offered by the Department of Slavic Studies. Especially valuable is the collection of the Kievan-period literature containing rare items, some on microfilm. The expansion of the Slavic holdings has been greatly assisted by an increased budget, Canada Council grants and private donations of books and collections of periodicals. The total budget for 1966-1967 academic year is \$8,000.

The University of Alberta with a collection of 13,500 (including 1,500 relevant political science titles) has been described by the Librarian of the university as "fairly good." The budget of \$12,160 for 1965-66 has grown to \$23,780 for 1966-67. Courses in Russian and Ukrainian languages and literatures have a collection of near-graduate level to back them. Polish and Serbo-Croatian courses are offered and the Czech and Bulgarian holdings are being built up. Professor Orest Starchuk has arranged an active exchange program with the Soviet Union and has obtained many important Slavic titles in photocopy and on microfilm. The East European history collection is on the undergraduate level while Soviet government and Soviet-church relations have specialized collections. Canada Council grants of \$12,500 were received for the Alberta Slavic collection in the period October 1961 to March 1964.

The University of Manitoba Slavic Library collection received its impetus in 1949 on the arrival of Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj. Other individuals who contributed to its growth are Senator Paul Yuzyk (who was formerly professor of history and Slavic studies), Dr. Mulyk Lucyk, O. Michaelenko and Robert Klymasz. According to J. Muchin, the Slavic cataloguer, the Slavic collection in 1960 totalled about 3,374 titles and today numbers almost 10,000 titles. Of these, Ukrainian literature (3,000) is the largest collection followed by Russian. Substantial gifts have been received from the Polish congress and other donors. Recently the Ukrainian National Youth Federation donated the monumental ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus*, by Michael Hrushevsky. The Slavic budget for 1967-68 is \$2,500. The Canada Council in 1961-62 donated \$5,000 towards Manitoba's Slavic collection.

The Slavic cataloguer at the University of Western Ontario, in London, Otto Brewer, gives a figure of 3,355 for his collection including microcards and serials. Nineteenth century Russian literature is strongest here with complete works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol and Tolstoy. The Canada Council has given \$7,500 in 1963-64 and 1964-65 towards Russian studies.

The University of Waterloo has a Slavic collection of 4,900 volumes including serials. Nineteenth century Russian literature is emphasized

with a strong Gogol collection based on photocopies. During 1965-66 a budget of \$7,000 was allotted for Russian titles.

In Montreal, the McGill University collection has a strong emphasis on Slavic history and political science rather than on language and literature. At the present time there are ten Ph.D. and seventeen M.A. candidates studying Slavic history. The Université de Montréal has a Slavic collection of about 10,000 volumes which, according to Pierre A. Radwanski, are chiefly Russian and Polish.

A member of other libraries with Slavic collections, such as those of Saskatchewan, McMaster, Guelph, Queen's and York Universities, could be mentioned in a more detailed analysis.

Canadian Slavic collections have drawn their titles both from Europe and from local Slavic bookstores in Canada. Slavic bookstores in Canada have established themselves solidly on the Canadian scene. The oldest, the Ukrainian Booksellers, was established about sixty years ago in Winnipeg. The Ukrainian Bookstore in Edmonton, established in 1910, is the oldest book shop in that city.

Of the twenty Canadian Slavic bookstores now in operation, fifteen are Ukrainian. Mundare, Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Hamilton and Montreal have Ukrainian bookstores. Winnipeg has four and Toronto has five counting only those with fairly good stock. (Toronto's one French bookstore recently went out of business.) Winnipeg and Toronto have Soviet Ukrainian bookstores. Troyka (Soviet) in Toronto calls itself the only Russian bookstore in Canada although there is actually also a record shop in Toronto with a small stock. Toronto also has two Polish bookstores connected with newspapers. There is a new Yugoslavian bookstore in Toronto and a Czechoslovak book distributor in Montreal.

Although some of the Canadian Slavic booksellers are businesslike, others run their shops rather casually. For this reason many Canadian university libraries prefer to deal with places like Victor Kamkin, Washington, Livres Etrangers, Paris, Colett's, London, Kubon and Sagner, Munich, which have chiefly Communist book stocks.

It is unfortunate that a newly announced publication of vital interest to library acquisition departments has said that it will not include Canadian Slavic titles. This is *Canadian Books in Print—Catalogue des Livres Canadiens en Librairie* (CBIP) which is to be published in 1967.

It will provide a basic reference work listing about 10,500 Canadian books in print in both English (6,000) and French (4,500). Canadian books in other languages will not be included. The titles, now being keypunched for data-processing equipment, will be indexed by author and title. It is being sponsored by the Canadian Booksellers Association,

the Canadian Library Association and the Conseil Supérieur du Livre. Compilers are Rita Butterfield and Julia Richer.

Apart from the university libraries in Canada there are other useful Slavic collections. Canadian public libraries do not seem to have taken great interest in Slavic titles even in centres of Slavic population. The National Library of Canada, the Citizenship Branch Library and the Provincial Legislative Libraries have worthwhile Slavic holdings. More useful, however, are the Slavic private, organizational and church libraries.

These are relevant to our discussion for at least two reasons. There is always the possibility of acquisition by a university and, secondly, many of these are pleased to open their collections for use by outside scholars. Part of the Russian library of the late Professor Leonid Strakhovsky, for example, was acquired by the University of Toronto.

Among the most outstanding Slavic private libraries in Canada is that of Winnipeg's Metropolitan Ilarion of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Known as a linguistic scholar under the name of Dr. Ivan Ohienko, his collection of 15,000 titles includes such rare works as the *Gospel* (1575) and the *Ostrih Bible* (1581). It is strong in Ukrainian and Russian languages and literatures, Ukrainian history and religion. The National Librarian Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, met with the Metropolitan several times to negotiate for presentation of the library to Ottawa, but I believe the matter is not yet settled.

On the other side of the political fence is the 6,000-volume library of Peter Krawchuk of Toronto who has published several books in Soviet Ukraine. His collection with emphasis on Ukrainian, Russian and Polish literatures contains many first editions and over one hundred autographed volumes of noted Slavic authors. Of major interest here are Ukrainian books published in Canada such as the annual almanacs. Krawchuk has a complete set of *Literaturno-Naukovy Visnyk*, an important Ukrainian literary journal which also may be found in the University of Manitoba.

Two good examples of organizational libraries are in Winnipeg. The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, established in 1944, has about 15,000 titles. Here are libraries of the eminent Ukrainian composer, Alexander Koshetz, the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Col. Eugene Konovaletz and the Ukrainian-Canadian pioneer, Peter Svarich. In the same city is the Library and Archives of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) with 23,500 titles including serials, Ukrainian philology, history, religion and art form the major part of the collection. My last example is the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation Library in Toronto with about 5,000 titles with a heavy emphasis on the Ukrai-

nians in Canada and immigration. What is unique here is a complete set of 30,000 Canadian English- and French-language newspaper clippings for 1964-1967 on the Ukrainians. The clippings have been collected, classified and mounted in books. The Polish Research Institute, Toronto, is the subject of a paper at this conference so the library will no doubt be described by that speaker. The drawback to these private and organization collections is that most are not well organized. Material is hard to find and it is difficult to know what is included in each.

Library Book Catalogues

A new development in libraries is the growing interest in the advantages of book catalogues over the traditional card catalogues file in maintaining records of library collections. The card catalogue was invented over a century ago at Harvard University Library and proved useful as a flexible record of a library collection. Today a new ingredient, the electronic computer, has created new interest in the production of book catalogues for university libraries.

Scarborough and Erindale College Libraries of the University of Toronto are the only ones in Canada with their entire collections in computerized book catalogues. They have inherited a system of computer produced author-title and subject catalogues developed by the Ontario New Universities Library Project (ONULP) in 1963-67. The Scarborough Technical Services has faced the problem of Slavic titles in the Cyrillic alphabet which is not available on the IBM 1401 computer printer. The answer has been to transliterate according to the Library of Congress system with the omission of ligatures and diacritical marks which are not available on the computer. Although a Cyrillic alphabet may eventually be made available on computers by photo or electronic methods, at the present time transliteration seems to be the only answer.

A side advantage of the computerized book catalogue is the possibility of distributing copies at several points. For example, the complete holdings of university library or the specific holdings on Slavic Studies Department or the office of the professor of Slavic studies. By exchange of book catalogues between universities the holdings of many libraries could be easily consulted and then obtained through inter-library loan or photocopy.

The most valuable library book catalogue for Slavic studies in undoubtedly the *Dictionary Catalog of the Slavonic Collection* of the New York Public Library. This 26-volume catalogue published in 1959 has 550,000 entries (60 per cent Cyrillic) and is one of the most valuable

sources of bibliographical information available to students of Slavic studies. The percentage of entries indicate the strengths of the New York collection: Russian 65 per cent, Polish 13 per cent, Czech and Slovak 6 per cent, Serbo-Croatian 4 per cent, Ukrainian 3 per cent, other 9 per cent.

Two other great book catalogues are indispensable to librarians and scholars in the field of Slavic studies. The catalogues of the Library of Congress are of special importance because the classification, subject headings, descriptive work and main entries serve as guides for hundreds of other libraries. The Library of Congress Slavic holdings are considered among the best in the world. Some time ago the Ukrainian collection was surveyed by Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj who served as a consultant to the Library of Congress. Across the Atlantic, the *General Catalogue of Printed Books* of the British Museum, London, 1965 photo edition, in 263 volumes, provides considerable information on its Slavic holdings.

The American Library Association has announced the establishment of the National Union Catalog Publication Project which will produce a book catalogue of 600 volumes based on information now in the Library of Congress. This is the biggest library catalogue ever published in history. Since 1956 the Library of Congress has included locations and information for important research books in some 700 North American libraries in its published book catalogues. About ten million titles catalogued before 1956 are accessible only in the card files of the Library in Washington. This *National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints* will serve as an important reference tool for interlibrary loans as well as a bibliographic and cataloguing tool for libraries.

Bibliography

Canadian Slavic studies have not yet made any contribution of major importance to bibliographical science. I am thinking of something on the scale of *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies*, by Theodore Besterman (4th ed. Lausanne, 1965-66, 5 vols.) which lists 8,428 bibliographies in Slavic languages. We continue to rely on the efforts of American and British scholars such as R. J. Kerner, David Shapiro and Paul L. Horecky whose *Basic Russian Publications* (University of Chicago Press, 1962) is the "bible" for Slavic acquisition departments.

Our major contributions have been made specifically to the bibliography of the Slavic groups in Canada. First of all should be mentioned *Slavica Canadiana* published annually since 1950, which has been supported by the Canadian Association of Slavists, the Polish Research In-

stitute of Canada and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Winnipeg. *Canadiana*, published by the National Library of Canada, which incidentally opens its new building this month, covers Slavic titles. *Ukrainica Canadiana*, compiled by J. B. Rudnyckyj since 1953 and published by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, covers its field well.

Dr. Watson Kirkconnell has made a substantial critical contribution to Canadian Slavic bibliography in his annual contributions to the "Letters In Canada" section of the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. In the July 1966 issue he says, "As I lay down my pen, I shall thus have covered the publications for thirty-one years totalling almost 2,000 volumes". A magnificent achievement for one man. In his last contribution Dr. Kirkconnell included titles in Ukrainian, Czech, Russian and Slovak among the Slavic languages. Because of the lasting value of Dr. Kirkconnell's literary criticism, the University of Toronto Press should consider publishing his complete contributions to the "Letters in Canada" in book form. It would serve as a useful, though not complete, guide to Canadian Slavic publishing since 1935.

Other bibliographies produced by the Canadian Citizenship Branch,⁵ Dr. V. J. Kaye⁶ and M. Antonovych-Rudnycka⁷, as well as my own short list,⁸ may be cited. M. Antonovych-Rudnycka's bibliography of Ivan Franko sets a useful pattern by giving locations for each title, which is great assistance to the scholar. The statement has been made that, "There is... an urgent need for the compilation of a retrospective Ukrainian Canadian bibliography".⁹ This statement could be extended to cover Slavic Canadian bibliography in general.

The magic ingredient in building Slavic collections is, naturally, money. The value of building Slavic collections was recognized by the Canada Council which awarded grants of \$70,000 in the period 1961-65 for this purpose. (See Appendix.) However, there has been a steady decline in the grants awarded from a high of \$28,000 in 1961-62 down to \$7,500 in 1964-65. Fortunately this has been balanced in many cases by increases in university Slavic library allocations. For example, the

⁵ *Research on Immigrant Adjustment and Ethnic Groups: A bibliography of published material, 1920-1953*. Ottawa, Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1956. 131 pages.

⁶ *Ukraine, Russia and Other Slavic Countries in English Literature*, by V. J. Kaye Kysilevs'kyj. Winnipeg, UVAN, 1961. 47 pages.

⁷ *Frankiana in American and Canadian Libraries*, by M. Antonovych-Rudnycka. Winnipeg, UVAN, 1957. 29 pages.

⁸ *Books on Ukraine and the Ukrainians*, by A. Gregorovich, Toronto, Studium Research Institute, 1963. 29 pages.

⁹ "Ukrainian Canadian Bibliography", by J. B. Rudnyckyj. In: *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, I*. Toronto, 1962. p. 44-48.

University of Western Ontario Slavic book fund grew from 1.75 (1965-1966) per cent to 2.15 per cent (1966-67) and the University of Alberta's from 3 per cent (1965-66) to 4.5 per cent (1966-67).

In conclusion it can be said of academic Slavic library collections that the rate of growth is now at a level which indicates substantial progress is being made. With current acquisitions keeping abreast of important Slavic in-print material it is the retrospective, rare, out-of-print material that poses the real problem in acquisition. To a major extent there will have to be continuing reliance on interlibrary loan, photocopy, microform and offset reprints. Fortunately they can be obtained from the great American libraries—the Library of Congress, New York Public, Harvard, Columbia, Yale,—from the British Museum and Upsala. And, depending on the mood of the governments of the Communist Slavic countries, directly from Europe.

The importance of Slavic studies for itself, for its human values, is replacing the earlier attitude towards knowledge of Slavic Europe for the sake of “defending” democracy. In this endeavour Canada's scholars can now anticipate the pleasure of using still richer Canadian library resources for Slavic studies.

APPENDIX

Canada Council Library Grants for Slavic Collections 1961-1966

<i>Institution</i>	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
University of Alberta	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$2,500	
University of British Columbia	5,000		5,000	
Carleton University	1,000		2,000	\$1,500
Dalhousie University	2,000			
University of Manitoba	5,000			
University of Ottawa	5,000			
University of Saskatchewan			2,500	
McMaster University		5,000		
University of Montreal		5,000		
University of Toronto		5,000		
University of Western Ontario			2,500	5,000
Queen's University				1,000
ANNUAL TOTAL	\$28,000	\$20,000	\$14,500	\$7,500

In 1965-66 no separate Slavic grants were made but Carleton, Queen's and Saskatchewan Universities received general grants which embraced Slavic or Russian library collections.

The Department of Slavic Studies of the University of Ottawa has been receiving funds from the University's yearly Canada Council grant.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA IMMIGRANT ARCHIVES

by
T. L. Smith
University of Minnesota

The University of Minnesota decided in September, 1963, to make a major investment of its funds and scholarly resources in the development of a great national library containing the publications and manuscript records of recent immigrants to the United States and Canada from eastern and southern Europe. The plan originated in a research study of the history of the immigrants in the iron-mining towns of northern Minnesota, directed by Professor Timothy L. Smith and shared by his colleagues, Professors Clarke A. Chambers and Hyman A. Berman. The discovery that no university library in America was systematically collecting the pamphlets, periodicals, or manuscript materials of these groups prompted the University of Minnesota to assume the responsibility of doing so.

At that time, Professor Smith was made Chairman of the Immigrant Archives Committee, which included eight historians, four whose specialties were in European history, and four in American, as well as representatives of the University Library and of the Department of Slavic and East European Languages. The response of leading members of the various ethnic groups has exceeded the expectations of all. An immense Slovene collection, the first to be opened for research, is now in use by scholars, and large accessions of Croatian and Serbian materials promise the early constitution of separate sections for these as well. Professor Alexander Granovsky has recently transferred his immense collection of Ukrainian materials. Two full-time archivists are now at work in the rapid organization not only of these, but also of a growing quantity of Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Finnish, Russian, Slovak, Polish, Roumanian, and Lithuanian materials. Professors Theofanis Stavrou and Albert Tezla have both spent several months recently in Greece and in Hungary, and are devoting much of the year 1965-66 to building the Greek and the Hungarian collections.

Many of the pioneer immigrants from eastern Europe are now reaching old age. They have in their possession interesting materials shedding light on the cultural, fraternal and political history of their

people in America. In many cases, these are in danger of being destroyed or lost, or simply being stored away in attics and closets for another generation until their significance is completely forgotten. Meanwhile, the contributions of these groups to the history of America, and the development of their social and cultural life in the New World, remains a closed book to American scholarship. The only adequate solution is for one great university centre to set aside a large space, and employ a staff of trained librarians competent in the use of several languages, to preserve, catalogue, and make these materials available to the public. That institution, we believe, should be a state university, committed by law to a non-partisan approach, and open to the children of all the American people, regardless of political or religious persuasion.

During the past two years, the University of Minnesota has endeavoured to locate as many as possible of the files of the old newspapers, literally hundreds of which were published across the years since 1890, and many of which are rapidly crumbling to dust. These must be placed on microfilm will be available to libraries in Europe and America which may want them, and to all scholars who wish to do research in them. This is an immensely expensive project and will require financial help from outside the University. But it has begun already, with some \$5,000 of university funds and \$15,000 received in grants from various foundations.

In addition, the university wishes to collect pamphlets of all sorts: almanacs published by fraternal, church, or private organizations; the minute-books of lodges, clubs, singing and dramatic societies which are now defunct or which have no safe place in which to keep their old records; anniversary publications of church parishes, lodges, and national homes; and, most especially, files of the private papers and correspondence of families or of individual leaders in America. All of these materials will be organized and catalogued in such a way as actually to be more available to the descendants of immigrant pioneers than they would be packed away in boxes or trunks in their own attics. The university has purchased microfilming and photostating equipment, so as to make available at a very nominal cost, to persons who may wish them, copies of particular letters or pages of minute-books which may be requested in the future.

Persons having collections of such materials which they wish to donate to the university should write at once to Immigrant Archives, University Library, University of Minnesota. Organizations which have maintained across the years libraries of books and pamphlets are invited to consider placing these libraries in the hands of the university for permanent preservation. Duplicate copies will be made available either

to other American universities or to libraries overseas which request co-operation with us. Visiting scholars from both American and foreign universities will be welcome to use these materials, under the same rigid rules governing their preservation as are usual in great research libraries.

The university is now in the process of establishing a Center for Immigration Studies, responsible for getting serious research under way in several departments of the Graduate School. College graduates with excellent records and with the facility to use one or another of the various languages, are encouraged to apply to Departments of History, American Studies, Sociology, or Government, with research in immigration history as one of their major objectives.

UKRAINIAN FREE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE—UVAN OF CANADA

by
J. B. Rudnyckyj
University of Manitoba

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (*Ukrajinska Vil'na Akademiya Nauk*) is the oldest Ukrainian-Canadian research institution in this country. It originated in 1948, the year when the first President of the Academy, Professor Dmytro Doroshenko, arrived in Canada. In his capacity as scholar and statesman he prepared a solid foundation for the establishment of the Academy. It was only a formality to initiate the Academy's activities in 1949 when two other Executive members came to Winnipeg—Professor Leonid Bileckyj, Vice-President, and Professor Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, Secretary-Treasurer.

After a preparatory stage of operations, the official opening of the Academy took place at the "Prosvita" Institute in Winnipeg on March 13, 1949. The First Shevchenko Session of UVAN was held on that day with all three of the above-named scholars, plus Mrs. Natalia Doroshenko, participating. A special book exhibit, consisting primarily of UVAN publications from Europe, was arranged at that meeting. The Shevchenko session evoked considerable interest in the community. The Winnipeg English and Ukrainian press gave wide publicity to this event.

In organizational structure, the Academy was intended as a learned society of scholars contributing to research in Ukrainian and related subjects. This is evidenced by the UVAN Constitution (officially approved by the government of Manitoba at the time of its incorporation), which limits the numbers of Fellows to twelve, and the careful selection of other members, i.e. associated and corresponding members. Due to high academic requirements, the total membership in the Academy has rarely exceeded fifty. It should be emphasized, that no ethnic discrimination is practised, in UVAN's membership. Non-Ukrainian authorities on Ukrainian and other Slavic studies are members of the Academy, namely Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, Dr. George W. Simpson, and Dr. J. Kirschbaum. Moreover, among the contributors to the Academy's publications, one finds a great variety of scholars, for example, Dr. Clarence A. Manning,

Dr. V. Svoboda, B. Flandrup, D. Kiparsky, Alfred Berlstein, E. Von Richthofen, Betar Shok, G. Tibon, B. O. Unbegaun and others.

The Shevchenko session of 1949 also gave a stimulus to an organized series of lectures under the general heading *akademichni vyklady*—a kind of “folk university” for adult education. During the period 1949-1967, about two hundred lectures of this kind were held, mostly in the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg. They were presented either by members of the Academy or by invited guest-lecturers from this country and abroad. Speakers in the series included V. J. Kaye, M. Silvanovich, C. Bida, I. Hlynka, M. Borowsky, P. Sankowic. Other prominent scholars who spoke in this series were Professors George Simpson, W. J. Rose, Harry Easton, Msgr. J. Rekem, M. Vetukhiv, D. Georgakas.

The publishing activity of the Academy has been extensive. It has consisted of both serial and non-serial publications. A leading place among the serials is occupied by *Slavistica*. Initiated by J. B. Rudnycky in 1948, sixty issues have been published to date. It is issued three times a year, and covers various fields of study, including Slavic languages, literatures, cultures, ethnography, and archaeology; all with special attention to the problem of the Eastern Slavic world. Among scholars, who have contributed to *Slavistica*, the following deserve mention: J. Byrych, V. Chaplenko, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, W. Jaszczun, V. J. Kaye, Watson Kirkconnell, J. M. Kirschbaum, P. Kovaliv, W. K. Matthews, Metropolitan I. Ohienko, Jurij Shevelov, R. Smal-Stocky, Anna Stearns, W. J. Rose, V. Svoboda and I. Sydoruk.

A sub-series of the *Slavistica*, *Slavica Canadiana*, has been published since 1951. Along with a yearly bibliography of books and pamphlets published in, or relating to, Canada, it offers reviews of recent Slavistic publications, news, reports, and other materials of interest to scholars in the field. This series has evoked considerable interest among Slavic scholars in North America. Such institutions as the Polish Research Institute of Toronto, the Slovak Jednota Association of Cleveland, the Paderewski Foundation of New York, and others have contributed to it.

Along with *Slavistica* and *Slavica Canadiana*, UVAN also published other series, among them *Onomastica*, which has been issued twice a year since 1951. *Onomastica* is devoted to the study of personal and place names, and is the only series of its kind in Canada. Thirty-four issues have been produced with contributions from such scholars as B. Barvinskyj, Michael Borovskyj, E. Borschnak, MacG. Dawson, Cyril Meredith Jones, O. Kupranec, J. Nemeth, O. Ochrym, E. von Richthofen, J. B. Rudnyckyj, E. R. Seary, Petar Skok, G. Tibon, B. O. Unbegaun, and

I. Velyhorskyj. On the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of this series, Professor M. H. Scargill of the University of Victoria wrote:

Professor Rudnyckyj and his distinguished contributors are to be congratulated on their work; for it is surprising that before 1951 very little attention had been paid to the scientific study of Canadian names, either names of places or names of families and peoples.

Onomastica is published in Canada, but its scope has been very broad. It includes the names of countries (choronyms) like *Canada*, *Mexico*, *Acadia*, *Ukraine*, *Galicia*, *Volynia*, etc.; names of tribes and peoples (ethnonyms) like, *Slavs*, *Ruthenians*, *Bulgarians*, *Rusychi* and *Rusovychi*, etc.; place names (toponyms), nomenclature, anthroponymy, and other related subjects.

UVAN's series *Literature* has ten publications to date, and its series *Chronicle (Litopys)* has published twenty-five issues. Authors who have contributed to both include D. Chyzhevs'kyj, L. Bilets'kyj, D. Doroshenko, V. Chaplenko, W. Besoushko, Y. Slavutych, M. I. Mandryka, K. Antonovych, O. Woycenko, O. Kopach, A. Kachor, W. Zyla, and others.

The Editor-in-Chief of the series *Literature* is a Fellow of UVAN, M. I. Mandryka. In 1955, he succeeded the late UVAN President, L. Biletsky, as editor of another UVAN series *Ukrainian Scholars*. In this series, there were bibliographies of such Ukrainian scholars as D. Doroshenko, L. Biletsky, K. Michalchuk, O. Kurylo, V. Hancov, V. Somovych, I. Zilynskyj, I. Pankevich, V. Semerenko, and V. Domanyckyj. M. I. Mandryka is also Editor of *UVAN Bulletin* which appears yearly, and offers news concerning the activities of the Academy, its finances, publications, roster of members, etc.

An important area of UVAN's research and publishing activity is in the field of Ukrainian culture in Canada. *Ukrainian Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts* (4 volumes), *Ukrainian Libraries in Canada*, *Canadian Geographical Names of Ukrainian Origin*, and the bibliography series—*Ukrainica Canadiana* (an annual survey of periodicals and books since 1953), have each made a definite contribution to scholarship in the humanities and social sciences.

The latest contributions to the *Ukrainica Occidentalia* series, include: "Studies in the History of Ukrainians in Canada" by M. Marunchak and W. Zyla's "Contribution to the History of Ukrainian and Other Slavic Studies in Canada". The former works in the series *Ukrainica Occidentalis* deserve special mention: "I. Franko and Frankiana in the

West", which includes "Frankiana in Canada" by Ol'ha Woycenko, along with contributions from Alfred Berlstein, D. Kiparsky, B. Flandrup and A. Bidos, and "Shevchenkiana in the West" which deals with the first edition of Shevchenko's works abroad; the so-called Leipzig booklet of 1859.

The list of Shevchenkiana publications by UVAN is extensive. The most important of these is the four-volume edition of Shevchenko's *Kobzar* by Leonid Biletsky published on behalf of the UVAN Institute of Shevchenkology. This project, completed in 1952-1954, was made possible by the Trident Press Limited, Winnipeg. On the centenary of the poet's death in 1961, and his birth anniversary in 1964, several commemorative publications were issued: reprint of the *Kobzar* editions of 1860 and 1861, and a reprint of A. J. Hunter's translations of Shevchenko, *The Kobzar of Ukraine*, first published in 1922. An UVAN member, Professor Constantine Bida of Ottawa University, published a reprint of Shevchenko's first *Kobzar* of 1840.

Among the non-periodical publications of UVAN, the most successful has been *A Modern Ukrainian Grammar* by G. Luckyj, and J. B. Rudnyckyj. The first two editions of this work (1949 and 1950) were published by The University of Minnesota Press in Minneapolis. Three later editions (1958, 1961, and 1967) were published in Winnipeg under UVAN's sponsorship.

Another UVAN publication, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* by J. B. Rudnyckyj, is the first Slavic etymological dictionary in the English language. Work on this project was begun in 1941 in Prague. In 1945, the collection of about 25,000 cards was transferred from Prague to Heidelberg, and then in 1949 to Winnipeg. Because of the scarcity of Slavic etymological dictionaries, especially in English, it was decided in 1961 that the material collected was sufficiently representative to warrant publication. The first part of this dictionary appeared in 1962, and it was followed periodically by Parts 2-5. Part 6 (pages 481-576) was issued in 1967 and Part 7 is now in print, with others to follow. Interest in this publication has been notable.

In addition to its publishing activities, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science keeps in contact with scholars and other learned societies in Canada and abroad. Its members participate in international conferences and it has developed a broad exchange programme with universities, academies, and learned societies. At some international conferences, the only Canadian participant has been an UVAN delegate. The Academy's exchange programme of published material is extensive. Its mailing list includes, academies in Gottingen, Mainz, Budapest, Prague; national

and university libraries in Jerusalem, Aberystwyth, Helsinki, Oslo, Stockholm; and learned societies in Tokyo, Cracow, Munich, Amsterdam (N. Y.), and New York City. Due to this exchange programme, the Academy has acquired a unique collection of publications in many languages. In some cases, the collection includes the only copies of these works available in Canada.

In summing up the activity of UVAN it may be stated that, both within Canada and abroad, the Academy has played, and is playing, an extremely important role in Ukrainian life. It is a testament to the intellectual effort of the Ukrainian group in Canada. UVAN serves an all-Canadian cause by raising the standards of scholarly life in this country.

POLISH CANADIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

by

T. Krychowski, LL.M.
Polish Research Institute

Formation of the Institute

A first meeting organized on the initiative of the Toronto Branch of the Canadian Polish Congress was held in Toronto, on September 12th, 1956. Mr. A. Janicki, the president of the Toronto Branch of the Congress was the chairman of the meeting. Thirteen persons, well entitled to voice their opinions about the organization of a research institution, because of their personal involvement, qualifications and experience in this matter, took part in the meeting. They were: B. Boreysza, B. Heydenkorn, A. Janicki, P. Jordan, G. Kaczanowski, T. Lubaczewski, A. Lagowski, J. Lopuszanski, B. Makowski, A. Malatynski, T. Sawaszkiewicz, P. Staniszewski and W. Turek.¹

. . . "There was a pronounced need, felt for a long time by the Canadian Polonia"—explained the chairman, "for calling to life, a research body that would be responsible for the study of problems connected with the development of a Polish ethnic group in Canada, which is one of the component groups of the Canadian population, and one of the contributing forces in the creation of a common Canadian culture.

A study of the history of the Poles in Canada, an assembly of documents illustrating that subject, and the preservation of these documents against destruction, the collection of materials concerning the Polish ethnic group and the organization of an inquiry into the development of that group, requires the existence of a specialized Polish agency, that would at the same time cooperate with the Canadian bodies dealing with the growth of ethnic groups and their contribution to Canadian culture . . ."²

¹ Minutes of the first meeting of the members of the Polish Research Institute in Canada, held on September 12th, 1956, Toronto.

² Minutes of the first meeting of the members of Polish Research Institute in Canada, held on September 12th, 1966, Toronto.

It was resolved that the proposed institution should be called to being under the name of the Polish Research Institute in Canada. Dr. V. Turek was elected its first director. He led the Institute till his premature death in September, 1963.

Dr. Turek's merits in the development of the Institute were indeed great. *"Dr. Turek came to realize that it was vitally important to establish an institution which would gather, register and preserve all source materials relating to the history of Polish immigrants in Canada, and make them accessible to scholars. His initiative resulted in the founding, in September, 1956, of the Polish Research Institute in Canada, which established an official connection with the Canadian Polish Congress. As the first director of the Institute, Dr. Turek organized and catalogued its library and initiated, with the fervour of a true enthusiast, a series of studies dealing with Poland's contribution to the Canadian heritage"* — writes Bohdan B. Budorowych of the University of Toronto Library, after Dr. Turek's death.³

Organization and Aims

The meeting passed the resolution enforcing the temporary By-Laws of the Institute. Within the 10 years, the By-Laws were changed slightly according to the current requirements. The binding By-Laws adopted at the General Meeting of the Members of the Institute on February 23rd, 1967, say that:

1. *The decisive authority of the Institute belongs to the General Meeting of the Members of the Institute, and that meeting is authorized to:*
 - a) *elect the Executive Board of the Institute for the duration of 2 years.*
 - b) *accept new members to the Institute.*
 - c) *make decisions in all fundamental matters such as publications, financial and personal.*
2. *The Institute is affiliated with the Canadian Polish Congress, but concerns itself only with the problems of scientific matters and serves the interests of the whole Polish ethnic group, regardless of its belonging to the Congress.*
3. *The budget of the Institute is based on the subsidies from the Congress, supplemented by the donations from various Polish organizations and individual donations.*

³ In memmoriám — Dr. Victor Turek, Slavistica No. 48, Winnipeg.

The By-Laws describe the tasks carried out by the Institute:

Section 2 – The main tasks of the Institute shall be:

- a) *To study the history of the Polish ethnic group in Canada to assemble and register materials and documents of historical value.*
- b) *To study the social and cultural aspects of the integration of the said group into the Canadian community, and to collect and register materials concerning that process.*
- c) *To co-ordinate the efforts aimed at the transfer of values of the Polish culture and of the cultural achievements of the Polish ethnic element in Canada to the general wealth of Canadian cultural life and progress.*
- d) *To maintain contact between the Canadian institutions called on to cooperate with the ethnic groups, as well as to cooperate with the same, and with all institutions in Canada and abroad, which have objectives similar to those assigned to the Institute.*
- e) *To co-operate closely with the Canadian Polish Congress.*

Section 3 – *The activities of the Polish Research Institute in Canada will consist of collecting archives and books, in publishing works approved by the general meeting of the members of the Institute, organizing lectures, in taking part in meetings, conferences and seminars organized by the institutions named above in Section 2, par. “d”, in delegating permanent representatives to these institutions, and in holding sessions in which the members of the Institute devote their time to discussions of the problems which lie within the field of the activity of the Institute. Also all other activities leading to the execution of tasks mentioned in Section 2. The name of the Institute was changed to THE POLISH CANADIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE.*

As it follows from the above sections of the By-Laws, the Institute deals with the problems concerning Polish matters and Canadian matters respectively, that is, those that adhere to both the Polish and the Canadian element. To be more precise, the Institute deals with the problems of Polish immigration to Canada, the history of the Polish ethnic group in Canada, the growth of the Polish group and its contribution to the development of Canada.

The work of the Institute leads in two directions: historical and sociological. The history of Polish settlements in Canada is one of the main interests of the Institute. Present development of the Polish ethnic group and its sociological analysis is another problem that draws much attention.

Only persons or institutions well acquainted with the environment, and possessing good understanding of the language of the group in question, can successfully deal with these cases. On the other hand, they must also be concerned with all aspects of Canadian affairs.

Ethnic groups, often called the "third force in Canada", are growing steadily and represent about one third of the total population. The intensive research conducted among these groups will enable Canadians (scientists, researchers, government officials) to understand the aspirations and needs of those new citizens who also have claims to their adopted country, of those citizens who are of other origin than English or French.

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The newly founded institution started its work by seeking and assembling documents and sources of information necessary for the realization of the tasks described by the By-Laws. There was an urgent need to make up for all the lost time and the almost forgotten past.

Gradually, beginning with a small collection of brochures, mainly commemorative books of the various organizations, the Institute created a modest but specialized and well equipped workshop with a basic tool — a library.

The Library

The library was organized in 1956 in fulfillment of the Institute's aims and purposes to collect all available publications and documents about, and written by the Polish ethnic group in Canada, and to serve as an information centre for researchers of Canadian-Polish group relations.

It is a special library, its collection and interests are limited. Its contents have been subdivided and catalogued into the following classes:

1. *Bibliography*, consisting of the bibliographies received from the Canadian Government, Poland, and other bibliographical centres.
2. *Canadiana*, consisting of the basic collection of reference books needed in any research library.
3. *Immigration and Emigration*, consisting of legal publications, books and serials dealing with problems of immigration and emigrants.
4. *Polonica*, consisting of materials concerning Poland, mostly received from various Polish institutions, (e.g. universities on an exchange basis), or purchased because of their usefulness.

5. *Polonica Canadiana*, the most developed section of the library consisting of:

- (I) Publications issued in Canada in the Polish language. In this group the place of publication, together with the language of the text (or part of it), establishes sufficient criteria to qualify an item as a *Polonica Canadiana*.
 - (II) Works of authors of Polish descent settled in Canada, regardless of subject matter of the item, or the language in which it was written.
 - (III) Works of authors of Polish origin, written on Canadian subjects, and of Canadian origin, having Polish subjects as a theme, regardless of the language of the text, or the place of publication.
 - (IV) Works by foreign (i.e. non-Canadian and non-Polish) authors published in Canada on Polish subjects.
 - (V) Translations of works of Polish authors published in this country and translations of works of Canadian authors published in Poland.
6. *General*, consisting of all other publications not falling into the above categories.

To-day the library owns 2,392 books and pamphlets, and about 3,000 other publications (e.g. clippings from newspapers etc., are in its information file). All this material is catalogued or in the process of being catalogued. The class number is clearly marked on cataloguing cards. The catalogue is of the dictionary type; all required literature may be located through the catalogue only.

The future progress and usefulness of the library depend to a great extent on the close co-operation of the Polish associations, other various groups, and of the Polish writers and scholars living in Canada.

The library has already proved to be of value to many researchers, and there are indications that their number is increasing.

Publications of the Institute

Polonica Canadiana is the largest section of the Institute's library. Gleaning and collecting of those items represent a constant concern of the Institute.

In the collection, one finds all publications going back as far as the history of Polish settlements in Canada. There are publications, books, brochures, pamphlets, commemorative books and such, of all Polish organizations, associations, parishes, including copies of constitutions and

reports. The lead among these publications is taken by the scientific works of Canadians of Polish origin, and works by Canadians concerning the Polish ethnic group. There are also books dealing with Canada and Canadian Poles, published in Poland.

This collection of *Polonica Canadiana* constitutes the basis of the list of books that are inserted yearly by the Institute in the bibliographic publication, "*Slavica Canadiana*", edited by Prof. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, Winnipeg. The Institute has been cooperating with that publication for a long time, and since the 1961 issue, "*Slavica Canadiana*" has become a paper co-published by the Canadian Association of Slavists, Polish-Canadian Research Institute, and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science.

One more part of the bibliographic works of the Institute should be noted, i.e. "*Polonica Canadiana*", a book published in 1958⁴ and its supplementary publication, published in 1962.⁵

The next periodical publication of the Institute is the „*Register of persons of Polish origin, actively engaged in scholarly pursuits or scientific research in Canada*". Each new edition is brought up to date and supplemented by additional names. The last, 5th edition, published in 1965, contains 208 names of persons who through their work in the field of arts and sciences, enriched the cultural achievements of Canada.

The new edition of the Register, at present being prepared for printing will be issued at the beginning of 1968.

Only one year after the Institute was created, it announced the publication of its first book—a biography of *Sir Casimir Gzowski*, a Canadian of Polish origin, who came to this country in 1842 and used his wide scope of technical knowledge and talents for the benefit of his adopted country.⁶

In 1960, the Institute published a collection of studies by several scholars, entitled: "*The Polish Past in Canada*".⁷

„*The Polish-Language Press in Canada*", by V. Turek. Toronto, 1962 — was next.⁸

The greatest position in the Institute's publications is held by the

⁴ Victor Turek: *Polonica Canadiana*, a bibliographical list of the Canadian Polish imprints, 1848-1957. Studies 2. Toronto, 1958.

⁵ Victor Turek: *Supplement Polonica Canadiana*, 1848-1957, Toronto, 1962.

⁶ *Sir Casimir S. Gzowski*, a bibliographical sketch by V. Turek, Studies 1. Toronto, 1957.

⁷ *The Polish Past in Canada*, contribution to the history of the Poles in Canada, a collection of studies edited by V. Turek. Studies 3. Toronto, 1960.

⁸ *The Polish-language Press in Canada* by V. Turek. Studies 4. Toronto, 1963.

work of V. Turek: *"Poles in Manitoba"*, edited by B. Heydekorn—published in commemoration of the Canadian Centennial in 1967.⁹

Ready for publication in commemoration of the Centennial is a second book: *"Polish Contribution to the Development of Canada"*, by Dr. L. Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski, a member of the Institute.

Lectures Organized by the Institute

In order to acquaint the Polish society with the problems that are dealt with by the Institute, and to bring the individuals interested in the activities of the Institute into contact with it, lectures are organized. Subjects of the lectures are within the orbit of the Institute's interests.

For example, in 1966:

1. *"Psychological aspects of the success of Polish immigrants in Canada"*, by V. Szyrynski, M.D., Ph.D., Prof. of Psychiatry at the University of Ottawa and member of the Institute;
2. *"A Sociological picture of the Canadian Polonia"*, by B. Heydekorn, sociologist, editor of one of Toronto's Polish newspapers, member of the Institute;
3. *"The Future of the Canadian Polonia—Problems and possibilities"*—by J. A. Wojciechowski, Ph.D., Prof. of Philosophy, University of Ottawa.

For example, in 1967:

1. *"The National Conferences on Canadian Slavs"*, V. M. Adamkiewicz, D.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., Prof. of Immunophysiology at the University of Montreal.
2. *"A Demographic Profile of the Polish Community in Canada"*, by R. Kogler, M.A., Treasurer of the Institute.
3. *"Outstanding Polish-Canadians in the 18th and 19th Centuries"*, by L. Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski, LL.D., member of the Institute.
4. *"Sir Casimir Gzowski Memorial Centennial Committee"*, by Z. Przygoda, D.Sc., M.E.I.C., P.Engl., H.T.P.I.C., Secretary of the Institute and Executive Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

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The Institute is at present of great help to anybody interested in Polish ethnic group problems, to those who are engaged in scientific research and publication work. The importance of the Institute as an authoritative source of information is continually increasing.

⁹ *Poles in Manitoba* by V. Turek. Studies 5. Toronto, 1967.

Last but not least, it should be particularly noted that the initiative to establish the Research Institute sprang from the Polish group. This in itself is a significant fact, because it indicates that this particular ethnic group feels a need and necessity to study itself in depth, and eventually to come up with suggestions and recommendations which would be beneficial to all concerned.

The responsible Canadian authorities did not show any interest in the work of Institute. The only official person who in 1965 visited the Institute was Prof. P. Wyczynski, member of the Royal Bilingual and Bicultural Commission. Prof. Wyczynski has shown a great interest, spent considerable amount of time in the Institute, studying our collection and discussing our problems.

It seems to me extremely important that such bodies as the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Canadian Council etc. should show more interest in such organization as our Institute; finally, the future of happy and healthy Canada depends upon all citizens, including ethnic groups.

The Polish Canadian Research Institute is a good example of an institution which struggles for its existence without the support of the authorities which control, and distribute money for educational and similar purposes.

The assistance allotted to the Institute by the Canadian Polish Congress is highly inadequate, because its financial possibilities are very limited.

Owing to this, the books of the Institute's library are crowded in a small, dusty and non-fireproof room, courteously rented by the Polish Combatants' Association in Toronto, where the conditions for research work are virtually impossible.

To evaluate the work of the Institute one has also to consider the fact that all the above activities are based upon a voluntary work of a small but dedicated group of persons, deeply interested in problems of one great Canadian Community.

List of the Members of the Institute:

- Mme D. Bienkowski, B.A., M.A., Ph.D.—Assistant Professor, University of Toronto.
F. Dembowski, Ph.D.,—Associate Professor, French Dept., University of Toronto.
W. Gertler, LL.M., Executive Commercial Officer.
T. Grygier, Ph.D., Professor, Universities of Toronto and Ottawa.

Mme I. Grabowski, M.A., Lecturer—York University.
 B. Heydenkorn, M.A., Sociologist.
 G. Kaczanowski, M.D., Director of Ontario Hospital, Whitby, Ont.
 R. Kogler, M.A., Economist. (Treasurer of the Institute).
 W. Krajewski, Dipl. Eng. (Assistant Director of the Institute).
 L. Kos-Rabcewicz Zubkowski, Ph.D., LL.D., University of Montreal.
 T. Krychowski, LL.M., Editor (Director of the Institute).
 A. Malatynski, M.A., Journalist.
 B. Makowski, M.A., High School Teacher.
 W. Pajor, Ph.D., Economist.
 Z. Przygoda, D.Sc., M.E.J.C., P. Eng., M.T.P.I.C. Consulting Engineer
 (Secretary of the Institute).
 T. Sawaszkiwicz, M.A.
 Prof. V. Szyrynski, M.D., Ph.D.,—Professor, University of Ottawa.
 Z. Rusinek, Economist.
 H. Stykolt, Ph.D., LL.D., Retired Businessman.
 P. Wodzianski, Dipl. Eng., M.Sc., Lecturer—Dept. of Civil Eng., Univer-
 sity of Toronto.
 A. Wolodkowicz, M.A., Office Employee.
 J. A. Wojciechowski, Ph.D.,—Professor, University of Ottawa.
 V. Zolobka, M.A., B.L.S., Librarian, Windsor University (Librarian of
 the Institute).

*The Polish Canadian Research Institute
 Studies:*

1. Sir S. Casimir Gzowski, by V. Turek.
2. Polonica Canadiana, a bibliography, by V. Turek.
3. The Polish Past in Canada, a collection of studies.
4. The Polish-language Press in Canada, by V. Turek.
5. Poles in Manitoba, by V. Turek. Edited, by B. Heydenkorn, 1967.
6. Polish Contribution to the Development of Canada, by L. Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski (in preparation).

Other Publications:

Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1961. Selected Bibliography of the Polonica Canadiana. Published jointly with the Canadian Association of Slavists and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1962.

- Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1962.
- Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1963.
- Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1964.
- Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1965.
- Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1966.

The Register of persons of Polish origin, actively engaged in scholarly pursuits or scientific research in Canada, First Edition, 1959, Second Edition, 1962, Third Edition, 1963, Fourth Edition, 1964 Fifth Edition, 1965, Sixth Edition—in preparation.

The Polish Canadian Research Institute—its aims and achievements. Presented by T. Krychowski, 1967.

CANADA'S NEWEST AND OLDEST CULTURAL MOVEMENT

by

Leon Kossar

Executive Director, Canadian Folk Arts Council

Canada's oldest cultural tradition, the folk arts of its people, has recently been subjected, with immensely gratifying results, to that modern twentieth century phenomenon "organization". The result: Canada's newest coast-to-coast cultural movement, emerging as a vital contributing force to Canadian unity.

The vigorous growth of the folk arts throughout the country in the past three years has been a source of pride and pleasurable surprise to the many community, church and ethnic organizations that have done so much throughout Canada's history to preserve the valued cultural traditions of the past.

What lies behind this rapid growth in ten provinces?

Probably the Centennial itself has caused many people to take a closer look at their cultural roots, the roots that have made Canada strong in its first century of Confederation. Many thriving but geographically isolated and dispersed activities have flourished through the years.

Canada, more than any other country, has precedents which have allowed the development of a "cultural pluralism" that has been both healthy and beneficial for the growth of our land. We have a tradition of a bilingual culture, national growth based on the French-speaking and English-speaking elements of our society. It has been relatively easy for such early pioneering groups to our own land as, the prairie Icelanders, the market and flower-gardening Dutch, the grainland Ukrainians, the Poles, the tobacco-growing Hungarians, the Maritime Scots, the Irish, and Acadian French, the Atlantic schooner pioneers of German stock, the hard-working Finns of northern Ontario, and the Japanese of the British Columbia salmon fleets, to perpetuate elements of their own culture and language in Canada because of the historical precedent of twin cultures from France and the United Kingdom.

There are many regional, amateur, and semi-amateur performing groups in the province of Quebec. There is a Quebec folk-dance federation, as, indeed, there are folk-dance and square-dance federations in many provinces across the country, including Ontario. In the Maritime

Provinces we find Scottish societies, Acadian societies, the Miramichi Folk Song Festival and the Nova Scotia Festival of the Arts at Tatamagouche.

Newfoundland is the subject of many studies of folk-life and a source of great pride to all of us in this regard. In Manitoba, cultural interaction of one kind or another has been carried on for a number of years. We have, for instance, the annual performances of many groups and individuals at the Red River Exhibition and, of more recent vintage, the Manitoba Mosaic brought together dozens of choirs and dance groups which performed most affectively and colourfully.

In Ontario, the folk festivals have a long history. There have been many in various parts of the province including those at Cherry Hill and Buttonville, the annual Apple Butter Festival at Cedar Grove, the Grape Festival at St. Catharines, the Old Time Fiddlers' Contest at Shelbourne, the Annual Civic Freedom Festival in Windsor which is sponsored jointly by the citizens of Windsor and Detroit and is done in the spirit of hands-across-the-border.

Perhaps the most indigenous of all our festivals is found among our Indian population. There are moving experiences in the Green Corn Festival of the Iroquois at Oshweken, and other Indian Festivals.

In Ontario, too, the Highland Games are regular annual festivals in many centres, patronized by thousands of people of all national origins. Then we must point to more permanent activities such as the Pioneer Village near Toronto, the Indian Village near Midland, and Upper Canada Village near Morrisburg. These are all great outdoor museums of folk-lore.

Over the years, many organizations of a local nature have worked towards similar goals in various sections of the country. The Canadian Folk Society (Vancouver Branch), founded in 1932, organized annual festivals of song and dance in Vancouver and other parts of British Columbia. In Quebec, Montreal's Pageant Folklorique, sponsored by the Catholic Schools Commission, has presented an annual folk-arts show since 1949. The Nationbuilders Show at the Canadian National Exhibition grandstand in Toronto became an impressive annual landmark on the folk-art scene.

In Toronto, there had been concern with the fact that the many cultures represented at the C.N.E. were not being presented to the public adequately. A Mayor's committee developed into the Community Folk Arts Council which, thanks to community and civic support, began to explore opportunities for bringing together the various national groups of the city to present their dances, their songs, their costumes, etc.—in other words, their folk-life—to each other and to the larger public. The

first result of the work of this Council was a mighty gathering of well over a thousand singers and dancers at Council was a mighty gathering of well over a thousand singers and dancers at the Canadian National Exhibition grandstand in an extravaganza called Nationbuilders '63. The success of this show attracted the attention of the Centennial Commission which watched very closely the plans for Nationbuilders. All this gave birth to the idea of a national council that would assist in the establishment of community organizations across the country where they are needed and do not now exist, that would act as a clearing-house for information that is useful to all such councils, and assist in the exchange of persons and material from one place to another on a national basis where needed and wanted.

The post-war arrival of several million immigrants, strengthening and renewing the cultures drawn from many different countries, has undoubtedly given an even greater impetus to the development of the folk arts as a national movement.

The increasing interest and activity in this field stressed the need for a national centre or focus for the folk arts in Canada. This evolved in the form of the Canadian Folk Arts Council—Le Conseil canadien des arts populaires.

It was the Community Folk Arts Council, founded in 1963 in Toronto with a membership of fifty organizations, that took the lead in seeking to establish a national organization of the folk arts. I felt privileged to be chairman of this organization at this interesting moment in the folk-art affairs of Canada. The Community Folk Arts Council set up a Centennial Committee in the early months of 1963 to recommend to the Centennial Commission in Ottawa, projects and celebrations that would extend far beyond the limits of Toronto and Ontario.

It may be a point of interest to the delegates of this conference that, in these early organizational stages our committee discussing these far-reaching implications, included: Frank Glogowski, then President of the Canadian Ethnic Press Association and a Canadian of Polish origin; Stephen Davidovich, then Director of Citizenship, Province of Ontario, a Canadian of Ukrainian extraction; John Novak, a stage director of local folk festivals and a Canadian of Slovak birth. Other Slavic representatives were also on the Executive Council of the Community Folk Art Council at that time.

“It is our hope,” stated a brief drawn up by the Community Folk Arts Council and submitted to the Centennial Commission, “that a national organization will link all such organizations in a form of coordinating body for the folk arts.” The brief continued: “We have seen recently how much interest there is across our land in the multicultural

composition of the nation. We also feel that this should be directly translated into Centennial programming that will make Canada's birthday one of close personal identification with every citizen of our country."

Among specific recommendations included in the brief were the following: cross-country folk festivals with possible exchange of talent from one region to another, choral competitions, special publications of adult and children's historical material, recordings of folk music, an ethnographical museum and a pioneer hall of fame.

Early in the summer of 1964, in response to the brief, the Centennial Commission gave the Toronto group a grant to find out what interest there would be in forming a national council. The committee which carried out the feasibility study was involved in visits to various parts of Canada to discuss the idea of participation by local and regional groups in such an undertaking.

As a result of this study it was decided to call a conference of representatives of interested organizations in Ottawa in November 1964. One third of the delegates were representatives of English-speaking organizations, one third of French-speaking groups and the remaining third included one delegate from each language community, other than English or French, that had expressed an interest in the undertaking.

Out of this conference emerged the Canadian Folk Arts Council whose general aim was to co-ordinate cultural activities springing from the folk-life of Canadians of every background. "It welcome the birth of such a national council for the folk arts," the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson stated in extending congratulations to the conference, "not only because it will ensure the full and vibrant participation of all our ethnic groups in our Centennial celebrations—without which those celebrations could hardly be called truly Canadian—but because I am sure that this new Council will fill a permanent place in our cultural life as an active force for national unity."

Organization

The head office of the Council was set up in Toronto with a full-time Executive Director. Maurice D. DeCelles of Quebec city was appointed Associate Executive Director. The Council then invited Stephen B. Roman, President of the Roman Corporation and Denison Mines, to chair the Board of Directors on which all ten provinces were represented. Mr. Roman is a Canadian of Slovak birth, prominent in the affairs of the world Slovak community.

Provincial folk arts councils emerged in every province: the British

Columbia Folk Arts Council (an outgrowth of the Canadian Folk Society, Vancouver Branch), the Alberta Folk Arts Council, the Saskatchewan Folk Arts Committee, the Community Folk Arts Council of Manitoba, the Ontario Folk Arts Council, Le conseil des arts populaires du Quebec, the New Brunswick Folk Arts Council, the Nova Scotia Folk Arts Council, the Prince Edward Island Folk Arts Council and the St. John's and Newfoundland Folk Arts Council.

Within a short time a country-wide organization for the folk arts with strong grass-roots support and participation, was established. More than 35,000 people are now estimated to be involved in folk art committee activities. By working together for a common goal, members of the various groups have had the opportunity to develop close ties among themselves.

Cultural Exchanges

One of the main activities of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, in co-operation with the Centennial Commission, is the development of a far-reaching cultural exchange program. Through this program folk-art groups in one part of the country travel to another area where they take part in festivals and concerts with their counterparts in other provinces. Wherever possible the performers are billeted in private homes, thus having the opportunity of gaining a better understanding of Canadians in a different part of the country.

The first of such exchanges took place in 1965 when the *V'la l'bon vent* choral group from Quebec City participated in "Nationbuilders", the gala folk-lore spectacle presented at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto. Early in 1966 the visit was returned by an Irish group from Toronto who scored a notable success in Quebec.

Among other exchange visits are those between a sixty-member Winnipeg Ukrainian Choir and an Acadian choral group from Moncton, New Brunswick; the Mennonite Children's Choir of Winnipeg and the Quebec choir *Les petits chanteurs de Granby* (the Winnipeg youngsters sang during mass in the cathedral at Granby and participated in a local concert); a Vancouver group of Polish dancers and Italian and Ukrainian dancers from Edmonton.

Festivals

Closely linked with cultural exchanges are folk festivals, another important concern of the Canadian Folk Arts Council.

These are being staged in the following locations in 1967: Alberni,

Alma, Antigonish, Bathurst, Calgary, Charlottetown, Chicoutimi, Chilliwack, Cornwall, Corner Brook, Darmouth, Dauphin, Edmonton, Edmundston, Emerson, Fort Frances, Fredericton, Fort William, Grande Prairie, Gravelbourg, Halifax, Hamilton, Hull, Jasper, Kelowna, Kitimat, Kitchener-Waterloo, Lethbridge, London, Marathon, Merville, Moncton, Montreal, Nanaimo, Nelson, Niagara Falls, Ocean Falls, Oshawa, Ottawa, Peterborough, Portage la Prairie, Port Hawkesbury, Prince George, Port Arthur, Prince Rupert, Quebec City, Red Deer, Regina, Riviere du Loup, Rocky Mountain House, Saguenay-Lac St. Jean, St. Boniface, Saint John, St. John's, Saint Stephens, Saskatoon, Sault Ste. Marie, Shediac, Sherbrooke, Sudbury, Summerside, Terrace Bay, Toronto, Trail, Trois Pistoles, Val D'Or, Vancouver, Victoria, Victoriaville, Windsor, Winnipeg, Yorkton.

The following cultural flavours have been involved either in festivals at the local level or in interprovincial, or inter-regional cultural exchanges: Acadian, Armenian, Austrian, Byelorussian, Caribbean, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Danube-Swabian, Australian, Doukhabor, Dutch, English, Estonian, Filipino, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Indian (Canadian), Indian (India), Irish, Israeli, Japanese, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mennonite, Moravian, Negro, New Zealand, Norwegian, Pakistani, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Scottish, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Ukrainian, Welsh.

Many Slavs play dominant roles today in the work of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, its provincial councils and local councils. To mention only a few across the provinces: Stephen B. Roman, Chairman of the National Board, Canadian Folk Arts Council; Leo Klepalski, B. C. member on the National Board and Chairman of the Canadian Folk Society (Vancouver Branch); Russell Dzenick, Chairman of the Alberta Folk Arts Council and the Edmonton Folk Arts Council; Nadia Korpus, Secretary of the Alberta Folk Arts Council and the Calgary Folk Arts Council; Eleanor Bujea, Chairman of the Regina Folk Arts Council; Leo Wowk, Programme Director, Saskatoon Folk Arts Council; Cecil Semchyshyn, Chairman of the Community Folk Arts Council of Manitoba and, with Msgr. Dr. B. Kushnir, Manitoba members on the National Board; John W. V. Stephens, Secretary of the National Board and Vice-Chairman of the Ontario Folk Arts Council; Stephen Davidovich, Vice-Chairman of the National Board, and Vice-Chairman of the Ontario Folk Arts Council; Don Prodanyk, Past President, Lakehead Folk Arts Council; Ihor Kuryliw, President, Sudbury Folk Arts Council; John Derwinsky, Chairman of Niagara Region Folk Arts Council; Jan Drygala, Past President Oshawa Folk Festival Society; Andrew Trasuk,

Chairman, Cornwall Folk Art Committee; Gennady Adrianow, Chairman, *La fédération folklorique des groupes ethniques de Montréal*.

Terms of reference of the Council were drawn up to “promote, coordinate and facilitate the role of ethnic groups in the Centennial programmes for 1967,” and to “initiate, develop and assist the development of regional, provincial and local folk arts, and other similar projects, especially with a view to participating in the celebration of Canada’s Centennial.”

The first submission of the Canadian Folk Arts Council to the Government involved an impressive ten-province plan for the Canadian Folk Arts Festival, mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The Federal Government, through its Centennial Commission, accepted the recommendations and made a grant to the Council for this purpose. Provincial Centennial authorities also contributed.

The programme has already generated much good will across the land; but it is only the first stepping-stone in the further development of the new organization, the Canadian Folk Arts Council, which now looks ahead to Canada’s next hundred years.

UKRAINIAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN CANADA

by
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This Lecture was given in the form of a commentary relating to a visual presentation of colour transparencies. The following is a brief summary of that commentary.

General

Architecture arises out of a need of place and shelter for a given activity. It consists of space, which results from a specific arrangement of an activity, and of the enclosure of that space—the outward manifestation of that arrangement. Thus the general form of a building is related to its use, and its particular aspects and details are influenced by various specific factors peculiar to a given location and period of time.

These factors may be environmental, such as climate and the topography of a region or the immediate setting: urban, suburban or rural. They may be technological, for example, the availability or lack of certain techniques, skills or materials. Or they may be cultural: the ethnic temperament, the traditions, the aesthetic concepts, the social habits of a nation or a community. The architect's duty is to take account of these factors while he gives shape to new buildings.

A truthful and sensitive interpretation of all such aspects peculiar to a given situation results in significant architecture, which becomes the visual, immediate, ever present expression of a society's ideas and achievements. As societies vary so does their architecture, either with the process of time or with location or with both.

Canadian Architecture

In Canada, as in any civilized country in the world, this variation is quite apparent. There is a marked difference between the architecture of the 1860's and of the present decade in every city or town; there is

a difference between the architecture of the richly wooded, mild West Coast, the open and cold Prairies and the rugged Eastern Seaboard.

There is also a clear difference between the rather flamboyant architecture of the French communities and the restrained architecture of the English population.

Ukrainian Architecture in Canada

It is only natural that Ukrainian architecture in Canada should also have its own particular character. As until recently the Ukrainian building activity in this country was restricted to churches its contribution lies mainly in the field of religious architecture. As with any other type of architecture, its pattern of development was the result of a multitude of influencing factors, which were closely linked with the pattern of settlement and the development of a definite new way of life.

Settlements began around the turn of the century in the western provinces. The countryside and its climate showed great similarity to that of Ukraine. Building technology was restricted to known and available techniques and materials: manual labour and wood construction. The primary occupation was the same as in the old homeland: farming. Due to this factor and geographical isolation, basic religious and social forms, artistic and other cultural activities were directly transplanted from Europe and maintained for a long period of time.

With progressive urbanization these conditions changed gradually. Ukrainian population in cities grew to sizable communities, which evolved their own way of life and became the trend-setting centres for the Ukrainian population as a whole. Like all city-dwellers members of these communities were subject to new, ever changing influences: urban environment, development of new industrialized building techniques and materials, new social patterns, exposure to new aesthetic expressions, changing economic pressures and mores of behaviour. Due to the widespread use of communication media urban attitudes pervaded the entire population, but especially the younger generation.

At the same time the less tangible characteristics inherent in the ethnic temperament and the resulting specific cultural patterns persisted naturally. This led to inevitable conflicts and a general confusion of values. Lately stabilizing trends became apparent. New attitudes have emerged which interpret the basic cultural characteristics within the context of contemporary urban circumstances and which lead to a new

yet obviously Ukrainian, pattern of life, contemporary cultural manifestations.

These changes in conditions and attitudes have found their natural reflection in architecture which shows a parallel development.

Architectural Development

From the turn of the century until the present time one can distinguish three general phases of development. Perhaps trends would be a more appropriate term since there is a certain overlapping in the chronological sequence.

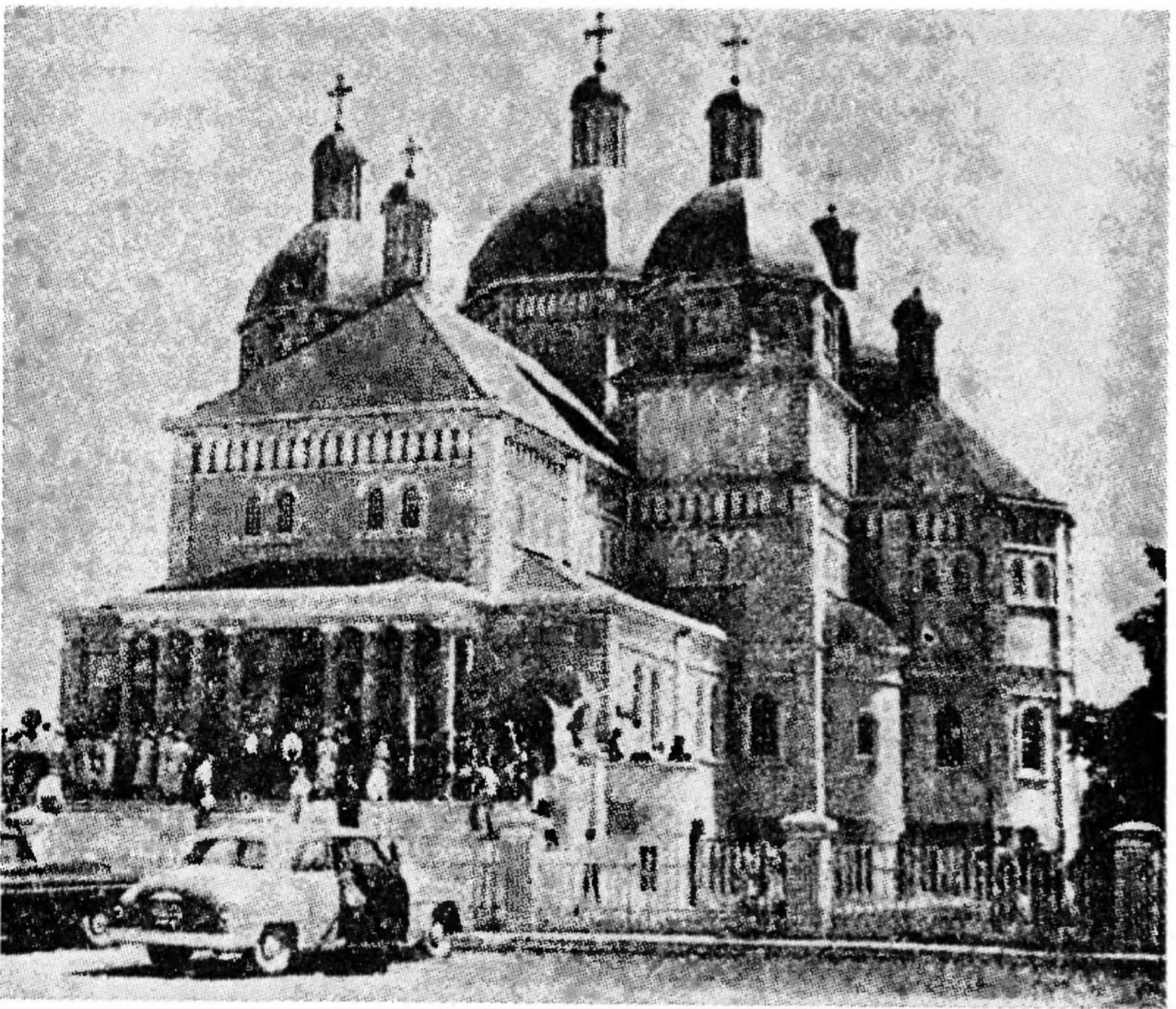
1. Early-vernacular phase. These primarily small chapels, built by local craftsmen, employing local, readily available materials, using simple, straightforward methods of construction. Frequently these structures exhibit a high degree of folk-art characteristics and a corresponding aesthetic sensitivity. Relating directly to the Ukrainian building tradition they already show an appropriate adaptation to the specific Canadian climate and topographical conditions. (Fig. 1)



St. Nicholas Church, Fisher Branch, Manitoba

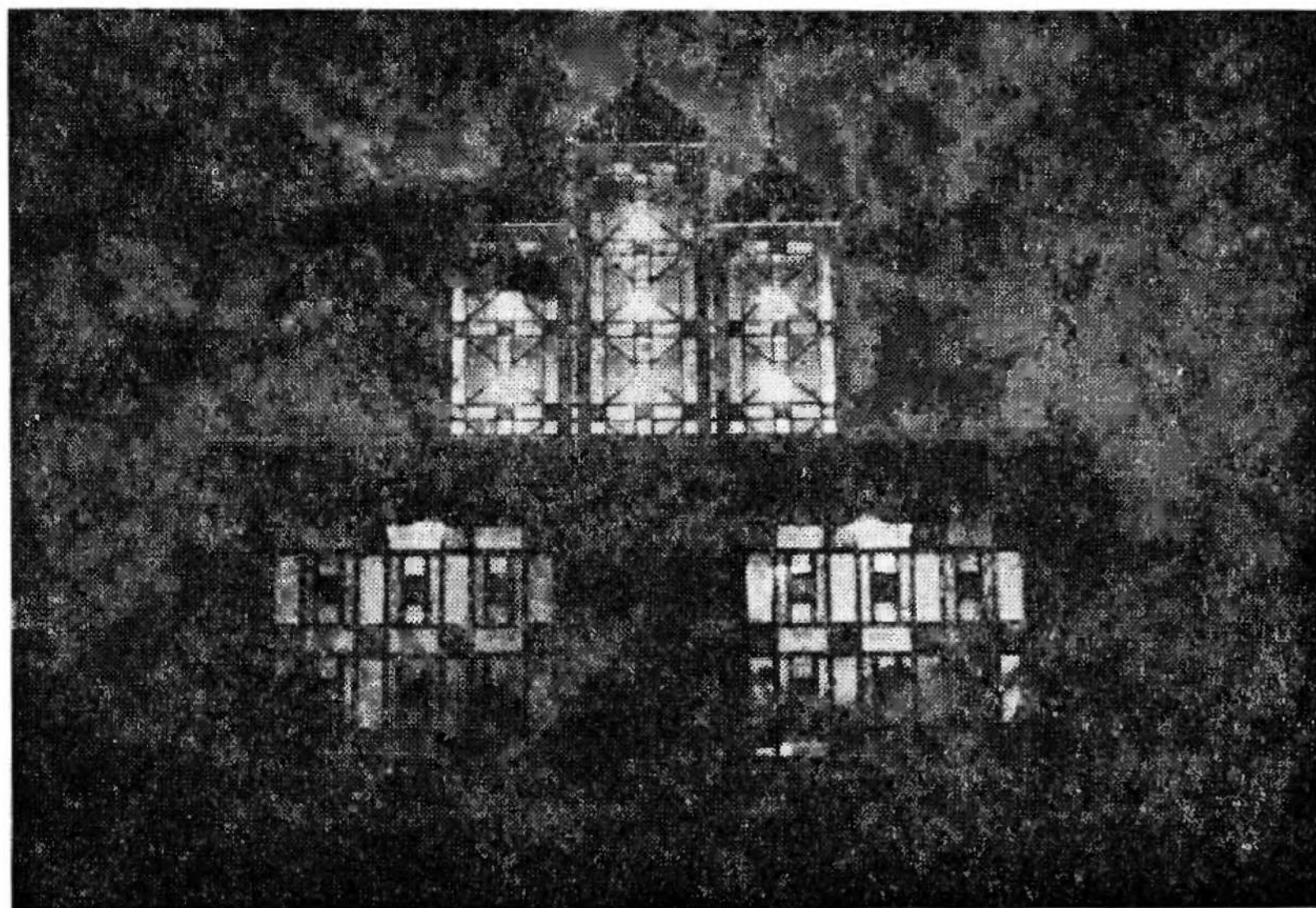
Many of these churches are being indiscriminately destroyed to make room for new less valuable construction, and since some of them are of considerable architectural value, there is a great need for preservation or at least proper documentation of these buildings.

In this phase one can also include the work of the architect-dilettante, Rev. Philip Ruh, who carried the vernacular tradition into large-scale buildings, some of them in large urban centres, e.g. the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Edmonton. Ruh appears as a rather amazing, but certainly very important figure in the total development of Ukrainian church architecture in Canada. His many churches are bold in size and concept, curiously original, at best strangely monumental, at worst grotesque. (Fig. 2)



Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Cook's Creek, Manitoba

2. The next phase can be described as a phase of disorientation. It coincides with the increase of the Ukrainian urban population in Canada, and unfortunately it has continued up to the present time. One can distinguish two general trends:



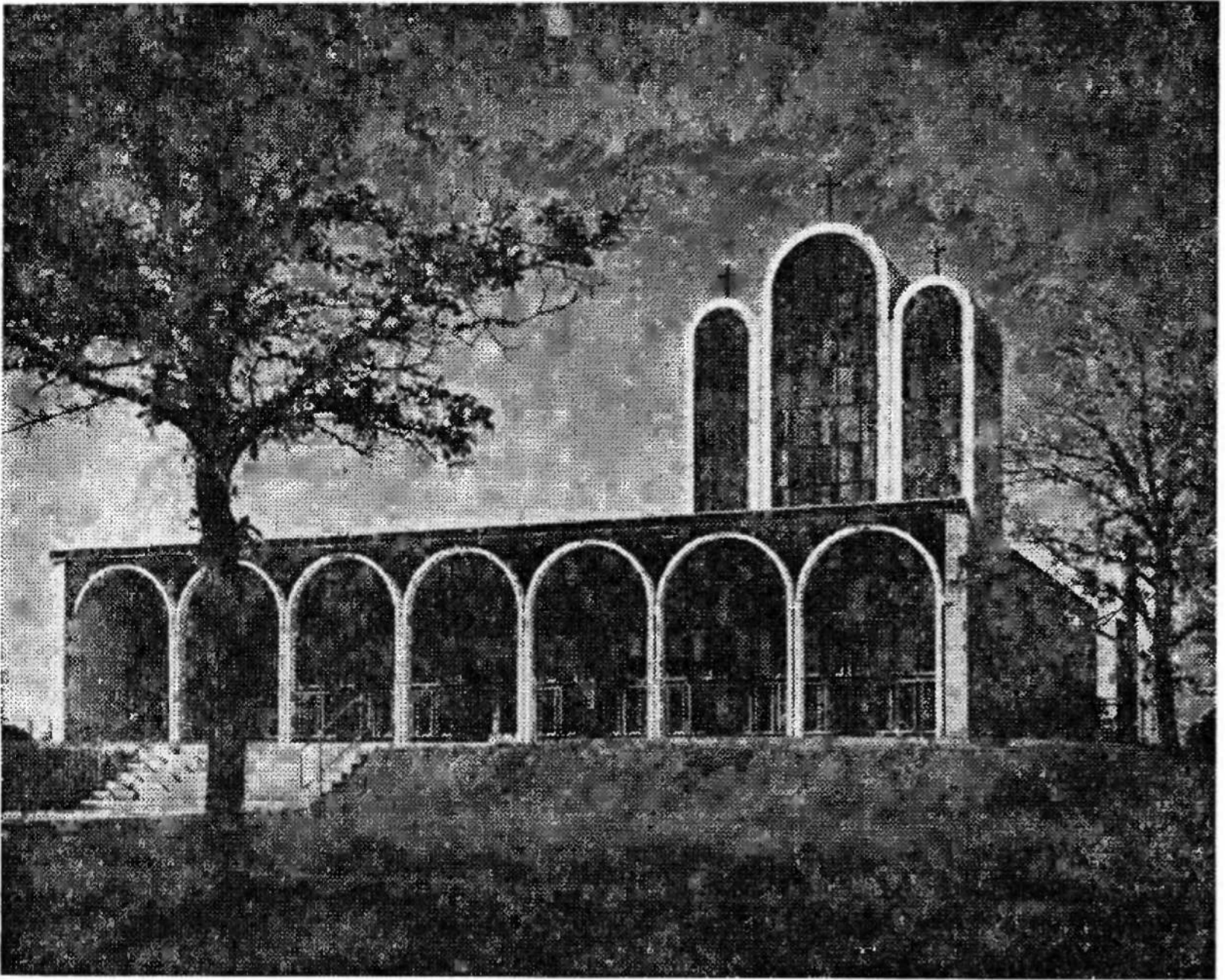
St. Michael's Church, Tyndall, Manitoba

(a) "Non-architecture": buildings exhibiting a confusion of unrelated forms, a mixture of materials, a lack of aesthetic sensitivity; usually executed by architects of little distinction and "improved" by church committees.

(b) "Revivalism": a few buildings designed in a pseudo-baroque style. In some instances these are unified compositions, produced by competent architects, but in their forms, use of materials and ornamentation they appear as anachronistic, fake museum pieces, much inferior to their 300-year-old masterful prototypes and are completely removed from the twentieth century reality.

3. The last phase is only about ten years old. It represents a serious attempt among a small number of young architects to find a meaningful new form for Ukrainian church architecture, which would respect the Eastern liturgy and relate to the rich Ukrainian architectural tradition, but which would also be a fitting contribution to the contemporary urban scene and would truthfully express the needs and aspirations of a modern society.

This work began in the Canadian schools of architecture where new possibilities were explored. The architects who thus began their search as students are (in chronological order) Radoslav Zuk, Lon Pencak, and



Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church, Winnipeg, Canada

Ihor Stecura. Since 1960 these architects, as well as Victor Deneka, have designed a number of contemporary churches for enlightened communities in Manitoba and Ontario.

The churches by Radoslav Zuk, built in the Winnipeg area, were shown in leading architectural magazines in Canada, Great Britain and the United States and were included in the representative Massey Medals exhibition of outstanding Canadian architecture.

It is hoped that the few isolated cases of architectural excellence will become a general trend and that the young generation of architects interested in a healthy development of Ukrainian church architecture in Canada will be given full opportunity to make a significant contribution.

STUDIES IN UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN CANADA

by
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Preliminaries

To form an extensive and total criterion of all processes relating to studies of literature, it is insufficient to have at our disposal merely a summary of particular works and publications or general reviews of pertinent literary phenomena. Normally, a work of this nature can only be achieved by undertaking a systematic classification of research material and a subsequent analysis of the same, which in turn is productive of a solely valid criterion.

It is generally understood that the attention of a scholar in this field must be primarily focused on literary events of greater importance, the key events, and on literary phenomena that warrant critical scrutiny. This is so because it is imperative that the scholar, through the media of particular editions of literary criticisms and literary works themselves, discover definite trends, specific tendencies and the literary laws of a given age. He must also see the social, the national, and the strictly artistic reasons for literature to develop as it did in that particular age. In other words, he sets himself the task of bringing to light the characteristics of a literature and the extent of critical study of it at that particular time.

Having concluded this preamble, I shall try to give an overall view of the achievements in studies of Ukrainian literature in Canada, whether these were attained by individuals or through common effort at organized centres of learning. I would like to state at this point, that time will not permit me to enumerate all, nor even the most important, of the works and publications in the field of Ukrainian literature in Canada, much less to devote any considerable length of time to a critical analysis and evaluation of individual works. In view of all this, I quite consciously take upon myself a more modest obligation, namely, to delineate and to indicate, in an informative report, the predominant directions and the developmental tendencies in the field of studies of Ukrainian literature

in Canada, accentuating throughout what are generally considered notable achievements, taking into account certain deliberations in ideas and style, considering the thematic inclinations of particular scholars, and the like. You will please note that all conclusions will be drawn from an analysis and review of an extensive list of important published works and of some magisterial and doctoral dissertations.

Bear with me if I make one further clarification: under the generic term "studies in Ukrainian literature in Canada" I mean the total accumulation of works and research in Ukrainian literature, whether produced by individual persons resident in Canada, or written elsewhere but published in this country.

The Beginnings of Studies in Ukrainian Literature in Canada

The beginnings of what can be technically considered studies in Ukrainian literature in Canada can be traced to the earliest years of the twentieth century. In fact, such study can only begin if and when published texts of literary works become available. The first notable publication in the field of Ukrainian literary productions in Canada was a two-volume edition of the poetical works of Taras Shevchenko (Winnipeg, 1909). Note that, as in the Ukraine, the rebirth of literary life in this country began with Shevchenko. This monumental work, however, did not produce an immediate outpouring of comparable publications, so that even for several decades one cannot speak of further notable literary undertakings. Indeed, such studies advanced quite slowly and were marked by sporadic publications of a similar nature, that is in most cases translations with extensive explanations and commentaries.

Florence Randall Livesay, a Canadian of British origin, was the first to translate and compile a collection of songs relating to customs, rituals, and historic events. With these she included several verses of literary quality and the entire edition was published in 1916, under the heading *Songs of Ukraine with Ruthenian Poems*. Several years later in collaboration with P. Crath and H. Humeniuk, she translated Kvitka-Osnovyanenko's novel, *Marusia*.

In the year 1922, Dr. Alexander Jardine Hunter, a minister, delighted his English readers with a selection of Shevchenko's poetry, supplementing his translation with extensive explanations and relevant sketches of the poet's life and works. Following this, Dr. Percival Cundy, also a minister in the church, compiled and published in Manitoba in the year 1932, a translation of selected works by Ivan Franko, called *A Voice from Ukrainia*. This also carried a biographical sketch of the poet Franko.

(A second enlarged edition of this work was published in 1948.) Again during this time, in 1933 to be precise, a short anthology of Ukrainian verse in English translation, *Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics* by Honore Ewach, appeared.

A valuable contribution to studies in Ukrainian literature in general came by way of an unusual number of informative articles and reviews as well as separate publications relating to various aspects of these studies, notable among such being the literary work of Professor George W. Simpson, a long-time head of the Department of History of the University of Saskatchewan and a researcher in the field of Slavistics.

By far the greatest contribution to the advancement of Ukrainian literature was made by the distinguished Canadian poet, and critic, Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, one of Canada's foremost literate. His first poetic translation of Ukrainian poetry appeared in *Canadian Overtones* in 1935. He has also written a number of works dealing with the Ukrainian Canadians. His annual survey of Ukrainian-Canadian literature in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* has kept its readers abreast of the literary productivity in that field.

The entire period of studies in Ukrainian literature with which we have just dealt, may be considered as a period of pioneering. As is typical of pioneers, the contributions of the writers mentioned in this period were colossal, in that they laid the foundations not only for the development of studies in Ukrainian-Canadian literature, but they also gave the incentive to later literary critics and to an interest in Ukrainian literature in general.

Before leaving this period of initial development, allow me to bring into sharp focus the groundwork that had been prepared for the new wave of Ukrainian immigration into Canada beginning in the mid 1940's. Displaced by the events of World War II, many Ukrainian intellectuals took up permanent residence in Canada, often in preference to other countries. Here they found a well-established Ukrainian cultural life. Ukrainians in Canada had found their way into Canadian civic and professional life retaining all the while their Ukrainian identity. Up until 1939 vital communication with the land of their forefathers had been maintained. By the end of 1940 there existed in Canada a host of Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals. Specifically cultural centres, with comparatively adequate libraries, flourished in cities and towns of larger Ukrainian settlements. To mention a few, there was *Oseredok Kultury i Oswity*, *Narodnyj Dim*, *Pros'wita* in Winnipeg, *Narodnyj Dim*, *UNO* in Toronto, *Narodni Domy* in Yorkton, Mundare, Saskatoon, Edmonton. It would be unfair not to state the fact that literally, every Ukrainian community in Canada had cultural meeting place. It would further be

a serious omission to bypass the positive contribution of the church as a whole and its more literary members individually in advancing the preservation of Ukrainian culture in Canada.

It is difficult to categorize reason and result, for these often change roles or run concurrently, but reasons did exist for the achievements in studies of Ukrainian literature that the post-War II Ukrainian immigrants to Canada found here.

The advent of these new *literati* marks a new era in these studies, a branching off into specializations, an era of differentiated studies, and to this period specifically I would like to devote more basic discussion.

The New Phase

A common interest in the subject of Ukrainian literature quickly united the newcomer to the resident scholar. Regarding as secondary their place of origin or their centre of education (Charkiv, Kiev, Lviv, Cracow, Prague, Vienna, London, Berlin, New York, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Sorbonne, etc.) and not taking into account for the moment the differences in their methods of research or even their very understanding of and approach to the subject of literature, we have none the less vital evidence of a mutual collaboration between these distinct individuals who, although divergent in amenities of history, found in Ukrainian literary endeavours common ground.

Permitting ourselves a periphrastic expression brought on by the proverb "every one in battle is a soldier" and which can be applied to studies in Ukrainian literature in Canada, we must in all truth speak here not of any concentrated group efforts, but about a small group of individuals, who in a more or less co-ordinated program and spurred by the need to develop Ukrainian literature, laboured and still do labour in this area, often at great sacrifice and on borrowed time. These scholarly persons publish their works, make their voices heard in reviews on current literary phenomena, write longer or shorter articles to commemorate various literary or cultural events, and in this manner enrich and advance the studies of Ukrainian literature in Canada.

To bring into some definite system the salient aspects of literary activity, and to designate their developmental tendencies I shall make an effort to classify the nature of the more important processes in literary studies in Canada during the most recent twenty years.

When compared to the achievements of earlier days, the new era in studies of Ukrainian literature is characterized in general by a broadening out of research. Hitherto unexplored themes are appropriated, new

methods of research are evident, there is a variety of approaches to literary phenomena, all this culminating in widely differentiated scholarly publications.

Of these modern scholars, those who belong to what is known as the philological school (L. Bilets'kyj, I. Ohiyenko, Dm. Kozij) as well as those who decidedly lean to this school in their literary studies (C. Andrusyshen, W. Kirkconnell, Percival Cundy, C. Bida, J. Rudnyckyj, G. Luckyj and some of the most recent) have to date produced the most valuable works. It could very well be that, without in the least minimizing the individual efforts of these scholars, their very method of study is a positive factor. This method proceeds first of all to an analysis of the text, to the word and the idea of the page, respecting all the while the formal components of literary works, takes into account the historical background of literary development and lastly, is cognizant of the individual creativeness of the writer viewed in the totality of his particular life circumstances.

Viewing these factors as integral components, as a necessarily continuous phenomena, or, better still, as a synthesis of research, scholars using this method have the advantage of objectivity, universality and depth in their studies and in the conclusions they draw.

I would like to think that the first place among the more important works of scholars of this school should go to the four-volume edition of the poetical works of Taras Shevchenko published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg in the years 1952 to 1954,—the work of the late Professor L. Bilets'kyj. These volumes include a profusion of analytical explanatory articles and several scientific treatises, all the work of the author. This edition, widely commented upon in literary circles, became not only the crowning success of the author's many years of work, but is a jewel in the array of studies in Ukrainian literature in Canada.

Of the more notable monographic publications, where the criteria referred to above is more or less taken into account, we would mention again Dr. Percival Cundy and his "Biographical Introduction" in the book *Ivan Franko, the Poet of West Ukraine*, New York, 1948, pp. 1-96; further, the modest but scholarly publication *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* by Professor I. Ohiyenko, Winnipeg, 1952; *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine*, by Professor G. Luckyj, 1956, and finally two works, one by Professor C. Bida, *Lesya Ukrainka—Her Life and Works*, and the second by R. Oliynyk, *Literature and Nationalism in the Ukraine, 1919-1939*, both of which at the moment await release from their common publisher, the University of Toronto Press.

To avoid getting lost, however, in lengthy enumerations of particular

publications and of risking both being uninteresting and using unprofitably the time allotted to me, I shall sacrifice detail in favour of a more synthesized study, approaching it from the problem areas I consider more significant.

One of the most peculiar features in the studies of Ukrainian literature in Canada in the last twenty years has been the unanimous concern of the majority of writers to deal with problems and themes in Ukrainian literature which are, in the Soviet Union today, either banned or knowingly distorted and presented in a false light.

This aspect of the problem was accounted for not only by scholars of Ukrainian Soviet literature as, for example, in the successive publications and works of Professor G. Luckyj about Vaplite, Khvylovyj, Sosiura, etc.; Valerian Revutsky on the dramaturgy of M. Kulish, O. Levada; B. Olexandriv's work on M. Rylskyj in *Suchasnist*, 1964; the M.A. thesis by the author of this article: *The Poetry of P. Tychyina in the Soviet-Ukrainian criticism*, University of Ottawa; articles by S. Pidhayny, P. Volyniak, Yar Slavutych and others in the fourth chapter, entitled "The Liquidation of the Ukrainian Intellectuals", of the book *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book*, Toronto 1953; and others,—but it also became a general approach in the majority of studies on Ukrainian literature.

Circumstances of free speech imposed an almost sacred obligation on scholars interested in Ukrainian literature to fill in or correct, here in Canada, what their literary compatriots found impossible to keep unadulterated in the Soviet Union. A good example of such writing is Professor C. Bida's article "Religious Motives in the Scholarly Works of Ivan Franko," in *Slavic and East-European Studies* which, in finished form, refutes the automatic and banal propagation of Franko's alleged atheism, by the Soviets, and on the contrary brings out Franko's deep concern and almost piety towards spiritual and religious values of the Ukrainian nation.

In this respect we should also mention several works of L. Biletsky, namely *Shevchenko's Belief in God*, UVAN, 1949, his articles: "Nechuj-Levytskyj and His Novel *Khmary*, and "The Poet of Yearning and Sorrow". Incidentally, the "poet" in the latter work is Bohdan Lepky, removed entirely from literature in the USSR.

Further in this line we have works which by their very nature could not have been published in the USSR. We shall mention here a few: *Nezrymi Skryzali Kobzaria* by Dm. Dontzov, Toronto, 1961, in which the author deals with the idealistic philosophy and the national character in T. Shevchenko's works; study by I. Sydoruk *Ideology of Cyrillo-Methodians and Its Origin*, UVAN, 1954; in 1959, UVAN published Yar

Slawutych's article on the relationship of I. Franko to Russia and in 1960 V. Chaplenko's study *Ukrainian Literature under the Soviets* appeared. There are many others.

In certain respect however, studies in Ukrainian literature in Canada did not measure up to expectations in filling the literary gaps which existed in the Ukraine until very recent times, and some of which exist even to this day. To illustrate: Unfavourable political circumstances in the Ukraine in the early 1930's literally closed the short period known generally as the cultural renaissance, and research on the early and middle periods in Ukrainian literature was subsequently almost entirely suspended.

Any notable work relating to the theory of literature was similarly lacking until almost the end of the 1950's. Nor was much done in this area in Ukrainian studies in Canada. From studies in the early and middle periods, in addition to Professor I. Ohienko's *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, Winnipeg, 1952, which we have noted earlier, mention should be made of two articles by Professor C. Bida: "Linguistic Aspect of the Controversy over the Authenticity of the Tale of Ihor's Campaign" in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, and "Dialect Vocabulary in the Old Kievan Literature" in *Slavic and East-European Studies*. A valuable work by Sv. Hordynsky: *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign and Ukrainian Folklore*, published in 1963 by UVAN in Winnipeg, a short sketch by B. Alexandriw on the same topic, published in Toronto 1960, and several M.A. theses on the middle period by students in Slavistics at the University of Manitoba and the University of Ottawa exhaust the list of studies in this area.

On the theory of literature, we make reference once more to the four-volume edition of the poetical works of T. Shevchenko by L. Biletsky. In addition to containing scholarly analytical articles on certain specific works of the poet, these volumes also contain several articles of research dealing with romantic elements in Shevchenko literature, including the question of form, composition, and aesthetic qualities of Shevchenko's poetry. Yar Slawutych's *Poetics of Shevchenko*, Edmonton, 1964, because of its general informational character, is best considered a study manual. Much more new theoretical material is offered to us in the doctoral thesis by J. Lysiak: *Archaisms in the Poetry of T. Shevchenko* and in the M.A. thesis on the aphoristic media in the dramaturgy of Lesya Ukrainka by T. Horochovych, both prepared at the University of Ottawa. Another M.A. thesis will be mentioned here, by D. Struk on the Poetry of Kievan Neoclassicists. Once again, this modest list exhausts the studies in this area.

In the field of translations, more has been achieved. One can sense

here a studied effort by Ukrainian men of letters to acquaint the western world with the problems of Ukrainian literature and, thereby, to promote international collaboration and a healthy exchange of cultural values.

In addition to the many translated works to which reference has already been made, the last two decades produced several more, some of it meriting a high scholarship and artistic rating.

In 1948, an enlarged translation of Franko's poetry, under the title *The Poet of Western Ukraine, Selected Poems*, by Dr. P. Cundy, appeared, followed two years later by his book *Spirit of Flame, A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka*.

Shevchenko has always occupied a prominent place in the study of Ukrainian literature, and recently the 1961 and 1964 commemorations in his honour have drawn attention to his works even more forcefully. These years saw the publication of two new and very valuable translations of his works. The first of these carried representative selections of his poetry, artistically produced in four languages: the original Ukrainian, English, French, German, sharing the common title *Poems, Poésies, Gedichte*. This book was edited and annotated by Professor G. Luckyj. The second was an edition of the complete poetical works of Shevchenko, a very scholarly translation by Professor W. Kirkconnell in collaboration with Professor C. Andrusyshen, published by the University of Toronto Press, 1964, under the name: *T. Shevchenko, the Poetical Works*. This is the first complete translation into the English language.

These same two scholars collaborated to produce an additional valuable translation, *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962*, a selected and annotated anthology of Ukrainian poetry.

Of translations of works other than Shevchenko's, those worthy of note are by Professor G. Luckyj: the first, I. Bahriany, *The Hunters and the Hunted*, 1954, which later found its way into several other languages, and the second, M. Khvylovyj, *Stories from the Ukraine*, 1960.

Our already distinguished list of translations should admit into its ranks those made by Michael Luchkovich, a pioneer in Ukrainian cultural and political life in Canada. His English translation of *Sons of the Soil*, by Elias Kiriak, Toronto 1959, and more recently, *Their Land, an Anthology of Ukrainian Short Stories*, edited by the above author and published by Svoboda Press, 1964, make their own contributions. Here I shall also mention two other translations into English: *My Songs* a selection of Ukrainian folk-songs compiled and edited by J. Dziobko, Winnipeg 1958, and Gogol's *Taras Bulba*, edited by A. Gregorovich, Toronto 1962.

An attempt to render contemporary Ukrainian poetry in translation was made by Yar Slawutych when he, together with Morse Manly, pro-

duced an English edition of Slawutych's original poems, called *Oasis*, New York, 1959.

The general needs in the field of translations have been quite adequately met. But there exists a refined need for a more inclusive library of translations, for example, classic literature, or the extensive contemporary Ukrainian literature. Without accurate and numerous translations of literary works, it is impossible to engage in vitally beneficial literary dialogue in the international arena. I say vitally beneficial, because all exchange of cultural ideas stimulates and energizes the growth and grandeur of the culture of any one nation, while isolation and the ghetto quicken its stagnation and stalemate.

It is specifically when we speak of benefits accruing from activity in the international literary forum that comparative literature plays an important role. Here we have room to boast. For several years now Ukrainian scholars from Canada, in the persons of Professors J. Rudnyckyj, C. Bida, G. Luckyj, and Yar Slawutych, have participated fully in conference seminars and proceedings of the International Comparative Literature Association here and abroad, delivering papers and publishing their related research material. To date, these gentlemen have been the sole representatives to the Association from the North American continent. It is very interesting to note their specialties in the area of comparative literature. Professor C. Bida's concentration is an attempt to clarify the place and role of Shakespeare in the literature and literary criticism of Slavic nations during the course of history; Professor J. Rudnyckyj, a scholar of many interests, has dealt with such themes as Shevchenko and the outside world, (e.g. "National and Universal Themes in the Poetry of T. Shevchenko", *R. Burns and T. Shevchenko*, UVAN 1959), problems of relating literary phenomena (e.g. "Functions of Proper Names in Literary Works"), and others; Professor G. Luckyj's contribution appears to be the universality of Shevchenko's literary ideas; Yar Slawutych thus far has reviewed the attitudes towards Ukraine in Herzen's *Kolokol*.

In this field of comparative literature we may cite several additional publications, namely: M. Mandryka, *A Phase of Bulgarian-Ukrainian Literary Relations*, UVAN 1956; an article by Prof. O. Starchuk "I. Franko—An Ukrainian Interpreter of Shakespeare" in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 1957; and others.

My report would not be complete if I failed to mention a unique aspect in the Ukrainian-Canadian studies, namely the wealth of materials produced in compensation for restrictions historically imposed on a free interchange between scholars in Canada and in the Ukraine. Finding themselves out off from original source materials, Canadian scholars soon

produced a comparatively voluminous library in the form of reprints of old and rare materials, publications of works hitherto not printed, publication of certain documents, letters, memoirs, etc., access to which is a fundamental prerequisite for valid research. A few of these, given in chronological order of their appearance, should be noted:

- A. Lubchenko's *Diary*, Toronto 1951
- P. Phylypovych, *Hohol's (Gogol's) Ukrainian Background*, UVAN, 1952
- G. Luckyj (Editor) *Holubi Dylizhansy (Correspondence of the Vaplitians)*, N. Y. 1955
- G. Luckyj (Editor) "Dzerela do Istorii Vaplite", Munich 1956.
- G. Luckyj (Ed) *Lehkosynia Dal*, (A collection of unpublished literary works, correspondence and other materials of the Vaplitians), N. Y. 1963
- A. Franko-Kluchko, *I. Franko and His Family, Memoirs*, Toronto 1956
- J. Rudnyckyj, (Editor) *I. Franko and Frankiana in the West*, Winnipeg 1957
- D. Dontzov, *The Two Literatures of Our Age*. (Reprint of previously published articles), Toronto 1958
- C. Bida (Editor) *First Edition of "Kobzar" by T. Shevchenko, 1840*, Ottawa 1961
- J. Rudnyckyj (Editor), *The Leipzig Kobzar, 1860*, (Reprint), Winnipeg 1961
- V. Koroliv-Staryj, *Zhadky pro Moju Smert, Memoirs*, Toronto 1961
- E. Malaniuk, *Knyha Sposterezen' I & II Vol.* (Collection of previously published literary essays), Toronto 1966
- M. Marunchak (Editor) *Shashkevichiana*, (occasional editions dedicated to Markian Shashkevich), Winnipeg 1961

It requires no elaboration to speak of the necessity for source material, therefore much credit is due to the efforts made in Canada in this respect.

The last item in our discussion relates to works, articles, reviews, bibliography and all that complements studies in current literary events. Every literary phenomenon, if it is an expression of the vital processes of cultural life, normally provokes reactions in both the reader and the literary critic. However, the subject of Ukrainian literary criticism in Canada, even if treated only in outline form, warrants a separate dissertation. Therefore I shall forego that topic in this report and instead deal, very briefly, with bibliography.

We begin with the outstanding and unique edition of selected bib-

liography, *Slavica Canadiana*, inaugurated in 1952 and appearing annually, under the editorship of Prof. J. Rudnyckyj, entering all articles and works published in Canada for the previous year, thus providing a guide to literary works themselves and to studies in literature.

The following other collections, containing material on literature and literary studies deserve mention:

- V. Kaye-Kysilevskyj, *Ukraine, Russia and other Slavic Countries in English literature, A selected bibliography, 1912-1936*, UVAN, 1961
- W. Bezoushko & J. Rudnyckyj, *Publications of Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1945-1955*. 1955
- A. Franko-Kluchko, *Ivan Franko's Manuscripts in Canada*, UVAN, 1957
- M. Antonovych-Rudnycka, *Frankiana in American and Canadian Libraries*, UVAN, 1957
- O. Voycenko, *Materials . . . to Frankiana in Canada*, UVAN, 1957
- M. Mandryka, *Bio-Bibliography of J. Rudnyckyj*, UVAN, 1961
- A. Gregorovich, *Books on Ukraine and the Ukrainians*, Toronto 1963

We have acquainted ourselves in this report with more important problems of studies in Ukrainian literature in Canada. Merely by considering the titles of some of the works we have acquired an orientation with respect to the extensive scope of themes that have interested our scholars. To this we should add the variety of forms and kinds of literary studies and literary criticism used by scholars in their research.

Attempting to discern objective truth and forming the conclusions of their research and the pattern of their thoughts and concepts scientifically into finished products, scholars, depending upon the lesser or greater demands of the topic of their particular study, and depending upon the function their work was expected to fulfill, employed accordingly suitable source material and a suitable medium of expression in their own works.

Reviewing the studies of Ukrainian literature in Canada from pioneer times to the present, we come across scholarly editions of texts with commentaries (L. Bilets'kyj), monographic works (Luckyj, Bida, R. Olynyk), research and investigation (V. Revutskyj), literary silhouettes and pen portraits of writers (O. Kopach, L. Bilets'kyj, Mandryka), biographical research and articles (Dr. Cundy, C. Andrusyshen), publication of documents and source material (J. Rudnyckyj, G. Luckyj, C. Bida), forewords (L. Bilets'kyj, C. Andrushyshen), bibliographical compilations (J. Rudnyckyj, O. Voytsenko), book reviews (V. Bujniak, C. Bida), articles of a polemic or publicist nature (O. Mokh), informational articles

and condensed entries for encyclopaedias (C. Andrushyshen, G. Luckyj), up to and including literary parody as a form of criticism (B. Alexandriw in *Suchasnist*).

Although studies of Ukrainian literature in Canada appear to have all the characteristics of an adequately developed activity and the writings portray a variety of accepted forms, these studies none the less remain in general, the work of a small group of individuals. We cannot speak, as yet, of separate associations, schools, or groups with strictly defined creative tendencies and planned styles of literary criticism. Still less can we speak of any type of struggle for criteria of judging literary phenomena, or of any lively debate between adherents of specific trends of literary development in these studies in Canada. Schools of thought, the conventional battlegrounds of opinion do not, as yet, exist. All the above phenomena are usually reserved for a higher level of literary activity which, we, in Canada, must hopefully await in the future.

UKRAINIAN PHILOLOGY IN CANADA

by
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Although Ukrainian literature, poetry and prose appeared in Canada soon after the arrival of the first settlers in 1891, Ukrainian philological studies were neglected for a long time. Probably the first to write a more or less scholarly article was Illja Kyrijak who published his observations, *Ukrajnis'ka mova v Kanadi* (The Ukrainian Language in Canada), in the linguistic journal *Ridna mova* (Warsaw, 1933) under the editorship of Dr. Ivan Ohijenko (later Metropolitan Ilarion). Kyrijak states that many English words are used by Ukrainian immigrants as their own. He lists sixty-two nouns and twenty-three verbs taken from English and either transferred into Ukrainian without any change or in somewhat modified pronunciation. Among those listed by Kyrijak are "ice cream" (*morozyvo*), "gara", car (*avto*), "pejda", pay-day (*den' oderzhannja zarplaty*), "shtrit", street (*vulyc'ja*), and "juzuvaty", to use (*uzhyvaty*).¹ Also listing some "slang" expressions, the author concludes by reproaching those who shatter the purity of Ukrainian. Obviously, he calls for the retention of the native tongue because "for one nation there should be one literary language."²

One year later, in another issue of the same journal, I. Shkljanka, a teacher from Alberta, complained about the poor treatment of the Ukrainian language, which was not even taught in those Canadian schools where the majority of pupils were children of Ukrainians.³ He quoted some examples of the colloquialisms used by the younger generation of immigrants: "*Meri, pidy do kichena, prynesy meni shuzy, bo ya khochu yty na vok*" (Mary, go to the kitchen and bring me my shoes, because I want to go for a walk).⁴ In his second, similar article,

¹ *Ridna mova*, 1933, No. 12, p. 392-393.

² *Ibid.*, p. 395.

³ I. Shkljanka, "Navchannja Ukrajins'koji movy v Kanadi," *ibid.*, No. 11, 1934, p. 483.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 12, p. 516.

I. Shkljanka encouraged the Ukrainian settlers even more than Kyriak to preserve their mother tongue and its peculiarities.⁵

I. Shkljanka's articles are more journalistic than scholarly. Nevertheless, they provide valuable information for research on the Ukrainian language in Canada. Very probably similar articles were published in the Ukrainian newspapers across Canada, but it is difficult, almost impossible, to locate them now.

I. Dictionaries

The need for learning English resulted in the early appearance of dictionaries, Ukrainian-English and *vice versa*. *A Pocket Dictionary of the Ukrainian-English languages* by M. P. B. Yasenivsky (second enlarged edition published in 1914 in Winnipeg) served for a long time as a handy manual for learning English. The Ukrainian entries, heavily coloured with the so-called "Galician" spelling, are translated into English words and transliterated into Ukrainian. Obviously, it was a "practical" dictionary, not scholarly in scope, with many incorrect interpretations of Ukrainian words: for example *svyatec'* was translated as both "hypocrite" and "saint," *prashchur* as "great-grandson" instead of "ancestor". The "phonetic" introduction in it is primitive and in many cases even misleading. Nevertheless, it was a useful publication which served its purpose at the time. As far as is known, it was the first Ukrainian-English dictionary ever published; it had 1577 + LIX pages and approximately 25,000 words.

Much smaller, only 18,000 words, is *A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Ukrainian Languages* by James N. Krett (Winnipeg, 1931) "giving the pronunciation of English words in Ukrainian characters and Ukrainian sounds" as the subtitle indicates. In this publication, the spelling of Ukrainian words is generally good: with some exceptions close to standard, the dialectal words used in Western Ukraine are reduced here to a minimum. Unlike Yasenivsky, Krett gives the correct translation of almost every entry; and his dictionary is preceded by a brief outline of English grammar. It was undoubtedly a step forward, although the treatment of pronunciation was rather unsatisfactory, since the international phonetic symbols were not applied. Ukrainian characters reflected only very approximate pronunciation of English words, and there were no stresses in neither part. The second revised edition of Krett's

⁵ I. Shkljanka, "Kanadijs'ka chasopysna mova," *ibid.*, 1936, No. 7(43), p. 298-303.

dictionary, supplemented by the English-Ukrainian part, which almost doubled the number of pages in the book, appeared in 1949, also in Winnipeg. This edition performed a very wide service for new immigrants in Canada and the United States, since M. L. Podvesko's *English-Ukrainian Dictionary* (1948) and *Ukrainian-English Dictionary* (1952), both published in Kyiv, Ukraine, were hardly available abroad at that time.

It was obvious, however, that the vocabulary in Krett's dictionary was insufficient to meet the increasing demands of the new Ukrainian immigrants after World War II. Thanks to the generous financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the East European Fund, a new *Ukrainian-English Dictionary* by C. H. Andrusyshen and J. N. Krett assisted by Helen Virginia Andrusyshen was published in 1955 in Saskatoon. This sizable book has 1163 pages embracing 95,000 Ukrainian words with full definitions and about 35,000 idiomatic, proverbial phrases and expressions.

An enormous amount of work was done by the compilers of this scholarly dictionary. Moreover, the known authorities were invited to check every word in it; the English part was examined by Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University and George Luckyj of the University of Toronto, while the Ukrainian entries were scrutinized by Professor D. Chyzhevsky, then of Harvard, and Professor George Y. Shevelov (Sherekh), now of Columbia.

Andrusyshen and Krett follow the 1928 orthography accepted by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. Although the matter of *r* (= *g*), the letter dropped from the present Soviet orthography, "presents a thorny problem to a lexicographer,"⁶ the authors have arrived at a compromise: they devote six double-columned pages to words with *r*, and also supply variants of *z* (= *h*) when necessary. Similarly, they also list variants in the spelling of foreign words, such as *metal* and *metal'*, *lava* and *lyava*, *material* and *materiyal*. References to the new Soviet orthography of 1946 are made in the endings, for example, *povisti* and *povisty* in the genitive singular. A great advantage of this dictionary lies also in its correct accentuation of every Ukrainian word.

Dialectal and archaic words are presented by Andrusyshen and Krett quite extensively. In most cases these are marked. However the following words, which could be erroneously accepted as standard, do not have the mark "dialectal": *malyava*, conoid mountain; *labun*, dog with large paws; *kaduk*, devil; *obayasnyk*, evil spirit; *nakladec'*, publisher; *kharyty*,

⁶ C. H. Andrusyshen and J. N. Krett, *Ukrainian-English Dictionary*, Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1955, p. XII (foreword).

to clean; *kharnyj*, neat; *shlyam*, mud. This list could be extended for several pages. To be sure, these and many other words are not known even to all linguists and are generally not used; they should be marked as dialectal.

It seems to us that certain Polonisms and Russianisms should not be included in the dictionary at all. The word *doryvochnyy* occasional, (*dorywczy* in Polish), which was used only near the Polish border, should be replaced by the pure Ukrainian equivalent *vypadkovyy* or *tymchasovyy*.⁷ There is no justification for the Russian words in the dictionary, such as *luch*, ray (U. *promin'*); *pulya* (p. 252), bullet (U. *kulya*); *brak*, marriage (U. *shlyub*); *bezpereryvnyj*, uninterrupted (U. *bezpererivnyj*) and others, which have appeared in the Ukrainian Communist press only due to the Russianization supported by the Soviet government.

In a dozen cases accents in Andrusyshen's and Krett's dictionary are incorrect, for instance *lyudnýj* (p. 469) and *vypádok* (p. 468) should be changed to *lyúdnyj* and *výpadok*. Incidentally, the latter is correctly stressed on page 83. All these minor shortcomings aside, the *Ukrainian-English Dictionary* by Andrusyshen and Krett should be classified as an outstanding contribution to Ukrainian philology. This dictionary excels Podvesko's (in which only some 60 words are interpreted) not only in quantity, but also in quality and originality of presentation. Andrusyshen's and Krett's dictionary should be rated as the greatest achievement in the field of Ukrainian-English lexicography so far. This is one of the biggest dictionaries ever published, and only the *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk*, in six volumes (Kyjiv, 1953-1960), embracing some 125,000 entries, surpasses it in quantity.

Another lexicographic work of distinction has been in process of completion. Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj started his work on *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* in 1941 while in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In 1945, all cards (about 25,000) were transferred to West Germany where the compiler added more entries. In 1949, he arrived in Winnipeg and resumed his work, translating all explanations into English due to the new environment and the lack of any English-language etymological dictionary of a Slavic tongue. It was planned in such a way that this work should perform a reference service not only for Ukrainian but also for other Slavic languages, since Russian, Belorussian, Polish, Czech and other equivalents are used to define the origin and the meaning of the entries.

⁷ Pol's'ko-ukrajnis'kyj slovnyk, Lviv: Academy of Sciences of Ukr. RSR, 1958, Vol. II, p. 185.

The first part of J. B. Rudnyckyj's dictionary was published in 1962 by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences of which the author has been president since its incorporation in Canada. Part six appeared in 1967, and there should be fourteen or fifteen more parts.

Rudnyckyj started his work with all responsibility, publishing his original "Etymological Formula" in *Slavistica*, No. 44 (Winnipeg, 1962), and "Variants of the Etymological Formula" in *Die Welt der Slaven*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1963). The findings were discussed by linguists at scholarly conferences, and this assured its author a strict scholarly approach to his work.

An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language embraces a rich vocabulary, including archaic and dialectal words. Applying a comparative method, the author, whenever possible, gives data on when the word was first used or repeated in different forms in subsequent literary monuments.

Never before in Ukrainian philology had there been such a broad treatment of the subject. As a matter of fact, never before had an etymological dictionary of Ukrainian been published. During Stalin's reign almost all Ukrainian linguists had been arrested and had disappeared without a trace. In the 1950's R. V. Kravchuk had prepared his etymological dictionary for publication, and the first volume was to have been published in 1962. So far nothing has appeared and the author, according to rumour, was transferred from Ukrainia to another Soviet republic where he could not continue his research in this field.

Rudnyckyj's dictionary promises to be a good contribution to Ukrainian philology. It has been reviewed by several linguists, highly praised and criticized, especially by Professor O. Horbach in *Suchasnist'* (Munich 1962), for its insufficient presentation of dialectal words and even omission of some active words used in everyday life. Probably this kind of work cannot be complete, because there is no complete historical dictionary of Ukrainian (Tymchenko's *Istorychnyj slovnyk ukrajnskoho jazyka* (1930-1932) covers only the first nine letters of the alphabet) and only a few dictionaries of local words are published. It seems to us that it would be much better from the practical point of view to omit passive words and to include in this etymological dictionary only those words which are actively used now or were active in classical writings. Why does the author have to list *baznyk*, lilac (p. 52), *verenva*, layer of sheaves (p. 352), and hundreds of similar dialectal words which were used perhaps only once a long time ago and are unknown even to linguists? These could be omitted without any harm to the work; instead of them *Alushta* and *Bakhchysaray*, place names, and hundreds of other active words, especially toponyms, should be listed. It would probably

reduce the cost of publication and make the dictionary more serviceable for readers.

Another weak point in the dictionary is that the author sometimes does not pay enough attention to the standard spelling of modern Ukrainian words. He often lists dialectal words as standard. Thus we find in the dictionary *banket*, used in Middle Ukrainian and even by T. Shevchenko, but *benket*, a standard of today, has not been discussed; it is simply referred to *banket*. There should be no place in the dictionary for such words as *boysyk* (*baysak*), a little boy, *havz*, house, and *gara*, car, used as slang here. Surprisingly enough, Rudnyckyj's dictionary gives passport to words which contribute to the decline of Ukrainian in Canada. Even the author's explanations are sometimes not given in a good standard language; for example, *vylozhena kaminnyam* (p. 220) should be changed to *vykladena kaminnyam*.

These minor shortcomings found also in other Rudnyckyj publications do not lower the value of his etymological dictionary which is well organized and scholarly. It is hoped that the succeeding parts will be published soon.

A third Ukrainian dictionary of distinction also appeared in Canada. *Hramatychno-stylistychnyy slovnyk Shevchenkovoyi movy* by Metropolitan Ilarion (Dr. Ivan Ohijenko) had been in preparation as early as 1918 while its author was in Kamyanets' Podilskyj, but the work was interrupted by the civil war in Ukraine. In the 1930's Metropolitan Ilarion had completed his work in Warsaw, Poland, and the dictionary, once more re-edited, was published in 1961 in Winnipeg. It consists exclusively of words used by T. Shevchenko in his poetical works, as they appear in the 1910 edition which was prepared by Vasyl Domanytskyj.

Metropolitan Ilarion's dictionary is the first of its kind ever published. Each word in it is presented in the sentence as it was used by the poet: in case it differs from the contemporary form, the author supplies a modern variant. The value of this publication should not be underestimated—it serves as an excellent source of the peculiarities of Shevchenko's language. This is an original work and one of the best contributions to Shevchenkology abroad. A similar dictionary, *Slovnyk movy Shevchenka*, in two volumes, was published three years later in Kyiv by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian RSR.

To complete our survey of dictionaries, we should mention the small *Slovaryk* by V. Domanytskyj originally published in 1906 in Kyiv and reprinted in Winnipeg (circa 1920). This was the first glossary of foreign and "not quite understandable" words in Ukrainian, which could be called an explanatory dictionary. It is interesting to note that some pure Ukrainian entries are explained here by foreign words. Thus we find

vidsotok interpreted as *protsent*, *veresen'*—*sentjabr'*, *vypadok*—*sluchay*, *vybukh*—*vzryv* (added: "Russian word"), *ljutyj*—*fevral'*, *olivets'*—*karan-dash*, *prapor*—*znamja* (added: "Russian word"), *postup*—*progress*. . . Although imperfect, this dictionary has served its purpose: even nowadays it would be useful to a student.

Finally, the *Church Slavonic-Ukrainian-English Dictionary* compiled by J. Damascenus D. Popovich and Cornelius J. Pasichnyj, both Canadians, and published in 1962 in Rome by the Basilian Fathers, might be mentioned. The Church Slavonic and English parts in it are quite good, but the Ukrainian part is heavily imbued with the "Galician" spelling: *nezamuzhna* (p. 6), *zadna* (p. 67), *piznyy* (p. 71) instead of correct forms *nezamizhnja*, *zadnja*, *piznij*. In addition, *morok*, darkness, and *moroka*, trouble, are confused, the Russian word *kukla* instead of the Ukrainian word *lyaľka* is suggested as equivalent to *izgrebiye* in Old Church Slavonic. It would be an excellent dictionary, if it were edited in accordance with the contemporary orthography.

II. Monographs, Books, and Articles

There are not many extensive scholarly studies on the Ukrainian language produced in Canada. Several monographs of Metropolitan Ilarion, lead the research in this field.

Istorija ukrajins'koyi literaturnoyi movy (Winnipeg, 1950) by Metropolitan Ilarion is an original study of Ukrainian from the tenth century to the present time. The author has a very broad knowledge and long experience in Ukrainian philology. This assured the great quality of his work, although a rather cultural approach has been applied in the monograph. Even of greater value is Metropolitan Ilarion's other monograph, *Ukrayins'kyj literaturnyy naholos* (Winnipeg, 1952). Taking into consideration the historical development of accentuation in Ukrainian, the author systematically analyzes here all patterns of stressing, as well as semantic differences caused by different stresses. Quite often he compares stresses of similar words in Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish. Such a broad treatment of accentuation in Ukrainian appears for the first time. The monograph is supplemented by a brief "glossary of literary stresses"; it appeared seven years earlier than *Slovnyk naholosiv* by M. Pohribnyj, published in Ukraine.

Metropolitan Ilarion's third monograph, *Hramatychni osnovy ukrajins'koyi literaturnoyi movy* (Saskatoon, 1951) is noted for his excellent treatment of standard Ukrainian, though in some cases he tries to revive certain archaic features not actually used in contemporary Ukrainian

(dual number, etc.). This work should be recommended for Ukrainian teachers in Canada as an authoritative reference. Similarly, *Nasha literaturna mova* (Winnipeg, 1958) by Metropolitan Ilarion could serve as a supplementary study for anyone who wants to improve his Ukrainian. Of special importance here is a chapter dealing with the history of Ukrainian orthography.

While still in Europe Professor J. B. Rudnyč'kyj, now of the University of Manitoba, initiated the valuable series *Slavistica*. During the last twenty years some sixty pamphlets and books have been published, a good half of which are dedicated to Ukrainian; the rest deal with other Slavic languages.

Among the pamphlets published in Canada unique in the field of the Ukrainian language, are R. Smal-Stockyj's *The Origin of the Word "Rus'"* (1949), V. Chaplenko's *The Language of "slovo o polku Ihorevi"* (1950), Geo. W. Simpson's *The Names Rus', Russia Ukraine and Their Historical Background* (1951), Metropolitan Ilarion's *An Early 17th Century Ukrainian-Russian Dictionary* (1951), P. Kovaliv's *Ukrainian and the Slavic Languages* (1954), C. Bida's *Linguistic Aspect of the Controversy over the Authenticity of the TALE OF IGOR'S CAMPAIGN* (1956) and *Dialect Vocabulary in the Old Kievan Literature* (1958), V. Svoboda's *The "Slavonice" Part of the Oxford Heplaglot Lexicon* (1956), and V. Buyniak's *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (1964). Perhaps the most valuable aspect of these brief studies is the author's freedom in the treatment of the subjects which were either forbidden in the Soviet Union until recently, or presented under strict control of censorship, since the earliest period of Ukrainian had been assigned there mainly to Russian scholars.

Every year since 1950, the *Slavica Canadiana* by J. B. Rudnyč'kyj, in co-operation with others, has been published. Ukrainian books and articles are richly represented in each issue. There appeared also several issues of *Ukrainica Canadiana* during the 1950's.

Another important series of scholarly books and articles, also founded by J. B. Rudnyč'kyj is *Onomastica*, which has appeared regularly since 1951. So far thirty-three issues have been published. First of all, we would like to distinguish the books written by Rudnyč'kyj himself. His *The Term and Name "Ukraine"* is an extensive study based on the word *Ukrayina* through centuries. The word is discussed from the viewpoint of its origin and meaning, as well as its application to the country concerned. The author traces the meaning of the word from "borderland" to "country" and analyzes many of its derivatives. In *The Names "Galicia" and "Volynia"*, Rudnyč'kyj supports with toponymic material the hypothesis of the origin of the name *Halych* meaning *halycya*, jack-daw,

from which the name "Galicia" (Western Ukrainia) was derived. The word *Volyn'*, the present name of the northern part of Western Ukrainia, goes back to the Proto-Slavic root *vol*—meaning "will". Rudnyckyj's third toponymic study of note is *Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin*, in which some "180 Ukrainian names of post offices, railroad stations, towns, church squares and church yards"⁸ are listed alphabetically with their brief geography and history as well as with their etymology. The author divides them into two distinctive types: (1) transplanted toponyms, such as Borshchiv, Brody, New Kiev, Ukraina, Dnipro, and (2) transferred names, such as Kulish (from the name of the Ukrainian writer), Mazeppa (from the name of the Ukrainian Hetman), etc. Rudnyckyj's other study, *Geographical Names of Boikovia* (second edition, 1962), is a thorough investigation of all place names in the region of Boykivshchyna, Western Ukraine. His two parts of *Studies in Onomastics* contribute interesting findings to the field. Part One deals with Canadian Slavic name lore in which folk-tales and folk-etymologies of names and proverbs about names are vividly presented. Part Two is composed of ten papers—four in German, three in Ukrainian, two in English, and one in Polish. It deals with toponymy, interlingual relationships in it, etymologies of place names and their history. In one of his papers, the author has proved that Kharkiv, the second-largest city in Ukraine, is derived not from the personal name Kharko, a legendary Kozak, as is commonly believed, but from the name of the Kharkiv river first mentioned in historical documents prior to 1598; the city of Kharkiv was founded over fifty years later, presumably in 1654. In his other article, "Pro miscevu nazvu Stryy", he explains the place name Stryy etymologically and historically in every detail. Both these articles are exemplary in the second part of *Studies of Onomastics*. Mention should be made of another of Rudnyckyj's scholarly works—*The Origin of the Name "Slav"*, in which he proves that this name was derived from *slovo*, word. He holds the opinion that the Slavic name means "those who speak the same understandable language".⁹

Among other issues of *Onomastica*, concerning the Ukrainian language, at least the following should be singled out: *The Name "Ukraine" in South-Carpatia* by B. Barvinskyj; *Ukrainian Topo- and Anthroponymy in the International Botanic Terminology* by M. Borovskyj; *Sur quelques noms de lien d'origine ukrainienne en Roumanie* by Peter Skok; *Contribution to Onomastics* by Ivan Franko; *Les noms de famille ukrainiens*

⁸ J. B. Rudnyckyj, *Kanadijs'ki mistsevi nazvy ukrajins'koho pokhodzhennja*, third edition, Winnipeg: UVAN, 1957 (series *Onomastica*, No. 2), p. 12.

⁹ J. B. Rudnyckyj, *The Origin of the Name "Slav,"* second revised edition, Winnipeg: UVAN, 1961 (Series *Onomastica*, No. 21), p. 16.

by E. Borschak; *A Classified Dictionary of Slavic Surname Changes in Canada* by R. B. Klymasz; *The Names "Rusychi" and "Rusovychi"* by S. Hordynskyj; *The Term and Name "Brody"* by W. Jaszczun; and *Anthroponymy in the Pomianykyk of 1484* by I. I. Gerus-Tarnawecky.

Professor M. H. Scargill formerly of the University of Calgary wrote in his "Ten Years of Onomastica":

Few people outside Canada realize the extent of the Ukrainian contribution to the Canadian culture. But those who live in the West are very much aware of it. It is therefore quite proper that *Onomastica* should devote several papers to matters concerned with things Ukrainian. Naturally the name of J. B. Rudnyckyj is large in these publications.¹⁰

Among the recent publications of old Ukrainian literary monuments, the *Pomianykyk of Horodyshche, A.D. 1484* (Winnipeg, 1962), which appeared from the University of Manitoba Press, must be mentioned. This photostatic reprint of the oldest part of the *Register of Deaths from the Monastery of Horodyshche in Ukraine* is of great value to linguists studying personal names.

III. Ukrainian Grammars

The first Ukrainian grammar in English was prepared by Elias Shklanka and published in 1944 in Winnipeg. It was reprinted in 1947 and 1949 in Saskatoon.

Ukrainian Grammar by Elias Shklanka is very elementary. Following some information on the alphabet and phonetics, Ukrainian morphology is briefly presented in full with a minimum of exercises. Syntax is omitted, but "A Historical Outline of the Ukrainian Language", in English, gives very concise information on the subject.

In 1947, the Basilian Fathers at Mundare, Alberta, had published *Ukrayins'ka mova—hramatyke ukrajni'koyi literaturnoyi movy* by A. Trukh, which also included syntax. The standard of presentation is rather primitive and beyond any criticism. There are many dialectal words and expressions, as in Shklanka's grammar.

A Modern Ukrainian Grammar (Winnipeg, 1949) by George Luckyj and Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj is well organized and noted for its scholarly approach. The English part dealing with explanations is generally good, but the illustrative Ukrainian words and phrases in many cases do not

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

coincide with literary (standard) Ukrainian. There are many dialectal morphological and syntactical forms presented in this textbook, and incorrect accents on the words abound. We should expect from these two distinguished scholars a much higher level of Ukrainian phraseology. Even worse is the fact that this grammar has been reprinted three times without any change.

One gets a better impression from Rudnyckyj's *Ukrainian Orthography* (third edition, 1949). Among its shortcomings, however, we should underline the lack of accents on the words. The valuable monograph *Ukrayins'ka mova ta yiji hovory* by Rudnyckyj in its third edition (Winnipeg, 1965) could be also used for a supplementary study of grammar. The Western dialects of the Ukrainian language are presented here with a broad knowledge of the subject.

A very strong dialectal colouring in the vocabulary, phraseology and accentuation is found in the *Ukrainian Grammar* (Winnipeg, 1951) by J. W. Stechichin. It is certain that students will learn only a Galician-Canadian variant of Ukrainian from this textbook, which otherwise abounds in exercises. There are also many obsolete dialectal words which are no longer used in Ukraine: *trepeta* (= *topolya*), poplar, *zhovnir* (= *voyak*), soldier. For some strange reason, the author does not use the apostrophe.

The same could be said about *Ukrainian With Ease* (Winnipeg, 1961) by B. N. Bilash and *Introductory Grammar for High Schools* (Saskatoon, 1962) by N. Labiuk.

The literary (standard) Ukrainian was effectively presented by Dmytro Kyslytsya in his *Hramatyka ukrajns'koji movy*, Part One (Toronto, 1958). Both phonetics and morphology are discussed here in accordance with the existing orthography of 1929, and the illustrative phraseology is selective. The author follows the pattern of presentation established in Ukraine since the 1920's. Part Two of Kyslytsya's grammar, which deals with syntax, was published in 1963 in Toronto.

Finally, *Conversational Ukrainian* (Winnipeg, 1959) by the author of this survey could be mentioned. In this textbook, a conversational approach is used for teaching the language. The grammar in it is hidden behind the dialogues and other active phrases used in everyday life. Perhaps it takes more endeavour to master the language with this textbook, but the student will speak the language much sooner than he would studying it through other texts. Moreover, the selective, standard language has been thoroughly observed. The second revised edition of this textbook was published in 1961, being used in many schools on this continent. The author admits, however, that it should contain more written exercises for homework. His *Ukrainian for Beginners* (Edmonton,

1962, 1963, and 1965, and *Ukrainian in pictures* (Edmonton, 1965) are designed exclusively for beginners.

For the sake of saving space, many elementary Ukrainian readers, manuals and work books are not included in this survey.

Conclusion

Ukrainian scholars in Canada have contributed greatly to Ukrainian philology in general. Without their scholarly publications, this science would be poorer and lagging behind. In some instances Ukrainian scholars abroad have even exceeded those in Ukraine. Such principal works as *Ukrainian-English Dictionary* by Andrusyshen and Krett, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* by Rudnyckyj, and the monograph *Ukrajns'kyj literaturnyj naholos* by Metropolitan Ilarion, to mention only a few, do not have matching counterparts in Ukraine so far. It has been said in the press here that the Soviet Ukrainian publishing houses try, in certain respects, to catch up with the achievements of Ukrainian abroad. Thus, *Ukrayins'ka radyans'ka entsyklopediya* came into being after *Entsyklopedia ukrajinoznavstva* and *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopedia* were published in Munich and Toronto respectively. Ukrainian scholars in Canada enrich Ukrainology in general and contribute extensively to the philology of this fast-growing country, where all national groups have a tremendous opportunity not only to retain their cultural heritage, but also to develop their sciences.

A CANADIAN SUPPLEMENT FOR THE PAN-SLAVIC
LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF EUROPE

by
J. Perkowski
University of Texas

At the Fourth International Congress of Slavists an international commission was established to plan and execute a Pan-Slavic linguistic atlas of Europe. It is the expressed aim of this atlas to record the speech of Slavic speakers of the 1960's, who are residing in their original habitats. At the 1966 conference of the commission I presented a proposal, in which it was shown that a synchronic linguistic analysis of Slavic speech in North America, that is, Canada and the United States, must be made now if it is ever to be done, since the process of linguistic assimilation will soon bring about its extinction. In addition, if such research were undertaken at this time, the data could be keyed to that collected in the Pan-Slavic linguistic atlas of Europe. Thereby a contemporaneous comparison of Slavic dialects in North America with their cousin dialects in Europe might well yield interesting generalizations concerning linguistic change, bilingualism, Sprachbünde, interference, and linguistic substrata.

The proposal was met with strong promises of close co-operation on the part of the various members of the commission. Thus encouraged, I have chosen Sorbian for the initial stage of the American supplement of the Pan-Slavic linguistic atlas. This choice was prompted by the following considerations: (1) The extreme importance of additional Sorbian data for the history of the Slavic languages; (2) The relatively small size of the corpus (about 50 speakers times 4,000 questions), which will allow timely completion of the project and help toward the development of an efficient methodology of the rest of the American supplement, (3) The approaching extinction of the language both in the U. S. and in Europe, (4) The fact that all American speakers live in one contiguous area, which is only fifty miles from my office.

Research on the Sorbs has been initiated and is proceeding according to plan. At the 1967 conference of the commission a progress report was presented and a general plan for the American supplement was discussed.

I hope that a committee of Slavic linguists will be established to plan and execute the Canadian section of the American supplement.

The idea of an atlas of Slavic speech in North America is not new. In fact, Professor Jaroslav Rudnyckyj of the University of Manitoba raised the question of such an atlas as early as 1949 in a brief note in the *Bulletin of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages*. Three years later he published a more extensive article in *Orbis*, in which the results of preliminary field investigations in Canada and in the U. S. were presented. Unfortunately, during the fifteen years since this second article, research on Slavic speech both in Canada and the U. S. has been scant indeed. Worthy of note among the Canadian works produced during this period are Vladimir Sklodowski's doctoral dissertation on Polish in North America (University of Ottawa, 1951), and also research on the language of the Doukhobors by several scholars.

In this terse pamphlet *Slavic Languages*, Roman Jakobson states that there were in Canada in 1951:

352,323 Ukrainian speakers,
129,238 Polish speakers,
39,223 Russian speakers,
45,516 Slovak speakers,
11,031 Serbo-croatian speakers.

**
*

Further, V. J. Kaye-Kysilevskyj, in his monograph *Slavic Groups in Canada* mentions that there were 3,260 Bulgarians and Macedonians in Canada at the outbreak of World War II. If the total figure were rounded out to include the other Slavic languages plus a differential for the increase over the last sixteen years, a conservative *estimate* of the total number of Slavic speakers in Canada would be about 650,000. It must be borne in mind, however, that this figure does *not* represent the total number of Slavs in Canada. There are many third, fourth, and fifth generation Canadian Slavs who no longer have an active command of their ancestral languages.

From Professor Rudnyckyj's findings one may infer a basic bifurcation of Slavic settlements into rural and urban enclaves. The tendency toward retention is much stronger in the rural enclaves. In some cases a Slavic language has survived for five generations, including several second generation monolingual speakers. In the cities, the Slavic languages are usually lost by the third generation with all members of the second generation being bilingual in English. Therefore, one can make

the general statement that rural Slavs retain their ancestral languages at least one generation longer than urban Slavs. This is of course due to the greater mobility of population in cities and the stronger pressures for acculturation which are found there. However, modern means of communication such as television, jet planes, and automobiles tend to accelerate acculturation among the rural Slavs as well. The trend toward loss is obvious. Therefore, if any general study is *ever* to be made of Slavic speech in Canada, it *must* be made now. In a generation or two the opportunity will be completely lost.

At present the National Museum of Canada is in the process of collecting and publishing folk-lore samples of all the Slavic groups in Canada. If a committee of Canadian Slavic linguists were established, it would then be able to co-ordinate the gathering of linguistic data for the Canadian supplement of the Pan-Slavic linguistic atlas with the gathering of Slavic folk-lore, to the mutual benefit of both the Slavic dialectologists and the Slavic folk-lorists.

For the compilation of the Canadian supplement I would propose the following outline: the research plan itself to be divided into three phases, (1) library research, (2) field work, and (3) preparation of data.

Phase I

The first phase of the project would include the pursuit of library research on the present location of all Slavic enclaves in Canada and the preparation of a tentative base map. This research should follow the examples set down by Fishman in his work *Language Loyalty in the United States* (Mouton, 1966) and Carman in his atlas of *Foreign Language Units of Kansas* (University of Kansas Press, 1962).

Phase II

The first part of the second phase would consist of the adaptation of the short sociological questionnaire of the U. S. supplement. The purpose of this questionnaire is to elicit family history, schooling, the number of other languages spoken and other relevant sociological data. The first field trip (there would be three field trips in all, as was the case with Király's *Slovak Atlas of Hungary*), using the sociological questionnaire, would be undertaken in the areas outlined on the base map, in order to locate and classify all prospective informants. Concurrently a lexical questionnaire, which would elicit the special lexical items unique to Canadian conditions as well as samples of all other languages spoken by the informant (English, German, French), would be compiled.

The second part of the second phase would be devoted to the second

field trip, in which an interview would be elicited from each informant who had been selected on the basis of the data gathered in the first field trip, using the Pan-Slavic questionnaire as adapted for the U. S. supplement together with the special lexical questionnaire.

Phase III

The first part of the third phase would include transcribing and coding the data for the CDC 6600 computer, using the program developed for the U. S. supplement. This program provides for two types of data: (1) sum of idiolects—data collected from urban Slavic speakers where the enclaves composed of speakers of various dialects have not retained or produced uniform dialect features within the enclave; (2) atlas isoglosses—data collected from rural Slavic enclaves composed of speakers of the same dialect in which old and/or new dialect features are found within the enclave. The first set of charts would then be run off from the map-making component of the CDC 6600.

The second part of the third phase would be the final field trip to verify questionable data and to elicit missing data. The data would then be run through the computer.

The third part of the third phase would be devoted to the final preparation of the charts and the formulation of appended commentary for subsequent publication.

EARLY UKRAINIAN GRADUATES OF AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

by

V. J. Kaye

Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ottawa

I am inclined to agree with what Professor Kreisel says, "Few people are fully aware of the truly monumental contribution the Ukrainian settlers made to the opening of the West..."¹ And I would be inclined to add that very few people know the background of those Ukrainian peasant-settlers who, as Professor Kreisel says, made the monumental contribution to the opening of the Canadian West. Soil tillers, with a tradition going back milleniums of years, the Ukrainians continued to adhere to that hereditary trend even after the transplanting from the Old to the New World.

Archaeological researches of the last few decades have revealed some startling facts about the earliest agricultural settlements in Europe, situated in the districts of Western Ukraine, from where the first Ukrainian settlers came to Canada. In fact, many of the early Ukrainian settlers originated from the very villages in the fertile plain of the middle Dnister and Pruth rivers where the archaeological finds of the ancient neolithic culture were made. This region was the western centre of the so called Trypillie (Tripolye) culture. Its inhabitants "lived in well constructed houses, not known in other parts of neolithic Europe",² tilled the soil, grew wheat and barley, stored their grain in pits, raised cattle, sheep and goats, pigs and geese, at a time when all other inhabitants of neolithic Europe were still nomadic, wandering food gatherers and hunters.³

Basing their theory on recent finds, archaeologists believe that the beginnings of the Trypillie culture may go as far back as 5,000 B.C. Archaeologists have made another observation: the beautifully painted

¹ Henry Kreisel, Chairman, Department of English, University of Alberta, "The 'Newer' Canadians", *Century* 1867-1967. Ottawa: 1967, p. 50.

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22, (1960), pp. 484-85, basing its statements on earlies researches thinks that "Triplye Culture—this highly developed civilization dates back from about 2750 B.C."

³ Yaroslav Pasternak, *Archeologia Ukrainy* (Archeology of Ukraine, Shevchenko Scient. Soc., Toronto: 1961, p. 148, quoting T. Kurinnyi.

ceramics, potsherds of the Trypillie period found in Western Ukraine, displayed colourings and motifs of ornaments very similar to those used in the same districts today in embroideries, kilims, Easter-egg designs and potteries.⁴ Whether there existed a connection between the original neolithic inhabitants of the region and the present-day peasant population is being studied by archaeologists. But the fact remains, that the settlers from that ancient agricultural region were imbued with almost a religious attachment to the soil and the love of tilling it. Almost all of those early arrivals in Canada settled on the land, mostly on homesteads in the West and in one single generation transformed the patches of virgin soil into thriving farms, constantly adding new acres to the original 160. Some outdid the record. "John Smata", wrote Charles H. Young in 1931, "in the Vegreville district, Alberta . . . recently bought the Horse-shoe Ranch south of Innisfree, with approximately 5,000 acres, about 3,000 of which were broken, for the sum of \$75,000..."⁵

Virgin soil and diligent attention yielded abundant crops. World markets absorbed the produce, the Ukrainian settlers prospered. But as time went on, the yields per acre began to drop and it became obvious that in order to keep up the production, scientific improvements would have to be applied. This was one of the reasons why Ukrainian pioneer settlers sent their sons to agricultural college.

This paper will attempt to give a brief background picture of the first-phase Ukrainian settlers and illustrate the role played by the first graduates of agricultural colleges in the development of agricultural achievements of the group, adding a few characteristic biographies.

The Background

A survey revealed that in 1941 there were in Canada forty-six graduates of agricultural colleges, of Ukrainian origin, forty-three of them sons of pioneer settlers. They entered three main fields of activities: federal and provincial governments, and research. The greatest contribution was rendered by those in the provincial services, who acted as district agriculturists and served as advisers to the original Ukrainian settlers. Their endeavours very soon began to bear fruit. They formed various boys' and girls' clubs, helped to improve farming methods, acted as advisers, and within years achieved remarkable results. Of the fifty-

⁴ Pasternak, *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵ Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation*. Edit. Helen R. Y. Reid. Thomas Nelson and Sons. Toronto: 1931. p. 90.

four prizes won by the province of Alberta in 1941 for various agricultural achievements more than half, twenty-nine, went to farmers of Ukrainian descent, among them world championships. Paul Pawlowski of Spedden, Alberta, won the world oats championship in Chicago in 1940, and the barley championship in 1941. His younger brother Sydney, a graduate of the Vermilion School of Agriculture, became the world Oats King in 1949; another brother, Andrew, studied at the Guelph Agricultural College. The champion oats were grown on the original homestead where their parents settled, in 1905. „Their success is an outstanding example of perseverance over hardships in a rolling and rocky poor-farming region.”⁶

The championships and agricultural achievements continued after 1941. Jacob F. Melenka of Warwick, Alberta, became Master Farmer for 1949, and his younger son, a graduate of the Vermilion School of Agriculture, became president of the Vegreville Beef Calf Club and a member of the Farmers' Union of Alberta. John Eliuk of Hairy Hill, Alberta, who was double champion (oats and barley) at the Toronto Royal Winter Fair in 1949, was Oats King in Chicago in 1948.

The men behind the scenes were the graduates of the agricultural colleges and universities, sons of the pioneer settlers, who devoted their lives to a profession closely linked to the soil.

The year 1941 was chosen as the basis for this brief survey because it was predominantly during the decade 1930-1940 that the sons of the original pioneer settlers graduated from the colleges and universities and entered the practical field.

I shall give short biographies of some to illustrate their backgrounds, trends of education, choice of field of activities, occupations and their achievements. I do not intend to present biographies of all the forty-six graduates, as they would form a separate field of study.

In the Service of the Federal Department of Agriculture

A number of graduates entered various branches of the Federal Department of Agriculture as specialists in their particular fields. Most of them possessed post-graduate degrees from Canadian and American universities.

W. S. Chepil, B.S.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., whose parents settled as pioneers in the Gimli, Manitoba district, obtained his B.S.A. degree (1930) and M.Sc. degree (1932) from the University of Saskatchewan, and his

⁶ *Edmonton Journal*, Edmonton, 28 November, 1949.

Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, specializing in Soil Agricultural Biochemistry. F. S. Novosad, of Roblin, Manitoba, obtained his B.S.A. (1931) and M.Sc. (1933) from the Manitoba Agricultural College. He became an agrostologist, studying possibilities of agricultural development of sub-arctic regions as assistant to the Director-General of Northern Agricultural Development and Research Co-ordinator in Agronomy.

Perhaps the most typical representative of this group is *W. F. Cherewick*, B.S.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., born February 12, 1904 in Mikado, Saskatchewan, where his parents settled on a homestead in 1897. On completion of high school he entered the Manitoba Agricultural College, graduating with a B.S.A. degree in 1933. A few years later he obtained his M.Sc. degree and in 1940 his Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota. He joined the federal Department of Agriculture as a plant pathologist of the Botany Plant Division and resided in Winnipeg. In 1953 he was transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce and was sent to Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia on the Colombo Plan as Canadian agricultural expert on plant diseases, to diagnose their causes and evolve preventive measures. He returned to Canada in September 1954, having successfully completed his researches.

To the same group of agriculturists belong also: Michael Syrotuck, B.S.A., M.Sc., Senior Fieldman of the Lifestock and Poultry Division, in Edmonton, Alberta, who in his official capacity visited Europe, including the U.S.S.R., William Shenkenek, B.S.A., M.Sc., who obtained his degrees in 1933 and 1934 at the University of Saskatchewan and became the agricultural instructor for the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Program, Dauphin, Manitoba; W. Odynski, B.S.A., M.Sc., soil surveyor in Alberta; N. J. Strynadka, B.S.A., M. Sc., Dominion Inspector of Dairy Produce Division, in Edmonton, Alberta; and several others.

In the Provincial Services

Agriculturists with the federal Department, stationed in the West, either in the provincial capitals or with federal experimental farms, were not in direct contact with the rural population. It was the provincial district agriculturist residing in the very centre of the rural district which he served, who maintained intimate contact with the farmers, acted as their adviser and was principally responsible for the successes achieved by them. All three Prairie Provinces had district agriculturists active in the Ukrainian settlements. A short biography of one or two of them will illustrate their activities and their achievements.

One of the best known early District Agriculturists in Alberta was

William Nicholas Pidruchney, B.S.A., He came to Canada as a small child with his pioneer parents who in 1900 settled on a homestead in the Ethelbert district of Manitoba. He received his elementary education in the rural school of the district, attended high school in Teulon, Manitoba, proceeded to Normal School in Dauphin and on completion of the course in 1921 taught school for three years before enrolling in the Manitoba Agricultural College. He won the Governor-General's Gold Medal, and in 1926 obtained his B.S.A. degree. He then went to Alberta and joined the provincial Department of Agriculture as Assistant Agriculturist in the Vegreville district. Promoted District Agriculturist, he served in Willingdon and Smoky Lake districts and in 1943 returned to Vegreville where he resided until his death in 1959.

As instructor and consultant of the large farming community of the district, inhabited predominantly by Ukrainian settlers, Mr. Pidruchney was to a great extent responsible for the successes achieved by this district. Within the span of thirty-three years he organized and improved every branch of agriculture. Among the young boys and girls he organized a variety of clubs, thus raising a whole generation of model farmers, a great number of whom gained distinction and rewards, not only locally or provincially but world championships internationally, as well. His junior clubs received over twenty major rewards at Chicago international fairs. Three farmers of Pidruchney's district received diplomas from the provincial government as Master Farmers: Melenka, Skrypnitsky and Porozny. Two farmers specializing in pure-bred stock, Melnyk and Styfura, won Canadian championships at the Toronto Winter Fairs. Hundreds, possibly thousands of farmers of various ethnic origins in his district benefited from his guidance. He refused promotion to Inspector Supervisor of one of the branches of the department because that would have necessitated his leaving the district and moving to Edmonton. He considered his work in one of the largest agricultural districts of the province more beneficial to the farmers than administrative work in the capital. William Nicholas Pidruchney died from heart attack on November 23, 1959, aged 59, while returning to Vegreville after attending a district meeting.

In the province of Saskatchewan a similar service was performed by J. H. Maduke, B.S.A., who also came to Canada with his pioneer parents as a child, attended public and high schools in Manitoba and in 1929 graduated from the University of Saskatchewan with the B.S.A. degree. He joined the Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture and served as District Agriculturist in Biggar, Canora, Rosthern, Swift Current and other districts. He died August 3, 1960, aged 63.

In the province of Manitoba a typical district agriculturist was John A. Negrych, B.S.A., son of pioneer settlers from the Dauphin region. On graduation from the Manitoba Agricultural College he joined the provincial Department of Agriculture and became Agricultural Representative for the Ukrainian district of Vita, Manitoba.

Perhaps the most widely known, not only in Manitoba but also in the other Prairie Provinces as well, is the name of K. S. Prodan, B.S.A., the first graduate of agriculture of Ukrainian descent in Canada. He obtained his B.S.A. degree from the Manitoba Agricultural College in 1921. He joined the provincial Department of Agriculture and for many years served as Agricultural Representative in the Extension Service. A prolific writer on agricultural subjects; his articles appear regularly in Ukrainian weeklies of the West.

In Universities

Among scientists and researchers who became members of university teaching staffs, Thomas Karp Pawlychenko, B.S.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., must be mentioned. He was born in Bratslav, in Ukraine, March 7, 1892, attended the Pedagogical Institute in Vinnytsia, and the College of Agriculture in Kamenets Podilskyi in Ukraine. He continued his studies in Czechoslovakia and in 1927 obtained the degree of an Engineer of Agriculture. He emigrated to Canada in the same year and after several years, having acquired command of the English language, he joined the University of Saskatchewan staff. In 1932 he obtained his M.Sc. degree and organized a new Department of Applied Plant Ecology. In 1937 he was granted the Carnegie Corporation Research Fellowship; in 1938 was appointed professor and head of the Department of Plant Ecology. In 1940 he received his Ph.D. from the University of Nebraska. His methods of research were filmed, he wrote a number of treatises, became a member of many learned societies, national and international and is considered to be one of the top-ranking scientists in the field of plant ecology. In 1948 he resigned his position with the University to devote his time entirely to research, as Director of Agricultural Field Research with the American Chemical Paint Company specializing in the production of weed-eradication chemicals. He died in Saskatoon, August 5, 1958.

Several other graduates of Canadian agricultural colleges, sons of Ukrainian pioneer settlers joined the staffs of Canadian and American universities.

In Conclusion

There is little doubt that the successes achieved by the early Ukrainian settlers are to a high degree traceable to the activities of these forty-six early graduates of Canadian agricultural colleges. All of them (with the exception of Thomas K. Pawlychenko, Vladimir Kossar, and K. S. Prodan) were the sons of Ukrainian pioneer settlers.

To be able to overcome the difficulties of financing university education, most of these early agriculturists, on completion of public and high school went to normal school and for several years taught in rural schools to procure funds needed for university studies. They also taught school during summer recesses for the same purpose. All, without exception, were bilingual, having command of the English and Ukrainian languages. Teaching in Ukrainian school districts, they were also required to teach the farmers' children the Ukrainian language after regular school hours; for that extra service they received additional remuneration. As teachers, and later as district agriculturists, they took a very active part in the social, cultural, religious and political life of their districts, in many instances acting as leaders. They contributed greatly towards the integration of the Ukrainian rural population into the general Canadian pattern, serving not only as their agricultural advisers but as their teachers and as their representatives as well. In some instances literally, in provincial legislatures.

LIST OF UKRAINIAN GRADUATES OF CANADIAN
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES 1921-1941

With the Federal Department of Agriculture

Chepil, W. S., B.S.A., (1930); M.Sc. (1932), U. of Sask.; Ph.D. (1940),
U. of Minn.

Syrotuck, Michael, B.S.A. (1927), M.Sc. (1928), U. of Alberta.

Strynadka, N. J., B.S.A. (1932); M.Sc. (1935), U. of Alberta.

Novosad, F. S., B.S.A. (1931); M.Sc. (1935); Man. Agric. College.

Cherewick, W. J., B.S.A. (1933); M.Sc. Man. Agr. College; Ph.D. (1940),
U. of Minnesota.

Shewkenek, Wm., B.S.A. (1933); M.Sc. (1934), U. of Saskatchewan.

Blahy, W. M., B.S.A.

Odynski, W., B.S.A. (1934); M.Sc. (1935), U. of Alberta.

Charnetski, J., B.S. (1935); B.S.A. (1938), M.Sc. (1940), U. of Saskat-
chewan.

Chepesiuk, M. W., B.S.A. (1930), Agric. College Guelph, Ont.

Chepesiuk, Peter, B.S.A. (1930), Agric. College, Guelph, Ont.

With the Provincial Department of Agriculture

Basarav, D. W., B.S.A. (1932), Man. Agric. College; Manitoba Dept.
of Agric.

Pidruchney, W. N., B.S.A. (1926), Man. Agric. College; Alberta Dept.
of Agric.

Charnetski, A. J., B.S.A. (1930); of U. of Alta.; Alberta Dept. of Agric.

Magera, F., B.S.A. (1935), U. of Alta.; Alberta Dept. of Agric.

Prodan, K. S., B.S.A. (1921), Man. Agric. College; Manitoba Dept.
of Agric.

Maduke, J. H., B.S.A. (1928), U. of Saskatchewan; Saskatchewan Dept.
of Agric.

Hrytsak, S. A., B.S.A. (1930), Man. Agric. College; Sask. Dept of Agric.

Negrych, J. A., B.S.A. (1930), Man. Agric. College; Manitoba Dept.
of Agric.

Moisey, W., B.S.A. (1931), U. of Alberta; Alberta Dept. of Agriculture.

Others

Malowany, S., B.S.A. (1936), M.Sc. (1938), U. of Alberta.

Procky, J., B.S.A. (1934); M.A. Econ. 1937), U. of Alberta.

Nimchuk, W. S., B.S.A. (1936), Man Agric. College.

- Worobetz, W. J. A., B.S.A. (1939); farming near Krydor, Sask.
- Sereda, John, B.S.A., U. of Alta.
- Wawrykiw, Joseph, B.S.A. (1932), Man. Agric. College; teaching and farming, Gimli, Manitoba.
- Elcheshen, D. M., B.S.A. (1928), Man. Agric. College; farming near St. Norbert.
- Strashok, Theo., B.S.A. (1932), U. of Alberta.
- Pawlychenko, T. K., B.S.A. (1930), M.Sc. (1932), U. of Sask.; Ph.D. (1940), University of Nebraska. University Prof., U. of Saskatchewan.
- Kossad, V., Agric. Eng. (1923), CSR; M.Sc. (1940), U. of Saskatchewan.
- Nikolaychuk, N., B.S.A. (1936); M.Sc. (1939); Ph.D., U. of Alberta; Professor at Macdonald College, Quebec.
- Kondra, P. A., B.S.A. (1934), M.Sc. (1941), U. of Manitoba, Ph.D. (1943), Professor at the University of Manitoba.
- Mysak, Stephen, B.S.A. (1936), M.Sc. (1939), University of Saskatchewan.
- Peech, Michael, B.S.A. (1930), M.Sc., U. of Sask.; Ph.D. (1933), University of Ohio. Professor of Chemistry, Cornell University, Ithaca, U. S. A.
- Semeniuk, G., B.S.A. (1932), M.Sc. (1934), U. of Alta.; Ph.D. (1938), U. of Iowa. Professor Iowa State College.
- Holowaychuk, N., B.S.A., M.Sc., U. of Alta; Ph.D. (1950), Ohio State University. Professor, Iowa State University.
- Stranatka, N., B.S.A. (1943), U. of Alta.
- Korol, Michael A., B.S.A. (1939), M.Sc. (1941), U. of Sask.
- Motzok, Ilary, B.S.A. (1930); M.Sc. (1938); Ph.D. (1945), U. of Toronto. Prof. of Agricultural College, Guelph, Ontario.
- Shemeluk, Mack, Demeter, B.Sc. (1930), B.S.A. (1943), U. of Alta.
- Hlynka, Isidore, B.Sc. (Honors), 1935; M. Sc. (1937), U. of Alta.; Ph.D. Calif. Institute of Technology (1939).
- Mysak, W., B.S.A. (1941), U. of Saskatchewan.
- Skoropad, W. P., B.S.A., U. of Alberta.
- Zacharuk, R., B.S.A., U. of Saskatchewan.
- Stratychuk, John, D., Wheat Pool Supervisor, North Saskatchewan.

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- "Wasył Pidruchney" Obituary, *Ukrainskyi Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), weekly, Winnipeg: Dec. 23, 1959.
- The Ukrainian Record*, monthly, Jan. 1960.
- Edmonton Journal*, daily, Edmonton: 28 November, 1949.
- Parliamentary Guide*, Ottawa: 1945.
- Who's Who in Canada*. Vol. 1955-57.

CONTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF SCHOOLS IN ALBERTA

by
M. Chomiak

Shevchenko Scientific Society, Edmonton

On September 1, 1905, the province of Alberta was carved out from the Northwest Territories. At that time its school system consisted of 560 districts and was steadily growing as attested by 144 new districts added in 1906. A number of these school districts had been set up in areas with substantial Ukrainian population.¹

The purpose of the present paper is to bring to light certain facts and data pertinent to the contribution of Ukrainians to the development of Alberta's school system, particularly during its formative stage. The information is based chiefly on official documents of the province's Department of Education.

School Districts

We do not know, up to 1905, the number of school districts operating among the Ukrainian population of the province, but some must have existed as several Ukrainian settlements had been established some years previously. (The oldest Ukrainian settlement in Canada was established in 1892-94 in Edna, later called Star, in the district of Alberta of the Northwest Territories.) According to the official report, "One of the most satisfactory features of the past year is the progress made and interest in the organization and maintenance of schools among the foreign elements, especially in the Ruthenian colony east of Edmonton".² Additional information and data relevant to the development of the school districts are found in subsequent Annual Reports of the Depart-

¹ From the arrival of the first wave of the Ukrainian emigration till 1920, the Ukrainians were referred to as Austrians, Galicians, Bukovinians, Ruthenians, or Russians. For the discussion of this question see: Kaye, V. J., *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-190*, Ukrainian Research Foundation, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1964, p. 318-XXVI.

² First Annual Report, Department of Education, Alberta, 1906, p. II, 12.

ment of Education for the 1906-1943 period, and in reports and correspondence by school inspectors working in the areas of the province having significant concentrations of the Ukrainian population.

In 1906, Inspector Ellis wrote:

Since May 1st, there have been twenty-two new districts formed mostly among the Galicians and Russians... Let me say in passing, however, that my opinion of these settlers has changed since I have been among them. They are industrious, hard-working people and seem to take an interest in education when the work is once started.³

And one year later Inspector Ellis commented that "the attendance is good and often does not vary more than two or three from day to day."

Similar opinions were expressed by the Supervisor of Schools for Foreigners, R. Fletcher, who wrote in 1907:

The progress of the work among these people was extremely slow at first . . . But when the work was once started and they were led by sight and reason or faith to realize the just and economical intentions of the Department, their distrust gradually vanished and they adopted with astonishing rapidity progressive method of administering the affairs of the different school districts.⁴

The building of new schools proceeded at a fast pace. In 1908, thirteen schools were added despite the extra tax burden on the Ukrainian taxpayers and, frequently, their lack of sufficient income. By 1910, eighty school districts operated in the areas chiefly populated by the Ukrainians,⁵ and by 1912 ". . . the organization into school districts of the large Rutherian colony east and northeast of Edmonton (was) practically completed".⁶

From the yearly reports we also know that the schools had, in general, been well taken care of by the Ukrainian taxpayers, at times, even ". . . extravagant in their equipment"⁷ although in many areas school financing presented grave problems to the school authorities and parents alike. These difficulties were frequently coupled with the shortage of competent teachers and people capable of carrying out the administrative work involved in running a school.

³ Second Annual Report, Department of Education, Alberta, 1907, p. 57-58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

⁵ Fourth Annual Report, 1909, p. 60-61.

⁶ Seventh Annual Report, 1912, p. 68.

⁷ Seventh Annual Report, 1912, p. 68.

The Ukrainian Pupil

Financial and cultural problems notwithstanding, the school inspectors' reports offer many laudatory comments on the attitudes and aptitudes of the pupils of Ukrainian origin. These children are happy ". . . frank and full of life and present a striking contrast to the listless, repressed spirits of those school children who have no knowledge of games".⁸ It was reported in the 1907 Annual Report of the Education Department, that a number of graduates from these pioneer one-room schools ventured outside their community and enrolled in the institutions of higher learning, became merchants or sought employment in local stores.⁹

In addition, the Ukrainian pupils were found ". . . attentive and interested and were making rapid progress in their studies. These children apparently never think of disobeying anything the teacher tells them".¹⁰

Several inspectors noted in their reports "A strong sentiment that their schools should be conducted by Ruthenian teachers and in the Ruthenian language..."¹¹ and ". . . a growing tendency in some districts to neglect the English language".¹² Clearly, a partial explanation of this tendency lay in the difficulty of finding professionally trained teachers willing to work in the pioneer Ukrainian settlements.

The Scarcity of Teachers

The scarcity of qualified and even not-so-qualified teaching personnel was a perennial and acute problem during the first decades of the province of Alberta. Low salaries, pioneering conditions of living, isolation from the urban areas constituted no attraction for teachers. In the case of the Ukrainian schools, the problem was compounded by their desire to engage ". . . . the services of teachers who know the language".¹³ Lack of qualified persons among the Ukrainians themselves and the unwillingness of English-speaking teachers to go to schools with a large Ukrainian student population did not help matters.

Many Ukrainian school boards hired Ukrainian-speaking, frequently

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 69.

⁹ Second Annual Report, 1907, p. 48.

¹⁰ Third Annual Report, 1908.

¹¹ Eighth Annual Report, 1913, p. 89.

¹² Ninth Annual Report, 1914, p. 00.

¹³ Thirteenth Annual Report, 1918, p. 73.

unqualified men, who were later dismissed by the school authorities. This created resentment among the Ukrainians who were often reluctant and, at times, refused to dismiss the teacher. In the Bukovinian school north of Vegreville, the ratepayers not only refused to dismiss a teacher, but “. . . built a private school just off the public school grounds and employed ejected Mr. Czumer to teach there”,¹⁴ the school inspector reported.

In seeking a solution to the teacher–supply problem for the Ukrainians and other non-English speaking minorities in the Prairie Provinces, the Manitoba government under R. P. Roblin, opened in Winnipeg, in 1904, a Ruthenian Training School for Ukrainian teachers. In 1908 the school was transferred to Brandon where it remained till 1916, the year of the abolition of the bilingual school system in Manitoba. A similar school for the training of Ukrainian and other non-English teachers was established by the Saskatchewan government at Regina in 1909. In 1912, of forty-seven students two were Poles, three were Germans and the rest were Ukrainians. It should be mentioned, that in 1913, in Vegreville, Alberta, the provincial government opened the English School for Foreigners. These three schools disappeared in 1916, when bilingual systems were abolished in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Approximately two hundred teachers received training in these schools.

The bilingual school system had been established on the basis of the Laurier Greenway agreement of 1897, in which Section 258 of the Public Schools Act in Manitoba, read as follows: “where ten of the pupils speak the French language, or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching for such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system”.¹⁵

As the Canadian-born generation entered the broader stream of Canadian society and mother tongues other than English were eliminated from the public school system, the supply of teachers passed the critical stage. Indeed, the teaching profession has attracted many Canadians of Ukrainian origin some of whom, in the last two decades, can be found in higher administrative positions of Alberta’s school system. Although complete statistical data regarding ethnic origins of the province’s teachers are not available, the report of Inspector C. H. Robinson, of 1933, contains a very indicative account: “In the Lamont inspectorate there are 94 departments where the pupils are entirely of Ukrainian

¹⁴ Eighth Annual Report, 1918, p. 73.

¹⁵ Skwarok, I., *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools*, Edmonton, 1958, p. 53.

descent, and 31 where part of the pupils are of Ukrainian descent. The following figures show the number of teachers of Ukrainian descent in these schools:

<i>Year</i>	1929	1930	1931	1932
<i>No. of Ukrainian teachers</i>	48	59	68	85

For the first time more than half of the teachers in the Lamont inspectorate are of Ukrainian descent. The ability of these teachers to appreciate the point of view of the people among whom they are working enables them to do excellent work. Those who have graduated from the Normal schools in recent years, were often unable to speak idiomatic English free from non-English accent. The tendency of some of the teachers of Anglo-Saxon origin to consider pupils of Ukrainian origin as not being on the same level as themselves in many instances prevented the best work being done".¹⁶

Much research remains yet to be done before we can arrive at a more precise assessment of the participation of the Ukrainian communities in the development of the school system in Alberta. But even a limited exploration of some documents of the past conclusively indicates that, despite the problems of the economic, cultural and linguistic order, the Ukrainians' share appears to be greater than their proportion of the population.

¹⁶ Twenty-Eight Annual Report, 1933, p. 36.

DEUXIEME CONGRES NATIONAL SUR LES SLAVES
DU CANADA
SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN SLAVS

Université d'Ottawa, du 9 au 11 juin, 1967

University of Ottawa, June 9-11, 1967

Organisé par le

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LES SLAVES DU CANADA

Sponsored by the

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sous le patronage de

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P R O G R A M M E

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1967

2:00 - 10:00 p.m. — REGISTRATION

Foyer, Faculty of Medicine, 275 Nicholas (entrance: McDougal Ave.)

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 1967

8:00 - 9:00 a.m. — REGISTRATION

Foyer, Faculty of Medicine

9:00 - 9:45 a.m. — OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine

Remarks by:

- Constantine Bida*, University of Ottawa
Conference Chairman
Bohdan Bociurkiv, University of Alberta
Chairman, Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs
Very Reverend Father Dr. Roger Guindon, O.M.I.,
Rector, University of Ottawa
Jean H. Lagassé, Director, Citizenship Branch,
Department of the Secretary of State
J. Malik, Jr., American Association of Teachers of Slavic and
East-European Languages
T. F. Domaradzki, Eastern Canada Association of Slavists
S. Z. Pech, Canadian Association of Slavists
J. B. Rudnyckyj, Canadian Institute of Onomastic Sciences

SESSION I

9:45 - 12:00 a.m. — Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

J. W. Strong, Carleton University

Papers:

- R. March*, Carleton University
Political Mobility of Slavs in Federal and Provincial Legislatures
in Canada
S. Pobihushchy, University of Alberta
Political Socialization of Ukrainians in Canada: Albertan
Perspective
T. L. Smith, University of Minnesota
University of Minnesota Immigrant Archives

Discussants:

- M. Kruhlak*, University of Alberta
E. D. Wangenheim (Mrs.), University of Toronto

SESSION II

9:45 - 12:00 a.m. — Room 240, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

V. W. Adamkiewicz, Université de Montréal

Papers:

- Z. S. Pohorecky*, University of Saskatchewan
Relevance of Anthropology and Archaeology to Slavic Studies
in Canada
A. Gregorovich, University of Toronto
Canadian Library Resources for Slavic Studies
J. B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba
Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences of Canada

Discussants:

- V. J. Kaye*, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ottawa
J. Bonk, University of Toronto
R. Choulguine, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ottawa

2:00 - 4:00 p.m. — PANEL DISCUSSION

Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine
Bilingualism, Multiculturalism and the Canadian Slavs

Moderator:

Hon. Paul Yuzyk, The Senate, Ottawa

Panelists:

B. R. Bociurkiw, University of Alberta

Miss J. Burnet, University of Toronto

R. Choulguine, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ottawa

S. Haidasz, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of
Northern Affairs

C. J. Jaenen, United College, Winnipeg

SESSION III

4:00 - 5:30 p.m. — Room 240, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

W. G. Simpson, F.R.S.C., University of Saskatchewan

Papers:

T. Krychowski, Polish Research Institute

Polish Research Institute in Canada

R. F. Domaradzki, Université de Montréal

La slavistique québécoise; essai d'histoire et synthèse

A. Royick, University of Saskatchewan

Horetzky's Contribution to Canadian History

Discussants:

B. Makowski, Lakeport Secondary School, St. Catharines

J. M. Kirschbaum, Ethnic Press Association of Ontario

V. J. Kaye, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ottawa

6:30 - 7:30 p.m. — VIN D'HONNEUR

Tabaret Hall, 235 Nicholas Street

Host:

Very Rev. Dr. R. Guindon, O.M.I., Rector of the University of Ottawa

8:00 p.m. — FOLK ARTS NIGHT OF SLAVIC DANCES AND MELODIES

Academic Hall, 133 Wilbrod Street

SATURDAY, JUNE 10

SESSION IV

9:00 - 12:00 a.m. — Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

J. Kirschbaum, Ethnic Press Association of Ontario

Papers:

M. Brunet, Vice-Doyen, Faculté des Lettres, Université de Montréal

L'immigrant face aux deux Canadas et le cas des Slaves

- Anna Stearns*, Université de Montréal
Slavs in Canada and Canada's Cultural Evolution; Facts and Potentials
- A. P. Ignatiev*, Mines Branch, Dept. of Energy, Mines and Resources
Reflections on the Integration by an Engineer of Russian Origin
- G. P. Allen*, Multi-Ethnic Programme, Citizenship Branch
A General Outline of Citizenship Branch with Particular Reference to the Multi-Ethnic Programme

Discussants:

- R. Choulguine*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
G. W. Simpson, F.R.S.C., University of Saskatchewan
F. Bohatirchuk, University of Ottawa

SESSION V

9:00 - 12:00 a.m. — Room 240, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

Msgr. Dr. W. Kushnir, Ukrainian Canadian Committee

Papers:

- M. Plawiuk*, Ukrainian Canadian Committee
Ukrainian Credit Unions of Canada
- V. J. Kaye*, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ottawa
Early Ukrainian Graduates of the Agricultural Colleges: Sons of the Pioneer Settlers
- P. Woroby*, University of Saskatchewan, Regina
Occupational Profile of Ukrainian Canadians (Analysis of the 1961 Census Data)

Discussants:

- J. Boyko*, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Toronto
J. Tesla, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ottawa
V. Darkowich, Ukrainian Businessmen and Professional Club, Ottawa

SESSION VI

2:00 - 5:00 p.m. — Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

S. Haidasz, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Northern Affairs

Papers:

- J. H. Synchronick*, Ukrainian Canadian Committee
Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Significance in Canadian Society
- W. A. Krajewski*, Canadian Polish Congress, Toronto
Canadian Polish Congress
- L. K. Kossar*, Executive Director, Folk Arts Council
Canada's Newest and Oldest Cultural Movements

Discussants:

- R. Olynyk*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Montreal
V. W. Adamkiewicz, Université de Montréal

SESSION VII

2:00 - 5:00 p.m. — Room 240, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

S. B. Roman, President, Denison Mines Ltd.

Papers:

J. M. Kirschbaum, Ethnic Press Association of Ontario

Cultural Contributions of Canadian Slovaks to Canada

N. Paveskovic, Croatian Academy of America, Canadian Branch

The Croatians in Canada: Immigration and Contribution

V. Zuk-Hryskievic, Byelorussian Canadian Alliance

Byelorussians in Canada

Discussants:

P. Fundarek, Public Service of Canada

M. Mostovac, University of Ottawa

7:00 p.m. — BANQUET — Beacon Arms Hotel

Chairman:

Emmett O'Grady, Vice-Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa

Guest Speaker:

Hon. John W. Pickersgill, Minister of Transport

SUNDAY, JUNE 11

SESSION VIII

10:00 - 12:00 a.m. — Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

J. A. Wojciechowski, University of Ottawa

Papers:

A. Jaworski, Department of Transport, Ottawa

The United States Population of Polish Origin

J. Malik, Jr., University of Arizona, Tucson

Contribution of Czechs in North America

L. Perkowski, University of Texas, Austin

A Canadian Supplement for the Pan-Slavic Linguistic Atlas of Europe

Discussants:

A. Romaniuk, University of Ottawa

J. Kolaja, McMaster University

J. B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba

SESSION IX

10:00 - 12:00 a.m. — Room 240, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

M. Mostovac, University of Ottawa

Papers:

V. Mauko, Editor, "Slovenska Drzava"

Slovenians in Canada

R. Cujes, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish
Slovenian Contribution to Pre-Charter Canadians: the Ojibwe
Indians

S. Nicolov, Bulgarian Canadian Centennial Committee
The Bulgarian Ethnic Group in Canada

Discussants:

M. T. Bennett, Department of Manpower and Immigration

A. M. Jotoff, Bulgarian Canadian Society, Toronto

SESSION X

2:00 - 4:00 p.m. — Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

A. Michalenko, University of Saskatchewan

Papers:

E. Kosko, Association of Polish Engineers in Canada

Polish Engineers in Canada: Their Contribution to the
Development of the Country

W. Janishewskyj, University of Toronto

Ukrainian Engineers in Ontario

M. Chomiak & A. Maslanyk, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Edmonton

Scientific Contribution of Ukrainians to the Industrial
Development of Canada

Discussants:

J. W. Meier, Mines Branch, Dept. of Energy, Mines and Resources,
Ottawa

N. M. Switucha, Mines Branch, Dept. of Energy, Mines and
Resources, Ottawa

R. Osadchuk, National Research Council, Ottawa

SESSION XI

2:00 - 4:00 p.m. — Room 240, Faculty of Medicine

Chairman:

S. J. Kalba, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg

Papers:

R. Zuk, McGill University

Ukrainian Church Architecture in Canada

Yar Slavutych, University of Alberta

Ukrainian Philology (Linguistics) in Canada

O. Pawliw, University of Alberta

Studies in Ukrainian Literature in Canada

M. Chomiak, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Edmonton

The Contribution of Ukrainians to the Development of the
Schools in Alberta

Discussants:

I. Stecura, Ukrainian Technical Society in Canada

C. Struk, University of Toronto

B. Hrybinsky, University of Ottawa

Z. Zeleny, Ukrainian Pedagogical Association, Toronto

4:00 - 5:00 p.m. — BUSINESS SESSION, Auditorium, Faculty of Medicine
Chairman:

G. W. Simpson, F.R.S.C., University of Saskatchewan
Reports of the Executive
Report on *Slavs in Canada*
Election of Officers
Other Business
Concluding Remarks:
Chairman-Elect, I-UCCS

6:30 p.m. — CONFERENCE DINNER, Beacon Arms Hotel
Sponsored by the Provincial Government of Ontario

SLAVS IN CANADA

The first volume of *Slavs in Canada*, which appeared in June 1966, has received generally good reviews and is now nearly out of print. The editorial board (D. Yar Slavutych, Dr. V. J. Kaye, Dr. J. M. Kirschbaum, Professor R. C. Elwood) feel that participants of the Second Conference should have first priority on the remaining copies. These can be obtained at the Conference from Dr. Slavutych or by writing to Professor Elwood, c/o Department of History, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. In either case, the volume costs \$3.50 a copy and cheques should be made payable to the University of Alberta.

The first volume contains, in addition to the programme and resolutions of the Banff Conference, seventeen inter-disciplinary papers by the following authors: Stanley Hajdasz, M.P.; S. D. Bosnitch, W. B. Makowski, J. M. Kirschbaum, V. J. Kaye, E. D. Wangenheim, W. E. Kalbach, C. W. Hobart, J. A. Wojciechowski, Yar Slavutych, R. B. Klymasz, V. O. Buyniak, T. Domaradzki, V. C. Chrypinski, K. J. Tarasoff, P. J. Kellner and R. Baird.

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