

SLAVS IN CANADA

VOLUME THREE

SLAVS IN CANADA

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON CANADIAN SLAVS

Compiled and Edited

by

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Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs

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INTRODUCTION

The first and the second volumes of Slavs in Canada having been such unqualified successes I have undertaken the editorial tasks associated with this third volume with pleasure as well as with interest. I have approached the editing assignment with that I trust is true humility and not without some fear. My humility, about which I ought not to write much lest it becomes suspect, arises from the very great responsibility and obligation which this task entails and my limited knowledge in this field. My fear springs from the same origins.

My approach is that for which my education as an historian and teacher in the social sciences has prepared me, however limited my ability to apply this education and experience to the task which I have herewith undertaken. The political, demographic, social and cultural problems of ethnic communities and minority groups do not fit into watertight compartments. Man's social experience cannot be fragmented and compartmentalized and still be wholly understandable. I take what I trust is pardonable pride in the belief that the historical approach is uniquely fitted to deal with synthetic problems because history of all the social sciences and the literary arts is a universal view.

My own interest in the Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs stems from an interest in minority groups and Canadian ethnic communities in general. Basic to my own strongly held views of a bilingual and bicultural Canada on a Pan-Canadian, national and federal level and multi-ethnic, pluralistic and richly diverse Canada on a regional or community level are my own experiences of belonging to a small minority, of growing up in an Anglo-conformist milieu, of learning and then also teaching, while learning yet more, in a growing consciousness of the diversity, complexity and uniqueness of our heritage in this country which we are proud to call our own. Recently the fourth volume of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has studied the contribution of those of other than British or French ethnic origin in relation to the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism and the coexistence of the anglophone and francophone societies.

We know that this represents only one aspect of the social history of minority groups in Canada, indeed probably one of the least significant aspects until very recent times. The Inter-University Committee has interested itself not only in the identity question, in the language and culture, in the social experiences of the Slavs but also of other ethnic communities. Much remains to be done in the field of research in inter-ethnic relations. We can only agree with the Royal Commission that what counts most in the concept of an "ethnic group" is not origin or even mother tongue, but the sense of belonging to a group and the group's collective will to exist. The question now is not survival; it is épanouissement, full development of a group's potential and the greatest contribution to the whole community.

Without digressing into a long discourse on the foundations of Canadian nationhood, the intent of the Fathers of Confederation, the objectives of successive Canadian ministries (notably of their Immigration ministers) and the facility of accepting diversity and particularism under our monarchical and parliamentary federal union I may be permitted to remark that one view expressed in the Confederation debates of 1865 in Quebec has too often been overlooked. It is the vision of Joly de Lotbiniere who contemplating "the diversity of races, religions, sentiments and interests of the different parts of the Confederation" proposed that the rainbow be adopted as the national emblem to symbolize this all-encompassing richness and promise. The suggestion was not entirely without merit.

But to return more specifically to the task at hand, your indulgence is asked in evaluating the arbitrary arrangements of the contributions. Any systematic approach is a device employed to facilitate understanding and appreciation. Other groupings of papers could be justified on rational or emotional grounds, nevertheless, it is hoped that this presentation will appear logical and coherent and that the contributors, whose work we recognize in this volume, will concur with my judgment. Selection of papers for publication is always a problem for the editor. In some cases participants at the meetings at York University in 1969 did not forward their papers in time for inclusion in the present volume. If I must ask your indulgence in judging my arrangement of the papers, I must beg your forbearance in reacting to my selection of the papers for publication. All the essays within these covers leave their readers at least somewhat better, in most cases much better, equipped to think their way through some important problems and aspects of the experiences of the Slavs and other ethnic communities in Canada.

Cornelius J. Jaenen.

SECTION I

RESEARCH

- (1) B. R. Bociurkiw, ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT: THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA CASE STUDY
APPENDIX I: TABLES 1–89 FOLLOW THIS ARTICLE
- (2) V. J. Kaye, PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH CONNECTED WITH THE DICTIONARY OF UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN BIOGRAPHY, 1891–1900
- (3) V. Szyrynski, ETHNIC INTEGRATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT
- (4) R. J. Vecoli & R. V. Kochan, RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA IMMIGRANTS ARCHIVES

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA CASE STUDY*

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw
Carleton University

Introduction

This study grew out of a systematic survey of Ukrainian students at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, which had been carried out during the academic year 1967-1968. I have been greatly assisted in this project by Mr. Sidney Pobihushchy, then a doctoral student at the University of Alberta and now Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of New Brunswick. His knowledge of statistics and computing techniques has been of special value in the refining of the research design and the processing of data. The relatively modest costs of the project were underwritten by the University of Alberta.

The first task of this survey was to determine the number of University of Alberta students of Ukrainian descent and their distribution in terms of age, sex, marital status, faculty, year of study, type of secondary education, kind environment in which they were raised (rural/urban, Ukrainian/non-Ukrainian), family background, ethnic origin of both parents, mother tongue, facility in Ukrainian and exposure to communications in the Ukrainian language, participation in Ukrainian clubs on and off the campus, and involvement in campus and off-campus non-Ukrainian clubs and political groups.

The main objective of this project was to examine ethnic identification of Ukrainian students, i. e., to ascertain students' perception of themselves in ethnic terms and their cognitive and affective perception of the Ukrainian groups in Canada, Ukrainian people and the Ukraine. To this end, the study attempted to identify students' at-

* This is a revised text of the paper presented to the Third National Conference on Canadian Slavs which was held at York University in June 1969.

titudes towards Ukrainian churches and organizations, to analyze their views with regard to the prospects of survival of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada, desirability of assimilation and measures to ensure the group's linguistic/cultural continuity, to assess the importance of ethnic factors in the formulation of students' political party preferences, and to determine their ideological tendencies in terms of "open"/liberal vs. "closed"/dogmatic attitudes, "left" vs. "right", and "soft" vs. "tough" positions on selected issues.

The study seeks to explain differences in students' attitudes towards their own group and other ethnic groups in terms of such variables as sex, students' and their parents' country of birth, father's occupation, religious preference, parents' ethnic background, the language first taught to student and spoken in his home, the attendance at Ukrainian schools and the degree of facility in Ukrainian, his actual use of Ukrainian and the degree of exposure to Ukrainian media. In the course of the survey Ukrainian students' attitudes towards religion and assimilation of ethnic minorities, as well as their ideological tendencies, were compared with those of a random sample of Alberta's non-Ukrainian students.

Research Design

The collection and analysis of data in this project were guided by a number of working hypotheses :

1. Assimilation into the dominant linguistic-cultural groups and alienation from one's own minority ethnic group increases with the length of the family's residence in Canada.
2. Students brought up in communities with fewer or no Ukrainians are most prone to assimilation.
3. Children of ethnically mixed marriages are more inclined towards assimilation.
4. The higher the social status and income of the Canadian-born or Canadian-raised parent, the greater the tendency towards assimilation on the part of the children.
5. The more assimilated the individual, the less faith he professes in the ethno-cultural survival of the Ukrainian group in Canada.
6. Students who feel that they have been or are being discriminated against as Ukrainians, are less inclined towards assimilation.

13. The lack of facility in Ukrainian is the main barrier to participation in Ukrainian church and club offices and is accompanied by the lack of interest in things Ukrainian and a weak or no identification with the Ukrainian group.
7. Among the Canadian-born students, those brought up in *rural* areas are more likely to feel that they have been or are being discriminated against as Ukrainians than those brought up in urban areas.
8. Canadian-born students brought up in rural areas are less inclined towards assimilation and show more faith in the survival capacities of the Ukrainian ethnic group than students brought up in urban areas.
9. Canadian-born students of Canadian-born parents show less awareness of being discriminated against than Canadian-born students of immigrant parents.
10. Canadian-born students of Canadian-born parents show greater interest in learning the Ukrainian language and in learning about Ukrainian culture than Canadian-born children of immigrant parents.
11. Females tend to maintain stronger attachment to religion in general, to the Ukrainian church or rite, and to the Ukrainian language and culture than males.
12. Assimilation in religious terms proceeds from the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic to the Roman Catholic group, and from the Ukrainian (Greek) Orthodox to the Protestant (primarily United Church) groups.
13. The lack of facility in Ukrainian is the main barrier to participation in Ukrainian church and club offices and is accompanied by the lack of interest in things Ukrainian and a weak or no identification with the Ukrainian group.
14. The greater the student's alienation from the Ukrainian church/rite, the lesser the identification with the Ukrainian ethnic group, the less is his interest in the Ukraine, and the greater is his tendency towards "open", "left" and "soft" ideological attitudes.
15. Students displaying strong identification with the Ukrainian church and culture tend to be less active in non-Ukrainian campus and off-campus groups.
16. Students with stronger Ukrainian identification tend to show ideological attitudes that can be described as "closed" (dogmatic), "right" and "tough" on such issues as Communism, war, drugs, birth control and censorship.
17. The majority of Ukrainian students favour neither an ethnic "ghetto" nor complete assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Saxon group (a complete loss of Ukrainian linguistic/cultural

distinctiveness), but an integration in a multi-cultural Canadian society.

The verification of most of these working hypotheses was undertaken in the latter stage of the project in which attitudes and opinions were correlated to a number of variables through cross-tabulations and closer comparison of the Ukrainian and the control group data.

Our data on Ukrainian students were gathered through a self-administered 21-page questionnaire containing 124 questions, which was mailed in February 1968 to 1,450 full-time University of Alberta students likely to be of Ukrainian origin. Since the University does not list ethnic origins in its student records, the names and addresses of the likely Ukrainian students were selected in the following manner:

Except for a few, known cases of non-Ukrainians listed in these categories, we included all students classified on their registration records as "Greek Catholics", "Ukrainian Orthodox", "Greek Orthodox" and "Russian Orthodox". These totalled 842 and their lists were supplied to us by the Registrar's Office.¹ Students not in these lists were selected from the official students' telephone directory by virtue of their "Ukrainian-sounding" surname (a total of 598 students). This admittedly haphazard technique was bound to produce many cases of "mistaken ethnic identity" involving Polish, Jewish, Russian and other non-Ukrainian students. To meet this eventuality, non-Ukrainian recipients of our questionnaire were requested to return the questionnaire to us unanswered in a self-addressed and stamped envelope that accompanied each questionnaire. A mimeographed letter on departmental letterhead, signed by me and Mr. Pobihushchy, as well as an instruction sheet, explained the purposes of the survey and asked students not to sign their names on the assumption that complete anonymity would promote greater frankness and minimize inhibitions in students' responses. Three weeks after mailing the questionnaires, a follow-up postcard reminder was sent to all students included in the survey.

The ultimate response to our questionnaire was:

Questionnaires mailed	—	1,450	(100.0%)
Questionnaires returned	—	891	(61.4%)
Completed	—	734	(50.6%)
Blanks (non-Ukrainians) ²	—	117	(8.0%)
Others ³	—	40	(3.4%)

* Among "Others" were: 36 questionnaires returned on account of wrong address; 3 returned by those who discontinued their studies; and 1 returned by a Ukrainian who refused to fill out the questionnaire.

Completed questionnaires were returned by 431 male and 303 female students, with a much higher rate of response obtained from students who do not belong to Ukrainian churches (409 respondents) than from those who do. Out of 803 students in the latter category, only 325 (40.4 per cent) responded.* On the basis of the response to our questionnaire, we can only approximately estimate the total number of Ukrainian students on the University of Alberta campus (by projecting upon non-respondents the Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian ratio of responses) as ranging somewhere around 1,200 that is 9.2 per cent of the total 1967-1968 full-time enrollment of 12,981 students. This is well above the ratio of Ukrainians to the population of Alberta (8 per cent in 1961) but below the percentage of Ukrainians to the population of Edmonton (11.6 per cent in 1961).** These estimates suggest a response of approximately 61.2 per cent of the total population surveyed.

In March 1968, a shorter questionnaire was mailed to a random probability sample of 251 non-Ukrainian students,³ who were to serve as a control group for purposes of comparison of Ukrainian students' attitudes with those of their non-Ukrainian colleagues. Completed questionnaires were returned by 170 students', that is 67.7 per cent of the sample. Nearly all data obtained from the two questionnaires were processed at the University's computing centre.

The Ukrainian students' questionnaire⁴ was divided into four categories: (1) questions eliciting background data on individual respondents; (2) questions designed to determine cognitive orientation of respondents with regard to the Ukrainian group in Canada and the Ukraine; (3) questions serving to determine the respondent's perception of himself in ethno-cultural terms and his perception and affective orientation with regard to the Ukrainian and other ethnic groups in Canada, his attitudes towards Canadian political parties and his notions of Canadianism, especially in the context of bilingualism and biculturalism; and (4) a series of questions on communism, fascism, Vietnam, disarmament, drugs, birth control and censorship devised to articulate latent ideological orientations of the students.

* Assuming, of course, that students who formally registered as Greek Catholics or Orthodox have not listed a different religious preference on our questionnaire. This, we suspect, must have occurred in quite a few cases.

** The checking of University records for students registered as Greek Catholic and Orthodox revealed a rapid growth in the Ukrainian student enrollment exceeding that of the University as a whole: 1953 — 265; 1956 — 378; 1959 — 439; 1964 — 563; 1967 — 842. Their number doubled in the decade 1957 — 1967.

Findings

Respondents to the questionnaire, *whom we assume to be representative in these respects, of the entire body of the University of Alberta Ukrainian students*, were mostly male (58.6 per cent), although females predominated in the first two years, and in the 17 to 20 years age group category. Proportionately, there were more female students in general (36.1 per cent). Of the total body of respondents, 93.8 per cent were born in Canada (84.8 per cent in Alberta), mostly in large families* of farmer (38.0 per cent) and labour (22.8 per cent) background (see Table A). The majority of their parents (69.3 per cent) were earning less than \$9,000.00 annually.⁵ In an overwhelming number of cases their parents have evidently never attended university. The majority of respondents (62.8 per cent) were raised in small communities of up to 5,000 inhabitants, and 1.0 per cent of them grew up in communities with a Ukrainian majority.⁶ The great majority (87.2 per cent) attended public rather than separate schools and, having entered University, primarily chose the faculty of education** (37.3 per cent, as against a university-wide percentage of 24.6); 16.3 per cent chose arts and 12.4 per cent science. Half the female students were enrolled in the faculty of education, as opposed to the university-wide percentage of 39.5 for all females. Only a small percentage of respondents (4.5) were graduate students which was far below the university-wide ratio of 11.8 per cent (see Table B).⁷

TABLE A

Distribution of Alberta's Ukrainian Students by Sex and Father's Occupation

<i>Father's Last Occupation</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Absolute Frequencies</i>	<i>%</i>
Farmer	54.1%	45.9%	268	38.0
Unskilled Labourer	64.6	35.4	79	11.2
Skilled Labourer	57.3	43.7	82	11.6
White Collar Worker	58.9	41.1	95	13.5
Teacher	60.6	39.4	33	4.7
Self-Employed/Businessman	56.0	44.0	50	7.1
Professional/Executive	60.0	40.0	60	8.5
Other	69.2	30.8	39	E.E
Response 706/734				

* 48.7% of students came from families with four or more children.

** Significantly, half the farmers' children chose education.

While the great majority of the students were born of purely Ukrainian families, nearly one quarter came from families in which one parent was not exclusively of Ukrainian origin.⁸ The majority of their parents were born in Canada. Only 16.1 per cent of respondents were married.⁹

In contrast to their predominately Greek Catholic or Orthodox parents, less than half the respondents (47.4 per cent)¹⁰ have remained within these churches, the Orthodox showing a somewhat greater loss than the Greek Catholics. Most others have either broken away from organized religion (20.8 per cent, against 11.8 for all University of Alberta students)¹¹ or have joined other denominations. As can be seen from Table C, the principal beneficiaries of this exodus from parental churches have been the United Church (16.8 per cent of respondents, drawings converts primarily from among the Orthodox) and the Roman Catholic Church (9.2 per cent), gaining predominately at the expense of Greek Catholics. Proportionately, the largest share of non-religious students came from Orthodox families. Since entering university some 19.3 per cent of students reportedly became less religious, with 5.9 per cent losing all interest in religion. The greatest weakening of students' ties with parental religion has occurred among the Orthodox, United Church and other Protestants while the greatest continuity has been shown by the Roman Catholics.¹²

While 57.8 per cent of respondents considered Ukrainian their first-learned language, merely 10.3 per cent spoke only Ukrainian at home. The majority (64.5 per cent) were raised in homes where both Ukrainian and English were used. Less than half of respondents (45.0 per cent) attended a Ukrainian evening or Sunday school and only 19.6 per cent took any Ukrainian at the high school level. Except for communication with their relatives, Ukrainian was clearly a language secondary to English for the majority of respondents.¹³ The limited command, if any, of Ukrainian has evidently been an important inhibiting factor insulating most students from the influence of the Ukrainian printed media, and limiting their exposure to other Ukrainian influences. Thus, over 90 per cent of students subscribed to no Ukrainian periodical and have not read a single Ukrainian book over the previous 12 months. More than half never looked at Ukrainian publications.¹⁴ The prevalent lack of interest in things Ukrainian and isolation from Ukrainian influences were reflected in the extremely low level of students' cognitive orientation with regard to Ukrainian Canadian affairs: while over 65 per cent of all students could correctly identify the capital of the Ukraine and her foremost poet, only 12.5 per cent had an approximately correct notion of the number of Ukrainians in the world. Even more striking

TABLE 1.

Distribution by Sex and Faculty

<i>Faculty</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>of Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Agriculture	11 (2.6%)	3 (1.0%)	14	1.9%	2.7%
Arts	59 (13.8%)	60 (19.7%)	119	16.3	17.5
Commerce	25 (5.8%)	2 (0.7%)	27	3.7	5.8
Dentistry	10 (2.3%)	—	10	1.4	1.4
Education	121 (28.3%)	152 (50.0%)	273	37.3	24.6
Engineering	67 (15.7%)	—	67	9.2	9.4
Home Economics	—	19 (6.2%)	19	2.6	2.2
Law	8 (1.9%)	1 (0.3%)	9	1.2	1.7
Medicine	10 (2.3%)	2 (0.7%)	12	1.6	2.8
Med. Lab. Sci.	1 (0.2%)	2 (0.7%)	3	0.4	0.5
Nursing	—	21 (6.9%)	21	2.9	1.6
Phys .Ed.	14 (3.3%)	8 (2.6%)	22	3.0	2.8
Pharmacy	3 (0.7%)	7 (2.3%)	10	1.4	1.7
Rehabil. Med.	—	2 (0.7%)	2	0.3	0.9
Science	74 (17.3%)	17 (5.6%)	91	12.4	12.3
Grad. St.	25 (5.8%)	8 (2.6%)	33	4.5	11.8
TOTAL	429 (58.6%)	303 (41.4%)	732	100.0	100.0

Response: 732/734

was the incapacity of the overwhelming majority of students to identify some principal figures in the short Ukrainian Canadian history. Asked to name the three most important figures in Ukrainian history, the majority of the 314 who responded named Taras Shevchenko (231), with Volodymyr the Great trailing far behind (59) just 7 votes ahead of Taras Bulba (*sic*). Less than 9 per cent could name correctly at least one of the major Ukrainian Canadian organizations and a mere 3.5 per cent were able to identify the current national president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.¹⁵

Only 15.9 per cent of the respondents belonged to the campus Ukrainian clubs and less than 20 per cent listed membership in any Ukrainian organization.¹⁶ While the lack of time was pleaded as the principal reason for non-membership (40.4 per cent), followed by the language barrier (10.2 per cent),¹⁷ apathy with regard to any organizational activity appeared to be the main cause, as even fewer students belonged to the campus political clubs (5.6 per cent) and fraternities or sororities (8.4 per cent).¹⁸

TABLE C

Religious Preferences of Respondent and His Father (F) and Mother (M)

R's Religious Preferences	Ukrainian Catholic	Ukrainian Orthodox	Russian Orthodox	Roman Catholic	United Church	Other	None
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic (177)	F. 91.5% M. 88.7	5.6% 4.5	— 1.7	1.7% 4.5	— —	— 0.6	1.1% —
Ukrainian Orthodox (128)	F. 4.7 M. 2.3	91.4 89.9	3.1 6.2	— 0.8	— —	— 0.8	— —
Greek Orthodox (17)	F. 5.9 M. —	58.8 55.6	5.9 5.6	— 5.6	— —	4.8° 33.3°	— —
Russian Orthodox (21)	F. 4.8 M. 9.5	— 14.3	90.5 66.7	— —	— 4.8	4.8° 4.8°	— —
Roman Catholic (67)	F. 47.8 M. 50.7	1.5 6.0	— —	44.8 41.3	— 1.5	— —	6.0 —
United Church (119)	F. 14.3 M. 16.7	37.7 29.2	6.7 7.5	2.5 3.3	27.7 37.5	2.5 4.2	7.6 1.7
Other (Protestant) (41)	F. 14.6 M. 7.1	29.3 28.6	9.8 4.8	— 2.4	2.4 2.4	39.0 39.0	4.9 —
None (150)	F. 20.7 M. 14.6	38.7 40.4	8.7 7.3	4.7 7.9	10.0 12.6	6.0 8.6	11.3 8.6
TOTAL	F. 35.6 M. 33.2	35.3 34.3	6.8 6.6	6.0 7.6	6.8 9.2	4.7 6.9	4.9 2.1

* May include "Greek Orthodox" as well.

Response: F - 720/734
M. - 725/734

In terms of self-perception, the majority of respondents identified themselves in political rather than ethnic terms, as "Canadians" (52.8 per cent), followed by those describing themselves as "Ukrainian-Canadian", "Canadian-Ukrainian" or "Canadian of Ukrainian origin" (42.8 per cent). Only 4 per cent perceived themselves as only "Ukrainians", (see Table D). The great majority, approximately three-quarters of the respondents, never felt embarrassed by their Ukrainian origin, although in different situations from 12.3 per cent to 30.4 per cent experienced at least some degree of discrimination on account of their ethnic origin. Typically, most discrimination was experienced by students in social life and in relations with their peers. Least discrimination was encountered in students' relations with university professors and in competing for scholarships and assistantships.¹⁹

TABLE D

Ethnic Self-Identification of Respondents

	<i>Male</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
"Canadian"	251	58.8	133	44.3	384	52.8
"Ukrainian-Canadian"*	163	38.3	148	49.7	311	42.8
"Ukrainian"	12	2.8	17	5.7	29	4.0
Other**	1	0.1	2	0.3	3	0.4
	427	100.0	300	100.0	727	100.9

* Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

** Includes 1 "American", 1 "Jewish" and 1 unspecified. To simplify correlations, this separate category was excluded from subsequent cross-tabulations.

Response: 727/734

On the whole, the great majority of respondents considered the position of Ukrainian Canadian as good (52.8 per cent) or very good (18.7 per cent) and many (60.7 per cent) believed that it was getting better.

A relatively weak identification with the Ukrainian ethnic group was reflected in the high ratio of ethnic intermarriage (44.0 per cent) among students (the highest percentage [11.2] involving spouses of British origin). The trend towards ethnic intermarriage will probably become stronger. While 38.9 per cent of the single students stated that

they would like, if possible, to marry a Ukrainian, only 28.6 per cent frequently or exclusively dated Ukrainians.²⁰ A weak affective orientation towards one's ethnic group was also shown in the hypothetical electoral choices by respondents, of whom only 3.1 per cent stated that they would vote for a Ukrainian candidate regardless of his party affiliation.* When faced with a choice between two or more Ukrainian candidates, party affiliation and better education were the two more frequently listed criteria rather than the candidate's contribution to Ukrainian life in Canada.²¹

Ideologically, in terms of their stand on such "test issues" as communism and fascism, the Vietnam war, disarmament, hate literature, drugs, birth control, and censorship, Ukrainian students may be classified as "just-left-of-center" liberals, less "open" and "soft", however, than their non-Ukrainian colleagues, especially on such issues as communist danger and anti-communist measures. Thus, while 55.9 per cent of the control sample (non-Ukrainian students) considered communism as a danger to the West, 68.5 per cent of Ukrainians took this position and 45.2 per cent of them (as opposed to 33.5 per cent in the control group) believed that the West should take all steps to defeat communism. Interestingly, along with North American public opinion, the majority of respondents considered Chinese communism to be more dangerous than Russian.²²

Little active interest and concern was displayed by students for the contemporary Ukraine. A mere 10.3 per cent admitted an intense interest in the Ukraine, while 32.0 per cent claimed complete indifference. Only 418 students or 69.1 per cent of respondents considered the Ukraine to be oppressed. While the majority of students favoured independence for the Ukraine, no more than 41.4 per cent of 499 respondents felt that Ukrainian Canadians should actively support the Ukraine's aspirations for independence.²³

On the other hand, the great majority of students have shown an intense interest in the preservation of Ukrainian language, culture and distinct religion or rite, which is a surprisingly strong belief in the capacity of Ukrainians to preserve their ethnic identity in Canada. This was borne out by a series of responses to questions dealing with assimilation, bilingualism and biculturalism issues and proposals, and the place of Ukrainians and their culture within the context of Canadianism. As we

* It was interesting to note, incidentally, that Alberta's Ukrainian students faithfully followed the current provincial voting patterns by supporting the Conservative Party federally (and considering this party as having been most favourably inclined towards the Ukrainian group) and the Social Credit provincially.

have seen, most students considered themselves Canadian "only" and a clearly majority (69.8 percent) felt that assimilation is eventually inevitable, but the majority of these students denied that Ukrainians *ought* to assimilate "as soon as possible". Of those who considered eventual assimilation inevitable, 92.0 per cent felt that Ukrainians should assimilate not into English groups but into a new Canadian nationality within which, they believed, Ukrainians *should* and *can* preserve their language, ethno-cultural and religious identity. Moreover, the "assimilationist" responses, when checked against other replies by the same respondents, showed that many of them have evidently understood the term "assimilation" as synonymous with integration".²⁴

Consistently then, the majority of students (66.5 per cent) rejected the concept of "two nations" in Canada, with only 30.0 per cent supporting the extension of two official languages throughout Canada. Less than one-quarter of students favoured the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism regarding bilingual districts for the French minority in western Canada. Significantly, they were equally opposed to such bilingual districts for other minorities, including Ukrainians.²⁵ Over three-fourths of the students subscribed to the mosaic-like notion of one Canadian culture to which *all* ethnic cultures should contribute. While 45.7 per cent of the students favoured the use Ukrainian as a *language of instruction* in public and separate schools in areas of large concentration of Ukrainians, a great majority (94.6 per cent) wished Ukrainian to be offered in schools as a *subject*, especially in grades 4 to 12. Significantly, 80.9 per cent of the control group respondents spoke in favour of teaching "ethnic languages" in schools, and 34.5 per cent favoured their use as languages of instruction.²⁶ Over three-fourths of respondents felt that school texts and curricula in Canadian schools do not offer adequate knowledge of either Ukrainian Canadians or the Ukraine. Nearly 60 per cent of the students stated that Ukrainian language programs should be offered on CBC radio and TV in areas with a large Ukrainian population. Over 55 per cent of non-Ukrainian students supported this proposition.²⁷

What was of no less significance was the attitude of students towards the knowledge of Ukrainian. Only 10.0 per cent of those who knew Ukrainian felt that they derived no advantage from the command of the language.²⁸ Of the 371 students who did not know Ukrainian well, 61.2 per cent declared that they would be interested in learning Ukrainian, while 56.4 per cent of *all* students stated that they intend to teach their children Ukrainian.²⁹

Correlations

Cross-classifications undertaken in the second stage of our survey have shown a persistent correlation of Ukrainian ethnic identification and involvement with such variables as sex, students' and parents' country of birth, the father's occupation, respondent's and parent's religious preferences, parents' ethnic background, the language first taught to respondent and spoken in his home, the attendance at Ukrainian schools, the degree of respondent's facility in Ukrainian, his actual use of this language and the degree of exposure to Ukrainian media.

Sex

The findings of the survey confirm the widely-held belief that *females remain more closely attached to parental ethnic and religious values than males*. Females showed a higher ratio of Ukrainian school attendance (51.0 per cent vs. 40.8 per cent for males) a persistently higher level of facility in and the actual use of Ukrainian (in speaking to the spouse, for instance, 45 per cent of the women used Ukrainian along with English as compared to 20.3 per cent of the males), a far lower ration of ethnic intermarriages (22 percent of females, as opposed to 54 per cent of males) and a higher degree of religiosity and church attendance. More female students tended to identify themselves as "Ukrainian Canadian" or "Ukrainian" than did male students.³⁰

Country of Birth

When compared with the immigrant respondents, Canadian-born students (93.8 per cent of the total) showed a persistently lower percentage of membership in Ukrainian churches, less formal training in Ukrainian, a weaker facility in, and less frequent use of, the Ukrainian language (although the difference is rather small in the language used with friends), and a lesser interest in Ukrainian publications, concerts and radio programmes.³¹ Ukrainians only were dated by a lower percentage (6.4) of the Canadian-born than that of immigrant students (16.2) and only 18.7 per cent of the Canadian-born stated that they would definitely prefer a Ukrainian spouse, as opposed to 52.6 per cent of the non-Canadian-born.³² In terms of their ethnic self-identification, 55.6 per cent of the Canadian-born listed themselves as "Canadian" only, 41.1 per cent as "Ukrainian Canadian" and 3.2 per cent as "Ukrainian" only. The corresponding distribution for the non-Canadian-born was 9.1 per cent "Canadian", 75.0 per cent "Ukrainian Canadian" and 15.9 per cent as "Ukrainian" only.³³

The two groups contrasted sharply in their attitudes towards the Ukraine, in particular on the question of Ukrainian Canadian support for the cause of the Ukraine's independence, which was favoured by only 37.7 per cent of the Canadian-born as opposed to 77.5 per cent of immigrant respondents. Of the two groups, the non Canadian-born showed a much "harder" line against both communism and fascism, and much greater support for the American involvement in Vietnam.³⁴ Although the majority of each group considered an eventual "assimilation" of Ukrainians in Canada as inevitable, only 25.0 per cent of the immigrant respondents felt that they should "assimilate" as soon as possible as opposed to 40.7 per cent of the Canadian-born. However, the differences between the two categories of students narrowed on the issue of the preservation of the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada, which was given overwhelming support from both groups.³⁵

Father's Occupation

The father's occupation, rather than income or class identification, showed a significant correlation with the extent of a student's identification with the Ukrainian group. *Apart from the farmers' children, who were expected to show a stronger attachment to ethnic group values, it was, surprisingly, students from professional/executive families that revealed the highest degree of identification with, and involvement in, Ukrainian (and, incidentally, non-Ukrainian) affairs.* Teacher's children were the most alienated from Ukrainian religious and ethnic values without a compensating degree of involvement in non-Ukrainian organizations, (see Table E).

Greek Catholic and Orthodox preferences proved strongest among students of the professional/executive (63.3 per cent) and farmer family (57.3 per cent) backgrounds and the weakest among those from teachers' families (27.3 per cent). Farmers' children contributed the highest ratio of practicing believers while the lowest percentage of believers was shown by teachers' children (48.5% non-believers).³⁶ The farmer, unskilled worker, and professional groups contained the highest percentage of those whose first language was Ukrainian (75.6, 61.5 and 54.2 per cent respectively), with the latter showing the highest rate of Ukrainian school attendance, the relatively highest rate of participation in Ukrainian organizations and strongest exposure to Ukrainian media (except for radio broadcasts which were most frequently listened to by students of farmer backgrounds).³⁷ Students from professional/executive families (32.0 per cent) followed by children of unskilled workers

TABLE E
Father's Occupation and Ethnic Self-Identification

<i>Father's Occupation</i>	<i>"Ukrainian"</i>	<i>"Ukrainian Canadian"*</i>	<i>"Canadian"</i>
Farmer	5.2%	48.3%	46.4%
Unskilled Labourer	5.1	46.8	48.1
Skilled Labourer	3.7	34.6	61.7
White Collar Worker	1.1	42.0	55.9
Teacher	3.1	28.1	68.8
Self-Employed/Businessman	—	38.0	62.0
Professional/Executive	5.1	52.6	42.4
Other	5.1	30.7	64.1
Percentage of the Total	4.0%	43.6%	52.4%
Absolute Frequencies	28	305	367

Response: 700/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

(26.6 per cent) showed the strongest preference for a Ukrainian spouse, the greatest interest in the Ukraine, the firmest support for the use of Ukrainian as a language of instruction in schools in the areas of large Ukrainian population (55.2 per cent) as well as for the teaching of Ukrainian as a subject (100.0 per cent)³⁸ and showed the strongest belief that the Ukrainians can preserve their ethnic identity (83.3 per cent), (see Table F).

On the other hand, teachers' children showed, on the whole, the lowest or second lowest interest in learning Ukrainian and passing it on to children (although they were not last in terms of formal instruction in Ukrainian or exposure to Ukrainian publications). They also showed least, or nearly the least, interest in Ukrainian concerts and broadcasts, and were closely followed by the self-employed business group in their indifference towards the ethnic factor in choosing their future spouse. They showed the weakest support for Ukrainian as the language of school instruction (34.5 per cent) and least interest in the Ukraine.

At the same time, teachers' children revealed, along with unskilled workers' children, relatively greater feeling of being discriminated against and of embarrassment due to their ethnic origin.³⁹

TABLE F

Father's Occupation and the Views on Assimilation of Ukrainians and the Preservation of Ukrainian Language, Culture, Religion/Rite, and Ethnic Identity

	<i>Assimilation of Ukrainians in Canada is Inevitable</i>	<i>Ukrainians Ought to assimilate as soon as possible</i>	<i>Ukrainians Should Preserve Culture</i>	<i>Ukrainians Should Preserve Religion/Rite Distinct</i>	<i>Ukrainians Can Preserve Their Ethnic Identity</i>
Farmer	65.5%	36.9%	83.9%	73.6%	78.5%
Unskilled Labourer	72.6	34.3	84.2	74.3	72.4
Skilled Labourer	60.8	47.2	79.7	68.0	80.2
White Collar Worker	70.1	44.0	85.4	78.7	82.6
Teacher	80.6	50.0	69.0	52.0	75.3
Self-Employed Businessman	83.0	46.5	65.0	65.9	72.3
Professional/Executive	69.0	38.9	82.8	81.1	83.3
Other	78.4	33.3	77.1	69.7	78.9
Response:	661/734	622/734	666/734	687/734	687/734

Religion

It can safely be generalized that the weaker the ties with the Greek Catholic or Orthodox churches, the greater the degree of alienation from things Ukrainian. On the other hand, it is quite clear that ethnic identification with the Ukrainian groups persists after the departure from a Ukrainian church, or the abandoning of religion altogether, although they normally contribute to a growing isolation from organized Ukrainian life. Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches retained, relatively speaking, a stronger hold over students of farmers' and professional/executive family backgrounds than over the immigrant students and those born of immigrant parents. Converts to Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations tended to be more frequent among students raised outside the predominately Ukrainian settlements, among the third Canadian-born generation and, strangely enough, among children of parents who immigrated to Canada during the 1920s.⁴⁰ Significantly, religious affiliation proved to be a more important consideration than ethnic origin in students' marriage preferences. It was also clear that ethnic intermarriage of parents tends to work to the detriment of Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches and in favour of the Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations, (see Table G).

Membership in Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches invariably showed a positive correlation with the early learning and formal training in Ukrainian as well as with facility in and the more frequent use of Ukrainian. For instance, the percentages of Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox students who have no speaking facility in Ukrainian were 4.6 and 3.1 respectively. However, those incapable of speaking Ukrainian represented 34.9 per cent of the Roman Catholics, 28.9 per cent of the United Church members and 38.1 per cent of the other Protestants.⁴¹ While Orthodox students showed the highest interest in learning the Ukrainian language and passing it to their children, only a minority of Roman Catholics and non-believing students shared this attitude. The Ukrainian Orthodox students had the highest rate of participation in Ukrainian clubs and the greatest degree of ethnic identification (66.4 per cent "Ukrainian Canadian", 25.8 per cent "Canadian", and 7.8 per cent "Ukrainian"), while among the "Other Protestant" and Roman Catholic students 79.5 per cent and 77.6 per cent respectively listed themselves as "Canadians" only. Both in their dating patterns and marriage intentions, the Ukrainian Orthodox revealed the strongest ethnic orientation, the weakest being found among Roman Catholics and "Other Protestants."⁴² A similar pattern of attitudes appeared in responses to questions dealing with assimilation on

TABLE G

F's Religious Preferences and Ethnic Origins of His Father (F) and Mother (M)

Respondent's Religious Preference	Ukrainian	Mixed Ukrainian	Polish	Austrian/German	Russian	British	French	Other
Ukrainian Catholic	F. 83.4% M. 84.1	10.9% 9.1	4.0% 2.8	— 1.1	0.6% 1.1	— —	— —	1.2% 1.8
Ukrainian Orthodox	F. 94.6 M. 86.8	9.1 7.0	2.8 1.6	— —	— 1.6	0.8 —	— —	0.8 3.0
Greek Orthodox	F. 94.4 M. 77.8	— 5.6	— 5.6	5.0 11.1	— —	— —	— —	— —
Russian Orthodox	F. 71.4 M. 81.0	9.6 5.6	— —	4.8 4.8	9.5 —	— —	— —	4.8 8.6
Roman Catholic	F. 62.1 M. 63.1	16.6 9.3	10.6 9.2	4.5 3.1	— 1.5	1.5 —	— 4.6	4.7 3.2
United Church	F. 79.3 M. 65.0	14.7 10.7	2.5 3.3	2.5 1.7	— 1.8	— 4.2	— —	— 1.9
Other (Protestant)	F. 81.8 M. 54.8	9.1 7.2	2.3 —	— 4.8	2.3 —	— 19.0	— —	4.5 14.2
None	F. 86.2 M. 75.0	4.7 6.6	3.9 5.3	1.3 1.3	1.3 1.3	0.7 3.3	— 0.7	1.9 6.5
Total:	F. 83.2 M. 75.6	8.9 8.3	3.4 3.6	1.4 1.8	0.8 1.1	0.4 2.5	— 0.6	1.9 6.5
Response:	F. - 727/734 M. - 723/734							

the status of Ukrainian in Canadian schools. Thus, Roman Catholics and "Other Protestants" were the only denominational categories which favoured the earliest possible assimilation of Ukrainians and, led by non-believers, showed the least enthusiasm for the use of Ukrainian as a language of instruction in schools in the heavily-populated Ukrainian areas. In contrast, the majority of the Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox respondents supported the teaching in Ukrainian.⁴³ Most of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox students supported the proposition that Ukrainians in Canada ought to support the cause of Ukrainian independence while less than a third of Roman Catholics and United Church members took this position.⁴⁴

Ethnic Self-Identification

As has been shown the majority of students (52.8 per cent) listed themselves as "Canadian" only, 43.2 per cent preferred "Ukrainian-Canadian" or a similar "hyphenated" designation, and only 4 per cent identified themselves as "Ukrainian" only.

The "Canadian only" group embraced the majority of the Canadian-born (55.6 per cent) and of the pre-war immigrant children predominated among males, students who do not belong to Ukrainian churches, as well as among children from families other than of professional/executive, farmer and unskilled labour backgrounds. These three categories (in that order) supply the largest share of those who identified themselves as "Ukrainian Canadian" or "Ukrainian". The highest "Canadian only" responses occurred predictably in the teachers' children group.⁴⁵ There was a negative correlation between the "Canadian only" identification, on the one hand, and Ukrainian as the first-taught language and the tongue spoken in the students' home, the formal training in and the actual use of Ukrainian, the exposure to Ukrainian, media, intention of marrying a Ukrainian and Ukrainian club participation, on the other hand,⁴⁶ (seen Table H).

Those who identify themselves as "Canadian only" revealed relatively the strongest support for the earliest possible assimilation of Ukrainians (still, only 48.8 per cent of the category, as opposed to 30.9 per cent and 20.8 per cent of those who identified themselves as Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian respectively). Although less overwhelmingly than the other two categories, the "Canadian only" group offered a majority support to the proposition that Ukrainians in Canada ought to preserve their culture, language and distinct religion (in that order). While no more than 36.0 per cent of "Canadian only" supported

TABLE H

*R's Ethnic Self-Identification and Views on Assimilation and the Preservation
Of Ukrainian Language, Culture, Religion/Rite, and Ethnic Identity*

	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>				<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>	
	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada</i>
	<i>is Inevitable</i>	<i>ought to assimilate</i>	<i>as soon as possible</i>	<i>language</i>	<i>culture</i>	<i>Religion/ Rite</i>
	<i>Assimilation of</i>	<i>as soon as possible</i>	<i>language</i>	<i>culture</i>	<i>Religion/ Rite</i>	<i>ethnic identity</i>
"Ukrainian"	16.0%	20.8%	100.0%	100.0%	88.9%	89.3%
"Ukrainian Canadian"*	66.8	30.9	91.4	92.2	84.6	85.7
"Canadian"	76.3	48.8	67.7	77.6	61.1	70.3
Response:	679/734	640/734	685/734	689/734	644/734	706/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

the use of Ukrainian as a language of instruction (as opposed to 59.9 per cent for the "Ukrainian-Canadian" and 72.4 per cent for "Ukrainian only" groups), over 90 per cent of the "Canadian only" favoured the teaching of Ukrainian in Canadian schools. The majority (62.7 per cent) of "Canadian only" supported the proposition that the Ukraine ought to be independent, but only 28.4 per cent (as opposed to 53.5 per cent for "Ukrainian-Canadian" and 75.0 per cent for the "Ukrainian only" group) believed that Ukrainian-Canadians ought to actively support this cause.⁴⁷

Concluding Remarks

In the process of analysing the returns of this survey it became clear that not all of our preliminary hypotheses could be verified with the data obtained. One reason for this and indeed the major shortcoming of the questionnaire was its failure to clearly distinguish between the notions of "assimilation" (as involving the loss of one's "sense of peoplehood" and the assumption of another ethnic identification), and "integration" (denoting a degree of adaptation to social-cultural patterns of the predominant ethnic group). At the same time, the questionnaire did not go far enough in distinguishing among several types and degrees of assimilation and integration. Certain hypotheses could not be tested because the relevant returns were statistically insignificant or because the few ambiguously phrased questions caused obvious confusion as shown by the respondents' replies.

It is nevertheless feasible to confirm on the basis of this survey a series of our working hypotheses. It is clear that, on the whole, assimilation into the dominant (British) linguistic-cultural group and the corresponding alienation from one's own minority group do increase with the number of generations born in Canada (1^{*}).⁴⁸ The hypothesis that children of Canadian-born parents show greater interest in learning Ukrainian than Canadian-born children of immigrant parents was not upheld by the data obtained (10). The survey returns show that students brought up in communities with few or no Ukrainians, children of ethnically-mixed marriages and of parents who left Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches are usually more assimilated than students brought up in largely or predominantly Ukrainian settlements, in families where both parents are Ukrainian and belong to a Ukrainian church (2, 3).

* Numbers in parentheses correspond to the numbering of preliminary hypotheses listed on pages 2 - 4 of this paper.

Surprisingly enough, a hypothesis that children of Canadian-born parents show less anxiety about discrimination than children of immigrant parents was not sustained by our data. In fact, the feeling that their ethnic origin may be an obstacle in their future career turned out to be strongest among the third generation Ukrainian Canadians and weakest among the non-Canadian born students.⁴⁹ Similarly, the widely held belief that students who feel that they had been or are being discriminated against as Ukrainians are less inclined towards assimilation, could not be confirmed with the data available (6). Indeed in some categories of students (teachers' children, students whose paternal grandfather was born in Canada) the very opposite could be documented.

The hypothesis that the higher the social status and income of the Canadian-born or Canadian-raised parents, the greater the tendency towards assimilation on the part of their children (4), proved to be untenable in view of the close correlation found between professional/executive family background and high degree of ethnic identification, participation in Ukrainian churches and clubs, and support for the retention of Ukrainian language, culture, church, and ethnic identity in Canada. One can safely generalize about Alberta's Ukrainian students (and very likely about Ukrainian students at other Prairie universities) that children from professional/executive and farmer families (8) tend to identify themselves more closely with the Ukrainian ethnic group, its language and culture, than other categories of students. On the other hand, our data is not adequate enough to explain the very opposite orientation of teachers' children. It may be that assimilationist pressures, traditionally strong in the Canadian school system, have had an important inhibiting impact on the socialization of teachers' children into Ukrainian culture.

Another common assumption that there is a negative correlation between stronger Ukrainian identification and the activity in non-Ukrainian organizations (15) has been refuted by returns of our survey. At least at the University of Alberta, it was the same occupational group (professional/executive) that demonstrated the highest rate of participation in both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian groups, whereas the category least identified with the Ukrainian ethnic group (teachers' children) revealed nearly the lowest level of involvement into non-Ukrainian campus and off-campus organizations.

Several initial hypotheses have been confirmed by our survey. We have found that the greater the degree of individual assimilation, the less faith he professes in the ethnic and cultural survival of the

Ukrainian group in Canada, the stronger he feels about the desirability of rapid assimilation (5). Our findings clearly pointed to the absence of facility in Ukrainian as the main barrier to students' involvement in Ukrainian churches and organization and to their exposure to Ukrainian cultural influences. With the loss of the language comes a progressive weakening of interest in Ukrainian affairs and of one's identification with the Ukrainian group (13).

As has already been noted above, females have consistently displayed a greater degree of identification with, knowledge of, and support for Ukrainian language, culture, and religious tradition (11).

Our hypothesis that assimilation in the religious sphere proceeds from Greek Catholic to Roman Catholic and from Orthodox to United Church groups (12) has on the whole been confirmed: nearly one half of Roman Catholic students came from Ukrainian Catholic families; about one third of United Church adherents came from the Orthodox families which had also supplied the largest share of students claiming no religious convictions.

Finally, we have found strong support for our initial hypothesis that the majority of students prefer neither an ethnic "ghetto" nor complete assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Saxon group, but an integration into a multi-cultural Canadian society (17). This is perhaps the most unequivocal conclusion of our survey: a great majority of students favour the preservation and indeed greater dissemination and qualitative improvement of the Ukrainian language and culture among Ukrainian Canadians and, as Canadians, expect the publicly supported schools and mass media to assume their share of responsibility for the retention, transmission and development of Ukrainian language and culture in Canada.

NOTES

- ¹ For their distribution according to religion, sex, and faculty, see Table 1. This and all the subsequent Tables appear in *Appendix I*.
- ² Of the 117 blanks, 60 bore the notation "non-Ukrainian". All blanks were assumed to have been returned by non-Ukrainians.
- ³ Despite all precautions, two otherwise unidentifiable Ukrainians were found among respondents to this second questionnaire. For this questionnaire, see *Appendix III*.

- ⁴ *Appendix II.*
- ⁵ Table 2.
- ⁶ Tables 3 and 4.
- ⁷ The figure of 5.6% for graduate students shown by the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox students is probably more representative of the actual situation at Alberta (see Table 1).
- ⁸ Table 5.
- ⁹ Tables 6 and 21.
- ¹⁰ Including Russian Orthodox (2.9 per cent). See Table 7.
- ¹¹ The control sample, however, showed 28.8 per cent of non-religious students.
- ¹² See also Tables 8 and 9.
- ¹³ Tables 10-14.
- ¹⁴ Table 15.
- ¹⁵ Others listed: Ivan Mazepa (37), Ivan Franko (37), Symon Petliura (23), Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (11), Princess Ol'ha (10), and... Nikita Khrushchev (10).
- ¹⁶ Table 16.
- ¹⁷ Tables 17 and 18.
- ¹⁸ Table 16.
- ¹⁹ Tables 19 and 20.
- ²⁰ Tables 21 and 22.
- ²¹ Tables 23-25.
- ²² Tables 16-19.
- ²³ Tables 30 and 86.
- ²⁴ Table 31.
- ²⁵ Tables 32-34.
- ²⁶ Table 35.
- ²⁷ Table 36.
- ²⁸ Table 37.
- ²⁹ Table 38.
- ³⁰ Tables 12, 13, 14, 21, 39, and 40.
- ³¹ Tables 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.
- ³² Table 22.
- ³³ Table 46.
- ³⁴ Tables 30 and 26.
- ³⁵ Table 47.

- ³⁶ Tables 48 and 49.
- ³⁷ Tables 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.
- ³⁸ Tables 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.
- ³⁹ Table 61.
- ⁴⁰ Tables C, 7, 8, 62, 63, 65.
- ⁴¹ Tables 64, 66, 67.
- ⁴² Tables 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73.
- ⁴³ Tables 74, 35.
- ⁴⁴ Tables 75, 76.
- ⁴⁵ Tables 40, 65, D, E.
- ⁴⁶ Tables 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84.
- ⁴⁷ Tables H, 85, 86.
- ⁴⁸ Tables 87, 88.
- ⁴⁹ Table 89.

A P E N D I X I

SELECTED TABLES

*Survey
of Ethnic Identification and
Attitudes of University Students
of Ukrainian Descent*

University of Alberta

February-March, 1968

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. This section also touches upon the legal implications of failing to maintain such records, which can lead to severe consequences for individuals and organizations alike.

2. The second part of the document delves into the specific requirements for record-keeping, including the types of documents that must be retained and the duration for which they should be kept. It provides a detailed overview of the various categories of records, such as financial statements, contracts, and correspondence, and outlines the best practices for organizing and storing these documents to ensure they are easily accessible and secure.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges associated with record-keeping, such as the volume of data generated and the risk of data loss or corruption. It offers practical solutions and strategies to overcome these challenges, including the use of digital storage solutions and the implementation of robust backup and recovery procedures. This section also discusses the importance of regular audits and reviews to ensure the integrity and accuracy of the records.

4. The final part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers concluding remarks on the overall importance of record-keeping. It reiterates that maintaining accurate records is not just a legal obligation but also a fundamental aspect of good business practice and responsible management. The document concludes by encouraging individuals and organizations to take proactive steps to ensure their records are up-to-date, complete, and secure.

TABLE 1

Greek Catholic And Orthodox Students Of Ukrainian Descent According To
University Of Alberta Registration Records For the Academic Year 1967-68

Distribution by Denomination, Sex, and Faculty

Denom.	Sex	Ed	Me	Sc	En	Ar	De	BC	Ag	PE	La	Ph	RM	Nu	He	MS	DH	GS	Total	%
Greek Catholic	M	52	7	34	29	22	6	9	4	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	12	184	21.8
	F	82	1	11	-	29	-	-	-	5	1	9	2	6	7	3	-	3	159	18.8
Greek Orthodox	M	48	5	17	32	14	1	10	5	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	152	18.0
	F	45	-	5	-	14	-	-	-	3	-	4	1	2	7	1	1	5	88	10.4
Ukrainian Orthodox	M	31	4	23	17	18	4	10	2	6	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	10	131	15.6
	F	47	-	8	-	17	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	2	6	1	-	3	89	10.6
Russian Orthodox	M	5	1	2	5	2	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	24	2.9
	F	6	1	2	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	1.8
TOTAL		316	19	102	83	120	13	30	13	29	11	20	3	10	20	5	1	47	842	
%		37.5	2.2	12.2	9.9	14.2	1.5	3.4	1.5	3.4	1.3	2.4	0.4	1.2	2.4	0.6	0.1	5.6	100	100 %

Explanation of Abbreviations: Ed = Education; Me = Medicine; Sc = Science; En = Engineering;
Ar = Arts; De = Dentistry; BC = Business Administration and Commerce;
Ag = Agriculture; PE = Physical Education; La = Law; Ph = Pharmacy;
RM = Rehabilitation Medicine; Nu = Nursing; He = Household Economics;
MS = Medical Lab. Science; DH = Dental Hygiene; GS = Graduate Studies.

TABLE 2

Occupation and Annual Income of Students' Fathers

	Under \$3,000	3,000-6,000	6,000-9,000	9,000-12,000	12,000-15,000	15,000-18,000	Over 18,000
Farmer (249)	15.7	44.2	20.1	11.6	4.4	1.2	2.8
Unskilled Labourer (75)	16.0	57.3	21.3	5.3	—	—	—
Skilled Labourer (80)	10.0	48.8	31.3	6.2	2.5	1.2	—
White Collar (94)	3.2	21.3	37.2	23.4	9.6	3.2	2.1
Teacher (33)	3.0	6.1	42.4	24.2	15.2	3.0	6.1
Self-Employed/ Businessman (47)	6.4	23.4	31.9	12.9	8.5	6.4	10.6
Professional/ Executive (59)	5.1	8.5	13.6	15.3	27.1	11.9	18.6
Other (35)	11.4	40.0	22.9	22.9	2.9	—	—
Total	73	244	171	91	48	18	27
%	10.9	36.3	25.4	13.5	7.1	2.7	4.0

TABLE 3***Size of Community in Which R. Was Born and Raised***

	<i>Born</i>	<i>Raised</i>
Under 1,000	49.5%	48.9%
1,000-5,000	14.8	13.9
3,000-10,000	2.8	1.8
10,000-50,000	3.3	3.1
50,000-100,000	1.7	1.4
Over 100,000	27.9	31.0
Response:	717/734	714/734

TABLE 4***Percentage of Ukrainian in
Community in Which R. Was Raised***

None	20	3.1%
Up to 10%	123	19.0
25 - 50%	10	1.5
10 - 25%	165	25.4
Over 50%	330	51.0

Response: 649/734

TABLE 5

Ethnic Origins of Students' Parents

	<i>Father</i>		<i>Mother</i>	
Ukrainian	606	83.1%	548	75.5%
Mixed Ukrainian [°]	65	8.9	61	8.5
Polish	25	3.4	26	3.6
Austrian/German	10	1.4	13	1.8
Russian	6	0.8	8	1.1
British	3	0.4	18	2.5
French	—	—	4	0.6
Other ^{°°}	13	1.7	47	6.5

[°]Mixed Ukrainian Origins of Parents:

	<i>Father</i>		<i>Mother</i>	
Ukrainian-Polish	38	5.2	36	5.0
Ukrainian-Austrian/German	10	1.4	12	1.7
Ukrainian-Russian	8	1.1	4	0.6
Ukrainian-French	3	0.4	1	0.1
Ukrainian-British	1	0.1	2	0.3
Ukrainian w. Others	5	0.7	6	0.8

^{°°}Other Origins of Parents:

	<i>Father</i>		<i>Mother</i>	
Mixed British	7	0.9	8	1.1
East-Central European	4	0.6	11	1.5
Scandinavian	—	—	2	0.3
Jewish-Arab	1	0.1	—	—
"Other"	1	0.1	26	3.6

Response: on Father 729/734
on Mother 725/734

TABLE 6

*Country of Birth of Respondents, Their
Parents, and Parental Grandfather*

<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>R's</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>R's Grand- Paternal father</i>
Canada	93.8%	64.4%	74.2%	3.3
U. S.	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3
Overseas (including Ukraine)	5.8	36.1	25.3	0.3
Response:	731/734	733/734	672/734	

TABLE 7

Generational Change in Religious Preferences

....	<i>R's Affiliation</i>	<i>Father's Affiliation</i>	<i>Mother's Affiliation</i>
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	24.2%	35.5%	33.1%
Ukrainian (Greek) Orthodox	20.3	35.3	34.4
Russian Orthodox	2.9	6.8	6.6
Roman Catholic	9.2	6.0	7.6
United Church	16.8	6.9	9.4
Other Denominations	6.0	4.7	6.9
None	20.8	4.8	2.1
Response:	732/734	722/734	727/734

TABLE 8

R's Religious Preference and the Strength of Parents' and R's Ties with the Church

		<i>Very Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Fairly Strong</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Very Weak</i>	<i>None</i>
Ukrainian Greek Catholic (177)	^o P: 30.5% ^{oo} R: 9.0	29.4%	25.4%	10.2%	4.0%	0.6%	
Ukrainian Orthodox (129)	P: 24.8 R: 8.5	30.2	31.8	7.0	3.9	2.3	
Greek Orthodox (18)	P: 5.6 R: —	16.7	33.3	33.3	11.1	—	
Russian Orthodox (21)	P: 9.5 R: 4.8	28.6	42.9	33.3	—	—	
Roman Catholic (67)	P: 13.4 R: 13.4	20.9	40.3	23.9	1.5	—	
United Church (120)	P: 4.2 R: 0.8	10.0	27.5	34.2	17.5	6.7	
Other (Protestant) (44)	P: 6.8 R: 4.5	20.5	38.6	20.5	9.1	4.5	
None (151)	P: 4.0 R: —	9.9	23.8	31.1	14.6	16.6	
Total:	P: 15.4 R: 5.5	20.6	29.4	24.8	8.5	5.4	
		14.4	22.3	24.8	14.6	18.5	

^o P = Parents' ties with the Church.

^{oo} R = Respondent's ties with the Church.

Response: P = 727/734
R = 731/734

TABLE 9

Rating of R's Ties with the Church Compared with R's Parents' Ties

	<i>R's Parents</i>	<i>Respondent</i>	<i>Control Sample</i>
Very strong	15.4%	5.5%	7.6%
Strong	20.6	14.3	6.5
Fairly strong	29.4	22.2	20.0
Weak	20.7	24.7	29.4
Very Weak	8.6	14.7	12.4
None	5.3	18.6	24.1

TABLE 10

Language First Taught by Parents

Ukrainian	57.8%
English	41.7
Other	0.5

Response: 713/734

TABLE 11

Language Spoken in R's Home

Ukrainian	10.3%
English and Ukrainian	64.5
English	24.9
Other	0.3

Response: 700/734

TABLE 12

Formal Instruction in Ukrainian

	Male	Female	Total	Response
Attended Evening or Sunday Ukrainian School	40.8	51.0	45.0	726/734
Took Ukrainian in Elementary School	6.3	10.2	7.9	731/734
Took Ukrainian in High School	17.3	22.8	19.6	731/734
Took Ukrainian at University	12.9	14.2	13.4	731/734

TABLE 13

Command of Ukrainian by Male and Female Students

	Male	Female	Total	Response
<u>Speaking</u>				716/734
Very Good	6.6%	9.6%	7.8%	
Good	18.2	20.5	19.1	
Fair	28.1	30.7	29.2	
Poor	28.1	23.5	26.3	
None	18.9	15.7	17.6	
<u>Reading</u>				692/734
Very Good	4.2	7.4	5.5	
Good	7.6	14.0	10.3	
Fair	18.4	21.4	19.7	
Poor	22.6	22.5	22.5	
None	47.2	34.7	42.1	
<u>Writing</u>				692/734
Very Good	3.9	7.0	5.2	
Good	8.6	14.0	10.8	
Fair	12.8	16.1	14.2	
Poor	20.4	21.3	20.8	
None	54.2	41.6	49.0	

TABLE 14

Use of Ukrainian by Male and Female Respondents

	Ukrainian Only			Both Ukrainian and English			Response
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
In speaking to children (65 parents only)	2.4	16.7	7.7%	17.1	29.2	21.5%	65/P
With spouse (119 married students only)	1.3	2.5	1.7	19.0	42.5	26.9	119/119
With relatives	50.6	66.3	57.1				730/734
With friends	32.8	33.3	33.0				730/734
In Church	26.6	32.8	29.2				720/734
At Ukrainian meetings	18.0	17.5	17.8				692/734
At University	12.6	11.9	12.3				730/734

TABLE 15

*Lack of Exposure to Ukrainian Media and Non-Membership in
Ukrainian Organizations*

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Responses</i>
Do not subscribe to any Ukrainian periodical	94.3%	88.5%	91.9%	728/734
Read no Ukrainian book over the previous 12 months	91.6	89.4	90.7	731/734
Never look at Ukrainian publications	55.1	44.9	50.9	731/734
Never attend Ukrainian concerts or plays	32.4	22.4	28.2	733/734
Never listen to Ukrainian radio programmes	37.9	27.0	33.4	734/734
Do not belong to any Ukrainian club or organization	84.9	75.2	80.9	733/734

TABLE 16

Participation in Ukrainian and Non-Ukrainian Organizations

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
All Ukrainian Organizations other than Ukrainian Parish	15.1	24.8	19.1
Ukrainian Students' Clubs	7.3	8.0	15.4
Off-Campus Ukrainian Youth Organizations	4.9	8.1	13.1
Ukrainian Choir or Dance Groups	10.2	13.5	11.6
Fraternity or Sorority	11.6	3.9	8.4
Campus Political Groups	7.0	3.6	5.6
Off-Campus Political Groups	2.8	—	1.6

TABLE 17

Why R Does Not Belong to Any Ukrainian Parish

	<i>Scores</i>
Don't belong to <i>any</i> church	130
Belong to a different Denomination	128
Cannot understand the language in the Church	111
Find Ukrainian Church service too long	45
Live too far from a Ukrainian Church	38
Feel better in a non-Ukrainian Church	30

*This question was addressed to 409 (55.7%) of the students who do not belong to either of the two Ukrainian Churches.

TABLE 18

*Why R Does Not Belong to Any Ukrainian Student or Youth Organizations***

	<i>Scores</i>
Have no time	356
Cannot Communicate in Ukrainian	136
Not Interested	64
Activities too Narrow	53
Dislike for Ukrainian Organizations	18
No Opportunities to Meet with Ukrainians or no Knowledge about Ukrainian Organizations	12
Membership would be Socially Embarrassing	6

** This question was addressed to 594 (80.9%) of respondents who do not belong to any Ukrainian student or youth organizations. As in Table 32, the above scores represent the number of times the individual reasons for non-participation were mentioned in students' responses. 115 students declined to answer this question.

TABLE 19

R's Ukrainian Origin – a Source of Embarrassment

	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Never	N.. A.
As a child	0.5%	3.1%	18.7%	76.6%	1.1%
At high school	0.5	2.5	21.4	75.2	0.4
At the University in dealing with Professors	2.0	—	9.4	87.7	0.9
At the University in dealing with other students	0.3	3.7	21.0	74.0	1.0
In social life	0.4	3.1	22.2	73.9	0.4
On the job	0.3	2.2	13.6	81.3	2.6

TABLE 20

R Felt Discriminated Against

	Always	Frequently	Some times	Never..	N. A.
<u>At School</u>					
By Teachers	0.1%	1.9%	17.8%	79.6%	0.6%
By Peers (Other Pupils)	0.1	2.7	24.4	72.2	0.6
<u>At University</u>					
By Professors	0.1	3.1	17.0	78.6	1.2
By Peers (Other Students)	0.3	2.0	26.2	70.7	0.8
In Getting Scholarships, etc.	0.3	0.4	6.7	86.5	6.1
<u>On the Job</u>					
By Management	0.4	1.9	14.6	78.3	4.8
By Peers	—	1.1	16.1	78.7	4.1
<u>In Social Life</u>	0.3	1.9	25.3	69.6	2.9

TABLE 21

R's Marital Status and Ethnic Intermarriages

Single Students	614	83.7%	
Married Students	118	16.1	
Widowed Students	1	0.1	
Separated/Divorced	1	0.1	
			Male (75) Female (41) Total (116)
Married to Ukrainian spouses		44.0%	78.0% 56.0%
Married to British spouses		12.0	9.8 11.2
Married to German spouses		6.7	2.4 5.2
Married to French spouses		6.7	— 4.3
Married to Polish spouses		4.0	2.4 3.4
Married to Other spouses		26.7	7.3 19.9

TABLE 22

R's Country of Birth, Dating of Ukrainians and Preference for a Spouse of the Same Ethnic Origin

<i>Dates Ukrainians</i>	<i>Canadian-Born</i>	<i>Non-Canadian Born</i>	<i>Total</i>
Only	6.4%	16.2%	7.0%
Frequently	21.3	27.0	21.6
Occasionally	42.3	27.0	41.2
Seldom	18.8	13.5	18.5
Never	11.2	16.2	11.7
<i>Wants Spouse of Same Ethnic Origin</i>			
Yes	18.7%	52.6%	20.8%
Perhaps	18.2	18.4	18.1
Indifferent	61.2	28.9	59.3
No	1.9	—	1.8

Responses: 583/734
612/734

TABLE 23

"Best Political Party"

	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>N. D. P.</i>	<i>Soc. Cr.</i>	<i>Com.</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>DK/N. A.</i>
For Canada	28.6%	48.2%	6.4%	1.5%	0.1%	0.3%	14.9%
For Alberta	9.5	26.0	6.1	8.9	0.1	0.5	27.6
For Ukrainians	12.3	41.1	8.0	43.7	1.6	0.3	14.3
Control Sample	31.8%	37.1%	6.5%	2.4%	—	0.6%	21.6%

TABLE 24

*Will R Vote for Ukrainian Candidates
Regardless of Their Party Affiliation?*

Yes	3.1%
No	95.5
N. A.	1.4

TABLE 25

*Two Most Important Factors for Making Electoral Choices Among
Candidates of Ukrainian origin (multiple choice)*

	<i>Score</i>
Same Party Affiliation	453
Better Education	431
Greater Contribution to Ukrainian Life in Canada	93
Ability, Integrity and Efficiency of the Candidate	37
Political Program of the Candidate	36
Greater Readiness to Support Ukraine's Independence	21
Same Religion	17
Other Criteria	4
N. A.	14

TABLE 26

R's Country of Birth and Attitudes Towards Communists and Fascists and Vietnam War

	<i>Favour inviting as speakers to speak</i>	<i>Would allow as teachers speak</i>	<i>Consider Communism danger to West</i>	<i>U. S. should leave Vietnam</i>	<i>U. S. should increase military effort to end war in Vietnam</i>		
	<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Fasc.</i>	<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Fasc.</i>			
Canadian-Born	67.2	62.0	44.9	39.5	69.5	45.5	35.7
Non-Canadian Born	47.7	47.7	16.7	14.3	86.0	23.8	67.6
Total	66.0	61.1	43.1	37.9	70.5	44.2	37.5
Control Sample	82.4	70.6	52.4	41.2	55.9	42.3	28.2
Response:	697/734	671/734	686/734	683/734	712/734	681/734	626/734

TABLE 27

"Permissive" vs. "Authoritarian" Attitudes

<i>Canada should:</i>	Yes		No		N. A.	
	Ukr.*	C. S.**	Ukr.	C. S.	Ukr.	C. S.
Ban Hate Literature in Canada	65.5%	64.1%	31.6%	33.5%	2.9%	2.4%
Legalize "Mind-Expanding" Drugs	25.3	36.5	70.7	63.5	4.0	—
Restrict the Sale of Birth Control Devices	23.4	20.6	73.7	78.7	2.9	0.6
Abolish Censorship of Films and Publications	51.6	57.6	56.9	41.8	1.5	0.6

* Ukrainian Students

** Control Sample

TABLE 28

Which is More Dangerous?

	<i>Ukr.*</i>	<i>C. S.**</i>
Chinese Communism	56.3%	43.5%
Russian Communism	9.4	7.6
DK/A. A.	5.6	7.7
Inapplicable	28.9	41.2

TABLE 29

*Should the West Take All
Steps to Defeat Communism?*

	<i>Ukr.*</i>	<i>C. S.**</i>
Yes	45.2%	33.5%
No	21.7	20.0
N. A.	4.4	5.3
Inapplicable	28.9	41.2

- * Ukrainian Students
- ** Control Sample

TABLE 30

Attitudes Towards the Ukraine by Country of Birth

<i>Interested in what goes on in the Ukraine</i>	<i>Canadian-Born</i>	<i>Non-Canadian Born</i>	<i>Total</i>
Very much	3.4%	20.0%	4.4%
Quite a lot	5.3	15.6	5.9
Some	58.1	53.3	57.7
Not at all	33.2	11.1	32.0

Response: 725/734

*Favours independence for the Ukraine**

Yes	71.5%	95.1%	73.5%
No	3.5	2.4	3.4
Indifferent	25.1	2.4	23.2

Response: 501/734

*Ukrainians in Canada should actively support Ukrainian aspiration to independence**

	37.7%	77.5%	41.4%
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Response: 449/734

* It should be noted that most of the 187 students (30.9% of respondents) who denied that the Ukraine is an oppressed country, did not bother to respond to these questions.

TABLE 31

Assimilation of Ukrainians in Canada and Preservation of Their Language, Culture, Religion/Rite, and Ethnic Identity

		4. Ukrainians should	language	culture	religion/Rite
1. Ukrainians ought to assimilate as soon as possible	39.8%	preserve their:	80.9%	86.5%	72.6%
2. Assimilation of Ukrainians in Canada is inevitable	69.8%	5. Ukrainians can preserve their ethnic indentity	77.8%		
3. They should assimilate into a new Canadian nationality*	92.0%				
Response:	1. 645/734;	2. 686/734;	3. 503/734;	4. 692/734; 696/734; 650/734;	5. 713/734

*Rather than into English (8.0% or French (0.0%) group.

TABLE 32

Are There Two Nations in Canada?

	<i>Ukrainian Students</i>	<i>Control Sample</i>
Yes	32.7%	43.5%
No	65.0	51.8
DK/N. A.	2.3	4.7

TABLE 33

There OUGHT to be in Canada

	<i>Ukrainian Students</i>	<i>Control Sample</i>
Only one official language, English	54.0%	34.1%
Two official languages, French in Quebec and in the Federal Government only	19.1	20.6
Two official languages throughout Canada	23.8	44.1
DK/N. A.	3.1	1.2

TABLE 34

Favour Bilingual Districts in Western Canada

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N. A.</i>
For the French	24.7%	73.3%	2.0%
For others, including Ukrainians	24.0	73.2	2.8
<i>Control Sample</i>			
Favour Bilingual Districts for the French	40.0	57.6	2.4
Favour Bilingual Districts for others, including Ukrainians	24.1	72.9	3.0

TABLE 35

*Students' Views on Ukrainian in Schools in
Areas of Large Concentration of Ukrainians*

<i>R's Religious Denomination</i>	<i>Ukrainian Should be Used as Language of School Instruction</i>	<i>Ukrainian Should be .. Offered (as a Subject) in Schools</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	61.4%	96.7%
Ukrainian Orthodox	58.7	100.0
Greek Orthodox	72.2	100.0
Russian Orthodox	55.0	100.0
Roman Catholic	39.7	92.1
United Church	39.1	93.0
Other Protestant	41.9	88.1
None	29.9	90.6
Absolute Frequency:	335	612
Percentage of All Respondents	45.7%	94.6%
Control Group*	34.5%	80.9%
Response:	703/734	647/734

* On the use of "ethnic languages".

TABLE 36

*Should Ukrainian Language Programs be Offered in the
Publicly Supported Mass Media in Areas of Large Concentration
of Ukrainians?*

	<i>Ukrainian Students</i>	<i>Control Sample*</i>
Yes	59.7%*	55.3%
No	27.7	35.3
N. A.	12.6	9.4

* Response to the question on *ethnic* language programs

TABLE 37

Derive Advantage from Knowing Ukrainian

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Very Much	17.7%	25.9%	21.2%
Some	50.1	51.5	50.7
Not Much	19.0	17.0	18.2
None	13.1	5.6	10.0

Response: 634/734

TABLE 38

R's Interest in Learning Ukrainian and Passing it on to Children

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Interested in Learning Ukrainian*	55.3%	71.6%	61.2%
Intends to Teach Children Ukrainian**	50.0	65.7	56.4

* Responses of 371 students who don't know Ukrainian very well

** Response 669/734

TABLE 39

*Religions Preference and the Strength of Religious Ties of
Male and Female Respondents*

<i>Denomination:</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	21.2%	28.4%	24.2%
Ukrainian (Greek) Ortholox	20.5	19.9	20.3
Russian Orthodox	2.1	4.0	2.9
Roman Catholic	8.2	10.6	9.2
United Church	13.8	21.1	16.8
Other	5.6	6.6	6.6
None	28.7	9.6	20.8
			Response: 732/734

Strength of Religious Ties

Very Strong	4.7%	6.6%	5.5%
Strong	11.9	17.8	14.3
Fairly Strong	18.2	28.0	22.2
Weak	21.9	28.6	24.7
Very Weak	17.5	10.9	14.7
None	25.9	8.2	18.6
			Response: 733/734

TABLE 40

Ethnic Self-Identification by Male and Female Respondents

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
"Ukrainian"	2.8%	5.7%	4.0%
"Ukrainian Canadian"*	38.4	50.0	43.2
"Canadian"	58.8	44.3	52.8

* Include 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin"

Response: 727/734

TABLE 41

R's Country of Birth and Religious Preference

	<i>Canadian-Born</i>	<i>Non-Canadian Born</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	21.8%	57.8%
Ukrainian Orthodox	17.8	17.8
Greek Orthodox	2.6	—
Russian Orthodox	3.1	—
Roman Catholic	9.6	2.2
United Church	18.0	—
Other (Protestant)	6.3	2.2
None	20.8	20.0

Response: 729/734

TABLE 42

Parents' Country of Birth and R's Religious Preference

	Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	Ukrainian (Greek) Orthodox	Russian Orthodox	Roman Catholic	United Church	Other	None	Percentage of total
Canada (542)	21.4	21.8	3.3	10.5	17.2	5.9	19.9	74.1%
Ukraine (137)	37.2	18.3	1.5	5.8	15.3	2.9	19.0	18.7%
Elsewhere in East Europe (28)	21.4	7.1	3.6	7.1	17.9	10.7	32.1	3.8
West Europe (10)	10.	—	—	—	30.0	30.0	30.0	1.4
U. S. A. (4)	—	—	—	—	—	50.0	50.0	0.5
Other (10)	30.0	20.0	—	—	10.0	—	40.0	1.4
Absolute Frequencies:	177	147	21	67	123	44	152	
Percentage:	24.2	20.1	2.9	9.2	16.8	6.0	20.8	

Response: 731/734

TABLE 43*R's Country of Birth and Formal Training in Ukrainian*

	<i>Canadian- Born</i>	<i>Non-Canadian Born</i>	<i>Response</i>
Attended Ukrainian Evening/Sunday School	43.3%	72.7%	732/734
Took Ukrainian in Elementary School	7.2	20.5	728/734
Took Ukrainian in High School	18.3	40.9	728/734
Took Ukrainian at University	11.4	45.5	728/734

TABLE 44

*R's Country of Birth, Language Spoken at R's Home
and the Actual Use of Ukrainian by R.*

	<i>Language Spoken at R's Home</i>					
	<i>Ukr.</i>	<i>Engl.</i>	<i>Ukr. & Engl.</i>	<i>Other</i>		
Canadian Born	6.6	26.5	66.8	0.1		
Non-Canadian Born	68.2	—	29.5	2.3		
Absolute Frequency:	75	180	467	2		
Percentage:	10.4%	24.9%	64.5%	0.3%		
Response: 724/734						
	<i>R's Use of Ukrainian</i>					
	<i>With Relatives</i>	<i>With Friends</i>	<i>At Church</i>	<i>At Ukr. Organ. Meet.</i>	<i>At Univ.</i>	<i>Prays ni Ukr.</i>
Canadian Born	56.0	32.4	27.2	15.6	11.6	26.1
Non-Canadian Born	74.4	43.2	59.1	50.0	25.0	61.3
Absolute Frequencies:	415	240	209	123	90	153
Percentage:	57.1%	33.0%	29.1%	17.8%	12.4%	28.1%
Response:	727/734	703/734	717/734	690/734	727/734	544/734

TABLE 45

R's Country of Birth and Lack of Interest in Ukrainian Publications, Concerts, and Radio Programmes

	<i>Never Looks at Ukrainian Publications</i>	<i>Never Attends Ukrainian Concerts/Plays</i>	<i>Never Listens to Ukrainian Radio Programmes</i>
Canadian-Born	53.6%	29.2%	34.4%
Non-Canadian Born	8.9	13.3	15.6
Response:	728/734	730/734	731/734

TABLE 46

R's Ethnic Self-Identification and Country by Birth

	<i>Canadian-Born</i>	<i>Non-Canadian Born</i>	<i>Total</i>
"Ukrainian"	3.2%	15.9%	4.0%
"Ukrainian-Canadian", etc.*	41.1%	75.0%	43.3%
"Canadian"	55.6%	9.1%	52.8%

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of Ukrainian origin".

Response: 727/734

TABLE 47

*R's Country of Birth and Views on Assimilation and the
Preservation of Ethnic Identity*

	<i>Ukrainians in Canada Ought to Assimilate As Soon As Possible</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada should Preserve Their Language</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada Culture</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada Religion/Rite</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada can Preserve Their Ethnic Identity</i>
Canadian-Born	40.7%	79.7%	85.8%	71.1%	77.0%
Non-Canadian Born	25.0	97.8	95.6	93.2	93.2
Response:	642/734	689/734	693/734	648/734	710/734

TABLE 48

Father's Occupation and Religious Affiliation of the Father (F) and Respondent (R)

Father's Occupation	Ukr. Cath.	Ukr. Orth.	Rus. Orth.	Roman Cath.	United Church	Other Denom.	None
Farmer	(F) 44.2%	31.8%	9.7%	4.9%	1.5%	4.9%	3.0%
	(R) 31.7	20.6	5.2	7.8	18.3	4.9	11.6
Unskilled Labourer	(F) 32.9	29.1	8.9	7.6	5.1	3.8	12.7
	(R) 17.7	20.2	2.5	13.9	16.5	3.8	12.7
Skilled Labourer	(F) 34.6	30.7	3.7	2.5	12.3	3.7	6.2
	(R) 23.2	14.6	1.2	7.3	18.3	6.1	29.3
White Collar W.	(F) 20.4	39.8	4.3	9.7	11.8	5.4	8.6
	(R) 14.9	21.2	0.0	10.6	23.4	7.4	22.3
Teacher	(F) 15.2	48.5	3.0	12.1	18.2	0.0	3.0
	(R) 9.1	15.2	3.0	6.1	12.1	6.1	48.5
Self-Employed/ Businessman	(F) 31.3	35.4	6.2	4.2	16.7	6.2	0.0
	(R) 14.3	20.4	6.1	12.2	16.3	10.2	20.4
Professional/ Executive	(F) 40.7	40.7	0.0	5.1	10.2	3.4	0.0
	(R) 33.3	30.0	0.0	8.3	6.7	6.7	15.0
Other	(F) 29.7	43.2	5.4	5.4	2.7	5.4	8.1
	(R) 20.5	20.5	0.0	7.7	15.4	5.1	30.8

• Includes "Greek Orthodox".

Response: 697/734

TABLE 49

*Father's Occupation and the Strength of Parents (P) and
Respondent's (R) Ties With the Church*

<i>Father's Occupation</i>		<i>Very Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Fairly Strong</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Very Weak</i>	<i>None</i>
Farmer	(P)	14.7%	22.6%	38.8%	16.5%	4.9%	3.4%
	(R)	6.0	14.9	24.6	28.7	16.4	9.3
Unskilled Labourer	(P)	10.1	20.3	26.6	20.3	15.2	7.6
	(R)	7.6	10.1	19.0	21.5	15.2	26.6
Skilled Labourer	(P)	7.3	25.6	18.3	30.5	9.8	8.5
	(R)	4.9	20.7	22.0	20.7	11.0	20.7
White Collar Worker	(P)	19.1	13.8	26.6	23.4	11.7	5.3
	(R)	4.2	13.7	25.3	23.2	10.5	23.2
Teacher	(P)	12.1	24.2	21.2	30.3	6.1	6.1
	(R)	3.0	12.1	9.1	24.2	15.2	36.4
Self-Employed/Businessman	(P)	10.0	18.0	28.0	24.0	12.0	8.0
	(R)	6.0	10.0	14.0	32.0	18.0	20.0
Professional/Executive	(P)	40.7	20.3	15.3	16.9	6.8	0.0
	(R)	5.0	18.3	28.3	15.0	16.7	16.7
Other	(P)	7.9	15.8	36.8	18.4	13.2	7.9
	(R)	5.3	10.5	15.8	23.7	15.8	28.9

Response: 705/734

TABLE 50

Father's Occupation and the Language First Taught by Parents

<i>Father's Occupation</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>
Farmer	75.6%	24.0%	0.4%
Unskilled Labourer	61.5	37.2	1.3
Skilled Labourer	46.3	52.5	1.2
White Collar Worker	37.2	62.8	—
Teacher	34.4	62.5	3.1
Self-Employed/Businessman	52.1	47.9	—
Professional/Executive	54.2	45.8	—
Other	44.7	55.3	—
Total	58.2%	41.2%	0.5%

Response: 678/734

TABLE 51

Father's Occupation and R's Formal Training in Ukrainian and Membership in Ukrainian Clubs

	<i>Attended Ukrainian Evening/Sunday School</i>	<i>Took Ukrainian Elementary School</i>	<i>Took Ukrainian in High School</i>	<i>Took Ukrainian at University</i>	<i>Belongs to Ukrainian Clubs</i>
Farmer (263)	43.7%	5.6%	22.8%	13.4%	19.8%
Unskilled Labourer (79)	51.9	11.4	19.0	11.4	17.9
Skilled Labourer (81)	42.0	6.2	14.8	18.8	15.9
White Collar (95)	45.3	5.3	12.6	13.7	18.9
Teacher (33)	42.4	6.1	21.2	9.1	6.1
Self-Employed/Businessman (49)	30.6	14.3	10.2	6.1	20.0
Professional/Executive (60)	56.7	15.0	30.0	18.3	26.7
Other (39)	53.8	5.1	23.1	12.8	25.6
Response:	699/734	704/734	704/734	704/734	705/734

TABLE 52

Father's Occupation and R's Facility in Ukrainian

<i>R's Facility in Ukrainian</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>		<i>Skilled</i>		<i>White</i>		<i>Self-Employed/</i>		<i>Other</i>
	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Labourer</i>	<i>Collar Worker</i>	<i>Teacher</i>	<i>Businessman</i>	<i>Professor</i>		
<i>Ability to Speak</i>									
Very good	10.6%	6.4%	6.3%	4.2%	0.0%	4.3%	13.8%	8.1%	
Good	25.3	21.8	17.7	9.5	6.2	21.7	12.1	13.5	
Fair	38.9	32.1	22.8	20.0	21.9	19.9	20.7	24.3	
Poor	20.4	29.5	19.0	32.6	50.0	32.6	27.6	35.1	
None	4.9	10.3	34.2	33.7	21.9	21.7	25.9	18.9	
<i>Ability to Read</i>									
Very good	5.9	6.6	3.9	4.3	3.2	2.4	8.5	10.8	
Good	11.5	6.6	11.8	9.7	6.5	7.1	15.3	5.4	
Fair	23.7	15.8	15.8	16.1	19.4	11.9	22.0	18.9	
Poor	30.8	25.0	10.5	12.9	22.6	26.2	16.9	18.9	
None	28.1	46.1	57.9	57.0	48.4	52.4	37.3	45.9	
<i>Ability to Write</i>									
Very good	5.9	6.6	5.3	4.3	0.0	2.4	6.8	8.1	
Good	10.7	5.3	14.5	10.8	3.2	9.5	18.6	13.5	
Fair	17.8	10.5	9.2	14.0	16.1	4.8	18.6	8.1	
Poor	28.1	25.0	10.5	11.8	22.6	21.4	13.6	21.6	
None	37.5	52.6	60.5	59.1	58.1	61.9	42.4	48.6	

TABLE 53

Father's Occupation and Attendance of Ukrainian Concerts, etc. and Listening to Ukrainian Broadcasts

	<u>Attends Ukrainian Concerts</u>			<u>Listens to Ukrainian Broadcasts</u>			<u>Never Looked at Ukrainian Publications</u>		
	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Occas.</u>	<u>Seldom or Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Occas.</u>		<u>Seldom or Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Farmer	6.0%	43.8%	30.7%	19.9%	17.2%	42.5%	26.1%	14.2%	41.2%
Unskilled Labourer	7.6	27.8	34.2	30.4	8.9	30.4	32.9	27.8	49.4
Skilled Labourer	11.0	25.6	24.4	39.0	7.3	24.4	26.8	41.5	55.6
White Collar Worker	12.6	23.2	28.4	35.8	1.1	26.3	24.2	48.4	60.0
Teacher	3.0	21.2	51.5	24.2	3.0	12.1	24.2	60.6	63.6
Self-Employed/Businessman	6.0	22.0	36.0	36.0	8.0	12.0	30.0	50.0	66.0
Professional/Executive	15.0	33.3	23.3	28.3	--	18.3	28.3	53.3	48.3
Other	7.7	30.8	28.2	33.3	--	25.6	33.3	41.6	63.8
Total	8.4	32.9	30.6	28.1	9.2	30.3	27.5	33.0	50.9
Response:		705/734			706/734				703/734

TABLE 54

Father's Occupation and Membership in Ukrainian and Non-Ukrainian Groups

<i>Father's Occupation</i>	<i>Ukrainian Clubs/Org.</i>	<i>Ukr. Choir or Folk Dan. Group</i>	<i>Fraternity/Sorority</i>
Farmer	19.8%	11.2%	2.6%
Unskilled Labourer	17.9	13.9	7.6
Skilled Labourer	15.9	11.0	3.7
White Collar Worker	18.9	14.7	15.8
Teacher	6.1	3.0	6.1
Self-Employed/Businessman	20.0	6.0	14.0
Professional/Executive	26.7	15.0	26.7
Other	25.6	10.3	7.7
Total %	19.3%	11.5%	8.4%
Response:	705/734	706/734	706/734

TABLE 55

Father's Occupation and Membership in Non-Ukrainian Campus and Off-Campus Political Clubs

	Total Members	Farmer	Unskilled Worker	Skilled Worker	White Collar Worker	Teacher	Self-Empl. Businessman	Profess. Exec.	Other
Conservative	19	47.4%	15.8%	—	10.5%	—	—	21.1%	5.3%
Liberal	10	30.0	—	10.0	20.0	—	—	30.0	10.0
NDY (NDP)	6	33.3	16.7	16.7	—	16.7	16.7	—	—
Social Credit	1	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other Political Clubs	1	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Off-Campus Political Groups	12	25.0	16.7	8.3	16.7	8.3	8.3	—	16.7
Total Membership:	<u>49</u>								
Percentage of all students	6.9%								

Response: 705/734

TABLE 56

Father's Occupation and the Dating of Ukrainians

	<i>R. Dates Ukrainians</i>				
	<i>Only</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never</i>
Farmer	9.2%	26.1%	44.4%	14.0%	6.3%
Unskilled Labourer	8.3	16.7	35.0	26.7	13.3
Skilled Labourer	5.8	18.8	36.2	21.7	17.4
White Collar Worker	7.7	29.6	37.2	14.1	14.1
Teacher	—	14.3	57.1	17.9	10.7
Self-Employed/Businessman	2.6	15.4	59.0	15.4	7.7
Professional/Executive	8.2	20.4	30.6	18.4	22.4
Other	3.0	9.1	33.3	39.4	15.2

Response: 563/734

TABLE 57

Father's Occupation and R's Views on the Importance of Ethnic Origin in the Choice of Spouse

	<i>Most</i>	<i>One of</i>	<i>Of</i>	<i>Not</i>
	<i>Important</i>	<i>Important</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Important</i>
	<i>Important</i>	<i>Factors</i>	<i>Importance</i>	<i>at All</i>
Farmer	5.1%	14.0%	35.3%	45.6%
Unskilled Labourer	7.9	11.1	30.2	50.8
Skilled Labourer	4.1	11.0	34.2	50.7
White Collar Worker	2.4	17.6	23.5	56.5
Teacher	—	12.5	21.9	65.6
Self-Employed/Businessman	—	2.5	27.5	70.0
Professional/Executive	8.0	18.0	28.0	46.0
Other	—	9.1	21.2	69.7
Total %	4.2%	13.0%	30.3%	52.5%

Response: 591/734

TABLE 58

Father's Occupation and R's Preference for a Spouse of the Same Ethnic and Religious Background

	Wants Spouse of the Same Ethnic Background			Wants Spouse of the Same Religious Background		
	Yes	Perhaps	Indifferent	Yes	Perhaps	Indifferent
Farmer	23.0%	22.5%	52.6%	38.5%	22.6%	38.5%
Unskilled Labourer	26.6	14.1	57.8	37.1	24.2	37.1
Skilled Labourer	21.9	15.1	60.3	39.4	21.1	38.0
White Collar Worker	18.8	21.2	58.8	27.7	30.1	41.0
Teacher	9.4	25.0	25.0	16.7	20.0	63.3
Self-Employed/Businessman	7.5	12.5	77.5	22.5	25.0	50.0
Professional/Executive	32.0	16.0	50.0	41.7	18.8	39.6
Other	9.4	12.5	75.0	16.7	16.7	66.7
Response:						
		589/734			527/734	
						0.5%

TABLE 59

Father's Occupation and R's Attitudes Towards the Ukraine

	R's Interest in the Ukraine				Are Ukrainians Being Oppressed in the Old Country?	
	Very Much	Quite a Lot	To Some Extent	Not at All	Yes	No
Farmer (266)	4.1%	8.6%	59.4%	27.8%	67.8%	32.2%
Unskilled Labourer (79)	3.8	6.3	53.2	36.7	73.9	26.1
Skilled Labourer (80)	5.0	1.2	57.5	36.3	65.6	34.4
Teacher (33)	3.0	3.0	66.7	25.8	71.1	28.9
White Collar Worker (93)	4.3	3.2	57.6	36.4	63.0	37.0
Self-Employed/Businessman (49)	4.1	2.0	53.1	40.8	76.2	23.8
Professional/Executive (59)	8.5	10.2	55.9	25.4	73.9	26.1
Other (39)	5.1	—	59.0	35.9	65.6	34.4

Response:

698/734

583/734

TABLE 60

*Father's Occupation and the Attitudes
Towards the Teaching of Ukrainian in
Public and Separate Schools*

<i>Father's Occupation</i>	<i>Ukrainian Should Be Used as Language of Instruction</i>	<i>Ukrainian Should Be Offered as a Subject</i>
Farmer	53.5%	94.4%
Unskilled Labour	46.2	94.6
Skilled Labour	38.5	90.1
White Collar	45.3	97.6
Teacher	34.5	82.8
Self-Employed/Business	39.6	97.9
Professional/Executive	55.2	100.0
Other	41.7	94.4
Percent of all Respondents:	47.5	94.6
Response:	680/734	626/734

TABLE 61

Father's Occupation and R's Experience of Discrimination on Account of Ethnic Origin

	<u>Ukrainian origin was never a source of embarrassment to R</u>		<u>R was never discriminated against on account of his ethnic origin</u>		<u>Does not feel that Ukrainian background will be career obstacle</u>				
	<u>at School</u>		<u>at University</u>						
	<u>as Child in H.School in Social Life by Teachers by Peers by Professors by Other Students by Social Life</u>								
Farmer	80.4%	76.4%	71.2%	82.3%	74.1%	76.1%	68.0%	68.1%	89.4%
Unskilled Labourer	67.1	65.4	67.9	75.9	64.6	82.9	67.9	61.5	79.1
Skilled Labourer	75.6	73.2	74.4	82.9	78.0	87.8	79.0	76.8	90.5
White Collar Worker	79.8	83.2	82.1	80.0	76.8	83.2	70.5	80.6	88.9
Teacher	78.8	75.8	63.6	84.8	66.7	72.7	81.3	67.7	79.2
Self-Employed/ Businessman	81.6	78.0	77.6	77.6	69.4	82.0	79.6	73.9	79.5
Professional/ Executive	73.3	75.0	81.7	70.0	67.8	78.0	66.7	73.7	90.4
Other	84.6	84.2	87.2	84.6	79.5	79.5	87.2	84.6	90.6
Response:	698/734	703/734	703/734	703/734	702/734	698/734	700/734	686/734	585/734

TABLE 62

Father's Occupation and Religious Affiliation of the Father (F) and Respondent (R)

Father's Occupation	Ukrainian Catholic		Ukrainian Orthodox		Russian Orthodox		Roman Catholic		United Church		Other Denominations		None	
	(F)	(R)	(F)	(R)	(F)	(R)	(F)	(R)	(F)	(R)	(F)	(R)	(F)	(R)
Farmer	44.2%	31.7	31.8%	29.1	9.7%	5.2	4.9%	7.8	1.5%	18.3	4.9%	4.9	3.0%	11.6
Unskilled Labourer	(F)	32.9	29.1	8.9	7.6	5.1	12.7							
	(R)	17.7	20.2	2.5	13.9	16.5	25.3							
Skillet Labourer	(F)	34.6	37.0	3.7	2.5	12.3	6.2							
	(R)	23.2	14.6	1.2	7.3	18.3	29.3							
White Collar Worker	(F)	20.4	39.8	4.3	9.7	11.8	8.6							
	(R)	14.9	21.2	0.0	10.6	23.4	22.3							
Teacher	(F)	15.2	48.5	3.0	12.1	18.2	3.0							
	(R)	9.1	15.2	3.0	6.1	12.1	48.5							
Self-Employed/Businessman	(F)	31.3	35.4	6.2	4.2	16.7	0.0							
	(R)	14.3	20.4	6.1	12.2	16.3	20.4							
Professional/Executive	(F)	40.7	40.7	0.0	5.1	10.2	0.0							
	(R)	33.3	30.0	0.0	8.3	6.7	15.0							
Other	(F)	29.7	43.2	5.4	5.4	2.7	8.1							
	(R)	20.5	20.5	0.0	7.7	15.4	30.8							

Response: 697/734

*Includes "Greek Orthodox".

TABLE 63

Father's Occupation and the Strength of Parent's (P) and Respondent's (R) Ties With the Church

<i>Father's Occupation</i>	<i>Strength of Ties with The Church</i>				
	<i>Very Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Fairly Strong</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Very Weak</i>
Farmer	(P) 14.7%	22.6%	38.8%	16.5%	4.9%
	(R) 6.0	14.9	24.6	28.7	16.4
Unskilled Labourer	(P) 10.1	20.3	26.6	20.3	15.2
	(R) 7.6	10.1	19.0	21.5	15.2
Skilled Labourer	(P) 7.3	25.6	18.3	30.5	9.8
	(R) 4.9	20.7	22.0	20.7	11.0
White Collar Worker	(P) 19.1	138.	26.6	23.4	11.7
	(R) 4.2	13.7	25.3	23.2	10.5
Teacher	(P) 12.1	24.2	21.2	30.3	6.1
	(R) 3.0	12.1	9.1	24.2	15.2
Self-Employed/Businessman	(P) 10.0	18.0	28.0	24.0	12.0
	(R) 6.0	10.0	14.0	32.0	18.0
Professional/Executive	(P) 40.7	20.3	15.3	16.9	6.8
	(R) 5.0	18.3	28.3	15.0	16.7
Other	(P) 7.9	15.8	36.8	18.4	13.2
	(R) 5.3	10.5	15.8	23.7	15.8

Response: 705/734

TABLE 64

*R's Religious Preference, the Language First Taught
by Parents, and the Language Spoken at R's Home*

	<u>Language First Taught by Parents</u>			<u>Language Spoken at R's Home</u>		
	Ukrainian	English	Other	Ukrainian	English	Ukr. and Engl. Other
Ukrainian Catholic	77.9%	21.5%	0.6%	21.1%	12.0%	66.9%
Ukrainian Orthodox	78.0	22.0	—	12.4	8.5	79.1
Greek Orthodox	68.8	31.3	—	11.1	—	88.9
Ression Orthodox	76.2	23.8	—	4.8	14.3	81.0
Roman Catholic	37.3	61.2	1.5	4.5	43.3	50.7
United Church	34.7	65.3	—	3.3	44.3	52.5
Other (Protestant)	35.7	64.3	—	2.3	45.5	50.0
None	47.3	51.4	1.4	7.4	28.9	63.8
Absolute Frequencies:	411	296	4	75	181	467
Percentage:	57.8	41.6	0.5	10.3	25.0	64.4
Response	711/734			725/734		

TABLE 65

*Background of Students Who Do Not Belong to
Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox Churches*

	<i>Percentage raised in localities with no more than 10% Ukrainian</i>	<i>Father born in Canada</i>	<i>Paternal Grandfather born in Canada</i>
Roman Catholic	27.3%	64.2%	5.4%
United Church	22.4	73.8	7.4
Other (Protestant)	38.9	79.5	10.3
None	57.6	63.8	2.2
Average for all Students	22.1%	64.3%	3.3%
Response:	648/734	731/734	670/734

TABLE 66

R's Religious Preference and Instruction in Ukrainian

	<i>Attended Ukrainian Even./Sunday School in Elem. School</i>	<i>Took Ukrainian School in High School</i>	<i>Took Ukrainian At the University</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	61.5%	31.1%	24.4%
Ukrainian Orthodox	72.9	25.4	23.1
Greek Orthodox	41.2	11.1	16.7
Russian Orthodox	42.9	38.1	9.5
Roman Catholic	28.4	13.4	3.0
United Church	22.3	11.5	2.5
Other (Protestant)	20.5	9.1	4.5
None	35.8	11.9	8.6
Response:	724/734	729/734	729/734

TABLE 67

R's Religious Preference and Facility in Ukrainian

	<u>S P E A K I N G</u>				<u>R E A D I N G</u>				<u>W R I T I N G</u>						
	<u>V.Good</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>V.Good</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>V.Good</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>None</u>
Ukrainian Catholic	18.5%	27.2%	32.4%	17.3%	4.6%	12.5%	14.3%	28.0%	25.0%	20.2%	12.5%	13.7%	21.4%	25.0%	27.4%
Ukrainian Orthodox	11.7	27.3	34.4	23.4	3.1	7.2	24.8	28.0	26.4	13.6	6.4	23.2	26.4	24.8	19.2
Greek Orthodox	16.7	5.6	55.6	22.2	--	--	11.8	17.6	29.4	41.2	--	11.8	11.8	29.4	47.1
Russian Orthodox	9.5	28.6	23.8	33.3	4.8	4.8	9.5	23.8	28.6	33.3	4.8	19.0	4.8	19.0	52.4
Roman Catholic	--	12.7	23.8	28.6	34.5	--	3.3	13.1	18.0	65.6	--	3.3	3.3	19.7	73.8
United Church	0.8	10.7	24.0	35.5	28.9	0.9	3.4	10.3	19.8	65.5	0.9	4.3	6.9	13.8	74.1
Other (Protestant)	--	7.1	23.8	31.0	38.1	2.7	2.7	10.8	8.1	75.7	--	5.6	8.3	8.3	77.8
None	2.0	16.1	26.8	28.9	26.2	3.4	3.4	15.1	22.6	55.5	3.4	5.4	8.8	21.1	61.2
Total %	7.8	19.2	29.2	26.3	17.5	5.5	10.3	19.7	22.6	42.0	5.2	10.9	14.2	20.8	43.0
Response:	715/734					691/734					691/734				

TABLE 68

*R's Religious Preference, Interest in Learning Ukrainian
and Intention to Teach Ukrainian to Children*

	<i>Interested in Learning Ukrainian</i>	<i>Intends to Teach Ukrainian to Children</i>
Ukrainian Orthodox	81.6	86.7
Ukrainian Catholic	76.0%	79.5%
Greek Orthodox	100.0	88.2
Russian Orthodox	50.0	63.2
Roman Catholic	47.8	27.0
United Church	65.1	38.7
Other (Protestant)	58.3	29.3
None	47.5	33.6
Responses:	226/369	376/667

TABLE 69

R's Religious Preference and Exposure to Ukrainian Media

	Looks at Ukrainian Publication			Attends Ukra'nian Concerts/Plays			Listens to Ukrainian Radio Programmes					
	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Occas.</u>	<u>Seldom</u> <u>Never</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Occas.</u>	<u>Seldom</u> <u>Never</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>Occas.</u>	<u>Sometimes</u> <u>Never</u>			
Ukrainian Catholics	5.17	28.4%	36.4%	30.17%	11.3%	35.9%	36.7%	12.47%	19.2%	31.1%	31.6%	18.17%
Ukrainian Orthodox	4.6	29.2	34.6	31.5	23.1	46.9	23.1	6.9	13.8	38.5	31.5	16.2
Greek Orthodox	--	16.7	38.9	44.4	--	55.6	22.2	22.2	5.6	61.1	33.3	--
Russian Orthodox	--	19.0	28.6	52.4	--	66.7	9.5	23.8	19.0	33.3	19.0	28.6
Roman Catholics	--	7.5	16.4	76.1	4.5	13.4	31.3	50.7	3.0	28.4	19.4	49.3
United Church	0.8	8.3	25.6	65.3	2.4	29.3	32.5	35.8	1.6	32.5	23.6	42.3
Other (Protestants)	2.3	6.8	25.0	65.9	2.3	14.0	27.9	55.8	4.5	18.2	25.0	52.3
None	0.7	7.9	26.3	65.1	3.3	19.7	34.2	42.8	1.3	22.4	25.7	50.7
Absolute Frequencies:	18	125	215	371	62	236	226	207	65	224	199	244
Percentage:	0.5	17.1	22.5	50.9	8.5	32.3	30.9	28.3	8.9	30.6	27.2	33.3
Response:	729/734				731/734				732/734			

TABLE 70

*R's Religious Preference and Membership
in Ukrainian Clubs and Choir/Dance Groups*

	<i>Belongs to a Ukrainian Club or Organization</i>	<i>Belongs to a Ukrainian Choir or Folk Dance Group</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	31.3%	14.1%
Ukrainian Orthodox	43.8	30.0
Greek Orthodox	22.2	16.7
Russian Orthodox	4.8	9.5
Roman Catholic	9.0	4.5
United Church	5.7	4.1
Other (Protestant)	—	2.3
None	6.6	4.6
Absolute Frequencies:	140	85
Percentage:	19.2	11.6
Response:	731/734	732/734

TABLE 71

R's Religious Preference and Ethnic Self-Identification

	<i>"Ukrainian"</i>	<i>"Ukrainian Canadian"*</i>	<i>"Canadian"</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	7.5%	59.8%	32.8%
Ukrainian Orthodox	7.8	66.4	25.8
Greek Orthodox	—	61.1	38.9
Russian Orthodox	4.8	57.1	38.1
Roman Catholic	—	22.4	77.6
United Church	—	32.8	67.2
Other (Protestant)	—	20.5	79.5
None	3.3	25.2	71.5

Response: 725/734

*Includes write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 72

R's Dates With Ukrainians

	<i>Only</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>Never</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	12.9%	28.8%	30.2%	19.4%	8.6%
Ukrainian Orthodox	10.6	42.3	41.3	3.8	1.9
Greek Orthodox	15.4	38.5	38.5	7.7	—
Russian Orthodox	5.9	29.4	58.8	5.9	—
Roman Catholic	3.6	5.5	32.7	38.2	20.0
United Church	4.3	14.9	38.3	23.4	19.1
Other (Protestant)	3.1	3.1	62.5	21.9	9.4
None	1.6	10.2	51.2	19.7	17.3

Response: 581/734

TABLE 73

R. Wants Spouse to be of the Same Ethnic (E) and Religious (R) Background

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Perhaps</i>	<i>Difference</i>	<i>No</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	E: 39.2%	24.5%	36.4%	—
	R: 56.0	19.9	24.1	—
Ukrainian Orthodox	E: 42.5	27.4	28.3	1.9%
	R: 40.6	27.7	30.7	1.0
Greek Orthodox	E: 14.3	42.9	42.9	—
	R: 21.4	42.9	35.7	—
Russian Orthodox	E: 23.5	11.8	58.8	5.9
	R: 31.3	18.8	43.8	6.2
Roman Catholic	E: 1.7	10.3	84.5	3.4
	R: 58.2	29.1	12.7	—
United Church	E: 8.9	10.9	76.2	4.0
	R: 18.2	24.2	55.6	2.0
Other (Protestant)	E: 2.7	10.8	86.5	—
	R: 24.3	32.4	43.2	—
None	E: 6.7	13.4	78.4	1.5
	R: 10.1	14.0	75.2	0.8
Total %	E: 20.8%	18.2%	59.2%	1.8%
	R: 33.8%	22.8%	42.6%	0.8%

TABLE 74

R's Religious Preference, and Views on Assimilation of Ukrainians, and on Ukrainian in Schools

	Ukrainians Ought to Assimilate Ukrainians Ought to Assimilate as soon as Possible	Ukrainian Language	Ukrainian Should Preserve Their Culture	Religion/Rite	Ukrainians Can their Ethnic I.
Ukrainian Catholic	33.3%	89.6%	91.8%	88.6%	81.2%
Ukrainian Orthodox	31.6	91.2	96.1	85.6	87.6
Greek Orthodox	27.8	88.9	88.9	83.3	88.9
Russian Orthodox	33.3	75.0	85.0	78.9	71.4
Roman Catholic	55.0	66.1	73.8	47.4	66.7
United Church	40.6	77.0	87.1	64.7	75.8
Other (Protestant)	54.1	76.2	85.7	68.4	71.4
None	45.7	71.5	76.1	54.8	73.0
Total:	256 (39.8%)	558 (80.9%)	600 (86.5%)	471 (72.6%)	533 (77.8%)
Response:	644/734	690/734	694/734	694/734	711/734

TABLE 75

R's Religious Preference and Attitude Towards the Ukraine

	<i>Interested in the Ukraine</i>				<i>Ukraine Is Oppressed</i>	<i>Favours Independence for Ukraine</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada Should Support the Cause of Ukrainian Independence</i>
	<i>Very Much</i>	<i>Quite a Lot</i>	<i>To Some Extent</i>	<i>Not at All</i>			
Ukrainian Catholic	7.4%	10.3%	53.7%	28.6%	84.0%	82.9%	53.8%
Ukrainian Orthodox	7.7	12.3	59.2	20.8	69.7	88.0	53.8
Greek Orthodox	5.6	5.6	83.3	5.6	94.1	94.1	50.0
Russian Orthodox	—	9.5	52.4	38.1	57.9	61.5	15.4
Roman Catholic	1.6	—	56.3	42.2	74.0	65.2	30.6
United Church	1.6	1.6	58.2	38.5	59.2	61.6	22.2
Other (Protestant)	—	—	65.1	34.9	69.0	65.5	27.1
None	3.3	2.6	56.3	37.3	53.7	57.3	35.4
Response:	724/734				603/734	499/734	

TABLE 73

*Religious Preference and Attitude towards Communism**

	<i>Communism represents danger to the West</i>	<i>The West should take all Steps to defeat Communism</i>
Ukrainian Catholic	79.1%	77.1%
Ukrainian Orthodox	75.2	71.3
Greek Orthodox	83.3	66.7
Russian Orthodox	81.0	87.5
Roman Catholic	81.3	73.6
United Church	63.0	52.1
Other Protestant	65.9	81.5
None	55.7	59.4
Total:	70.4%	67.6%
Response:	713/734	490/734

*85.7% of respondents (408) consider Chinese Communism to be more dangerous than Russian Communism.

TABLE 77

R's Ethnic Self-Identification, Language First
Taught to R., and Language Spoken at His Home

	<u>R's First-Taught Languages</u>			<u>Spoken at R's Home</u>		
	Ukrainian	English	Other	Ukrainian	Both Ukrainian and English	English Other
"Ukrainian"	93.1%	6.9%	—	48.3%	41.4 %	10.3% ⁰ —
"Ukrainian-Canadian"	70.0	30.0	—	12.5	73.6	13.5 —
"Canadian"	44.2	54.7	—	5.3	56.7	35.5 0.5

Response: 706/734

720,734

⁰Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian origin."

TABLE 78

Ethnic Self-Identification and Facility in Ukrainian

	<u>S p e a k i n g</u>				<u>R e a d i n g</u>				<u>W r i t i n g</u>						
	V.Good	Good	Fair	Poor	None	V.Good	Good	Fair	Poor	None	V.Good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
"Ukrainian"	16.4	6.7	2.4	1.6	1.6	16.2	5.7	4.5	4.5	1.7	17.1	6.8	6.2	2.1	2.4
"Ukrainian-Canadian"	69.1	56.7	45.2	42.5	19.1	64.9	72.9	53.0	44.1	30.3	62.9	65.7	50.0	49.7	33.4
"Canadian"	14.5	36.6	52.4	55.9	79.4	18.9	21.4	42.5	51.3	68.0	20.0	27.4	43.8	48.3	64.3
Absolute Frequencies:	55	134	208	186	126	37	70	134	154	291	35	73	96	143	339
Response:	709/734					686/734					686/734				

•Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin"

TABLE 79

Ethnic Self-Identification and Formal Instruction in Ukrainian

	Attended Ukrainian Even./Sun. School	Took Ukrainian in Elem. School	Took Ukrainian in High School	Took Ukrainian at University
"Ukrainian"	58.6	20.7	41.4	24.1
"Ukrainian- Canadian" *	57.1	8.6	24.2	19.1
"Canadian"	33.4	6.0	13.6	7.6
Absolute Frequencies:	321	56	140	96
Response:	719/734	724/734	724/734	724/734

* Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin"

TABLE 80

R's Ethnic Self-Identification and His Actual Use of Ukrainian

	USES UKRAINIANS				
	<i>with Relatives with Friends at Church Organ./meetings at University</i>		<i>at Ukrainian</i>		
"Ukrainian"	69.0%	55.2%	55.2%	48.3%	34.5%
"Ukrainian Canadian"*	69.2	46.4	43.4	27.4	14.1
"Canadian"	46.1	20.9	14.5	7.5	6.3
Response:	723/734	723/734	713/734	686/7334	723/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of 'Ukrainian Origin'".

TABLE 82

	<i>Interested in Learning Ukrainian</i>
"Ukrainian"	100.0%
"Ukrainian Canadian"*	80.0
"Canadian"	50.2

Response: 307/734 (Those that know little or no Ukrainian)

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 83

R's Ethnic Self-Identification and the Choice of Ukrainian Spouse

	<i>Wants Spouse of the Same Ethnic Background</i>			
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Perhaps</i>	<i>Makes No Difference</i>	<i>No</i>
"Ukrainian"	58.3%	16.7%	25.0%	—
"Ukrainian Canadian"*	34.0	23.1	41.3	1.4
"Canadian"	5.2	13.4	79.1	2.3

Response: 606/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 84

R's Ethnic Self-Identification and Membership in Ukrainian Clubs/Organizations and in Fraternities/Sororities

	<i>Belongs to a Ukrainian Club or Organization</i>	<i>Belongs to a Fraternitiy or Sorority</i>
"Ukrainian"	27.6%	—
"Ukrainian Canadian"*	30.0	8.6
"Canadian"	9.6	9.1
Response:	726/734	727/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 85

Ethnic Self-Identification and Views on the Status of the Ukrainian Language in Schools

	<i>Should Ukrainian Be Used As Language of Instruction?</i>	<i>Should Ukrainian be Offered [as a Subject] at All?</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>
"Ukrainian"	72.4	100.0
"Ukrainian-Canadian"*	59.9	99.2
"Canadian"	36.0	90.4
Absolute Frequencies:	333	607
Percentage:	47.7	94.5
Response:	698/734	642/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 86

*Ethnic Self-Identification and the Attitude
Towards Ukraine's Independence*

	Should Ukraine Be Independent?		Should Ukrainians in Canada Actively Support the Cause of Ukraine's Independence?		
	Yes	No	Indifferent	Yes	No
"Ukrainian"	95.0	—	5.0	75.0	25.0
"Ukrainian-Canadian"	82.5	3.8	13.7	51.1	48.9
"Canadian"	62.7	2.9	34.4	28.4	71.6
Absolute Frequencies:	634	16	116	183	261
Percentage:	73.4	3.2	23.4	41.2	58.8
Response:	496/734			444/734	

Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and 7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 87

Place of Birth of Respondent, His Father and Paternal Grandfather and Respondent's Ethnic Identification and Attitude Towards Assimilation

	"Ukrainian"	"Ukrainian Canadian"*	"Canadian"	Ukrainians in Canada Ought to Assimilate As Soon As Possible	Responses
Non-Canadian Born Respondent	15.9%	72.7%	9.1%	22.2%	724/734
Canadian-Born Respondent	3.2	41.2	55.6	40.7	724/734
Canadian-Born Father	3.2	41.2	55.0	44.0	726/734
Canadian-Born Paternal Grandfather	—	31.8	68.2	42.9	665/734

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 87 A

*R's Facility in Ukrainian and His Attitude
Towards Assimilation*

<i>Facility in Ukrainian</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada Ought to Assimilate as Soon as Possible</i>
<i>Speaking:*</i>	
Very good	14.3%
Good	31.3
Fair	37.9
Poor	48.2
None	49.5
<i>Reading:**</i>	
Very good	—
Good	36.4
Fair	37.8
Poor	35.6
None	46.5
<i>Writing:***</i>	
Very good	3.0
Good	34.3
Fair	38.8
Poor	36.0
None	45.2

*631 responses; 103 missing
 **612 responses; 122 missing
 ***612 responses; 122 missing

TABLE 88

*The Time of Father's Arrival in Canada and R's
Identification and Attitude Towards Assimilation*

<i>The Time of Father's Arrival in Canada</i>	<i>"Ukrainian"</i>	<i>"Ukrainian Canadian"*</i>	<i>"Canadian"</i>	<i>Ukrainians in Canada Ought to Assimilate as Soon as Possible</i>
Before 1900	—	33.3%	66.7%	23.1%
1901 — 1910	—	40.0	60.0	41.7
1911 — 1920	—	30.8	69.2	19.0
1921 — 1930	3.9	43.1	52.9	33.3
1931 — 1940	10.3	48.2	41.4	46.2
1941 — 1950	14.3	68.6	17.1	29.0
1951 — 1960	22.2	61.2	16.7	20.0
Response:	162/261			198/261

*Includes 25 write-ins: 18 "Canadian Ukrainian" and
7 "Canadian of Ukrainian Origin".

TABLE 89

Anticipation that Ukrainian Ethnic Origin Will Be a Career Obstacle

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Perhaps</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Response</i>
Male Students	1.7%	13.8%	84.4%	607/734
Female Students	1.5	8.8	89.6	
Non-Canadian Born	—	5.9	94.1	605/734
Canadian-Born	1.8	12.1	86.2	
Immigrant Father	2.4	11.3	86.2	607/734
Canadian-Born Father	1.3	11.9	86.9	
Immigrant Paternal Grandfather	1.8	10.7	87.5	606/734
Canadian-Born Paternal Grandfather	—	23.5	76.5	

PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH CONNECTED WITH THE DICTIONARY OF UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN BIOGRAPHY, 1891-1900

V. J. Kaye, Ottawa

There still is a wide field open to students of history of Slavic settlement in Canada; and there are many branches to choose from. They all form part of the overall history of Canadian settlement and are of great interest not only to historians dealing with Slavic groups, but to all historians.

In conducting research, the main stress should be put on contemporary documentary sources and less on secondary sources, although the latter are also useful for comparison and verification of facts. I may point out that the study of documentary material requires a great deal of patience, time and a know-how of where to look for the needed material. There researchers will have many disappointments and will be faced with seemingly unsolvable problems, but with patience most of these problems can be solved.

In the course of my own research, I have come across some very interesting documentary material referring not only to the Slavic group on which I was working, but to other Slavic groups as well. I must confess, I could not resist the temptation to devote some of my time and attention to jot down at least a few cursory notes "for future use".

Reading Mr. Madowski's "History and Integration of Poles in Canada", for instance I was rather intrigued by his statement that the Polish immigration to Saskatchewan began on a larger scale in 1896 and that "...they settled in the small town of Neudor, located forty-five miles north of the present Candiac." 1) I am inclined to put the date of the arrival of the first Polish settlers in Assiniboia, N. W. T., the later Saskatchewan, at least ten years earlier, from 1886-1888, as the documentary material I came across in the Public Archives of Canada would indicate. I did not make any deeper study of the Polish immigration to Saskatchewan as it is not directly related to my research. Nevertheless I did devote some time to make notes "for future use". I was

1) Makowski, William Boleslaus, M. A., *History and Integration of Poles in Canada* (Niagara: Canadian Polish Congress, 1967), p. 147.

intrigued by the names of these early settlers and particularly by the place of their origin. I should mention only one or two names belonging to this early group of settlers: Gregor Leszczynski, settled in the district of Balgonie, Assa., on homestead SE¹/₄-28-18-18-W. 2. M on April 1st, 1891. He was naturalized in 1894 and obtained a patent of ownership for his homestead. In the naturalization documents it is stated that Gregor Leszczynski came to Canada from the village of St. Onuffy, in the district Sereth, in the former Austrian province of Bukovina. From the same village half a dozen other families came also, among them those of Paul Kaczmariski, Gregor Agopsowicz and John Agopsowicz. They arrived in Canada in 1886-1888 and took out homesteads in the Balgonie, Assa. district. Out of pure curiosity I looked up some data about the Agopsowicz family.

Gregor Agopsowicz came to Canada about 1886 (the precise date of his arrival, the names of his wife, and children, their ages on arrival, places of origin and destination, can be obtained from the Sailing Record, Public Archives), and settled in Balgonie, Assa. district on the homestead SE¹/₄-6-16-17-W. 2. M. (Application No. 4650, 31 May 1890). The Patent of Ownership bears the date 30 October 1894 (Patent Record Folio 138, Liber. 96). Four years after his arrival he was naturalized (14th November 1891), and the naturalization certificate states that his place of residence was Balgonie, Assa., and his place of former residence was "St. Onufry, district Sereth, Bukovina, Austria."

John Agopsowicz came to Canada at the same time as Gregor. He also took out a homestead in the Balgonie, Assa. district (Application No. 4700, 26 August, 1890), NW¹/₄-28-18-18-W. 1. M. A year later (25 April, 1891) he changed to NW¹/₄-36-18-181W. 2. M., which later became the settlement of Zehner, Sask. The Patent of Ownership for his homestead was obtained in 1894. He also came from St. Onufry in Bukovina.

The Agopsowicz family, as far as I could remember, was of a very old Polish-Armenian origin. The ancestor of the family, an Armenian tradesman, settled in Poland in the fourteenth century (the year can be verified in the Encyklopedja Szlachecka, by Paprocki) and in the fifteenth century the family received nobility status, changing their trading occupation to that of land ownership.

Looking for the Canadian Agopsowiczes in later years I noted that in 1922 on the homestead originally occupied by Gregor Agopsowicz, a

2) King, Paul, "The Case of the Conquering", *Canadian Magazine*, Saturday Citizen, Ottawa, Dec. 21, 1968. p. 9.

Mrs. P. Agopsowicz was listed as the owner and the settlement had acquired the name Franks Lake, Sask.

In December 1968 I came across another Agopsowicz born in Zehner, Sask. "John Vernon—writes Paul King in "The Case of the Conquering Coroner" — is no longer the 'cringin little kid with acne' who made his Regina stage debut playing Scrooge, and no longer Wojcek either, John Vernon's a Star, making a movie in the ruins of ancient Carthage among the graves of 20,000 slaughtered babies."² Born Adolphus Raymond Vernon Agopsowicz in Zehner, Saskatchewan, 36 years ago, he studied at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, England, played various parts in television and finally landed in Hollywood. In 1968 he left his home in Toronto and moved with his family "to a big house on top of Santa Monica ridge in California.

I shall leave the research on the Agopsowiczes and early Polish settlers in Assiniboia, N. W. T. and in Saskatchewan, to other historians but I would like to give a more detailed illustration of sources available and labour required to produce such research by describing the steps taken, difficulties encountered, time required and the results achieved in the preparation of the Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography — The Pioneer Settlers of the West 1890-1900.

The title Dictionary may be too broad a designation. It is intended to present essential factual material to serve as the basis for further sociological, demographic, statistical and historical studies on the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada.

The contents of the Dictionary are based almost entirely on material obtained from various documentary sources. To have a definite base for the planned study, homestead entries made by Ukrainian pioneer settlers have been selected to form the basis of the Dictionary, beginning with the first name encountered and ending with December 31, 1899, although, a few names of those who made previous cancellations and filed re-entries beginning of 1900 have also been included in the Dictionary.

The choice of Homestead Grant Register to form the basis was made chiefly for the following reasons: 1) It embraced the majority of the first phase of Ukrainian pioneer settlers, the founders of the numerous colonies most of which bear Ukrainian names; 2) it contained the most reliable information as to the date and place of their settlement; 3) it showed surprisingly accurate spelling of names in comparison with other documentary sources, which was of considerable assistance in the establishment of the identity of the settlers.

To the extent possible, a list of all of the homestead applicants of

Ukrainian origin, beginning with the first entry encountered to those made up to December 31, 1899, was made. In all, 18 volumes of the Homestead Grant Register, covering the years 1872-1900 comprising 81,753 entries were studied and 2086 names believed to be of Ukrainian settlers, with relevant information, were entered on cards. The homestead records contained such information as the date of application, its number (for eventual further research purposes); the name of the applicant; the legal description of the homestead; the district and listing numbers; whether the homestead was cancelled or retained and whether a patent of ownership was issued.

After a thorough scrutiny of the 2086 names, some 140 proved to be re-entries after previous cancellations and another thirty odd were believed to be settlers of non-Ukrainian origin.

To obtain additional biographical data on the settlers, the following sources were studied: 1) the passenger lists of boats landing in the ports of Quebec and Halifax; 2) the naturalization records; 3) the Cummins Rural Directory Maps of 1922 and 1923, Municipal Districts Maps; (1949); 4) the contemporary English and Ukrainian-language newspapers; 5) provincial archives, hospital, parish and cathedral records (archives of Basilian Fathers in Mundare and Winnipeg, Redemptorist Fathers in Yorkton, Sask., etc.)

To establish the dates of arrival in Canada, the years of birth (ages) of the settlers, the names of the spouses and children and their ages, places of origin and destination, passenger lists of boats landing in the ports of Quebec and Halifax were studied. During the decade 1890-1900, 780 passenger boats entered the Port of Quebec alone; twice as many entered the Port of Halifax, which was open for navigation the year around. Approximately 282,000 names of passengers were studied and 12,316 names of Ukrainian settlers copied including the information contained on the passenger lists. Subsequently an index of names was drawn up for the preparation of biographies.

A comparison of the names contained on homestead records with the lists of names assembled from boat registers showed certain discrepancies. A number of names contained on boat lists were missing from the homestead records and vice versa. The identification of the names also became a problem. In the majority of cases the spelling of the names on boat lists differed from the spelling of the names on the homestead records, mostly due to faulty spelling by boat pursers. Where the identification was doubtful, the information from boat lists was not entered on index cards.

Some discrepancies between the homestead and boat lists arose due to immigrants landing at the Port of New York and entering Canada

by rail. They were not registered the same way as those entering Canada through the Ports of Quebec and Halifax. Official registration of these immigrants was not introduced until 1908, and such important information as the age, marital status, names of wife, children, was missing. Some information was subsequently collected from obituary notices, death records of parishes, hospitals and other sources, although it is still incompleté in a number of cases.

A certain number of names found on passenger lists were not on the homestead records. One of the most common reasons was that a number of early arrivals settled as 'squatters' on land not released for homesteads, such as timber reserves, swamp lands, government sections, land owned by the railway companies, or abandoned homesteads previously pre-empted with small downpayments but never occupied. After years of illegal occupation of the land on which they settled, and after numerous appeals, they were given permission by Order-in-Council to make homestead entries and to obtain legal rights of ownership. These entries were made after 1900 and subsequently the names of entrants are not included in the planned Dictionary.

Not all immigrants desiring to settle on land were able to do so immediately on their arrival. Those who arrived in Canada without means had to produce the necessary funds to start farming by working as farm labourers, herdsman, labourers in cities and on railway extra-gangs. The names of those who came to Canada before 1900 but made homestead entries after that date, are not included in the Dictionary.

Naturalization records supplied further important biographical information on the settlers. Applications for naturalization were usually made by homesteaders when required conditions were fulfilled, at least three years after the entry, to obtain patents of ownership for the land. Applications for naturalizations contained detailed information about the progress made on the homestead, acres broken and seeded each year, the number of livestock, conditions and value of buildings, etc. In the Dictionary are quoted only essential information as contained in the Patent, such as the names of the applicant (as it was spelled after three or more years of residence in Canada); the name and place of settlement; occupation; the name of former place of settlement; the date of granting naturalization and the name and place of the court.

Approximately 150,000 naturalization records were studied, beginning with 1890 and ending approximately in 1905, and information referring to applicants of Ukrainian origin was entered on index cards. The comparison of names on homestead records with the names on naturalization records showed in many cases a discrepancy in the spelling of names, frequently due to the high number of errors committed

by the clerks of the courts. Naturalization records showed also the emergence of new settlements and their names.

To obtain the mobility of the settlers, a study of the Cummins Rural Directory Maps of the years 1922 and 1923 and of Municipal Districts Maps of later years was made and findings registered on the Dictionary index cards. The maps gave the name of the occupant of the particular section, as it was spelled in 1922 or 1923, and the names of the post office which generally coincided with the name of the settlement. This was particularly important as it showed the establishment and growth of new communities. The name of the occupants gave an indication whether the original settler was still alive or whether the homestead was occupied either by one of his sons or by somebody else, which suggests the abandonment of the original homestead for some other place of settlement.

The most difficult information to obtain was the date of death of the settler and his spouse, the name of the village, district, province from where the settler originated, and the names, occupations and places of residence of the children of the pioneer settlers. The main source of this information was the obituary notices published in the Ukrainian and English language newspapers. Less reliable but equally valuable were various memoirs published in book form, in almanacs or in serial form in the press. They supplied the background material for biographies but their data were not always reliable.

Death records kept by hospitals, such as the Winnipeg General Hospital, St. Boniface Hospital, Edmonton General Hospital or Dauphin General Hospital, contained in most cases very meager information on the deceased rural patient's name, place of residence, date and cause of death and his age (if known). More information was contained in the brief obituary notices put in the daily press by funeral homes in charge of interments. They contained as a rule also the names of surviving children, their places of origin and the names of other relatives and friends attending the funeral.

By far the most valuable information for biographical purposes was to be found in the local press. A thorough and detailed study of the press was made, and information on pioneer settlers copied, verified and entered on index cards. Obituary notices in the Ukrainian and English press began to appear more regularly in 1920. Before that date only occasionally a report about somebody's death was published. In the early pioneer days rural correspondents did not exist and the homesteaders, even if they could read and write, often lacked pen and ink and the post offices were miles away. Only when economic condi-

tions improved, when the children of the pioneer settlers attending schools reached the age of discretion, regular parishes were established obituary notices appeared in the press. The most precise obituaries were written by officiating Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant clergymen. These obituary notices were, as a rule, based on information supplied by close relatives of the deceased person and on church records contained in parish books. Such obituary notices were published predominantly in the Ukrainian-language press serving predominantly the particular denominational group. The semi-monthly *Vistnyk/Herald* and the weekly *Ukrainianskyi Holos/Ukrainian Voice* published obituaries of persons belonging to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church; the monthlies *Svitlo/The Light*, *Holos Spasytela/Redeemer's Voice* and weekly *Ukrainski Visti/Ukrainian News*, *Postup/Progress* or *Nasha Meta/Our Aim* published obituaries of persons belonging predominantly to the Ukrainian Catholic Church; the weekly *Manadyiskyi Ranok/Canadian Dawn*, *Evanhelska Pravda/Evangelical Truth*, monthly, published obituaries of persons of Evangelical denominations. Obituaries found in other Ukrainian newspapers, such as *Kanadiyskyi Farmer/Canadian Farmer*, weekly, Winnipeg, *Novyi Shliakh/New Pathway*, semi-weekly, Winnipeg, *Vilne Slovo/Ukrainian Word*, weekly, Toronto, with no religious affiliations, were written by local correspondents, relatives of the deceased persons or by friends. These often lacked essential biographical data.

Obituaries published in the Ukrainian newspapers contained information often lacking in the English newspapers, such as the names of the villages and districts from where the settlers originated and the given names of the surviving married daughters. Not all obituary notices, even in the religious newspapers, were written by the officiating clergymen. They were also written by relatives and friends. A general survey of all notices published in the Ukrainian press revealed that a considerable number of them contained minor errors. Such as "Ivan Sirman died 11 December 1966 . . . he was born in Kalish and came to Canada with his parents in 1894 . . ." (*Canadian Farmer*, 28 January, 1967). A comparison with the sailing records showed that Ivan's parents arrived in Canada 24 June 1897, and not 1894, and he was born not in Kalish but in Kalush. Such minor discrepancies are easily corrected. But if the obituary notice lacks basic biographical information on the deceased person, its value diminishes for the biographer. "(Stach Nahayovsky), one of the oldest pioneer settlers of the district (Hilliard, Alta.) died after a short illness in the Mundare hospital. The deceased was mourned by his daughter Rosalia, four sons . . . 21 grandchildren, 3 great-grandchildren, and one brother John . . ." (*Svitlo/The Light*, Jan. 1967). The

date of death, the name of (probably deceased) wife, and other biographical data are missing.

If the maiden name of a daughter who married after her arrival in Canada is not given, it is difficult to trace further biographical particulars. "Palahna Holuk died in Rosthern, Sask. 21 April 1962 aged 76. . . Mrs. Holuk was born in the village Lanivci, Ukraine, and came to Canada with her parents in 1898 who settled in Rosthern district in Saskatchewan. She married Wasyl Holuk in 1901. . ." (Canadian Farmer, 24 Sept. 1962). As her maiden name is missing, it is impossible to consult the sailing records to find out when the family arrived, on which boat, the names of parents, brothers and sisters. General death notices without the definite date of death and other particulars are of limited biographical value. "Pioneer Theodor Bilyi died in Edwand, Alberta. He lived to be 94 years. Surviving four sons, five daughters, 31 Grandchildren and 37 great-grandchildren. . ." (Canadian Farmer, 12 Des. 1960). If the notice had been published in January or February, the year of death would have been in doubt.

Of the English-language newspapers, the Dauphin Herald weekly contained the most accurate obituary notices of Ukrainian pioneer settlers. Although they began to arrive in the Dauphin district as early as 1896-97, during the first two decades following their settlement only few notices are found in the local press. Obituary notices began to appear more frequently only after 1920.

Early obituary notices were often brief and not always comprehensible to the outside readers. They appeared among other reports of various happenings in the particular communities and were not printed in a separate obituary column. The obituaries were well edited and contained full biographical information about the deceased, including the history of his (or her) settlement, the names of all surviving children and other information. These obituaries were written by experienced local reporters, who meticulously collected all available information. During the decade 1940 – 1950 regular obituary notices appeared from many communities in the Dauphin region. The names of married daughters of the deceased pioneers were published with the initials or given names of the husbands; for example: "Mrs Julia Kaczkowski (Melyk) died aged 78 in Dauphin general hospital 24 March 1949 and was survived. . . by two daughters, Mrs. Nick Litowitz and Mrs. William Swerbyus of Sifton , Manitoba. . ." (D. H. 29 March 1949). Locally everybody knew which daughter was Mrs. John Litowitz and which was Mrs. William Swerbyus, but to an outside person it was a puzzle. Sailing records state that Wasyl and Julia Kaczowsky had two

daughters, Pizia and Anna. Which one was Mrs. Litowitz and which was Mrs. Swerbyus? Beginning 1956 the given names of the surviving married daughters were added in brackets, such as "Wasył Sydor, aged 85, died in the Dauphin General Hospital on Tuesday 17 December 1957... Surviving beside his wife are two sons... and four daughters Mrs. C. Perth (Mary) of Dauphin, Mrs. M. Homeniuk (Kassie) Mrs. P. Tobak (Ann) of Gilbert Plains, and Mrs. F. Kindret (Pearl) of Winnipeg... "(D. H. p. 3. 16 January 1958).

The Stuartburn region of Manitoba was covered by reports contributed regularly by local correspondents and published in the Carillon News weekly of Steinbach, Manitoba. Some of the death notices were very brief and destined only for the local community. "Sincere sympathies of the loss of mother and sister." Report from Overstoneville, Man. (Carillon News, 18 November 1955). Other notices gave full and well edited information on pioneer settlers.

The Yorkton region in Saskatchewan was covered by the weekly Yorkton Enterprise, an old established newspaper which concentrated more on local and provincial affairs and only occasionally published obituaries of Ukrainian pioneer settlers, beginning with late 1920'.

The weekly Vegreville Observer served mainly the Fort Saskatchewan district in Alberta and reports from Ukrainian settlements begin to appear already in 1910, but the first obituary notice of a Ukrainian settler, Sam Perepelytsia, was encountered much later. It was published in the Vegreville Observer number of November 11, 1923. Beginning with 1930' obituary notices are more frequent and more elaborate.

I dwelled more fully on the description of press media because they constitute a very important source of socio-demographic information on the early group of Ukrainian settlers, although they only cover approximately twenty-five per cent of biographies. They indicate the trend of mobility of the second generation, the children of the original settlers. They supply a picture of the percentage of intermarriages of the second generation. They give detailed information about the number of surviving children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They supply the data on longevity of life of the pioneer settlers. And finally they also illustrate the changes of personal names in the course of the span of life.

In conclusion I would like to point out that even contemporary official statements supplied by the children of the deceased pioneers to church and other authorities, if not substantiated by original documents, such as old passports or birth or marriage certificates, are liable to contain errors. The most frequent errors are the date of arrival in

Canada, the age of the deceased person, the date of settlement, and the name of the place of origin (village and district).

It took seven years of incessant work to bring the research on the Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography — The Pioneer Settlers 1890-1900 to its present stage. When completed, it will be handed over to the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation of Toronto as one of the current Canadian Centennial projects of the Foundation, and passed to the University of Toronto Press for publication. The completion of research was made possible by a grant from the Canada Council.

ETHNIC INTEGRATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT*

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1. *Meaning of Psychological Adjustment*

Good psychological adjustment is a national problem. It increases happiness and efficiency of people. It assists in the smooth functioning of the national institutions and diminishes social pathology, such as: mental illness, crime, family disintegration, alienation of youth, frequency of dropping out of schools and collapse of social values. There is little doubt that the general culture of a nation and its proper development are related to the collective and individual adjustment. From the psychological point of view, we are particularly interested in evaluating how far a particular cultural and political climate assists an individual in obtaining a high level of mental health and a state of psychological maturity.

Two particular approaches to understanding of the human personality are of special significance for this presentation. Kurt Lewin¹ conceived a personality as an "individual within his social field", stressing that one cannot think of a functioning human being in isolation from his continuous interaction with his social environment. Gardner Murphy,² in turn, claimed that the best description of a personality is in terms of a "hierarchical system of social values" which an individual has organized throughout his continuous development. This last approach seems to have particular value in the light of the contemporary existential orientation where a human being is perceived in terms of his decision-making processes based on a free choice between the different values. Confusion in the system of values has been found to result in social pathology, such as: delinquency and crime³ or in psychopathology of the neurotic, psychosomatic or even mental illnesses.

The ability of a particular society to gratify fundamental needs of its members determines their adjustment and efficiency in their social functioning. Security, response, recognition and new experience as the basic needs postulated by Thomas⁴ have been differently renamed and reformulated as freedom from fear, recognition of human rights and social acceptance of different groups or individuals.

Significance of social response to the individual's effort may best be understood in terms of a feed-back mechanism. Interest, appreciation, encouragement and proper recognition, significantly facilitate motivation initiative, efficiency and the general level of individual productivity. Absence of such constructive social responses may result in rapid decline of the above-mentioned qualities of productivity. There is little doubt that cultural and political organization of a community in respect to its citizens has a crucial value for the level of general efficiency. The presence or absence of such factors are probably among the important causes for human migration resulting in attractive qualities of some countries or abandonment of the others. Such factors provide also positive re-enforcement in the growth and development in individual's personality whether in the childhood or throughout the adult life.

In our contemporary understanding of human behaviour, every aspect of an individual's functioning, every "social act"⁵ is never understood in isolation but analyzed in a telescopic way. The significance of an act is understood in terms of the total personality of an actor which is influenced by his family, his community and his culture. In my teaching activities, whether with the medical students, psychologists, social workers or clergymen, police officers or immigration and custom officers, I am always trying to emphasize very strongly the fundamental necessity of understanding any item of human behaviour in such a telescopic perspective.

The above considerations are of particular importance for Canada. Their significance is enhanced by three main factors of our social and political situation. As I have mentioned already elsewhere,⁶ Canada is a country with a very active immigration. People from different lands, cultural backgrounds arrive at her shores; they bring with them their basic human needs, and their adjustment and productivity in this country will largely depend on how efficient the management of the psychodynamics of their adjustment will be with understanding of the diversity of their cultural background and heritage. We should be able to make as full use as possible of their contributions, and true understanding of their national cultures assists in moulding their attitudes to fit better our Canadian way of life with its numerous, precious qualities.⁷

The second factor is the specific Canadian phenomenon of bilingualism and multiculturalism. Unless we succeed in helping all Canadians to understand deeply, accept and enjoy such unique national qualities, the disrupting factors of hostility and alienation will undermine our national unity.

The third important factor is the gigantic overshadowing of our national life by the giant political organism of the U. S. A. The social, political, cultural and economic influence of our Southern neighbour requires continuous sharp and alert examination of our own national functioning. Canadian development, whether we like it or not, cannot be pursued in any form of splendid isolation. The American influence is our essential fact of life. All programming of the Canadian life must be undertaken in relation to this important influence. Whenever we are recognizing and accepting some values of American culture, we should multiply our efforts to keep pace with its development; whenever we are suspicious and critical of some American phenomena in any field of human life, we should again double our efforts to preserve our community from such influences.

Maintaining this very complex balance of our national life requires particular broadmindedness, clear vision of our developmental trends, great cultural flexibility and political wisdom.

The existence of multicultural states with people of multinational origins throughout history has always required a superior skill in government. Their tenuous balance is always threatened by the regressive tendency of excessively nationalistic reactionary trends. The future national structure of Canada is not easy; unless a proper balance of racial and cultural elements is maintained, the regressive nationalistic pressures may have a dangerous impact on its unity. The only and best way to national survival appears to be in the development of a multicultural political organism where the Canadian people develop genuine interest and sympathy for the Canadian heritage contributed to our ethnic groups. One of the key points in this process is the proper use of the so-called "third element", the ethnic groups outside of the English and French population. Only two things may happen to them: they may either generate the deep feeling of an all-Canadian patriotism, accepting willingly their close union with both the French and English culture while preserving their own culture or they can be alienated and crystallized on the periphery of the two main groups as an independent, demanding and occasionally hostile political element. In my other publications, I pointed out the possibility of the ethnic groups becoming the mortar for the bricks of the "founding nations" in building up a strong Canada. At this stage of development, the ethnic groups have no axe to grind whether with the English or French element. Just the contrary, being of the European tradition where the French and English cultures are highly respected, liked and very popular, they should find it particularly easy to accept the Canadian idea of bilin-

gualism with multiculturalism. If they develop any other attitude, any resentment towards such unifying cultural policy, we should admit in full frankness that it would be our own Canadians' doing, a fundamental mistake in our policy-making or in its execution.

2. *Dimensions of Psychological Adjustment: Stages of Social Adaptation:*

It is proposed in further analysis to examine different stages towards integration of the new immigrants, to consider the reactions of people from different ethnic groups who have been in this country for a number of generations, to compare the reaction of children and adults, the attitudes of the ethnic groups in the Canadian culture and their relationship to the country of their origin.

We will begin with the psychological adjustment of the new immigrants. Prevention is always better than treatment of the advanced maladjustment. The significance of the psychological phenomena should be carefully considered in our immigration policy and in assisting new immigrants in their adjustment to the Canadian life. Some observations have been made in different studies that the new immigrants are prone to develop emotional and mental illness, usually of the paranoid type with delusional ideas of persecution and discrimination. It has been suggested that some delinquency reactions among the young people from the newly settled families may be due to failure in their constructive social adaptation. In addition, and perhaps of the greatest significance, is the problem of utilizing the contributions and skill of the new immigrants at the level of greatest efficiency for Canadian development. If guidance of the new immigrants adjusting to Canadian life was firmly based on the modern principles of mental health, it is very likely that a number of maladjustive reactions could have been eliminated and the efficiency of the immigrating group increased. The contribution from the recently developing crisis theory and the application of crisis management seems to be of particular importance in this respect.

I would like to subdivide the total process of psychological adjustment of the new immigrants into four important stages: preparation, crisis, adaptation, integration.

Preparation to move oneself and one's family to a new country should obviously begin at the home country of the immigrant or at the place from which he is planning to move for Canada. It should consist of information, orientation and guidance with counselling. The mere presentation of facts on Canada through brochures or statistical

tables is a minor factor in psychodynamic preparation of an immigrant. It is more important to help him adjust to people. A Canadian representative with good training in counselling techniques with special emphasis on "crisis intervention",⁸ should have a chance to establish close and friendly contact with immigrants and assist them in acquiring better understanding and greater security in respect to their future life in Canada. The immigrants should have a chance to relate personally to such representatives of the Canadian culture and to develop some bonds of friendship, confidence and understanding with such persons. The dry texts of information or bulletins should be interpreted in the process which we call "orientation" according to the level of intelligence and particular cultural background of the prospective immigrant. The more intensive is the preparation, the greater the familiarity with the future life conditions in the new country. Such familiarity would markedly diminish the level of insecurity and anxiety which seriously undermine the adaptive processes during the crisis of immigration.

According to the crisis theory, any individual goes through a typical crisis experience when resettling in a new country. This state of crisis makes him act in a more immature way, rendering him more emotional irritable, inefficient, disorganized and not at all like himself. That explains why new immigrants are usually perceived in the wrong light, misunderstood and misjudged with marked under-estimation of their true levels of competence, efficiency and level of mental health or strength of personality.

However, undergoing crisis situations has also very important positive and constructive features for the future Canadian. An individual in crisis is particularly sensitive to the molding influence of his environment. He becomes more dependent on proper guidance, responds deeply to advice and assistance and develops stronger ties with the people who met him in his crisis and assisted him to overcome this situation. Consequently, all people who are dealing with the immigrants arriving in this country should be fully aware of the psychodynamics of crisis situations and be specially trained in crisis situations and be specially trained in crisis management.⁹

After the turmoil of crisis, the state of adaptation begins. The individual is not yet integrated into the Canadian way of life but his self-confidence and self-acceptance in the new place begin to increase. In our Canadian tradition, this process takes place most commonly along two important channels: (1) when an individual becomes acquainted with Canadian institutions and (2) he establishes close contact with

his particular ethnic group, a valuable shortcut in the adaptation of immigrants. The "new Canadians" begin to feel at home with their own ethnic groups who support and assist them in facing the social habits of the new land. The adjustment to the ethnic community takes place through the church, the clubs and the community halls, the benevolent societies and the social or political organizations. The second area of adaptation—to the general Canadian culture—occurs through his work, his participation in community affairs and his gradual assuming of political responsibilities through identification with a certain party, different social movements and recognition of his eventual voting privileges. This process of entering Canadian life may result in two basic attitudes. The immigrant either strengthens a Canadian patriotic attitudes or strengthens an alienated ethnic group with markedly split loyalties and new orientations not necessarily contributing to the development of a unified Canadian nation. The success and the rate of the adaptation process depend very much on the role played by different ethnic groups on the Canadian scene.

One of the important shortcuts promoting Canadian integration appears to be, what I have called before, the "vertical integration" of the ethnic groups in this country. This term implies that each group has its representatives at the different levels of Canadian social and political life, at the different levels of legislation, government, professional structure and social activities. In this way, every member of each ethnic group will see the most meritorious countrymen involved in the Canadian development at these different levels. He can easily identify with them and see the future for himself and for his children through the models of achievement represented by such selected members of his racial community. In a number of multicultural nations, this factor has been fully adapted and carefully attended to by the government. Even in the totalitarian states, a semblance of ethnic representation at all levels of state functioning is carefully observed. Neglecting this important clue to Canadian unification may seriously prolong the process of adaptation of different ethnic groups and delay unnecessarily the unification of this country.

In experiencing their process of orientation to Canada, many immigrants project their expected success onto their children. Many of them acknowledge the limitations of their own life success in their new country but still they look for assurance that their children born and raised in Canada will enjoy complete equality and full chance of life success. The immigrants going through the process of evaluating their new national allegiance proudly retain the attitude

that their children will have equal chances of professional, social and political success in spite of their origin, their religion, their name and their cultural traditions. More than that, they like to feel that the contribution of their particular cultural traditions is recognized as enriching the Canadian life and providing for the Canadian nation the new and superior characteristics of the truly multicultural society.

So far, we have been discussing the adaptation of the adult immigrants. Developmental psychology tells us about the intrinsic value of social modeling in the development of human personality.¹⁰ Love and security indispensable for the healthy growth of children comes from the identification with the secure, happily adjusted and consequently well-balanced and generous parents. Assisting the newcomers in their adaptation to Canada, we are not only promoting their personal happiness and efficiency but providing the proper building ground for the healthy development of their children and the succeeding generations. There is nothing more disturbing for the mental health and security of children than a confused system of values presented by the parents. In order to respect their parents, children should see them respected by their environment. Cultural conflicts and cultural isolation should be replaced by the general attitude of interest, acceptance and recognition. We should admit that much has been done already in Canada in this respect. Much of the inter-ethnic hostility, depreciation and resentment belongs already to the sad history of the years gone by. Some discrimination present so long, even at the level of kindergardens, schools, play grounds, and colleges, belongs to the things past. If we attempt to understand how actually this very constructive change has been accomplished, the answer would suggest again the essential value of vertical integration of the ethnic groups. In past, many ethnic elements have been identified with different social classes. They were looked upon as the uncooth illiterate labour force in different industries, ruled by the more educated, enlightened upper classes belonging to a different ethnic origin. For a number of years, it applied not only to the Central European immigrants recruited primarily from the dispensable and least influential elements in their own country but also to a considerable number of French-Canadian communities often controlled by American capital in the hands of a different ethnic group. This very undesirable state of affairs has been radically changed, mainly since the Second World War, through two basic processes. On one hand, the new generation of the laboring immigrants and the labor forces in the industrial communities of Canada acquired a higher education and joined successfully the middle and upper classes of our society; on the other

hand, the cultural and political immigration followed the labor one from many countries presenting to their own groups and to rest of the Canadian society the highly educated, cultured and fine representatives of different nations feeding the Canadian demographic growth. Those two processes proved once again the significance of the vertical structure of individual ethnic groups for their maturation and for faster acceptance of their responsibilities as enlightened citizens of Canada. In addition, the democratization of North American countries promotes greater equality of social classes with deeper enlightenment of every citizen and his greater feelings of responsibility towards the community and state affairs. Economic affluence contributed higher standards of living and greater exposure to the international cultural influences.

The high level of maturation and mental health of an individual involves his successful self-acceptance and self-recognition. Already many years ago, William McDougall claimed primary integrative value of what he named a "self-regarded sentiment".¹¹ Proper integration of any ethnic group and of every Canadian whether "old" or "new" depends on this feeling of self-respect and acceptance of his role as a full-fledged Canadian. In addition, people should acknowledge themselves the value of their cultural contributions in the development of their country. The members of all ethnic groups obviously enjoy the fundamental values of the Canadian culture, its true democratic spirit, its deep attitude of individual freedom and mutual respect, its truly democratic form of government at different levels. Still, we should not forget that many other values may be implanted in our way of life. Many people of different ethnic origins may contribute significantly to our dangerous contemporary problems, such as: disintegration of families, alienation of youth, confusion in the system of values – so dangerously manifested by student unrest, increase in crimes of violence, and breakdown of the family life. In this situation, we owe particular recognition to many immigrants who bring with them their traditionally intense care of children, deep concern about their education, stability of the family ties and clear hierarchy of the moral values. Their influence on the new Canadian generation not only within their ethnic groups but also radiating into our total community will largely depend on the amount of feed-back from the total community creating proper acceptance and recognition for the intrinsic value of their occupational, social and cultural contributions.

3. *Existential Orientation.*

Victor Frankl, a leading existential psychiatrist whose recent visits to Canada were received by his audiences with considerable enthusiasm,

in his analysis of the American way of life introduces the existential concept of human adjustment at three essential levels.¹² In adjusting to his existence, any individual is to relate to the three aspects of the world: the world-around (Unwelt) represented by our biological environment, the world-with (Mitwelt) represented by our contact with our social environment, the family, the community and the social institutions, and finally, the world-within (Eigenwelt) embracing our inner aspects of personality, our thoughts, concentration, meditation and an attempt to understand the nature and purpose of existence. According to existentialists, our Western civilizations having expanded in the two first dimensions of existence, have miserably neglected its very important third element.

The influence of European culture on Canadian life may contribute to the expansion of this under-developed third aspect of necessary for the homogenous growth of a distinct Canadian culture. This is of special importance considering the contemporary process of transplantation of cultural values from the old world to the dynamic American civilization. As much as the technological progress of the new world, having emerged from the European laboratories has far exceeded the mother country with its rate of rapid development, in a similar manner the European cultural attainments are exploding in America at an unexpected rate. Czeslaw Wilosz from Berkeley points out in his recent essay¹³ that contributions of private initiative with impressive financial generosity set the pace of rapid development for the American colleges and universities. This process was taken over by the state and now, moving fast ahead, leaves behind too obsolete European centres of cultural and humanistic progress. It is only too obvious that in this manner, many best brains and spirits are transplanted to the new land where conditions for greater efficiency and free initiative multiply the value of their significant contributions.

In relation to the "old world", many Canadians have mixed feelings about the contact of different ethnic groups with countries of their origin. They look suspiciously at strengthening ties between Canadians and Ireland, France, Poland, Italy or many other lands. The experience proves that such contacts not only help our people to crystallize their identity as Canadians, not only increase their love and attachment to this country but also cannot be avoided in the rapidly expanding cultural internationalism. On one hand, contact with any of the European countries is essentially a contact with all of Europe, with its art, literature, philosophy, history and many other elements indispensable for developing wider horizons and deeper understanding of the affairs of homo sapiens. With the development of communication, various

European countries have been practically reduced to small provinces in a unified cultural area. For the same reasons, it is no longer possible in the world of today to eliminate any of the countries, to overlook them and forget their presence in world affairs. The cultural, political and economic interaction of all the countries reminds us of the brain waves of a living organism beating rhythmically with the simultaneous participation of millions of neurons.

4. *Canadian Cultural Commonwealth.*

The above biological comparison should remind us of the basic secret of survival. Only with proper balance of all the dynamic forces the healthy stability of the organism may be maintained. The idea of a Canadian Cultural Commonwealth suggested by myself some years ago¹⁴ is primarily based on the proper balance of all the dynamic demographic and cultural factors operating in this country. In this way, a "dynamic stability" of Canadian growth and development may be achieved. Canadian institutions should develop according to the new multicultural patterns based on the perspectives of historical and cultural contributions of all the constituent Canadian groups.

It is known to everyone that all new ideas provoke resistance and for a while become highly unpopular. Suggesting to every Canadian to master two languages or even, as I would advise, at least three languages, would obviously produce a hue and cry from many hyperconservative quarters alarmed by any necessity to make a much greater constructive efforts. Any idea of greater complexity produces still stronger resistance. It takes, however, an enlightened, courageous and broad-minded leadership to overcome the resistance of initial inertia in our national development. The idea of a Canadian Cultural Commonwealth may appear complex and difficult; however, only through conscious efforts can we protect our country from the disastrous effects of rigidity and narrow-mindedness.

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RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA IMMIGRANT ARCHIVES

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Recent events have shattered the assumption that the melting pot has worked its cultural alchemy. At this time only the true believer can any longer sustain the vision of America as a homogeneous society of undifferentiated men where race, religion, or national origin do not matter. Just as here in Canada where the French nationalist movement has spurred Slavs and others to assert themselves, so black militancy has elicited responding ethnic nationalisms in the United States. It was the inability to assimilate and transmute twenty million blacks into the "historic American type" that raised questions about how well the country's digestive system had worked in the past. And once the conspiracy of silence was broken, it became quickly apparent that it had worked only imperfectly if at all.

The blame for the years of failure to write American history the way it should be written — in terms of the enormous diversity of race, culture, and religion — must be placed at the feet of the historical profession. Too long the unspoken assumption of American historiography has been that the important things have been said and done only by English-speaking whites. Negroes, immigrants, Indians, and Hispanos have usually appeared as faceless herds, mobs and masses.

If there is one shortcoming which too many American studies of immigration share, it is the tendency to lean too heavily on English-language sources. Thus, we too often see the immigrants through the eyes of American government officials, labor leaders, bishops, and social workers; too seldom do we hear the authentic voice of the immigrants themselves. We are told in justification that the documentation of what

the immigrants themselves thought and felt is lacking. Unhappily many records of the immigrants have been lost, but a considerable quantity of materials have survived. One difficulty is that American librarians and archivists have shared the cultural myopia of the scholars. Thus, they have assumed that records for various immigrant groups did not exist or were not worth saving. It was to remedy this deficiency that the Immigrant Archives in the University of Minnesota Library was established.

Some five years ago several historians at the University who were studying educational developments in the Minnesota iron mining region were stymied by the lack of documents on the immigrants who had settled in the mining towns. As they sought to gather ethnic materials for their own study, the idea of establishing a national depository of immigration records crystallized. With the support of the university administration and a grant from the Hill Family Foundation, the Immigrant Archives was created in the university library to house and service this collection. Somewhat later the Center for Immigration Studies was established in the College of Liberal Arts.

The objective of the Center is to foster scholarship on the subject of human migration through the gathering of immigration research materials for the Immigrant Archives and the development of teaching and research programs. Population movements in all times and places come within its sphere of interest. The primary focus of the Center, however, is the American immigration from central, eastern, and southern Europe and the Middle East. The justification of this emphasis, in addition to its inherent importance, is that these population movements have been particularly neglected by scholars. The massive dislodgements and transfers of populations from these areas of the Eurasian continent had profound and enduring consequences for both the societies of emigration and those of immigration. For the most part these remain to be described and evaluated. The Center has a major, perhaps unique, contribution to make to this field of immigration scholarship.

The initial success of the Center's collecting efforts was somewhat overwhelming. At the present time there are materials in the Immigrant Archives representing over 20 language groups. The best developed collections are, however, the Slavic – Croatian, Czech, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, and Ukrainian.

There are in the Archives collection a wide variety of immigration records: archives of organizations; church records; private papers of leadership; letters to and from the homeland; records of ethnic business

enterprises; photographs; and publications such as periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, newsletters, almanacs, and books. Three basic institutions common to most ethnic groups have proven to be the most fruitful sources of these records: the church, the newspaper, and the fraternal organization.

Probably the most valuable single source for the student of immigration is the ethnic newspaper which served not only as a chronicle of events in the ethnic communities, but also as a vehicle for the expression of attitudes on a variety of subjects. Through critical use of these newspapers it is possible to reconstruct much of the mood as well as substance of immigrant life. What better way to become acquainted with the experiences of the Ukrainians in the United States, for example, than through the pages of *Svoboda*? There are over 50 other newspaper files in the Immigrant Archives and over 100 titles are being received currently. Unfortunately, files of many publications have been lost and others are in danger of destruction unless they are soon located and preserved on microfilm.

Collections of personal and organizational papers are an obvious historical source. Yet few such collections relating to European immigration are to be found in American archives. The letters, diaries, and records in these collections reveal the internal life of the immigrants in a fresh and vital manner. The Immigrant Archives has over 50 such collections in manuscript and on microfilm, most of them yet to be utilized by scholars.

The unique resources of the Immigrant Archives can support a variety of research. A discussion of some of the more outstanding manuscript collections and microfilms will suggest the range of possible research.

Of special interest to the student of Polish-American history, for example, would undoubtedly be the papers of Reverend Paul J. Fox, a Presbyterian minister who was involved in academic, religious, social, and political activities in Poland and the United States. The student studying Slovak-American history would probably find it useful, albeit tedious, to work through the 40 linear feet of records of the First Catholic Slovak Union. Anyone investigating the rise of socialism among the Slovenes in the United States should not overlook the extensive records in the Immigrant Archives of the now defunct Yugoslav Socialist Federation which at one time was associated with the Socialist Party of America. Of similar interest to the student of Slovene-American history would be the minute books and financial ledgers of the Slovene National

Benefit Society, a fraternal and insurance organization founded in 1904 in Chicago. Of somewhat broader interest to a person interested in Ukrainian affairs would be the papers of Professor Evhen Onatzky which come to us from Buenos Aires, Argentina. Professor Onatzky was a member of the Ukrainian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918, the cultural attaché of the diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian National Republic to Italy, and the chief of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Rome. After World War II he was director for Italy of the Ukrainian-American Relief Committee. In the 1950's and 60's he was editor of the Ukrainian newspaper, *Nash Klych*, and in that capacity he corresponded with individuals and organizations in the Ukrainian communities in South America, the United States, and Canada. In addition to these rather specialized manuscript materials there are in the Immigrant Archives a number of microfilms of document collections invaluable to the student of immigration history.

The most interesting of the microfilms is the Hungarian Prime Minister's files which are a veritable gold-mine of information on the people who emigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The documents are in Hungarian, German, English, and in the numerous Slavic languages that were then represented in the Empire. A series of documents, for instance, deals with Slovak nationalism in Slovakia and its impact on the Slovaks in the United States and Argentina. One document is a report in Hungarian of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the United States about the Czech colony in Chicago. Another lists names and gives statistics on emigration from various villages in Slovakia. A group of files, altogether 214 pages, deals with the diplomatic support to the so-called American Action, a term used to describe the activities of the representatives of the Kingdom of Hungary among the immigrants in the United States. One very fascinating group of documents deals with the competition between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian authorities for the loyalty of the Ukrainians from Galicia. These are only a few of the documents contained in the Hungarian Prime Minister's files.

Of complementary research value are the microfilms of the files on emigration in the Austrian Archives and the Trieste Archives. The former contains a wealth of information on emigration from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, including reports from Austro-Hungarian consuls around the world, government immigration agents, and steamships company representatives. The Trieste Archives contain select records pertaining to emigration from Austria-Hungary through the port of Trieste.

Of special interest to the student of Croatian immigration to North and South America will be the microfilm copy of the papers of Ivan Lupis-Vukic (1876 - 1967) who throughout his life was active in Croatian affairs, both in Europe and America. Lupis-Vukic was a professional journalist who wrote not only for Croatian newspapers but also for such well-known papers as the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Times*, and *The Nation*. He spent several years in the United States and in South America where he did valuable social and cultural work among the Croatians. In 1927 he organized in Splitia the Yugoslav Bureau of Information for Croatians Abroad. His papers reflected his numerous activities and are a valuable resource for the study of Croatian immigration.

The ethnic historical and sociological studies that are so badly needed must be based on sources such as those in the Immigrant Archives. Among the kinds of research projects to which the materials will lend themselves might be the following: the immigrants' role in politics, in the church, and in the labor and radical movements; the origin and evolution of ethnic organizations; and the ethnic contributions to music, drama, and poetry. Cultural anthropologist, sociologist, geographer, and historian alike can find grist for their mills in the collections of the Archives.

A number of studies have already been conducted using the Immigrant Archives as a research base. One of the earliest was a United States Office of Education study which is now nearing completion. This study has as its central objective to examine the relationship between American immigration and the popular educational awakening among Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, Slovaks, and Hungarians in their homelands and in the United States during the years 1890 to 1930. Also, it will attempt to analyze the role of this educational awakening in helping individuals and groups adjust to the demands of an industrial society. A few of the other topics that have been recently studied in the Archives are: the educational adjustment of Greek immigrants; the relationship of the Italian immigrants to the Catholic Church; and the Orthodox Church in the United States. These studies have but scratched the surface; as yet there are few studies of the formal institutions of the immigrants and their descendents, of their labor unions, churches, and fraternal organizations.

To provide the research opportunities and make possible the studies discussed above is not always an easy task. The collecting of ethnic materials requires its own peculiar expertise. In the first place, we must

seek out the potential donor because he will not ordinarily come to us. The reason is that, on the basis of past experience, the leaders of ethnic groups had no reason to believe that academic institutions had the slightest interest in their records and publications. Once they understand the nature of the project, however, their response generally is enthusiastic and generous. They are gratified by the interest manifested in their history by a major state university, and the deposit of their documents in the Immigrant Archives appeals to their group pride. Our success thus is largely due to the ready co-operation given by the ethnic leaders and organizations.

Each ethnic group is a social world with its own complicated structure of institutions and organizations, a world in which only the initiated can find his way around with ease. Fortunately we have had the assistance of faculty members, at the University of Minnesota and elsewhere, who have ethnic connections and who have carried out the indispensable field work. In some cases the interest of the ethnic groups has been such that they took upon themselves the responsibility of collecting materials for the Immigrant Archives. For instance, the Greek community in Minneapolis organized an Immigrant Archives Committee the purpose of which is to seek out and acquire for the Archives Greek-American materials. Without this kind of help we could not succeed.

Our collecting is conducted with a certain sense of urgency because the last survivors of the heroic age of immigration are rapidly passing from the scene. Too often it happens that with their death, manuscripts, letters, books, and publications that have been treasured for decades are destroyed. Not too long ago, for example, Professor Vecoli contacted an ethnic organization in New York which had concerned itself with the resettlement of immigrants only to be informed that following a change in administration the records for the previous years had been destroyed. Incidents such as this are quite common and they have led to the conclusion that there is little time to waste if we are to preserve a historically meaningful collection of immigration records.

Since important resources for the study of American immigration are to be found in various European archives and libraries, we have sought to acquire such materials either in the original when possible or on microfilm. It is noteworthy that there has recently been a remarkable upsurge of interest among European scholars in the study of emigration. The Center for Immigration Studies has entered into co-operative relations with research institutes in Hungary, Italy, and Yugoslavia. Arrangements have been made for the exchange of duplicates, microfilms, and other forms of mutual assistance.

Our next major effort aimed at improving the research opportunities in the Immigrant Archives is a project to preserve on microfilm the ethnic newspapers which are often in such fragile condition that there is no other way to make them permanently available to scholars. The magnitude of the task has led us to believe that co-operative interinstitutional projects are needed. A consortium to film the publications of certain ethnic groups could generate the financial resources to undertake a project on the necessary scale. We have agreed to draft a project proposal for circulation to the Association of Research Libraries, state historical societies, ethnic institutions, and Immigration History Group. If the requisite number of institutional subscribers can be obtained then the project will be initiated. We have tentatively decided to begin with the Polish-American press because there already exists an annotated bibliography of Polish-American serial publications compiled by Jan Wepsiec of the University of Chicago Library.

The future for the study of immigration history looks bright and we at the University of Minnesota take some satisfaction in that the Immigrant Archives already constitutes one of the most extensive collections of materials pertaining to central, eastern, and southern European immigration.

SECTION II

POLITICS AND LAW

- (5) V. O. Buyniak, PLACE NAMES OF THE EARLY DUKHOBOR SETTLEMENTS IN SASKATCHEWAN**
- (6) R. Cujes, THE INVOLVEMENT OF CANADIAN SLAVS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CANADA**
- (7) J. - D. Gagnon, LE PARTI QUEBECOIS ET LES IMMIGRANTS**
- (8) J. B. Rudnyckyj, SLAVIC LANGUAGE MINORITIES IN CANADA AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION**

PLACE NAMES OF THE EARLY DUKHOBOR SETTLEMENT IN SASKATCHEWAN

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In 1969 the Dukhobors celebrated seventy crucial and sometimes tragic years in Canada. Life has never been easy for these people, struggling to preserve a technologically simple culture and to maintain a simple belief, in what became a rapidly changing frontier region. The new world, like their former homeland, soon demanded their integration or assimilation, if only because Canadian society became highly organized, mechanized and complicated.

The roots of the Dukhobor ("spirit wrestlers") sect rest in Patriarch Nikon's reforms and the following seventeenth century schism in Russia. The sect combined the features of mystical and evangelical type societies. Consisting mostly of peasants, this religious society became first known in the eighteenth century. It was distinguished by the rejection of all external authority, even that of the Bible.

The Dukhobors lived mainly in the South-Western part of the Russian empire. They were sporadically persecuted from 1773 onward, but in 1801 the majority (about 4,000) was settled by Alexander I on the Molochnaya River near the Sea of Azov. Prosperous for a time, the sect degenerated after the death of its leader Saveliy Kapustin (c. 1820). A government investigation of 1834 revealed a state of corruption, admitted by the Dukhobors themselves, and in 1840-41 they were nearly all deported to the Caucasus.

Under the leadership of Kapustin's descendants, the Kalmykovs, the Dukhobors, abandoning their earlier communion, enjoyed some forty years of prosperity and peace. After the death in 1886 of the last Kalmykov, a woman, a so-called "large party" followed a fanatical young leader, Peter V. Verigin, who claimed Kalmykov descent. The same year the sect was renamed Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. Banished to Siberia in 1887, Verigin instructed his followers in the Caucasus, on principles derived from Tolstoyan fellow exiles, to adapt vege-

tarianism and stricter pacifism and to return to communism. A “small party” of moderates retained individual ownership of property. After disturbances culminating in a solemn burning of arms in 1895, the “large party” was deported to scattered villages in Georgia.¹

Owing to the intercession of Tolstoy, the cause of the persecuted Dukhobors attained international publicity and, early in 1898, permission to leave Russia was given to them. The Dukhobors were offered 1500 acres in Cyprus. On September 1, 1898, 1129 Dukhobors landed on this island but within a few months about one hundred of them died. In the meantime the negotiations with the Canadian government on behalf of the Dukhobors were successful and the Dominion government set aside 270,480 acres for 7,361 Dukhobors who began arriving in Canada in the spring of 1899. Another source² lists that nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million acres in the North—West Territories in 45 townships were set aside for 7,427 settlers, 160 acres for every Dukhobor male over the age of 18. The official records of 1906 show only a little over 400,000 acres in the possession of the Dukhobors. The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the larger tracts of land included considerable areas of swamp and other uncultivable territory to which the Dukhobors never in practice laid any kind of claim.

The Dukhobors who arrived in Canada from the Causasus and from Cyprus were settled in three colonies of what is now the Province of Saskatchewan:

1. The South, with Devil's Lake (God Spirit) annex.
2. The North or Thunder Hill.
3. The Saskatchewan (Duck Lake and the Saskatoon settlements), also called Prince Albert or Rosthern.

After the initial hardships of their first winter on the Canadian Prairies, the Dukhobors settlements and communes began to prosper. But very soon various disagreements started between the Dukhobors and the Canadian authorities. On December 23, 1902, Peter Verigin arrived in

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1. For the early history of the Dukhobors consult the following sources:
Joseph Elkinton, *The Doukhobors*, Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach, 1903;
Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People. The Dukhobors*, London, Constable & Co., 1905;
J. F. C. Wright, *Slava Bohu. The Story of the Dukhobors*, New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1940;
George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1968.
 2. Simma Holt, *Terror in the Name of God*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1964, p. 24.

the South Colony to the village of Poterpevshee which since that time became known as Otradnoe. The colonies shared a material prosperity during the early years of the 20th century until their disintegration and the repossession of some Dukhobor land by the Province of Saskatchewan in 1907. In the spring of 1909 Verigin contracted a purchase of land in Brilliant in the Kootenays, and by the autumn of 1912 there were more Dukhobors settled in British Columbia. The 1961 census records 13,234 Dukhobors in Canada: 9006 in British Columbia, 3202 in Saskatchewan, 800 in Alberta, 56 in Manitoba, 109 in Ontario, 58 in Quebec, and one each in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. It is difficult to estimate the number of Dukhobors living nowadays in the Soviet Union. Perhaps some 20,000 of them are located in various colonies and settlements across that country. This is, in a nutshell, the history of the Dukhobors.

In the 1750's the Dukhobors lived in settlements around Tambov and Ekaterinoslav, Goreloe or Horelovka was their first religious headquarters. Subsequently, during the early 1800's in Molochnaya (Milky Waters) settlement on the right bank near the estuary, the following villages were known: Terpenie, Bogdanovka, Troitskoe, Novospasskaya, Tambovka, Rodionovka, Efremovka, Goreloe.³ These names were retained, and some new ones were added, with subsequent migrations. In 1827 there were 3985 Dukhobors settled in 9 villages in the Province of Taurida. In Mokrye Gory (Wet Mountains), in the Province of Kars, Tiflis and Elizavetpol', including Bashkitshet and Achkalkalaki Districts, these places names were known as: Slavanka, Efremovka, Orlovka, Tambovka, Rodionovka, Spassovka, Novospassovka, Troitskaya, Kirilovka, Terpenie, Bogdanovka, Gorelovka, and Saskatchewan. This last name was apparently of a later origin to commemorate the place of settlement of a large number of the sect's members in Canada. The Dukhobor population in the Caucasus circa 1890 was estimated at approximately 20,000.

As may be seen, various etymological considerations went into the make-up of the nomenclature for the Dukhobor settlements. Some of them derive from proper names or surnames of persons, some have religious connotation, some denote Christian qualities or virtues, some refer to the hard lot of a Russian peasant who was persecuted for his beliefs by the authorities, and some were coined from place names already in existence. Upon their arrival and settlement in Canada this

3. Maude, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

nomenclature system continued and, in part, extended upon other categories.

The early Dukhobor settlements in Saskatchewan were constructed of logs luted with clay. The roofs of the houses were usually made of turf. Within each house was built a clay oven in the Russian manner, on top of which the children and old people could lie during cold weather. Most of the houses consisted of a single large all-purpose room. The houses were built in a double row, with a wide street in between, and behind them were built barns, granaries, stables, outdoor baking ovens, and the bathhouses in Russian style. The mud walls of the houses were whitewashed, neat fences were built enclosing the meticulously planned gardens, and trees were planted along the sides of the streets. All this took several years to complete, but the essential work in erecting the village was done during the first summer and autumn season of 1899.

By the end of that year the South Colony, forty-five miles north of Yorkton, held 4,478 Dukhobors from Kars and Elizavetpol' Provinces settled in 34 villages; the North or Thunder Hill Colony, thirty miles farther north, near what was later to be the boundary between Saskatchewan and Manitoba, held 1,404 of the Tiflis Province people in 13 villages. There were 6 villages in the Good Spirit Lake annex to the south-west of the North Colony. The Saskatchewan Colony, near Prince Albert, held 1,427 of the Cyprus colonist and the final shipload from Kars Province in 10 villages, 7 of them near Blaine Lake and the other 3 some twenty miles south, near Langham.⁴ Thus, in 1899, 57 places with names of Dukhobor origin were established.

Actually, the map drawn by the Department of Interior, Ottawa, dated August 1, 1907, but reflecting an earlier stage of settlement, lists more than 60 Dukhobor place names, some of them representing hamlets or just groups of houses specified with names. The railway station of Verigin and three other settlements were added to the previous 57. It is apparent that the person who marked the names of localities was not acquainted with the Russian language and was guided in his transcription system or lack of it, by spoken and not written Russian. Besides, at the beginning of the century, hardly any transliteration system of Slavic languages existed in English. Following are the names of these settlements as recorded by the above mentioned map:

4. Elkinton, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Simma Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

South Colony

Petrovo, Vozsiennie (Voznesenie), Efremovo, Tomboscoe (Tombovskoe), Troodoloobevoe (Trudol'ubivoe), Voskrisennie (Voskresenie), Lubovnoe, Blagodarnoe, Vernoe, Terpennie (Terpenie), Riduonovo (Rodionovo), Verigin/a village in the vicinity of Riduonovo/, Verigin/railroad station/, Savernoe (Severnoe), New Pakrofka (Pokrovka)/a hamlet/, Prokoratovoe (Prokuratovoe), Spaskoe (Spasskoe), Oobezhdennie (Ubezhenie), Bisednoe (Besednoe), Novoe, Blagovishennie (Blagoveshchenie), Slavnoe, Kapustina, Otradnoe, Smyrennie (Smyregorilloe), Kyrillovo — 8 settlements in all.

Good Spirit Lake Colony

Blagosklonoe (Blagosklonnoe), Old Gorilloe (Goreloe), Kalmakovo, Ootishennie (Uteshenie), Novo Troitzkoe, Moisyayovo (Moiseevo), New Gorilloe, Kyrillovo — 8 settlements in all.

Thunder Hill Colony

Libedevo (Lebedevo), Kaminka (Kamenka), New Kaminka/a hamlet in the vicinity of the Doukhobor Lake/, Techomeernoe (Tikhomirnoe), Lubomeernoe (L'ubomirnoe), Osvoborsdennie (Osvobozhdenie), Pocrovskoe (Pokrovskoe)/a hamlet/, Simeonovo (Semyonovo), Hlebodarnoe (Khlebodarnoe), Voznisennie (Voznesenie), Vera, Michae-lovo (Mikhaylovo), Gromovoe, Perihodnoe (Perekhodnoe), Pavlovo, Boghumdanoe (Bogomdannoe), Archangelskoe, Oospennie (Uspenie), Troitzkoe — 19 settlements in all.

Prince Albert Colony

North of the river/North Saskatchewan/: Petrofka (Petrovka), Ter-pennie (Terpenie), Oospennie (Uspenie), Slavyenka (Slavyanka), Pa-sariofka (Pisaryovka), Spasofka (Spasovka), Troitzkaja (Troitzkaya), Large Horelofka (Gorelovka), Small Horelofka/a hamlet/. South of the river: Pakrofka (Pokrovka), Bodanofka (Bogdanovka), Karilowa (Kyrillova) — 12 settlements in all.

The map of the Canadian Interior Department lists 65 separately named Dukhobor settlements. Of these at least three are considered as hamlets, while two Verigin localities had been named after the newly-arrived leader. Today, the places where many of these villages stood have been so ploughed over that the very site is hard to determine.

Only a few remnants of their names remain, e. g., Petrofka bridge in the place of the old ferry across the North Saskatchewan River. The settlement Verigin on the railroad line in Kamsack district still exists, and there is Makaroff, also in Yorkton area. Among the place names of the Dukhobor settlements in the Kootenays, until recent times, the following were known: Krestova, Utechenie, Bojaya Dolina, and Polatka.⁵

Following is the list of names, in alphabetical order, of the early Dukhobor settlements in Saskatchewan with an attempt to explain the motivation of such nomenclature by the settlers and their probable meaning or significance:

Archangel'skoe (Archangel; Verigin's place of exile)	ky Waters colony, jailed two years; Kirill Konkin, died of flogging)
Besednoe (spiritual conversation)	Kirillovo (see above)
Blagodarnoe (offering of thanks - virtue)	Lebedevo (Matvey Lebedev, one of the leaders protesting military service in 1895)
Blagosklonnoe (inclination towards good — virtue)	L'ubomirnoe (tranquillity — virtue)
Blagoveshchenie (good news; Annunciation, Apr. 7th)	L'ubovnoe (love — virtue)
Bogdanovka (God's gift)	Mikhailovo (St. Michael the
Bogomdannoe (God's gift)	Rodionovo (Proper name)
Effremovo (St. Ephraim the Syrian, 5th century Theologian; his hymns of repentance are sung during the fast; proper name)	Semeonovo (St. Simeon-Peter; proper name)
Goreloe (woe, grief) (burned down?)	Severnoe (north)
Gromovoe (thunder — symbol of God in the Old Testament)	Slavnoe (glorious)
Horelovka (woe, grief) (burned down?)	Slavyanka (Verigin's native village in Elizavetpol' Province)
Kalmakova (leaders of the Dukhobors in the 19th century)	Smirenje (humility — virtue)
Kamenka (stony place)	Spasskoe salvation; Transfiguration, August 19)
Kapustina (Saveliy Kapustin, Dukhobor leader of the early 1800's)	Spassovka (see above)
Khlebodarnoe (hospitality — virtue)	Terpenie (patience, suffering — virtue)
Kirillova (St. Cyril; Kirill Kolesnikov, leader to Mil-	Tikhomirnoe peaceful; connected with Vesper hymn to Jesus Christ)
	Tombovskoe (Tambov, provincial city)
	Archangel, November 4; symbol of struggle against evil)
	Moiseevo (Moses)

⁵ See: Simma Holt, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

Nadezhda (hope — cardinal virtue)	Troitzkaya (Trinity; Pentecost Sunday)
Novoe (new)	Troitzkoe (see above)
Otradnoe (joyful; formerly Poterpevshee — suffering)	Trudol'ubivoe (love of toil — virtue)
Osvobozhdenie (liberation)	Ubeznenie (refuge) /if Ubezhdenie — conviction/
Pavlovo (St. Paul's)	Uspenie (Assumption, August 28)
Perekhodnoe (temporary, transitional)	Uteshenie (joy and peace, spiritually related virtues)
Petrovka (St. Peter's)	Vera (faith — virtue)
Petrovo (St. Peter's Day, June 29)	Verigin (Peter Verigin, spiritual leader)
Pisarevka (to write; clerk)	Vernoie (faithful — virtue)
Pokrovka (protection; Festivity of the Holy Virgin the Protectress, Oct. 14)	Voskresenie (Resurrection)
Pokrovskoe (see above)	Voznesenie (Ascension Day, 40 days after Easter)
Prokuratovoe (attorney general)	

THE INVOLVEMENT OF CANADIAN SLAVS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CANADA*

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Introduction

Co-operative associations can be divided into two larger groups — one consisting of producers' co-operatives, and the other of consumers' co-operatives. Consumers' co-operatives can be further subdivided into co-operatives providing members with material goods and services and into credit co-operatives providing members with credit and often also with financial services.

Such a division is not strictly adhered to in everyday life. Producers' co-operatives in farming and fishing, e. g., are supplying their members with implements and other goods needed for a successful operation of their business. Nevertheless, it was found in practical experience that it is much easier to operate co-operative enterprises if at least goods and services for personal consumption are dealt with separately.

The co-operative movement in Canada

The beginning of the modern co-operative movement is usually set with the founding of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers in 1844 in Manchester, England. While the idea of co-operation is as old as man exists and while already before 1844 many co-operative organizations existed even in England, Rochdale Pioneers can be credited with the popularization of the movement all over the world.¹

In Canada, co-operative marketing clubs existed as early as 1765 in

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Nova Scotia and 1789 in Quebec. Branches of the American Grange were established in 1872 in Quebec and in 1874 in Ontario. In 1877 they re-organized themselves as a Canadian organization, the Dominion Grange. They involved themselves even in salt manufacturing, insurance and, for seven years, in the banking business. In 1890's Patrons of Industry came to Canada. Among other activities they provided twine for farmers on a co-operative basis.

Co-operative creameries were organized in the 1890's and early 1900's in Saskatchewan and Alberta and in 1896 in the Duncan area of Vancouver Island. Farmers in Western Canada organized their first grain marketing co-operative in 1902 at Regina, the Territorial Grain Growers Association. In Quebec, the first farmers' co-operative trading organization was formed in 1915. In 1906, the Grain Growers' Grain Company entered the Winnipeg Grain Exchange as a farmers' commission agency. In 1917, the Grain Growers' Grain Company in Manitoba and the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company amalgamated into the United Grain Growers' Limited. During 1923-1924, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba Wheat Pools were organized and joined in the Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers Limited. They are engaged in marketing of grains and seeds, dairy products, tobacco, livestock, poultry and eggs, honey, wool, maple products, etc.

Besides inexperience in business organization, first co-operatives in Canada suffered also from the fact that no proper legislation was available which would suit the co-operative way of doing business. Manitoba enacted the first co-operative act in 1887, and Quebec following in 1906. A federal act for incorporation of co-operatives passed the House of Commons in 1908, but it was rejected by the Senate by a one vote majority.

Some recent statistics

For the year 1966, the Federal Department of Agriculture received reports on 2,538 co-operatives and 4,871 credit unions and caisses populaires. In all, there were:

- 1,420 marketing and purchasing co-operatives
- 83 fishermen's co-operatives
- 663 service co-operatives, and
- 372 production co-operatives

TABLE 1 CANADA -- SUMMARY OF 1967 STATISTICS

All data as of December 31, 1967, are estimates projected on basis of reports of credit union leagues and supervisors. On request the number of credit unions reporting in each category is available from CUNA Research Department, Madison, Wisconsin.

PROVINCE	NO. OF ACTIVE CREDIT UNIONS	PER CENT REPORTING	NO. OF REPORTING MEMBERS	SHARES & DEPOSITS (SAVINGS)	LOANS OUTSTANDING TO MEMBERS	RESERVES	ASSETS	MOST COMMON DIVIDEND RATE
Alberta	280	98.9%	127,324	\$ 74,733,673	\$ 66,248,967	\$ 3,483,534	\$ 87,265,832	n.a.
British Columbia	270	100.0	300,036	198,730,232	201,756,224	8,659,780	241,022,211	4.0% - 4.50%
Manitoba	251	100.0	166,257	118,863,790	115,252,613	6,165,156	142,227,442	5.00
New Brunswick*	161	95.7	102,042	30,268,178	24,502,812	2,196,904	33,941,662	3.00
Newfoundland	41	12.2	5,164	987,271	1,001,857	93,439	1,281,842	n.a.
Northwest Territory	2	100.0	215	30,444	26,236	998	33,405	n.a.
Nova Scotia	175	82.3	92,795	31,083,149	30,125,351	2,110,590	36,751,971	3.00 - 4.00
Ontario**	1,576	94.7	959,186	569,221,456	572,227,907	29,396,413	668,100,300	3.00 - 4.00
P. E. I.*	36	94.7	9,754	3,051,747	3,157,925	168,855	3,587,834	3.00
Quebec**	1,678	90.5	2,718,189	1,689,476,198	1,012,682,642	78,629,608	1,801,926,410	5.00
Saskatchewan	287	100.0	282,196	299,788,348	215,596,360	17,660,486	350,434,776	3.00 - 4.00
Yukon	1	100.0	199	54,882	47,699	1,687	57,935	3.00
TOTALS	4,760	85.7%	4,763,357	\$3,016,289,368	\$2,245,526,592	\$148,567,450	\$3,366,631,620	"

*Fiscal year ending September 30, 1967

**Includes Caisses Populaires

†Not Available

They had a total membership of 1,625,300 members and a total volume of business of \$1.95 billion.

The marketing and purchasing co-operatives were served by eight co-operative wholesale organizations. (data taken from 1: page 9)

Credit unions and caisses populaires had 3,935,200 members and \$2.9 billion in assets. (data taken from 1: page 21)

The Research Department of the CUNA International published in the Credit Union Yearbook, 1968, a summary of 1967 statistics for Canada, by provinces, which is reproduced in Table 1.

Slavs and co-operation

History gives us many examples that people usually see what they want to see – regardless of what the facts are. When Charles Darwin published his book, *The Descent of Man*, (1870), everybody noticed his elaboration of the idea of “the struggle for existence” which he found in Malthus’ essay on population. Nobody seems to have noticed a passage in the same book where Darwin explicitly states.

As man advances in civilization, and small tribes are united into larger communities, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. (3: page 317)

and again:

I have... lately endeavoured to show that the social instincts... with the aid of active intellectual powers and the effects of habit, naturally lead to the golden rule, “As ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them likewise”.

(3: page 319)

In other words, he stated that conflict and competition were leading principles of evolution only on the subhuman level; on the human level they were replaced by social instincts and sympathy which are just other words for mutual aid and co-operation.

It may not be just an accident that both Darwin and Thomas H. Huxley² with his “struggle - for - existence” manifesto (1888) were rebuked by a Russian, Petr Kropotkin with his classical work, *Mutal Aid, a Factor of Evolution*. And it may not be just another historical accident that among recent sociologists, it was another Russian, Pitirim A. Sorokin, who devoted a large part of his extensive activities to studies of “creative

altruism”³. The Slavs, among the European nations, seem to have preserved for the longest different communal forms of life in their societies (“mir” among the Eastern Slavs and “zadruga” among the South Slavs), and most of them were also quick in adopting early and extensively modern forms of co-operative ways of doing business.⁴

Slavs in the co-operative movement in Canada

It should surprise no one that Slavs, after settling in Canada, participated in great numbers in different co-operative ventures in Canada — sometimes on their own, concentrating primarily on co-operative associations serving members of their ethnic group; sometimes jointly with other Canadians in groups, organized on some other than ethnic common bond. V. Topol’nyts’kyi stated for Ukrainians:

Our people brought with them to Canada a co-operative tradition, (13: page 172)

but the same is true for many other Slavic ethnic groups.

For more than one reason, it is extremely difficult to arrive even at an approximate number of Canadians of Slavic extraction involved in the co-operative movements in Canada and of their share in co-operative business.

Some Slavs settled in Canada in communities where relatively few of their countrymen lived. Their small numbers prevented them from forming identifiable ethnic co-operative units. They joined non-ethnic co-operative groups in communities, and even more often, in places where they were employed.

Some communities, especially in the West, have been settled fairly compactly by members of the same ethnic group. In time, due to increased mobility of the Canadian population, the unique ethnic characteristic of many such communities has been lost. Different co-operative organizations which started formally as community organizations were for the first period of their existence, for all practical purposes, ethnic organizations, serving members of their own ethnic group and using for most of their business transactions, their native language with time, some other people joined as members, primarily through inter-ethnic marriages⁵. They are no more considered as belonging to the original ethnic group; nevertheless among their members, and often also among their officers and staff, there are still many members of the original ethnic group. A comparison of data for Ukrainian credit unions given by V.

Topol'nyts'kyi (1950, in 13: 177 – 179, *passim*) and by M. Plawiuk (1959, in 10: pages 150 – 151) shows that credit unions in some communities were counted as Ukrainian in the first survey, but no more in the second. In Alberta, the credit union in Smoky Lake, founded in 1943, was left out and in Saskatchewan, credit union in Wishart, founded in 1944, Preeceville and Struges (no date of their organization is given, but the number of members is recorded) were no more mentioned.

The annual report of the Wishart Savings and Credit Union for 1968 contains among the Board members (total of nine) the following Slavic names: Kuyek, Senkiv, Bzdel, Chyz and Popenia; among the Supervisory Committee members (total of three): Szeman; among the members of the Credit Committee (total of three): Senkiv and Wolitski; among the members of the Membership Committee (total of five): Moroz, Bzdel, Popenia and Kowalski. Manager is Harry C. Shevchuk and his assistant A. Wolitski.

Co-operative organizations in Kamsack are also organized on a community basis, but the publication issued by the Kamsack Co-operative Association for the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its founding (1965) contains hardly an Anglo-Saxon name. Its president was John P. Verabioff and manager H. T. Katchur. The annual meeting of the Kamsack Credit Union (March 19, 1969) was held in the Ukrainian Hall. Its president is Peter P. Horkoff and manager Michal Sims, which is a simplification of his original name Symchyshyn.

Another difficulty comes from a peculiar interpretation of the co-operative principle of political neutrality for co-operatives in Canada. Non-discrimination regarding race or ethnic groups does not seem to be violated by having national federations of co-operatives (French, German, Italian, etc.). No one seems to be worried that we have, in Canada, two co-operative unions, one for the English speaking population and the other for the French speaking co-operators. The same logic is not extended to co-operatives among the other ethnic groups in Canada. The principle of political neutrality for the ethnic groups is implicitly interpreted in such a way that organizing co-operatives on the basis of membership in an ethnic group (other than French or English) would violate it.⁶ It was primarily due to the principle of common bond which, in the United States, received such a great importance that it was incorporated into credit union acts, and was retained both in the United States as well as in the Antigonish type⁷ of credit unions in Canada, that it was impossible to prevent the founding of ethnically based co-operatives, especially credit unions. Many of them use as their basis

national parishes. While they certainly are ethnic co-operatives, their ethnic characteristic are often hidden behind an ethnically neutral parish name (e.g., St. Mary's (Toronto) CU is a Ukrainian credit union). The attention provincial and national co-operative organizations⁸ are occasionally paying to ethnic co-operatives are partially of public relations nature (as members, ethnic co-operatives are contributing to the financing of such bodies), and partially a consequence of their size in numbers and business, and often even in pioneering of new approaches⁹. Legislation is restricting the use of their native languages at least in the official transactions (e.g. in writing of minutes of meetings, etc.).

Statistics kept by provincial and national co-operative organizations, as well as those kept by government supervising agencies disregard (with the exception of some French co-operatives such as caisses populaires) the ethnic category.¹⁰ Any data available comes therefore either from recognizing such units by names from official lists or from members of the ethnic groups themselves, as much as they can be persuaded to co-operate.

Some statistics on Slavic co-operatives in Canada

Many new settlers of Slavic extraction practiced different forms of unorganized co-operation among themselves in order to survive under pioneering conditions in Canada. This is especially true for those who settled on the farms where neighbourly help practiced in their homelands was continued in the new country. Also, those who found employment in industry supported members of their ethnic groups who were in need, often in the framework of national religious communities. Most of the Slavic settlers have been used to a much more developed system of social security at home than that – if it can be called a social security system at that time at all – which they have found in Canada. As a result, in order to protect themselves, numerous mutual benefit and fraternal societies were organized.

Their first formal co-operative organizations, like many non-ethnic ones, were not all successful. The co-operative idea, nevertheless, survived and inspired many very successful organizations after a more appropriate legislation for co-operatives was introduced in Canada provinces. Of significant help also, was a greater number of better educated immigrants coming with the successive waves of immigration after radical political changes in many of the Slavic countries in Europe. They wil-

lingly helped to run the already existing co-operatives of their countrymen or themselves helped to establish new ones.

I. D. Stratyichuk wrote in 1950 that the membership of Ukrainian farmers in the three Western Wheat Pools amounted to some 20,000 or 10% of the total membership. He also calculated that they had some \$5 million invested in share capital of the Pools. On the local committees in Saskatchewan, he found over 1,000 Ukrainian names. A large number of Ukrainians served as local delegates to provincial bodies of Wheat Pools, and there were over 75 Ukrainian grain buyers for the Pools.

Many purchasing co-operatives (for goods such as twine, coal, gasoline and oil) were organized on a community basis (Manitoba 25, Alberta 30, Saskatchewan 50), many in settlements with strong majorities of Ukrainians. While Ukrainians were in many cases leaders of those co-operatives, they kept them open for all members of the communities regardless of their ethnic origin.

Ukrainians organized also a co-operative leather goods factory in Winnipeg in 1938 with an initial share of \$2,000 and an additional loan capital of \$5,000.

In his article, I. D. Stratyichuk reports that there were 45 Ukrainian credit unions but among them only five were organized exclusively on ethnic basis. All others were community credit unions in predominantly Ukrainian communities, but open to all residents.

The third congress of the Ukrainians in Canada (February 7-9, 1950), adopted unanimously a resolution proposed by I. D. Stratyichuk endorsing co-operatives. (12: pages 19 and 21).

Response to the questionnaire

After correspondence with co-operative central organizations, a list of co-operatives serving Slavic ethnic groups was made and questionnaires were sent to 44 credit unions and one consumer co-operative. A large number of respondents did not fill out the questionnaire or did it incompletely, but sent their latest financial statement only. Answers or at least financial statements were received from 22 credit unions and from one consumer co-operative. Response of credit unions was 50% and of consumer co-operatives 100%. Nevertheless, I do not believe that my original list contained all co-operative organizations serving Slavic ethnic groups.

Credit unions are not only the easiest form of co-operatives to operate, but they can also most easily be limited to a special group. The

TABLE 2: SLAVIC CREDIT UNIONS IN CANADA

NAME	YEAR ORGANIZED	MEMBERS	SAVINGS	LOANS	RESERVES	TOTAL ASSETS
Belorussian (Toronto)	1953	56	\$ 24,663	\$ 10,050	\$ 1,627	\$ 27,388
Croatian (Toronto)	n. d.	n. d.	274,548	292,856	8,830	312,205
Czechoslovak (Toronto)	1953	1,316	845,368	847,734	41,388	615,286
Polish Alliance (Toronto)	1955	659	652,580	599,256	42,753	740,236
Polish Alliance (New Toronto)	1956	90	38,830	23,336	2,412	43,989
Polish Alliance (Edmonton)	1956	544	348,285	292,811	11,455	368,093
Polish Combattants (Toronto)	1953	493	232,676	238,743	32,616	285,257
Polish National (Toronto)	1946	322	270,439	147,785	17,175	302,708
John E. Krek's (Sloven. — Toronto)	1953	1,716	1,330,071	1,039,533	86,307	1,433,068
Our Lady Help of Christians (Toronto)	1957	1,950	1,240,032	1,217,855	60,440	1,401,636
Ukrainian (Sudbury)	1944	275	220,322	194,085	7,085	229,862
Ukrainian (Calgary)	n. d.	297	236,096	268,548	5,602	306,926
Ukrainian (Toronto)	1944	4,859	7,104,032	5,960,904	425,982	7,768,956
Ukrainian (Windsor)	1945	552	446,322	309,013	32,266	503,702

TABLE 2: SLAVIC CREDIT UNIONS IN CANADA (CONTINUED)

NAME	YEAR ORGANIZED	MEMBERS	SAVINGS	LOANS	RESERVES	TOTAL ASSETS
Ukrainian Cath. (Edmonton)	1946	544	\$ 448,620	\$ 525,973	\$ 58,507	\$ 589,031
Ukrainian Prog. (Edmonton)	n. d.	226	139,693	111,953	8,602	156,409
Ukrainian Vet. (Toronto)	n. d.	n. d.	46,672	36,787	1,652	49,337
Andrew (Alberta)	1943	n. d.	325,071	321,939	9,428	408,008
Buduchnist (Toronto)	1952	3,855	5,437,488	4,124,213	217,345	5,726,678
New Community (Saskatoon)	1939	912	1,529,475	1,350,454	84,793	1,628,772
St Josephat (Toronto)	1950	532	416,209	363,766	13,557	447,062
So — Use (Toronto)	1950	n. d.	4,113,210	3,185,255	289,411	4,558 803

organizing principles of credit unions is the common bond. Ethnic groups can easily qualify for such a special group. Producers' and consumers' co-operatives, on the other hand, need a much larger group for successful operation. Their members also must live close together in order to make use of them while credit unions can easily operate even over larger territories. Many ethnic groups either are not numerically strong enough to operate such producers' and/or consumers' co-operatives, or are too dispersed to make such units practical. It is therefore to be expected that among Canadian Slavs, credit unions will be much stronger than other types of co-operatives.

Of the total of 22 Slavic credit unions reporting, 18 of them had a total membership of 19,189. Total savings were \$26,068,987; total loans were \$21,758,660; total reserves amounted to \$1,470,688 and total assets were \$28,271,523.

Alexander Okhrym (Toronto) published in the Ukrainian newspaper, *The New Pathway*, in January, 1969, the following report on the progress of ten Ukrainian credit unions in the Toronto area (data are for the end of the respective years):

TABLE 3: UKRAINIAN CREDIT UNIONS IN TORONTO

(Summary statistics for 10 Ukrainian Credit Unions)

	1957 \$	1967 ?	Increase 1957-1967 %
Shares	2,190,334	7,712,522	256.68
Deposits	2,086,412	12,302,654	489.65
Personal loans	2,773,260	3,422,786	
Mortgage loans	1,004,518	13,376,726	
Investments	214,231	2,536,473	
Guarantee fund	89,380	909,530	917.5
Deposit for education		326,966	
Stabilization fund		4,326	
Total assets	4,603,654	21,977,177	377.38
Members	8,706	15,973	83.25

(9: page 29)

While the above data refer to ten Ukrainian credit unions in Toronto, A. Okhrym estimates that there are twelve Ukrainian credit unions in the Toronto area, and fifteen more in the rest of Ontario, giving a total for the Province of Ontario of twenty-seven Ukrainian credit unions. The Ukrainian population makes only 2.1% of the population of Ontario. Ukrainians have – according to the estimates of A. Okhrym – 4.1% of all credit unions in Ontario. He estimates the total membership in twenty-seven Ukrainian credit unions to be 19,031 and total assets \$24,234,772. (9: page 20). The article does not give the names of ten credit unions comprising the group for which total data are given. It was not possible, therefore, to make a comparison for the fiscal year, 1968.

Slavic co-operatives – intermediary between the Slav immigration and the Canadian society

The co-operative tradition is one of the reasons that Slavs used co-operative organizations to improve their economic position in their new homeland. Slavic co-operatives provided for immigrants a means to go after their business partially sheltered by a subgroup which was familiar to them both by allowing them to use their native tongue and by its mode of operation and participating thus more indirectly in the Canadian economy.

For many, especially for the older generation, but also for most of the newcomers, at least in their first years in Canada, who were not too fluent either in English or in French (where it could be used), co-operatives were a convenient way of doing business in their own language. Each Slavic group had some people who were able to operate the business and its exterior connections in the language of the land. They became natural choices for positions having the necessary contact with the society at large (positions of presidents, secretaries, treasurers, managers, etc.), and their knowledge of the mother tongue made it possible to use it in its internal operations. Besides business activities, co-operatives provided usually also at least outlet for socializing.

Since many of the Slav immigrants came from rural areas with little experience in banking, beyond their own credit unions, and because many had in addition bad experiences with devaluations of currencies, they shied away from banks in Canada. Language difficulties, as well as their unfamiliarity with making out different forms (deposit and withdrawal slips, etc.), contributed also to this. Much of their

money would remain out of circulation would they not have institutions they were familiar with and they could trust. By using their institutions for saving and borrowing (a much larger proportion of saving in Slavic credit unions is used for purchasing of homes, for house repairs and improvements, than in a typical non-ethnic Canadian credit union where most of the loans are short term personal loans), they not only helped themselves and their families, but activated in this way also the general Canadian economy.

Slavic co-operatives offer to many immigrants a special status in their ethnic communities which is in many cases higher than their status in the Canadian society, and in many cases closer to the status they enjoyed at home (this is true especially for political refugees, many of whom were unable to find a corresponding employment in Canada, e.g., judges and lawyers). Such a position certainly helped many to maintain their self esteem and mental health.

Slavic co-operative organizations provide also employment opportunities for some of their members. It is tacitly assumed that persons in leading positions in Slavic co-operatives, both salaried and those receiving honoraria, must be available for additional non-paid activities in their respective groups (cultural, social, social welfare, etc.).

Some special characteristics of Slavic Credit Unions

Since credit unions are the most developed form of co-operatives among Canadian Slavs and since I had some years of personal experience with Slavic credit unions in Ontario, I shall limit myself in this section to credit unions.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance (1964) mentions three types of credit co-operatives in Canada. The first type are caisses populaires, "people's banks", established in Quebec by Alphonse Desjardins Levis, 1901). They stress the self-help idea of the community for sound and productive use of their savings. They emphasize deposit accounts on which moderate interest is paid and charged as expenses of the operation of business. Shares are considered primarily as qualification for membership. Their offspring in the United States turned out to be fairly different both in orientation and in business practices. Their early promoter, Edward Filene, a businessman and philanthropist from Boston, recognized in them a useful means to make the mass production economy possible by giving the common man a

source of ready available credit for which he, at that time, was not yet eligible at banking institutions. Savings are invested as shares (even if shares are nominal units only and no share certificates are issued) on which dividends are paid out of yearly surpluses. This second type is prevalent especially in Ontario. The third type is represented by the Antigonish version of credit unions which prevails in the Atlantic area, and in Western Canada. It retained the United States "common bond" philosophy, but understands credit unions as part of the co-operative movement with a renewed emphasis on communities. As the Report points out, at the end of 1960, community credit unions represented 69% of the total in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and 53% in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, in Ontario and Quebec, they accounted for only 11% (caisses populaires were excluded because they are all community based). (See 11: Table 9-2 on page 157).

The same source indicates that in Ontario and Quebec 409 credit unions or 30% and in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia 183 credit unions or 16% were organized on some other basis than community or occupation. They were mainly church and/or ethnic credit unions.

Slavic credit unions operate under provincial acts which in many respects reflect the United States type of orientation while their attitudes are closest to those of caisses populaires type even when they are organized on an ethnic basis. The reason is simple—they knew the Raiffeisen type of Saving and Loan Associations from home (some of them have "Savings and Credit Union" in their names) after which Desjardins modeled his caisses populaires. Their credit unions regularly provide more services than a typical industrial credit union.

The difference between a typical Slavic and a typical industrial credit union can be easily seen from their balance sheets. In a Slavic credit union, the share capital is smaller than are the deposits. Since interest on deposits is considered expense, yearly surpluses are lower and accordingly legal appropriations for the guarantee funds are smaller which account for a slower growth of reserves. On the other hand, many Slavic credit unions allocate at their annual meetings additional amounts for reserves.

Despite the opposite suggestion by terminology (share would suggest a long term and deposit a short term saving) members of Slavic credit unions seem to keep their savings in the organization for longer periods. This is evident from an analysis of loan demand in Slavic credit unions. There is no great demand for small consumer loans which are

common in an industrial credit union. Slavic seem to be used to saving for smaller purchases on top of what they deposit in their credit union. There is a great demand for large sums—mainly for home purchases, home improvements, and for business. Since legislation and leagues work on the assumption of short term consumer credit, they insist on a high liquidity and are limiting the percentage of savings which may be loaned for mortgages. Such a rule makes the operation of Slavic credit unions very difficult. If the credit unions stick to the rule — and they are pressured to do so by inspectors — their savings remain idle while the needs of their members remain unsatisfied. Some compromise was worked out in Ontario by the stipulation that loans secured by mortgages for three years or less can be considered short term loans.

Slavic credit unions show their community character also by the fact that a larger proportion of yearly surpluses is voted by their annual meetings for some communal purposes (cultural, religious, etc.) than it is the case in a typical industrial credit union.

CONCLUSION

Despite the scarcity of the relevant material, a few generalizations regarding the involvement of the Canadian Slavs in the Canadian co-operative movement can safely be made.

With very few exceptions Slavic ethnic groups participated in the Canadian co-operative movement since its early stages. Their participation in it, either in their own co-operative organizations or as members in non-ethnic co-operative units, exceeded the average participation of the Canadian population in the co-operative movement.

Ethnically based co-operative organizations are beneficial not only to newcomers, both economically and culturally as an intermediary group facilitating their adjustment to their new homeland, but also to the Canadian society. They provide a vehicle for a gradual adjustment which reduces possible tensions and difficulties for the society at large. Since Slavic co-operative organizations participate in Canadian co-operative federations, their economic activities are part of the Canadian economic life.

The number of Canadian Slavs who became very influential in the Canadian co-operative movement is lower than their numerical participation would suggest. Nevertheless, there are some who made a sub-

stantial contribution to the development of the Canadian co-operative movement.

Additional research is needed to describe the role of Canadian Slavs in the Canadian co-operative movement more completely.

NOTES

- 1) The controversy which has no practical importance was recently re-opened in the Nr. 4, Vol. 39 of the *Annals of Public and Co-operative Economy* (Liege, Belgium).
- 2) Ashley Montagu quotes in his book *On Being Human* (New York: H. Schuman, 1951) a longer excerpt of T. H. Huxley's lecture at Oxford in 1893 in which Huxley said among other things:
Social checking means a cheking of the cosmic process – struggle for survival – at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest, in respect of the whole of the conditions which obtain, but of those who are ethically the best. (o. c. pages 30-21)
- 3) Besides establishing the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism Pitirim, A. Sorokin published a number of books expounding the same basic idea—*Reconstruction of Humanity* (1948); *Altruistic Love: A Study of American Good Neighbours and Christian Saints* (1950); *The Ways and Power of Love* (1954) – the first sixteen chapters of the book have been reprinted in paperback edition by H. Regnery Company of Chicago (1967) – He edited two symposia: *Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior* (1950) and *Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth* (1954). In a letter to Dr. M. M. Coady, Sorokin explicitly mentioned that his concept of “creative altruism” and “love” are identical with the concept of co-operation as used by the Antigonish movement.
- 4) In the Austrian Empire, farmers started to organize co-operatives in 1869. The organization proceeded on an ethnic basis. There were co-operatives organizations among Slavs living at that time inside the Empire – among Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Croats.
In Serbia the modern co-operative movement started in 1894 (promoter Michael Avramovich). It was greatly supported by the Serbain government which passed a modern co-operative act in 1898.
In Slovenia, Dr. Josip Voshniak, saw them in operation in Bohemia. Despite the many obstacles of the Austrian government which did

not like to see a development of Slovenian national economic institutions, first, two credit co-operatives were organized as associations in 1872, since the first co-operative legislation in Austria was passed only in 1873 (a Slovenian M. P., Dr. J. E. Krek, was very influential in the process of passing the bill). Also, the first artisans' co-operative was started through the initiative of an immigrant from Moravia (it changed in 1922 into a limited company). After a slow beginning (from 1872 to 1892, only 69 co-operatives were organized) the return from Vienna of a young priest and professor in the Catholic Seminary in Ljubljana, Dr. John E. Krek, marks a great expansion of the co-operative movement, especially of the Riaffeisen type of credit co-operatives. In the period from 1892 to 1905, 481 new co-operatives were organized. The memory of Krek is perpetuated in Canada by the John E. Krek's Slovenian (Toronto) Credit Union. Statistics for 1910 show 902 co-operative organizations. 512 reporting credit co-operatives (from the total of 543) had 164,954 members and 233,457,743 kr. assets; 47 consumer co-operatives (from 56) reporting had 6,686 members and 1,969,964 kr. assets; 200 reporting farmers' co-operatives (from the total of 274) had 21,312 members and 24 miscellaneous reporting (from 29) had 2,316 members (5: pages 545-546). In 1908, a Co-operative College was started in Ljubljana, being the second such institution in Europe. In 1935, credit co-operatives had almost two-thirds of all personal savings in Slovenia.

Co-operatives in Slovenia

CO-OPERATIVES IN SLOVENIA

Types of co-operatives	Years		Co-operatives reporting (end 1936)		
	1935	1937	Units	Members	
Credit co-op	500	539	498	155,977	savings 1,417.6
Purchasing & marketing	135	203	122	47,706	million din.
Dairy	65	90	69	7,386	loans 1,087.8
Livestock	90	104	85	4,678	million din.
Pasture & Forestry	n. d.	203	n. d.		business volume
Farm Implements	60	61	56	2,225	86,2 million
Wine & Fruit	15	28	14	1,482	value of milk bought
Pulp	n. d.	9	n. d.		9.6 million din.
Farming	n. d.	49	n. d.		almost all milk &
Hydro	45	58	40	4,136	butter in Slovenia
Water Supply	30	40	n. d.		
Housing	60	103	65	5,643	

CO-OPERATIVES IN SLOVENIA (CONTINUED)

Types of co-operatives	Years		Co-operatives reporting (end 1936)	
	1935	1937	Units	Members
Home Craft	n. d.	16	n. d.	
Artisans'	50	56	n. d.	
Printing & Publishing	n. d.	26	n. d.	
Insurance	8	n. d.	n. d.	
Others	60	80	n. d.	
Centrals	n. d.	12		
		1,667		

Population of Slovenia in 1931 was 1,144,298 and in 1936 estimated at 1,209,064. (Data taken from 14: pages 141 - 143. and 6: pages 459 - 463, passim). The first Savings and Loan Association in Ukraine was organized in Hadiach in 1869. Ukrainian co-operative Kalina in Winnipeg organized in 1930 was named after the original co-operative in Lwow: Chervona Kalina (Red Rose). In Russia the first co-operative was organized in 1864 in Ural. The tsarist government was inimical to co-operatives, but they won recognition in 1905 and became well organized before the outbreak of the Communist revolution in 1917. During the Kerensky regime, co-operatives were the only group offering their support for the modernization and development of Russia. Narodny National Bank in Moscow was a co-operative bank, serving at that time some 38,000 co-operative organizations.

- 5) Stratyichuk repeatedly emphasizes in his article that Ukrainian pioneers purposely kept their community co-operatives open to all inhabitants of their community, regardless of their ethnic origin, because according to co-operative philosophy the co-operative movement must be open to everyone.
- 6) This is another case in the attempt to deal with Canadians in the limited framework of bilingualism and biculturalism, which implicitly denies the right to operational identity to almost one-third of the Canadian population.
- 7) The Report of the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance from 1964 devoted its chapter nine to Caisses Populaires and Credit Unions (pages 155-170). In it, the three types of credit co-operatives in Canada are described in some detail.
- 8) E. g. at the opening of the new building of the Ontario Credit Union League (1960), representatives of twenty ethnic groups having their

own credit unions, were present in their native costumes. Many co-operative publications, as well as the general press, will publish articles and pictures of ethnic co-operatives, especially on occasions of some special celebrations – a jubilee of founding, opening of a new building, etc. Publicity is increased if they succeed in getting some public person to attend the celebration. The Ontario Credit Union League gave, some years ago, special plaques as recognition to ethnic press promoting credit unions among their readers. During my service with the League one was given to Slovenska država and one to the Polish newspaper, Zwiaskowiec, (Polish Alliance Friendly Society). During the period Ontario Credit Union League was choosing "Credit Union Queens" one of the princesses represented also the ethnic groups of credit unions.

- 9) E. g. the Estonian credit union in Toronto introduced secondary checking (personal cheques) for its members and as a consequence the assets of the credit union showed a tremendous increase. Some Ukrainian credit unions in Toronto introduced special deposits for educational purposes which too brought new long term savings to the credit union movement.
- 10) It was disappointing to notice that the book *The Canadian Family Tree*. (Centennial Edition 1867-1967. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967) mentions credit union activities among Canadian Slavs for Slovenes only.

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LE PARTI QUEBÉCOIS ET LES IMMIGRANTS

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Au cours de cet exposé, il sera surtout question des politiques préconisées par le Parti Québécois concernant les immigrants et leur intégration au groupe francophone du Québec. Cependant avant d'aborder ce sujet, quelques remarques doivent être faites sur l'option constitutionnelle de ce parti.

La politique constitutionnelle du Parti Québécois

Le Parti Québécois fut fondé officiellement au mois d'octobre 1968. Il se composait alors des anciens membres du Mouvement Souveraineté-Association et de ceux du Ralliement National. Quelques semaines après la fondation du Parti Québécois, le premier parti politique indépendantiste au Québec le Ralliement pour l'indépendance Nationale était dissous et la majorité de ses adhérents étaient intégrés au Parti Québécois.

L'option constitutionnelle du Parti Québécois repose sur l'affirmation de deux principes qui, s'ils peuvent sembler contradictoires, sont facilement conciliables. Le Parti répudie la constitution canadienne actuelle et préconise l'indépendance du Québec par rapport aux autres provinces. Devenue souverain, le Québec pourrait dès lors exercer seul la constitution canadienne, avec l'État fédéral.

Contre cette indépendance, certaines objections peuvent être soulevées. Notre époque est marquée par une tendance générale de la part des États souverains à se regrouper en des unions ou communautés qui s'avèrent dans bien des cas plus aptes que le cadre traditionnel de l'État à favoriser le développement économique de leurs adhérents. Le Parti Québécois n'entend pas soustraire le Québec aux grands courants contemporains et propose une forme d'association avec les provinces du Canada. Dans "son" programme, il prévoit certains domaines à l'intérieur desquels les deux pays pourraient faire oeuvre commune. Ainsi il pro-

poserait aux dirigeants canadiens la formation d'une sorte de marché commun et l'adoption de politiques uniques en matière de douanes, de monnaie, de navigation, de défense et aussi jusqu'à un certain point dans le domaine de la politique étrangère.

Par la réalisation de ce projet ambitieux le Parti Québécois croit qu'il permettrait aux canadiens-français, d'exercer cette liberté collective sans laquelle il ne leur est pas possible de s'épanouir comme groupe national. Mais cet épanouissement du groupe francophone du Québec suppose en plus d'un changement constitutionnel, l'adoption d'un ensemble de mesures visant à solutionner certains problèmes particuliers. Une de ces difficultés et non la moindre, auxquelles le Parti Québécois doit apporter des solutions est l'assimilation massive des immigrants par le groupe anglophone.

Les immigrants du Québec

De nombreuses études sociologiques des populations des grands centres urbains du Québec et particulièrement de la région de Montréal démontrent qu'un ensemble de facteurs entraînent chaque année une diminution relative de la majorité francophone du Québec. D'après le recensement de 1961 les francophones constituaient 80.6% de la population québécoise et représentaient 64.2% de la population dans la région de Montréal. Ces chiffres porteraient à croire que les nouveaux arrivants dans la province de Québec et plus particulièrement dans la région de Montréal subiraient tout naturellement l'attraction de la majorité et tenteraient de s'intégrer au groupe francophone; tel n'est cependant pas le cas.

Le recensement de 1961 fournit des données très révélatrices en ce qui concerne le comportement des immigrants de la région de Montréal. En effet, quelle que soit leur origine ethnique, les néo-canadiens de Montréal loin d'accroître la proportion du groupe francophone sont massivement assimilés à la population anglophone, à plus ou moins brève échéance. Sans vouloir passer en revue tous les groupes ethniques représentés dans la région montréalaise, qu'il suffise d'indiquer quant à certains d'entre eux, la proportion de leurs ressortissants qui ayant opté pour l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles ont choisi le français, en la comparant au grand nombre des immigrants qui ont préféré l'anglais.

Les israélites constituent le second groupe d'immigrants par ordre d'importance numérique de la région montréalaise: leur nombre était de près de 74,000 en 1961. Or, l'anglais était clairement favorisé par ceux

d'entre eux qui avaient comme langue maternelle l'une des deux langues officielles de la province. En effet, tandis que 2.1% se disaient de langue maternelle française, 55.1% se disaient de langue maternelle anglaise. Donc pour un israélite qui est assimilé au groupe francophone, 27 sont anglicisés. Par souci d'exactitude, il convient de mentionner que plusieurs israélites de langue maternelle anglaise ont une certaine connaissance du français.

La préférence très marquée accordée au groupe anglophone se retrouve chez les immigrants de toutes origines sauf, du moins par le passé, dans la communauté italienne.

Parmi les russes de Montréal (12,371), 3.1% se disaient en 1961 de langue maternelle française et 52.1% déclaraient avoir opté pour l'anglais, soit un rapport de 1 à 17. Ce même rapport favorise aussi la population anglophone chez les polonais (26,347) et les ukrainiens (14,519) où il d'un à 3. Seuls les néo-canadiens d'origine italienne qui sont les plus nombreux à Montréal, soit quelque 102,000 n'ont pas suivi du moins jusqu'en 1957, cette tendance générale. Tandis que 11.9% se déclaraient de langue maternelle française, 5.5% seulement étaient en 1961 de langue maternelle anglaise. Cependant il semble que depuis 1957, la communauté italienne se tourne résolument vers l'anglais. Alors qu'en 1964, les enfants d'origine italienne se partageaient à peu près également entre les écoles françaises et les écoles anglaises, au cours de l'année 1967-68 les écoles anglaises de la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal recevaient 86.4% des écoliers d'origine italienne.

Cette assimilation massive des immigrants par le groupe anglophone et certains autres faits de moindre importance tels le déclin considérable du taux de natalité au sein de la population québécoise et l'émigration d'un certain nombre de québécois vers d'autres provinces ou pays font que la majorité canadienne-française qui semble encore maintenant assez confortable peut à plus ou moins brève échéance devenir précaire. Cette possibilité a développé dans divers milieux du Québec une véritable inquiétude et a incité les partis politiques et différentes associations à formuler des solutions.

La politique linguistique du Parti Québécois

La province de Québec est une province bilingue. Ses habitants peuvent s'exprimer en français ou en anglais devant les tribunaux, de même qu'auprès des divers organismes ou corps publics et les députés jouissent du même privilège à l'Assemblée Nationale. Ce bilinguisme pratiqué par l'Etat provincial n'a cependant jamais réussi à s'imposer vraiment dans les grandes entreprises privées, de sorte qu'une fraction

importante de la population francophone doit faire usage de l'anglais dans les bureaux ou les usines. Cet état de fait qui constitue un facteur permanent d'aliénation de la majorité canadienne-française explique pour une bonne part les préférences linguistiques des néo-québécois.

Pour remédier à cette situation, le Parti Québécois propose les solutions suivantes. Le français serait dans un Etat québécois souverain, la seule langue officielle. Et cet unilinguisme serait de rigueur non seulement en ce qui concerne l'Etat en tant que tel, mais les municipalités, conseils scolaires et autres corps publics devraient aussi s'y soumettre. Quant au milieu du travail, le Parti Québécois s'il était porté au pouvoir préconiserait une législation de nature à faire du français la langue des communications dans les entreprises. Le français devraient être utilisé par les cadres de chacune d'elles dans leurs relations avec les employés.

Enfin en ce qui concerne les immigrants, certaines mesures s'imposent pour mettre fin à leur intégration massive au groupe anglophone. Les solutions mises de l'avant par le Parti Québécois à ce sujet se trouvent principalement au chapitre des politique préconisées dans le domaine de l'éducation.

Deux secteurs publics l'un groupant les écoles françaises et l'autre les écoles anglaises continueraient à exister. Cependant les enfants des immigrants désireux de s'installer au Québec devraient nécessairement fréquenter les institutions de langue française, le secteur public anglais ne serait en effet fréquenté que par les enfants des anglophones déjà établis au Québec.

Suivant ce projet les écoles françaises et anglaises seraient donc maintenues en existence et subventionnées par l'Etat. Par ailleurs, le programme du Parti Québécois n'interdit pas l'institution par les divers groupes ethniques du Québec, d'écoles privées où l'enseignement serait diffusé dans une langue autre que le français ou l'anglais.

Enfin, le Parti entend favoriser l'étude des langues étrangères dans les écoles des secteurs publics français et anglais. L'on ne saurait, en effet, contester l'importance pour l'homme moderne de connaître une ou deux langues en plus de sa langue maternelle. Au Québec qui demeurera pendant longtemps encore une terre d'immigration, l'étude des langues étrangères ne peut qu'assurer une meilleure compréhension entre les québécois et les immigrants et faciliter l'intégration de ces derniers au groupe parmi lequel ils ont choisi de s'établir.

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SLAVIC LANGUAGE MINORITIES IN CANADA AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION

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I

In checking legal guarantees for "language rights" in general, we find that they are expressed in constitutions of various nations in two ways:

1. as *positive* guarantees, viz:
 - (a) a given language is *fully* protected by law or other legal means in the public life of the country (so called "Officialization" of a language);
 - (b) a given language is only *partly* protected by legal means (e. g. admission to schools, to some regions in the public life, etc.).
2. as *negative* (preventive) provisions, viz: anti-linguicidal guarantees, protecting language minorities from suppression and/or limitation of their language rights.

As far as Slavic language minorities in Canada are concerned, their protection in the new Official Languages Act of 1969 belongs to the latter category. Section 38 of this Act provides an anti-linguicidal provision on their behalf (as also with regard to all other language minorities in Canada). In interpreting this Section, we wish to emphasize that the Government of Canada went further than the Royal Commission recommended in this matter. While the Commission ventured only into future and present times, the Government of Canada produced a better "grammar" in this respect: apart from present and future "tenses" it introduced the past tense as well, thus giving the possibility for a broad interpretation and application of provisions for other ethnic languages with regard to their language rights in the *past*, *present* and *future*.

In interpreting the Official Languages Act as a whole and the quoted Section in particular, Hon. Gerard Pelletier, the Secretary of State,

gave the following declaration on behalf of the Government of Canada before the House of Commons on May 16th, 1969:

“The Government of Canada is as truly and fully the spokesman for all Canadians at the federal level as the Provincial Governments are for their citizens at the provincial level. Any misunderstanding on this point can only create anarchy, since it touches the the very foundation of federalism.

On the one hand, all the provinces must feel free to develop, without impediments, their special characteristics within their own sphere of competence. Yet it remains true that the Government of Canada, in its own domain, must remain free to act for the country as a whole. Now this domain includes, among other realities, the linguistic duality that has always characterized the whole of Canada. Indeed, our common life is expressed through two official languages and has always been based on two distinct cultures. These are resources that we have no right to imperil or to leave in jeopardy. . . The bill concerns not individual bilingualism, but institutional bilingualism; that is, use of the two languages by Government services in their dealings with the public. We intend to establish here the right of all Canadians, whether they live in Saint-Boniface, Sudbury, Trois-Rivières or Moncton, to communicate with the federal Government in their own language.

A second erroneous interpretation of this bill is that one of the unavowed purposes is to push French-speaking Canadians towards slow assimilation, encouraging them to learn English. Whatever its origin, this interpretation borders on bad faith. Quite to the contrary, the practical result of the act will be to make available to French-speaking minorities throughout the country services in French which hitherto all too often have been lacking, and, conversely, to make the same services available in English to isolated English-speaking minorities.

A third erroneous interpretation: it has been claimed that the bill and the measures it involves would be prejudicial to the language and culture of other ethnic groups established in Canada. To understand the falseness of this argument, we have only to refer to the text of the Bill or to the general policy of the Government. Furthermore, section 38 provides that nothing in the Bill may affect “the acquired rights and privileges” of the other languages. And these are not empty words. In the court for, example, those who do not understand or speak French or English may call for the services of an interpreter.

The Bill in no way attempts to limit or lessen the rights and privileges of the citizens. On the contrary, its purpose is to extend and strengthen them.

The same is true of the bilingualism policy of the Government. I know that in certain areas of the country some people have difficulty in understanding it, and others in accepting it. But I also know – having discussed it throughout the country – that the majority of citizens approach the question with a great deal of open-mindedness and good will. The task of applying this Act will be greatly simplified if we all keep cool, if we refuse to listen to alarmists, if, in the final analysis, we are prepared, as reasonable men and women, to put forth a concerted effort against fanaticism, prejudice, fear and bitterness.”

The Act itself as well as G. Pelletier’s remarks pose, naturally, the basic question: What precisely is the meaning of “bilingualism and biculturalism?” Dictionaries do not adequately provide an answer to this question. Most of them list only the term “bilingualism” which, according, e. g. to the *American College Dictionary* is defined as: (1) “The habitual use of two languages” and (2) “The ability of being bilingual.” The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it similarly. There is no dictionary – to my knowledge – listing the term “*biculturalism*”, although it appeared more than a decade ago in the English usage. Let us turn to special works on language and culture. The linguistic research² considers bilingualism as one of the aspects of “language in contact”, the term coined by André Martinet and popularized by Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen.¹ Language contact is defined as “the alternate use of two or more languages by the same persons” and such persons are called “bilinguals.” With reference to constitutional recognition of languages, the following typology of bilingualism might be presented:³

$$1) \text{ oBL} : 2) \frac{\text{S}}{\text{O}} \text{ BL} : 3) \frac{\text{u}}{\text{O}} \text{ BL} : 4) \frac{\text{O}}{\text{n}} \text{ BL}^3$$

In the USA there is only one official language, American English,

1 Einar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide*. University of Alabama Press, 1956, pp. 9-10.

2 Cf. J. B. Rudnyckyj, “Formulas in Bilingualism and Biculturalism”, *Proceedings of the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota*, Vol. 6-7, Winnipeg 1967, pp. 13-19.

3 See *Appendix* for abbreviations and their meaning.

and there are several types of semi-official bilingualism, e. g. AmE-Spanish, AmE-Russian, AmE-Italian, AmE-Polish, AmE-Chinese, AmE-Swedish, AmE-Greek, etc. To be sure, there are cases of non-official bilingualism; it means the cases where an individual uses two unofficial languages without knowledge of the AmE. I noticed in New York e. g. the existence of German-Russian bilinguals, Ukrainian-Polish, Yiddish-Czech, etc. But these are marginal cases and they refer exclusively to the older generation of recent newcomers. As a result, we can present the following formula of the USA linguistic pattern:

$$USlp = \frac{oUL}{\frac{s}{o} BL + \frac{u}{o} BL + \frac{u}{o} UL}$$

Another situation exists in Canada. Here we have two official languages – English and French and several languages spoken as mother tongues throughout the country. Therefore an objective linguistic pattern of Canada is as follows:

$$C lp = o \left[\begin{array}{c} E \\ F \end{array} \parallel \begin{array}{c} F \\ E \end{array} \right] + \frac{s}{o} \left[\begin{array}{c} E \\ OEL \end{array} \parallel \begin{array}{c} F \\ OEL \end{array} \right] + \frac{u}{o}$$

which means:

Official English-French and French-English bilingualism
plus

Semi-official or French in combination with another ethnic language
plus

Unofficial bilingualism of the other ethnic groups.

In other words Canada is a bilingual country with various types of **bilingualism**, affecting in a multilingual reality. The Canadian “multilingualism” is implicitly stated in the Official Language Act: its Section 38 clearly indicates the existence of other ethnic languages in Canada, thus implying the existence of both semi-official and unofficial bilingualism.

Let us compare the Canadian situation with other countries. Very interesting, from this point of view, is the situation in Belgium: Here we have the following formula (since 1964):

$$B lp = oUL_1 + oUL_2 + oBL \text{ (in Brussels)}$$

For Catalonia, Spain, the following formula is valid:

$$\text{Cat } 1p = \frac{oUL}{\frac{s}{o} BL}$$

More complicated is the situation in Switzerland:

$$\text{Sw } 1p = \frac{oML + oBL + \frac{o}{n} BL}{\frac{o}{n} UL_1 + \frac{o}{n} UL_2 + \frac{o}{n} UL_3 + nUL}$$

A similar complicated pattern exists in Yugoslavia:

$$\text{Y } 1p = \frac{oML + oBL}{oUL_1 + oUL_2 + oUL_3 + oUL_4 + \frac{s}{o} BL}$$

With its more and more advanced theory of "two mother tongues": Russian in addition to native tongues, the Soviet linguistic pattern might be presented as follows:

$$\text{Sov } 1p = \frac{oUL + oBL + oML}{oUL_1 + oUL_2 + oUL_3 + \frac{u}{o} UL + \frac{u}{o} BL}$$

II

In discussing the bilingual and multilingual problems and the constitutional protection of Slavic (and other) minorities in Canada one is confronted not only with the definition of bi- or multilingualism but also with the notion of bi- and multiculturalism. In this respect the views of James Soffietti are basic and relevant. In his article in *Journal of Educational Psychology* (46, 222-7, 1955) he distinguishes between bilingualism and biculturalism.⁴ In view of the fact that different languages can be used in the same culture and the same language in different cultures, he suggests that bilingualism and biculturalism do not necessarily coincide. Just as there are linguistic accents there are cultural accents, resulting from the interference of conflicting habit patterns, and they may be just as hard (or undesirable) to get rid of as the former. It is therefore possible to distinguish four situations: (1) bicultural-bilingual; (2) bicultural-monolingual; (3) monocultural-bilingual; (4) monocultural-monolingual. "A person learning a second language in a

monocultural setting will not automatically learn a whole new set of cultural patterns" (p. 225).

This phenomenon was observed by Haugen also in his study of Norwegians in America: "a bilingual speaker of English and Norwegian in America is not necessarily bicultural. His very use of loanwords from English is governed by an effort to bring his old language into line with the new culture; after the process is completed, he may switch from one language to the other without talking about different things, or feeling himself as culturally distinct from his monolingual neighbours" (*Norwegian Language in America*, p. 72).

According to Haugen, just as the bilingual may have less than two complete languages, so the bicultural may have less than two complete cultures. While it is an easy assumption to make that the degree of bilinguality is directly correlated to the degree of biculturalism, this cannot be sustained on the present evidence. Since lexicon is the index of culture, and in its totality presumably can describe the culture, we would expect the greatest correlation to be here: the lexicon expresses the meanings, which are the culture. But the correlation of the more purely linguistic and structural parts of languages with culture is indirect, and therefore less responsive to cultural change. The extent to which phonology, morphology, or syntax reflect biculturalism is a point, on which further research is necessary. Linguists will find it helpful here to create liaison areas between themselves and the social sciences, fields which in America have been called by such pretentious but often useful names as "metalinguistics", "psycholinguistics", "ethnolinguistics", "glottopolitics", and the like. Some of the problems raised in connection with bilingualism will prove to be almost entirely problems of biculturalism, involving attitudes to the people who speak the languages rather than the languages themselves.

An illustration of how these fields can play into one another and mutually contribute to the solution of bilingual problems is afforded by research on the linguistic conditions of North and South America. As presented in Haugen's *Bilingualism in the America*, one finds in this area four kinds of languages involved in contact situations: native, colonial, immigrant and creolized. The native languages are the numerous Indian and Eskimo languages; the most important colonial are English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish; the immigrant languages include these and innumerable other languages, especially from Europe; the creolized lan-

4 To our knowledge, it is the first time the term "biculturalism" was used in scholarly literature.

guages arose in response to the introduction of slavery by the colonizing powers in certain areas, above all the Caribbean.

Turning to Canada one of the confusing concepts of its linguo-cultural identity is the concept of a "bilingual (English - French) and multicultural country". The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism rejected such a notion not only because of its terms of reference (stressing *bilingualism* and *biculturalism*) but also in view of the *Official Languages Act* confirming the existence and protection of the other (un-official) languages in Canada. I personally also reject this concept for further reasons: The language is the most expressive vehicle of a given culture. Destroying language, not recognizing it as such, one is denigrating a culture to "varenyky" and "hopak", i. e. to the material and social cultural manifestations only. The spiritual culture can be best expressed by and in the respective language. Thus adhering to the "bilingual and multicultural" concept of Canada one accepts the English and French languages only and restricts all other ethnic cultures to material and social manifestations (without any recognition for their languages). Such a notion is against the Canadian linguo-cultural pattern and contradicts the *Official Languages Act*. In my opinion, Canada is a "bilingual and bicultural" country, being at the same time a "multilingual and multicultural" one, as a fact of the synthesis of all actually, factually and legally existing "bilingualisms and biculturalisms". After the completion of the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (first Volume of its *Report* in 1967) and after the adoption and introduction of the *Official Languages Act* (in 1969) there is no other logically and legally founded concept of this country except the one presented in the above formula which identifies Canada as a "*bilingual and bicultural country with various forms of bilingualism and biculturalism, effecting de facto in a multilingual and multicultural nation.*"

III

Following the linguistic research in the field of bilingualism, the author ventured at international congresses in Bolzano in 1964 and 1969 and in Vienna in 1965 to introduce the term "cultures in contact" as a broader concept of "acculturation", "cultural interpenetration", "assimilation", "integration", etc. Let us conclude with the following résumé of my "intervention" at the International Congress of Historians in Vienna during the rather exciting and stimulating discussion of the main topic "acculturation" on August 29th, 1965:

"1. The term "acculturation" is inadequate and, therefore mis-

leading. Among others, it implies the notion of “superior” and “inferior”, “dominant”, and “dominated” cultures. Though, in some cases, in the history of world cultures one has to deal with relationship between such cultures, there are several other cases of cultural intercourse which are not covered by the above term. Therefore, the author suggests the term “cultures in contact” which – in his opinion – exhausts all possible phenomena in this respect.

2. With reference to his previous papers on the subject, the author presents the following typology of “cultures in contact”:

- a) enclavic cultures (Ec),
- b) symbiotic (co-existence) cultures (Sc),
- c) mixed (hybridized) cultures (Mc).

3. As further methodological postulates, the author suggests the distinction of individual and community contacts, diachronic and synchronic approaches in the research, universality of basic principles, etc.

4. In conclusion, the author presents the following working formula (model) of study of the problem of “cultures in contact”:

$$C_c = \frac{E_c : S_c : M_c}{T}$$

where types of cultures indicate their relationship to technological civilization.”

Appendix

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	–	Bilingualism
Cc	–	Cultures in contact
Ec	–	Enclavic cultures
lp	–	language pattern
Mc	–	Mixed cultures
n	–	national
o	–	Official
r	–	restricted
so	–	semi-official
Sc	–	symbiotic cultures
T	–	Technological civilization
UL	–	Technological civilization
u	–	unofficial

SECTION III

EDUCATION

- (9) G. Grodecki, POLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOLS IN CANADA**
- (10) C. J. Jaenen, CANADIAN EDUCATION AND MINORITY RIGHTS**
- (11) Y. Slavutych, UKRAINIAN TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED IN Canada**
- (12) K. Tagashiera & Y. W. Lozowchuk, A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON ETHNICITY AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1910-1962**

POLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOLS IN CANADA

G. Grodecki

The subject which I have decided to examine today, may seem a trifle too particularized at a conference dedicated to the general theme of the Slavic people in Canada. At the same time, the subject is inter-related with the problem of the Polish-Canadian community, its attitude toward Canadian issues in general, and toward Canada in particular.

When I speak of a Polish-Canadian community, I include in it Canadians of Polish origin, as well as Poles residing in this country. First of all, before I go any further, the question of whether there exists a need for Polish language schools in the community itself, must be answered. To do this, I must present at least a brief summary of the traits which characterize this group, and its evolution.

The Poles who arrived in Canada before the First World War were mostly farmers. Seldom had they ventured beyond the confines of their villages; they had little formal education; they clung tenaciously to their local customs, and spoke a regional dialect which bore little resemblance to the literary language. This last circumstance became a barrier between successive waves of immigrants from different parts of Poland, and later, between groups with varying degrees of education. A highlander from the Tatras could barely understand a maritimer from the Baltic coast, and both were ashamed at their ignorance of the literary tongue, hardly suspecting how full of charm were their own dialects.

The conditions which they found in Canada were alien to them, intensified by their lack of knowledge of the English as well as the French language. These circumstances favoured the appearance of Polish ghettos. A desire to band together against this strange environment also gave impetus to the creation of organizational life. Polish churches were erected; clubs, fraternities and organizations sprang into being; a Polish press began to function in spite of generally poor literacy.

At that time in Canada, considerable discrimination was directed against the newcomers. As an illustration, I want to mention the fact that it was not until 1929 that the first "Polish" doctor—a Jew was al-

lowed to practice in a Toronto hospital. This hostility of the inhabitants obviously compounded the feeling of isolation in the newcomers.

A different mental and emotional process was at work in the children who began to attend Canadian schools. They quickly realized that their fellow pupils had wealthier parents and that their manner differed. It became apparent to them that mastery of the local language was of paramount importance, while the knowledge of Polish was inessential. During this period, Canada, under the exclusive domination of the English, generated trends towards assimilation which easily caught up Polish children and young people. Soon, the elders shut themselves up in their ghettos, while the youngsters escaped from it.

Polish arrivals during the inter-war period flocked to the ghetto as if it was a refuge. They bore a great deal of bitterness towards their native land, where they had not found a niche for themselves; at the had been created anew. This wave of immigrants injected a strong dose same time, they brought a certain pride in the fact that the Polish state of polonization into the community, particularly by creating veterans' organizations. However, it did not have the means to solve the problem of the children and the young people.

The last great influx of immigrants after the Second World War transformed the structure of the Polish community, which today represents a cross-section of a normal society in the area of occupations — from unskilled labourers to academicians. These arrivals forged new and important links to the existing organizations, headed by the Polish Combatants Association. Happily, a successful scout movement was developed and implemented for the young generation.

Eventually, the factors which lay at the root of the ghetto disappeared. The children lost their own feeling of inferiority and that of their parents. The Polish language in their eyes stopped being a liability, and on the contrary, besides English and French, became an enviable asset. Young people, alienated from their Polish origins, after gaining a certain degree of education, came to realize that an ethnic background was useful in their personal careers. During the last few years, the repolonizing process in the community has been clearly remarked. The generation gap, which the Polish organizations so deplored, is beginning, however slowly, to be breached. Young people, even if their knowledge of the Polish language is minimal, have started to participate in the life of the community with an ever increasing feeling of their Polish heredity.

In all Polish-Canadian communities there is a growing tendency to establish schools with curricula based on subjects relating strictly to Poland. In some, this tendency is so predominant that it often obscures

other important issues. However, from all this evidence it must be concluded that there definitely exists a need for Polish language schools.

I wish now to deal with some of these related issues by mentioning a catch-phrase which has become common amongst us: Canada, our second country by choice. Obviously, this is only a half-truth. The first immigrants were searching for a livelihood, and not for another country; the second were compelled by various circumstances and very seldom had a free choice in the matter. The slogan I mentioned does not correspond with objective reality; however, it does express a certain inherent quality. Most of us unwittingly, and some of us consciously, feel that to be a person who is indifferent to the country he inhabits is to be a psychological cripple. It is an emotional necessity during the course of time to love the country in which one lives. Canada is beautiful; a country of great potential and multiple opportunities; a country which inspires affection. The Poles, a people subject to a developed and ennobling patriotism, cannot forego such an emotion. Thus, they have transferred to a great extent this feeling for the old country to the new. So there came into existence a country of choice – Canada.

At about the same time that the Polish ethnic group began to feel that it is becoming an integral part of Canadian society, French-Canadians began to clamour for a settlement of age-old accounts with the English, and to pursue a course intended to augment their importance in Canadian life. Their activities are manifested in many forms, even to the point of separatist aspirations. The English were caught so off-guard, that even the problem of two official languages, though of limited use, seems difficult to resolve. Both factions betray a desire to dominate the smaller language groups, and to enlist their support either for the French cause, as in Quebec, or for the English side in the other provinces. If this were to happen, it would just be adding fuel to the fire by strengthening the opposing groups, and leading them further away from a sensible solution to the quarrel.

The Poles admit that the demands of Quebec are just, but they have avoided becoming provincial-minded: on the contrary, they clearly support the case for Canada, with two official languages and a multicultural society. They are not neutral observers of the present currents in Canada, because these trends parallel those in their own community; however, the Poles do not wish to capitalize on the situation, but hope that it will “be resolved” in a beneficial way for the whole country.

At the Head Executive Board of the Canadian Polish Congress this obvious issue is taken for granted, for it would not even occur to anyone to propose a motion which might be detrimental to the interests

of Canada. This being so, before I decided to take upon myself the responsibilities of Director for Youth and Education, I was first of all certain that I would conduct myself as a good Canadian. Now, this issue has become crystal clear to me.

In the United States, the concept of a melting-pot which was to dissolve all national differences in that country ended disastrously. There appeared not one but several melting-pots — some based on race, some on religion. From none did there emerge a homogenous alloy. In effect, extremely strong national groups were resuscitated. For instance, the existence of a Polish-American is an indisputable reality^o and decided to draw some use out of it for the benefit of the nation. It evolved a plan to support the learning of native languages among ethnic groups, and the establishment of foreign language faculties at the universities, including Polish among others. The United States government, being pragmatic sized up this situation.

Canada never possessed the practical means to transform itself into a melting-pot of nations. The percentage of the English population is constantly decreasing; that of the smaller ethnic groups is growing, while the percentage of the French remains constant. At present, the population of the three groups stands almost at par in Canadian society, and their level of education and culture is similar and soon will become equal.

The Poles on the whole are Canadians; if they become assimilated then it will be into the English or the French group, and they would then join in the dispute between them, abandoning the cause for Canada as a whole entity. I would consider such an eventuality deplorable.

Canada stands threatened by dissolution, and will remain in danger for as long as a Canadian identity doesn't crystallize; an identity based on a mosaic of cultures, not only on the English and the French. The idea of an Anglo-French nationality is wholly unrealistic, but the concept of a multicultural nationality is eminently appealing and feasible.

These are the premises upon which, as a Canadian, I predicate my work in the Polish community, so that it will develop into a worthy bearer of our thousand-year-old culture and be capable of adding a Polish title to the design of a Canadian mosaic. In other words, I hope that Polish-Canadians do not compound the already explosive Anglo-French conflict, like certain ingredients in napalm, but will act as a diluting agent.

We think it natural for French to become an official language alongside English, just as we believe it natural that each ethnic group has a right to preserve its own language on the same premise as the other two. And yet, among the English and the French, there arise from time to

time extremely chauvinistic pronouncements which deny the significance of smaller ethnic groups. They are gravely mistaken. The present economic prosperity of Canada would not have been possible without their endowment, and any sizeable exodus of these smaller groups would precipitate a catastrophe.

To return to the problem of education in more detail: last year, the School Committee of the Head Executive of the Canadian Polish Congress sent out a lengthy questionnaire dealing with the work of Polish language schools in Canada. Responses came from 41 schools and 32 organizations which do not conduct classes. Some of the forms arrived after the deadline, and some schools did not participate in the survey. Unfortunately, one aim, that of determining the exact number of schools and pupils, was not achieved.

From the information received: 30 of the schools are run by secular organizations and the percentage of children attending them is 73.2. Eleven are parochial and are attended by 26.8% of the children. The average number of pupils per school is 57. In total there are 114 teachers. 52.5% of the schools' finances are supplied by parents; while 73% of school expenditures go to cover the teachers' expenses.

So much for the bare facts. I might add that the schools are established at the grass-roots level; without any external pressures, without subsidies or compulsory dues.

The chief aim of the survey, namely, the gathering of information about the problems of education, was accomplished. There are three main problematic areas: 1) a lack of primers suited to the Canadian environment 2) a lack of uniform teaching programmes and equipment for the teachers 3) lack of money for the further education of teachers.

Solutions for the difficulties in the first two areas already could be worked out by the Polish communities themselves, but they are unable as yet to supply adequate and steady financial support for the schools. As far as I know, the other ethnic groups are harassed by similar problems and difficulties.

Polish-Canadians are average citizens — they work in every conceivable area; they earn wages and pay taxes to every level of government. As such they help support English and French language schools, and finance many social organizations and cultural institutions across the country. The government, on the other hand, at different levels and chiefly through these subsidized institutions managed by the English or French, limits itself to sponsoring folk festivals from time to time. The ethnic groups are then given an opportunity to show off their beautiful regional and national costumes; sing, dance, or demonstrate some native

custom or culinary delicacy. It then appears as if the Polish community, for instance, is an inconsiderable representative of Polish folklore and tradition, but cannot be regarded as the heir and bearer of a thousand-year old culture. These festivals are quite costly, and yet in practice they only lessen ethnic cultural values in the eyes of the English and the French.

A plea of assistance for Polish language schools – for that is my topic – made to the proper government agencies seems nothing more than a request for rechannelling some of the tax money paid by Polish-Canadians towards education. Let us imagine that the government grants \$200,000 annually, let us say to 30 of the most populous ethnic groups for the purpose of conducting native language schools and thereby helping to create a Canadian cultural mosaic. Surely, this amount to the tune of \$6,000,000 is almost trifling – considering governmental spending as a whole. Yet such a sum would achieve an extremely important effect: members of the smaller ethnic groups would stop feeling that in spite of everything they are being treated as second-class citizens. We have an obligation to hasten the time in which this negative attitude will be destroyed.

It would gratify me, if, as a result of my modest paper, it becomes apparent that for all Slavs in Canada the problems in the area of education are similar: and that we need to create a committee which will examine this question in depth and follow through with the presentation of suitable proposals to appropriate agencies.

G. Grodecki

CANADIAN EDUCATION AND MINORITY RIGHTS

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Definitions:

In few areas of human experience has the question of minority rights more relevance than in education. For the purposes of my paper I am restricting "Canadian education" to public schooling and "minority rights" to the human rights pertaining to education enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and similar codes (including the Canadian Bill of Rights, the Saskatchewan Bill of Rights, the Ontario and P. E.I. Human Rights Codes and the Human Rights Acts of Alberta, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia). A minority in educational matters can be distinguished by one or several of the following characteristics: language of instruction; religious affiliation; "racial" or ethnic origins. Much of our emphasis will be on linguicide (since there is no question of genocide in Canada) which has been defined as the forcible infliction on a bilingual community of "conditions of cultural development calculated to transform it into a unilingual group", the denial of the right to teach a language in public schools and to use it in mass media, and the refusal of moral and material support to an ethno-lingual group requesting assistance for "its language maintenance efforts and cultural endeavours." Public education which is charged with preparing the youth with skills and concepts and which is supposed to transmit the cultural heritage cannot avoid consideration of the rights of minorities.

Problem of minority rights:

All democratic societies are faced with the problem of reconciling majority rule with minority rights.

There is, or appears to be, a problem of minority rights in Canada because of two main factors. First, the majority at times assumes attitudes and positions of superiority vis-à-vis the minorities. In 1869 Robert Haliburton expounded an elaborate thesis of Canadian superiority (to the U. S. A., I suspect) based on a brisk northern climate, superior north-

ern institutions, Aryan racial dominance, and an individualistic puritanical religion. The theme of the "northern superiority" was strengthened, according to such writers as Benjamin Sulte and Cyprien Tanguay, through the "natural selection" of immigrants (to employ a Darwinian phrase) by which northern races added to the charter groups of southern English and Norman French retained the dominant role. This thesis has been accepted in its general outline and embroidered upon by George Bourinot, the abbé Maheux, the Group of Seven, Vincent Massey and Professor W. L. Morton.² Nevertheless, today the term W. A. S. P. does not instill the same pride as it did a century ago. I believe it was a reaction to English-French superiority that prompted some of the unfavourable comment relative to the terms of reference given the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Secondly, the pressure for assimilation into the majoritarian sector is omnipresent for the minorities. Alongside powerful economic pressures there has operated a social device of assimilation — the public school system, whether it was disguised as a bilingual school or boldly proclaimed to be a "national" school.³ All Canadians are immigrants or descendants of immigrants and most of our ancestors were either defeated (e. g. French-Canadians, British Loyalists) or depressed and oppressed (late British, Irish, Central Europeans, etc.). Ukrainians, to cite but one example, came to Canada to find a freedom which they were denied in the Russian or Austro-Hungarian empires and I believe that many of those who chose Canada rather than the United States did so deliberately to avoid the assimilationist pressures of the American "melting-pot". Crises arose in the minds of New Canadians whenever the kinds of pressures they had escaped from in the old homeland reappeared here, often closely akin to the forms employed in the process of Americanization south of the border.⁴ Although the ideal of equality of all regardless of ethnic origin has deep roots in American history, there has co-existed from the time of the Puritans tenacious forms of discrimination and prejudice towards "foreigners" and minority religious groups. Much of the "tolerance propaganda" in the United States, and in Canada too, has implied that precisely because there are really no differences prejudice is wrong and irrational. Thus, belief in the desirability of uniformity rather than diversity has tended to be reinforced even by some who are active in combatting prejudice.

These, to my mind, are the two chief reasons for a growing awareness of the need to assert and protect minority rights. We look for the day when, as the late President Kennedy said, "the strong are just and the weak secure."

There are a number of premises I assume in the observations I am about to make concerning specific minority groups and I feel obliged to state these clearly so that you may understand my way of looking at this question.

(1) Canada is *dualistic* from a cultural viewpoint if by a culture we mean a complete way of life externally characterized by a language, laws, ethos, aesthetic forms, social and political organisms which distinguish it from other groups. We have one state but not one nation. Lord Durham wrote over 130 years ago about "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state." A single, all-encompassing Canadian identity has not yet emerged and the polarization into English and French components — or *biculturalism* — must have as its objective "cooperating in the bosom of a single state."

(2) Biculturalism involves *bilingualism* because a language is the means by which a culture is expressed and transmitted. English-French bilingualism accepted on the national and federal level does not imply that all federal civil servants, etc. must become bilingual, much less that all Canadians become bilingual (in an English-French sense). The B. & B. reports have distinguished between institutional bilingualism and individual bilingualism; nevertheless, it seems that the public in some cases has not yet understood the difference.

(3) Canada while being dualistic is often said to be *pluralistic*. I would prefer to say that Canada, especially the anglophone sector, is *multi-ethnic*. I say multi-ethnic to avoid employing the rather confusing, but popular, term *multicultural* alongside bicultural since "culture" is not employed with precisely the same meaning of total way of life when comparing, for example, the Vancouver Chinese community and the Quebec French communities. What has operated in the English sector (or Anglophone Canada, if you prefer) is not a melting-pot but rather a *transmuting pot* in which all the ingredients have been transformed and assimilated to an idealized Anglo-Saxon model.⁵ The only other satisfactory image I would find accurate to explain our so-called mosaic is that of a *collage*. We are not a mosaic of cultures but rather a collage of which the background into which most of the adhesions blend to a greater or lesser extent is Anglo-Saxon, i. e. British traditions, Anglo-American goals, the English language.

(4) Exceptions may prove the rule but also have significance themselves. Quebec is not a province "like the others" because "the French Canadian minorities are not minorities like the others."⁶ The B. & B.

reports speak of two majorities to emphasize this point. English-French relations in Canada differ from other majority-minority ethnic groups relations because French-speaking Canadians are a majority in one large province, because original exploration and settlement was almost exclusively French, and principally because federal-provincial relations, political majorities and constitutional changes involve the French minority of Canada in a way no other minority is involved.

(5) Appeals to the past to justify presently held positions are sometimes futile exercises and may be positively harmful if employed to enforce unacceptable frameworks on significant groups of dissentients. Confederation – whether act or pact, treaty or compromise – represented not a consensus of aims, objectives, methods and ideals but rather a consensus that political union under a federative statute was the means to guarantee the divergent interests and ideals. Therefore one hundred and two years later it is not surprising if a consensus is still lacking and if the two cultural blocs and the five regional sections are neither reduced nor unified. Pressure to create artificially “one Canada” may promote disunity rather than unity.⁷

(6) In Canada there has been a tendency to treat people as groups and communities rather than as individuals and citizens. Professor J. Careless has recently spoken of the Canadian concept of “particular societies of people under a sovereign crown” in contrast to the American stress on equality, individual rights, sovereignty of the people, and the concept of one new American people loyal to their rationalist democracy. As observant neighbours we know how far the ideal outdistances the achievement. The British North America Act, 1867, as the organic law from which federal and provincial authority derive, deals with group rights and status, with “classes of persons”, not with civil liberties or individual human rights. The concepts, as would be expected, are Victorian. The historical tradition, in other words, is one of group rights and the constitution is largely unwritten and consists of customs, usages and laws attributable to the natural accretion of the common law.⁸

(7) This observation is rendered more significant by the fact that Canada is a federal state. Federalism controls the machinery by which civil rights are protected and enforced. The root of the difficulty in Canada lies in the manner in which powers were distributed between the provincial and federal governments in 1867 – viz. the provinces having jurisdiction over “property and civil rights in the province” and “generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province”, and the federal government having power “to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada”.⁹ In effect the federal authority

in the question of minority rights may be limited to "a general campaign for the education and information of the public, persuasion of the competent authorities" in the field of civil rights and anti-discriminatory legislation."¹⁰ The present Official Languages Bill provides a test case and it may be that as in the United States the courts will be the most significant means of redressing inequities.

(8) Finally among the premises, and relating specifically to education the provinces have so-called "exclusive" jurisdiction in education except that they may not "prejudicially affect" the denominational rights a "class of persons" had by law in a province at the time of union. The federal government has educational jurisdiction in areas not yet organized as provinces, over Indians and Eskimos (who were declared subject to the Indian Act by a Supreme Court ruling in 1939), in a province which violates "denominational rights" as guaranteed by Sec. 93 of the B. N.A. Act by means of cabinet order and remedial legislation only to redress the discrimination, and in educational programmes related to federal departments such as National Defence, Labour, Agriculture, etc.¹¹ It should be noted that what I have just defined is the official constitutional position. In practice there are numerous changes, for example, the denominational schools of Newfoundland voluntarily reorganize themselves into amalgamated schools, in Quebec English and French schools cross the confessional line to adopt common textbooks and programmes, or the federal government gradually transfers Indian children to provincial schools systems. Nor can one ignore the fundamental difference between legal guarantees and power.¹²

Let us now examine briefly the position of some of the minority groups with respect to provision for public education. I propose to deal with the Indians, Negroes, French Canadians, Catholics, Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukhobors and Ukrainians, some only very briefly because of the time limits imposed by this paper.

Indians:

From the time some Canadian Indians arrived in France in 1504 education has been employed as a means to Christianize and Europeanize these "natural savages". Until very recently the Canadian government has adopted the historic practice of leaving education of the indigenous peoples to religious organizations—the objectives of such instruction being primarily to impart "right religion and right reason".¹³ The basic problem in Indian schooling is that the goals, methods, medium of instruction and philosophy of education are all "white-man's way of life" often little suited to the Indian character, community or enviro-

ment.¹⁴ From the standpoint of minority rights one wonders why Indian children could not receive their elementary education in their native tongue with English or French added as their second language and eventually the main language of instruction for higher studies. According to figures for 1963, over 45,000 Indians were at school, but only 4,000 of these were in high school, only 582 were enrolled for vocational training courses and only 57 were at university. In 1969, 672 failed to reach Grade VIII and 97% failed to reach Grade XII. The early experiences with education cannot be discounted as an influential factor in this poor educational showing which is related also to the Indian's position at the bottom 1½% of the economic ladder. Recent moves to transfer all Indians to provincial school systems has been for the governments an administrative and financial problem, but to the Indian it is a social and cultural problem. Provincial governments have been no more sensitive to questions of language rights or Indian cultural patterns of behaviour than the federal government and much less sensitive on religious issues.

Negroes:

Negroes have been in Canada since 1606, first as slaves, later as Loyalists, then as fugitives, deportees and settlers. The Canadian attitudes and practices more closely resembled American behaviour than we imagine. Nova Scotia set up a special school for Negroes in 1788 and in 1832 the provincial government, after failing to persuade all Negroes to emigrate to Sierra Leone, founded by Jamaican Maroons who had temporarily settled in Nova Scotia, accorded special grants to the segregated schools. The segregationist provision for Negro schools in Nova Scotia, where Negroes now number 13,000, was not repealed until 1947, two years after the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was organized to pursue a programme of self-help and adult education.¹⁵

The pattern of development was much the same in New Brunswick. The special schools for Negroes opened in the 1820's requested legislative grants in 1841 and received them provided Negro children attended these "African schools", as they were called, and not the common schools.¹⁶

Ontario's Negro separate schools came into existence following incidents such as the refusal of Hamilton parents to permit Negro children to attend the common schools in 1838. When Negroes insisted upon admittance, such as in Amherstburg in 1846, the whites declared the common school to be a private institution. Egerton Ryerson accepted the principle of separate schools for coloured people in 1850, legislative provision for Negro separate schools followed, and subsequently court

cases demonstrated clearly that it was the white population's desire to keep the Negroes segregated that kept these schools in existence for over forty years. White ratepayers or a municipal council could organize a Negro separate school, without or contrary to Negro parents' wishes, and force all Negro children to attend such a school. In the famous Dennis Hill case (1854) the court ruled:

“After the establishment of any such separate school in a division, we do not think a choice was intended by the Legislature to be left to the coloured people within that division to send their children nevertheless to the general common school, because that would defeat what we take to have been the intention of the provision.”

The last such school to close its doors and transfer its students to the common public school was in Chatam in 1891, but the legislation was not repealed until 1963.¹⁷

More recent migrations of groups such as the West Indians, “porter colonies”, Kansas-Oklahoma farmers and the Harlem group have scarcely been received with enthusiasm. The Winnipeg Board of Trade moved a resolution in 1911 to exclude Midwestern Negro farmers because they were not “satisfactory or dependable as farmers, thrifty as settlers, or desirable neighbours,”¹⁸ but the United States consul was able to uphold free access for all American citizens to Canada. If Canadian responses to the Negro have differed from the American responses it is largely because Negroes are too small a minority in Canada to be powerful politically or economically, they have never been a cohesive or united group, and the early abolition of slavery and the Underground Railroad created a climate of Canadian tolerance compared to the American experience.

French Canadians:

The most remarkable fact about the French in Canada in the context of our study is that they pioneered education in every province from Newfoundland to British Columbia. Recollets were the first teachers in Newfoundland, Jesuits in Nova Scotia and Oblates in British Columbia. A French school (not an Indian mission school) was opened in Ontario in 1676, in Newfoundland in 1689, in Prince Edward Island in 1720, in Manitoba in 1818 and in British Columbia in 1849.

The second noteworthy fact about the French in Canada is that everywhere outside the province of Quebec they have had to fight to retain instruction in the mother tongue and outside Quebec they at some

point have lost recognition of their language in the legislature and the courts. If the other provinces see no inequity or unconstitutionality in imposing English on all immigrants and indigenous peoples, is there anything revolutionary in Quebec's imposing French on all immigrants and indigenous people? The only paradoxical aspect of this proposition is that Quebec may embark on such a unilingual policy at a time when several of the other provinces are abandoning it and establishing parallel French and English public education from kindergarten to university graduate studies. Those who argue that Section 133 of the B. N. A. Act in no way makes French an official language of Canada are absolutely correct, but they should also add that it confers upon English no such status either — what is sauce for the English Canadian gander is sauce for the French Canadian goose.

Two minor observations deserve to be made. French Canadians have employed the separate school system to instruct in French although the right guaranteed by law is denominational not linguistic. Furthermore, "legal vacuums" with respect to language of instruction, have existed in the school acts of most provinces and administrative leeway has often permitted, when public opinion was not aroused in opposition, what was not statutory.¹⁹

Denominational schools:

In order to reconcile the majority demand for free, common non-sectarian schools with claims of minorities to some form of denominational schooling, such as the guarantee the English Protestants of Quebec succeeded in having written into the B. N. A. Act, several patterns of school systems have evolved in Canada. Newfoundland has a multi-denominational system whereby the various churches—Catholic, Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army, Pentecostal, Adventist — run their own schools with legislative support. Quebec developed a dual confessional system, Roman Catholic and Protestant sections each in full control of their own programmes and finances, which Manitoba and the North-West Territories copied. In each school district (outside the cities of Montreal and Quebec where there are both Catholic and Protestant school commissions) the confessional minority is free to organize a dissentient school under the direction of the appropriate Protestant or Catholic section, but the majority school being a public school may refuse no pupils on religious grounds and indeed the Chabot case (1957) saw the courts rule that a public school could not impose religious instruction because "no particular regulation will be enforceable if its application results in denial of any of the fundamental rights of man."

This Quebec civil law judgement ruled in effect that statutory law could not force a parent to submit to something repugnant to the natural law. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic communities revised their regulations to conform to this humane judgement based on parental freedom of conscience. There has been no suggestion since 1957 that parents should have equal right to choose the language of instruction, and no hint whatever of the child's rights.

Ontario devised a centralized public education system in the nineteenth century, based largely on American and Prussian models, and then conceded rather unwillingly a special stream of Catholic and Protestant "separate schools". The B. N. A. Act "froze" the few denominational rights and privileges existing by law at the union and Ontario legislators, who controlled both systems through the same bureaucracy, offered little opportunity for development of the separate schools into a vigorous alternative system. Alberta and Saskatchewan were given the separate school system in 1905, but with two major differences: by law, all members of the minority group must support the separate school once it is approved by the majority ratepayers of that confessional group; in practice, the legislators have granted the separate schools whatever assistance or privileges are granted to the public schools, in sharp contrast to the Ontario experience.

These comments serve to indicate that one's civil liberties and rights vary greatly with place of residence. All Canadians are equal but some are far more equal than others.

Although New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba have no statutory provisions for denominational schools, a substantial administrative leeway operates in many communities so that in effect some of the public schools take on a special religious character. The only province which declares in its public schools act that there is a separation of church and state is British Columbia; nevertheless, the same act provides for compulsory religious exercises.

One or two comments are in order at this point. Distinction must be made between religious exercises, which most public schools permit or encourage; religious instruction, which some permit at the close of the school day; and religious milieu which is what the confessional, denominational and separate schools supposedly provide. There is evidence that religion is not regarded with the same importance it was accorded a century ago. Apart from Newfoundland, the so-called denominational rights are in fact only confessional rights granted to Catholics and Protestants (Catholics thereby having a distinct advantage) since the Lutheran minority in Ontario, the Mennonite minority in Saskatchewan or

the Mormon minority in Alberta may not establish separate schools. The Ontario separate school system has in the past imposed restrictions and financial penalties which made of the separate schools a second-rate, inferior, segregated system denied the opportunity to become a competitive and alternative public system healthy in a pluralistic society anxious to avoid uniformity and mediocrity.²⁰ The New Brunswick and Manitoba Schools questions served to illustrate that only rights and privileges established by law at the time of union were inviolable, and the Ontario schools question served to distinguish between denominational and linguistic rights.

Mennonites:

The experience of the Mennonites illustrates well the complexities and unpredictability of the legal status vis-à-vis human rights. The seven Mennonite elders who visited Canada in 1873 received a memorandum from a Mr. Lowe, secretary in the federal Department of Agriculture, setting out among the conditions of immigration a clause which read:

“The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites, Without any kind of molestation or restriction whatsoever; and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.”

The Mennonites came to Manitoba on the basis of that agreement, but the Order-in-Council of August 13, 1873 drawn up by the Crown's legal advisers re-phrased the guarantee to read:

“That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever.”

The Mennonites, according to the Order-in-Council, came under provincial legislation in educational matters which meant that the Protestant school system of Manitoba afforded them the religious milieu they desired and the legal vacuum with respect to languages of instruction permitted them to teach in German. In 1890 the dual confessional system was abolished and to many Mennonites the new common schools were “godless”, nevertheless, they regained some merit in 1897 with the Laurier-Greenway compromise which permitted German-English bilingual instruction. Enthusiasm soon cooled again with the 1907 order to fly the Union Jack over all schools (the Mennonites regarded flags as military

symbols), the anti-German hysteria of World War I, and in 1916 the introduction of compulsory school attendance and the abolition of bilingual schools following a bitter campaign spearheaded by the *Winnipeg Free Press*. In 1918 the Department of Education closed the remaining private Mennonite schools on grounds of inferior standards; many parents were jailed for refusing to comply with the compulsory school attendance laws. The Hildebrand case (1919) saw the courts declare that the Lowe memorandum was not binding on the Manitoba government in so far as education matters were concerned. Many Mennonites accommodated themselves to the assimilationist pressures although between 1922 and 1924 about 5,000 left for Mexico and in 1926-27 another 1,700 left for Paraguay—our first large groups of political refugees.²¹

Hutterian Brethren and Amish Mennonites:

The Hutterites' history somewhat parallels that of the Mennonites. The significant difference is that they live in colonies practising communal ownership. The Manitoba government administers the colonies' elementary schools through its Special Education office, along with classes for the deaf, blind and physically handicapped, but this paternalism grants the Hutterites a special status no other minority enjoys, tends to perpetuate low educational standards, and militates against a good teaching environment and thereby condemns Hutterite children to growing up culturally disadvantaged, with little understanding of the outside world, little opportunity for self-development, and relatively little freedom to choose a different way of life. The Alberta government, in limiting the expansion of communal holdings, which may be a violation of civil liberties, has not touched the school system although the Cameron Royal Commission Report (1959) said "it is deplorable that the educational opportunities of the Hutterite children have been contracted away." Should these simple, communalistic, pietist German-speaking peasants be transformed into middle-class, English-speaking, capitalistic citizens? Does democracy tolerate differences when these differences, in the majority's view, impose grave handicaps on the youth of a minority group? Is not the alternative view that the child belongs to the state more frightening from the standpoint of human rights?²²

Ontario has not shown the same tolerance as the Western Provinces in dealing with the Old Order Mennonites and the Amish Mennonites, two sects of the Waterloo area who in 1968 fought in vain to obtain an exemption for 14-16 year-olds whose "services are required in the farm household or on the farm" from compulsory school attendance. The Standing Committee on Education had to decide whether society,

through the government, had the right to force a small religious sect to give its children an education as defined by society when such an education might lead to the weakening or loss of their religion. The committee turned down the Mennonite elders' petition which argued that two extra years of schooling with "wordly children" might lead "our teenagers to the rebellion and apathy" of the out-group.²³

Doukhobours:

The Doukhobours seem to present all the religious, linguistic and ethnic problems at once for they are most unconventional people. Fundamentally religious schismatics of the Russian Orthodox Church, anarchist, pacifist, vegetarian, communistic and theocratic, these immigrants began arriving in the North-West Territories, later Saskatchewan, in 1898 and soon quarrelled with established authority over land ownership procedures. Following a move of some of the colonists to British Columbia resistance to provincial compulsory education laws ensued in 1911, some extremists separated themselves from the orthodox believers and a long series of acts of defiance and violence began, the extremist faction developing an identity as the Sons of Freedom by 1923. Although the British Columbia government built small one-roomed schools to accommodate the Doukhobours, response was negative until 1923, the year in which arsonists burnt the school at Outlook, when hostility became active and aggressive. In 1925 nine more schools were burnt and each year saw more nude protest marches, more schools burned and the continued refusal to accept compulsory schooling. In 1932, 365 children, whose parents were arrested, were placed under the custodial care of the Provincial government. The problems remained unsolved for twenty years. Then in 1953 following the burning of four hundred homes, the dynamiting of railway lines and bridges, and more nude parades, 114 adults were sent to Oakalla prison and their school-age children incarcerated in the unused New Denver sanatorium on Slocan Lake which was turned into a residential school. There was a public outcry against a brutal government which would separate children from parents and the Freedomites lodged a complaint with the United Nations under the Genocide Convention which condemns the forcible transferral of children from one group to another but to my knowledge no information was ever released on the matter by the United Nations. In 1959 the Freedomites promised to send their children to public schools and although violence still occurs the situation has been largely resolved with respect to education. It is necessary to recall that the Freedomites represent but a minority of the Doukhobour community, that the Orthodox group

is well integrated and that the Independents in Saskatchewan have one of the highest proportions of any group finishing high school going on to higher studies.²⁴

'Ruthenians':

Finally I come to the Ukrainians, or "Ruthenians" as some officials insisted upon calling them, who were among the largest groups in Manitoba shortly after the provisions for bilingual schooling were enacted in 1897. The Ukrainians in coming to Canada seem to have assumed that there would be little or no pressure to assimilate into the English-speaking community because vague encouragements of their cultural heritage were voiced, the French Canadians already had forced the dominant majority to concede that to be British one did not need to become English, and because bloc ethnic settlements seemed to confirm these beliefs. In 1905 a Ruthenian Training School was opened in Winnipeg, later moved to Brandon, to train Ukrainian-English bilingual teachers—indeed in 11 years of operation approximately 150 teachers followed courses at the school. By 1915 a quarter of the province's schools with 1/6th of the total enrollment were bilingual schools—war hysteria, demands for assimilation of the "foreigners", fears of a "tower of Babel" were to change that.

In 1909 the Saskatchewan government adopted the Manitoba plan and opened in Regina a Training School for Teachers for Foreign-Speaking Communities. Two differences from Manitoba should be noted: Saskatchewan and Alberta had no statutory provisions for bilingual schools; all minority groups, not just the Ukrainians, were to be trained at the Regina school. But the greatest disaster was the appointment of an apparently incompetent, prejudiced and totally unsuitable principal, Joseph Greer. In 1914 all the students revolted and the school was closed. Meanwhile, a special inspector had been appointed to supervise all "Ruthenian and Galician schools". The teachers who had been in Greer's school were transferred to the Provincial Normal School and a Mr. N. Romaniuk was appointed to the staff to instruct in Ukrainian but the unsettled political situation resulted in his being dismissed after only one year and charged with engaging in subversive activities.

Thereafter the Ukrainians educated their children in the mother tongue and cultural heritage at home, in special after-school hours classes, and in private schools. Gradually Ukrainian appeared in the curriculum but acceptance of these courses for University entrance standards was inexplicably slow in being accorded.²⁵

Conclusions:

To what conclusions do these historical ramblings bring us?

(1) First and foremost, I do not see that an agglomeration of minorities such as we possess, and I have dealt specifically with but a few of them, can afford to tolerate imposed uniformity, rigidity, monolithic tendencies in legislation and education, a totalitarian framework. If the minorities do not actively oppose the force of complete centralization, structural rigidity, uniformity in the name of unity, then they will be committing an act of mass suicide.

We must decide if we believe in diversity or not. We must decide if unity in diversity is an attainable ideal or not. If we believe in diversity and believe unity in diversity is a rational and feasible goal then we must so declare. Acceptance of the multi-ethnic community, the dualism of Canadian life, the regional differences – in short of a Pan-Canadian view encompassing all this diversity – implies some opposition to the unitary state and the thesis of “unity through uniformity”.

(2) The minorities can learn from our educational history that it is useful to have written guarantees. If our constitution is redrafted it ought to include a declaration of human rights. It is in the interests of the minority groups to have included in any federal code an additional freedom – freedom from language suppression and linguicide. Given the division of powers, it would be equally useful to press for the enactment by all the provinces of the same declaration of rights. “The more discrimination is checked by law the less respectable it becomes” runs the dictum.

(3) Minority groups must re-assess their contribution to Canadian society. Are Ukrainian folk dances and music and theatre significant contributions to either Ukrainian Canadian youth or to the non-Ukrainian community? Or are they largely for middle-aged and elderly people of Ukrainian origin? Minorities are going to have to stop thinking in negative terms – terms of retaining, surviving, preserving an ever smaller nucleus of themselves. Should they not think positively of themselves in the whole society and of their contribution to the whole community? Is there not room for minorities to contribute to the distinctive feature of Canadianism by thinking and acting positively, not narrowly in their own group interests without concern for out-groups. French Canadians should strive for French instruction not only for their own children but for all who desire it. Ukrainians who want their language recognized in secondary schools could pioneer in useful Russian studies.

When minorities think and act positively they create a climate of opinion which is favourable to themselves. In education, for example, much more can be said for the value of language instruction and proficiency—in making demands for specific courses in provincial curriculums the minority groups could present stronger briefs if they argued for educational values nor merely ethnic groups' aspirations.

(4) Minority groups are entitled to demand more recognition of their role in society. If they are socially, culturally and intellectually active they have a legitimate basis for requesting financial support from governments. If we truly believe in cultural diversity enhancing the Canadian scene then we should be prepared to underwrite financially the kinds of activities and enterprises that promote it. Switzerland affords us with a rational and logical mode: financial support is given to the minorities in inverse proportion to the numbers of people involved and served by the subsidized services of education, cultural activities and media of communication on the principle that the smallest and weakest require the most assistance to flourish, expand and make a meaningful contribution to national life. That is what I call positive thinking. Would our minorities in Canada be willing to accept such a proposal for other groups groups as well as for themselves?

(5) The minorities must co-operate with each other, they must sometimes combine their efforts, they must learn to love each other and serve each other. I envisage something more positive by that than the old principle of "united we stand, divided we fall". When Italian Canadians or Mennonites show animosity towards French Canadian efforts at self-realization I can only conclude that they do not believe in minority survival and *épanouissement*, that they have accepted the "melting pot" concept, and that they resent any other groups which reject that concept. French Canadians who gave Ukrainians and Mennonites free time on their privately owned and financed radio stations, on the other hand, were setting a good example of promoting cultural enrichment. However, when they group all non-French Canadians as "maudits Anglais" and treat them as alien intruders they do little for Canadian unity. Minorities will contribute much to their own enrichment and satisfaction when they do to others what they would have done unto them. It is not easy to lay aside an inferiority complex, to suppress deep-seated fears, to seek the good of others rather than of oneself. This is the challenge to the minority groups in this country.

Were this to be realized, then I foresee yet another greater contribution they might make to the wider world community. If this is the kind

of Canada they define and work towards then I can see that Canada as a proto-type and model of the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-constitutional regional groupings which are expected to emerge in the next few decades. Canadians have an opportunity to forge in the bosom of a single state many groups co-operating in the realization of an identity that may be the identity of one world.

NOTES

- 1 J. B. Rudnycky, "Language Rights and Linguicide," (1968), p. 1; Also useful is D. E. Coupland, "An Analysis of Human Rights Legislation in Canada," (1968) and D. Munroe, "Democracies, Minorities and Education," *Journal of Education*, No. 9 (January 1964), pp. 57-67.
- 2 Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 3-26.
- 3 C. B. Sissons, *Bilingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto, 1917) is the best known history of bilingual schools in Canada but the author failed to understand either the objective of unilingualism or the implications for minority rights. More useful for this study are: R. Fletcher, "The Language Problem in Manitoba Schools," *Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series III, Vol. 6 (1951); W. L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923," *Canadian Historical Association Report*, 1951 (Ottawa, 1952), pp. 1-19; F. C. Ney, "Canadian Education and Empire Citizenship," *United Empire* (July, 1924), pp. 425-432; Margaret Prang, "Clerics, Politicians and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XLI, No. 4 (December 1960), pp. 281-307.
- 4 V. J. Kaye, "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Nov.-Dec. 1957), pp. 460-477; Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coat: A Study of Assimilation* (Toronto, 1947); Anna Stearns, *New Canadians of Slavic Origin: A Problem in Creative Reorientation* (Winnipeg, 1960); Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto, 1953).
- 5 Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew, An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York, 1960), p. 21. Herberg says of American society: "Despite widespread dislike of various aspects of British life, our relation, cultural and spiritual, to our British heritage is vastly different and more intimate than is our relation to the cultural heritages of the later immigrant groups, who with their descendants compose a majority of the American people today."
- 6 Ramsay Cook, "The French-Canadian Question," *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1965), p. 18.
- 7 These arguments were advanced in my paper "The Impact of the Centennial of Confederation as a Factor in Canadian Unity," *Papers presented to the National Conference on the Centennial of Confederation* (November 25, 1964), pp. 1-8.

8. R. Clark, "The State, Education, and Liberty," *Canadian Forum*, Vol. 12 (Dec. 1932), pp. 94-98; H. Clokie, "The Preservation of Civil Liberties," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. XIII (1947), pp. 208-211; Mark R. MacGuigan, "The Development of Civil Liberties in Canada," *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. LXXII, No. 2 (1965), pp. 270-288; *Proceedings of the Special Committee on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, 1950 (Ottawa, 1950); F. R. Scott, *The Canadian Constitution and Human Rights* (Toronto, 1959).
9. "Equality of Opportunity and Pluralism in a Federal System; the Canadian Experiment," *International Labour Review*, Vol. 95, No. 5 (May 1967), pp. 7-11; F. R. Scott, "Dominion Jurisdiction over Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms," *Canadian Bar Review*, Vol. 47 (1949), pp. 297-501.
10. International Labour Office, *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations* (Geneva, 1963), p. 200; Bora Laskin, "Our Civil Liberties: The Role of the Supreme Court," *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. LXI, No. 3 (1954-55), pp. 455-60.
11. These concepts were developed in my "Co-operation of Church and State is the Canadian Tradition," *The Sunday Herald* (November 8, 1964), pp. 7-9, and in "Religion and the Schools," *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, Vol. 64, No. 6 (juin-juillet 1965), pp. 353-369. See especially D. A. Schmeiser, *Civil Liberties in Canada* (Oxford, 1964).
12. J. A. Laponce, *The Protection of Minorities* (Los Angeles, 1960), p. 22.
13. These ideas are developed in my article "Problems of Assimilation in New France, 1603-1645," *French Historical Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (1966), pp. 265-289, and "The Frenchification and Evangelisation of the Amerindians in Seventeenth Century New France," *Study Sessions, Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, 1968 (Ottawa, 1969), pp. 57-71.
14. The relevant book-length works are: J. V. Jacobsen, *Education in Canada's Northland* (Ottawa, 1954); E. Joblin, *The Education of the Indians of Western Ontario* (Toronto, 1947); Oblate Commission on Indian and Eskimo Welfare, *Residential Schools for Indian Acculturation* (Ottawa, 1958); A. Renaud, *Indian Education Today* (Ottawa, 1958). Articles of prime importance are: R. F. Davey, "Education of Indians in Canada," *Canadian Education*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (June 1955), pp. 25-38; H. G. Howart, "Canada's Indian Problem," *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 25 (April 1945), pp. 46-49; M. C. Randle, "Educational Problems of Canadian Indians," *Food for Thought*, Vol. 13 (March, 1953), pp. 10-14; "Notes on Indian Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology* Vol. XXVII (September 1965), pp. 16-23.
15. C. A. Thomson, *The Historical and Social Background to Nova Scotia Negro Education* (Unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1968); W. P. Oliver, "The Negro in Nova Scotia," *Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (December 1949), pp. 430-435; Basil Deakin, "Problems of Education," *Atlantic Advocate*, Vol. 55, No. 9 (May 1965), pp. 63-65.
16. I. A. Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery in New Brunswick," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd series, Vol. IV (1898), pp. 137-185.

17. P. F. Bargaen, *The Legal Status of the Canadian Public School Pupil* (Toronto, 1961), pp. 33-36 deals with "Separate Schools for Negroes in Ontario." See also Ida Greaves, *The Negro in Canada* (Orillia, 1929); H. A. Tanser, *The Settlement of the Negroes in Kent County, Ontario* (Chatham, 1939); Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line. Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington, 1961).
18. *Grain Growers' Guide*, Vol. 3 (April 20, 1911), p. 19.
19. W. Morin, *Nos Droits minoritaires* (Montreal, 1943); L. Charbonneau, "La Situation des Ecoles bilingues de l'Ontario en 1950," *Culture*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (March 1950), pp. 90-95; *Special Issue on Biculturalism and Education, Journal of Education*, No. 9 (January 1964); C. Jaenen, "French Public Education in Manitoba," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (janv.-mars 1968), pp. 19-34; J. Nolin, "The French-Canadian Viewpoint on Public Education," *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne*, Vol. XV (déc. 1926), pp. 409-418.
20. Separate school legislation and history is dealt with in Bargaen, *op. cit.*; Schmeiser, *op. cit.*; C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education* (Toronto, 1959); F. A. Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario* (Toronto, 1964); G. M. Weir, *The Separate School Question in Canada* (Toronto, 1934).
21. E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia* (Altona, 1955); P. G. Klassen, *A History of Mennonite Education in Manitoba* (Unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1959); E. K. Francis, "The Mennonite School Problem in Manitoba," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (July 1953), pp. 204-236; I. Friesen, *Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education* (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1934).
22. Victor Peters, *All Things Common* (Minneapolis, 1965); Robert C. Cook, "The North American Hutterites: A Study in Human Multiplication," *Population Bulletin*, Vol. X (December 1954), pp. 97-107; E. L. Pitt, "The Hutterian Brethren in Alberta," (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1949).
23. "The Perils in 2 more years of School," *The Globe and Mail* (July 12, 1968).
24. F. Henry Johnson, "The Dukhobors of British Columbia. The History of a Sectarian Problem in Education," *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. LXX, No. 4 (Winter 1964), pp. 528-547; Simma Holt, *Terror in the Name of God* (Toronto, 1964) indicates some of the reaction to violence and non-co-operation.
25. The literature on Ukrainian education in Canada is abundant. Among the significant work are: J. Skwarok, *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools, 1891-1921* (Edmonton, 1959); Elizabeth Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the Third Force," in Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 72-91; Ol'he Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1967); P. Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their place and role in Canadian life* (Toronto, 1967).

UKRAINIAN TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED IN CANADA

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Little is known about Ukrainian textbooks published in Canada before World War I, since no one collected them. One can assume however that they were relatively rare. Most early immigrants used textbooks brought in with their scant belongings or those ordered from the old country by Ukrainian bookstores flourishing in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and other cities.

The Ukrainian language, though in a typical Galician version, was spoken exclusively, and the early immigrants' children learned the mother tongue, as a rule, orally. Thus, it seems, there was little necessity for Ukrainian textbooks, since short stories read by the pupils and explained by the teacher in class, or poems that were from time to time learned by heart at home, could provide a substitute. The instruction was simple as always: children learned the alphabet, read elementary texts and retold them in their own words. Written exercises consisted, first of all, of copying a text and occasionally of dictations. Grammar was absorbed unconsciously and without formal analysis of language structure.

The early schools were often bilingual; native Ukrainian and the language of the country, English, were taught simultaneously. The attitude of the Canadian government, as well as that of the various provincial governments, was rather favourable in the early 1900's. As Peter Presunka informs us in *My Canada*, there were even organized colleges to train teachers for the bilingual schools:

In 1905 the provincial government of Manitoba set up a "Ruthenian Training School" in Winnipeg. It was moved to Brandon shortly afterwards... A bilingual policy... was interpreted to mean that *Canadians had a right to be taught in their own language as well as in English.*¹

Thus, the right to perpetuate their language and cultural heritage in the New World, that was originally granted to French-speaking set-

tlers, was generously extended to Ukrainians, at least in Manitoba. To implement this auspicious policy the provincial government published bilingual textbooks. *The Manitoba Ruthenian-English Reader* (no date; probably published soon after 1905), in both English and Ukrainian, arranged side by side, is a fine example.

There were also attempts to adapt English-language textbooks for teaching the Ukrainian language. M. Marunchak informs that Peter Svarich of Vegreville, Alberta, translated an English primer and published it, with an introduction in both English and Ukrainian, "at his own expense," for use in schools of Alberta and Saskatchewan.² After this article was already written we were lucky to obtain a copy of this rare 64 page booklet in which Ukrainian is called Ruthenian. Its title: *Pomichnyk dlja malykh shkoljarij* (Winnipeg, 1911).

Unfortunately, anti-foreign sentiment rose to a frenzy during World War I and "contributed heavily to the abrogation of the bilingual rights."³ Bilingual schools in Manitoba, which had existed for about a decade, were summarily closed in 1916 and "the nicely printed Ukrainian school books were burned by the order of the government authorities."⁴ Instruction in Ukrainian "was denied in the public system of education in Manitoba and in Canada in general,"⁵ and survived only in private schools at Ukrainian churches, community halls, clubs, etc. M. Marunchak⁶ explains several textbooks published soon after World War I, amongst them a grammar by V. Kotsovskyj and I. Ohonovskyj, but the information about these is very incomplete.

Another textbook published about this time, the *Ruska pravopys zi slovartsem* (Winnipeg, 1918) should be pointed out. Although it was simply a reproduction of the orthographic rules as accepted by the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Lviv, this book could be considered a cornerstone in the attitude to the language. For the first time among the Ukrainian settlers in Canada there was a tendency to bring the standard of their language up to date. It is worthwhile to note that even the scholarly *Ukrajins'ka hramatyka* by Stotskyj and Gartner, originally published in Lviv, was reprinted in Winnipeg in 1919 for teachers and advanced students. In the field of Ukrainian literature, the very elementary *Iljustruvane ukrajinske py'menstvo v zhyttjepysakh* (Winnipeg, 1917) by Dd. M. Pachovs'kyj was also reprinted.

Between the two world wars domestic publishers produced few Ukrainian school books, and even fewer survived. We can name only three of them: *Ukrajins'ka chytanka dlja druhoji kljasy*, fifth edition (Winnipeg, 1923), and *Ukrajins'kyj bukbar dlja dityj pershoho roku navchannja* published in Winnipeg by the Pasichniak Bookstore, not

dated. Both are reprints of textbooks originally published in Lviv. Incidentally, the latter begins with examples of handwriting that consume some forty pages of the book, a typical approach to learning in the twenties. *Bukvar dlja ukrajins'kykh shkil u Kanadi* (Winnipeg, 1939) is another reprint, in this case from a Soviet edition. The publisher, the Worker and Farmer House, did not see fit to: a few pages of blatant Soviet propaganda.

During World War II tens of thousands of Ukrainians served in the Canadian forces and enhanced respect for the Ukrainian community. This change in attitude was reflected in official government policy. The province of Saskatchewan was the first to introduce Ukrainian into its public system of education, and Ukrainian textbooks began to appear.

The school books of this period could be classed into two groups: (1) the textbooks for Ukrainian-speaking pupils and (2) textbooks for those who spoke only English. Since instruction for Ukrainian-speaking pupils continued to be traditional, all manuals followed old, long-established patterns. The intention of the compilers was to extend the already acquired knowledge of Ukrainian, in particular to broaden vocabulary, and to instil some elementary grammar and punctuation rules. *Kljuch do movy, Part One* (Winnipeg, 1943) by Honore Ewach, and *Ukrajins'ka mova* (pysmovi j hramatychni vpravy...) by Panas Myroljubnyj (Toronto, 1952) are typical examples. The latter is well compiled according to the standard of Ukrainian grammar, though a few shortcomings should be noted: conjunctions are purposely stressed in scanning the poem (p. 85) and rules of euphony are not always observed, e. g. *Vernulas' z cheredy...* instead of *Vernulasja z cheredy...* (p. 5). Honore Ewach's booklet, noted above, is very primitive; it has many deviations from the standard language.

Ukrainian Primer by Elias Shklanka (Winnipeg, 1944; seventh revised edition, 1965) is written with a knowledge of child psychology. The material is presented gradually; the simplest words for "mama" and "dad" are followed by those describing children's aspirations and farm life. Excerpts from fairy tales and brief stories and poems are included in the reader, which would be excellent if it were not permeated with dialectal words and phrases. Recent editions are somewhat revised but further editing is needed to attain the standard of Modern Ukrainian. The texts should be extended to include city life, with cars, factories, and movies. This book is supplemented with a Ukrainian-English vocabulary.

The presentation quality of *Marusja* (Saskatoon, 1947; second edition, 1959), by I. Kyrijak is on the same level. Its colored pictures are

attractive and the texts, some of them interesting indeed, are stressed, as in E. Shklanka's reader, but the standard of language is not high. For example, the expression *hraty v hylky* which means something like "to play baseball" becomes *hratysja halkoju* (p. 28). Thus, the meaning of *hylka*, a "sort of play," is distorted by English phonetic influence to *halka*, a "species of crow." Dialectal words and expressions again permeate the whole textbook, and the apostrophe is not used by the author.

The textbooks published by Petro Wolyniak deserve special attention. After his arrival in Toronto, Ontario, in 1948 he soon organized a publishing house, *Novi Dni*, and became very active in this field. Besides reprinting L. Depolovych's *Bukvar*, in a revised version (1954; eleventh edition 1967), he authored the following readers: *Barvinok*, for Grade Two (1953; fifth edition 1963), *Kyjiv*, for Grade Three (1954; fourth edition 1966), *Lany*, for Grade Four (1952; fourth edition 1966), *Dnipro*, for Grade Five (1953), which was substituted by *Zaporizhzhja* (1968). *Dnipro* was duly recompiled and became, in its 1958 edition (second one in 1964), not only a reader, but also a sort of history of Ukrainian literature. The biographies and sketches of work cover I. Kotljarevskyj, H. Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, T. Shevchenko, Marko Vovchok, and L. Hlibiv.

P. Wolyniak has authored also *Fitzychna heohrafija Ukrajiny* (1962; second edition 1966), which gives a good idea of Ukraine's natural resources. This textbook seems much simpler and more suited for pupils than *Heohrafija Ukrajiny* (Toronto, third edition 1957) by Ivan Teslia, which otherwise is very good for well advanced high school students and adults desiring to enrich their knowledge of geography.

Among school books dealing with the history of Ukraine, *Slava ne poljazhe* (Toronto, 1961), an adaptation of *Istorija Ukrajiny* by I. Petrenko, should be distinguished. This is an excellent, concise sketch of the Kozaks and their defensive wars against the Turks, Poles, and Muscovites. Another reprint is *Istorija Ukrajiny dlja ditej* (Winnipeg, 1966), which originally appeared in 1934 in Lviv. It should also be recommended for use in schools.

Dmytro Kyslytsia's *Hramatyka ukrajinskoji movy* (the first part published by *Novi Dni* in 1958, fifth edition 1968; and the second part published in 1963, second edition 1966) follow the pattern commonly accepted in Ukraine. The first part deals with phonetics and morphology while the second covers syntax. A high standard of language is observed here, though both parts could be used effectively only by very advanced students or those fluent or nearly so in Ukrainian.

We should distinguish L. Biletskyj's reader *Ridne slovo*, for Grade

Four (Winnipeg, 1956). The texts are good, but not easy; fortunately they are stressed, a feature that is absent in all P. Wolyniak's readers and D. Kyslytsia's grammar manuals. The lack of accents makes them automatically more difficult from the practical point of view in comparison with L. Biletskyj's reader. In C. A. Andrusyshen's *Ukrainian Authors* (Winnipeg, 1946) all texts are not only stressed, but also supplemented with the lists of Ukrainian idioms translated into English. Some representative pieces, such as "Son" by Marko Vovchok, "Vechir", "Zapovit", and "Hamalija" by T. Shevchenko, "Kamenjari" by I. Franko, and "Nattalka Poltavka" by I. Kotljarevsky are included and an extensive Ukrainian-English vocabulary concludes this well planned book. A much lower value of presentation is found in the *Ukrainian Reader* by Honore Ewach and P. Yuzyk (Winnipeg, 1960). There are many incorrect stresses on words, and phraseology often deviates from the standard of Modern Ukrainian. A positive feature of this book however is the considerable number of brief stories and some poems having Canadian themes. The appended vocabulary requires editing, as do most of the texts.

The language and the orthography in the reader *Zoloti vorota*, for Grade Four (Toronto, 1955), by Marija Ovcharenko are as good as those in all readers compiled by P. Wolyniak, but both did not accentuate the texts.

Perhaps unintentionally all these readers are designed for pupils whose first language is Ukrainian, not English. By a very conservative estimate we have approximately twenty per cent of such children in Canada. In other words, four out of five Ukrainian pupils below the age of twelve do not speak Ukrainian to such an extent that it would be claimed as their first language, or mother tongue, although probably more than fifty per-cent of all these children still understand the language of their forefathers and use it from time to time in conversation, mostly with older people. Thus M. Ovcharenko's and P. Wolyniak's readers, in spite of their obviously good selections and high qualities, are suited for not more than twenty per cent of Ukrainian children in Canada. The situation in the United States is even more acute. Therefore it is little wonder that teachers and English-speaking pupils complain that these textbooks are not prepared for them. Yet in many parochial schools they are assigned by principals as the only manuals.

This fact was well understood by some responsible instructors, and Ukrainian school books began to appear in English. In my paper, "Ukrainian Philology in Canada", *Slavs in Canada*, Vol. 2, I have already surveyed J. B. Rudnyckyj's and J. Stechishin's Ukrainian grammar books in

English, as well as other similar publications. Here I shall deal with elementary textbooks of this type. As was pointed out, E. Shklanka and I. Kyrijak were first to supplement their textbooks with Ukrainian-English vocabularies. Honore Ewach wrote his *Ukrainian Self-Educator* (Winnipeg, 1946, second edition 1952) exclusively in English. It seems that this booklet is but a version of his *Kljuch do movy* mentioned above. Thus, we come to the textbooks assigned for those whose mother tongue is English.

Not much has been done in this respect. As was stated⁷, both B. N. Bilash's *Ukrainian With Ease* (Winnipeg, 1962), and N. Labiuk's *Introductory Ukrainian for High Schools* (Saskatoon, 1962) are permeated with strong dialectal coloring in vocabulary, phraseology, accentuation, and even spelling. Besides, there are many obvious misprints.

Conversational Ukrainian (Winnipeg, 1959; second revised edition 1961; third enlarged edition 1969) by Yar Slavutych, with an oral approach in teaching, came in answer to this complicated situation. This textbook was hailed by over thirty reviewers, most of them enthusiastically. The recognition of the oral approach, a novelty in Western Canada, encouraged this author to prepare other textbooks, using the same or similar method, for younger pupils. *Ukrainian for Beginners* (Edmonton, 1962; fourth edition 1968), in which emphasis is placed on oral drills, has had an even greater success: some 12,000 copies were sold in five years. *Ukrainian in Pictures* (Edmonton, 1965) by the same author, is designed as a primer for pupils under ten years of age. Another textbook, *An Introduction to Ukrainian* (Edmonton, 1962) is planned to introduce students to *Conversational Ukrainian*, since the latter, in its second edition, did not have basic information about Ukrainian phonology. The third enlarged edition of *Conversational Ukrainian* with a section of phonetics, appeared in 1969. A French variant of it was published in two volumes in Brussels.

Having realized that the oral approach is the best solution in our circumstances, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee invited this author to prepare an Audio-Visual Program for all provinces in which Ukrainian is taught. This method was developed by Didier-Chilton Co. in France and the United States. After considerable effort the *Ukrainian by the Audio-Visual Method* (Montreal-Paris-Brussels, 1968), based on the principles elaborated by Peter Guberina and Paul Rivenc and partly adapted from other textbooks of the Didier Co., came into being and now is used by thousands of Ukrainian pupils throughout Canada and in Philadelphia, Penn.

The Audio-Visual Ukrainian course includes also specially prepared

film strips and tape recordings. Pupils see pictures on a screen and hear phrases, which they repeat under the supervision of teachers trained in this method of instruction. This course, which is designed for beginners, is sufficient for about three years in junior high school. If the method proves successful, then the second part of the course, with some modification of method, will be prepared for senior high school students.

By using *Ukrainian by the Audio-Visual Method* in all provinces we have achieved uniformity in the standard of the language. Dialectal deviations and local slang expressions found in Canadian Ukrainian are excluded and a good standard of Modern Ukrainian, in its conversational style, is observed in the course. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, a promotor of the method, should be congratulated for this far-reaching progress.

The preservation of Ukrainian in Canada and in the United States will depend to a large extent on how often it is spoken. If children speak good Ukrainian in kindergarten, school, and at home with their parents, its survival will be assured. In this author's view, the oral approach, at least at the beginning, provides a secure foundation for Ukrainian as a living language on this continent.

NOTES

1. *My Canada*, Ottawa, October, 1968, series No. 8, p. 3.
2. M. H. Marunchak, *Studiji do istoriji ukrajintsiv Kanady*, Winnipeg: UVAN, 1968, Vol. III, p. 211.
3. *My Canada*, p. 4. See also: J. Skwarok, O. S. B. M., *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools, 1891-1921*, Edmonton: Basilian Press, 1958, p. 41.
4. M. Mandryka, *History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada*, Winnipeg-Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968, p. 241. See also M. Marunchak, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 226, 250.
5. M. Mandryka, p. 241.
6. M. Marunchak, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
7. Yar Slavutych, "Ukrainian Philology in Canada", *Slavs in Canada*, Toronto: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1968, Vol. II, p. 257.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON ETHNICITY AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1910-1962

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Introduction

As the title indicates this paper is a preliminary report of a study which has as a focus of interest the relationship of ethnicity and university education. Considering the importance of ethnicity as a principle of social organization in Canada and the strategic importance of education for the modern society, it is surprising that this theme has received little attention from the Canadian Academics.

It has been more than a decade ago that Vallee, et. al. (1957 : 540) observed that "Despite the fact that ethnicity is an important principle of social organization in Canada, there are few studies that attempt to describe and analyse how it operates at different levels and in different parts of the social system." Today these same words are just as valid and especially so if we have in mind Saskatchewan. It would be an understatement to say that the ideal setting of Western Canada with its multi-ethnic population which has been there for nearly three-quarters of a century, has not received adequate attention from social scientists. Thus it is in response to this excellent opportunity that this study was undertaken.

The study deals with ethnicity and university education in Saskatchewan for the period 1910-1962. The basic questions posed initially were: is ethnicity an important attribute in determining who goes to college, what field of study he undertakes and in turn, what occupation he will follow? Viewing the attendance of Saskatchewan students over a period of fifty years, are there any patterns of continuity and change in terms of ethnic representation? Are there any patterns of continuity and/or change of ethnic representation in specific faculties or colleges at the university? Furthermore, within ethnic groups, are there differential patterns of attendance by different communities and different religious groupings?

Theoretical Perspective

Porter in *The Vertical Mosaic* maintains that "Immigration and ethnic affiliation (or membership in a cultural group) have been important factors in the formation of social classes in Canada." (1964 : 73) He goes on to point out that depending on the period of immigration, some groups have assumed a definite entrance status. (1964 : 73) He then proceeds to pose a question which in modified form is the theme of this study, of which this paper is a preliminary report. In his words "It is interesting to discover what happens to these various groups over time: whether they move out of their entrance status. . .(or) tend to be occupationally specific, with successive generations taking on the same occupations as earlier generations. . .(?)" (1964 : 74) It can be stated without question, that university education is the life blood of modern societies. Zimmerman in a number of papers points out the vital function of university education as a training ground and source of the incoming leadership class of the modern society which he identifies as the 'Intelligentsia'. He maintains that just as the churchmen dominated the middle ages, and the mercantilists the Industrial Revolution, so the Intelligentsia is becoming the source of leadership for the modern technologically dominated society. It is the university that is becoming the source of societal leaders. If we accept Zimmerman's observations we can soon see the tremendous importance of the role of the university and in turn, the importance of understanding what factors inhibit an individual's opportunity for attending these institutions. Thus in this lies, in part, our justification for studying the relationship between ethnicity and university education. Over the last fifty years, have certain ethnic groups remained at a status which inhibits their members from participating on an equal basis with other groups in the institutions of higher learning?

Sweeping changes have taken place in Saskatchewan since it was first settled around the turn of the century. These changes driven by the relentless forces of urbanization, aided by technological change, have affected patterns of land settlement, given rise to new economic activity and in turn new forms of social organization. The question is, how has this affected the role of ethnicity in Saskatchewan? Judging by the number of printed pages dedicated to the factor of ethnicity in the Canadian press and popular publications, it would appear that ethnicity has always been an important factor of social organization in Canada. The French-English relations and the influx of immigrants from all corners of the world are elements which have contributed to the forms of social organization and structure, and the values that make up the

Canadian society. Saskatchewan, because of its multi-ethnic composition and relative recency of settlement, provides an excellent setting for studying the impact of such changes originating in the larger society, on a culturally pluralistic predominantly rural society.

What this amounts to is that we have two threads of thought that we must integrate into our analysis. On the one hand is that of ethnicity, and on the other, that of a changing society. In the light of sweeping changes that are and have taken place, we must look at what has happened to ethnicity. These societal changes which have grown in the larger society have had an impact on the role of ethnicity. The question is, what type of impact has it been and have any discernable trends come into existence?

A number of American sociologists have attempted to develop theoretical perspectives on this problem. In *The Emerging City*, Scott Greer puts forward a thesis that the process of urbanization which he defines as "an increase in societal scale" has had revolutionary consequences for human life. This increase in societal scale includes both an extension of society and a transformation of its internal order. Even though ethnic histories or particular local values may differentiate one individual from another in terms of their origin, their dependence, their communication and their tasks subject them to the influence of the moving total, that makes up the society of increasing scale.

"Amalgamation and acculturation have progressed very far, producing marked similarities throughout the system. The changes in the division of labour and rewards have tended to bring the various enclaves from the small scale society into the larger system, giving them similar positions and rewards. . . the combined effects of amalgamation, acculturation and the increase in societal surplus have separated the dimensions of social rank, ethnicity and life style. . . the three dimensions have become in short, three separate sets of bands across the total population of the larger society, rather than interrelated attributes of specific locality defined social groups." (Greer, 1964: 72-3)

Other writers like Gordon point out that "Economic and occupational activities based as they are on impersonal market relationship; defy ethnic enclosure in the United States more than any institution except the political or governmental, but even here a considerable degree of ethnic enclosures is by no means a rarity." (Gordon, 1964 : 35)

At another point in his discussion of *Assimilation in American Life*

he draws attention to the fact that there are "four factors or social categories which play a part in creating subsocieties within the national society that is America. They are ethnic group, social class, rural or urban residence, and region of country lived in." (Gordon, 1964 : 47)

Gordon goes on in his study to coin a new term 'ethclass' to take care of the subsociety formed by the intersection of the "vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class". (Gordon, 1964 : 51)

Will Herberg points out another aspect in his perceptive analysis of the American society in that in the American society ethnicity may be changing its traditional form based on national origin, to that of one based on religious subgroupings.

Thus in summary, we can say that changes are taking place with regard to the role of ethnicity in modern societies. But what form these changes are taking, and in what respect ethnic groups are changing is a question for empirical research. Are ethnic groups affected by these changes in different ways? Are different segments of the same group affected differentially? These are some of the questions that one must contend with in studying the relationship of ethnicity to other dimensions of society. Higher education is essential to modern societies. The prerequisite "of specialization in an industrializing society would..." be impeded without higher education. Thus it is for these reasons we submit that university education can be considered what Dubin defines as a 'strategic proposition', one that points out where something notable is happening to the values of one or more units. (Dubin, 1969: 176).

In the light of the above discussion we submit that university education provides us with a crucial indicator as to how ethnic groups are responding to the overall changes of the society. On these grounds we put forward the following hypotheses:

- (1) That ethnicity is becoming a less relevant attribute in the allocation of individuals into various occupations requiring a university education in the industrializing society with an initially heterogeneous ethnic population.
- (2) That the pattern of decline of ethnicity as a determinant is different for different ethnic groups.
- (3) That this decline in the influence of ethnicity is different for different segments of a given ethnic group.

For the purposes of this preliminary report we wish to present a number of observations based on some initial analyses. We wish to stress that this report is based on a partial analysis and is exploratory.

The results we present must be taken as tentative findings. More extensive interpretation and generalization must await a fuller and more complete analysis. But first a note on the data and methods used.

Data and Methods

The data consists of 8594 cases covering a period of fifty-two years (1910-1962), taken from first year degree-student registration forms on file at the University of Saskatchewan Registrars' offices in Saskatoon and Regina. (See Table 1) It was coded and then punched on computer cards. To insure reliability of data, a ten percent reliability check was made on the coding. The transfer to computer cards involved punching and verification by the University of Saskatchewan Computer Centre staff. A further check was made against individual college records to see if any discrepancy existed. It was found that only three colleges were underrepresented in the total case distribution. They were Law, Medicine and Graduate Studies. All other colleges differed in only one or two cases.

Included in the data are the following variables:

- (1) Student's name
- (2) Registration date
- (3) Sex of student
- (4) Marital status of student
- (5) Registration status (full or part-time attendance)
- (6) Age (at time of registration)
- (7) College or Faculty enrolled in
- (8) Ethnic or racial origin
- (9) Religious affiliation of student
- (10) Place of birth — municipality — census division
- (11) Home address — municipality — census division
- (12) Previous schooling
- (13) Occupation of father
- (14) Ethnic background of mother
- (15) Ethnic background of father
- (16) Veteran's assistance
- (17) Campus in attendance

Above data was collected for the following years: ,

- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| (1) 1910-11 | (9) 1936-37 |
| (2) 1911-12 | (9) 1940-41 |

(3) 1912-13	(11) 1941-42
(4) 1920-21	(12) 1947-48
(5) 1921-22	(13) 1950-51
(6) 1922-23	(14) 1951-52
(7) 1930-31	(14) 1961-62
(8) 1931-32	

The choice of the specific years was made in view of the available census data for the same years which is necessary to take into consideration in order to be able to make comparisons to population composition of Saskatchewan with regard to ethnicity, religion, age, sex, etc.. For the early years, since enrollment was numerically quite low, (see Table 1) an extra year or two are included to facilitate multi-variate analyses. In addition to the ten-year intervals, 1937-38 is added to check for the effects of the depression and 1947-48 to provide data for the peak post-war enrollment resulting from war veterans' influx.

One last aspect that we wish to mention is the representative nature of our sample of cases as compared to the universe of the university student population of Saskatchewan over a fifty-two year period 1910-62. Data necessary to check out the percentage of first year students born in Saskatchewan, but who attended out-of-province universities, was not available at the time of the preparation of this paper. Thus we are unable to generalize our findings to the population of Saskatchewan for the given period of time. At this point we must insist that our findings are tentative and suggestive rather than final in any sense.

Findings

(A) Sample Characteristics - Selected Observations The sample characteristics are essentially summarized in Tables I - VII. Table 15 presents a graphic representation of the growth of the university over a fifty-two year period. An important factor that comes to light in Table XV is the post-war veteran influx. This fact will have bearing time and time again as we proceed with our analysis. It is reasonable to expect that the drop in the proportion of females at the university in 1947-48 and the increase in the number of married students for the same year can essentially be explained in terms of the veteran influx. Tables II and III confirm the view that the university over the given period has been predominantly a single man's world.

Table IV presents a number of interesting developments. The first is the drop in proportion of students in Arts and an increase in the male dominated professional colleges for the year 1947-48. The only exception

is that of engineering which dropped from its peak of 1940-42. We feel that the rise in professional college enrollment can be explained by the veteran influx. As for engineering, it is possible that due to a proportionately high enrollment for preceding years the college capacity had been saturated by 1947-48. The result being that first year enrollment restricted?

In Table V a noticeable discontinuity is apparent in the Canadian category. The proportion of students identifying themselves as Canadian, after reaching a peak in the twenties, declines until a post-war surge in 1947-48. It is followed by a phenomenal drop in the fifties simultaneous with a substantial rise in most ethnic categories in the same year. We looked into possible sources of influence stemming from changes in registration forms, but found no difference that would account for the discontinuity. It appears that this may be a fruitful area for further analysis that could shed light on the concept of changing identity. Related to this observation is a phenomenon that is common to census data, which Rydor (1955 : 472) identifies as 'statistical flight from the German ethnic group'. A parallel pattern appears in our sample distribution. Contrary to expectation we do not see an appreciable decline in the thirties, in university attendance. In most cases there is a slight proportional decline, but on the other hand, other groups show an increase.

The last general observation with regard to ethnic distribution is the underrepresentation of some groups and overrepresentation of others. Table V indicates that the university population has been changing from a homogeneous, British dominated one, to an increasingly heterogeneous, ethnic composition. Two groups of interest are the Jewish and the French. The Jewish have been consistently overrepresented and the French underrepresented. It should be pointed out that it is possible that the French may be sending their young people to French language schools outside the province and/or channelling them into the religious field. One other possible explanation is that in the census a large proportion who identify themselves as French may be Metis, thus this may in part account for the underrepresentation when compared with census figures. (Compare Tables V and 15) The Slavic group as a whole have after 1940 reached their proportional representation as compared to the Germans who form one of the largest non-British groups in Saskatchewan, but have as yet not reached their proportion, if we use census data for a crude comparison.

For the most part, what we observed about ethnicity applies in the case of religion. Table VI indicates that over the years the religious composition of the university has been changing from one dominated

by the Protestants to an increasingly heterogeneous one, with a consistently rising proportion of Roman Catholics.

At the outset it should be noted that Table VII which presents the distribution by Fathers' occupation, is limited in the respect that data is available only for 1940-61. There are only two developments we wish to mention. The first is the high proportion of Doctors' children who attend university in proportion to their size when compared to the occupational composition of Saskatchewan. The second is the low proportion of Teachers' children attending university. We realize that there are many factors that need to be held constant to make an accurate comparison. Nonetheless, since the Teachers form the largest professional group in Saskatchewan, this poses many interesting questions which only a fuller analysis can help answer.

In the above paragraphs we have attempted to sketch some of the points of interest with regard to the characteristics of our sample. We realize that they were selective. But when one is faced with a maze of figures there is no other alternative.

(B) Findings Relating to Hypotheses

In this section we follow an outline based on the three hypotheses we postulated earlier. First let us see whether ethnicity is declining as a determinant of who goes to college. Referring back to Table IV, a pattern of consistent increase in attendance for nearly all groups over the time period is noticeable. Even the smaller groups in Saskatchewan have been sending increasing numbers of students to university. The Jewish group deviates somewhat from this pattern. But when we compare the changes in the total Jewish population for Saskatchewan, we note a corresponding decline. One notable exception to the above pattern is the Native Indian group. We suggest that this exception may in part be explained by what Porter identified as 'entrance status'. It is plausible that the Indian population as a group never moved to enter the overall society until very recently. The fact that there are four Indian students in our sample may be indicative that as time goes on the Indians will also commence to be represented at university in increasing proportions. If anything, this exception substantiates our second hypothesis, that ethnicity declines as a determinant differentially for different groups. For the time being, let us leave the main hypothesis and proceed to see how the second one fares under empirical scrutiny.

It appears that the second hypothesis has support from the data. If we look at Table 8 we see a number of indicators of a differential between groups. There are groups which consistently send a lower pro-

portion of females to university as compared to others. Comparing the British group to the Germans and Ukrainians, we see that the British send a much higher proportion of females to university than either the Germans or the Ukrainians. Furthermore, they indicate differential patterns over time. The British proportion has increased at a greater rate than the Ukrainians' but at a rate somewhat similar to the Germans'. A point to keep in mind when analysing Table 8 is the problem (mentioned previously.) of identity associated with 1947-48.

Another set of variables that suggests support for the hypothesis are those presented in Table 13 (ethnic background of parents including mixed parentage). A quick survey of the second last column indicates the differential rates of intermarriage for different groups. The index is crude, but it does give us an idea of the proportion of students having both parents of one ethnic group as opposed to mixed parentage. If we consider only the larger groups, it becomes obvious that a definite differential exists. It ranges from the Jewish group which does not have one case of mixed parentage, to the British group which has a substantially high rate of mixed parentage. Aside from suggesting support for our hypothesis, it indicates a potential area of analysis.

One additional source of support for the second hypothesis stems from the analysis of the parents' or guardians' occupational distribution. When we compare the Ukrainians with the Germans and the British, we note that the Ukrainians have a proportionately higher representation at university. This pattern is consistent for all four periods. But as well, we see that with regard to the Blue collar workers, Ukrainians are closer to the British than to the Germans in their proportion of representation. This is yet another example of group differential response. The other expected, but nevertheless supporting source of evidence, comes from the Jewish and Chinese groups. This indicates an overwhelming representation in the business category. This no doubt reflects the the groups' respective predominance in the business occupations, but at the same time indicates the source of differential. In other words, business owners can be expected to have, as a group, greater surplus of finances and thus be in a better position to provide educational assistance for their children than would Blue or White collar workers.

One last source of support for the second hypothesis that we wish to present comes from looking at the ethnic-college distribution (Table 10). Once again if we use Ukrainians and compare them to the Germans, we note substantial differences in terms of colleges attended. The Ukrainians show a lower proportion in the Arts as compared to the Germans. On the other hand Germans score much lower in Engineering as compared to the Ukrainians.

The Chinese provides another interesting observation in that although a large majority of Chinese students came from homes where parents were in business, they themselves tended to go into professional colleges like engineering and pharmacy. This may be indicative of a pattern of mobility, but the determination of whether such a pattern does in fact exist, must await further analysis. Generally, the above observations do tend to indicate that differential patterns exist for different groups.

Last of all we wish to look at intra-ethnic group differential rates of decline of ethnicity as a determining factor. There are three observations which give credence to the above hypothesis. The first is that of religious difference. Once again we turn to the Ukrainians. Although there are substantially more Greek Catholics in the province than Greek Orthodox, the latter have a higher representation at the university. On the other hand the Ukrainian Protestants maintain a representation at the university proportionate to their percentage of the total Ukrainian population.

The second source of intra-ethnic differentiation is differential response by occupational category. When we compare the Ukrainians, Germans and Norwegians, we see that both the Germans and Ukrainians have grown in the business category at similar rates whereas the Norwegians have scored much lower in the business category. Granted that there may be lower proportion of Norwegian businessmen as compared to the Ukrainians or Germans, but even so this still indicates differences in ethnic sub-groupings.

The last source of intra-ethnic differential is observed in the last column in Table 13. Here we see that different ethnic groups as represented by university attendance tend to intermarry at different rates. Some groups have a much higher proportion of males intermarrying than females and vice versa. We acknowledge that at best this is only an indication of a differential, and only more extensive analysis will bear out our expectation.

Conclusion

In conclusion we submit that there are indications that all three of our hypotheses tend to have empirical support, but at the same time we must stress that the analysis presented here is preliminary. All findings are tentative. Further interpretation and generalization must await more extensive analysis. The study is exploratory and it is our hope that it will provide indications of potentially fruitful areas of further research in comparative ethnic studies.

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TABLE I -- REG. DATE/FST. YEAR ENROLLMENT

Year	1910-11	11-12	12-13	20-21	21-22	22-23	30-31	31-32	36-37	40-41	41-42	47-48	50-51	51-52	61-62
No. of students enrolled in first year	68	76	80	233	255	253	721	601	697	659	587	1101	516	491	2246
Percentage	.79%	.88%	.93%	2.71%	2.97%	2.94%	8.39%	6.99%	8.11%	7.67%	6.83%	12.81%	6.0%	5.71%	26.14%
No. of students over a three year period	224														
Percentage	2.61%														
	1322														
	15.41%														
	741														
	8.62%														
	1246														
	14.54%														
	1101														
	12.81%														
	1007														
	11.72%														
	2246														
	26.14%														

10 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 8584 = No. of Tallied Data Units
 8594 = Total Number of Data Units

Table II REG. DATE - SEX DISTRIBUTION

	Year	1910-13	20-23	30-32	36-37	40-42	47-48	50-52	61-62
Total	224	741	1322	697	1246	1101	1007	2245	2246
Male	5920	175	508	851	481	848	842	746	1529
PCT	69.67%	78.13%	68.56%	64.37%	69.01%	68.06%	76.48%	74.08%	68.11%
Female	2593	49	233	470	215	396	258	261	716
PCT	30.27%	21.80%	31.44%	35.55%	30.85%	31.78%	23.43%	25.92%	31.89%

16 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 8583 = No. of Tallied Data Units
 8594 = Total Number of Data Units

TABLE III MARITAL STATUS — REG. DATE

	Year	1910-13	20-23	30-32	36-37	40-42	47-48	50-52	51-62
No Entry	3088	171	529	881	453	643	366	13	32
PCT	35.99	76.34	71.39	66.74	64.99	51.61	33.24	1.29	1.43
Total	224	741	1320	697	1246	1101	1007	2245	
Tallied	5493	53	212	439	244	603	735	994	2113
PCT for	64.01	23.66	28.61	33.26	35.01	48.39	66.76	98.71	98.57
Total	5493	53	212	439	244	603	735	994	2113
Single	5115	45	193	413	227	569	655	943	2070
PCT	93.11	84.90	91.03	94.07	93.03	94.36	89.11	94.86	93.53
Married	378	8	19	26	17	34	80	51	143
PCT	6.68	15.09	8.96	5.92	6.96	5.63	10.88	5.13	6.46

13 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 8581 = No. of Tallied Code Data Units
 8594 = Total Number of Code Data Units

Table IV COLLEGE - REG. DATE

Year 1910-13 20-23 30-32 36-37 40-42 47-48 50-52 61-62
 Total 224 741 1321 697 1245 1101 1107 2246

	T ₄	P	T ₃	P	T ₁	P	T ₁	P	T ₁	P	T ₃	P	T ₁	P	T ₁	P	T ₁	P
No Entry	13	1.79	3	.40	28	2.12	25	3.59	78	6.27	102	9.26	63	6.26	76	3.38	-	-
Agriculture	422	5.36	38	5.13	995	75.32	457	65.56	601	46.27	430	39.05	454	45.09	1037	46.16	-	-
Arts (all)	4794	91.96	614	82.85	36	2.73	30	4.30	81	6.51	99	8.99	51	5.06	161	7.17	-	-
Commerce	461	.45	2	.27	22	1.67	12	1.72	22	1.77	127	11.53	96	9.53	386	17.19	-	-
Education	668	-	3	.40	168	12.72	115	16.50	306	24.58	216	19.62	178	17.68	315	14.02	-	-
Engineering	1314	-	16	2.16	6	.45	2	.29	5	.40	4	.36	41	4.07	59	2.63	-	-
Grad. Studies	119	-	2	.27	23	1.74	36	5.16	87	6.99	38	3.45	41	4.07	30	1.34	-	-
Home Ec.	256	-	1	.13	6	.45	5	.72	4	.32	9	.82	14	1.39	7	.31	-	-
Law	82	.45	36	4.86	10	.76	1	.14	2	.16	3	.27	1	.10	4	.18	-	-
Medicine	22	-	1	.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nursing	137	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	3.05	14	1.27	16	1.59	19	3.07	-	-
Others	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	.27	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pharmacy	261	-	25	3.37	26	1.97	13	1.87	20	1.61	52	4.72	51	5.06	74	3.29	-	-
Phy. Education	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	1.20	-	-
Theology	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.09	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vet. Medicine	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.10	1	.04	-	-

12 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 8582 = No. of Tallied Data Units
 8594 = Total Number of Data Units

Table V ETHNIC/REG. DATE

Year	1910-13		20-23		30-32		36-37		40-42		47-48		50-52		61-62	
	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
Total	224		740		1321		697		1245		1100		1006		2246	
No Entry	64	28.57	124	16.76	354	26.80	208	29.84	513	41.20	457	41.55	6	.60	145	6.46
American	5	2.23	32	4.32	31	2.35	14	2.01	13	1.04	17	1.55	5	.50	10	.45
Canadian	69	30.80	337	45.54	367	27.78	179	25.68	154	12.37	154	14.00	30	2.98	270	12.02
Austrian	-	-	-	-	2	.15	2	.29	4	.32	5	.45	11	1.09	21	.93
Belgian	-	-	-	-	4	.30	-	-	1	.08	1	.09	4	.40	2	.09
British	2	.89	19	2.57	21	1.59	10	1.43	26	2.09	8	.73	24	2.39	56	2.49
English	53	23.66	98	13.24	193	14.61	96	13.77	159	12.77	11	10.45	213	21.17	394	17.54
Irish	13	5.80	14	1.89	50	3.79	29	4.16	50	4.02	42	3.82	114	11.33	185	8.24
Scottish	8	3.57	41	5.54	84	6.36	49	7.03	97	7.79	60	5.45	129	12.82	216	9.62
Chinese	-	-	-	-	1	.08	1	.14	2	.16	4	.36	6	.60	18	.80
Czech	-	-	1	.14	4	.30	3	.43	2	.16	2	.18	6	.60	5	.22
Danish	-	-	1	.14	-	-	2	.29	1	.08	1	.09	6	.60	6	.27
Dutch	-	-	2	.27	2	.15	2	.29	6	.48	9	.82	37	3.68	53	2.36
Eskimo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finnish	-	-	-	-	1	.08	-	-	1	.08	3	.27	2	.20	5	.22
French	2	.89	5	.68	7	.53	3	.43	13	1.04	15	1.36	41	4.08	83	3.70
German	3	1.34	13	1.76	56	4.24	38	5.45	34	2.73	39	3.55	105	10.44	301	13.40
Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.14	2	.16	3	.27	3	.30	1	.04

Table V ETHNIC/REG. DATE (cont'd)

	Year 10-13		20-23		30-32		36-37		40-42		47-48		50-52		61-62	
	Total	224	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
Hungarian	33	-	3	.41	1	.08	3	.43	3	.24	1	.09	3	.03	19	.85
Icelandic	54	1	2	.27	12	.91	4	.57	6	.48	7	.64	11	1.09	11	.49
Italian	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	.60	2	.09
Japanese	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	.18	1	.10	-	-
Jewish	134	-	17	2.30	40	3.03	13	1.87	30	2.41	14	1.27	11	1.09	9	.40
Lithuanian	2	-	-	-	1	.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.09
Nat. Indian	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	.14	1	.08	-	-	-	-	2	.09
Norwegian	201	1	-	-	-	-	26	1.97	10	1.43	29	2.33	21	1.91	71	3.16
Others	62	1	2	.27	3	.23	3	.43	3	.24	5	.45	16	1.59	29	1.29
Polish	112	-	1	.14	4	.30	1	.14	13	1.04	17	1.55	24	2.39	52	2.32
Roumanian	25	-	-	-	1	.08	-	-	2	.16	4	.36	6	.60	12	.53
Russian	128	2	12	1.62	16	1.21	4	.57	22	1.77	19	1.73	20	1.99	33	1.47
Swedish	93	-	3	.41	11	.83	2	.29	9	.72	12	1.09	22	2.19	34	1.51
Ukrainian	465	-	13	1.76	28	2.12	18	2.58	49	3.94	61	5.55	100	9.94	196	8.73
Yugoslavian	9	-	-	-	1	.08	1	.14	0	-	2	.18	1	.10	4	.18
Total Enrol.		224	740		1321		697		1245		1100		1006		2246	

15 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
8594 = Total Number of Data Units
8579 = No. of Tallied Data Units

Table VI RELIGION - REG. DATE

Year	1910-13	20-23	30-32	36-37	40-42	47-48	50-52	61-62
Total	224	741	1322	697	1242	1101	1006	2244
No Entry	17	35	103	26	25	29	6	36
Adventist	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	-
Anglican	69	81	165	96	156	125	89	205
Baptist	10	29	33	18	30	16	19	50
Ch. Scien.	-	2	9	5	5	-	2	8
Dukhbors	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	10
Evangelical	4	-	2	-	2	9	1	4
Gr. Cat.	-	2	4	6	8	22	32	68
Gr. Ortho.	-	10	24	9	34	39	52	82
Jewish	-	14	36	18	45	25	12	16
Lutheran	1	7	53	25	61	73	70	175
Mennonite	-	2	7	10	21	20	24	50
Mormon	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pentecostal	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	7
Presby.	75	253	59	29	47	32	22	42
R.C.	10	45	105	64	129	140	182	450
Sal. Army	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
United	3	37	605	347	457	368	293	865
Jehovah Wit.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Protest.	35	197	41	23	201	182	174	78
Others	3	26	72	19	18	16	21	95

TABLE VII REG. DATE — OCCUP. OF FATHER

Year Sample Total	1940-42 1245		1947-48 1100		1950-52 1007		1961-62 2245	
	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
No entry	415	33.33	321	29.18	916	91.05	191	8.51
Total Included	830	66.67	779	70.82	916	91.05	2054	91.49
Total:	4579		779		916		2054	
Farmer	1594	35.30%	33	50%	34	05%	35	44%
Business	640	15.78	13	26	13	53	13	48
Doctor	125	2.77	2	05	2	94	2	97
Lawyer	68	2.28	2	31	2	40		43
Priest	78	2.40	1	41	2	07	1	3
Civil Servant	204	6.38	5	39	3	05	3	04
Unemployed	163	2.40	7	31	3	60	2	54
Owner	134	.72	1	15	8	62	1	26
Teacher	235	3.49	3	33	6	22	5	98
H. collar	527	11.44	12	33	10	48	14	41
L. collar	706	16.38	16	04	12	44	16	1
Prof. Longiner	45	.60		.77		.54		1.44

2998 = No. of Field Code Data Units
5596 = No. of Field Code Data Units
8594 = Total number of Data Units

TABLE 2 RES. DATE - ETHNIC - SEX

Year	1910-1913		1920-1923		1930-1932		1936-1937		1940-1942		1947-1948		1950-1952		1961-1962		Total
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Sex	134	26	426	190	631	336	336	152	524	206	503	140	740	260	1401	699	
American	2	3	16	16	20	11	4	10	8	5	12	5	4	1	9	1	127
Canadian	49	20	212	125	207	160	119	60	118	36	110	144	19	11	204	65	1559
Austrian	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	3	1	5	-	8	3	12	9	45
Belgian	-	-	-	-	1	3	10	-	-	1	1	-	1	3	2	-	22
British	2	-	18	1	14	7	69	27	19	7	6	2	21	3	33	23	252
English	52	1	78	20	139	54	-	-	120	39	89	28	159	54	243	149	1477
Irish	13	-	8	6	29	21	19	10	32	18	34	8	82	32	116	69	497
Scottish	7	1	32	9	58	26	27	22	56	41	51	9	93	36	129	87	684
Chinese	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	3	1	5	1	15	3	32
Czech	-	-	1	-	2	2	3	-	2	-	2	-	5	1	3	2	23
Danish	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	6	-	1	-	4	2	4	2	17
Dutch	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	9	-	30	7	32	21	111
Eskimo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finnish	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	1	3	2	12
French	2	-	2	3	15	2	2	1	6	7	11	4	28	13	56	27	169
German	3	-	10	3	38	18	28	10	20	8	24	15	76	29	202	99	589
Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	1	1	10
Hungarian	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	2	3	-	3	-	3	-	11	8	33
Iceland.	1	-	2	-	10	2	3	1	4	2	5	2	7	4	7	4	26
Italian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	2	-	6
Japan.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	3
Jewish	-	-	14	3	33	7	9	4	23	7	8	6	8	3	3	6	134
Lithuan.	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
Nat. Ind.	-	-	-	-	17	-	7	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
Norweg.	-	1	-	-	17	9	7	3	20	8	17	4	39	4	46	25	200
Others	1	-	2	-	2	1	3	-	3	-	1	4	14	2	24	3	62
Polish	-	-	1	-	4	-	1	-	10	-	4	-	16	8	39	13	112
Rouman.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	4	9	3	25
Russian	2	-	9	3	13	3	4	-	18	4	15	4	12	8	24	9	128
Swedish	-	-	3	1	5	6	2	-	4	5	12	-	14	8	23	11	93
Ukrain.	-	-	12	-	25	3	15	2	35	13	57	4	80	20	142	54	463
Yugoslav.	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	2	9

1890 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 6704 = No. of Talled Data Units
 8594 = Total No. of Data Units

TABLE 9 REG. DATE - ETHNIC - MARITAL STATUS

Year	1910-1913	1920-1923	1930-1932	1936-1937	1940-1942	1947-1948	1950-1952	1961-1962
Total	36	174	324	169	356	418	987	2,076
Marital	s m	s m	s m	s m	s m	s m	s m	s m
American	2	8	13	4	8	9	5	9
Canadian	21	104	128	63	59	66	25	253
Austrian	-	-	-	1	2	3	8	20
Belgian	-	-	-	-	1	3	4	1
British	-	4	7	2	8	2	16	1
English	5	17	42	23	56	66	190	360
Irish	1	4	11	14	23	22	113	177
Scottish	1	11	35	23	60	37	124	201
Chinese	-	-	1	1	2	1	5	15
Czech	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
Danish	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
Dutch	-	-	-	1	-	7	3	6
Eskimo	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Finnish	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	47
French	-	1	2	1	6	11	40	5
German	-	3	20	8	21	21	104	272
Greek	-	-	-	-	1	3	3	1
Hungarian	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	18
Icelandic	-	-	-	1	4	1	11	11
Italian	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	1
Japanese	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Jewish	-	3	16	6	18	9	11	9
Lithuan.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nat. Ind.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norveg.	-	-	7	4	6	15	42	67
Others	1	-	-	2	7	2	14	10
Polish	-	-	-	-	1	14	23	49
Rouman.	-	-	1	-	1	2	8	9
Russian	1	1	5	1	14	15	18	31
Swedish	-	-	4	1	4	5	20	32
Ukrain.	-	3	13	4	29	43	97	185
Yugoslav.	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2

4054 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 4540 = No. of Tallied Data Units
 8594 = Total No. of Data Units

TABLE 10 ETHNIC - COLLEGE (Percentage of College by Ethnic)

	Coll. Agro	Arts	Comm.	Educ.	Eng.	Grad. St., H. Sc.	Law	Med.	Nurs.	Pharm.	Phy. Ed
Total	299	3807	367	586	490	176	68	15	108	199	27
PCT	4.45	56.77	5.47	8.73	7.30	2.62	1.01	.22	1.61	2.96	.40
American	127	68.50	3.94	3.94	8.66	3.15	2.36	.79	-	1.57	-
Canadian	1560	65.38	5.96	3.59	13.46	2.75	1.60	.06	.70	1.98	.25
Austrian	115	46.65	8.89	15.56	11.11	2.22	-	-	-	2.22	2.22
Belgian	12	83.33	-	-	8.33	-	-	-	-	-	-
British	166	51.20	2.41	9.64	15.06	1.81	1.20	-	4.22	1.81	.60
English	1317	52.61	6.30	9.11	14.73	3.41	.60	.15	1.74	3.26	.37
Irish	497	57.54	6.44	12.27	10.66	1.81	.80	.20	2.01	2.82	1.21
Scottish	683	52.26	5.42	9.08	14.49	4.83	.88	.15	1.61	4.98	-
Chinese	32	34.37	3.12	-	21.88	-	-	-	3.12	12.50	-
Czech	23	52.17	-	7.39	13.04	4.35	4.35	-	-	4.35	-
Danish	17	23.52	11.76	11.76	29.41	-	-	-	5.88	-	-
Dutch	111	49.54	-	25.23	15.32	.90	.90	-	1.80	3.60	-
Finnish	12	41.66	-	16.67	16.67	-	-	-	16.67	8.33	-
French	168	59.52	4.76	10.71	13.69	1.19	2.38	-	1.19	2.98	.60
German	590	61.86	4.92	11.69	10.85	1.02	.51	.17	2.20	1.51	.71
Greek	10	40.00	10.00	-	50.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hungarian	33	51.51	-	12.12	21.21	3.03	-	3.03	-	3.03	3.03
Icelandic	54	61.11	1.85	3.70	22.22	1.85	-	-	1.85	1.85	-
Italian	8	37.50	-	-	37.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
Japanese	3	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jewish	134	76.11	5.22	-	8.21	2.99	.75	1.49	.75	2.24	-
Lithuanian	2	-	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nat. Indian	4	75.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norwegian	206	50.00	5.00	13.00	18.00	2.50	-	.50	2.00	25.00	.50
Others	62	33.87	3.23	1.61	6.45	3.23	3.23	-	4.84	4.84	-
Polish	112	57.14	3.57	10.71	19.64	-	-	.89	-	1.79	.89
Romanian	25	72.00	16.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	-	-	-	-	-
Russian	127	62.99	4.72	11.81	10.24	-	1.57	-	.79	1.57	.79
Swedish	94	43.61	6.38	15.96	19.15	2.13	-	-	3.19	1.06	-
Ukrainian	466	43.56	6.00	13.30	17.81	2.51	1.28	.61	2.36	6.43	.42
Yugoslavian	9	33.33	-	-	44.44	-	-	-	11.11	-	-

1891 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 6706 = No. of Tallied Data Units
 8594 = Total No. of Data Units

CODE:
 Agro. = Agriculture
 Comm. = Commerce
 Educ. = Education
 Eng. = Engineering
 Grad. St. = Grad. Studies
 H. Sc. = Home Economics

Med. = Medicine
 Nurs. = Nursing
 Pharm. = Pharmacy
 Phy. Ed. = Physical Education

ETHNIC - RELIGION (CONT'D)

TABLE 11

Relig. Jewish Lutheran Mennonite Mormon Penteco. Presby. R.C. Sal. Army United J. Witness Prot. Others

	152	102	120	1	13	425	977	4	2191	1	625	224
American	120	5.93	-	-	-	8.33	15.83	-	34.17	-	17.50	9.17
Canadian	1490	1.21	.81	.20	.20	13.42	8.26	.20	40.20	-	16.44	3.15
Austrian	48	-	-	-	-	-	51.11	-	11.11	-	4.44	2.22
Belgian	12	-	-	-	-	-	75.00	-	8.33	-	8.33	-
British	158	-	.63	-	-	5.06	4.43	-	40.51	-	11.39	3.57
English	1287	-	.08	.08	.47	3.42	2.49	.08	40.71	-	11.19	3.73
Irish	486	-	-	-	-	0.38	22.02	-	43.53	.21	9.67	2.67
Scottish	670	.15	-	-	-	14.33	5.22	-	57.91	-	11.59	2.09
Chinese	25	-	-	-	-	-	12.00	-	41.00	-	16.00	16.00
Czech	23	-	-	-	-	-	60.87	-	4.35	-	8.70	4.35
Danish	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.41	-	23.51	5.24
Dutch	107	-	32.71	-	.93	2.80	12.15	-	25.23	-	7.48	4.67
Finnish	12	-	-	-	-	-	8.33	-	8.33	-	8.33	8.33
French	169	-	.59	-	-	-	82.25	-	7.69	-	2.96	.59
German	579	.17	10.54	-	.17	1.21	33.85	-	16.06	-	5.70	2.11
Greek	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.00	-
Hungarian	33	-	-	-	-	-	69.70	-	15.15	-	-	-
Icelandic	48	-	-	-	-	15.15	2.08	-	37.50	-	16.67	8.33
Italian	8	2.08	-	-	-	4.17	100.00	-	-	-	-	-
Japanese	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.33	-	33.33	33.33
Jewish	116	98.32	-	-	-	-	-	-	.84	-	-	-
Lithuanian	2	-	-	-	-	-	50.00	-	-	-	-	-
Mal. Indian	4	-	-	-	-	-	25.00	-	25.00	-	-	-
Norwegian	198	-	.51	-	-	.51	2.53	-	27.27	-	10.10	3.03
Others	61	-	-	-	-	6.56	0.84	-	13.11	-	11.8	32.73
Polish	112	-	-	-	-	-	78.57	-	7.14	-	1.79	.79
Romanian	24	3.54	-	-	-	-	8.33	-	6.33	-	-	8.33
Russian	114	8.33	-	-	.98	5.26	10.53	-	27.19	-	5.26	9.26
Swedish	91	6.14	6.14	-	-	2.20	5.49	-	37.36	-	16.48	2.20
Ukrainian	461	-	.22	-	.22	1.30	10.41	-	8.89	-	3.25	1.30
Yugoslavian	9	-	-	-	-	-	66.67	-	11.11	-	11.11	-

2097 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 6497 = No. of Tallied Data Units
 8594 = Total Number of Data Units

TABLE 12-1

MEM. DATA--ETHNIC --OCCUPATION FATHER
FOR THE YEAR OF 1940 - 1942.

Occup. Farm Bus. Dr. LLB. Priest C. Ser. Ret. Oth. Teach. W. Col. B. Col. Prof. Eng.
Total 173 88 10 14 16 30 13 3 13 50 87 3

American	7	5	1	4	6	1	5	1	1	1	17	2
Canadian	99	27	20	4	15	8	5	12	17	1	1	1
Austrian	3	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Belgian	18	7	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
British	18	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	103	24	15	4	15	12	4	12	22	1	1	1
Irish	32	12	3	1	3	6	1	6	6	1	1	1
Scottish	66	25	5	1	5	12	2	12	12	1	1	1
Chinese	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Czech	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Danish	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dutch	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eskimo	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Finnish	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
French	12	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
German	27	13	3	5	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Greek	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hungarian	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Icelandic	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Italian	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Japanese	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jewish	18	13	13	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lithuanian	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Native Ind.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Norwegian	22	14	1	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
Others	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Polish	9	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
Roumanian	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Russian	16	5	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Swedish	9	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
Ukrainian	33	18	8	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
Yugoslavian	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

746 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
500 = No. of Tallied Code Data Units
1246 = Total Number of Code Data Units

CODE: = Farmer = Oth.
Farm. = Business (owner) Teach. = Others
Bus. = Doctor W. Col. = Teacher
Dr. = Lawyer B. Col. = White Collar
LLB = Civil Servant Prof. Eng. = Blue Collar
C. Serv. = Retired
Ret. = Professional Engineer

TABLE 12-3 REG. DATA -- BASIC -- OCCUPATION PATTERN FOR THE YEAR OF 1950 - 1952.

	Occup. Total	Farm 311	Bus. 123	Dr. 26	Lb. 21	Priest 19	C.Ser. 27	Ret. 33	oth. 79	Teach. 57	W.Col. 95	B.Col. 114	Prof. 5
American	5		1										
Canadian	25	3	4						2	3		5	
Austrian	9	5							1			2	
Belgian	4	2							1				
British	21	3	3					5	2	2	4	1	1
English	191	39	32	8	3	5	4	5	29	19	26	16	3
Irish	106	28	8	5	4	1	4	6	10	5	17	17	1
Scottish	117	29	16	3	4	6	9	4	14	9	13	10	
Chinese	4											1	
Czech	5	1	1						1		1		
Danish	5	1	2										
Dutch	35	14	4		1	1		1	2	4	3	5	
Eskimo													
Finnish	2	1	1										
French	37	14	2		2		1		3	3	4	8	
German	99	40	12		3	3	3	3	7	6	8	14	
Greek	3		3										
Hungarian	2	1											
Icelandic	10	6								1	3	1	
Italian	6								1		1	4	
Japanese													
Jewish	11	1		1					1		1		
Lithuanian													
Native Ind.													
Norwegian	40	27	3					3	1	2		4	
Others	15	2	3	2	2			1	1	1		1	
Polish	19	16										3	
Roumanian	6	4								1			
Russian	17	14	1								1		
Swedish	22	8	2				1	1			4	5	
Ukrainian	93	48	16	1	2		3	2	4	1	?	14	
Yugoslavian	1											1	

CODE: Farm. = Farmer; Bus. = Business (Owner); Dr. = Doctor; LLB = Lawyer; C. Serv. = Civil Servant; Ret. = Retired; Oth. = Others; Teach. = Teacher; W. Col. = White Collar; B. Col. = Blue Collar; Prof. Eng. = Professional Engineer

97 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 910 = No. of Code Data Units Tallied
 1007 = Total Number of Code Data Units

TABLE 12-4 REG. DATE -- ETHNIC -- OCCUPATION FATHER FOR THE YEAR OF 1961 - 1962

	Occup. Total	Farm 628	Bus. 263	Dr. 55	LLB. 8	Priest 26	C.Ser. 75	Ret. 52	Oth. Teach. 37	116	W.Col. 276	B.Col. 302	Prof. Eng 28
American	9	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
Canadian	248	39	38	4	2	-	17	6	2	10	76	47	7
Austrian	19	10	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	3	4	-
Belgian	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
British	49	15	6	2	-	1	1	2	2	4	10	5	1
English	360	112	45	17	2	3	21	9	12	21	67	46	5
Irish	168	59	26	2	2	3	4	4	5	13	28	22	5
Scottish	198	62	26	6	-	3	12	9	4	19	33	18	6
Chinese	13	-	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Czech	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Danish	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dutch	47	17	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	7	8	2
Eskimo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finnish	5	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
French	79	27	12	1	-	3	2	4	3	6	9	12	-
German	276	141	29	8	-	7	5	10	1	17	15	42	1
Greek	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hungarian	18	5	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	7	-
Icelandic	10	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Italian	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Japanese	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jewish	9	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Lithuanian	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Native Ind.	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norwegian	65	34	6	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	2	-	1
Others	21	2	2	4	1	-	-	1	4	2	4	4	-
Roumanian	11	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Russian	29	14	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	-
Swedish	33	16	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	4	-
Ukrainian	185	87	31	1	-	2	6	2	1	10	3	6	-
Yugoslavian	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

CODE:

Farm = Farmer
 Bus. = Business (owner)
 Dr. = Doctor
 LLB. = Lawyer
 C.Ser. = Civil Servant
 Ret. = Retired
 Oth. = Other
 Teach. = Teacher
 W. Col. = White Collar
 B. Col. = Blue Collar
 Prof. Eng. = Professional Engineer

326 = No. of Wild Code Data Units
 1920 = No. of Tallied Code Data Units
 2246 = Total Number of Code Data Units

TABLE 13 ETHNIC BACKGROUND (INCLUDING MIXED PARENTAGE)

ETHNIC	Eth BG M	Eth BG F	Eth BG S	Inter M	Inter F	Inter T	MP/NMP	IM/IF
No Entry	84	100	1720	—	—	—	—	—
American	257	170	112	145	58	203	1.81	1.99
Canadian	1545	1403	1260	285	143	428	.34	1.99
Austrian	22	29	22	—	7	7	.32	—
Belgian	12	9	6	6	3	9	1.50	2.00
British	112	117	86	26	31	57	.66	.84
English	1062	1118	714	348	404	754	1.06	.86
Irish	451	507	196	255	311	566	2.89	.82
Scottish	660	718	339	321	379	700	2.06	.85
Chinese	8	9	8	—	1	1	.12	—
Czech	13	14	12	1	2	3	.25	.50
Danish	16	17	5	11	12	23	4.60	.92
Dutch	32	47	21	11	26	37	1.76	.42
Finnish	7	5	5	2	—	2	.40	—
French	82	71	45	37	26	63	1.40	1.42
German	242	230	183	59	47	106	.58	1.25
Greek	6	8	6	—	2	2	.33	—
Hungarian	16	15	11	5	4	9	.82	1.25
Icelandic	45	36	32	13	4	17	.53	3.25
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japanese	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
Jewish	113	113	113	—	—	—	—	—
Lithuanian	1	2	—	—	1	1	1.00	—
Nat. Indian	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
Norwegian	122	127	87	535	40	75	.86	.87
Others	23	37	17	6	20	26	1.53	.30
Polish	53	56	36	17	20	37	1.03	.85
Roumanian	11	7	7	4	—	4	.57	—
Russian	82	95	75	7	20	27	.36	.35
Swedish	62	57	37	25	20	45	1.22	1.25
Ukrainian	180	185	169	11	16	27	.16	.68
Yugoslavian	4	4	4	—	—	—	—	—
Wild Tallies:	3267	3284	3267					
Total	5341	5310	5327					

CODE:

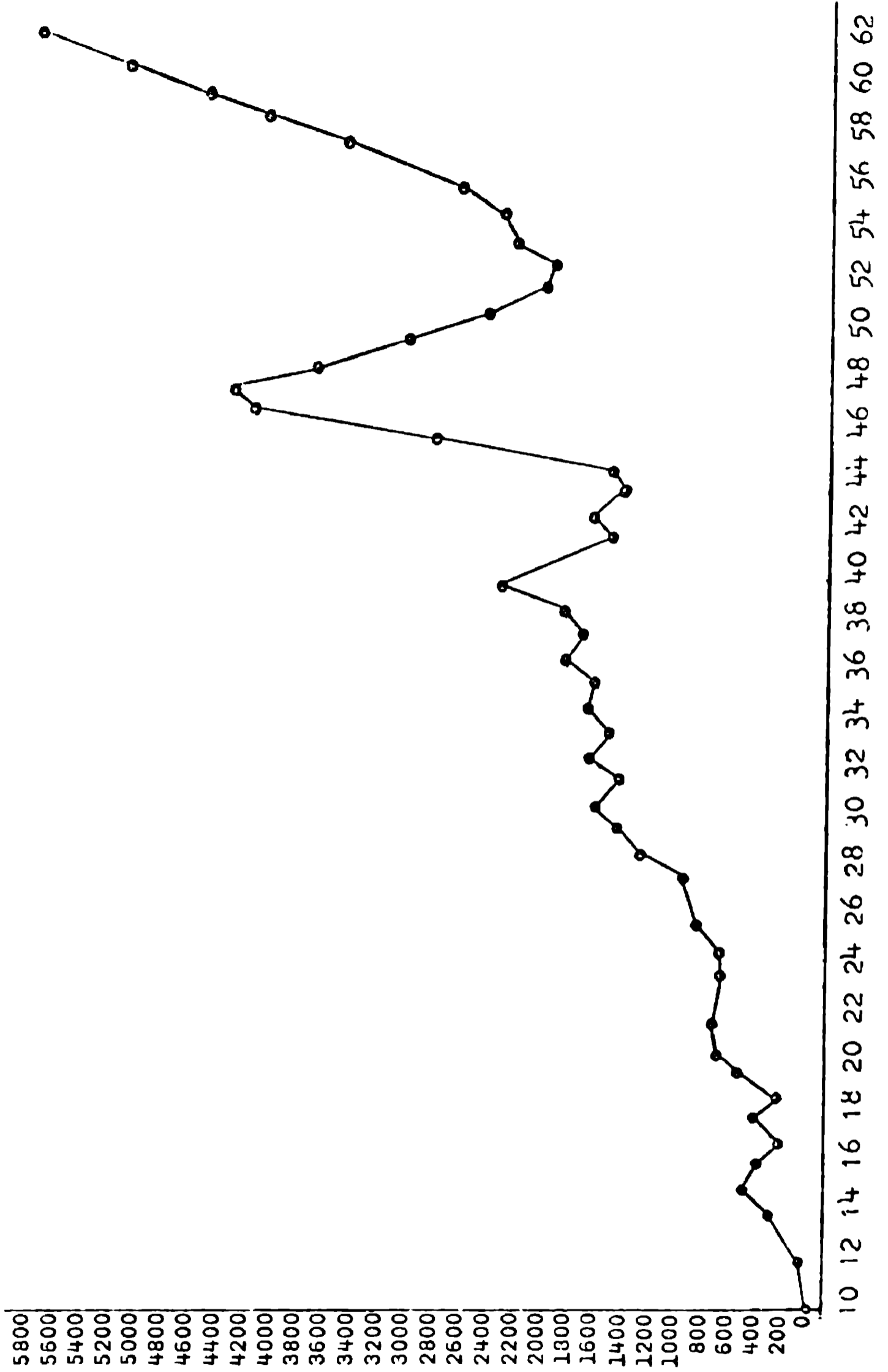
- = Ethnic Background Mother
- = Ethnic Background Father
- = Ethnic Background Student
- = Intermarriage of Mother
- = Intermarriage of Father
- = Total of All Intermarriages
- = Ratio of Mixed Parentage to Non-Mixed Parentage
- = Ratio of Intermarriage of Mother to Intermarriage of Father

TABLE 14 ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SASKATCHEWAN
(In Percentage)

	Year	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
	Total	492,432	757,510	921,785	895,992	831,728	925,181
British		50.97	52.85	47.49	44.40	42.30	40.36
English		25.19	27.25	22.29	20.76	—	18.40
Irish		10.93	10.79	11.29	10.69	—	9.95
Scottish		14.36	13.81	13.17	12.15	—	11.09
French		4.72	5.56	5.50	5.63	6.24	6.46
German		13.93	9.00	14.01	14.53	16.30	17.10
Austro-Hungarian		8.45	—	—	—	—	—
Austrian		2.60	5.24	1.85	1.18	.86	2.05
Belgian		.31	.45	.48	.47	—	—
Bulgarian-Rumanian		.47	.75	—	—	—	—
Rumanian		—	.74	1.04	.79	—	—
Chinese		.19	.35	.37	.28	.25	.39
Czech-Slovak		—	.35	.54	.61	.71	—
Dutch		.54	2.19	2.67	4.00	3.58	3.16
Danish		—	(.56)	.71	—	—	—
Finnish		.20	.25	.25	.21	.21	.20
Greek		.01	.04	.05	—	—	—
Jewish		.41	.71	.55	.46	.32	.24
Hungarian		1.32	1.18	1.44	1.62	1.49	—
Native Indian		2.37	1.70	1.65	—	—	—
Nat. Indian & Eskimo		—	—	—	1.49	2.67	3.31
Italian		.06	.09	.11	.11	.12	.26
Icelandic		—	.47	.41	—	—	—
Japanese		.01	.01	.01	—	.02	.03
Yugoslavian		—	.10	.18	—	—	—
Norwegian		—	(4.15)	4.31	—	—	—
Lithuanian		—	—	.05	—	—	—
Polish		.76	1.07	2.81	3.11	3.13	3.12
Russian		3.73	5.98	3.84	2.89	2.33	2.42
Swedish		—	(2.51)	2.43	—	—	—
Scandinavian		6.90	7.70	—	7.67	7.50	7.30
Ukrainian							
Bukovinian							
Galician		3.50	3.70	6.87	8.90	9.42	8.52
Ruthenian							
Others		2.02	1.19	.83	2.44	2.45	5.40

TABLE 15

University of Saskatchewan - 1910-1982 - Degree Student Enrollment
 Adapted from University of Saskatchewan President's Annual Report, 1962



SECTION IV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

- (13) E. N. Burstynsky, **LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH**
- (14) Y. Grabowski, **LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: POLISH AND ENGLISH**
- (15) B. Z. Shek, **THE PORTRAYAL OF CANADA'S ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOME FRENCH CANADIAN NOVELS**

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH

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This paper and the two that will follow will deal with languages in contact – English in contact with three Slavic languages (Ukrainian, Polish, Russian). The papers will be concerned with the influence of English on the three mentioned Slavic languages.

The problem of languages in contact is quite complex. Any full treatment must include considerations from linguistics, psychology, and sociology. Our papers will deal mainly with language interference in the broadest possible way. Specific tendencies of one to one correlations such as aspirated stops in English to unaspirated stops in the Slavic language, or English *r* to Slavic *r* will not be mentioned.

But before continuing with my paper on English and Ukrainian allow me to present on behalf of the three of us some of the variables which must be considered when studying the Slavic groups in Canada.

Age of the informant. The age of the informant is not revealing in itself, but when considered with the date of arrival in Canada and other variables, it may give some clues as to what to expect.

Date of arrival in Canada. Three main waves of immigration may be isolated:

- a) First immigration – last decade of the 19th century up to First World War.
- b) Second immigration – between the two wars.
- c) Third immigration – post World War Two.

Education of the Immigrants. The educational level of the parents may have a profound influence on the speech of their children since it is the parents' language that the children will be imitating.

Educational Level of the Immigrants' Children. By and large the children of the first generation had a limited amount of schooling. The children of the second immigration had more formal education and those of the third immigration have had and will have even more. These facts should not be taken in isolation but should be compared to the

national trend. Education may give a person more awareness of his native language.

Geographical background of the immigrants. The immigrants came from many parts of the Ukraine, Poland, and Russia. Knowledge of the precise area may help identify the dialect and help explain the varieties in their speech.

Exposure to other languages. After leaving their homeland, some immigrants spent some time in other countries before coming to Canada. Argentina, Brazil, France, Germany, and Belgium, to name a few, served as stopovers. The language of the primary system of education may therefore not have been English.

Generation. We will define as first generation Canadians, informants who were born in Canada, but whose parents were born in Europe. Informants born in Europe but who came to Canada at a very early age are strictly speaking not first generation Canadians, but if they received all of their primary education in Canada, may, for the purposes of these papers, be considered first generation Canadians.

Involvement in ethnic affairs. This includes religious, social and political, institutions. Involvement in these institutions may force the individual to come into contact with more or less the standard form of the language which he may not hear at home.

Domicile in Canada. Some immigrants settled in areas with large concentrations of previously settled immigrants of the same ethnic group. These immigrants therefore probably found ethnic organizations already in existence. Others may have settled in areas where compatriots were scarce. The latter group probably found that English or some other language was used all around them.

It can easily be seen that the preceding variables should not be considered in isolation, but rather they form a complex matrix of intersecting variables. Many different types of individuals may emerge from these intersections. To describe the speech of all of them would be impossible in these papers. We will limit ourselves to first and second generation Canadians with a brief reference to the speech of post-war immigrants.

Ukrainian and English

Knowing the danger of generalization, I will nevertheless generalize and relate the variables previously mentioned to the situation of Ukrainians in Canada.

The pre-World War II immigrants (the first and second waves) came to Canada mainly for economic reasons. They hailed from the

Western and South Western parts of the Ukraine (then Austria, Poland, Rumania). As was to be expected they had very little education. Many settled in Western Canada and slowly made their way to the East. The majority however remained in the three Prairie provinces. Most were Byzantine Catholics by immediate origin but some were Eastern Orthodox (especially those from Bukovina).

The post-World War II immigration was a different mixture. These immigrants came to Canada for political reasons. This time both Western and Eastern Ukrainians made their way to Canada. This group, although it also included uneducated individuals, had many members of the so-called Ukrainian *intelligensia*. This higher level of education of both Western and Eastern Ukrainians brought with it a greater awareness of language and its standards of correctness. Not only this, but it also brought with it all the misconceptions which educated native speakers usually have about the prestige of their own dialect. This higher level of educational background is naturally to be reflected in the immigrants' children.

For the purposes of this paper I have chosen informants who are first and second generation Canadians, born in Ontario and Manitoba, of relatively uneducated parents, and I present for your consideration the following findings.

Phonology

The vocalic and consonantal systems of Ukrainian are both distorted in a regular way. The pattern of distortion becomes clear when a contrastive analysis is made of the English and Ukrainian systems.

In English the tenser vowels of the Mid and High orders are followed by an off-glide. I suspected that this would be transferred to Ukrainian. However, with the exception of one informant, I found that the transfer was more noticeable with the back series. This gave rise to forms such as *bowze* for (боже) and *mowre* for (море). Homorganic off-glides in the front series were less noticeable, but did occur with an interesting neutralization of *i* and *ij*. As a result no distinction was made between *ti* (ти) (nom. plural) and *tij* (тиї) (fem. dative sg.). Since the lower-high front unrounded vowel *i* (as in *sit*) in English is not followed by an off-glide, the *i* of the adjectival ending *ij* (ий) was slightly raised and no distinction was made between this ending and the nom. pl. *i* (добруї/добри). Needless to say that the off-glide was more noticeable in stressed syllables than in unstressed ones. If words ending in *-o* were pronounced *-ow* then were these kept apart from words in Ukrainian ending with *-ov*, phonetically [ow]? In most cases these were merged. One in-

formant, however, had the curious habit of pronouncing *ob* as [ov].,—a spelling pronunciation I suspect. May I interject here that while observing several classes of *Ridna skola* about a year ago, I found one teacher who, although she used the correct allophonics herself never batted an eyelash when some pupils were reading and pronouncing syllable final *v*'s as [v] and not as [w].

Variations on Ukrainian palatalized consonants formed three patterns depending on the type of consonant and its position in the word.

a) a complete lack of palatalization — *d, t, n, l. bilse, nis* (for both *nose* and *I was carrying*), *bolit*. Two deviations must be noted. The word for girl *d'íwcina* was pronounced with an initial *dz džíwcina*. Secondly, one woman palatalized wildy even in words which did not call for it. *d'im, s't'il*. This was all the more surprising since this character prided herself on her Ukrainian. Perhaps not surprising at all—probably banged into her head by a Ukrainian Miss Fidditch who taught that you palatalize everything possible in front of *i*.

b) over-palatalization of *s* and *z* or rather the converting of palatalized sibilants to strident palatals. *usi, sn'ih, vzati*. Likewise palatalized strident affricates were changed into palatal affricates: *činá*.

c) decomposition. — a re-arrangement of the bundle which included the feature plus palatalized (plus sharp) into a linear arrangement of dental sibilant plus yod. *lesja, mitisja*. In unsophisticated speakers this is a natural procedure. However, in speakers who read and speak the literary dialect this dissection can also be found. It is perhaps a bit of snobbery based on orthographic principles, since when not preceded by a consonant the palatalizing vowels are usually yod plus vowel.

There seems to be a complete mixture of *x* and *h*. Although spelling shows the difference, in speech some informants did not know which to use. *xxx xolod* and *holod* were mixed up. This difficulty of course stems from the fact that neither Ukrainian *x* nor Ukrainian *h* is a fundamental variant of English phoneme.

With speakers with no awareness of the language there seems to be no hesitation with *g* and *h*. With speakers with some awareness, there seems to be a tremendous amount of hesitation. As is to be expected this hesitation manifests itself in loan words.

Ukrainian stress seems to be distinctive (although in a generative approach it may not be): *ja placú* vs. *ja plàcu*. This shifting stress causes a great amount of difficulty, although it does not usually impede communication. *pámjatník, pocatok*. I could find no pattern in the variation of stress. Since Chomsky and Halle claim that stress is predictable in

English, given a long list of rules, it would be interesting to investigate whether a pattern could be found conforming to their rules.

Since Ukrainian words do not begin with *w*, English loans with sound are pronounced with initial *v*: *vacuvati*.

Many English words with *l* are taken into Ukrainian with a palatal *l*: *na fl'ori, trobel', tul's*.

Although Ukrainian words may start with the cluster *s* plus *consonant*: *starij*, some English words are changed to *s* when they come into Ukrainian: *street gara*. Perhaps a digression here on *gara* may be in order. The English word is *car*, Since *k* exists in Ukrainian, why the initial *g*? One Ukrainian colleague has explained this by the avoidance of homonymic clash with *kara* 'punishment'. Prof. Vachek would probably explain this as a deliberate change on the language's part in order to be able to signal out synchronic foreignisms. Note that the use of *g* should be rare, since *g* is a peripheral phoneme in Ukrainian.

Grammatical Morphology

Canadian Ukrainian is characterized by some very clearly marked traits. There is a strong tendency to use the ending *-om* instead of the feminine *-oju*. *rukom, garom, mitlom*. This type of analogy to level out the system is strong in any language, especially when the knowledge of the language has been weakened by the need to learn the dominant language.

In step with the *om* ending is the creation of new masculine forms such as *tobom* and *zimnom*.

Canadian Ukrainian is also characterized by the confusion of cases after prepositions. In English the preposition does the work of differentiation. In Ukrainian, the system tolerates a certain amount of redundancy. However, compare *na ukrajinu* and *ha ukrajin'i*, where the functional burden is on the suffix.

Case endings get hopelessly mixed up after the first four cardinal numerals. In fact the case endings of the numerals get confused themselves. Witness the forms such as *dva d'iuccata*, where perhaps the ending *a* is associated with the feminine.

Another case of hesitation is the genitive plural of nouns. Some frequent nouns are correctly used. With less frequent nouns analogical forms are invented — *bahato ribiw*. Some genitive plurals reflect unapocopated forms of the noun — *pisen'*, while others exhibit ablaut forms due to closed syllables — *slovo* but *sliw*.

Verbal conjugations are merging — *hovôrjat'* vs. *hovôrjut'*

English being the dominant language in Canada, Canadian Ukrainian is full of so-called "joul" forms. Hundreds of English words are taken over and get integrated into the system with the addition of grammatical suffixes. *Купив тукити на штриґару*. Just as foreign in origin is: *Купив білети на трамвай*. However, the literary language has accepted the latter but not the former. Rather than give numerous examples of English lexical items borrowed by Ukrainian, I would rather move on. To be sure, the study of these lexical items — verbs such as *fiksobat'* and nouns such as *pejlo*, *kopik*, *forki* are interesting indeed, and even more interesting is the study of the gender and form of these borrowings.

Canadian Ukrainian vocabulary exhibits an impoverishment — not only because of loan words, but due to the loss of the knowledge of synonyms or near synonyms. The rich system of perfective prefixes on verbs tends to disappear. The perfective is still very much alive, but many perfective nuances are expressed by means of analytic paraphrases: *Він його нахвалив занадто*. instead of *Він його перехвалив*.

Impoverishment of vocabulary is also manifested by the extension to a Ukrainian word of several meanings of a related English word. *Він знайшов що вона була слаба*. was heard for *Він довідався що вона була слаба*.

The facts presented here do not all fall under the same heading — English and Ukrainian in contact. Instead of direct influences of English on Ukrainian, I have also added general traits of Canadian Ukrainian which are related to English only by virtue of the fact that those knowing English perfectly may tend to be less fluent in Ukrainian. In addition many of the phonological and morphological phenomena I have mentioned are also to be heard from old immigrants, who possibly could have very little English influence on their language (apart from lexical borrowings). However, I am not a Slavacist and therefore I am ignorant of the main streams of Ukrainian dialectology. My intuition tells me that the phenomena described have their roots in the dialect geography of the old country. I strongly believe that such dialect traits could, however, be reinforced by the influence of English as in the case of palatalized consonants.

z

Allow me to conclude by saying something about the influence of the post war immigration. This group, speaking the more or less literary language, has exerted a great influence upon Canadian Ukrainian. By organizational participation, by intermarriage, the new group has created a new awareness of the language together with an increased effort on

many peoples' part to make their language conform to that of the new immigrants.

As I see it, a great task lies ahead of us. With the appearance of the Chilton materials on Ukrainian, a serious contrastive analysis of English and Ukrainian needs to be put into the hands of teachers. May I go one step further? All too often Ukrainians studying beginning Russian are put into a class of non Slavs. Numerous hours are spent drilling these students in things that for them are second nature, while no effort is made to concentrate on those areas which constitute pitfalls for Ukrainians. I am suggesting that where a homogenous group of Ukrainians can be economically split from the rest of the class, new methods based on a thorough contrastive analysis of Ukrainian and Russian should be used. What I have just pointed out, applies not only to Ukrainians learning Russian, but also to Slavs of any language background learning another Slavic language.

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: POLISH AND ENGLISH

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Languages in Contact: Polish and English

Although there are well over three hundred thousand people of Polish descent in Canada, there have been no studies of Canadian Polish. The only works on Polish and English in contact discuss Polish as spoken by bilinguals in the United States.¹ The materials collected by these studies are applicable in Canada only to a certain extent. Conditions under which Polish immigration to Canada took place and the way English influenced the language of the Polish immigrants and their descendants, have not been similar in both countries. The main difference can be said to lie in the scope of linguistic interference which in Canada has not been so pronounced as in the United States. Also the integration of English loans into Polish has been less extensive and the English patterns have as a rule been less firmly established.

This is mainly due to the reason that English and Polish have been in contact in Canada for a considerably shorter period than in the United States. Polish immigration to Canada is more recent and the number of immigrants is much smaller. Canada has got only a few large Polish amalgamations in cities. There are no such great Polish communities as in Chicago or Newark with their complex net of Polish schools, community centres, institutions and communication media.

As a result of this situation a number of loan words and constructions, quite common and established in American Polish, appear in Canada only sporadically or do not appear at all. Canadian Polish sounds less strange to the ear of a visitor from Poland than does American Polish. Another factor affecting the development of Canadian Polish in the last two decades is the more prominent role played by the new wave of post-war immigration which culturally, intellectually, and above all, linguistically, was superior to the old, which consisted mainly of individuals from the poor and uneducated strata of society.

Polish language as spoken in Canada is certainly too vast a subject

to be covered by one paper. Therefore I shall have to limit myself to pointing out general tendencies of development and confine the illustration of these points to examples taken from the speech of Polish Canadians in Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener and Ottawa. This paper is based on the data collected from about one hundred informants from these cities, as well as on materials collected from meetings, radio broadcasts, church announcements and similar sources.

The informants chosen from the Polish community could be roughly divided into two groups: 1. the actual immigrants, whose primary language system is Polish and 2. the first generation of Polish Canadians. The latter group includes not only people born in Canada, but also those who came here at an early age and whose primary language system is English.² Both groups might be further subdivided into the so-called old immigration, that is people who themselves, or their parents, came here before the beginning of the Second World War. The frequency of lexical and grammatical interference is highest in this group since its members had little formal education and no special linguistic awareness. The so-called new immigration—people who have come to Canada since the War and their children—consists mainly of the intelligentsia. Members of this group make a conscious effort to keep the two language systems apart, though, quite naturally, they are not as successful as they would like to be.

The scope of this paper does not permit me to go any deeper into the various groups and factors affecting the speech of Polish Canadians. It should be remembered, however, that Polish as spoken in Canada varies from group to group and from individual to individual depending on the degree of education received, the profession of the speaker, the occasions on which Polish is spoken and the individual's length of stay in Canada.

The Sound System

Phonic interference is very limited in the speech of the bilingual immigrants. They tend to keep most of the features of their sound system intact, including even the peculiarities of their dialect. They tend to integrate the English loan words completely into the Polish sound system. Although attempts to reproduce correctly the English phonemes of a loan is made by many immigrants of the new immigration, these attempts are often not successful.

Among people with English as their primary system instances of interference are extremely common. In some cases one set of phonemes is used for both languages—English and Polish. Many of the speakers of the

first generation tend to introduce the English vowel system wholesale into Polish including dyphthongs. However, a general tendency among the speakers of the first generation is to have a mixed set of phonemes. This mixture varies from individual to individual, but the general trend is to identify English phonemes with those of Polish that have a similar point

As far as the Polish palatalized consonants are concerned the tendency is towards obliterating or lessening the distinction between the hard and soft consonants. This tendency is less pronounced in certain groups of phonemes. Most of the informants distinguished very well between the soft and hard nasals /m/ /m'/ /n/ /n'/. The distinction was less pronounced with the labial and labiodental stops and fricatives /p/ /p'/ /b/ /b'/ /v/ /v'/ /f/ /f'/. However, only a few informants made no difference at all between such pairs as /lubi/ and lubi/. The velar and palatal stops /k/ /g/ become as a rule hardened /kedi/ for /K'edi/, /vigilya/. There is also a tendency to pronounce these stops with aspiration (k^hed).

Alveolar and palatal fricatives and affricates of which Polish has 12 present the greatest difficulty. /s, s', š, z, z', ž, c, c', č, z, z', ž, / become reduced to the number of seven: /s, š, z, ž, ž, c, č. There is a tendency to over-palatalize the /s'/ /c'/ /z'/ and /z'/ sounds /ženkuye/ /yaš/ /čoča/. Many speakers make an attempt to differentiate between phonemes like /š/ and /s'/. The result of such attempts are soft palatalized affricates and fricatives /š'/ /ž'/ /č'/ /Kaž'u/. These do not seem to be either special allophones of /š/ /ž/ and /č/ used by bilinguals of first generation only in their Polish speech, but possibly even separate phonemes,² used by bilinguals of the first generation only in their Polish speech and never appearing in their English.

The lateral English /l/ often becomes substituted for both the Polish semivowel /w/ as in /landi/ instead of /wadni/ and for the Polish /l/. As a rule such speakers use the English back allophone of /l/ as in the words *hall*, *ball* for the Polish /w/ phoneme, and the allophone of /l/ appearing in the words like *lot* for the Polish /l/. The English bilabial /w/ phoneme is very rarely identified with the Polish /w/ phoneme. This appears to be the influence of the written form of these words.

I would like to say here a few words about the phonic adaptation of the English loan words into Polish. Many substitutions for loan words are made on such a straightforward basis that they do not require a special discussion; as when /yard/ becomes /yart/. However, in other cases there seems to reign a great confusion. This is especially true with regard to the English mellow fricatives /θ/ and /ð/. These can be rendered in Polish as /t/ and /d/ /tik/ for *thick* and /brader/ for *brother*. They can be also

transferred as /s/ and /z/ sri/ for *three*, /sotful/ for *thoughtful*, /viz/ for *with*. The third combination is the /c/ /z/ rendition /cik/ for *thick* and /zer/ for *there* (on je dzer/). In a few cases it has been observed that the voiceless fricative /θ/ was pronounced as /tx/ /batxurst/.

Some of the vowels present a similar difficulty. The English barred *i* /i/ can be rendered either as /i/ or /i:/ /drink/ /biznes/, but also /biznes/ /permit/ /fiksovac'/.

The /ae/ as in *ham* can be rendered either by /a/ or /e/. The old immigration is inclined to use the /e/, the new has a preference for /a/. Thus we have multiple double forms /hem/ and /ham/, /stent/ and /stant/. Both the /O/ and /o/ phonemes are reduced to the Polish /O/. The /u/ and /u'/ are reduced to the Polish /u/ /bučer/, /kuler/ There may be however an occasional quantitative change as in /süsy/. The greatest variegation can be observed in the / / phoneme which can be rendered by /e/, /a/, /o/ /u/ and /i/.

The most common rendering is /o/ or /e/ especially among the old immigration/ *fornes*, *fork*, *kontry*, *lone*, or *fernas*, *gerlsa*. However other versions are also common especially among the new immigration /lanč/ or even /lunč/ /trak/ or /truk/ /kostomer/ and /kustomer/. The forms are obviously influenced by the graphic shapes of the English words borrowed.

The influence of the graphemic shape can also be seen in the rendering of the English bilabial /w/ by the Polish /v/ *oneveyka* /viski⁵

Morphology and Grammar Relations

The English morphemes transferred into Polish are as a rule of the unbound type.⁶ The use of unbound English morphemes is fairly common even among those immigrants whose knowledge of English is limited to a few words. In daily use are: (oh tak) under the influence of *oh yes*, (s'ur), (no), (bay), (o:key). The transfer in (oh tak) includes quantitative changes in the Polish vowel and the English intonation pattern. (o:key) is transferred with its English stress.

The English loans can be either adjusted to the Polish morpho-phonemic system or can be inserted as "quotes" unaffected by the Polish morphology. This latter trend is much in evidence among more educated speakers as well as recent arrivals when they wish to be particularly careful about their speech. However even uneducated speakers may use English words as "quotation" forms. The situation results in an abundance of double forms such as, *grocery*, *grocernia*, *bylem na shopping plaza*, *bylem na shopping plazie*, even in the speech of the same individual.

The most common loan words are nouns. There exists a considerable fluctuation in the gender of the adopted nouns except for animate nouns, where *the nurse* quite predictably becomes /nersa/ or /norsa/ and where forms like /bos/ or /forman/ stay masculine. With inanimate nouns the gender depends often on the English form of the loan. *Parking, boiler, bond, stop, stend* are masculine: For the same reason *Toronto, Peterborough, and bungalow* are neuter (o ending). Sometimes the neuter is also used when the word has not been integrated into the Polish system: /montovane šassis/. Loan words with the English suffixes *-tion -sion* become feminine in Canadian Polish under the influence of the Polish suffixes *-cja, -zja*. Thus *egzaminacja, telewizja, donacja, transportacja*. *Plaza* is feminine because of its *-a* endings. Other nouns may adopt the gender of the Polish word they are displacing. Thus *sstryta* and *lota* are feminine because *ulica* and *dzialka* or *parcela* are feminine. *Kara* has acquired its gender because of the North American habit of referring to the car as she.⁷ Quite often two variants of the same word exist with two genders. Thus /šop/ and /šopa/ /lož/, /loža/ /inč/ and /inča/. Even when the original English ending of the loan word remains unchanged, the word may still have two genders: /ta klač/ and /ten klač/, /moya kotež/ and /muy kotež/.⁸

Among the noun suffixes the most productive for generating new words is the masculine ending *-ista*, the feminine *-na, -nia, -a, -ka*: *unia, onevejka, farmerka, plasterka, dystylarnia, grocernia, cipizna*, and the neuter suffixes *-nie* and *-stwo* *bukmacherstwo, drajwowanie, serwowanie, plasterowanie*.

Diminutive suffixes are much less productive, but there are still in evidence: *darlingus, ofisik*.

Some Polish nouns, regardless of their gender, may become undeclinable under the influence of English: *Proszę dzwonić do Leon Kucharski, Pani Zwolinski nie ma w domu*. This happens predominantly with first names and family names.

Many loans become transferred into Polish in their plural form, such as /šusi/, /stempsi/ or /stampsi/, /pičesi/, /krakersi/, /čipsi/. Some of those nouns are used in plural only, such as /taytsi/ or /nyusi/. With others, the English plural marker which has lost its meaning is kept even in the singular. The singular of /p'ilsi/ is /p'ilsa/. Similarly, we have /čips/, /krakers/, /p'ičes/, /čersa/. Still other forms drop their English plural marker in the singular: the singular of /boysi/ is /boy/ of /stepsi/ is /step/.⁹

The verbs are the second largest group borrowed from English. The only creative suffix appears to be *-owac*: *mufowac, klinowac*,

pejntowac, rentowac.¹⁰ The verbs become as a rule adapted to the Polish verbal system. Forms like *zaorderowac, wysprejowac, nasprejowac, posprejowac, wyklinowac, wypejntowac* are quite common. Some verbs seem to be less integrated into the Polish system, as for instance *fiksowac* or *mufowac* and are used only in their imperfective form for both the perfective and imperfective aspect. Among the bilinguals whose primary language system is English, there is a general tendency to reduce the highly complex Polish verbal system to the imperfective aspect only.

The number of adjectival loans in Canadian Polish is limited, even more limited than in American Polish. However numerous new adjectives are being constantly generated by subjecting English words to Polish derivation. Three adjectival suffixes appear to be most productive—*owyj: jetowyj: byznesowyj: -ski* and *-cki: farmerski, torontonski, montrealski, kebecki*, and *-ny rezydencyjny, komercyjny, profesjonalny, milenijny, misyjny*.¹¹ Sometimes nouns can be generated by derivation from English adjectives, such as, for instance, /*čip'izna*/ (cheap trashy goods) or adjectives may be coined from other parts of speech; *fed up - spedupialy*, even *fedupny*.

Transfers of other parts of speech have been noticed only sporadically: prepositions, some numerals.

English grammatical relations exercise a much greater influence on Canadian Polish than many bilinguals are aware of or would care to admit. Changes of modulation are of common occurrence among speakers of the first generation. They are not so frequent among the immigrants. English contour patterns for questions of the type:

“When are you going home?”, are often used for Polish questions instead of using the Polish rising contour. A rising contour is frequently used for statements which demand a falling contour in Polish. With some speakers the shift of modulation is so complete that to a listener standing at a slightly greater distance they seem to be talking in English. With others the influence of English can be noticed mainly in the pitch of voice which sounds monotonous by not being subject to the more rapid changes of Polish.

The general tendency among bilinguals is to attempt to identify English grammatical categories with Polish ones. Once the identification has been made by a bilingual, he has the tendency to apply the Polish form in the grammatical functions derived from English. Thus sentences or phrases such as: *Ja to mam zrobione, karty kredytowe akceptowane, or pieniadze trzymane w banku sa chronione przed ogniem, pieniadze*

trzymane w domu nie sa. – are the direct result of identification of the role of past participle in English and Polish.

Similarly phrases like: *przepis do gotowania, zawiadomienie do Polinii, pracuje z obiema rekami, jestem na telefonie, wcieraj Roxodium na miejsca bolace, zabieraj to precz*, result from the identification of English prepositions with what are felt to be their Polish equivalents: *for* and *do*, *with* and *z*, *on* and *na*, *away* and *precz*. There is a strong trend in Canadian Polish to use prepositional constructions in cases where such use is unwarranted in standard Polish. *Dal to do tatusia, sklad z meblami*.

Possessive pronouns abound in the speech of Polish Canadians in sentences where they would sound superfluous in standard Polish *Wyjal ksiazke z jego kieszeni*.

The identification of grammatical functions causes an obliteration of distinctions which are obligatory in Polish, but not in English. The failure to distinguish cases is especially common among bilinguals of the first generation. The nominative may be used not only for accusative and genitive, but also for all other cases.. The case markers may even become redistributed and attached to forms with which they would never appear in S. P. *koniow, nauczycielkow, doma*. A similar confusion reigns in the domain of the verb, where frequentative and perfective aspects tend to be forgotten, and passive voice becomes extended to cases where Polish uses impersonal constructions.

Lexical Changes

The massive introduction of English loans and the transfer of new concepts and translation of English words and phrases are the most obvious changes that occurred in Canadian Polish. The greatest number of loans pass into Canadian Polish on a straightforward transfer basis, with their phonemic shape also imported or with a partial or complete substitution of Polish phonemes.¹² These words often become integrated into Canadian Polish by means of derivation or affixation. Whole phrases such as *rummage sale, take it easy*, are also being transferred.

The second important group consists of semantic loans where a new meaning of the word already existing in Polish is introduced under the influence of English. The number of semantic loans in Canadian Polish is quite considerable since Polish possesses numerous Latin and French loans with a strong phonetic resemblance to English terms.

<i>English</i>	<i>Can. P.</i>	<i>Meaning in S. P.</i>
rate	rata	instalment
application	aplikacja	type of stitch
blanket	blankiet	form
actual	aktualny	topical
eventual	ewentualny	probable

The previous meaning of the word in Polish was in some cases close enough to facilitate the transfer

<i>English</i>	<i>Can. P.</i>	<i>Meaning in S. P.</i>
lunatic	lunatyk	sleepwalker
licence	licencja	permit
argument	argument	argumentation
question	kwestionować	to put in doubt

In other cases the meaning of the term became extended

division	dywizja	former meaning <i>army</i> division only
department	departament	formerly a department of ministry only
student	student	university student
matron	matrona	old matron
absolutely	absolutnie	used in the negative sense only

Loan translations are also fairly common in Canadian Polish especially in the speech of the first generation. Loan translations may be either single words such as *podloga* for *floor*, or whole phrases and expressions. (Syntactic substitution)

bliz'niaczy brat, — twin brother

stacja gazolinowa — gasoline station

plytki podlogowe — floor tiles

osobiste konto czekowe — personal checking account

salon pieknosci — beauty parlour

kobieta trzydziesti lat stara — a woman thirty years old

kaplica Pelnej Ewangelii — (Full Gospel Tabernacle)

wzialem zdjecie — I took a picture

kobieta do wszystkich prac domowych — a woman for all household
work

Compound loans where only a part of the expression is translated are rather rare in Canadian Polish.

po-graduacyjny
stereo-szafka

for post graduate
for stereo-cabinet

Such loans are much more common in Standard Polish. In the last decade a marked tendency was observed to replace some of the translation loans by independent Polish forms where the English term only prompted a hybrid Polish creation.

ksiegowy przysięgly
herbatka ogrodowa

chartered accountant
garden party

Conclusion

The general amount of interference of English on Polish is not so pronounced as it may seem at first sign. The greatest influence of English can be felt in the domain of vocabulary, with nouns forming the most important part of all the loans. It is the comparatively high incidence of loanwords that produces the effect of strangeness on recent arrivals and accounts for difficulties in communication between the Polish Canadians and their relatives in the old country.

Phonic influence of English is only pronounced among the children of immigrants. English grammar relations exert a much greater influence on Canadian Polish than the English phonemic system. However, grammar relations and categories based on the English patterns are not permanently established. Their frequency varies from group to group and speaker to speaker, and they very often alternate in the speech of the same individual with Polish patterns. In general, in comparison with American Polish, Canadian Polish displays a much greater fluctuation of forms and a greater number of co-existing alternate patterns.

In the last few years under the impact of closer contact with Poland, visits of relatives and greater availability of Polish books and papers, certain Polish speech patterns and items of vocabulary have become re-inforced. Many terms which practically disappeared or were on the verge of disappearance about ten years ago now have made a comeback. Words like *parcela*, *hipoteka*, *komisowe*, which 10 years ago had practically become obsolete in Canadian Polish have now re-appeared. The most recently recovered words are *srodmiescie* for *downtown*, and *tapetowanie* for *wall-papering*. The forms created under the influence of English seem in such cases to be either slowly receding or manage to co-exist, as for instance in the case of *kotary* and *drapes*. A conscious effort appears to be made by bilingual immigrants and the

first generation to keep the two language systems more apart. There has been a considerable reinforcement of Polish patterns in the press and radio programmes. Since this is a fairly recent development it is still hard to tell what influence it is going to exert on Canadian Polish.

NOTES

¹The most important among these are Doroszewski's *Jezyk polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych*, published in 1938; and two PH. D. theses one by W. Skłodowski, "O niektórych faktach fonetycznych języka polskiego w związku z czynnikami kształtującymi język emigracji", (University of Ottawa, 1951), and the other by Franciszek Lyra, "English and Polish in Contact," (Indiana University, 1962).

²Group 1 shall be referred to in this paper as immigrants, group 2 as the first generation. Although technically people who came to Canada at an early age should be classified as immigrants, they are considered in this paper as members of group 2, for linguistic reasons, since they switch very early to English as their primary language system.

³In this manner English consonants become identified with Polish hard consonants, and English "short" vowels with the Polish vowels.

	English	Polish
Thus:	(ph)	(p)
	(th)	(t)
	(r)	(r)
	(o)	(o) etc.

⁴Unfamiliar clusters of consonants also become reduced: /stsela/ becomes /scela/, and /csima/ becomes /cima/

⁵For *one way street*

⁶There is one exception to this rule in Can. Polish, which has been already noticed by Doroszewski, the suffix *-ista*, polonized from English *-ist*, independently from Standard Polish: *radikalista*, *fotografista*, *profesjonalista*, *unista*, *unionista*, *byznesista*.

⁷The gender of the loan word in Canadian Polish may differ from the gender of the same word in American Polish: *Piczés* and *piczesa*, *boks* and *boxa*. American Polish shows a stronger tendency towards supplying a one-syllable English loan with a feminine ending which acts as a support vowel.

⁸In such cases usually the feminine gender is undeclinable *Bylem na /kotezu/, bez własnej /kotez/ nie da rady*.

⁹The singular of /d'ip'isi/ has two forms /d'ip'is/ and /d'ip'i/ the second is undeclinable.

¹⁰The only two exceptions observed are *sfedupiec* a verbal derivation from *fed up*, and *dropnac* from *to drop* to indicate a short isolated action.

¹¹Standard Polish has created about the same time its own forms in the last two cases: *misjonarski* and *millennialny*.

¹²This is a practice much more common in Canada than in American Polish, especially among educated speakers.

The above studies of three Slavic Languages spoken in Canada testify to similar patterns of development in Ukrainian, Polish and Russian. The most conspicuous trait is the influence of English vocabulary. All three languages have acquired a considerable amount of English loan-words which are subject to various degrees of integration. Integration is affected chiefly by means of suffixation, although prefixation and derivation are also fairly common processes.

Both phonology and morphology of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian has been influenced by English. English allophones are used chiefly by the first generation speakers to replace native phonemic distinctions, and English phonemes felt to be "similar" are introduced into the Slavic languages. In morphology, apart from the tendency toward borrowing unbound morphemes, the influence of English is manifested also in an indirect manner, such as confusion in the gender of nouns, reduction and re-distribution of infinitive, conjugational, case and plural markers. In syntax there is a tendency to replace synthetic constructions by analytic ones as well as to use syntactic translations from English.

Of all the Slavic languages of Canada, Ukrainian has the most established patterns at variance with standard Ukrainian has the most the strongest influence of English. This is due mainly to two reasons:

- a) the length of time Ukrainian has been used in Canada
- b) the number of people of Ukrainian origin (surpassing that of any other Slavic group), many of them settled in closely-knit communities.

Canadian Polish shows fewer established patterns, differing from Standard Polish. In comparison with Canadian Ukrainian and American Polish, Canadian Polish displays a considerable degree of syntactic and morphological fluctuation. Multiple forms co-exist and are used alternately.

Canadian Russian, due to the fairly short period of contact, displays comparatively few signs of established forms and a minimal amount of integration of loans. The changes in Canadian Russian due to the English influence vary almost from person to person.

The influence of the new waves of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian immigrants has strengthened the three languages and made them less prone to interference. However this re-inforcement of speech patterns can probably be looked upon as temporary.

THE PORTRAYAL OF CANADA'S ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOME FRENCH CANADIAN NOVELS

B. Z. Shck

The aims of this paper will be to trace the appearance of fictional members of ethnic minorities in the French-Canadian novel from its beginnings until the Second World War, to deal extensively with the presence of various Canadian nationalities in the works of Gabrielle Roy, and finally to discuss briefly the rôle played by these groups in a number of novels published between 1950 and 1965. Ethnic minorities will refer to linguistic and/or cultural communities whose members are of origins other than Anglo-Saxon, French, Indian or Eskimo.

The first French-Canadian novel appeared in 1837. For about one hundred years, its main orientation was an approach characterized as the "roman de la fidélité": the author aimed at inspiring his readers with the ideal of safeguarding the French-Canadian nationality, its customs, traditions and faith. The general effect of this mode of writing was to create "roman à thèse" — problem novels.

P.-J.-O. Chauveau's novel *Charles Guérin* first appeared in serial form in 1846, and as a book in 1853. Subtitled *Roman de moeurs canadiennes*, it tells the story of the loss to the Guérin family of its patrimony, which falls into the hands of the wealthy "étranger", the Protestant M. Wagner, who has come to Quebec from Jersey. Eventually, the patrimony is recouped, and even extended through the agricultural-industrial colony founded by the young Guérins in order to break "la longue chaîne du despotisme colonial (...)" (p. 41). M. Wagner may be of German origin, but he can be considered a veiled version of the English colonizers, and a literary prototype with many descendants. In the same novel, we also hear briefly of that other "étranger" who will have a durable existence in the French-Canadian novel—the Jew. There is a fleeting reference to "le bonhomme Shouffe, le plus vieux et le plus

riche des Juifs du pays" (p. 208) — already cast in the traditional role of money-lender.

We should note that the "roman de la fidélité" often propagated the compensatory theory of the "providential" nature of French Canada — that is, the view that French Canadians had a divine mission to preserve Catholicism in North America and to perpetuate idealistic values in the face of the materialism of "les autres". Normally, the antagonist in the "romans de la fidélité" was the Anglo-Saxon who, of course, objectively became the dominant figure in the economic, military and even political life of French Canada after the Conquest of 1759.

In the novels of the Twentieth Century strongly influenced by the "roman de la fidélité", the Jew continues to appear in a stereotyped role. In the 1930's and 1940's, the Slav emerges similarly, usually as a dangerous revolutionary.

Jean-Charles Harvey's *Marcel Faure*² reflects the ideology of Lionel Groulx and *L'Action française* by its support of nationalist corporatism. It proposes the establishment of an ideal corporatist industrial community in opposition to the British "colonisateurs", the international trade unions and the American capitalist "envahisseurs", including the metallurgical trust headed by one Nathan. In Roland Legault's *Risques d'hommes*,³ published some 28 years later, the lumberjack hero, a model of decorum and honesty, confronts and thwarts the Jewish cattle dealer, Isaac Goodman, described as a miser and an unscrupulous swindler. Similar portraits of minor Jewish characters appear in Geneviève de la Tour-Fondu's *Monsieur Bigras*⁴ and Roger Viau's *Au milieu la montagne*.⁵ In the latter two books the caricature of the Jew is grotesque and the hooked nose becomes his identifying feature. The tendency to vile caricature is especially regrettable in *Au milieu la montagne*, a largely successful realistic novel set in the depression years, in which a seduction scene between a Jewish employer and his French-Canadian salesgirl is spoiled because of gross exaggeration.

The stereotyped Slavic revolutionary makes his debut in Henri Deyglun's *Les Amours d'un communiste*,⁶ a most contrived story of a plot by Montreal Communists to seize power in the city. Their leader ends up by marrying the daughter of a cabinet minister and settles down in Westmount. In this book we meet such characters as (*sic*) "Dostoievsky le russe" and Roucha, "la vierge rouge" who returns to the Catholic beliefs of her childhood and exposes the plot to the authorities.

It is noteworthy that with very few exceptions, the novels of the first thirty or so years of the Twentieth Century which represented the realistic counter-current to the "romans de la fidélité", usually centered

their barbs not on "les étrangers", but on French-Canadians in positions of authority. This is the case in Rodolphe Girard's wild satire, *Marie Calumet*⁷ in which the Quebec church is the butt; in Albert Laberge's *La Scouine*,⁸ which presents a graphic contrast between the rural poor and rich in French Canada, and in Ringuet's *Trente arpents*,⁹ where the church hierarchy and French-Canadian politicians are looked at critically. In all three novels, the idealized countryside of the "roman de la fidélité" gives way to an objectively-viewed, ungilded rural setting.

Novels written by Catholic intellectuals grouped around the magazine *La Relève*, founded in 1936, were obsessed with the problems of sin, and the turmoil engendered by the conflicting demands of the body and the soul. Robert Charbonneau was the most important novelist of this group. In his *Ils posséderont la terre*,¹⁰ the action takes place during the depression. The hero is temporarily attracted to groups of radical unemployed workers, but soon withdraws into his own internal world. Significantly, the radical leader who appears briefly is not a French-Canadian but a Polish-born revolutionary, named Marchandowski. This choice flows from Charbonneau's conception of his heroes who, as Prof. Jean-Charles Falardeau has said, "ne contestent pas le monde, ils s'en évadent tout simplement. La vraie vie est ailleurs: quelque part, très haut; ou quelque part, très loin dans le passé." Marchandowski is described as being "un grand vieillard malpropre, à lunettes d'écaille" (p. 32).¹¹ Around *La Relève*, too, were writers as divergent as Rex Desmarçais, who presented sympathetically in *La Chesnais*¹² a fictionalized attempt to set up an independent fascist state in Quebec, and André Giroux, who in *Au delà des visages*¹³ flayed supposed Christians who were anti-Semitic.



The realistic mode became manifest in French-Canadian literature during the last years of the Second World War. Roger Lemelin's *Au pied de la pente douce*¹⁴ and Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*¹⁵ definitely established the realistic novel and moved its setting irrevocably from the countryside to the city, and especially to its working-class districts. This shift, of course, coincided with the decisive change in the relative weight of urban and rural population in Quebec, in favour of the former. Before discussing in detail the works of Gabrielle Roy, we offer a few comments on Roger Lemelin.

Lemelin's three novels are set in Quebec City and deal with one basic theme: the failure of youth from Lower Town to carve a place for themselves in the prosperous life of Upper Town. The theme of

economic and cultural alienation is prominent, and as part of it, there are brief references to Jews. In the first novel, *Au pied de la pente douce*, the drunken Tit-Blanc Colin, father of one of the major characters, scornfully disregards a letter from a Jewish-owned furniture store threatening seizure of unpaid-for goods; in *Les Plouffe*,¹⁶ the girl-friend of one of the Plouffe youngsters works as a maid for an Upper Town Jewish family and complains of being treated like a slave. In both these instances, the tone is convincing. Lemelin, of course, is primarily a humorist, and in his first novel, he presents the colourful secondhand dealer, Bédarovitch, whose origins are vague but who is rumoured to be a Quebecker name Bédard who added a Jewish-sounding suffix to his name in order to bring good luck in business.

Gabrielle Roy has been called "le romancier de la diversité canadienne."¹⁷ Although this appellation may be too sweeping, since no major character in any of her six books belongs to an ethnic group other than French-Canadian, it is nonetheless true in general. She has created landmarks in many areas of Canadian fiction, and is certainly the most important author from the point of view of the study we have undertaken. It was she who first broke through the traditional suspicions and prejudices of a society preoccupied with "survivance", to meet the "étranger" half way, to see him, too, as a human being. While the traditional "étranger", representative of the dominant Anglo-Saxon world, is seldom directly present in her works, hosts of representatives of ethnic minorities traverse her fictional universe and play a significant role in it.

What are the sources of Gabrielle Roy's interest in the various nationalities of Canada? Prof. Eva Kushner of Carleton University, in a recent series of televised lectures on Madame Roy's work, gave as the main reason for this orientation the author's childhood in Manitoba, and also Mme Roy's own personality, with its "pouvoir de sympathie humaine" and her "goût très fort de la différence, de l'indépendance des êtres". I should like to enlarge on some of Prof. Kushner's thoughts and also add some of my own.

Undoubtedly, Gabrielle Roy's own background in Manitoba played a major role in shaping her creative mind. Only a few weeks ago, she recalled to us the vivid impressions she had as a child of the multi-ethnicity of Winnipeg, particularly of the arrival of immigrants in the city's CPR station. She herself had chums of Ukrainian and Italian origin, and at Normal School, she got to know Icelandic and Jewish

girls too. Her own father was a Federal civil servant whose job it was to help newly arrived immigrants settle in outlying regions of the Prairie provinces. The stories about her father's experiences with — as he called them — “his” Doukhobors, Mennonites, Byelo-Russians and others, were often recounted in the home. By contrast, the presence of the ethnic minorities was much less discernible to writers from Montreal, and hardly at all to those from Quebec City, because of demographic reasons.

In 1937, Gabrielle Roy left Manitoba where she had been an elementary school teacher, for a trip to Europe. When she returned to Canada, just before the outbreak of World War Two, she settled in Montreal and pursued the career of journalism begun in France. One of the series of articles she undertook for the *Bulletin des Agriculteurs* was entitled “Peuples de Canada”, and ran from November, 1942 until May, 1943.¹⁸ To prepare her series, she returned to Western Canada, where she visited farm colonies of Hutterites in Manitoba, Doukhobors, Mennonites, Jews, Czechs and Slovaks in Saskatchewan, and Ukrainians in Alberta. There she observed their customs, tasted their distinctive foods, saw them at work and at play, heard their grievances and shared their joys. Gabrielle Roy's keen eyes and ears already registered numerous traits which she was to draw upon later for her novels.

Besides these face-to-face contrasts with minority groups, there were other forces at play in Gabrielle Roy's evolution as a human being. There is no doubt that her own position as a member of a minority group of French Canadians in Saint-Boniface, fighting against great odds to preserve her people's language and culture, left a deep mark on her. As she told us, there are two ways one might react in similar circumstances: one, is to withdraw inward, fearful and suspicious of all others, of “contamination”; the other, which she chose, is to display an “ouverture au monde”, to try to understand others who are different from yourself while safe-guarding what is uniquely yours. Finally, there is the fact that both of Gabrielle Roy's parents came to Manitoba as small children with their own parents, and were to a certain extent “des déracinés”, who often looked back with nostalgia to their native Quebec. This element, which is reflected in her most recent book, *La Route d'Altamotn*,¹⁹ helps explain Madame Roy's attitude to peoples who settle in a new and strange country, but who are still tied by many threads to their homelands.

We referred briefly to Prof. Kushner's stress on Gabrielle Roy's openness to others as a source of her interest in Canada's ethnic minorities. A concrete formulation of this outlook is evident in her literary credo, which is presented through the missionary, Father Le Bonniec,

and the painter, Pierre Cadourai, in *La Montagne secrète*. "Créer," says the priest, "n'est-ce pas de toute son âme protester? A moins... à moins que ce ne soit une secrète collaboration" (p. 131). Pierre wishes to eternalize through a painting the features of Nina, a girl he met in the Far North, because this would be "sa manière à lui de défendre les êtres" (p. 34). Pierre too realizes that "ce que les hommes attendent des gens de sa sorte (...) c'est par eux d'être réjouis et soulevés d'espérance" (pp. 57-58).

Let us now look at each of Gabrielle Roy's work to discern her treatment of the ethnic minorities. In her first novel, *Bonheur d'occasion*, all the characters are French Canadians. Yet, because the book is set in the spring of 1940, at the beginning of the Second World War, various peoples of Europe are evoked. The uneducated poor of the novel mispronounce the (for them) difficult names of European countries in a phonetically similar way, yet certain tonal differences stand out. The secondary character Emma Philibert, owner of a restaurant in Saint-Henri, where unemployed youth gather, says to the new recruit, Emmanuel: "Oh! tu ne diras pas (...) que les Palonais, les Ukariens, c'est comme nous autres. Ça bat leurs femmes, ça se nourrit à l'ail" (p. 48). On the other hand, the major characters Azarius and Rose-Anna Lacasse react differently. Azarius views the war primarily as an effort by the allies to stop "Allemagne féroce comme toujours qui plongeait sur la Pologne sans défense et qui a déjà tout coupailé l'Autriche et la Tchécosloquie" (p. 39). His wife Rose-Anna sees a newspaper headline telling of the German invasion of Norway and, as she crosses the streets of Saint-Henri, she imagines walking alongside the suffering women of Europe, "toutes des femmes des pays lointains, qu'elles fussent polonaises, norvégiennes ou tchèques ou slovaques. C'étaient des comme elle. Des femmes du peuple. Des besogneuses" (p. 204). In a subtle, artistic way, then, the author evokes both the standard prejudices and her own enlightened view of the first victims of Nazism.

In her second book, *La Petite Poule d'eau*,²¹ the scene shifts from Montreal to northern Manitoba. Although the story focusses on the Tousignant family, and especially Luzina Tousignant, she is seconded by the Capuchin monk, who is of partly Belgian, partly Russian origin, and represents a broad, non-sectarian concept of love and brotherhood. Multilingual, he is at ease with the Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, Icelanders, Swedes, who throng the streets of Rorketon on Saturday evenings. He travels with the Jewish cattle merchant Isaac Boussorvsky, just as Luzina does with Abe Zlutkin, the fur dealer. In the isolated communities of northern Manitoba, the postmen, as Prof. Kushner has pointed out,

play a key role in linking the inhabitants with the outside world. In *La Petite Poule d'eau*, this role is fulfilled by two Ukrainian Canadians, Nick Sluzick and Ivan Bratislovsky. Instead of caricatures of Jews and Slavs, we now have more life-like characters, each having his quirks and his short-comings, but being no worse than anyone else, and as good as any other. Significantly, in contrast with the "roman de la fidélité", the villain of *La Petite Poule d'eau* is the *French-Canadian* merchant and landowner, Bessette, who exploits the Métis and who is compared to birds of prey by his employee, Hippolyte Tousignant.

Prof. Kushner has called Gabrielle Roy's view of inter-ethnic relations in *La Petite Poule d'eau* a utopian one. It is true that there is a certain amount of naiveté in the Capuchin's thought that "que les dix ou douze nationalités représentées à Rorketon puissent si bien s'entendre, bavarder, rire, chanter ensemble, n'était-ce pas la preuve définitive, irréfutable, que l'humanité était faite pour la concordel" (p. 182). Yet it is the author's *main protagonists*, Luzina and the Capuchin monk, who *see* the world in this way, more as a desire and a possibility than as absolute reality. It is interesting to note that in her article on the Hutterites mentioned earlier, Gabrielle Roy herself referred to their community as "une utopie d'amour"²² because while the technological and material level of life was not high, the group worked as one on "un coin de terre où n'avait jamais sévi la honte de nos temps, le chômage et le secours direct."²³ The dream of inter-ethnic harmony presented through the author's protagonists is linked to another important theme in Gabrielle Roy's work: that of the north, of the frontier as a mortal agent. When the Capuchin thinks at the end of *La Petite Poule d'eau*, "Plus il était monté haut dans le nord, et plus il avait été libre d'aimer" (p. 272), he is expressing the author's belief that man needs to keep the best features of his primitive, pioneering past while appropriating the achievements of civilization. The frontier character of the north which brings people closer together is also emphasized in *La Montagne secrète*, where we read: "Simplement pour y vivre il faut au moins être deux" (p. 219). The suggestion is that where civilization is still in a state of construction, men need each other and of necessity learn to live together, whatever their differences.

Alexandre Chenevert,²⁴ Gabrielle Roy's third book, was begun in France during the author's second sojourn there, between 1947 and 1950. She told us that one of the central images of the novel, that of the line-up (whether before a bank wicket, a restaurant counter, or a hospital admissions desk) was suggested to her by the post-war agglomerations of Europeans in Paris, patiently and haggardly waiting their

turn, documents in hand, at consulates and embassies. The setting of the novel is again Montreal, and again, too, we have opposing views on "les autres". Chenevert, the hero, resists the racist propaganda naively accepted by his colleague Godias, and spends many a sleepless night because of the Polish Jews barred from entering Palestine, or because of starving Chinese. He is generally friendly with Markhous, the Hungarian-Jewish draper who employs him part-time, and agrees with him that it is the big firms and not the small merchants, who cheat the government on income tax, to the detriment of the small wage-earner. When his idol Mahatma Gandhi dies, Chenevert considers fasting, much to the amazement of his wife who retorts: "Es-tu fou? (...) On jeûne pour Notre-Seigneur; on ne jeûne pas pour un Hindou" (p. 279). Chenevert, while on a holiday in the Laurentians, occupies the cabin once built by a Russian-Canadian, nicknamed L'Original by the farmer, Le Gardeur, who echoes the same type of misgivings about Slavs as Emma Philibert did in *Bonheur d'occasion*. Chenevert's sympathies lie with the taciturn Russian, even though he never met him, rather than with the bigoted and self-satisfied Le Gardeur, and Gabrielle Roy's hero thinks: "Venir si loin (...) pour être obligé de subir encore ce discernement des races, si injurieux pour l'homme" (p. 194).

In 1955, Gabrielle Roy published *Rue Deschambault*,²³ a series of tableaux of fictionalized childhood memories linked loosely through the character, Christine, and her parents. Since the fictionalized father, Edouard, is present, so, too, are the experiences of Gabrielle Roy's father as a Federal colonization agent in the West, creatively transposed. Out of the eighteen fragments included, seven contain references to ethnic minorities, and of these, four focus on them: "Les deux nègres", a poignantly humorous episode about Negro railway porters, "Le puits de Dunrea", about a disastrous fire that destroyed years of labour by Carpatho-Russian settlers, "L'Italienne", about Italian immigrant neighbours of Christine's family, and "Wilhelm", about Christine's Dutch-Canadian first suitor. There are also references to Mennonites and Doukhobors. In spite of the violent forms of protest of the sons of freedom, which Edouard rejects, he shows a deep understanding of the complex problems involved in their conflicts with authority. The term "déraciné", which we have already mentioned in relation to Gabrielle Roy's parents, appears several times in the book, as for example in this characteristic sentence: "C'était un immigrant, et papa m'avait dit cent fois qu'on ne saurait avoir trop de sympathie, trop d'égards envers les déracinés qui ont bien assez à souffrir de leur dépaysement sans qu'on y ajoute par le mépris ou le dédain" (p. 203). As in *Bonheur d'occasion* and *Alexan-*

dre Chenevert, this positive attitude towards the newcomers is contrasted with a negative one — this time within the family of the heroine. One of Christine's sisters, who has become a nun, joins in trying to discourage her from seeing Wilhelm: "elle me disait d'oublier l'Etranger... qu'un étranger est un étranger..." (p. 207).

In *Rue Deschambault*, too, we have a variant of an image which already appeared in *La Petite Poule d'eau* and is linked to Russian history. In that book, Armand Dubreuil, a young teacher serving the Tousignant family and several others in the remote Water-Hen district, reads to the children "la véridique et tragique aventure de quarante bagnards déportés en Sibérie. Cette Sibérie qu'elle était froide, inhumaine. Que c'était loin. Ces tsars Nicholas de toutes les Russies quels tsars au coeur dur" (pp. 119-120). In *Rue Deschambault*, Christine's sister, Odette, plays a Rachmaninoff prelude, a part of which she describes as "l'expression de la révolte des malheureux en Sibérie" (p. 22). The music attracted the boarder, the Negro porter, Jackson, who, sitting on the staircase, looking through the wooden slats as she played, became for Odette a black version of the prisoners exiled to Siberia by the Tsar. Another recurring image in Gabrielle Roy's novels, that of the underground mine as a symbol of degradation and inhumaneness, is linked in *Rue Deschambault* with immigrants: "Mon père rencontra un jour un pauvre Tchèque qui lui confia être venu au Canada rien que pour avoir une affiche bien tentante: une rivière, des blés dorés, des maisons comme 'chez nous pourtant'... Et maintenant, ce Tchèque travaillait dans une mine" (p. 132).

In her two most recent books, *La Montagne secrète* (1962) and *La Route d'Altamont* (1966), there are also characters who belong to ethnic minorities or references to such individuals. In the former, Sigurdson or Steve, the trapper of Danish origin, initiates Pierre Cadorai to the vastness of the far north, while art student Stanislas Lanski, de lointaine souche polonaise" (p. 165), helps Pierre find his way in Paris. In *La Route d'Altamont*, Christine, again the narrator heroine, evokes a poignant childhood memory, her visits to uncle Cléophas's farm, at harvest time: She remembers the hired hands, in a manner that could also be described as utopian, but is fully in keeping with her personality:

"Ces gens, à la fois serviteurs, hôtes et amis—mais comment définir les belles relations que nous eûmes ensemble! — ces gens venaient de tous les coins du Canada, je devrais dire du monde peut-être, car c'est bien là l'étonnant, qu'au fond de nos terres lointaines se soient assemblés pour récolter le blé des hommes de nationalité et de caractère si divers: (...) de vieux bougres revenus de tout; de cette espèce de voya-

geurs et de conteurs-nés qui semblent n'exister que pour briller le soir, quand ils prennent la parole; des émigrés de toutes sortes, bien entendu; bref, des gens tristes et des gens tapageurs, et tous, en racontant quoi que ce soit, racontaient bien un peu leur vie. (. . .) En cette maison perdue vibrerait quelque chose de l'univers, Car jamais la fatigue de ces hommes n'était assez grande pour les empêcher, le soir venu, le gémissement des machines éteint pour quelques heures, de tâcher de se communiquer quelque chose d'unique en chacun d'eux et qui les rapprochait" (pp. 216-217).

Gabrielle Roy in giving a human portrait of the many peoples who make up Canada, was not aware of having broken with a narrow tradition but, as she told us, was reacting spontaneously, being herself. Prof. Eva Kushner has very well summed up Gabrielle Roy's creative voyage when she referred to it as "aller de soi-même à soi-même en passant par autrui." Perhaps this is what every writer does, only in the case of Madame Roy, "autrui" includes a rich gamut of faces, colours, tongues, customs, a wide swath of the ethnic minorities of Canada.

Within the framework of this paper, I should have liked to discuss Yves Thériault, the first Quebec writer to construct an entire novel on an ethnic minority in his *Aaron*,²⁶ which treats the conflict of generations among Jewish immigrants in Montreal. Several of his works, and other novels ostensibly about ethnic groups, such as Louis Dantin's *Les Enfances de Fanny*,²⁷ about an inter-racial romance, and Jean Simard's *Les Sentiers de la nuit*,²⁸ set in English-speaking Westmount, lend themselves to a study of the use of allegory, via ethnic substitution, by French-Canadian authors writing about their *own* people, and their *own* tensions. Claude Jasmin, like Thériault and Louis Dantin, deals more particularly with inter-ethnic conflicts, especially in his *Ethel et le terroriste*,²⁹ and also invites commentary. Jacques Godbout's *Les Couteaux sur la table*³⁰ is a political allegory about separatism, in which the heroine, Patricia, offspring of an unlikely marriage between a Czech-Jewish service station owner and an Irish millionaire textile heiress, still offers food for thought. Mention, too, could have been made of Gérard Bessette's transposition of his own dispute with the University of Montreal in *Les Pédagogues*,³¹ through his character, Stanislas Chavinski, who is refused a teaching post because he is a non-believer. We should have liked to comment too on the use of distance and contrast in the creation of the Syrian restaurateur, Kouri, in André Langevin's *Poussière sur la ville* (1953),³² and Weingerter, the Austrian philologist, in Bessette's

L'Incubation,³³ both of whom are good souls inadvertently caught up in insoluble human dramas, and unwittingly the tools of tragedy. Finally, there is an interesting variation on the theme of immigrants in Marcel Godin's *Ce maudit soleil*,³⁴ in which lumberjacks in a French-Canadian bush camp await the arrival of European newcomers, whom they call either admiringly "les civilisés", or sarcastically the D.P.'s, thus expressing a mixture of welcome and fear that is very real and very contemporary. Time does not permit us but to mention these novels which certainly bear extensive comment.



The ethnic minorities of Canada have been, in general, a marginal thematic component of the French-Canadian novel, partly because of demographic considerations. Yet when they do appear, it is rarely for picturesque purposes. In the "roman de la fidélité", ideological imperatives resulted in stereotypes of various nationalities. Gabrielle Roy broke with the traditions born of the "survivance" period to present more rounded characters and a many-sided view of "les autres", who often play an important role in illustrating her vision of man. We have suggested, too, that in novels of the 1950's and 1960's ethnic minorities appear in what may be allegorical transpositions of French-Canadian reality, and in other symbolic roles, which certainly bear further study. Whether the portrait of the ethnic minorities in the French-Canadian novel of the future will follow Gilles Vigneault's cry, "les humains sont de ma race",³⁵ or that of the fearful lumberjacks of *Ce maudit soleil*, will depend partly on the creative imagination of writers, but also on the political and sociological shape of things to come.

NOTES

¹L'Album littéraire et musical de *Le Revue canadienne*, 1846-47; Montreal, Lovell (G.—H. Cherrier, éditeur), 1853.

²Montmagny, Editions Marquis, 1922.

³Montreal, Fides, 1950.

⁴Montreal, Beauchemin, 1944.

⁵Montreal, Beauchemin, 1951.

⁶Montreal, Albert Lévesque, 1933.

⁷Montreal, published by the author, 1904.

⁸Montreal, published by the author, 1918.

⁹Paris, Flammarion, 1938.

- ¹⁰Montreal, Editions de l'Arbre, 1941.
- ¹¹"La génération de la relève", in *Recherches socioeographiques*, VI, 2 (1965), pp. 127-128.
- ¹²Montreal, Editions de l'Arbre, 1942.
- ¹³Montreal, Editions de Variétés, 1948.
- ¹⁴Montreal, Editions l'Arbre, 1944.
- ¹⁵Montreal, Société des Editions Pascal, 1945 (2 vols.)
Our references are to the most recent edition, Montreal, Beauchemin, 1965.
- ¹⁶Quebec, Bélisle, 1948
- ¹⁷The quote is from Prof. Eva Kushner of Carleton University, taken from her televised lecture course on Gabrielle Roy, broadcast on the CBC French television network, March 22, 1969. The entire course ran from January 11 to April 19, 1969. All subsequent quotes by Prof. Kushner are taken from the texts she prepared for this series.
- ¹⁸*Bulletin des Agriculteurs*, vol. 38, no. 11 (Nov. 1942); vol. 38, no. 12 (Dec. 1942); vol. 39, no. 1 (Jan. 1943); vol. 39, no. 2 (Feb. 1943); vol. 39, no. 3 (March, 1943); vol. 39, no. 4 (April 1943); vol. 39, no. 5 (May, 1943).
- ¹⁹Montreal, HMH, 1966.
- ²⁰Montreal, Beauchemin, 1961.
- ²¹Montreal, Beauchemin, 1950.
- ²²*Le Bulletin des Agriculteurs*, vol. 38, no. 11 (Nov. 1942), p. 8.
- ²³*Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ²⁴Montreal, Beauchemin, 1954.
- ²⁵Montreal, Beauchemin, 1955.
- ²⁶Quebec, Institut Littéraire du Québec, 1954. A revised edition was published by Les Editions de l'Homme, 1965.
- ²⁷Montreal, Les Editions du Chantecler, 1951.
- ²⁸Montreal, Le Cercle du Livre France, 1959.
- ²⁹Montreal, Librairie Décom, 1964.
- ³⁰Paris, Les Editions du Seuil, 1965.
- ³¹Montreal, Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1961.
- ³²Montreal, Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1953.
- ³³Montreal, Librairie Décom, 1965.
- ³⁴Montreal, HMH, 1965.
- ³⁵"Mon pays", in *Avec les vieux mots*, Quebec, Editions de l'Arc, 1964.

SECTION V

JOURNALISM

- (16) A. A. Hrycuk, BYELORUSSIAN PUBLICATIONS IN CANADA
- (17) J. M. Kirschbaum, THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF THE CANADIAN SLAVIC PRESS
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BYELORUSSIAN PUBLICATIONS IN CANADA

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Introduction

Professor V. J. Kaye in his *Canadian of Byelorussian Origin*, wrote that Canadians of Byelorussian origin form one of the most interesting although at the same time one of the least known ethnic groups in Canada. Not only Professor Kaye has such a view. It may be frustrating to many social science researchers that, according to some estimations, as many as 60,000 Byelorussians live in Canada, yet at the same time, such a group does not exist in the statistics of Canadian population. There are many reasons for such anomalies and let me mention just a few.

Byelorussians came to Canada mostly from territories occupied by Poland or by Russia. Those who came from Poland, according to Canadian emigration law, were registered as Poles and were absorbed by existing Polish organizations especially if they were Catholics. It was simple for them because in Poland they spoke the official Polish language and went to Polish schools as there were no Byelorussian schools in Poland. Those who came to Canada from territories occupied by Russia were registered as Russians and were absorbed by Russian organizations because in Russia, Byelorussian schools were not permitted and the official language was Russian only. It is very difficult to determine the exact year or even decade of the beginning of Byelorussian emigration to Canada. But having in mind that most Russians came from Byelorussian territories, and many Polish emigrants came from Byelorussian territories also, we may freely say that Byelorussian emigration to Canada is as old as Polish or Russian.

First Byelorussian emigration was called Bread and Butter emigration. Only a few of them came to Canada seeking refuge because of ideological differences with occupying authorities. Having no intellectual leaders and being poor they were unable to organize their life

on a national basis and up to 1948 did not possess distinctive Byelorussian organizations. Many of them are leaders in Russian or Polish organizations. Obviously in cultural life they contributed to those groups and if they published anything it was in Russian, Polish or in English. The history of the Byelorussian ethnic group in Canada, as we see, is very complicated and its study may be very rewarding. To my regret this study had to be put aside for some time. Such a study would require substantial financial support and, at present, sources for such support are very limited.

The picture changed entirely after World War II. The new immigration which began after the end of the hostilities is a different one. We may call it rather a political immigration. Its base is formed from young people who in Byelorussia belonged to youth organizations, political parties or military underground. Anti-leftist and nationally conscious they fled from Byelorussia in protest to occupation or in fear of persecution. They were educated enough to establish themselves easily in their new environment. Many of the new immigrants, and even older people, went to Canadian schools and universities to readjust their qualifications. The new emigrants quickly formed Byelorussian national organizations and began to assist others in adjusting their lives to new conditions. It was not very easy to convince Canadian authorities and the Canadian public that such a group as Byelorussians exist. We had to fight each Canadian official, from clerk, to minister of education, in order to defend our rights. In the view of Canadian officials and the Canadian public we were just another group of Poles or Russians. I hope this battle was won by Byelorussians. And that it is the beginning of a distinctive Byelorussian official ethnic group in Canada.

Byelorussian new emigration is not a large one. The reason for that is very tragic. The bulk of our emigration was cut off during the Russian winter offensive in 1945 and never reached the Free World.

The first Byelorussian newspaper *Belaruski Emigrant* was established in 1947, and the first Byelorussian organization "The Byelorussian Alliance in Canada" was set up in 1949. At that time the first Byelorussian printed words began to appear.

During twenty years of existence Byelorussian emigration did not produce a very long list of published works. There are two main reasons for this. 1. Only a few intellectuals choose Canada as a permanent place of residence and 2. Very limited financial resources were available for expensive publishing purposes.

Canada was not the best place for educated emigrants in 1948, especially for those with a humanistic education, and therefore some

of them, after a short period, emigrated to the U. S. A. Those who remained had to struggle to find a job, forgetting their education and training. There were no powerful Byelorussian organizations to support them and to help them to publish their work. Local new organizations were too small to improve the situation. Having this in mind Byelorussians in Canada usually combined their efforts with Byelorussians in the U. S. A. From this point of view we have to look at the efforts of Canadian Byelorussians in the field of original publications in Byelorussian. The first review of Byelorussian imprints in Canada attempts to provide a guide to publications of Byelorussian-speaking Canadians.

Its purpose is to stimulate interest and suggest research in the Byelorussian culture, and to facilitate the finding of the publication concerned. In part, I will try to review all known titles published by Byelorussians or about Byelorussians in the form of books, pamphlets and periodical literature, and selected titles of serial publications which seem likely to be of value to any one studying the history and culture of Byelorussia. Here will be included publications contributed by Byelorussians in Canada or published in co-operation with other non-Canadian Byelorussian organizations. In part II, I will give an alphabetical list of all Byelorussian publications reviewed.

Part I.

Review of Byelorussian publications in Canada published by Byelorussians or about Byelorussians.

The main sources of Byelorussian publications in Canada are the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada and the Byelorussian National Association. When searching for sources it is necessary to contact both organizations because they represent two main streams in the life of Byelorussians. The Byelorussian Alliance in Canada represents those who are affiliated in political life with the Byelorussian Government-in-Exile headed by President Mikola Abramtchik and in religious life with the Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. The Byelorussian National Association opposes the first group by all possible means. This division is reflected in their publications.

Relations between the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada and the Byelorussian National Association recently improved much, especially after its disassociation with the newspaper *Byelorussian Voice*.

Now we come to review the particular titles:

A. Newspapers

Byelorussian Emigrant (Bielaruski Emihrant). Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1948-1954.

First Byelorussian newspaper on American continent. Established by K. Akula later became official newspaper of the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. The paper devoted its pages mainly to help new Byelorussian immigrants to organize their life in Canada, giving them advice in factual information which helped them with their establishment in their new homeland. The paper kept contact with all immigrants in Canada and abroad. It was discontinued for financial reasons.

Byelorussian Voice (Bielaruski Holas). Toronto,

Byelorussian National Association, 1952-1959.

M. Siniak 1959 to date.

Well illustrated. Reflects life of Byelorussian group which opposes the Byelorussian Government-in-Exile, Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada using methods not always agreeable with journalistic ethic. Fights everybody who does not agree with its ideas. Main targets: The Byelorussian Government-in-Exile and Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. Credibility not proven. Byelorussian Voice publishes also satirical supplement *Malanka*, the Literary supplement, and nicely edited and very well illustrated supplement, *Byelorussians in Canada*, which shows Byelorussian life in pictures.

Belarus (Bielarus). New York-Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, Byelorussian-American Association. 1950—

The major Byelorussian newspaper serving all Byelorussian emigration, but more space is devoted to life and achievements of Byelorussians in U. S. A. and Canada. Short news from Canada were published in supplement *News from Canada (Viestki z Kanady)*. Financed partly by the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada and partly by the Byelorussian American Association. Scholastically edited by Dr. S. Stankievich. Up to Dec. 1968 Canadian material was edited by Dr. V. Zuk. Contains scholarly but popular articles on the Byelorussian literature and Byelorussian political and social life. Often involves itself in the polemic with the literary and political circles in B. S. S. R.

Backauscyna (Das Faterland). Munich, 1947-1966.

Published in Munich as independent newspaper. Supported financially by the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Same style as Belarus. Published weekly, then monthly. Includes material from Canada. Some major works from Canada were first published in Baćkauščyna. Politically supported the Byelorussian Government-in-Exile.

B. Periodicals.

Bayavaya Uskalos. Toronto, Litaraturnaja Sustan Bayavaya Uskalos. 1949 to date.

Irregular. No. 6 and 7 appeared in 1962, No. 8 due late 1969.

Purely literary publication devoted to Byelorussian literature.

Pleasantly edited. Valuable contribution to Byelorussian life.

Available from Byelorussian Voice.

Palessie. Montreal-Toronto, Palessie Publishing, 1955.

Periodical devoted to the Byelorussian literature and Art.

Designed for the large circle of readers. Includes biography of known Byelorussian writers. Illustrated. Ceased for financial reason.

Narodnum Šlakham. Toronto. Bielaruskaja Narodnaja Hramada.

Date of publication not known. No copies available for annotation. Ceased.

Dokumenty i Fakty.

No date or place of publication available. Published by Byelorussian Institut Kastusia Kalinouskaha. Contains facts from Byelorussian life in Nasa Niva period, and documents and facts from Byelorussian life in America.

Carkoûny Halas. Toronto, Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. Ceased. Monthly periodical devoted to religious life of Byelorussian in Canada.

Whiteruthenian (Byelorussian) Institute of Art and Science. Zapisy.

New York, Byelorussian Institute of Art and Science, v. 1, No. 1, 1952 to date. Irregular.

Title varies. Added T. P. and tables of contents in German and English. Book 4,267 p. 1966. Edited by Dr. Stanislau Stankievich.

It is purely scientific publication of very high standard.

Contains contributions of all Byelorussian scientist on emigration

Recommended to College and University Libraries and large Public Libraries. Printed in Munich, Germany. Financed by Byelorussian Institute of Art and Science and by private donation.

C. Books and pamphlets.

Abramchik, Mikola. I accuse the Kremlin of genocide of my nation.

Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1950.

An account of crimes committed by communists on Byelorussian people based on the authentic secret documents of the Military Prosecutors and N. K. V. D. of U. S. S. R. captured during last war. Photocopies of original documents included in text. Very important documentary publication especially for those who study Russian communism and its tendencies. Abramchik Mikola is the President of the Rada of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic in exile.

Akula, Konstantyn. Zmaharnyia Darohi. Toronto, 1962. 583 p.

In Byelorussian.

Biographical novel in Byelorussian language. Absorbing, tragic adventures of young Byelorussians during World War II. No other writer has shown such a familiarity with the tragic fate of Byelorussian youth during the War.

Akula, Konstantyn. Haravatka. Part I: Dziarlivaya Ptushka. Toronto, Pahonya Publishers, 1965. 180 p. In Byelorussian.

A novel. Based on the life of Byelorussians under the Polish occupation.

Akula, Konstantyn. Tomorrow is Yesterday, a novel. Toronto, Pahonya Publishers, 1968. 225 p. In English.

Tomorrow is Yesterday is an exciting story about love and hardship, death and revenge. It is also about war and how it hardens the heart and it is a story of a people and their struggle to be free. Those author's words best describe this third novel of K. Akula

Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Brainwashing at Expo '67. Fact sheet. Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1967. In English and French.

Issued to counter Russian propaganda between Byelorussian emigration on Byelorussian Day at Expo. Gives valuable facts about communist regime in Byelorussia.

Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Brief. Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1964.

Brief prepared on behalf of Byelorussian Alliance in Canada by Dr. B. D. Ragula. Single copy available from Byelorussian Alliance.

Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Brief. Presented to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on White Paper on Immigration. 1967.

Prepared on behalf of Byelorussian Alliance in Canada by Andrew Hrycuk.

Single copy available from Byelorussian Alliance in Canada.

Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1948-1958. Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1958.

A short history of the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada 1948-1958.

Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1948-1968. Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1968.

A short history of the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada 1948-1968.

Hrycuk, Alex Andrew. Brief. Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. 1964.

Reprints available from Queen's Printer. Single copy available from the Byelorussian Alliance in Canada.

Kaye, V. J.

Canadians of Byelorussian origin. Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1960.

It is the first scientific approach to the problem of the Byelorussians in Canadian mosaic. Author, Professor at the Faculty of Arts University of Ottawa, is well acquainted with the Byelorussian organize life in Canada. Reprinted in form of book from the *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, July-September, 1960.

Okulevich, Georg. *Russkie v Kanadzie*. Toronto, Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952. 326p. In Russian.

Although this is a book about Russians an attentive reader may find valuable information about Byelorussians in Canada too.

Pashkevich, Valentina. *Pieršaja čytanka pasla elementara*. Toronto, Belarusskaia Shkola Publishing, 1968.

A professionally arranged reader for Byelorussian children in the English speaking world after ABC. Illustrated. A special supplement of maps of Byelorussia will help considerable in teaching about Byelorussia.

Zuk, Vincent. *BNR ci BSSR*. New York, 1968.

In 1968 A. Piatrovich published a lampoon entitled Truth about Act of 25th March 1968. (See *Holas radzimy* no. 13, March 1968). In this pamphlet Dr. V. Zuk unveils all lies of A. Piatrovich designed to misinform Byelorussians in Canada. The statements of Dr. V. Zuk are well documented.

Zuk, Vincent. *Liryka Janki Kupaly*. University of Ottawa. Doctoral dissertation. 1956.

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- Abramchik, Mikola. I accuse the Kremlin of genocide of my nation. Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1950.
- Akula, Konstantyn. Haravatka, a novel. Toronto, Pahonya Publishing, 1965.
- Akula, Konstanyn. Tomorrow is yesterday, a novel. Toronto, Pahonya Publishers, 1968.
- Akula, Konstantyn. Zmaharnyia darohi, a novel Toronto, 1962.
- Backauščyna (Das Faterland). Munich, 1947-1966.
- Bayavaya uskalos. Toronto, Litaraturnaya Sustan Bayavaya Uskalos, 1949 – to date.
- Balarus. Newspaper. Monthly. New York, Byelorussian-American Association and Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. v. 1. No. 1, 1950—
- Belaruski emihrant. Newspaper, Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1948-1954. Monthly.
- Belaruski holas. Byelorussian voice. Bielaruski niezalezny casapis. Newspaper. Toronto, 1952 – Monthly.
- Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Brainwashing at Expo '67. Fact sheet. Toronto, Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1967. In English and French.
- Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Brief. Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1964. Ottawa, Queen's Printer. Dr. B. D. Ragula.
- Byelorussian Alliance in Canada. Brief. Presented to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on White Paper on Immigration. 1967.
- Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1948-1968. Toronto, 1968.
- Byelorussian Alliance in Canada, 1948-1958. Toronto, 1958.
- Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. Carkouny holas. Toronto, Byelorussian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, 1956-1966.
- Byelorussian National Association. B. N. A. Bulletin. Irregular. No. 1, 1959. Suspended. (N. D.)
- Byelorussians in Canada – Bielarusy u Kanadzie. Toronto, Byelorussian Voice. 1967 –
- Dakumenty i fakty. Toronto, Instytut Kastusia Kalinouskaha.
- Hrycuk, Alex Andrew. Brief. Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Ottawa, Queen's Printer.
- Kaye, V. J. Canadians of Byelorussian origin. Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1960.

- Narodnym Slacham. Toronto, Bielaruskaya Narodnaya Hramada.
- Okulevich, G. Russkie v Kanadie. Toronto, Federation of Russian Canadians, 1952.
- Palessie. Literaturna-mastacki časapis. Montreal-Toronto, 19
- Pashkievich, Valentina. Pieršaya čytanka pasla elemantara. Toronto, Belarusskaia Shkola Publishing, 1968.
- Whiteruthenian (Byelorussian) Institute of Art and Science. Zapisy. New York, The Institute, 1952.
- Zuk, Vincent. BNR ci BSSR. New York, 1968.
- Zuk, Vincent. Liryka Janki Kupaly. University of Ottawa. Doctoral dissertation. 1956.

THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF THE CANADIAN SLAVIC PRESS

J. M. Kirschbaum

Even though Slavs were considered by early Canadian historians as undesirable and half-literate or illiterate immigrants, referred to in political campaigns as "the scum of Europe",¹ after some 80 years of Slavic immigration to Canada the Press in Slavic languages constitutes the largest portion — in number of newspapers as well as in circulation — of the Canadian ethnic press. The half-literate or often illiterate immigrants from Eastern Europe found in Canada political freedom which they were denied in their native countries and very soon after their arrival began to publish their bulletins, weeklies, monthlies, almanacs and — in the second or third generation or when the second or third waves arrived — even literary journals and books.

To trace the beginnings and the development of the Press in Slavic languages in Canada is, however, a very hard task. At the turn of the century, Canadian Slavs became the main object of a political controversy in which the adversaries of Slav immigrants never failed to draw a gloomy picture of the imminence of the day when Western Canada would become a colony of Central and Eastern Europe. Unfortunately the sources on the history of Slavic immigrants are scant and rarely accurate to present the Slavs in Canada in an objective light.

During the past few years some research has been done by scholars

(1) Those intent on disparaging the achievement of Clifford Sifton's immigration policy of bringing Slavs to Canada in greater numbers "were in the habit—according to W. H. Dafoe—of representing this great tide of immigrants compendiously and interchangeably as "the scum of Europe" and "Sifton's pets". And early historians of the Canadian West—like James S. Woodsworth—depicted them as highly undesirable and unassimilable settlers. Anderson, J. M. T., *The Education of the New Canadian*, (R. M. McBride, New York), 1918. Woodsworth, James S., *Strangers Within our Gates or Coming Canadians*, (Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, Toronto), 1909. According to Woodsworth, Galicians (Ukrainians) and Poles were 80-90% illiterate, Slovaks 25%.

of Slavic origin which makes the task of presenting the history of Canadian Slavs a little easier.² There are, nevertheless, still some groups which have to fight for an introduction under their proper name in the census statistics and publications of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Byelorussians, Slovaks, Slovenes).

The Press in Slavic languages was for a long time inexistent even for scholars interested in the cultural activities of the ethnic groups in Canada. The well-known Canadian scholar Watson Kirkconnel for instance knew in 1939 only of one newspaper for Slovaks in Canada, even though before 1939 there had existed, for a shorter or longer periods of time, at least fourteen Slovak newspapers and periodicals.³

The *Canadian Almanach* for 1905 listed eighteen foreign language publications in Canada but did not mention any periodicals in Slavic languages. In 1911 the Slavic Press was first mentioned but only the existence of the Ukrainian and Polish newspapers, with circulation of 18,000 and 7,675 respectively, was known to the editors of the Almanach. By 1931, the Croatian, Russian and Slovak Press were added to the list. In 1965 the number of publications in Slavic languages was estimated at 75 by the Department of Secretary of State.⁴ As a result of research by scholars of Slavic origin, we can draw today more or less an exact picture of the Slavic Press, and the numbers are impressive:

Prof. A. Malycki in his recent study on Ukrainian-Canadian periodical publications came with a list of 549 items.⁵ Many of the listed publications were, of course, bulletins and shortlived, but even the number of printed and regularly published newspapers and other periodicals in the Ukrainian language is much higher than it was known until now. According to the recent by O. Woycenko, some 135 Ukrainian newspapers and periodical publications are being published in Canada at the present time.⁶

The second largest press in Slavic languages is the Polish-language press. Victor Turek in his excellent monograph has drawn a list of 118

(2) See V. J. Kaye, *The Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, Toronto), 1964, and his other studies; P. Yuzyk's and O. Woycenko's books; V. Turek's, V. Makowski's Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski's books on Poles as well as two volumes of *Slavs in Canada* and books on Slovaks and Czecks.

(3) See J. M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, (Canada Ethnic Press Association, Toronto, 1967), pp. 281-303.

(4) See P. J. Kellner, "Canadian Slavs through the Mirror of their Press", *Slavs in Canada*, Vol. 1, p. 149.

(5) See A. Malycky (ed.) *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (The University of Calgary Press, Calgary, 1969), p. 77-127.

(6) O. Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Ottawa, 1967), p. 19-20.

publications, mimeographed and printed at regular or irregular intervals.⁷

The number of periodical publications in the Slovak language, even though the Slovaks have been one of the smallest Slavic groups in Canada, reached the figure of 33, of which 9 printed publications still appear.

On the beginnings and development of the Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Croatian, Czech, Russian, Slovenian and Serbian press in Canada, no special studies are available and exact information was impossible to obtain. The number of the existing periodical publications in those languages at the present time show the following picture: Byelorussian 3, Bulgarian 2, Croatian 3, Czech 2, Russian 2, Slovenian 2 and Serbian 3.

The Byelorussian newspapers in Canada have been published in Toronto. The *Byeloruski Emigrant* ceased publication in 1954; on the other hand the *Byeloruski Holas*, a monthly, continues to appear. In 1936 the Byelorussian Canadian and American Associations began to publish another monthly—*Byelarus*.⁸

The first Croatian newspaper in Canada was the *Kanadski Glas* which began publication in Winnipeg in 1929, and later was renamed *Hrvatski Glas*. In Toronto, the United Croats of Canada publish *Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska*, and for the past few years the monthly *Nas Put* has been appearing. In Sudbury, a mimeographed bulletin *Vijesnik* has been published.

The first Serbian newspaper in Canada began publication in December 1934 under the name *Glas Kanadi* and is still published under the name *Voice of Canadian Serbs* in Windsor. Another weekly, *Canadian Srbobran* was founded in 1952 in Hamilton. In Toronto, *Bratsvo* (Fraternity), appears irregularly as a monthly publication. The communist weekly *Jedinstvo* (Unity) is published with pages in the Croatian and Slovenian language.

The Slovenian newspaper *Slovenska Drzava* has been published since 1952 in Toronto, where also a religious monthly *Bozia Beseda* (God's Voice) appears. Both Czech newspapers: *Novy Domov* and *Nase Hlasy* began publication after the second World War in Toronto.

A preliminary check list of Russian Canadian periodical publications, compiled by Serge A. Sauer, gives the number of 26 publications published in Canada in Russian since 1916.⁹ In this number are included

(7) V. Turek, *Polish Language Press in Canada* (Toronto, 1962).

(8) On this subject the paper at the Conference of Canadian Slavs in 1969 by A. A. Hrycuk, *Byelorussian Imprints in Canada* gives the basic information. See v. p. infra.

(9) See Malycky, *op. cit.* p.

bulletins and mimeographed religious periodicals, many of them short-lived. At the present time only 2 periodicals of interest for our study are being published in the Russian language in Canada (*Russkoe slovo v Kanade* and *Sovremenik*).

Of the Ukrainian publications about one hundred and thirty five have been newspapers. Some disappeared after two or three months, others lasted several years and a few hardy one were able to weather financial difficulties and became well established. The oldest Ukrainian—and very probably the oldest Slavic newspaper, is the *Canadian Farmer* which was first published in 1903.

Among the others which survived difficulties are *Canadian Ranok* (1905), *Ukrainian Voice* (1910), *Herald* (1924), *Ukrainian News* (1929), and *New Pathway* (1931).¹⁰ The Polish newspapers first appeared in 1906 and 1908 (*Gazeta Polska*) while a great number of Polish publications began during the interwar period. The oldest Slovak newspaper appeared in 1910.

Many of the Slavic newspapers and periodical publications originated in the West, where vast distances separated scattered Slavic settlements and where the desire to communicate with others speaking the same language was great. Besides, it was in the Western provinces where large numbers of Slavic immigrants, unfamiliar with the country of their settlement and inadequately, if at all, acquainted with its language, settled. Their first concern, of course, was to get in touch with their countrymen — similarly situated and suffering from the same feeling of loneliness, insecurity and isolation.¹¹

This was, however, not the only reason for the founding of the Slavic or other foreign language press in Canada.¹² Slavic immigration to Canada was to a great degree an overflow of Slavic immigrants to the United States. In view of the role which Slavic associations and newspapers in the United States had played in promoting the liberation of their native countries from foreign domination, the publication and support of newspapers abroad was regarded by the Slavic people as a mark of patriotism, and to take a stand or to write in favour of freedom or equality of political rights for their peoples was considered the moral duty of every Slav abroad. This can partly explain the sacrifices which the Slavs in Canada or in other parts of the world were willing to make to publish and maintain their press, and it also explains their continuous interest in the affairs of their country of origin.

(10) See Woycenko, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

(11) Turek, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

(12) See A. R. Boydin, J. Kosa (ed.) *Immigrants in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press), 1957, p. 45.

Ideological Orientation

Following the example of Slavic newspapers in the United States, the Slavic Press in Canada began very soon to dedicate a substantial part of each newspaper to two issues:—

- 1) The desire to keep alive or awaken the national consciousness of Slavic immigrants, and
- 2) the necessity to fight the battles in which the Slavic peoples were involved in their native countries.

The absence of censorship, which in their native lands silenced newspapers or permitted their publication with half-pages white,¹³ allowed Slavic newspapers in Canada to voice freely the grievances of the Slavic peoples and to fight vehemently for the political or social equality of Slavs in their homelands. The feeling that they were allowed to express their views without hindrance, is reflected in all Slavic newspapers in Canada and one has to admire the warm patriotism and interest in cultural and political problems shown by the editors and contributors, whose education — before the Second World War — rarely went beyond high school level.

Many Slavic-Canadian newspapers also became advocates of autonomy and self-determination for their native land and peoples, while others followed the official policy of governments of their country of origin or voiced their leanings towards socialism and communism.

One of the characteristic features of the Slavic Press has been its ideological polarization according to the “old country” political patterns and not in accordance with the Canadian political scene which is dominated by liberalism, conservatism and socialist movements. The attitudes of the Slavic Press towards Canadian political parties seem to have no correlation with the usual “liberal-conservative” polarizations.

The dominant trend in the Slavic Press was from the very beginning nationalism, either republican or monarchistic, socialism, and since the end of the First World War and 1930's — communism.

The bulk of the Slavic Press has, of course, promoted nationalistic ideas and programs for liberation of the countries of origin of individual Slavic groups in Canada from foreign domination. However, the Press of Canadian Russians, Czechs and Serbs — who defended regimes and structures imposing hegemony over other Slavic peoples, has also been

(13) This was the case even in pre-war democratic Czechoslovakia with regard to Slovaks.

See J. M. Kirschbaum, *An Outline of Slovak Struggle for Independence* (Toronto, 1964), Second Edition, p.

nationalistic. We also find a nationalism advocating the republican form of government and equally fervent nationalist sentiments in the Press advocating monarchism. This phenomenon can be found not only in the Press of Slavic groups whose countries of origin were ruled by their national dynasties (Russians, Serbs) but also in the Ukrainian Press, for instance.¹⁴

Slavic Press with primarily nationalist goals came into existence in Canada especially after both World Wars, with the tide of educated immigrants, veterans of war or immigrants from multi-national states, whose homelands were dominated by one ruling nation, e. g. Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, Croats and Slovenes in Yugoslavia, Ukrainians in Poland or national minorities in other Central European countries.

According to Canadian observers, the reasons for the emergence of the ethnic press in Canada with nationalistic motives was the growing national consciousness in Europe. A. R. Boyd, analyzing the reasons for the founding of the foreign language newspapers in Canada writes for instance:

...a primary factor in the establishment of an ethnic press was the growing national consciousness of certain groups whose European territories were under the rule of what they regarded as foreign powers. The pervading nationalism which germinated and grew throughout Europe during the nineteenth century had its reflection in the press established abroad always have been concerned with events affecting their homeland, even when that homeland is not engaged in a struggle for liberation or independence. Thus one of the "raison d'être" of the press which came into being was the preoccupation with and propagation of, ideals of national independence.¹⁵

Long considered the free spokesmen of the Slavic nations, Slavs abroad, including those in Canada, could not remain silent, after the Second World War when a communist system was imposed on the Slavic peoples. As a result, the majority of the Slavic Press in Canada has reacted vehemently against the enslavement of their countries of origin in the belief that by fighting communism, it defended, at the same time, freedom and democracy in Canada. Among the Slavic immigrants who came to Canada in the post-World War II period, many were not only interested in politics, but also left their countries for political reasons. Many of these immigrants began to contribute political articles

(14) See Woycenko, *op. cit.*, p. 197 and P. Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History*, (University of Toronto Press), 1953, p. 87.

(15) Boyd, *op. cit.* p. 45.

to the existing newspapers or founded new ones and became editors in nationalist publications.¹⁶ As a result, political involvement of the Slavic language press in Canada after the Second World War became stronger than ever before. The Slavic language press in Canada acquired more and more a political character, and with the intensification of the Cold War and with the rising furor of the communist terror in various Slavic countries, it became, once again, a spokesman for their native lands.

A perusal of the Slavic Press in Canada would indicate that we may consider as nationalist at least 37 Ukrainian publications; of the Polish newspapers and periodicals all but 3 were published in strong nationalist spirit; among the 30 Slovak newspapers and periodical publications, 25 were — and 5 still are — advocating freedom, democracy and equality of rights for the Slovak people in Slovakia. The Byelorussian and Czech, Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian press in Canada is all permeated with strong nationalism, except for a weekly *Jedinstvo* (Unity), which is printed in all three south Slavic languages and belongs to the left-wing Slavic press in Canada.

The Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Croatian Slovak and Slovenian newspapers advocate democracy as well as full national independence and statehood for their countries of origin; the Russian, Czech, Bulgarian and Serbian press opposes the communist regimes and defends the national and ethnic composition of the existing states. Consequently this press has been at times in strong opposition to the aspirations to achieve political independence of the Ukrainian, Slovak, Croatian and Slovenian peoples respectively. This has necessarily resulted in clashes on the pages of a great number of Canadian Slavic newspapers and periodical publications.

In some Slavic newspapers strong nationalist tendencies appeared shortly after the First World War. Such was the case especially in the Ukrainian and Russian press in Canada. Other Slavic newspapers (Byelorussian, Croatian, Slovak, Slovenian, etc.) began or intensified their struggle for independence and democracy in their respective homelands mainly after the Second World War — with the influx of educated and politically “engaged” *emigrés* from the countries in which communist regimes were imposed with the help of the Soviet Union.

(16) The number of the newspapers in the ethnic languages grew considerably after the War mainly in the Province of Ontario, but also in the Western Provinces. The Canada Ethnic Press Association of Ontario organized over 30 newspapers, published in 16 languages. The Canada Ethnic Press Federation represented at times over 100 newspapers and periodicals. New press clubs or associations were organized in recent years also in Quebec, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan.

Along with the nationalist press, long before the Communist revolution took place in Russia, the leftist and so-called progressive Slavic press appeared in Canada. It was first the press of groups which subscribed in their native lands to the ideology of Socialist democratic parties, belonging to the Second International. Such movement can be traced among Canadian Slavs back to 1907, when the Ukrainians in Canada formed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Winnipeg. Two weeklies *Chervony Prapor* (Red Flag) and *Robochy Narod* (Toiling people) were the first newspapers promoting socialist ideas among Canadian Slavs.

After the Russian Bolshevik revolution the Slavic Socialist groups in Canada split and a number of newspapers and periodicals in Slavic languages promoted and defended communist ideology. Among Ukrainians this took place in 1917 when *Robochy Narod*, previously the organ of the Social Democratic Party¹⁷ was converted into a semi-weekly and was made a mouthpiece of Russian Communism.

According to Paul Yuzyk, "popular opinion in Canada closely associated the Ukrainians with the Communist movement not only among the Canadian Slavs, but in general. It is widely known that the Ukrainian element has comprised a large section of the Canadian Communist Party and that this element has repeatedly formed the spearhead of communist-instigated strikes and public protests."¹⁸ In the field of the Canadian Slavic press, the Ukrainian communists published not less than 18 newspapers and periodical publications¹⁹ and also helped Canadian Poles to organize their associations and publish their newspapers.²⁰

The communist movement among the Polish immigrants in Canada originated, however, only in the late twenties and at the beginning they used as their organ a weekly published in Detroit: *Trybuna Robotnicza* (The Labour Tribune).²¹ When a central organization (*Polskie Towarzystwo Robotniczo-Farmerskie*) was organized in 1931 from the regional factions, the Polish communists in Canada published their two first small publications: *Budzik* (Alarm Clock) and *Czerwona Jaskolka* (Red Swallow), a mimeographed monthly. In 1932 the Polish Workers' and Farmers' Association decided to start publishing a printed newspaper

(17) See Yuzyk, *op. cit.* p. 119.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 96.

(19) Information by Dr. Malycky, May 29, 1969.

(20) See Turek, *op. cit.* p. 117, 120.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 119.

on a larger scale: *Glos Pracy* (Voice of Labour), which lasted until 1940, when the Canadian Government prohibited its publication. In February 1941, the editors of the prohibited *Glos Pracy* were permitted to publish a new weekly *Kronika Tygodniowa* (Weekly Chronicle) which became, in December 1941, the organ of the new organization of Polish Communists, established under the name of the Association to Aid Poland and the Allied Countries.

While Polish Communists were helped by the Ukrainians to establish their organization and press, the Slovaks in Canada were helped by Hungarians which, in view of the relations between Slovaks and Hungarians in Europe, was a paradoxical situation. Apparently it also seemed strange to themselves because they considered it necessary to publish the following explanation:

The two largest sections of the Federation are made up of Hungarian and Slovak Canadians – two national groups who were brought up in their respective countries in an atmosphere of extreme economic hardship and political oppression. Although the ruling circles of both these countries did everything in their power to foster hatred between these two national groups, yet when they came to Canada – once they were freed of this reactionary influence – they have worked together in the Federation in friendship and brotherhood throughout the years.²²

The communist movement has never had many supporters among Slovak immigrants in Canada. To attract members they formed front organizations like Slovenske Kulturne Sdruzenie or various clubs²³ and used slogans of social justice, progress, peace and democracy. Around 1939 the newspaper *Hlas L'udu*, edited by Cyprian Slimak, became, however, an aggressive *Hlas L'udu*, edited by Cyprian Slimak, became, immigrants in Canada²⁴ and as a result, Canadian authorities ordered its suspension in 1940. The Canadian Government, using its war-time emergency powers, prohibited all communist newspapers and dissolved communist organizations.

When the Soviet Union joined the camp of the Western Allies in 1941, Slovak leftist groups started publication of *Nase Slovo* (Our World) as a continuation of *Hlas L'udu*. At the end of the war the newspaper changed its name to *Ludové Zvesti* (People's News) and has survived until the present time, edited by J. Duriančík for the past two decades. The newspaper remained faithful to its programme and to

(22) Quoted from Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, op. cit. ed. p. 210.

the Prague government even in the period of the so-called cult of personality, when the most prominent Slovak communists were either hanged or sent to jail for life by the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Unlike the other Slovak newspapers, the Slovak communist press in Canada did not gain any of the post-war educated immigrants as contributors or editors. Slovak communist newspapers were published and edited by devoted organizers of the communist movement whose partisan zeal overshadowed their education. How much financial help or how many articles for printing the communist press received from Czechoslovakia, is hard to say. Yet many articles seem to indicate that they were written by educated people. *L'udové Zvesti* never failed to publish attacks and smear propaganda, originating in Prague against Slovaks in Canada who disagreed either with the communist or the Czech rule in Slovakia, which would indicate that the newspaper is more concerned with pleasing the Prague government than serving the interest of the Slovak immigrants in Canada.

The Communist Slavic press also used nationalist sentiments, but its prevailing ideology was internationalism and Marxist-Leninism. However, the political and ideological orientation of the Slavic communist press towards Canada or towards the countries of origin of individual Slavic groups underwent during the past 50 years many changes, mostly conditioned by the policy of the Soviet Union. It was probably best characterized by one of the leading Ukrainian communists, Danylo Lobay:

This is the basic difference: the communistic organization carries a Ukrainian name and utilizes the Ukrainian language, but it works for the benefit of the Communist Party and the Russian State. Under a cover of cultural-educational activities, it rears its members and sympathisers in such a spirit that they are willing to become a blind tool of the Russian State in case of war or revolution. In other words, they form the fifth column in Canada, the same as the members of the Communist Party. It is not an independent organization, it is steered and controlled by the Communist Party of Canada. This Party is composed of members of various nationalities, but the leaders are not

(23) See *L'udovy Kalendár pre Kanadu*. (1939), p. 66-75.

(24) Admiration for the Soviet Union, Spanish communists and hatred of capitalist countries, mixed with Slovak patriotism is apparent also in the almanac published by *Hlas L'udu*, called *L'udovy Kalendár pre Kanadu*.

Ukrainians. Moreover, it is subordinated to the Communist centre in Moscow wherefrom it received its directives.²⁵

Two best examples of the subservience of the Slavic Communist press to Moscow occurred in 1917 and again at the beginning of the Second World War. When the Ukrainian Republican forces fighting for independence of the Ukraine were defeated by the Russian Bolshevik armies and a Soviet administration was established, Ukrainian communists in Canada hailed the Soviet victory and denounced the Central Rada of the Ukraine and the Directorate of the Ukrainian National republic as bourgeois and tools of international capitalism, even though both were composed predominantly of socialists elements.²⁶ At the beginning of the Second World War, the Communist Slavic press not only denounced Canada's participation, but also tried to justify the German-Soviet Pact. Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, however, made the war overnight a just war in reality to defend the Soviet Union and the Slavic communist press advocated an all-out war effort.

The scope of the present paper does not allow us to deal in detail with the question why Communism had found a fertile soil among Canadian Slavs. Paul Yuzyk, explaining this phenomenon among Ukrainians wrote: "Paradoxically, communism secured a foothold among the Ukrainian Canadians because of its tremendous appeal to Ukrainian Nationalist sentiment. Tsarist Russia had suppressed every movement for Ukrainian autonomy and independence whereas Soviet Russia had recognized the autonomy of Soviet Ukraine."²⁷ This explanation is not, however, valid for the Polish or Slovak communist press in Canada, because Poland was not only independent, but its independence menaced by the Soviet and Slovak communists in Canada were closer to the Czechs who supported excessive Czech centralism and even denied the existence of a distinct Slovak nationality than to other Slovaks in Canada who were allied with Hungarians.²⁸

It would seem that V. Turek's explanation of the origins and background of the Polish communist press can explain why some Canadian Slavs were attracted by Communism:

The real aims of the movement were known only to a few organizers, while the rest of the membership was attracted by the slogans of progress, democracy, peace, tolerance, racial

(25) Quoted in Woycenko, *op. cit.* p. 203.

(26) Yuzyk, *op. cit.* p. 98.

(27) Yuzyk, *op. cit.* 106.

(28) For an explanation of the origin of the Communist movement among Slovaks in Canada see our *Slovaks in Canada*, *op. cit.* p. 209-212.

equality, social justice, etc. — which such organizations loudly proclaimed. The thirties were a propitious time for such propaganda. Canada — while politically free — was going through an economic depression which affected severely the immigrants, belonging mostly to the labourer class. The absence of any social security legislation, leaving the workers at the mercy of fate in cases of sickness, unemployment or old age, and some remaining prejudice against Central and Eastern European immigrants made such appeals particularly attractive. The steadily deteriorating international situation, emphasizing the weaknesses of the western democracies, the successes of the fascist powers and the skillful policies of the Soviet Union, posing as a champion of peace — all were factors favourable to radical social movements.²⁹

The Conservative Press

The mosaic of the Canadian Slavic press is, however, more colourful ideologically than just blue and red. At the present time, even the Ukrainian press does not “array itself in two uncompromising camps, nationalist and communist,” as the young historian Paul Yuzyk asserted two decades ago. There was even in the Ukrainian press, at least 13 newspapers and periodical publications which should be classified as conservative, which means that they are patriotic and stand for social reforms but do not go to the extremes as some nationalistic and communist publications usually go.

Into this category belongs not only a great number of religious publications which were strongly patriotic before the secular nationalist press appeared on the Canadian Slavic scene, but also a number of secular publications. “At times it is very difficult to determine — as Malycky writes — whether a given publication should be termed “nationalistic” or not, particularly in the case of the publications printed by or for the youth.”³⁰ There is, undoubtedly, a changed climate in the Slavic ethnic press, conditioned by the changing international situation, by the dying out of the old guard and the coming on the scene of a Canadian-born or Canadian raised generation.

As a result, during the past decade the Slavic newspapers and the almanacs, published by the associations which sponsor the newspapers

(29) Turek, *op. cit.* p. 22.

(30) *Private Correspondence with Prof. Malycky.*

zational issues, and in order to interest the Canadian-born generations, as well, have dedicated more and more space to Canadian or organic. A number of Slavic newspapers has regularly published an English corner. At times there have been articles in English even on the front page, if the issue treated were supposed to interest or to be brought to the attention of the Government or of the other ethnic groups. This tendency to pay more attention to the problems of the community is a general trend among the ethnic press in Canada.³¹ While conserving the right to speak for the countries enslaved by Communism and to criticize the communist regimes, many ethnic newspapers acknowledged the fact that the ethnic groups were becoming closer to Canada than to their countries of origin. Yet some of them try to help their homelands by stressing their loyalty to Canada and by making appeals to the Canadian Government to voice their aspirations.³²

Practically all the newspapers and almanacs in Slavic languages contain not only information, but also articles on cultural and historical matters, as well as poetry, short novels, epigrams and other writings. For several Slavic writers, poets and politicians the Slavic language press became the tribune for their ideas and have helped them to overcome the feelings of futility and discouragement, which many immigrant intellectuals have experienced after their arrival in Canada.

To sum up, I think we can rightly say first that the number of Slavic newspapers and periodical publications and their ideological polarization certainly contradicts the assertions of early Canadian historians that the Slavs who came to Canada before the Second World War were mostly illiterate and uninterested in public affairs. Secondly, while some of the publications were of little importance or service to the Slavic community in Canada, others performed very useful tasks. In many respects the Slavic language press is the only source of information for a history of Slavs in Canada. It relates the struggles, hardships, successes and political divisions of the Slavic ethnic groups in this country. Many problems of the first groups of Slavic immigrants in Canada were recorded perhaps in a crude but sincere manner in these newspapers and monthlies. They were founded to serve the needs of the immigrants who did not read the English or French press, and reflected the problems of a community, struggling with difficulties created by the language bar-

(31) Turek, *op. cit.* p. 22.

(32) Among the Slovak newspapers in Canada, *Kanadsky Slovak* was one to adopt this line. It also has a regular "English corner" and sometimes articles in English on the first page. The Polish newspaper *ZWIAZKOWIEC* publishes regularly a column in English.

rier and unfamiliar surroundings. The newspapers and almanacs were also the principal source of information on the activities of the associations, parishes, as well as religious lines, and continued to fight their old battles on Canadian soil in their press and in their associations.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to find a copy of some of the periodicals and newspapers published in various parts of Canada during the past 60 years. It is only through indirect sources that the existence and political orientation of some periodicals have been known, for neither the Slavic organizations nor the Canadian libraries were interested in collecting them. In fact, Canadian libraries and press directories showed a lack of interest in the foreign language press. Therefore, in closing this survey of the Canadian press in Slavic languages, I strongly recommend looking for ways and means to establish Canadian Ethnic Archives.

If the archives are once established and accessible to Canadian historians, they will discover that a study of the history of Slavic settlements in Canada and their development during the past 80 years—Slavs began to immigrate to Canada in large numbers from 1885—is a fascinating even if not an easy academic endeavour. It is a saga of small groups of people in a new land who not only preserved their identity but achieved success against many odds. Basically it is a story without heroic deeds but not without courage and perseverance which in one or two generations made of poor Slavic settlers a prosperous segment of the Canadian population comparable in their social structure and cultural level to other leading Canadian groups. No doubt, a great deal of that success is due to the democratic institutions of this country, to the tolerance of its people and the abundant resources of the land; but the main factor was the human element: a healthy and hard working people and their will to struggle and succeed, to prosper and create a better future economically, socially and culturally.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS OF CANADIAN SLAVS

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This paper is based on data gathered for 802 periodical publication titles of 11 Slavic-Canadian Ethnic groups, i. e. Canadians of Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Croatian, Czech, Macedonian, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, and Ukrainian descent. As belonging to this category are considered those periodical publications which have or had been published in Canada, continuously or merely for a certain period, (1) in a Slavic language or languages, (2) in a Slavic language or languages along with English and/or French, (3) published by or predominantly for a Slavic-Canadian group or groups in English and/or French alone.

The number of titles investigated is actually greater than that of the periodical publications under consideration as the titles which have been the subject of a major change (i. e. the omission or addition of a word or words, semantically relevant changes in the word order, or the transfer from one language into another) are regarded as separate titles. Also the supplements bearing their own pagination are considered to be separate titles.

For a title employing a Slavic language or languages (alone or together with English and/or French), the language criterion is decisive for considering it as being a publication of a given Slavic-Canadian Ethnic group. This implies that the titles utilizing 2 Slavic languages are cross-listed and appear as publications of both groups. For the titles utilizing English and/or French only, the group by which or for which they are published is decisive for their respective grouping.

This framework represents a slightly modified version of the criteria which have usually hitherto been applied to the listings of Ethnic periodical publications. It is hoped that, aided in the actual listings by pertinent cross-references, it will more adequately take account of the considerable title changeability, typical for Canada's Ethnic periodical publications in general, while at the same time it will offer

a more neutral, and so also a more objective basis for the language aspect of this type of publications, reflecting thereby the Ethnic background of the reading public which they strive to reach as well.

The periodicals of each Slavic-Canadian group discussed are viewed from a perspective which might be termed "external", in that the total number of pertinent titles, regarded in their entirety as one complex unit, is assessed in terms of the geographical distribution and concentration, the stability or changeability of their places of publication, the existence of multiple places of publication (discussed further below), connections of Canadian places of publication with abroad, the mortality ratio (calculated for some groups in the sense discussed further below), the chronology of appearance of the first titles in Canada and in each province, the situation in regard to the language use, and the changeability of titles. Whenever the available sources allowed it, this assessment is being done against the background of the history of settlement and of the numerical strength of the given Slavic-Canadian group.

Some titles have their publication process subdivided among several localities in that their editorial, administrative and printing offices are located in different places. In this paper, titles of this nature are considered as having double or multiple places of publication.

For groups with more than 20 titles, an attempt has been made to indicate the stability in the durational profile for the total body of these publications by calculating their mortality ratio. To obtain this figure, an admittedly quite arbitrary length of publication of 1 year or less has been taken as a control figure, and the amount of titles which fall into this category, as well as the percentage of the total which they constitute, has been calculated.

The aspects of this field of studies which might be termed "internal", i. e. the size of their reading public, reflected in data on their circulation figures, the differentiation with respect to types of publications, or the sociopolitical profile of these periodical publications, are not touched upon.¹

Data on which the findings of this paper are based are as yet in many instances quite fragmentary or incomplete. Moreover, a great deal of the publications have probably remained unrecorded, due to the inaccessibility of the existing literature on them to the author of this paper, or due to the lack of any published information on them. Because of this, the findings of this paper are to be regarded as preliminary, and subject to future corrections in the light of additional or new evidence on the subject matter.

Information on the Bulgarian-Canadian periodical publications was very scanty.² According to it, the group shows 3 titles, all of them from Toronto, Ontario. The first of them originated probably in the first decade of our century, at the time when the group's place of publication with abroad are recorded.

Two titles appear in Bulgarian only, while one is printed in Bulgarian and English. No changes of titles are registered.

There are 6 Byelorussian-Canadian titles in existence, all likewise from Toronto, Ontario.³ The earliest title is a bi-lingual Byelorussian-Russian publication which originated in 1931, but remained bi-lingual for 5 months only, and subsequently appeared in Russian only. The title appeared thus some 2 decades after the beginning of the Byelorussian immigration to Canada. One title shares its place of publication with a place in the United States.

Three titles of the group appear in Byelorussian only; 1 title is printed in Byelorussian and English, and 1 in English only. No changes of titles are recorded.

The Croatian-Canadian periodical publications number 8 titles, printed in 4 places of publication.⁴ They have been appearing in 3 provinces. Of these, Ontario accounts for 2 places of publication, and Manitoba and Quebec for 1 place each. The group's titles are concentrated in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Toronto, Ontario, with 3 titles situated in each locality. Sudbury, Ontario, and Montreal, Quebec, produce 1 title each. It is surprising that British Columbia, historically the oldest area of the Croatian settlement and one of the areas of present concentration of Croatian-Canadians, shows no Croatian publication. No transfer of titles is observed.

The earliest Croatian-Canadian title began in 1929, in Winnipeg, Manitoba, approximately 2 decades after the time when larger groups of Croatians began to arrive in Canada. In Ontario, the first title appeared in 1932. The only Quebec title started publication in 1967.

According to very fragmentary dates 7 titles are printed in Croatian only. The remaining 1 title employs Croato-Serbian and Slovenian. One change of title took place.

The Czech-Canadians have 5 periodical publications which have been appearing in 3 places of publication, distributed between 2 provinces.⁵ Ontario is represented by 2 places of publication, Quebec shows 1 place. The centre for this group is Toronto, Ontario, with its 3 titles. Islington, Ontario, and Montreal, Quebec, account for one title each. No changes of places of publication can be observed.

Although a more concentrated settlement of the Czechs in Canada

did not begin until the 1920's, their periodical publications originated with the coming of the post World War II immigration, with the earliest title starting publication in 1949, in Toronto, Ontario. The Montreal title originated in 1963.

The language scene shows 2 titles in Czech only, and 2 bi-lingual publications in Czech and Slovak. The remaining title appears in English only. No changes of titles can be seen.

The Macedonian-Canadian group possesses 2 periodicals.⁶ Both of them are published in Toronto, Ontario, and where established in 1961. This seems to be a rather late date, since the Macedonians have been immigrating to Canada from the time around the turn of the century.

Both publications appear, according to sparse data, in English only.

With the periodical publications of the Polish-Canadians we come to the second largest group, numbering 168 titles published in 20 places.⁷ They are distributed over 6 of Canada's provinces. Best represented is Ontario with its 8 places of publication. It is followed by Manitoba with 4 places, Quebec with 3 places, Alberta and Saskatchewan with 2 places each, and finally British Columbia with only 1 place of publication.

In terms of concentration, ahead of all localities stands Toronto, Ontario, with its 63 titles. The 2 other large centres are Montreal, Quebec, with 33 titles, and Winnipeg, Manitoba with 30 titles; There follow then Vancouver, British Columbia with 7 titles; Calgary, Alberta with 6 titles; Hamilton, Ontario with 5 titles; Edmonton, Alberta with 4 titles; Ottawa, Sudbury, and Windsor in Ontario with 3 titles each; Candiac, Saskatchewan, Sifton, Manitoba, Brantford and London, in Ontario, and Noranda, Quebec with 2 titles each; and finally Sinnett, Saskatchewan, Brandon and Gimli in Manitoba, St. Catherines, Ontario, and Quebec, Quebec with 1 title each. The places of publication of 3 titles could not be ascertained.

The group's stability of places of publication is quite firm. Only 6 titles (3.5%) changed their place of publication once. For nearly all of them, it involved the move to Toronto, Ontario. In particular, 2 titles transferred from Winnipeg, Manitoba, and 1 title each from Hamilton, Brantford, and Windsor in Ontario, and from Montreal, Quebec. These changes illustrate the growth of Toronto as the centre of Polish-Canadian life. The remaining 1 title moved from Toronto, to Hamilton. The Polish-Canadian periodicals show no transfer of titles originated abroad to Canada. Nor can any ties to places of publication outside Canada be observed.

The group's periodicals shows a mortality ratio affecting 35 titles

(20.8%), the highest of the 4 groups for which this figure has been calculated. In addition, 1 merger of 2 titles has taken place.

The cradle of the Polish-Canadian periodicals was Winnipeg, Manitoba where in 1904, a decade after the beginning of the Polish mass immigration to Canada, the first Polish-Canadian title started publication. Also subsequently this city continued to be the centre of the pioneer era publications of this group: prior to World War I five more titles originated in Winnipeg. Ontario followed soon after, with its first publication appearing in 1919. Between the wars, Polish-Canadian periodicals appeared in Quebec, where the first title was established possibly as early as 1923, but not later than 1930, and in Saskatchewan, beginning with 1930. After World War II, the group's periodicals appeared also in British Columbia, where the first title appeared in 1951.

Against the background of over 6 decades of mass immigration, the periodicals of the group show a very high degree of retention of Polish as the sole language of publication: 138 titles (83.3%) use Polish only. One tri-lingual title appeared in Polish, Ukrainian, and English. The bi-lingual Polish-English publications number 24 titles (14.2%). Only 4 titles appear solely in English. With respect to French, the group shows but 1 title in this language only. It has the distinction of being the only mono-lingual French publication printed by the Canadian Slavs. The group has, however, no titles in Polish and French, although, on the other hand, there are 4 titles from Montreal appearing in Polish and English. In view of the traditional sympathy of the Poles for French civilization, this situation is surprising.

The group's periodicals show a pronounced tendency towards the changing of titles. The total of 24 changes (14.2%) is recorded, whereby 12 publications changed their titles once, 3 publications have done so twice, and 2 publications changed their titles 3 times.

With their 26 titles, published in 8 localities, the Russian-Canadian periodical publications constitute the fourth largest Slavic-Canadian group.⁸ This is surprising in view of the fact that the Russian-Canadians are Canada's third largest Slavic group. The titles of this group are to be found in 6 provinces, whereby Manitoba and Ontario account for 2 places of publication each, while British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Quebec show 1 place of publication each.

The concentration scale is as follows: Toronto, leads with 9 titles; 7 titles come from Winnipeg; 5 from London, Ontario; 3 from Montreal, Grand Forks, British Columbia, Edmonton, Alberta, Kamsack, Saskatchewan and Swan River, Manitoba, have 1 title each.

Few changes of the places of publication took place. They involve

only 2 titles which moved to Winnipeg, 1 from Edmonton, and 1 from Toronto, 1 title constitutes a transfer from Germany, but otherwise no ties to places outside Canada exists.

Three Russian-Canadian titles (11.5%) qualify under the morality ratio, making it the lowest one of the 4 groups under consideration.

Chronologically, the first Russian-Canadian title appeared in 1913, in Edmonton, Manitoba followed, with its earliest title originating in 1914. In Ontario, the first title was established in 1930. In 1940, the only Saskatchewan title began publication. After World War II, Russian-Canadian publications appeared in Quebec, the earliest of them dating back to 1946. The beginning year of the only British Columbia title could not be ascertained.

The 14 titles appearing in Russian only constitute 59.8% of the group's output. This rather low figure is, however, not due to the acceptance of English, for there are only 4 bi-lingual titles using Russian and English (15%), and none appears in English only. The inclusion of 1 tri-lingual title, using Russian, Ukrainian and English, increases the percentage of titles employing English only slightly. The difference is made up by a relatively large group of 7 bi-lingual titles which combine the use of Russian with that of Ukrainian in the case of 6 titles, and with that of Byelorussian in the case of 1 title mentioned already above. This group accounts thus for 27% of the titles total. In Quebec, while 1 title uses Russian and English, no use of French is recorded.

Only 2 title changes took place, affecting 1 publication.

There are 6 periodical publications of the Serbian-Canadians,⁹ They are concentrated in Ontario, where 2 titles are from Toronto, 1 comes from Hamilton, and 1 from Windsor. For the remaining 2 titles, the place of publication could not be ascertained. No transfer of titles observed.

The earliest title began publication in 1932, in Toronto, a decade after the time when following World War I, the immigration of the Serbs to Canada gained momentum.

The language scene show 4 titles published in Serbian only, and 2 bi-lingual titles, 1 of which employs Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, and has already been mentioned above, and the other uses Serbian and English. One change of title is recorded.

Although the Canadians of Slovak origin rank as the fourth largest Slavic-Canadian group, their 33 periodicals, published in 9 localities, constitute the third largest group under consideration.¹⁰ Of the 4 provinces in which they have been published, Ontario leads with its 6 places of publication, while Alberta, Manitoba, and Quebec show 1

place each. From the point of view of concentration, the 2 large centres are Toronto, with 16 titles, and Montreal, with 11 titles. Blairmore, Alberta contributed 4 titles. Two titles come from Winnipeg. Finally, Galt, Hamilton, Islington, Ottawa, and Windsor in Ontario shows 1 title each.

There is a considerable mobility observable, affecting 4 titles (12.1%), with 2 titles moving their place of publication once, and 2 — twice. Three titles moved from Winnipeg, Windsor, and Montreal, Toronto, a sign of this city becoming the main centre of Slovak-Canadian life. One title transferred from Montreal, to Winnipeg. In addition, 1 title move to the United States took place.

The mortality ratio of this group occupies the middle position in comparison to the other groups for which this ratio has been calculated. Five Slovak-Canadian titles fall into this category (15%).

The first Slovak-Canadian title originated in 1910, in Blairmore, Alberta, approximately a decade from the beginning of a more compact settlement of the Slovaks in Southern Alberta. In other provinces, the periodicals of the group originated considerably later: in 1931, the first one in Ontario, in 1933 in Quebec, and in 1952 in Manitoba.

Looking at the language picture, the group's periodicals exhibit, considering the long history of the Slovak settlement, a high degree of retention of their native tongue, reflected in the existence of 26 titles (78.7%) using Slovak only. The 2 bi-lingual Slovak-Czech titles discussed above represent, in proportion to the total of the titles, only a small percentage. Four bi-lingual Slovak-English titles (12.1%), combined with 1 title appearing solely in English, produce a total of 15.1% of the acceptance of English. In the large group of Montreal titles, no use of French is recorded, although, on the other hand, none of these titles include the use of English.

Proportionately, a high degree of the changeability of titles can be observed. Six changes (18.1%) took place, although they affect only 2 publications; 1 of them changed its title twice, and the other did so 4 times.

Of the 9 titles of the Slovenian-Canadian group, 8 are from Toronto, and 1 from Montreal.¹¹ No changes of the places of publication occurred. One of the titles transferred from the United States.

The earliest title started publication in 1932, in Toronto, following about a decade of a large scale Slovenian immigration that began after World War I. All the other titles originated after World War II. The title from Montreal was established as late as 1965.

Linguistically, the group's periodical publication show the highest degree of native language retention. With the exception of 1 Slovenian-

Serbo-Croatian publication, referred to already on two occasions above, all of them are published in Slovenian only (88.8%).

The Ukrainian-Canadian periodical publications constitute the largest Slavic group.¹² Their 549 titles are spread over 6 provinces, and come from 49 localities. Ontario, with its 16 places of publication, is in the lead. It is followed closely by Alberta, which shows 14 places of publication. Manitoba and Saskatchewan occupy the middle position with 8 and 7 places of publication respectively. Few places of publication are recorded in British Columbia, where there are 3 places of publication, and in Quebec with only 1 place.

Two huge centres of this group's periodicals emerge: Winnipeg, with its 205 titles, and Toronto, with 157 titles. The second rank is occupied by Edmonton, with its 60 titles. Large centres are, in addition, Montreal and Saskatoon, with 36 and 24 titles respectively. Mundare, Alberta accounts for 11 titles; Yorkton, Saskatchewan for 9; Vancouver for 8; Calgary for 7; Hamilton and Sudbury in Ontario show 5 titles each; Ottawa has 4 titles; Regina and Ancaster, Ontario account for 3 titles each; 2 titles each come from College Heights, Smoky Lake, and Vegreville in Alberta, from Canora, Saskatchewan, and from Grimsby, Ontario; 1 title each show Burnaby and Lillooet in British Columbia, Andrew, Beverly, Borschiw, Lacombe, Pigeon Lake, Rycroft, Two Hills, and Wostok in Alberta, Alvena, Prince Albert, and Rosthern in Saskatchewan, Brandon, East Kildonan, East Selkirk, Roblin, Sifton, St. Boniface, and Swan River in Manitoba, and in Ontario Fort Frances, Fort William, Grafton, Islington, Meadowvale, Oshawa, St. Catherines, Waterford, Weston, and Windsor. For 14 titles, the places of publication could not be ascertained.

The mobility of the group's titles is, proportionately, moderate. In Canada, only 27 titles (4.9%) changed their place of publication. Of this number, 18 titles transferred their place of publication once, 7 have done so twice, and 2 changed their place 3 times. The pattern of moves which proceeded in many directions is very ramified. Toronto, attracted most of the transfers, for it accounts for 11 moves, of which 7 were from Winnipeg, 2 from Mundare and 1 each from Prince Albert and Montreal. Also Winnipeg, exercised a considerable attraction: 6 titles were moved to this city, in particular 2 each from Edmonton and Saskatoon and 1 each from Vancouver and Meadowvale, Ont. The large attracting force of these 2 cities points to their leading role as centres of Ukrainian-Canadian life, at different times. One title each transferred to Edmonton from Beverly and Mundare also in Alberta and from Winnipeg and Toronto. Three titles moved to Montreal, involving transfers

of 2 titles from Toronto and of 1 from Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Yorkton, Sask. attracted 2 titles each, the latter—1 title from Alvena, Saskatchewan and 1 from Winnipeg, the former—1 title from Edmonton and 1 from Winnipeg. In addition, many localities attracted 1 title each. Three of them involved the move West: from Winnipeg, to Vancouver, from St. Boniface, Manitoba to Lillooet, British Columbia and from Winnipeg, to Prince Albert. One title moved East: from Winnipeg to Grimsby, Ontario. In Ontario, one transfer from Toronto to Weston, and 1 from Toronto to Ottawa took place. Four transfers were carried out within Alberta: to Andrew from Edmonton, to Beverly from Smoky Lake, to Lacombe from Edmonton, and to Mundare from Edmonton.

Considerably more than for any other Slavic-Canadian group, Canada has also been the scene of transfers of Ukrainian periodical publications published previously abroad: 7 titles moved in to become thus the Ukrainian-Canadian periodicals, in particular 3 from the United States, 2 from France, and 2 publications which formerly had the multiple places of publication divided between Austria, Germany and the United States. In addition, 3 titles which have started publication in Canada, are conceived as continuations of publications which have ceased publication a considerable time ago, 2 of them in Ukraine, and 1 in Germany. Some movement out of Canada has also taken place. Three titles transferred to the United States.

A substantial amount of Ukrainian-Canadian titles exhibit also a feature, shared only by 1 Byelorussian-Canadian title. They show many multiple places of publication in the sense referred to above. There are 29 titles qualifying under such a definition, or 5.1% of all titles, with 23 of these titles having a double, and 6 titles even a triple place of publication. Furthermore, the majority of these titles, 19 in number, have, in addition to their Canadian location, their other location or locations situated abroad, whereby most of the latter are situated in the United States (18 titles), while the other places of publication are in Argentina (2 titles), in France (1 title), in Belgium (1 title), and 1 even in Australia.

The group exhibits a very high morality ratio: 106 titles (19.3%) qualify under this category, making it thus, proportionately, only somewhat lower than that of the Polish-Canadian group which shows the highest ratio in this respect. Two mergers of 2 titles each are recorded.

In chronological perspective, the first title using Ukrainian in Canada was a bi-lingual Ukrainian-English title which began publication in Sifton, Manitoba, probably in 1901, and which constitutes the first publication in Ukrainian only originated in Winnipeg. It, too, has the

distinction of being the first monolingual Slavic-Canadian publication. In the following years of early pioneering times, Winnipeg continued to be the appearance scene of numerous Ukrainian-Canadian publications: no less than 19 other titles originated here prior to World War I. The pre-World War I times produced also the appearance of this group's titles in the remaining 5 provinces. This makes the Ukrainian-Canadian periodicals the only Slavic group with such a record in Canada. Ontario was the first province to follow Manitoba: 2 titles originated here as early as 1909. Saskatchewan came next: its first started publication in 1910. Alberta's earliest titles appeared in 1911. The first title of British Columbia, a transfer from Manitoba, was published here as early as 1913. Quebec, with its first title originated in 1914, was the last province in this regard.

With respect to language use, the group possesses 373 titles (67.9%) employing Ukrainian only. The 6 bi-lingual Ukrainian-Russian titles, together with the 1 tri-lingual Ukrainian-Russian-English title, mentioned already above, represent but a small group against the background of the total amount of this group's titles. The next large group form the bi-lingual Ukrainian-English titles. It numbers 126 titles (22.9%). Thirty-eight titles (6.9%) use English only. There are also 2 more tri-lingual titles: 1 in Ukrainian, Polish, and English, already referred to above, and 1 in Ukrainian, English, and French. Only 1 bi-lingual Ukrainian-French title can be noted, while 3 titles from Montreal use Ukrainian along with English.

The changeability of the titles is relatively high. The number of the titles affected is 50 (9.1%). This figure represents 42 publications, of which 31 changed their titles once, 5 have done so twice, and 1 publication has changed its title 5 times, a record for all Slavic-Canadian publications.

Having discussed periodical publications of all Slavic-Canadian groups individually, let us now consider their entire periodical publications output as one unit, and, whenever possible, make some comparisons to Canada's other Ethnic periodicals.

Accepting the term "Ethnic" not in its strict sense, but in its colloquial Canadian usage as referring to groups of non-English and non-French Ethnic background in Canada, there are about 1,200 Canadian Ethnic groups in Canada.¹³ With their 800 titles, the Slavic-Canadians have thus by far surpassed other Canadian Ethnic groups, for although they number only 11 groups, their total output of titles accounts for two-thirds of all Ethnic periodical publications in Canada.

The periodical publications of Slavic Canadians have been appear-

ing in 6 of Canada's provinces, from British Columbia to Quebec. This is, by large, also the area in which nearly all other Ethnic groups have their periodical publications. Only the German-Canadians and the Scottish-Canadians show a few titles published in Nova Scotia. New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and New Foundland show no Ethnic periodical publications.

Ontario is the only province in which periodical publications of all 11 Slavic-Canadian groups can be found. It is followed by Quebec, where 7 groups are represented. Manitoba shows the publications of 5 groups. Four are attested in Alberta; and British Columbia and Saskatchewan account for periodicals of 3 Slavic-Canadian groups each.

In terms of the number of titles by provinces, the distribution is as follows: Ontario leads with 326 titles; Manitoba shows 253 titles; Alberta accounts for 106 titles; 89 titles are to be found in Quebec; Saskatchewan has 45 titles; and British Columbia is last with its 18 titles.

The distribution according to the number of places of publication in each province shows, however, a different scale: Ontario leads again with 19 places; next, however, follows Alberta with its 15 places of publication; it is followed by Saskatchewan, which shows 10 places; next is Manitoba, where only 9 places of publication are attested; second last is British Columbia with its 4 places; and at the end stands Quebec with but 3 places of publication.

With respect to concentration, 2 huge centres dominate the field. Ahead stands Toronto, with its 266 titles, and in all 11 Slavic-Canadian groups represented. It is followed closely by Winnipeg, which houses 242 titles, published, however, by 5 groups only. The next largest centre is Montreal, with its 86 titles, representing 7 groups. The fourth largest centre is Edmonton, which accounts for 64 periodicals, published by 3 groups. Saskatoon has 24 titles attested; Vancouver, -15; Calgary, -13; Hamilton, Ontario -12; and Mundare, Alberta -11. Yorkton, Saskatchewan and Sudbury, Ontario show 9 titles each; London and Ottawa in Ontario account for 7 titles each; Windsor, Ontario is next with 6 titles; finally, there is 1 place of publication with 4 titles, 3 places with 3 titles each, 11 localities with 2 titles each, and 31 places of publication with 1 title each.

Larger Slavic-Canadian periodical publication groups show a good deal of mobility of their titles, a feature shared by many other non-Slavic Ethnic publications of proportional title strength. This seems therefore to be a common Canadian phenomenon, caused perhaps by financial instability of these publications which would then undertake their moves to areas where they hoped to find a larger or more receptive reading

public, or the result of the move of editors to other localities where they found the jobs allowing them to edit their publication on the side.

The presence of many multiple places of publication, so pronounced for the Ukrainian-Canadian group, attests to the group's attempts at co-operation between geographically separated concentrations of Slavic-Canadian population whenever the available resources would not allow the establishment of their periodicals locally only. The circumstances that these titles combine their Canadian publication activities with places of publication situated abroad is indicative of the fact that above all the Ukrainian-Canadians, and to some degree the Byelorussian-Canadians have maintained the ties with members of their respective Ethnic origin dispersed in the diaspora.

The morality ratio, show here for large Slavic-Canadian groups, is a feature characteristic for non-Slavic Ethnic publication groups of similar title strength as well. It is most likely rooted in an optimistic hope of the quarters responsible for the establishment of these short-lived titles that their Ethnic reading public will respond and enable them to make their publications economically self-sufficient, hope that proved time and again unwarranted. Mergers, as a remedy to avert the cessation of publication, a means to which some non-Slavic Ethnic publications took refuge, as for instance many German-Canadian publications of Ontario, or, to some degree, Jewish-Canadian periodicals, has, by and large, not been resorted to by Slavic-Canadian groups; only 3 mergers were carried out among their titles.

Seen from a chronological perspective, Slavic-Canadian periodical publications are late arrivals on the Canadian scene. We have seen that their first titles appeared at the turn of the century, the earliest one of them probably in 1901. This is comparatively late when we look at the earliest dates of some non-Slavic Ethnic groups in Canada. Thus, the first German-Canadian periodical publication precedes the Slavic-Canadian ones by more than a century, for it originated as early as 1788; the first Chinese-Canadian title was established in 1811; the earliest Icelandic-Canadian title began publication in 1877; the first title of the Swedish-Canadian was established in 1886; that of the Jewish-Canadians in 1887; the earliest date for the Scottish-Canadian periodical publications, published in Gaelic, is 1892; the first Danish-Canadian title

The Slavic-Canadian groups show a complex spectrum of the use of languages. It ranges from titles published in the native tongue only, through bi-lingual titles using 2 Slavic languages, tri-lingual titles employing either 2 Slavic languages and 1 of Canada's official languages, or a Slavic language and both official languages of Canada, bi-lingual titles showing the use of a Slavic language along with 1 of the official

languages, to titles using 1 of the official languages only. Non-Slavic Ethnic periodical publications show also a pronounced native language – official language bi-lingualism as well as, and, sporadically, the bi-lingualism of 2 Ethnic languages to wit titles using German and Low German, German and Pennsylvania German, Yiddish and Hebrew, and 2 Scandinavian languages.¹⁵

To some degree, the use of the native tongue versus that of the official languages, or in combinations, is determined by the length of settlement, in that a more extensive use of one of the official languages reflects the acceptance of the latter as the basic medium of communication by Canadian born members of individual Slavic-Canadian groups. Data of Canadian censuses on the mother tongue retention of different Slavic groups can be used as control figures only to a very limited extent, for they only indicate the presence of an, in many cases, very uneven bilingualism. Moreover, the degree to which they also reflect the existence of bi-literalism, sufficient to insure the ability to read literature in the mother tongue, and so of relevance to our topic, can scarcely be ascertained, although some correlation between them does, undoubtedly, exist.

Periodical publications of different Slavic-Canadian groups differ considerably in their individual ways of facing the processes of linguistic change affecting their members.

Croatian-Canadian and Slovenian-Canadian publications show no use of any of the official languages, and make up the difference of an already very high percentage of use of the native tongue alone with a bi-lingual publication appearing in their own language and another Slavic language. No statistics on the native tongue retention of these 2 groups were available to allow an interpretation of this situation in the light of 2 alternatives discussed below.

Two other Slavic-Canadian groups retain a high degree of the use of their native tongue only, and at the same time show a low proportion of use of one of the official languages, in combination with their native tongue or alone. This is true for the periodicals of Canadians of Polish and Slovak descent. One possible interpretation of this phenomenon is that these 2 groups of periodicals address themselves predominantly to the first generation of their respective reading public, and make only a weak attempt at reaching their Canadian born generation, incapable of reading in the language of their parents and grandparents. This interpretation seems to be true for Polish-Canadians whose native tongue retention stood in 1961 at 45.5%.¹⁶ Corresponding statistics for Slovak-Canadians were not available. The maintenance of a proportionately

high degree of literacy in the native tongue might be offered as another interpretation of the existence of a large percentage of titles in the group's native tongue only. This could possibly apply to the Slovak-Canadians.

Two other groups of periodicals, while showing a low percentage of native tongue use, exhibit, nevertheless, a low use of one official languages as well, be it alone or in combination with the native tongue of the group. In this case the difference is made up by their bi-lingual publications using their native tongue in combination with another Slavic language. Publications of Canadians of Czech and Russian-Canadian publications would resemble that exhibited by the Polish-Canadian group, for in 1961 the mother tongue retention of Russian-Canadians amounted to a low 29.8% (even if this figure is in fact somewhat higher, for a certain amount of people classified by the census as being of Russian origin are actually of non-Russian background).

Byelorussian-Canadians and Ukrainian-Canadians occupy the middle position in that they show about a third of their titles either in their native tongue and English, or in English alone. This would seem to indicate that those 2 groups do attempt to reach their members incapable of reading in the language of their parents and grandparents via the medium of English. In the case of the Ukrainian-Canadians, this is done in spite of a relatively high 64.6% of the 1961 mother tongue retention. No census data of that type are available for Byelorussian-Canadians.

The periodicals of Bulgarian-Canadians and Serbian-Canadians stand one degree further on the scale of official tongue acceptance. They show no periodical publications in one of the official languages only, but do also attempt to reach their Canadian born generations through the use of English in their bi-lingual Slavic-English publications. No statistics of the native tongue retention were available for these 2 groups to allow any interpretation. One can only say that while the Bulgarian-Canadian bi-lingualism ratio of 33.3% seems to place them along with the Byelorussian-Ukrainian grouping, the respective low of 16.6% of the Serbian-Canadian group would place the group's periodicals in the vicinity of the Polish-Slovak groupings.

At the end of the spectrum stands the Macedonian-Canadian group with their use of English only.

Slavic-Canadian periodical publications show a truly minimal degree of the acceptance of French, be it in combination with a Slavic language, or used alone. Although Quebec shows 89 titles of Canadian Slavs, there is only 1 bi-lingual Slavic language – French title, and 1

mono-lingual French title attested in this province, while 1 tri-lingual title using a Slavic language, French, and English comes from Winnipeg. To a large extent, this situation is, no doubt, due to the heavy concentration of Slavic-Canadian titles in Montreal, where the use of English is extensive. This is indeed reflected in the fact that 8 Slavic-Canadian periodicals from this city use English along with their Slavic language. A similar situation exists, moreover, in the Quebec titles of many non-Slavic Ethnic publications. Considering, however, that the number of at least 3 Slavic-Canadian groups for which statistical data of the 1961 census were available, (for Canadians of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian descent) indicated the use of either French alone or of French and English as their official languages is over 20,000 persons, it would seem advisable to suggest that if the establishment of new bi-lingual Slavic-Canadian periodical publications is contemplated, the use of French, as a gesture of good will towards French-Canadians, be given a serious consideration.

The tendency towards changeability of titles, strongest in the field of annually published calendar-almanacs, is, on the whole, possibly more pronounced in the Slavic-Canadian groups than among periodical publications of non-Slavic Ethnic groups. In some cases, the change of the place of publication was accompanied by a title change. This, however, does not apply to very many title changes. The author of this paper is at a loss to offer any plausible explanation of this phenomenon which is also typical for many non-Slavic Ethnic periodicals as well.

NOTES

- 1 An "internal" aspect of Slavic-Canadian periodical publications is the subject of Dr. Kirschbaum's paper presented to this Conference. Mr. Kellner's paper, presented to the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs, also touches on several "internal" aspects.
- 2 Based on data, available at the Periodical Publications Information File and the Periodical Publications Sample File in the University of Calgary's Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies.
- 3 As in Footnote 2.
- 4 As in footnote 2.
- 5 G. J. Škvor, "Czech-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 3.
- 6 As in Footnote 2.
- 7 As in Footnote 2.
- 8 S. A. Sauer, "Russian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 61-64.
- 9 As in Footnote 2.

- 10 J. M. Kirschbaum, "Slovak-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 65-68.
- 11 R. Cujes, "Slovenian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 70-71
- 12 A. Malycky, "Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 77-142.
- 13 As in Footnote 2.
- 14 As in Footnote 2.
- 15 As in Footnote 2.
- 16 As in Footnote 2, and information of the 1961 census (Catalogues No. 92-545, 92-549, and 92-561) for statistical data indicated here and in the remaining part of this paper.

SECTION VI

FOLKLORE

- (19) R. B. Klymasz, SLAVIC FOLKLORE AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MAN, OTTAWA**
- (20) J. L. Perkowski FOLKWAYS OF THE CANADIAN KASHUBS**

1990, 1991, 1992

1993

1994

1995

1996

1997

SLAVIC FOLKLORE AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MAN, OTTAWA

R. B. Klymasz

The activities of the Folklore Division of the National Museum of Man are devoted to the scientific investigation, documentation, preservation, and diffusion of materials relating to *all* manifestations of folklore in Canada. The main research aim of the Folklore Division is to uncover the specifics and dynamics of Canadian folklore and to document those influences which are shaping its transformation. The bewildering variety of cultures found in Canada today offers a rich yet barely explored source for scientific research as well as national pride. For this reason, the Museum's established areas of folklore enquiry have been recently supplemented by the Folklore Division's initiation of a special research programme devoted to the investigation of folklore among Canada's minority, non-aboriginal ethnic groups. This new programme marks a new and significant contribution towards the development of folklore research in Canada and abroad and, moreover, then its grown-roots signals a major, objective and comprehensive approach to the study of the total Canadian experience.

In brief, it should be noted that the Folklore Division of the National Museum of Man

1 - functions as the country's leading folklore research centre, an important source of information, and a unique national repository which includes Canada's richest collection of field recordings, part of which constitute non-renewable and irreplaceable national materials;

2 - focuses its attention on the varied folklore traditions of a population composed of over thirty distinct ethnic groups scattered over three million square miles;

3 - counts among its responsibilities the need to make a positive contribution to international folklore scholarship, stimulate the further development of folklore studies in Canada, as well as to disseminate information and materials concerning Canada's folklore heritage, and educate the public at large.

In the fall of 1967, a special Slavic and East European Section was established as part of the National Museum's Folklore Division. There are several factors which serve to justify the opening of such a section. First, from the academic or scientific point of view, the Slavic folklore complex has preserved many archaic features which have long disappeared from West European cultures and thus provides non-Slavic folklore specialists with a rich and unique body of materials for purposes of refining their research methods, theories and techniques. Secondly, the sudden transfer of the highly distinctive Slavic folklore complex to Canada marks a crucial situation which allows researchers to witness and document the impact and response of various aspects of Slavic folklore to the new Canadian environment as well as to investigate the reverse process whereby the folklore patterns which characterize the dominant receiving host culture themselves undergo change as a result of the influx of new and foreign elements. In addition to these and other scientific considerations, there is the third factor, namely, the intrinsic aesthetic attraction of Slavic folklore with that high degree of audio-visual appeal which has consistently drawn widespread and favourable attention to the 'colourful' songs, dances and crafts of Canada's Slavic groups, — occasionally even at the expense of other equally significant but seemingly less 'colourful' and less numerous ethnic communities in Canada.

The integration of a Slavic folklore programme into the National Museum's framework of activities in the past was delayed for several reasons. First, most anthropological and archaeological museums are traditionally and primarily geared for the investigation of the so-called primitive or aboriginal peoples of the world and their cultures. As a result much of the National Museum's total output and productive work has been devoted to that segment of Canada's cultural complex which in 1961 was represented by under a quarter of a million native Indians and Eskimos. An important exception to this seeming bias is the Museum's well-established programme devoted to French Canadian folklore and folk culture. Another reason for delay was the general but mistaken and simplistic assumption that Canada's immigrants were being quickly assimilated into the 'Canadian way of life' and that public funds should not be allocated for the study of minority intrusive cultures in Canada which were supposedly, if not happily, dying off anyhow. This kind of assumption implied that folklore research is exclusively engaged in retrieving the past with special attention to quaint Old World customs and traditions, that it has little interest in studying contemporary folkloric phenomena in the New World and hardly applicable to Canada's do-

minant, 'progressive' English-speaking majority except, perhaps, for a few colourful and folksy relic areas in Newfoundland and the Maritimes.

A third obstacle in the way of recognizing the potential of Slavic as well as other minority folklore traditions in Canada was the lack of communication between the National Museum on the one hand and Canada's Slavic community leaders on the other. Efforts to acquire museum materials by contacting Slavic organizations have often been frustrated by the factionalism which typifies so much of the internal institutional life of the individual Slavic ethnic community as well as by the occasional, overly narrow and possessive approach to the respective folk heritage. These and perhaps some other factors which account for the gap between the National Museum and Canada's Slavic communities help to explain, for example, the existence of a string of a dozen or more self-sustaining Ukrainian museum collections spread across Canada from Toronto to Vancouver and the relative dearth of comparative Slavic materials in national and provincial museum collections.

The National Museum's first formal recognition of the full potential of Slavic folklore in Canada came with its publication in 1963 of Kenneth Peacock's "Survey of Ethnic Folkmusic Across Western Canada." This preliminary report indicated, for instance, that the Doukhobors possess "surely one of the greatest examples, possibly *the* greatest, of a harmonic 'musical gestalt' surviving in a Western folk culture" (p. 3) while Ukrainian-Canadians were "found to have the most widespread and flourishing folkmusic and folklore in Canada. After French, English, and Indian, theirs is potentially the largest body of folklore in Canada. In fact, if the same amount of time and effort that have been spent on any of these larger ethnic groups were devoted to Ukrainian research, the body of material would approach, or even surpass, that of the English or Indian collections at the National Meseum" (p. 11).

Following Mr. Peacock's survey of 1963, the Folklore Division of the National Museum embarked on an intensive programme of research devoted to the investigation and documentation of all aspects of the Slavic folklore complex as found in Canada. This complex includes manifestations of Slavic verbal, material and spiritual lore: that is, folksong and folkmusic, beliefs, customs and rituals, folk arts, crafts and folk architecture. Such a wide spectrum of interest to some extent conflicts with the usual notion of the term 'folklore' as understood in the Slavic countries themselves where folklore is understood to designate only verbal, textual materials such as folksongs, folktales, proverbs and sayings; other

aspects of any given folk culture are generally in the hands of ethnographers, musicologists, and so on. However, in Western Europe and particularly in North America, folklore research has encompassed almost any aspect of folk culture except for the investigation of economic, societal and other, aspects of folk culture.

At the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, the Folklore Division's Slavic folklore programme can be divided into the following six kinds of activities: (1) field investigations, (2) basic research, (3) archival development, (4) exhibit work, (5) the collection of artifacts, and (6) the preparation of manuscripts for publication. Field investigations form an indispensable aspect of Slavic folklore research in Canada since, in the case of several Slavic groups, no folklore work has been done at all in this country. Much of this pioneering research is conducted on behalf of the National Museum by qualified and trained individuals under contract with the Museum's Folklore Division. The tendency, so far, has been to cover first those Slavic communities in Canada whose folkways reflect a strong retention of Old World cultural patterns; and, for this reason, much of this fieldwork is being done among the large block Slavic settlements found in the rural, agricultural areas of Western Canada and, to a lesser extent, in parts of Ontario.

All field materials collected in the field are then deposited with the Museum's Folklore Archives. The organization, and systematization of field data/and other documentary information on Slavic folklore in Canada forms a formidable task for the Folklore Division's technicians who are responsible for cataloguing and processing all these Slavic materials in keeping with retrieval procedures already used for the established fields of folklore enquiry in Canada such as French, English, Indian and Eskimo. Today the Museum's Folklore Archives in Ottawa includes materials recorded on tape among the following Slavic groups in Canada: Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Doukhobor, Kashubian, Macedonian, Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian. The Museum's collection of Ukrainian and Doukhobor folkmusic recorded in the field in Canada represents the largest collections of their kind outside the Soviet Union. In time and with the help of qualified researchers, the Division hopes to establish a balanced collection of materials representing the whole range of Slavic folklore in Canada and not only the lore of selected Slavic groups.

In addition to field recordings, increasing attention is being made to the acquisition of artifacts which will represent the folk culture of Canada's various Slavic groups. Wherever possible, specimens made or uti-

lized in Canada are especially important for the Museum's Slavic programme in order to illustrate through its future exhibits the manner in which Slavic material folk culture has adapted itself to the new Canadian environment. At the same time, outstanding and select specimens which relate only to the Old World are also acquired and added to the National Museum's collections in order to serve as comparative material. The National Museum's first Slavic exhibit was held earlier this year and attracted over 10,000 visitors during the Easter weekend in April.

The National Museum's publications programme provides one of the most important vehicles for the diffusion of information and materials concerning aspects of Slavic folklore in Canada. Thus far, one Slavic folklore publication appeared earlier this year, and three are in print at the Queen's Printer and scheduled to be released this summer. A fourth publication is being prepared.

In general, the National Museum's future work in the field of Slavic folklore will fall in line with the Museum's Folklore Division's main research aim: to discover the essence, dynamics and specifics of Canadian folklore and to document those influences which are shaping its transformation. In effect, this means that the focus of attention will be on Slavic folklore within and in relation to the Canadian context. The immediate task is to undertake intensive research on the folklore of each individual Slavic group in Canada. Once this is done, the folklore materials collected from each group can be compared with one another and with the folklore of other non-aboriginal minority groups in Canada in order to ascertain the similarities and differences insofar as current Slavic folklore trends and processes in Canada are concerned. Only when these features are determined, can Slavic folklore in Canada take its place as an integral aspect of Canada's folklore heritage and, hopefully, make its contribution to the formulation of Canada's national identity.

May 30, 1969.



FOLKWAYS OF THE CANADIAN KASHUBS

J. L. Perkowski

At the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs I delivered a paper entitled "A Canadian Supplement for the Pan-Slavic Linguistic Atlas of Europe."¹ In it was outlined a plan for gathering and analyzing representative samples of Slavic speech in Canada. This research was subsequently begun during the summer of 1968 under the sponsorship of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. Keeping in mind that language is the major vehicle for a culture, the texts were collected with a view not only to their form or linguistic structure, but to their content as well. At this time, with the aid of several such texts, I shall attempt to illustrate the retention and transformation of Kashubian folklore in Canada.

The Kashubs are an apt choice for this first phase of research, since their settlement in and around Wilno, Ontario was the first permanent Slavic colony in Canada.² The Kashubs, a Slavic group very closely related to the Poles,³ first began to settle in Canada in 1864. At that time they were a persecuted Slavic minority group in Russia. Their Old World settlements centered around the cities of Puck, Wejherowo, Gdąnsk, Kartuzy, Bytowo, and Koscierzyna. Those who came to Canada were from the region immediately east of Bytowo. By the turn of the century, immigration of the Kashubs to Canada had ceased and the New World colonies of Wilno, Barry's Bay, and Round Lake Center were firmly established.

It must be borne in mind that contemporary Kashubian culture is a subset of Polish culture with some remnants of Pomoranian culture

¹ See *Slavs in Canada*, Vol. II (Toronto, 1968), pp. 259-262.

² See W. B. Makowski. *History and Integration of Poles in Canada*. The Canadian Polish Congress, (Niagara Peninsula, 1967), pp. 49-69. and *The Canadian Family Tree*. (Ottawa, 1967), p. 14.

³ For a recent discussion of several of the facets of Kashubian nationalism, especially in relation to the Poles and Germans, see Peter Brock's (University of Toronto) article "Florjan Cenova and the Kashub Question," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. II, Number 3, September 1968, pp. 259-294.

not found in Polish culture. This blend lends a cohesive and unique quality, which serves to differentiate Kashubian culture from Polish culture. Yet, it is very difficult to speak in terms of a culture and lore which is specifically Kashubian.⁴ Polish elements tend to predominate. Indeed, those who are acquainted with Polish lore may well recognize one or two of the items which follow.

The motives for Kashubian emigration to Canada were mixed. There is no doubt, however, that religious persecution played a significant role. As a disenfranchised Catholic minority in Lutheran Prussia, the Kashubs focused their ethnic identity on the Roman Catholic Church with its various religious and social institutions. It is no great surprise, then, that the Canadian Kashubs never developed any secular ethnic organizations. During the whole of their century-long sojourn in Canada they have centered both their spiritual and their social life on the Church. Their folklore, too, has a strong admixture of Catholic religious elements. It is this close tie of Kashubian culture to the church which has enabled the Kashubian folklore imported from Europe to flourish in Canada for four generations. This folklore heritage, of course, has not remained completely intact. In fact it is just now entering into a period of rapid decline. There are two main contributing factors: (1) the exodus of the younger generation to the larger cities, thereby breaking up the cohesive socio-religious ethnic unit. (2) recent changes in the rituals and practices of the Catholic Church, thereby removing the Church as the main prop of the folk culture.

The Kashubian folklore originally brought over from Europe has been preserved intact, has been adapted to the Canadian environment, or has simply been lost. No new genres were developed in Canada. The myriads of stimuli which lead to preservation, adaptation or loss of any given item or genre of Kashubian folklore in Canada cannot be subjected to exhaustive analysis here. Instead, representative examples of each will be presented.

Of the folklore items which have been preserved intact, those which accompany and supplement Catholic ritual predominate. Although practices such as 'dyngus' date from pre-Christian times, they have since been given the unofficial sanction of the Church and have thus thrived through the ages. This practice, as described in the following text, is still to be found in Canada.

⁴ See Friedrich Lorentz. *The Cassubian Civilization*, (London, 1935).

Text A⁵ *Easter Custom*

They came on Monday, Easter Monday,
as it is. They brought rods early in the morning.
Those boys came in ones and twos and
did dyngus. They got a person in bed
and they gave it to him on the feet and then
they wanted an egg.

Other practices, beliefs, and rituals have also been preserved since pre-Christian times, but they have done so outside the pale of the Church. A good example is the belief in vampires, and expressed in the following text. The survival of such beliefs is due to an inherited fear of supernatural beings, traditionally defined by the folk culture. This belief in vampires is still widespread among the Canadian Kashubs, especially in the older generation.

Text B *Supernatural Beings*

One they called a 'wupji' (vampire) and one 'vješči'
(vampire),
but I don't know the "difference".
Some were born so that they had
teeth right away and some were born so that
they had that blotch in the mouth.
But I don't know which were the 'vješči'
and which were the 'wupji', "you know."

They said that you had to prepare them,
something at death. When they died
it seems to me that they
poured sand from the grave
into the coffin and they
were careful to hide it from the doctor, having
placed it under the sheet. That he came to in the grave
and then he carried off his relatives.

The cause for adaption are due, for the most part, to the new physical environment, new flora, and new fauna in Canada. Beset by harsher

⁵ A transcription of the original Kashubian version of this text and texts B, C, and D is to be found in the short appendix to this paper. For an explanation of the system of transcription, see my work, *A Kashubian Idiolect in the United States*, Indiana University Publications, (Bloomington, 1969), pp. 11-30.

weather conditions than those they had experienced in Europe, the Kashubs suffered a high infant mortality rate during their early years in Canada. This led to the custom of baptizing their children the very first Sunday after birth. Neither in Europe nor in Canada did the first Kashubian immigrants have physicians readily available to them. In way of compensation, they developed a pharmacopoeia of folk medicines. Needless to say, they were not able to find the same herbs in Canada and, therefore, were forced to seek out new medicinal herbs. The following describes just such an herb.

Text C *Folk Medicine*

Father collected roots which
grown under the balsams. Those plasters of ours
out of "gold root". That is the best medicine.

Previously the Church condoned a spring calendar ritual by blessing flowers. This custom has since been lost through a shift in Church practice. The recent loss of this custom is recorded in the following text.

Text D *Church Ritual*

"In Assumption of the Blessed Virgin
Mary on August the fifteenth" flowers
which we had grown were gathered.
And the priest blessed them one at a time
And this year we took some. It was no longer done.
Now the priests that are here now
don't do it like the old ones.

True it is that the Canadian Kashubs are ever more rapidly becoming acculturated to English Canadian culture. Yet this must not be viewed as an overwhelming process, suffering passive participation on the part of the Kashubs. It is quite the contrary. Some sixty years ago, when logging was the chief occupation of the Kashubs, a young Kashubian logger decided to adopt an English logging ballad and to transform it for use among the Kashubs from Wilno. Having entered the folklore tradition of the Canadian Kashubs, it is still sung today. This final text is given below in its entirety. It has always been sung in English.

Text E *Ballad*

I'm a jolly old fella.
You all know my name
I live at Wilno,

the village of fame.
For singing and dancing
and all kinds of fun
sure the boys from Wilno
they can't be outdone.

Awhile on your patience
I beg to intrude.
We'll hire with Fidgel –
He was agent for Bood –
to go up the Black River
that's far, far away
on the old Caswell farm
to harvest the hay.

We pack up our turkeys
on the first of July,
Brunus, Rakowski,
Joe Shalla, and I.
On the straight way to Pembroke
our luggage we take.
There we boarded the Empress
and sailed up the lake.

We arrive in Fort Collins
a place you all know.
We chew on our fiddle.
We rosin the bow.
The bawling strings sang out,
the clear trilling voice
and the old slow rocks echoed:
well done Wilno boys.

But we left the next morning
amid wishes and smiles.
From there to Caswell
was forty-six miles.
On the north side, a mountain.
It was the old adar route,
but when we'll got there
we're nearly done out.

Oh the board at the Caswell
the truth for to tell
cannot be surpassed
in Roswell's Hotel.
We had beefsteak and mutton.
Now at least we can stand
when I go the ally carloads
for six inches long

We had Costa's rice pudding
and sweet apple pies,
good bread and fresh butter
that would you surprise.
We had cabbage, cucumbers,
both pickling and raw
and a leg of the heaver
we stole from the squaw.

When the having was over
we'll pack up our clothes.
We shoulder our turkeys.
We went to the woods.
There we fell the tall pines
with our axes and saws,
sure to terrify wild animals,
both Indians and squaws.

Us boys, we were merry.
We dance and we sing.
We live just as happy
as emperor or king.
We had seven good fiddlers
and none of them drones
and I was the one
I can rattle my bones.

When the drive will be over,
I wish it was soon,
when time to go home
in the first week of June,

and if God spare our legs
to get home in the Spring
when they make our hall
at Wilno to ring.

So now I conclude
and I finish my song,
for I really believe
I have kept you too long,
So I am getting sleepy,
am nodding his head,
so I think we all say our prayers
and roll into bed.

A. wuŋi přěšli v "Monday", tyn "Easter Monday"
 jak to je. přiŋali šliži včas ryno. to
 tdi ty knopy xwōžili jedni pwo dva i se
 dyngwovali. dostali čwōvjeka wu wuška
 to pwo špirax nakwodli i tdi jōj
 xceli.

B. jedyn nazvyly wupji, jedyn vješči,
 ale jo hevjim tego "difference". to
 jedni so urozile, co wani mjele
 zarus zomba a jedni se urozyla, co
 wani mjely ta watq v gomje.
 ale jo hevjim jači bywo to vješči
 a jači to bywi to wupji, "you know".
 wani kwūvili, že jix muši wopatř,
 cos na swirc, jak wani pwimarla
 to mje sq zdaje, že wani
 vsapele s tegwo grobu tegwo
 pjusku i to trumq u wani
 zwaski cobi doktor xiti wōžyn pwo pwbq.
 že wani přyšet do sebje v grobje
 i tedy wani zabiruw swoix krevnyx.

C. djeco zbirewaw kwožonki co pwo
 balsomax rosnq. take tinke u nas
 v "gold root". to jest to nolapsq
 medecina.

D. "In the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin
 Mary on August the fifteenth" kvjati
 co mami tak wardswi su nabrely.
 i kunc to po vjedno posvjasiw.
 a latos my vzoli. juš he bywo.
 teras ti bynje co so teru to
 tak he roba jak te stari.

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN SLAVS

York University, Toronto, June 14-17, 1969

OPENING SESSION

SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 1:30 - 2:30 p. m.

Chairman: *C. Bida* (University of Ottawa)

Opening remarks by J. A. WOJCIECHOWSKI,
President, Inter-University Committee on Canadian
Slavs.

Greetings on behalf of York University by

Dr. Y. Grabowski;

Ch. A. Lussier, Deputy Under Secretary of State of
Canada and Ontario Government representatives.

Tribute to the late Professor SIMPSON,

Dr. J. Kirschbaum.

PLENARY SESSION I

SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 2:30 - 5 p. m.

Chairman: *Professor Woroby* (University of Saskatchewan)

B. R. Bociurkiw (University of Alberta)

Ethnic ties and Attitudes of University Students
Ukrainian Descent: The University of Alberta
Case Study

V. Szyrynski (University of Ottawa)

Ethnic Integration and Psychological Adjustment

Discussant:

Katherine Koening (York University)

PLENARY SESSION II

SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 8 - 10 p. m.

Chairman: *Walter Tarnopolsky* (University of Windsor)

Papers: *J. B. Rudnyckyj* (University of Manitoba)
Slavic Language Minorities in Canada and their
Constitutional Protection
C. J. Jaenen (University of Ottawa)
Canadian Education and Minority Rights
J.-D. Gagnon (Université de Montréal)
Le Parti Québécois et les Slaves

Discussant:

S. I. Littman (Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith)
Dr. J. Kirschbaum

PLENARY SESSION III

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 9:30 - 12 noon

Chairman: *R. C. Elwood* (Carleton University)

Papers: *V. J. Kaye* (Ottawa)
Plan of the Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian
Biographies — Pioneer Settlers 1891 - 1900 and
Problems Connected with the Research
R. J. Vecoli and R. Kochan (University of Minnesota)
Research Opportunities in the University of Min-
nesota Immigrant Archives

Discussant:

Helen Carscallen (York University)

PARALLEL SESSION I

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 2 - 5 p. m.

Chairman: *Colin MacAndrews* (York University)

Papers: *R. B. Klymasz* (National Museum of Man, Ottawa)
Slavic Folklore in Canada and the National
Museum of Man

J. L. Perkowski (University of Texas)
Folkways of the Canadian Kashubs

Discussant:

Roma Skoczylas (University of Pennsylvania)

PARALLEL SESSION II

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 2 - 5 p. m.

Chairman: *B. G. Kayfetz* (Canadian Jewish Congress)

Papers: *Y. Slavutych* (University of Alberta)
Ukrainian Textbooks Published in Canada

G. Grodecki (Canadian Polish Congress)
Schools of Polish Language in Canada

Discussants:

Barbara Mackay (Toronto Board of Education)

D. Struk (University of Toronto)

PARALLEL SESSION III

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 2 - 5 p. m.

Chairman: *G. Zekulin* (University of Toronto)

Papers: *R. K. Kogler* (Canadian Polish Congress)
Demographic Profile of the Polish Community
in Canada
J. Skurat (Byelorussian Institute of Arts & Science)
Activité Culturelle Bielorussienne au Canada

Discussant:
C. J. Jansen (York University)

BANQUET

MONDAY, JUNE 16

6:30 — 7:30 p. m.

Cocktail Reception — McLaughlin Jr. Common Room,
Banquet — McLaughlin Dining Room, 7:30 — 10 p. m.
Concert — Courtesy of York University

PARALLEL SESSION IV

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 9:12 noon

Chairman: *Virginia Rock* (York University)

Papers: *A. Malycky* (University of Calgary)
Periodical Publications of Canadian Slavs
J. M. Kirschbaum (Canadian Ethnic Press Federation)
Ideological Orientation of the Ethnic Press
in Slavic Languages
A. A. Hrycuk (Queen's University)
Byelorussian Imprints in Canada

Discussant:
Andrew Gregorovich (University of Toronto Library)

PARALLEL SESSION V

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 9:12 noon

- Chairman:** G. Schaarschmidt (Indiana University)
- Papers:** V. O. Buyniak (University of Saskatchewan—Saskatoon)
Place Names of the Early Dukhobor Settlements
in Saskatchewan
E. Burstynsky (University of Toronto)
English and Ukrainian in Contact:
Yvonne Grabowski (York University)
English and Polish in Contact:
A. Issaenko (York University)
English and Russian in Contact:
- Discussant:**
- R. Klymasz (National Museum of Man,
Ottawa)

PARALLEL SESSION VI

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 9:12 noon

- Chairman:** R. March (McMaster University)
- Papers:** R. Cujes (St. Francis Xavier University)
The involvement of Canadian Slavs in the
Canadian Coöperative Movement
K. Tagashiera and Y. W. Lozowchuk (University of
Saskatchewan—Saskatoon)
Ethnicity and Higher Education (Saskatchewan
1910—1961): Preliminary Report
- Discussant:**
- Alan Powelle (Erindale College, University
of Toronto)

PLENARY SESSION IV

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 2—4:30 p. m.

Chairman: *Eli Mandel* (York University)

Papers: *B. Z. Shek* (University of Toronto)
The Portrayal of Canada's Ethnic Groups in the
French-Canadian Novel, With Special Emphasis on
the Works of Gabrielle Roy
T. Krukowski (University of Ottawa)
Ethnic Groups in English-Canadian Novels

Discussant:

Cecil Wojciechowska (Erindale College,
University of Toronto)

CLOSING SESSIONS and BUSINESS MEETING of the Inter-
University Committee on Canadian Slavs

TUESDAY, 17, 5—6 p. m.

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