THE UKRAINIANS
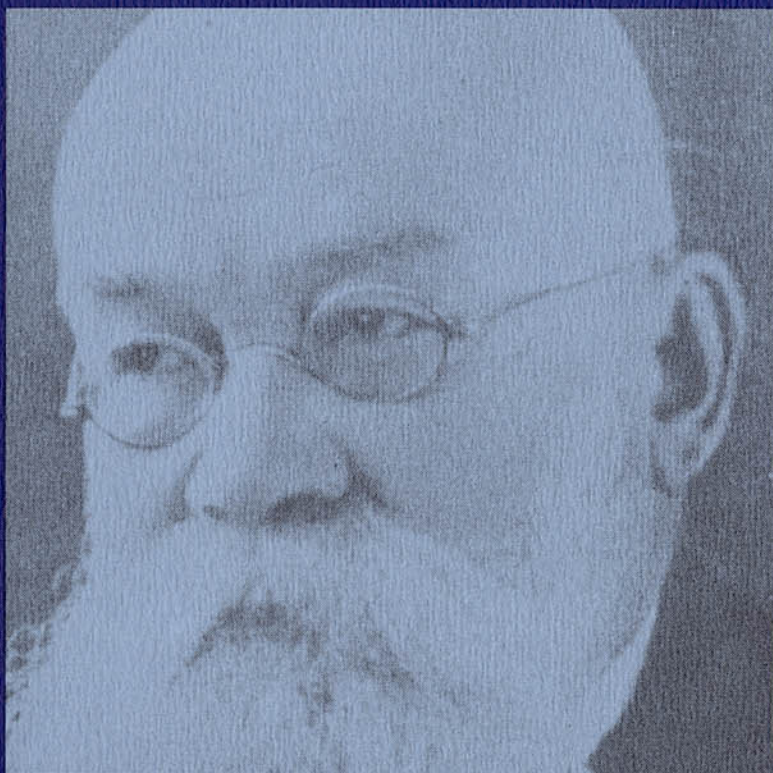
IN CANADA

O. W. Gerus
and
J. E. Rea

Canada's Ethnic Groups   Canadian Historical Association

CANADA'S ETHNIC GROUPS

THE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

O.W. GERUS and J.E. REA
Department of History
University of Manitoba

Distribution of the people of
UKRAINIAN ORIGIN
in Canada, 1981

Source: Statistics Canada

Newfoundland

Nova Scotia 1,960

N

Prince Edward Island

New Brunswick 635

14,540
Québec

133,995
Ontario

Manitoba

99,795

Northwest Territories 575

76,810
Saskatchewan

Alberta

136,710

British Columbia

63,610

Yukon Territory 635

PERCENT (%) — Rural
— Urban

NFLD.

N.S. 29.6 / 70.4

P.E.I.

N.B. 30.0 / 70.0

QUE. 5.2 / 94.8

ONT. 11.8 / 88.2

MAN. 28.7 / 71.3

SASK. 38.8 / 61.2

ALTA. 26.6 / 73.4

B.C. 21.7 / 78.3

N.W.T. 20.0 / 80.0

Y.T. 23.6 / 76.4
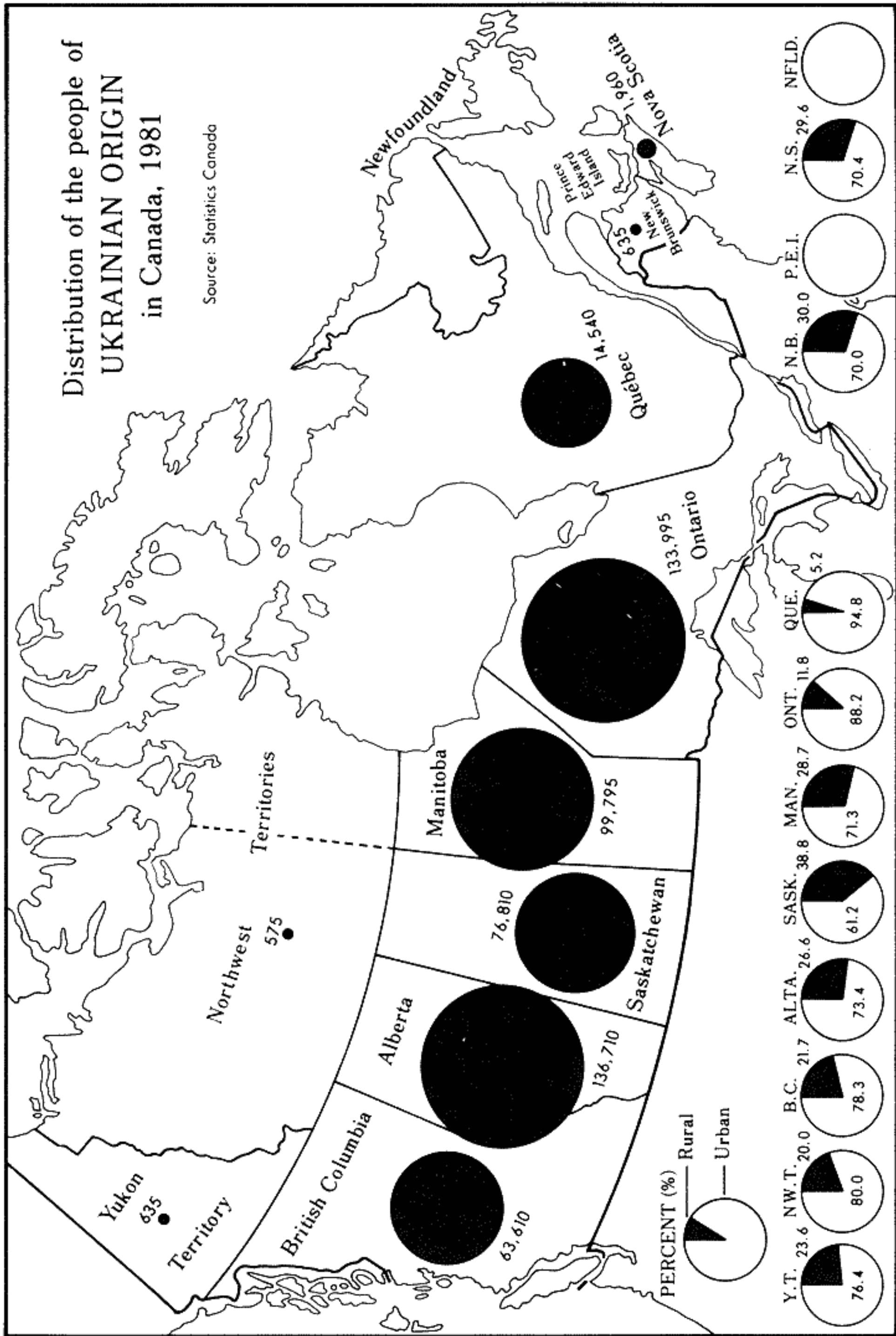
THE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

I — The Ukrainian Background

Ukrainian people belong to the eastern branch of the Slavic nations. Their ancestral home is the land north of the Black Sea, which today, with a population of 50 million, is a constituent republic of the Soviet Union. Geography has played a critical and paradoxical role in the destiny of the Ukrainian people. Abundant, rich, agricultural land and a moderate climate gave Ukraine a reputation as the "bread basket of Europe". But this natural resource lacked geographical barriers against powerful outsiders and throughout history Ukraine was an easy prey to invasions from all directions. Consequently, since the collapse of the original Ukrainian state, Kievan Rus', in the thirteenth century, the Ukrainian lands have been dominated by the neighbouring countries, mainly Russia, Poland and Austria. Because the Ukrainians have been for so long a non-sovereign, fragmented nation, their national development was retarded until the nineteenth century. Furthermore, because the Ukrainian landed gentry tended to assimilate with the ruling nationality in order to retain its socio-economic privileges, by the nineteenth century the Ukrainian nation had become essentially peasant in character. Even when industrialization began, the Ukrainian urban classes were small and politically insignificant. Russians, Poles and Jews predominated in urban centers, which became non-Ukrainian islands in a Ukrainian sea.

At the beginning of Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the 1890s, the bulk of the Ukrainian territory and approximately 25 million people were within the autocratic Russian empire. The tsarist regime pursued policies of centralization and Russification of the subject nationalities (nearly 50% of the total); all manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism were severely repressed and the Ukrainian language was prohibited. Economically, however, conditions gradually improved after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and a strong rural class, the farmers, emerged in Russian Ukraine. Furthermore, large scale industrialization with all of its socio-economic ramifications began in Ukraine in the 1880s.

Western Ukraine, the home of another four million Ukrainians (often called Ruthenians), was part of the polyglot Austro-Hungarian Empire and consisted of the provinces of Galicia, Bukovyna and Trans-carpathia. The vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada came from Galicia and Bukovyna, both areas of mixed population, where the Ukrainians shared the land with the Poles and Rumanians respectively. In Galicia, the Polish gentry and Polonized Ukrainians formed the ruling class. Religious affiliation provided a simple and clear means of national identification. The Ukrainians were members of the Uniate or Greek-Catholic Church which adhered to Byzantine and Ukrainian traditions including the use of the Slavonic language and married parish clergy. The Poles, on the other hand, were staunch Roman Catholics and regarded Ukrainian conversion to Roman Catholicism as acceptance of Polish nationality. Since both churches were equal in law and enjoyed state support, the clergy had a special status and the Uniate priests provided national leadership for the Ukrainian community. In Bukovyna, while both the Ukrainians and the Rumanians belonged to the Orthodox Church, the Rumanian gentry dominated the region politically and economically.

3

The watershed in the history of the Ukrainian people of Austria was 1848, which witnessed the outbreak of widespread revolutionary activity in Europe. Serfdom was abolished and the Ukrainian peasants, for the first time in their history participated in the political process, which the clergy undertook to organize. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ukrainians of Austria, influenced by the national revival in Russian Ukraine, began to see themselves as a distinct national group.

Initially, the imperial government in Vienna encouraged and supported this development largely as a tactical move to keep the politically powerful and volatile Polish community in Galicia under control. Eventually, an understanding was reached with the Poles at the expense of the Ukrainians whereby the Poles obtained control over the internal affairs of Galicia in return for their loyalty to Vienna. The affirmation of this monopoly of power ensured the continued economic dominance of the countryside by the Polish gentry. For the duration of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Ukrainian leadership waged an unceasing struggle for equality with the Poles in the educational, political, cultural, and economic spheres. During this struggle, a new secular intelligentsia emerged from the ranks of the peasantry, first to supplement and ultimately to replace the Uniate clergy in its traditional role of leadership. Although Polish domination remained entrenched, compared with Ukrainians in the repressive Russian empire, the Ukrainians in Galicia made remarkable political and cultural progress. By the end of the nineteenth century Galicia had become the center of the Ukrainian national revival.

The public school system, while weighted in favour of the dominant nationality, provided Ukrainian children with educational facilities in their own language. Primary education became compulsory at the end of the nineteenth century (earlier than in much of Canada) and village reading clubs (chytalni) were created by enlightenment societies to fight adult illiteracy. The reading clubs provided a multidimensional, education experience and they were transferred to Canada where a community hall has characterized every Ukrainian grouping to this day. Functioning in the constitutional system of Austro-Hungary, the reading clubs also sensitised the peasant to the importance of the political process. The Ukrainians had a number of political parties representing the entire ideological spectrum, from Marxism to clerical conservatism, from which to elect their deputies to the provincial diets (in Galicia and Bukovyna) and to the imperial parliament in Vienna. Despite the tensions generated by Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Rumanian conflicts, political oppression was seldom a cause of Ukrainian emigration. It is doubtful that even those young men who emigrated specifically to avoid the dreaded compulsory military service would claim political status.

Nonetheless, the economic condition of the Ukrainian peasantry in Austria was far from satisfactory. Emancipation had not significantly improved the material condition of the peasants who remained economically dependent on the large landowners who controlled over 40 percent of the land. The average peasant landholding was small (2-5 hectares) and average productivity was low, although the stereotyped image of a homogeneous mass of illiterate and impoverished people in the sheepskin coats is less than accurate. Modernization of estate agriculture was, in fact, having a positive impact on the progressive seg-

ments of the peasantry as they became acquainted with agricultural innovations.

Many Ukrainians, however, had to leave their homeland to find work because of Austrian policies which deliberately kept Galicia an industrially under-developed region. Partially responding to the pressure of the large landowners, Vienna designated Galicia as an agricultural zone and marketplace for products from the industrially advanced western parts of the empire. The little industry that did develop in Galicia was of a primary nature: oil production at Droho-bych and lumbering in the forests of the Carpathians. Ukrainian populist parties attempted to improve the economic condition of the peasantry by developing a cooperative movement and by the early twentieth century East Galicia was covered by a network of agricultural and dairy cooperatives, credit associations, and insurance companies which, for the first time, gave the Ukrainians collectively significant economic power. Yet, while the condition of the peasantry as a group improved noticeably, many peasants remained frustrated.

Before the overseas emigration captured the imagination of the Ukrainians, their experience with large-scale migration was rather limited. In Russian Ukraine, the only significant migration began in the late nineteenth century when the government encouraged colonization of the newly annexed territories of the Far East. The availability of free land in the eastern Russian empire precluded the need to emigrate overseas, except for political or religious reasons, as was the case with the German Mennonites and the Russian Doukhobors and Jews. In Austro-Hungary, since land was in short supply, seasonal migration was widely practised. But the Ukrainian inhabitants of Trans-carpathia, which was under Hungarian rule, were the first to leave for North America in large numbers in the 1870s, destined for the American coal mines. The first group of Galicians, lured by rumors of well-paying jobs, followed in 1879. These emigrants were by and large experienced migrant labourers whose original intention was to return home after making fortunes in the United States.

Attracted by exaggerated offers of free land and free passage, between 24,000 and 30,000 impoverished peasants of the Eastern Galician regions left for Brazil in the 1880s. Their initial illusions were quickly and painfully shattered by the radically different climatic conditions, tropical diseases, hard contract labour on coffee plantations and a corrupt immigration bureaucracy. Anguished letters home caused concern among the intelligentsia about the so-called Brazilian fever and the desperate condition of the Ukrainians in Brazil prompted Joseph Oleskiw, a professor of agriculture in Lviv, to study alternative destinations for resettlement. In September 1891 two peasants from the village of Nebyliv in Galicia, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pillipiw, had become the first documented Ukrainians to Canada when they began homesteading in Alberta. Their news that a 160 acre homestead (ten times what the average peasant had) could be purchased for a mere $10.00 caused a sensation at home and led Oleskiw to write a very popular pamphlet, *About the Free Lands*, which concluded that Canada was the most suitable country for Ukrainian agricultural settlements. In 1895, he visited Canada as a guest of the government and presented the Canadian authorities with a scheme for settling Ukrainian peasants in western Canada. Oleskiw opposed flooding Canada with a destitute peasantry, but proposed to select candidates with adequate means and temperament for pioneering ventures. He preferred bloc settlements for psychological and practical reasons.

5

At the same time, he stressed the importance of government loans to help the settlers establish cooperatives and other essential institutions. The fall of the Conservative government, with which Oleskiw was negotiating, put an end to the assistance scheme, but not to the idea of colonization and Oleskiw's intensive campaign to shift emigration from Brazil to Canada paid off, as the number of Canada-bound emigrants began to increase. Fueled by letters home and the propaganda of shipping agents, emigration assumed a mass character.

The lack of reliable emigration data makes it difficult to establish the exact numbers of the original exodus or its specific social composition. Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that between the late 1870s and 1914 some 600,000 Ukrainians left the Austro-Hungarian empire for North and South America. Several thousand also emigrated from the western regions of Russian Ukraine. As far as it can be determined, around 400,000, mainly labourers, landed in the United States: some 150,000 predominately agriculturalists, settled in Canada; and 50,000 of the most impoverished peasants headed for Brazil and Argentina.

Canada received a cross section of Ukrainian rural society. There were peasants with means who, upon arrival, bought tillable lands near towns and cities, such as those north of Winnipeg along the Red River where they specialized in market gardening or poultry farming. There were poor peasants who had barely enough money for their passage and virtually nothing with which to begin the difficult life on isolated homesteads. And there were tens of thousands of single men and women who were sent to Canada by their families for the purpose of earning money to be sent home. Among this group were a small number of high school, seminary and university students who, either for economic or political reasons, were unable to complete their education at home. Most of this small, but dynamic and youthful, intelligentsia became teachers in Canada where they formed the political and national elite of the Ukrainian community.

Initial Austrian reaction to emigration from Galicia was negative. The landowners were justifiably concerned about the shortage of cheap labour, especially in the light of the agricultural crisis in Hungary caused by the exodus of Trans-carpathians to the United States. However, the imperial parliament refused to sanction local interference with emigration, since earnings sent from North America were having a positive impact on the Austro-Hungarian peasant economy. The peasants finally had some capital at their disposal, and the desire of prospective emigrants to sell their land quickly drove down land prices to the advantage of those remaining at home. The Ukrainian intelligentsia itself was divided over the issue of emigration. Conservative elements, notably the church, opposed emigration because a reduced population threatened the Ukrainian fact in Galicia, since more Ukrainians than Poles were emigrating. Radicals on the other hand, believed that emigration was the quickest way for the peasants to better themselves economically. All agreed that institutions such as the Uniate Church and the Prosvita Society, must maintain their presence among the emigrants. Yet the sending of Ukrainian Catholic priests to Canada was complicated by the politics of religion. The Uniate Church consisted primarily of married priests and monastic orders were few. The Vatican ban on married clergy in North America placed a severe burden on the Ukrainian church leadership. The few eligible priests who emigrated went to the United States, leaving the early Ukrainian immigrants in Canada without their own priests. The for-

mation of special Byzantine-rite orders from the Belgian Catholic clergy merely complicated the situation and alienated the faithful. Partial stability was restored only with the arrival of the first Ukrainian bishop in 1912. The spiritual situation of the Orthodox Bukovynians was equally deplorable as the Rumanian authorities refused to send priests to Canada.

II — The First Wave: Ukrainian Immigration 1896-1914

There was something quite fortuitous in the timing of Oleskiw's exploratory visit. Europe was about to experience one of the great population movements of history and the popularization of Canada which followed Oleskiw's return ensured that the sparsely inhabited prairies became a magnet for the many Ukrainians determined to leave. They were part of the flood of immigrants to Canada at the turn of the century who filled the central interior of the country.

The Liberal Government of Wilfrid Laurier, elected in 1896, actively promoted immigration from the Ukraine. Clifford Sifton of Manitoba, the Minister of the Interior who was responsible for immigration policy, believed that only farmers were desirable immigrants and that, if Britain, Northern Europe and the United States could not provide the required numbers, new sources of agricultural immigrants must be sought. The surplus rural populations of Southern and especially Eastern Europe were the most promising alternatives. Under Sifton's direction the immigration branch was reorganized and revitalized and, for the first time, officers of the department extended their activities to south-eastern Europe. The North Atlantic Trading Company, based in Hamburg, was created to organize the search for immigrants. Agents travelled throughout Eastern Europe offering five dollars for every male immigrant and two dollars each for women and children. Over the next few years, the Slavic population of the Austro-Hungarian Empire provided new settlers to Canada and Ukrainians, by 1911, numbered over 100,000.

The typical Ukrainian emigrant from Galicia was young, had some rudimentary education, some political experience in the constitutional system of Austro-Hungary and spoke (or at least understood) Polish and German. The goal of most of these immigrants was land and the Canadian homestead policy which offered a quarter section of 160 acres for a $10.00 fee and minor settlement obligations seemed a bonanza to those accustomed to subsistence plots in the old country. Although the Ukrainians were late-comers in the scramble for prairie homesteads and much of the best land was already gone, they preferred wooded land for timber and fuel supplies. The vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants settled in the prairies in a wide arc along the southern edge of the Canadian shield, from the rock-strewn Stuartburn area of south-eastern Manitoba through the scrub lands of the Interlake to the Yorkton-Saskatoon district and along the Valley of the North Saskatchewan to Vegreville, east of Edmonton (See Table III). Not surprisingly, they settled in close-knit communities to give each other material and pyschological support in this new and inhospitable land.

In a series of bloc settlements, they attempted to recreate villages similar to those they had left in Galicia or Bukovyna. For those who came as family units and settled on the land, the husband was often gone for months at a time working as a farm labourer or a navvy on one of the many railways being built throughout western Canada. It was a hard and lonely life for the women. But

Table I

Ukrainian Immigration to Canada

	Total Ukrainian Immigration	% of Total Canadian Immigration
1891-1900	23,746	7.0 %
1901-1910	84,892	5.2 %
1911-1920	63,382	.04%
1921-1930	58,914	.05%
1931-1940	8,198	.05%
1941-1950	22,831	.05%
1951-1960	14,257	.01%
1961-1971	3,807	.02%

Table II

People of Ukrainian Origin in Canada

	Total Population	Male	Female	Ukrainian Total	Ukrainian %
1901	5,371,315			5,682	0.11
1911	7,206,643			75,432	1.05
1921	8,787,949			106,721	1.21
1931	10,376,786	122,687	102,426	225,113	2.17
1941	11,506,655	162,448	143,481	305,929	2.66
1951	14,009,429	208,188	186,855	395,043	2.82
1961	18,238,247	246,609	226,728	473,337	2.60
1971	21,568,310	295,556	285,104	580,660	2.69
1981	24,083,495	265,210	264,405	529,615	2.20

few of the Ukrainians had much capital and the cost of equipping a prairie farm was considerable. There were no government subsidies, as there had been for the Mennonites and Icelanders who had arrived in the 1870s. Nor was support to be expected from their British neighbours who, with few exceptions, resented the Slavic influx.

Although land was the initial objective of almost all of the Ukrainian immigrants, a significant number, especially of the single or unaccompanied men, remained in the ethnic working class North End of Winnipeg, or found their way to similar districts which soon appeared in Saskatoon or Edmonton. Many lacked the will, the talent or the capital to adapt to extensive prairie agriculture. Just as in the rural areas, the urban immigrants clung to each other for support and ethnic neighbourhoods sprang up in the towns and cities across the prairies.

Unlike North Europeans or Americans, these immigrants from Eastern Europe could not blend immediately into the majority population. Although Sifton appears to have given little heed to the social implications of introducing a visibly alien element into the fluid cultural context of the prairies, meeting after meeting denounced and editors thundered against his policy of encouraging "herds of half-civilized Galicians", as the Ukrainians were commonly known, to settle in Western Canada. The Slavs typified the potential danger of the new migration in the perception of the British majority. The distinctiveness of the Ukrainians — in dress, culinary habits, and especially in language and religion — was both threat and challenge to the host society.

About two-thirds of the immigrants were Uniate Catholics and the remainder Orthodox. But they were not accompanied by their clergy and so were vulnerable to the blandishments of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface, who wished to use their numbers to increase his leverage in his own quarrels with the British majority, and to the proselytizing endeavours of the Presbyterians and, to a lesser extent the Methodists, who assumed that the only dependable immigrant was an English-speaking Protestant. Nevertheless, most Ukrainians maintained their religion and gained some sense of security when Nikita Budka arrived as the first Eastern Rite Catholic Bishop in 1912. The minority Orthodox group were served by itinerant Russian Orthodox priests from the U.S.A. who were subsidized by the Russian Church. As an essentially peasant culture, the natural rythmns of birth, marriage and death were religious celebrations expressing their intense sense of community and a resident clergy was thus extremely important to group survival.

Language retention was also crucial for community integrity. It was the bond between the adult generation, who had difficulty in learning English and were offered few opportunities to do so, and the children who were quickly, and sometimes decisively, influenced by the English culture all around them, especially in the urban centres. In the rural prairies, the threat to the language was less direct, especially in the compact and insulated bloc settlements. Ukrainian was spoken at home and at church and community events. There was also a remarkable burst of journalistic activity. Many of the newspapers were ephemeral; almost all served special interests. They did, however, hold in common the desire to bind the Ukrainians closer together, to end their isolation, both physical and psychological. Before 1918, the most important Ukrainian language news-

papers, all published in Winnipeg, were the *Canadian Ruthenian*, which spoke for Bishop Budka and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, and the *Ukrainian Voice*, generally independent but an active supporter of the movement which founded an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1918. Both of these at first gave substantial coverage to the Ukrainian nationalist cause in the old country, but more and more attention was devoted to Canadian issues. Other important newspapers included the first Ukrainian language journal, *Canadian Farmer*, founded and financed by the Liberal Party in 1903, *Morning*, a proselytizing vehicle of the Presbyterian Church, and *The Working People*, which represented the radical views of the small, but vocal, Ukrainian Social Democratic Party. Many other newspapers appeared and collapsed with startling rapidity.

A better means of language retention available to this initial wave of Ukrainians was an ironic legacy of the Manitoba School Question. The provincial Public School Act of 1897 included a clause which provided for bilingual education. There were no linguistic restrictions to the provision and many of the new immigrants were quick to take advantage of it. Soon there were bilingual schools teaching in English and German, Polish or Ukrainian. Indeed, to meet the need for teachers, the Manitoba Government was obliged to open a Ukrainian, or "Ruthenian", Normal School in Brandon. The preoccupation with cultural continuity was, of course, a luxury of the educated, urban minority of the original Ukrainian immigrants. The reality of life for most Ukrainians was grinding labour on rocky farms, railway rights-of-way, or city work gangs. Loneliness and toil were the usual lot of the women and children could expect an abbreviated education and an early entry into the lowest stratum of the labour force.

The distinctiveness of the Ukrainians provoked an inevitable backlash, but the reaction of the host society was not uniform. They were perceived as a "problem" by the society's leaders, resented by most, especially in the rural areas, feared as economic competitors by organized labour and exploited for their votes by politicians at all levels. Yet all agreed that, if they were to be allowed into Canada, they must be assimilated. The adult immigrants were considered irredeemable. As one popular magazine put it: "The elder generation can only be pitied, regulated, aided and endured, while the younger ones can be watched, fostered and developed into Canadians through the regular channels." These channels included such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Frontier College and the Protestant churches, all of which assumed that Canadian meant British and Protestant. Most important of all, however, was the public school system; its function was assumed to be the training of "good Canadians." As early as 1908, the *Manitoba Free Press* was predicting the balkanization of Canada and demanding the end of bilingual education.

The assimilationist drive of the majority was intensified at the outbreak of The Great War, when the negative image of the Ukrainians was reinforced by the suspicion of disloyalty. When Austria and Serbia went to war after the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand, Bishop Nikita Budka, with more haste than good judgement, called upon those Ukrainians in Canada who were eligible for military service in the Austrian forces to return to fight for the Fatherland. Within a few days, Britain and the Empire were also at war with Austria and

Budka attempted to repair the damage. In a second pastoral letter, he urged his people "to come to the defence of Canada. . . which. . . has given us protection under the banner of liberty of the British Empire." But the taint of disloyalty could not be erased and Budka was pilloried continually until 1919, when the Great War Veterans Association forced a court inquiry which finally exonerated him.

All those Ukrainians in Canada who were not yet naturalized automatically became enemy aliens when Canada entered the war. Under the emergency powers of the War Measures Act, the federal government began to intern enemy aliens suspected of being anything other than peaceful and trustworthy residents of Canada. A total of 8,579 enemy aliens was interned, of whom only 1,192 were Germans resident in Canada. Some 5,954 internees were described as Austro-Hungarians and the overwhelming majority of these were almost certainly Ukrainians. Many Ukrainians had been hard hit by the depression of 1913, losing their jobs through ill-luck or discriminatory employment practices since they were usually the first to be fired. Hundreds of them sought work in the United States and, after the beginning of the war, they were promptly interned when they returned to Canada. Some Ukrainians were interned for attempting to enlist in the Canadian army! Although Ukrainian Canadians from Russia were permitted to enlist, those from Austria-Hungary were ineligible. In fact, some 2,000 Ukrainians did enlist as Poles or Russians and fought overseas, but a few of these were discovered, charged and interned. Other reasons for internment included failure to register, travelling without permission or even writing a letter to Galicia. In late 1916, the increasing labour shortage, especially on prairie farms, and the costly nuisance of maintaining the camps, led to an end to the internment of Ukrainians. Nearly 6,000 "Austrian" internees were paroled within a year.

The anti-foreign sentiment engendered by the war led to other assaults on the continental European immigrants. By 1916, the newly-elected Liberal Government of Manitoba, despite earlier promises, abolished bilingual education in the province and created a unilingual and compulsory public school system. The federal government, to ensure its re-election in 1917, introduced a War Time Elections Act, which disenfranchised all enemy alien immigrants naturalized after 1902. This carefully selected date meant that almost every naturalized Ukrainian lost his political rights. Finally, just prior to the end of the war, the federal authorities used their emergency powers to suppress all non-English publications in Canada suspected of enemy sympathies and proscribed all allegedly radical political groups.

The end of the war brought little relief. In January 1919, mobs of returned soldiers in Winnipeg, frustrated by unemployment and inadequate housing, smashed their way through the immigrant neighbourhoods forcing people to kneel and kiss the Union Jack. They were never charged. The General Strike in Winnipeg, which began in mid-May and provoked wide-spread sympathetic strikes throughout western Canada, spawned a wave of xenophobia, as government and business leaders sought scapegoats. The radicalism of western labour, grounded in economic exploitation, was branded alien and un-British, despite the uniformly British leadership of the movement. The irresponsible charges of the business elite did much to poison ethnic relations for years in Western Canada.

In the countryside, only the most hesitant and tentative overtures were made to Slavic farmers to join the cooperative movement and the political revolt which swept the prairies as wheat prices tumbled after the war.

III — The Second Wave: Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1919-1939

The Russian Revolution in 1917 gave the Ukrainians of the empire an opportunity to create an independent state. In the ensuing struggle between the newly established Ukrainian People's Republic and Soviet Russia the Bolsheviks emerged victorious by 1921. Although the Bolshevik-sponsored Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was conceded a limited degree of home rule, its autonomy was severely constrained by the central government in Moscow. Western Ukrainians were equally frustrated in their efforts to break away from Polish domination after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Poland not only continued to hold Galicia, but also occupied Volyn, a Ukrainian Orthodox region formerly under Tsarist Russia. Although the majority of Ukrainians (1926: 29 million) remained in the Russian sphere of control, approximately eight million constituted Poland's largest and most restless minority. Rumania occupied Bukovyna and the newly created Czechoslovakia took over Transcarpathia from Hungary. Czechoslovakia proved to be the only oasis of genuine democracy in east-central Europe and the Ukrainian minority there (1930: 450,000) benefited immensely from Prague's benevolence.

During the 1920s the pressures leading to emigration grew stronger. Although the Soviet Ukraine was devastated by wars which lasted until 1921 and there was a widespread famine, Ukrainians were not allowed to emigrate abroad; rather internal Soviet migration was encouraged. In Polish Ukraine food shortages and epidemics combined with high taxes and a devalued Polish currency to make life exceedingly difficult. Moreover, in Galicia the Polish government launched a programme specifically designed to destroy the institutional basis of Ukrainian national life. Under these circumstances, two categories of people, the war-impoverished peasants and the persecuted nationalistic intelligentsia, were ready to emigrate. Eager to Polonize Galicia, the government readily issued passports while restricting the amount of money which could be taken out. Because the province of Volyn experienced less political pressure from Warsaw than Galicia, the emigrants from there were motivated primarily by economic considerations.

The Great War had cut off any further overseas immigration. Between 1914 and 1921, the Ukrainian population of Canada increased by less than 600. Indeed, not until 1926 was there any significant augmentation of the Ukrainian population from abroad. The severe economic slump after the war and the anti-Slav bias so evident during the conflict prompted a major revision of Canadian immigration policy. The vagueness of the Immigration Act of 1910 (which was not seriously revised until 1952) allowed the federal government to satisfy the growing demand for immigration restriction. Asiatics were excluded, Jews were treated separately and the rest of the world was divided up into "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries as sources for future immigrants. Needless to say, Ukrainians fell into the second category. So it was not until late in the decade that any substantial addition to the Ukrainian community occurred. As agricultural commodity prices increased, so did the demand for farm labour.

The C.N.R. and the C.P.R. both undertook rapid branch line extension in the northern prairies, increasing the demand for labour. Because of pressure from the two transcontinental railways, the federal government agreed in 1925 to allow the two companies to recruit immigrants from eastern Europe. For a few brief years, at the end of the 1920s, Ukrainian immigration once more reached significant proportions, as 68,000 arrived in the interwar period.

In contrast to the first wave of emigrants to Canada, the interwar emigrants were better educated and more nationally conscious. Although formally agriculturalists continued to dominate, labourers, political emigres, and veterans of the Ukrainian wars of independence represented an important component of the new immigrants. While the majority headed for the prairies, a number remained in southern Ontario, attracted by the employment opportunities of Canada's industrial heartland. The new immigrants combined with the Ukrainian migration from the West to increase the Ukrainian presence in Ontario between 1921 and 1941 from 8,300 to 48,200 (70% urban). Manitoba continued to boast the largest Ukrainian population in Canada with nearly 30% of the 306,000 Ukrainian Canadians living there (1941). Winnipeg became the centre of Ukrainian cultural and religious life in Canada.

During the 1930s emigration from the Ukraine again slowed to a trickle. The onslaught of the Great Depression hit first at the most vulnerable — the unskilled, the unorganized and the inarticulate. On drought-ravaged prairie farms or sharing the desperate idleness of the urban unemployed, Ukrainians suffered at least as much as any other group in Canadian society. When the bleak decade began, 85.7% of Canadian Ukrainians lived in the prairie provinces and 10% in Ontario, three-fourths of whom were urban. In the prairies, the reverse was true; 78.6% of the Ukrainians still lived in the countryside. Their relatively poor lands condemned them to years of isolated poverty. But at least they survived. Only a very few drifted to the cities during the depression for prospects there were little better. As the unemployment rolls grew longer, a disproportionate number of Ukrainians were thrown out of work and job discrimination became a fearful reality. Thousand of Ukrainians, especially the younger ones who could speak unaccented English, Anglicized their names, some legally and formally, many others informally.

Government relief programmes helped many farmers, but in the cities municipal resources were overwhelmed. The prairie provinces, teetering on the verge of bankruptcy, were unable to assist municipal authorities, which took increasingly severe measures to reduce relief rolls. Several thousand people were deported during the depression at the instigation of local officials, some by request, but most after official proceedings. Their only sin was being unable to find employment. What will never be known is the untold number who declined to apply for relief, even when eligible, as fear of deportation spread through the immigrant communities.

The bloc settlements had allowed the Ukrainian pioneers to establish community organizations at the initial stage of their arrival. Basically, the organizations that appeared in Canada, the village church and the secularized community or reading hall, reflected those of the old country. There was, however, one significant difference: the absence of a state-supported church. Parishes were

established and churches built before there was any meaningful involvement by the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Galicia. By the time structured religious life took root within the Ukrainian Catholic community, secular influences, absent in Galicia, had begun to assert themselves in Canada. The inability of the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop, Budka, to adjust to the new conditions generated tensions which by 1918 led to a division within the Catholic community and the formation of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church. The new church consisted of former Catholics and Orthodox Bukovynians. Through the interwar period, the Greek Catholic and the smaller Orthodox churches, despite their intense rivalry, held the allegiance of approximately two-thirds of the people. The Ukrainian and English Baptist and Presbyterian churches, benefiting from rural missionary work and urban intermarriages, grew steadily. Since the Ukrainian Prostestants showed a greater propensity towards assimilation, they did not play a prominent role in the cultural and political life of the Ukrainian community.

The Ukrainian struggle for independence had a major impact on the Ukrainians in Canada and intensified the process of Ukrainization of the old country regionalisms, as the labels of Bukovynian, Galician, and Ruthenian were rapidly replaced by Ukrainian. Modernization and the deplorable condition of the working class in Galicia had produced a small but dynamic Ukrainian socialist movement, elements of which were later transferred to Canada (Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada). After the revolution in Russia, a number of the Ukrainian socialists embraced the ideals of communism in 1918 and formed the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), which was closely associated with the Communist Party of Canada. The Ukrainian radical left attracted those patriots who were impressed with the cultural growth of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and appalled by Polish actions in Western Ukraine, and those who were concerned with relevant socio-economic issues, especially discrimination and unemployment, issues which were largely ignored by Ukrainian non-Communist organizations. The depression further enhanced the popularity of the ULFTA among urban workers and poor farmers and its membership grew. However, the ULFTA suffered a serious set back in 1934, because of changing conditions in Soviet Ukraine. Stalin's forcible collectivization, which resulted in the devastating man-made famine of 1932-33 in which an estimated 5-7 million Ukrainians perished, and the vicious purges of Ukrainian intelligentsia and institutions raised questions in Canada which the Communist party could not answer satisfactorily. As a result, the dissidents split from the ULFTA and formed a small but potent Ukrainian Labour Organization which became a severe left-wing critic of communism.

Politically then, the Ukrainian community remained deeply divided between the communists and their sympathizers, on one side, and the feuding anti-communists — democrats, socialists, monarchists and nationalists — on the other. When the Orthodox Church was founded in 1918, it spawned a secular arm known as the Ukrainian Self Reliance League (USRL), committed to Ukrainian Canadian nationalism and rejecting ties with any non-Canadian organization, although it advocated support for the Ukrainian struggle for national independence. In the same year, a rather curious conservative-monarchist group, known as the United Hetman Organization (UHO), was imported from the homeland. Although it organized para-military clubs called Sich and attracted

passionately devoted followers, it remained an eccentric splinter, alienated from the republican convictions of most Ukrainian Canadians concerned with the future of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholics, envious of the success of the USRL, founded their own organization in 1932 called the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC). Its posture was clearly evident in its slogan, "Catholic religion, Ukrainian culture, Canadian citizenship". It became the largest single group within the community, but was not nearly as activist as the other organizations. The Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) was also created in 1932. It was supported by militant nationalists, the political emigres who had fled the collapse of the Ukrainian Republic in the 1920s. The UNF decried the religious squabbles in Canada and sought to unite all Ukrainian Canadians under its banner, thus incurring the enmity of the USRL, an hostility further embittered by personal feuds. Out of this quarrelsome mix, the Second World War was to forge the first national body of Ukrainian Canadians which could represent most, but never all, of their community.

There had been sporadic attempts at cooperation among the competing non-communist organizations, but these *ad hoc* committees had never evolved into anything permanent. However, in 1938 a Polish Government campaign of terror against orthodox Ukrainians in the Province of Kholm and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia provoked united support from most Canadian Ukrainians. As the war in Europe approached, strong pressure began to build within the various organizations to cease their quarrels. Although discussions were held for the purpose of forming a national organization, they were always wrecked by the animosity between the USRL and the UNF. With the outbreak of war, there was an even stronger compulsion to present a united patriotic front to the Canadian government, since there were still many bitter memories of the experiences of the Great War. The federal government, for its part, was anxious to ensure a united war effort and moved to arbitrate differences within the community. The Department of National War Service feared that lack of unity might adversely influence voluntary enlistments. It sponsored a meeting in Winnipeg, the centre of Ukrainian life in Canada, in November 1940, which led to the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. This national committee, which spoke for all but the Communists who rejected it and were rejected by it, has played an indispensable role in the encouragement and preservation of Ukrainian cultural life ever since its creation.

Just as the Second World War pulled the country out of depression, it impelled Ukrainian Canadians closer to the mainstream of national life. This time there was no enemy alien stigma as a barrier to participation and enlistment figures from within the community were heavy. A high proportion of the Winnipeg Grenadiers, who suffered in Hong Kong and spent the war as prisoners, were Canadian Ukrainians. The demonstrated patriotism and large enlistment (estimated at 35,000) helped to make Ukrainians more acceptable in the eyes of the host society and instilled greater self-confidence as full fledged citizens in the Ukrainians themselves.

The new found confidence and a degree of wartime prosperity were also reflected in politics. There had been isolated electoral successes in the prairies prior to 1939 at the municipal and provincial level, especially in Manitoba, and Alberta had sent the first Ukrainian Canadian M.P. to Ottawa in 1926. Where

there were heavy concentrations of Ukrainians, the technique of block voting would often produce victories. As voters, Ukrainian Canadians seemed to polarize on the political spectrum, the majority as conservatives and a small but determined minority who supported radical candidates on the left. But by the late 1940s, block voting was diminishing and on occasion two, or even three, candidates of Ukrainian origin would contest the same seat for different parties. This growing participation in political life, which has seen 90 Ukrainian members of provincial assemblies, 26 members of parliament and representation in provincial and federal cabinets, as well as the Canadian Senate, marks the increasing integration of the community in public life.

IV — The Third Wave: Ukrainian Immigration since 1945

When the Second World War ended in Europe, several million Ukrainians found themselves outside their homeland. These refugees consisted mainly of conscripted labourers, who had been deported by the German occupying forces from all parts of Ukraine, and of political emigres, who did not want to live under the rule of the Soviet Union which had seized control of all Ukrainian populated lands in Eastern Europe. Former territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania were integrated into Soviet Ukraine. The legal position of Ukrainian refugees sheltered in the Displaced Persons' camps, which were established by the United Nations in post war Europe, largely in Germany, was rather precarious. In 1945, the Allies had agreed at Yalta to the mutual repatriation of their citizens. While the majority of Ukrainians returned home willingly, significant numbers refused and force had to be used in the repatriation process. Ukrainian Canadians, acting through the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its Relief Fund, as well as the several Ukrainian members of parliament, became intensely involved in providing material and moral aid to the remaining refugees. The Committee's lobbying, combined with the emerging Western-Soviet tensions, succeeded in ending the forcible repatriation of the Displaced Persons.

By the time repatriation stopped, the number of Ukrainian refugees had declined dramatically. In Germany less than 60,000 remained in the British zone, 100,000 in the American zone, and around 20,000 in the French zone. Austrian and Italian camps housed another 33,000. An estimated 100,000 Ukrainians lived outside the designated camps because of the fear of repatriation. Canada's post-war need of labour in agriculture, mining, and forest industries was skilfully exploited by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to persuade the government of the desirability of allowing the Ukrainian refugees into the country. Limited immigration, consisting exclusively of men, began in 1947. Entry regulations emphasised sponsorship and rigid health requirements. By 1952 over 32,000 Ukrainians entered Canada. With the emptying of the refugee camps, however, Ukrainian immigration to Canada has been reduced to a trickle. Because the majority of the refugees were sponsored by forestry and mining companies, they were sent to northern Ontario. After they had fulfilled their contractural obligations (usually 18 months) to their corporate sponsors, they, like their interwar predecessors, gravitated to the industrial cities of southern Ontario. Thus by 1951, of approximately 84,000 Ukrainians in Ontario, over 80,000 were urban. Toronto became the capital of the third wave.

Table III

Distribution of People of Ukrainian Origin in Canada
Total No. (and %)

	Atlantic Provinces	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	British Columbia	Northern Territories
1901	-	6 (-)	31 (.5)	5,622 (99.0)	23 (0.4)	-
1911	300 (0.4)	458 (.6)	3,078 (4.1)	70,913 (94.0)	682 (0.9)	1
1921	392 (0.4)	1,176 (1.1)	8,307 (7.8)	96,053 (90.0)	793 (0.7)	-
1931	883 (0.4)	4,340 (2.0)	24,426 (11.0)	192,878 (85.7)	2,583 (1.2)	3
1941	735 (.24)	8,006 (2.6)	48,158 (15.8)	241,407 (78.9)	7,563 (2.5)	60 (.02)
1951	1,431 (.36)	12,921 (3.3)	93,595 (23.7)	264,109 (66.9)	22,613 (5.7)	374 (1.0)
1961	2,349 (.52)	16,588 (3.5)	127,911 (27.0)	290,146 (61.3)	35,640 (7.5)	703 (1.5)
1971	3,215 (.27)	20,325 (3.5)	159,880 (27.5)	335,840 (57.8)	60,145 (10.5)	1,245 (2.2)
1981	2,595 (.49)	14,540 (2.8)	133,995 (25.3)	313,315 (59.2)	63,610 (12.0)	1,210 (2.3)

The third, and so far the last, major Ukrainian influx differed appreciably from the preceding waves. First and most importantly, it was essentially political in character. Moreover, although Galicians still predominated, the immigrants represented all parts of ethnographic Ukraine, including the extreme eastern region of the Kuban Cossacks. This amalgam of militant western Ukrainian nationalism and Eastern Ukrainian anti-Communism constituted a new socio-political dynamic in Ukrainian immigrant life. The majority of the refugees had wished to go to the United States, which they perceived as the guardian of the democratic world and as an advanced industrial giant with unlimited opportunities for refugees. The Ukrainian political elite also fancied that it could influence American policies towards the Soviet Union. Canada, on the other hand, was a distant second choice, an underdeveloped country suitable for agriculturalists and unskilled laborers, but certainly not for the Ukrainian intelligentsia. It was chiefly the difficulty of entering the United States that compelled many of the latter to choose Canada.

While the actual refugee phase was quite short, it was remarkably dynamic. The Ukrainian camps and camps with mixed East European occupants, generally located in the former army barracks or internment camps, were beehives of political, cultural, educational and religious activities. There was a significantly high proportion of people with university education and a variety of professional and technological skills and they established organized structures, like the press, which often were transplanted *in toto* to the United States and Canada.

The injection of these politicized and educated immigrants into Canada caused acute tensions within the established and overwhelmingly Canadian-born Ukrainian community (1954: 70%). The reluctance and often outright refusal of the newcomers to join existing organizations, their nationalist arrogance and elitism and their determination to convert the established organized life to their own political purpose (the liberation of Ukraine) was one source of difficulty. But the conciliatory efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee restored relative harmony to community life.

The majority of the refugee intelligentsia had a difficult time adjusting to Canada. The language barrier, irrelevance of some of their skills (law and education), artificial restrictions placed by Canadian professions, especially medicine and dentistry, and the middle age of these immigrants forced many of them to accept menial jobs. Yet a minority managed to overcome the odds and achieve economic success relatively quickly, thereby antagonizing some elements of the earlier immigration who considered themselves responsible for the good fortune of the newcomers. They resented the seeming lack of gratitude on the part of the former DPs for the work of the pioneers in facilitating the resettlement of the refugees and for winning acceptance of the Ukrainian fact in Canada in the first place.

The post war refugees represented the last significant Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Today practically all the European Ukrainians live in the Soviet Union which does not allow free emigration. Despite the efforts of the Candian government to facilitate family reunions, very few Ukrainians have been able to emigrate to Canada from Ukraine. Indeed, between 1952 and 1967 only 5,330 Ukrainians in total arrived in Canada, mostly from Europe and South America.

V — Recent Trends

The recognized spokesman for the Ukrainian Canadians is the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Since its inception in 1940, the UCC evolved into a sort of Ukrainian parliament in which all non-Communist Ukrainian groups (30 organizations) participate. The UCC has managed to reconcile the old line organizations with those of the third immigration and in this way provide the necessary stability within the Ukrainian community and effective leadership for the Ukrainians in the diaspora. For example, the Ukrainian Canadians have played a determining role in the formation in 1967 of a global Ukrainian body, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which speaks on behalf of an estimated three million people. In Canada, Ukrainian organizations had realized a long time ago the philosophical and political importance of cultural pluralism for their own ethnic survival. Ukrainian organizations pioneered the concept of multiculturalism and have been vigorously advocating it since the 1920s. The formal recognition of Canada in 1971 as a multicultural nation was at least in part due to the efforts of the UCC.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia has traditionally regarded the retention of the native language as the key to the preservation of its heritage and identity. During the pioneer era in Canada, Ukrainian language retention was made relatively easy by the nature of bloc settlements and the educational provisions of the prairie provinces which allowed limited use of Ukrainian in rural public schools. Nativist pressure eliminated bilingual facilities in 1916 and Ukrainian was kept out of the school curriculum until the 1960s when, as a result of long and persistent lobbying, the Ukrainian language returned in a piecemeal and limited fashion into the public schools of the prairies and was introduced in Ontario. In the late 1970s the first bilingual Ukrainian classes opened in Alberta and Manitoba. The student response, while encouraging, has not been overwhelming. The Ukrainian persistence and drive to win a place for their language in the public school system has served as a model for other ethnic minorities, including the native people, but it has been the Ukrainian private schools which have contributed most positively to the preservation of the language. Church and community sponsored private schools have been reasonably successful in teaching the language and in inculcating students with the rudiments of their culture and history.

On a more advanced level, there has been a steady growth of Ukrainian studies at Canadian universities. Beginning with the University of Saskatchewan in 1945, Ukrainian studies (language, literature, and history) have been introduced at a number of universities, the most significant being the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta and St. Andrew's College at the University of Manitoba.

Apart from school, the communication media have been a major vehicle of cultural continuity. The Ukrainian Press has played a particularly crucial role. Ukrainians in Canada have produced well over 500 different publications in their native language. The press not only fulfilled the traditional function of keeping its readers abreast of Ukrainian activities in Canada and the world, but also assumed a leadership role in the pioneer era and, despite differing and conflicting religious and political orientations, it has continued to focus on the

development of Ukrainian national consciousness and self-esteem. The press generously opened their pages to both established and budding poets, writers, and memoirists and in this manner encouraged the development of Ukrainian literature in Canada. Today, however, only a minority of Ukrainians, largely the elderly and the members of the post-war immigration, read the Ukrainian language press regularly.

The most visible and successful manifestation of Ukrainian cultural heritage can be found in the performing and fine arts. Ukrainian festivals with colourful and artistic dances and the robust and melodious choirs have long been focal points of Ukrainian gatherings. Ethnic radio stations and community access TV provide other outlets for Ukrainian music. From its humble origins, the intricate Easter egg has evolved into the symbol of Ukrainian identity in Canada. In a similar way the unique church achitecture characterizes the Ukrainian presence in rural and urban settings. The Ukrainian names of the rural communities on the prairies (Sirko, Komarno, Myrnam, etc.) complete the picture.

However, behind the facade of ethno-cultural vibrancy, the Ukrainian community in Canada is in a state of flux. The underlying cause of apprehension is the steady decline of the Ukrainian language as a viable means of communication. Thus, while today nearly 50% of Ukrainian Canadians still recognize Ukrainian as their mother tongue, less than 20% actually speak it with any regularity. This situation has been created by the absence of ongoing or new immigration from Ukraine due to Soviet restrictions. Unlike most other ethnic groups which are steadily reinforced by the continuous arrival of their countrymen the Ukrainian community (529,615 in 1981) has become increasingly Canadian born (85%). Furthermore, the vehement anti-communism of the majority of the Ukrainians made meaningful cultural relations with Soviet Ukraine difficult. Consequently, Ukrainians in Canada must rely primarily on their own resources for their ethno-cultural preservation and continuity.

This self-reliance has been steadily undermined by the natural assimilationist forces, especially intermarriages, which have made the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians functionally Anglophones. Those concerned with ethnic survival have responded to the situation in two ways. The traditionalists — the older intelligentsia and some third generation activists — have renewed their efforts to regenerate the language. Given the current policy of Russification of Soviet Ukraine and the perceived threat to the very existence of the Ukrainian nation, the urgency of the preservation of the Ukrainian language in Canada has acquired an almost messianic dimension for the traditionalists. Such activist groups as Parents for Ukrainian Education have demonstrated a remarkable success in initiating heritage language programs in a number of public schools in the prairies and Ontario. The majority Anglophone Ukrainians, on the other hand, have been substituting English as a medium of Ukrainian Canadian cultural expression. They believe that one does not have to speak Ukrainian to be Ukrainian. They reject hyphenated Canadianism and see themselves as Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry. They stress the importance of English language publications on Ukrainian subjects and emphasise the non-verbal dimensions of traditional culture such as folk dancing, handicrafts, native cuisine, adherence to religious festivities (Ukrainian Christmas) and other forms of ethnicity.

These seemingly contradictory approaches to the preservation of the Ukrainian ethno-cultural identity in Canada have generated most stimulating, albeit inconclusive, debates in the Ukrainian community about the validity of the reconstituted Ukrainian culture and the future of the Ukrainian fact itself in Canada. Only time will tell, but in the meantime, the long struggle for acceptance has been largely won. The original lure of *vilni zemli* (free lands) has transformed the immigrant mass into an integral and politically important element of Canada. Indeed, in the eyes of the most recent immigrants, the Ukrainians appear as members of the Canadian "establishment".

VI — Comparative Perspective

For almost a century, Ukrainian Canadians have been one of the largest and most visible immigrant groups in Canada. Like their fellow Slavs and Jews, who came during the mass influx before the Great War, they were set apart by language, religion, dress and culinary custom. In the prairie west especially, where most of the first wave settled, they were perceived as a disturbing, even dangerous, element by the Anglo-Celtic majority. Even their potential assimilability into Canadian society was much in doubt.

In the vision of their most important sponsor, Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior at the time, the Ukrainians would be an agricultural labour force whose success would be chiefly marked by the acquisition of their own homesteads. He gave little, if any, heed to the social implications of the introduction of such an obviously distinctive group of immigrants. While they warmed to Sifton's promise of their own land, for this was the objective of most Ukrainians, they yearned as well for acceptance in their new home. But this would not be easily achieved.

To the majority group, they were so utterly different. They were not Protestant, like the Scandinavians; nor technically sophisticated, as the Germans were thought to be. Even the bumptious Americans shared a liberal political tradition. Unlike any of these other newcomers, the Ukrainians had never been the dominant group, even in their homeland. In Canada, they were a socially and politically suspect minority. Branded as enemy aliens and radical foreigners during the Great War, the early experience of the first wave of Ukrainian Canadians made clear that theirs would be no easy passage into the mainstream of Canadian life.

The interwar period brought a new wave of Ukrainian immigrants who leavened the former agricultural mass. But they were years of dogged perseverance. In the rural enclaves throughout western Canada, the Ukrainians drove their roots deep into this new prairie, built their community institutions and, with more difficulty, forged links with their neighbours. In the cities, the children were Canadianized by the institutions of the majority and the generational ties of the Ukrainians weakened.

Within the Ukrainian Canadian group, the religious and political tensions went largely unnoticed by outsiders. But they were no more homogeneous than other ethnic minorities. During the Second World War, in the interest of an effective national effort, the federal government guided the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the first national organization to include most

21

Ukrainian Canadians. When the last group of Ukrainians arrived in Canada in the post-war years, there was some resentment among the earlier arrivals and their children who were reluctant to share leadership with this new, educated and largely urban augmentation. But the process of integration was rapid and this third wave was a vitalizing force in the Ukrainian community.

In modern, urban Canada where large numbers of Ukrainian Canadians have located, their distinctiveness has begun to blur. The inexorable pressures of mass advertising, public schooling and social interaction at all levels threatened the cultural integrity of Ukrainians, as they did for other ethnic minority groups. If their early experience of alienation has abated, there is significant concern at the decline in the use of the Ukrainian language. This has prompted modest success by Ukrainians, as well as other groups, in the movement to encourage heritage languages. More encouraging has been the dramatic increase in the last decade of Ukrainian artistic expression. Performing arts, especially dance and music, and to a somewhat lesser extent, the visual arts, are enjoying great popularity both within and beyond the Ukrainian community. If literary aspects of culture are in decline, folk arts continue to echo the rich traditions of Ukraine.

There is an obvious irony to this account of Ukrainian immigration, settlement and adaptation of Canadian life. The long, often disheartening, struggle for acceptance has been succeeded by the realization that further struggle lies ahead for Ukrainian Canadians, if much of their original culture is to be preserved. But Canada, and Ukrainian Canadians, can only benefit from the effort and the experience.

Selected Bibliography

There is a serious lack of comprehensive general histories of Ukraine. *A History of Ukraine* (New Haven, 1941) by Michael Hrushevsky and *A Survey of Ukrainian History* by Dmytro Doroshenko and Oleh Gerus (Winnipeg, 1975, 1984) provide the necessary background material. Most English language scholarly publications on Ukrainians in Canada begin to appear only in the 1960s. The early publications, as demonstrated by Frances Swyripa in *Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English Language Works* (Edmonton, 1969), tended to be rather superficial. The best general accounts of Ukrainians in Canada can be found in Michael Marunchak's massive *Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg, 1970, 1982), in Olha Woycenko's concise *Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto, 1968), and in Paul Yuzyk's *Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto, 1953). There are a number of virtually indispensible collective works dealing with the entire spectrum of the Ukrainian experience in Canada: Manoly Lupul, ed., *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment* (Edmonton, 1978), and *A Heritage in Transition* (Toronto, 1982); Wsewolod Isajiw, ed., *Ukrainians in the Canadian City* (A special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. XII, no. 2, 1980); Roman Petryshuyn, ed., *Changing Realities: Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton) 1980; O.W. Gerus et al., eds., the *Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1976); J. Rozumnyj et al., eds.,, *New Soil - Old Roots* (Winnipeg, 1983); *Slavs in Canada*, vol. III (Proceedings of the Third National Conference on Canadian Slavs, Toronto, 1971); and F. Swyripa and J.H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War* (Edmonton, 1983).

Pioneer history is best examined in V.J. Kaye's fundamental work, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada* (Toronto, 1964). Other colorful accounts of the difficult early days may be found in Illia Kiriak's classic, *Sons of the Soil* (Toronto, 1959) as well as in the following: Vera Lysenko's *Men in Sheepskin Coats* (Toronto, 1947); Michael Ewanchuk's *Spruce, Swamp and Stone* (Winnipeg, 1978); Peter Humeniuk's *Hardship and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers* (Steinbach, 1976); Zonia Keywan's *Greater than Kings* (Montreal, 1977); Harry Piniuta's *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon, 1978); Gus Romaniuk's *Taking Root in Canada* (Toronto, 1954); William Czumer's Recollections about the *Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton, 1983); and Helen Potrebenko's *No Streets of Gold* (Vancouver, 1977). While Ukrainian religious life in Canada is still awaiting a definite study, the following fill the gap: *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada* (Ottawa, 1981) by Paul Yuzyk; *Ukrainian Catholic Churches of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon, 1977) by Anna Baran; *To Serve is to Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto, 1971) by Claudia Popowich. Other special interest books that warrant reading are M. Mandryka's *History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1968); Myrna Kostash's *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton, 1977); John Kolasky's *Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto, 1979); Michael Luchkovich's *Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament* (Toronto, 1965); and J.J. Shkwarok's *Ukrainian Settlers and Their Schools* (Edmonton, 1958). William Darcovich produced a most useful statistical tool, *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa, 1980). For comparison with the experience

of Ukrainians in the United States there are Wsewolod Isajiw, ed., *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society* (Jersey City, 1976) and Paul Magosci, ed., *Ukrainian Experience in the United States* (Cambridge Mass., 1979).