

MANOLY R. LUPUL, ed. — *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. with the Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State and the Canadian Publishing Centre, 1982. Pp. viii, 344.

FRANCES SWYRIPA and JOHN HERD THOMPSON, eds. — *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983. Pp. ix, 212.

The history of the Ukrainian community in Canada has been one of the immigrant group torn by internal divisions and conflicting national loyalties while seeking social equality as well as cultural survival within a nativist host society. That is the general conclusion of two recent collections of historical essays on Ukrainian Canadians: *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul, and *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War*, edited by Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson.

Lupul's *Heritage in Transition* is the latest instalment in McClelland and Stewart's "Generations" series sponsored by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State and as such appropriately emphasizes the key role of Ukrainians in the development of an official multicultural policy for Canada. On the whole, the volume provides a predictable survey of the immigrant experience with several essays focusing on specific problems faced by an ethnic minority undergoing the usual transition from social alienation to integration. What emerges is a broad outline of political, economic, educational and cultural development that reflects the three major waves of Ukrainian immigration, with some contributors arguing an almost Hartzian version of fragmented societies.

The first immigration wave in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna to Canada as homestead farmers. But many of the men also worked as wage-labourers in lumber camps, in mines and on railroad gangs, leaving women the major responsibility of erecting the first dwellings and breaking the prairie sod. This role of pioneer women in the Ukrainian Canadian past has become a recurring theme since Myrna Kostash's *All of Baba's Children* and is placed in historical context here by several contributors. Moreover, the settlement of Ukrainians in homogeneous ethnic blocks not only ensured their early isolation from the Canadian mainstream but strengthened co-operation between friends and neighbours as well. It is no surprise, therefore, to discover that Ukrainians became early converts to producer and consumer co-operatives.

In keeping with their rather low economic status as well as their past experience, Ukrainian political activity before 1914 was limited to the municipal and provincial levels, and involvement at higher levels only came with increased social integration. Initially, it was the Liberal Party, largely because of its role in the immigration process, which benefited from Ukrainian support, but Orest T. Martynowych and Nadia Kazymyra argue the party's assimilationist policies, especially its stand against bilingual education in Manitoba, ultimately tarnished the Liberal image. Even more importantly, however, Ukrainian politics reflected the community's internal divisions, along religious lines between Catholics and Orthodox, and along nationalist lines between Russophiles, those who viewed Ukraine as part of Russia, and Galician radicals favouring a united, independent homeland. These conflicting nationalist loyalties became even more apparent during the Great War.

As evident from its subtitle, *Loyalties in Conflict* concentrates specifically on that wartime experience. The war exposed Ukrainian Canadians to new levels of prejudice, and

several essays adhere to the theme that an inherent nativism, intensified by "an atmosphere charged with patriotism" resulted in such unfair war measures as internment and disenfranchisement. But these actions were not effected without protest. Peter Melnycky's excellent essay on the internment camps, for instance, documents the depth of Ukrainian resistance with references to numerous escape attempts and reveals the overall plight and personal hardships of those interned. "A total of 106 internees", we learn, "were confined to mental institutions by Internment Operations."

In their respective essays, both Thompson and Swyripa contend that the concern of government authorities and the Anglo-Canadian public in general with the loyalty of Ukrainians was marginal to their preoccupation with the French-English cleavage in the country. Swyripa explains, however, that amid wartime pressures and the threat of internment Ukrainian Canadians were determined to prove their loyalty through patriotic fund-raising and enlistment in the Canadian armed forces. Moreover, despite discrimination against enemy aliens, both rural and urban Ukrainians made economic gains during the war years which, according to Andrij Makuch, helped pave the way for easier social adjustment in the post-war era.

The most noteworthy political development during the Great War, and one which would have a long-lasting divisive effect upon the Ukrainian community, was the surge of support for socialism, especially the Bolshevik variety. On this point, Martynowych and Kazymyra agree with Donald Avery's familiar thesis, restated in *Loyalties in Conflict*, that the official suppression of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party and its organ, *Robochyi narod*, in 1918 as well as the post-war nativist reaction against "dangerous foreigners" reinforced the drift of Ukrainian socialists into the communist camp. The growth of radical sympathies and organizations widened the gap between pro-Soviet socialists and the non-communist Ukrainians who actively supported the movement for an independent Ukraine at the Paris Peace Conference and later welcomed exiled Galician political leaders to Canada. Finally, the political debate was intensified with the second wave of immigration representative of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Europe.

These post-war developments are discussed by several contributors in both volumes but it is Oleh Gerus who provides the best analysis of the conflicting political and nationalist factions and their struggle for leadership within the Ukrainian community. By the Second World War, he explains, a degree of unity was reached with the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, an umbrella organization in which non-communist Ukrainians began to speak for the entire community. The committee ultimately became instrumental in the legitimization of displaced persons as political refugees, despite the charge by Ukrainian communists such as Wasyl Swystun that they were Nazi sympathizers, and organized the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund to furnish material aid. The success of the committee in consolidating Ukrainian activities owed much to the influence of two academics, Professors George Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan and Watson Kirkconnell of McMaster University, and to the Department of National War Services which considered Ukrainian unity crucial to the war effort. Unfortunately, neither Gerus nor editor Lupul explore the depth of this outside interest in the Ukrainian community and the reader can only speculate that Kirkconnell's personal involvement in internment operations during the Great War must have been significant.

Following the war, the threat of total assimilation or "Canadianization" posed by increasing social accommodation and the complete absorption of Ukraine by the Soviet Union, ensured that the major political motivation among Ukrainian Canadians would be cultural survival. This overriding concern was especially heightened by the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants, those who viewed Canada as a political refuge and who, like those from the Baltic sisters, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, became obsessed with the preservation of their national culture which was threatened with extinction in the homeland. According

to Gerus, Lupul and others, it is that fact which explains Ukrainian opposition to biculturalism and insistence upon multicultural education and development in Canada.

Ukrainian Canadians, therefore, have been far from a homogeneous group and one constantly in transition. By the 1970s, Gerus claims, community leadership "transferred from the traditional 'teacher-priest' intelligentsia to professional and business interests with Canadian-oriented ideas and without the political and emotional traumas of their predecessors." The change certainly signified an important transition in the socio-economic structure of Ukrainian society which had become urbanized and substantially middle-class.

Several other contributors continue this general theme in essays on religion, education and the fine arts, but in the end the reader fails to receive a true glimpse or understanding of Ukrainian Canadian society itself. *A Heritage in Transition* remains, as its editor forewarns, an ethnopolitical and organizational history. Moreover, as is the danger with essay collections, numerous chapters are somewhat redundant. *Loyalties in Conflict* largely escapes this problem because of its narrower focus but it too avoids the hard questions asked by the social historian.

Nevertheless, both books will be welcomed by those interested in Canada's ethnic population. That fact becomes apparent at the end of *Heritage in Transition* when Swyrypa reminds us of the rather barren historiography of Ukrainian Canadians and thereby indirectly underlines the important contribution of these two volumes to what is becoming, thanks mainly to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, a growing field of research. Perhaps later works will probe deeper into daily Ukrainian life but until then these essay collections, reflecting the current state of Canadian ethnic studies, are a good introduction to the Ukrainian Canadian experience.

Thomas P. SOCKNAT  
*Queen's University*

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RÉAL BÉLANGER — *L'impossible défi. Albert Sévigny et les conservateurs fédéraux (1902-1918)*. Québec, PUL, 1983, 370 p. (Les Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Université Laval, n° 27).

Il est heureux que les historiens du Québec étudient les personnages de l'histoire politique canadienne du début du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, autres que les Laurier, Bourassa et Lavergne. Trop souvent, les personnages du Québec demeurent inconnus. Quand ils sortent un peu de l'ombre, c'est dans *l'Histoire de la Province du Québec* de Robert Rumilly ou dans des ouvrages généraux que produit le Canada anglais. Il n'est pas sûr qu'ils atteignent alors leur vraie dimension historique, en vertu de la nature même des oeuvres ou encore de l'intérêt des auteurs. Ces hommes méritent pourtant de passer à l'histoire pour la place qu'ils y ont prise, même si elle n'est pas exceptionnelle; pour la lumière aussi que leur biographie jette sur l'histoire de la période, celle du Canada et celle du Québec, puisque les ailes provinciales des deux grands partis politiques existant alors, évoluent dans l'orbite et sous le contrôle de la formation-mère d'Ottawa.

À ce point de vue, l'introduction générale de l'ouvrage présente un grand intérêt. L'auteur y trace un excellent tableau de la situation politique du début du siècle, que domine nettement le parti libéral qui est sans opposition sérieuse au Québec. Il y introduit ensuite son personnage, en liant très bien la carrière de Sévigny avec l'atmosphère décrite. Il montre l'intérêt de cette carrière en rappelant les témoignages *et* de la tradition *et* de l'histoire. Après ces neuf pages d'introduction, le lecteur est conquis.