“We’ve Lost Them Through Assimilation”: Ukrainian and Doukhobor Integration in Saskatchewan, 1946-1971

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Abstract

Overt calls for Anglo-conformity appeared to end in English Canada after the conclusion of the Second World War as Canadian governments reviewed former policies that were exclusionary against ethnic minorities. Rather than calling for Anglo-conformity, or assimilation, Canada's federal government began advocating for the integration of ethnic groups, which no longer pressured individuals who were not of British descent to immediately discard their cultural values and traditions to join mainstream society. In the early postwar period, the province of Saskatchewan became one of Canada's earliest supporters of integration. Using Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' lived experiences in private and public spaces in Saskatchewan between 1946 and 1971, I argue that Canada's postwar integration policy was a continuation of its former assimilation model. During this time, Ukrainians and Doukhobors continued to experience cultural and linguistic conformity pressure as well as ethnic prejudice as they moved into public schools, universities, and workplaces. While Ukrainians and Doukhobors continued to encounter intensive cultural and linguistic assimilation pressure in Saskatchewan's public spaces during the postwar period, their communities were not evenly affected. As this thesis demonstrates, Ukrainians were better positioned to limit the forces of cultural assimilation than the Doukhobors because of their larger population, because of their ability to assert that the preservation of their culture aligned with good Canadian citizenship, and because they offered identity-strengthening activities that did not require participants to be fluent in the Ukrainian language.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

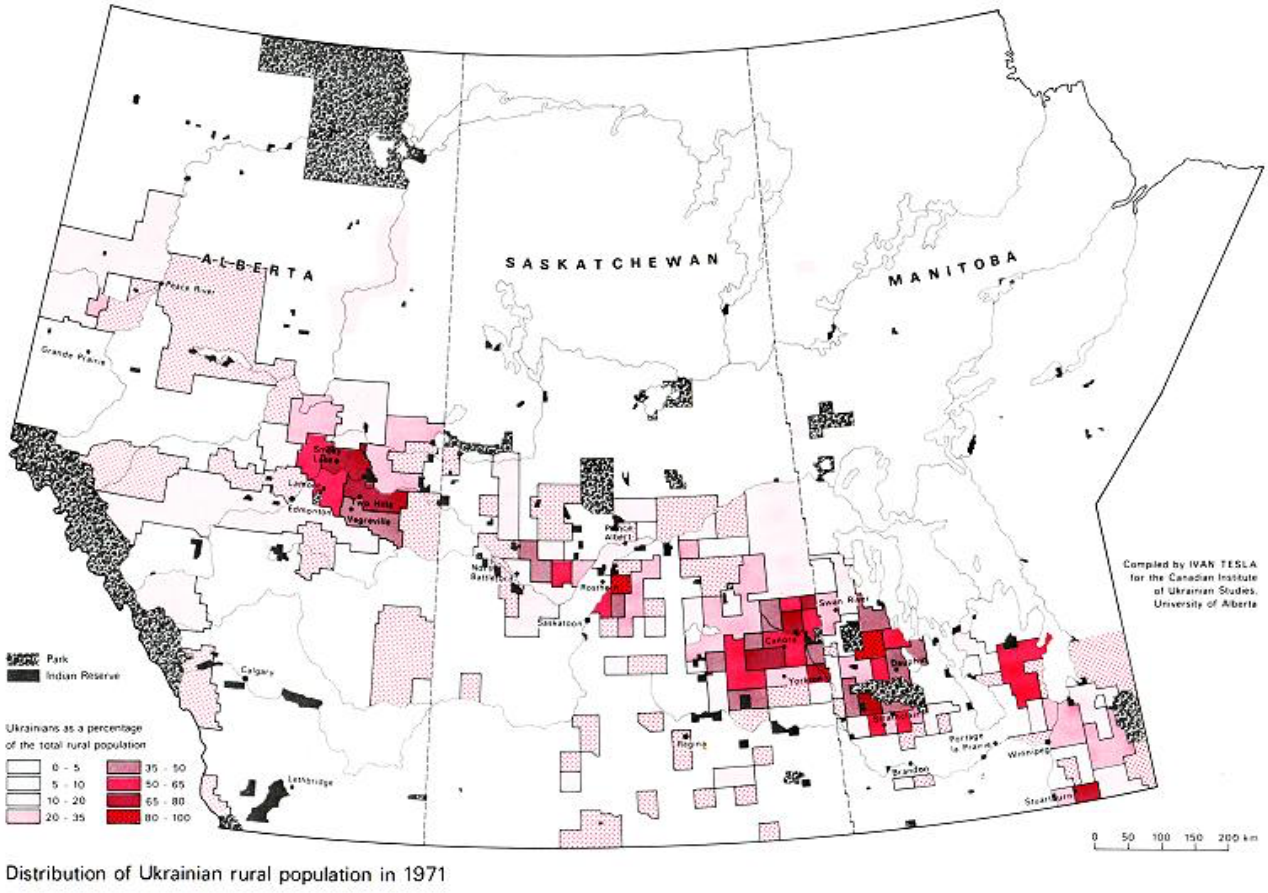

Figure 0.1: Map of Ukrainian Settlements Across the Prairie Provinces,
http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/picturedisplay.asp?linkpath=pic%5CC%5CA%5CCanada_Map%202c%20Ukrainian%20Population%201971.jpg&page=pages%5CC%5CA%5CCanada.htm&id=1771&pid=12936&tyt=Canada&key=Canada%2C+%D0%9A%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B0%2C+2020

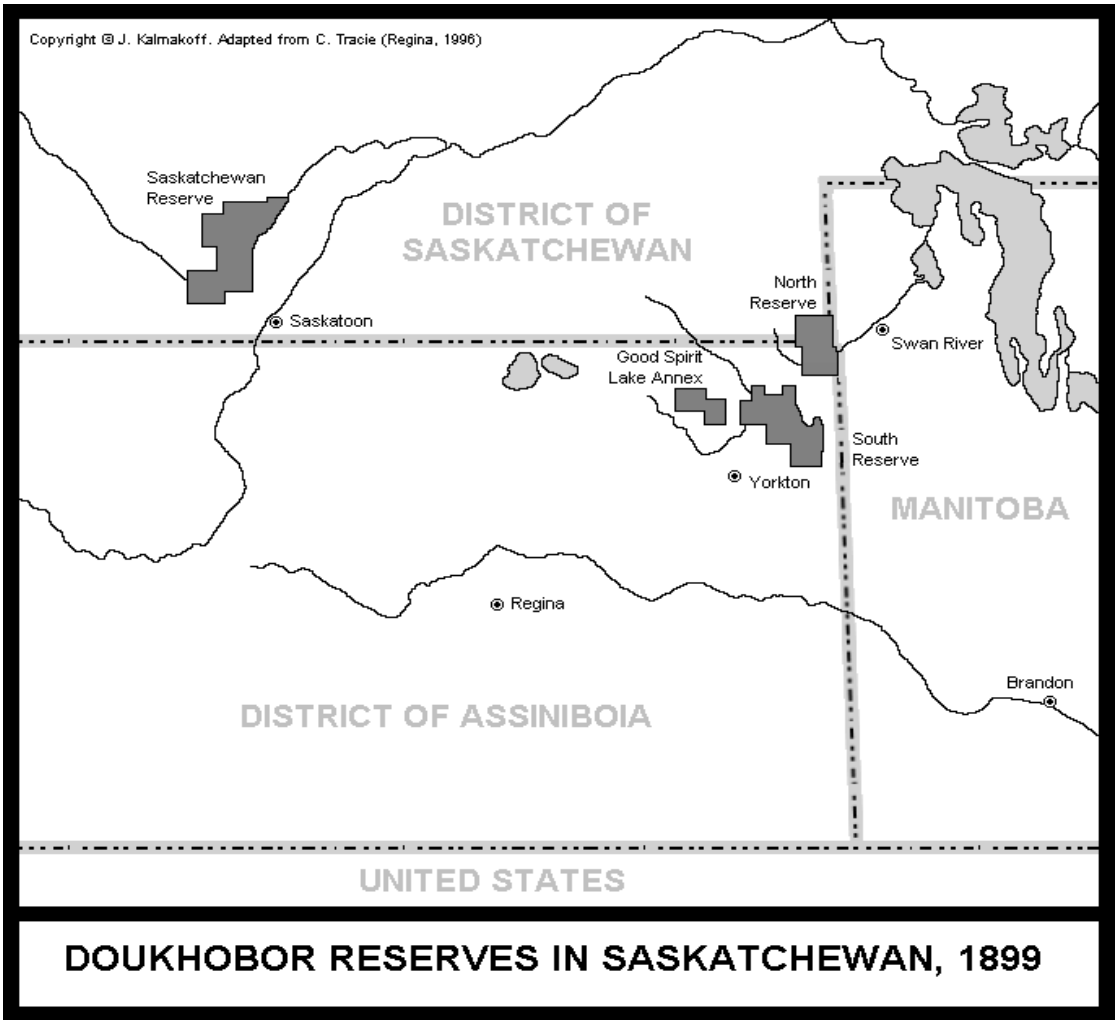

Figure 0.2: Map of Core Doukhobor Settlements in Saskatchewan, adapted by Jonathan J. Kalmakoff and retrieved from Kalmakoff's Doukhobor Genealogy Website, http://www.doukhobor.org/Maps.html.

Introduction

Martin Zip's first days at school in the small village of Yellow Creek were plagued by fear. Zip started school in the late 1940s. At this time, Saskatchewan's public schools only allowed students to speak English. Sadly, Zip knew little English when he started school, as he and his parents spoke Ukrainian at home. After speaking Ukrainian inside the classroom, Zip was physically disciplined by his first-grade teacher. In the following days, Zip was too afraid to go back to school. Finally, his mother intervened and asked the teacher for patience. Though Zip returned to school, he continued to face discrimination. Ultimately, Zip pursued a teaching degree from the College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan. In 1962, however, the College told Zip that he could not finish his degree or expect to teach in Saskatchewan's schools because of his Ukrainian accent. Zip left the university. In 1964, he returned to the College, worked with a professor to improve his English-language pronunciation, and went on to graduate.[1]

Maurice Postnikoff's days as a student and as a teacher in Saskatchewan during the 1950s and 1960s were marked by feelings of insecurity over his Russian Doukhobor heritage. As a high school student in Marcelin, Postnikoff recalled that some teachers perceived Doukhobors to be "not quite equal with other students." While teaching in Saskatoon in the 1960s, Postnikoff perceived similar attitudes among his colleagues, who he believed viewed him as a social inferior. Due to these perceptions, Postnikoff felt that he had to hide his Doukhobor identity to avoid ridicule in Saskatchewan's public spaces.[2]

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[1] Martin Zip, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 17 June 2002, interview 97 tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[2] Maurice Postnikoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 14 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-15055, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

After World War II, Canadian governments revisited exclusionary policies towards ethnic minorities in an attempt to limit racism, which was now negatively associated with Nazi Germany, and to make Canadian society more inclusive.[3] In 1947, Canadian Secretary of State Paul Martin Sr. introduced the Canadian Citizenship Act, which he described as the "rejection of the crude goal of cultural assimilation and conformity."[4] Historians such Aya Fujiwara view the Citizenship Act as the official beginning of Canada's shift away from Anglo-conformity, or assimilation, to integration.[5] Anglo-conformity pressured immigrants to quickly discard their homeland values for the English language and Protestantism. Integration, notes political scientist Jatinder Mann, replaced Anglo-conformity and encouraged the involvement of allophone others (those whose mother tongue was neither English nor French) in mainstream society while also supporting the survival of ethnic cultures.[6] Saskatchewan became an early supporter of integration when it adopted a Bill of Rights in 1947 to outlaw racial and religious discrimination, thereby supporting the involvement of people who were not of British descent in mainstream society.[7] As integration emerged, blatant calls for cultural conformity at the federal level and the provincial level in Saskatchewan appeared to recede.[8]

Despite government policy interventions that made discrimination illegal and appeared to remove expectations for total cultural assimilation, Ukrainian and Doukhobor postwar

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[3] Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 77; Patrick Lacroix, "From *Strangers* to 'Humanity First': Canadian Social Democracy and Immigration Policy, 1932-1961," *Canadian Journal of History* 51, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2016): 73, 82.

[4] See Barry Ferguson, "British Canadian Intellectuals, Ukrainian Immigrants, and Canadian National Identity," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 324.

[5] See Fujiwara, 105, 110, 111.

[6] Jatinder Mann, *The Search for a New National Identity: The Rise of Multiculturalism in Canada and Australia, 1890s-1970s* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2016), 10, 70, 71.

[7] Carmela Patrias, "Socialists, Jews, and the 1947 Saskatchewan Bill of Rights," *Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (June 2006): 265.

[8] Fujiwara, 105, 109, 111; Mann, 10, 46, 49; Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 22.

experiences show that ethnic minorities continued to enter public schools that only allowed the use of English, were denied jobs because of their accents, and were at times subjected to unfair prejudice in Saskatchewan's public spaces. The discrepancy between policy changes and the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' lived experiences leads to the following question: why were Ukrainians and Doukhobors continuing to encounter pressure to assimilate and unfair stigmatization in Saskatchewan's public spaces when calls for assimilation appeared to diminish during the postwar period?

Ukrainian-Canadians' cultural preservation efforts set them apart from Canada's other ethnic groups during the postwar period. Sociologists, historians, and political scientists who have studied cultural pluralism in postwar Canada view Ukrainians as one of Canada's most successful groups at retaining their culture and avoiding outright cultural assimilation while pursuing social, economic, and political integration with other Canadians.[9] In contrast, Saskatchewan's Doukhobors have struggled to preserve their distinctive cultural identity despite concerted efforts to do so. This leads to the second question of this thesis: how did both groups respond to assimilation pressure during the postwar period and what factors have made it easier for Ukrainian-Canadians to preserve their cultural identity than for Doukhobor-Canadians to preserve theirs? What has set these two Slavic communities that settled in Saskatchewan during the 1890s apart?

Using a comparative case study of Ukrainian and Doukhobor experiences in Saskatchewan between 1946 and 1971, this thesis argues that postwar integration in Canada should be considered as a continuation of its former assimilation model because ethnic minorities

[9] See Fujiwara, 156; Mann, 98; Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985), 212; Elizabeth Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the "Third Force," in *Canada: A Sociological Profile,* 1968, MG31-E55, Vol. 30-9, Walter Surma Tarnopolsky Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

continued to be pressured into cultural and linguistic conformity when they circulated, studied, and worked in public spaces. This pressure was so strongly felt that it was internalized by members in both communities. When Canadian-born Ukrainians and Doukhobors entered Saskatchewan's public spaces, they often returned to their homes and communities as agents of change, challenging both groups to adapt to assimilation pressure for survival. While both groups experienced this phenomenon, they were not equally affected. This thesis shows that Saskatchewan's Ukrainians were better positioned to limit some of the assimilatory impacts of integration amongst Canadian-born generations because of their large group numbers, ability to equate their culture with good Canadian citizenship, and because popular Ukrainian cultural expressions, such as dance, did not require participants to be fluent in Ukrainian. The Doukhobors' smaller population, in contrast, made it difficult to find strength in numbers. Not only did the Doukhobors struggle to associate parts of their culture with good Canadianism, their dependence on cultural expressions, such as choral singing, required fluency in Russian which limited opportunities for Canadian-born descendants to learn and practice Doukhobor cultural traditions.

Ukrainians and Doukhobors were welcomed to Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Canada was eager to populate the west with capable farmers.[10] Most Ukrainians that landed in what would become the province of Saskatchewan in 1905 arrived between 1891 and 1939, largely to take up farming.[11] Most Doukhobors arrived in Canada from Russia in 1899, and settled on farmland reserved for them in present-day Saskatchewan.

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[10] Jaroslav Petryshyn, "Sifton's Immigration Policy," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 27; Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors* (Grand Forks, British Columbia: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 46.

[11] Some Ukrainian immigrants did arrive in Saskatchewan between the late 1940s and early 1950s. At this time, the majority went to Ontario and Quebec. Stella Hryniuk, "Sifton's Pets: Who Were They?" in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 4; Brian Osborne, "'Non-Preferred' People: Inter-ware Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," in *Canada's*

Though the Canadian government welcomed immigrant farmers from Europe at the turn of the century, Canadian governments and the British-Canadian public generally assumed that immigrants would and should adopt British-Canadian values and norms. Anglo-conformity pressure was especially evident in public spaces, namely public schools and also in Anglo-Canadian newspapers. Newspapers were particularly critical of immigrant groups who deviated too far from British-Canadian values. As historian Jaroslav Petryshyn demonstrates, Ukrainians and Doukhobors were often criticized after their immigration to Canada in Canadian newspapers which complained that their "peasant way of life" made them too difficult to assimilate and unfit for life in Canada.[12] In Saskatchewan, public and government calls for Anglo-conformity reached their highest levels during the First World War, and remained high throughout the Depression Era. At this time, Saskatchewan's public-school system became the leading instrument to pressure children of non-British descent into Anglo-conformity. This process was advanced by a grassroots movement in Saskatchewan known as the "Crusade for Better Schools," which lasted from 1915 to 1918, and called on the provincial government to end bilingual education for English-only schools.[13] In 1931, Saskatchewan's premier J.T.M. Anderson hardened Anglo-conformity in Saskatchewan's schools by making English the only legal language of instruction.[14] By promoting the sole use of English along with British

Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity, ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 81, 86; Ihor Stebelsky, "The Resettlement of Ukrainian Refugees in Canada after the Second World War," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity,* ed. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 123.

[12] Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land,* 87, 99; See also Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), 37.

[13] Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2005), 246.

[14] By 1931 it was illegal to use any language other than English, including French, as the language of instruction during official school hours. See Dustin James McNichol, "'You can't have it all French, all at once'": French Language Rights, Bilingualism, and Political Community in Saskatchewan, 1870-1990," (Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2016), 118.

patriotism, schools aimed to sever children of ethnic allophone descent from their traditional cultures.[15]

Calls for ethnic minorities to speak English and adopt British-Canadian values continued during the early 1940s, when Canada was at war, and English-Canadian media sources still advocated for English Canada to continue to be "white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant."[16] This discourse shifted after World War II.[17] Britishness was still at the core of English Canada's identity in the late 1940s, but greater input from non-British Canadian politicians, along with the atrocities committed by the Nazis, and evidence showing that biological conceptions of race and racial superiority were unsubstantiated theories caused Canadian governments to re-evaluate policies that discriminated against ethnic minorities.[18] Changing attitudes towards cultural diversity at the federal level are reflected in the implementation of the Canadian Citizenship Act, which, according to historian Barry Ferguson, redefined Canadian citizenship by one's "work in Canada" rather than religion or language, and by Canada's endorsement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.[19] English Canada's identity and Britishness were still intertwined in the 1950s, but federal politicians, such as Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Jack Pickersgill, continued to call for and support the involvement of allophone others in mainstream "British institutions."[20] With these steps, Canada's federal government looked to reduce overt resistance to cultural diversity. Rather than calls for assimilation, the federal

[15] Waiser, *Saskatchewan,* 246.
[16] See Jose Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2006), 53.
[17] Fujiwara, 105.
[18] Igartua 223; Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 85-86.
[19] Ferguson, 324; Fujiwara, 105.
[20] Mann, 63.

government advocated for integration, which no longer pressured ethnic groups to immediately discard their cultural traditions to participate in mainstream society.

Larger shifts in federal views towards cultural diversity came in the 1960s. Political theorist Will Kymlicka describes the 1960s as a "dramatic reversal" to the period of Anglo-conformity.[21] In 1960, Canada took further steps to reduce prejudice by adopting a Bill of Rights which barred ethnic and religious discrimination.[22] The formation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 signified that Canada was open to recognizing French-Canada as a partner in the formation of a Canadian identity. By the mid 1960s, Britishness lost its centrality to English Canada's identity, and the multicultural debates that resulted from the Royal Commission marked Canada's search for a more inclusive national identity.[23] These developments, observes political scientist Jatinder Mann, not only permitted the survival of ethnic cultures in Canada, but also allowed ethnic groups to contribute to the formation of a Canadian identity and led to Canada's official adoption of multiculturalism in 1971.[24]

Saskatchewan was highly representative of these changing political views towards ethnic diversity in the postwar period. Governed by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) from 1944 to 1964, Saskatchewan emerged as one of Canada's first provinces to embrace integration when it passed a Bill of Rights in 1947. The Bill was designed to support ethnic minorities' integration into mainstream society, as it made the denial of employment on racial or religious grounds illegal.[25] Under the CCF, Saskatchewan became Canada's first province to

[21] Will Kymlicka, "Politics of Identity – II: Being Canadian," *Government and Opposition* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 370.
[22] The Bill also barred discrimination based on gender. Fujiwara, 155; Mann, 63.
[23] Igartua, 173; Mann, 67.
[24] Mann, 10, 112.
[25] Patrias, 265.

allow Ukrainian language accreditation at the high school level in 1952.[26] Amidst Canada's multicultural debates of the 1960s, Saskatchewan's Liberals, who held office from 1964 to 1971, considered adjusting restrictions that barred all languages besides English from being used as a language of instruction in schools and offered financial support for folk-fest style events that featured dance, music, and food from the province's ethnic groups.[27]

Saskatchewan's postwar efforts to accommodate and even celebrate ethnic diversity makes it an ideal setting to test the limits of English Canada's emerging multicultural identity between 1946 and 1971. This study focuses on Ukrainian and Doukhobor residents of Saskatchewan to show how these two groups, formerly perceived by other Canadians as undesirable and nearly impossible to assimilate, became more integrated into Canadian society while also remaining culturally distinct. While some Ukrainian and Doukhobor experiences with integration into Canadian society were similar, key differences distinguish the two communities. These distinctions relate to differences in their population size, public reputation, religious beliefs, and cultural expressions. Such differences are central to understanding why Saskatchewan's Ukrainians were better positioned to limit assimilation forces and perpetuate their cultural identity amongst succeeding generations than the province's Doukhobors.

Since the rise of history from "below" in the 1960s, more studies have focussed on the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' experiences in Canada.[28] Social histories, cultural histories, and sociological studies have extensively analysed both groups. Social histories by Oh'la Woycenko,

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[26] Eugene Hnatiuk et al., comp., *St Joseph's College Yorkton, Saskatchewan: Alumni Book 2000* (self pub., 2000), 45; Manoly R. Lupul, "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada's Public Schools," in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in* Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 221, 228, 236, 239.

[27] McNichol, 125-126; "Multi-cultural Aspects Evident," *Regina Leader Post,* 21 June 1965, A690, File IV.D.1, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[28] See Jim Sharpe, "History from Below," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* 2nd ed., ed. Peter Burke (University Park, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 26.

George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, Jaroslav Petryshyn, and Orest Martynowych document the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' experiences over a long timeframe. Petryshyn and Martynowych primarily focus on Ukrainian settlement in early-twentieth century Canada. I build on their studies by analysing Ukrainian and Doukhobor experiences in Saskatchewan's public spaces to show how notions of Anglo-conformity and British-Canadian cultural superiority carried over into the postwar period.[29] Woodcock's and Avakumovic's *The Doukhobors* (1968) is one of the most popular social histories on the group and is one of the few studies to document the Doukhobors' history in Russia and in Canada.[30] While Woodcock and Avakumovic and Woycenko both consider the postwar period, Woycenko covers this time in more depth, particularly as it relates to assimilation amongst Ukrainians. By documenting language decline and changes in church adherence in the Ukrainian community, Woycenko's work provides a key contemporary perspective on the evolving identity of Ukrainians in the postwar period.[31] Drawing on Woycenko's observations and ideas, I analyse how the integration of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan propelled these changes.

Sociological studies from the late 1970s onward are key to this thesis as they document change and continuity in Ukrainian and Doukhobor communities. Focusing on rural settlements in north-central Saskatchewan, sociologist Alan Anderson has extensively documented changing attitudes towards cultural retention amongst different generations of Ukrainians and Doukhobors.[32] Ukrainian-Canadian sociologists Leo Driedger and Wsevolod Isajiw have studied

[29] Petryshyn shows how Anglo-Saxons deemed Eastern Europeans as lower-class to justify notions of Anglo-superiority, while Martynowych shows how pressures for conformity led to intergenerational tensions in families as young Ukrainians rejected "parental authority" by speaking English to their parents and by shunning their parents in public spaces. Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land,* 95; Martynowych, 144.

[30] George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[31] Oh'la Woycenko, *Canada Ethnica IV – The Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1967), 218, 219.

[32] Alan Betts Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan: A Comparative Study of Identity Change Among Seven Ethno-Religious Groups in a Canadian Prairie Region," (Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Saskatchewan, 1972); Alan B. Anderson, "Ethnic Identity in Saskatchewan Bloc

language loss between generations and how cultural markers like food and *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs) became increasingly important to the identity of Canadian-born Ukrainians.[33] Similarly, prominent Doukhobor scholar Koozma Tarasoff has discussed Russian language loss among Doukhobors and how Doukhobors organized peace vigils not only to contribute to the broader peace movement, but to also reinforce their identity as pacifists in Canada.[34] My thesis builds on these studies by assessing how the ongoing assimilation pressure that Ukrainians and Doukhobors encountered in Saskatchewan's public spaces contributed to some of these changes and developments identified by sociologists.

Cultural historians who have written about Ukrainians and Doukhobors, such as Frances Swyripa and Ashleigh Androsoff, lay a key base for this thesis as their works interpret ethnicity as dynamic and changing. Their studies focus on how Ukrainians and Doukhobors constructed their distinctive identities in Canada.[35] My study follows a similar pattern. I focus on the ways in which definitions of English-Canadian identity contributed to language loss in Ukrainian and Doukhobor communities and to experiences with prejudice and stigmatization members of both communities met while at work or at school in postwar Saskatchewan.

Settlements: A Sociological Appraisal," in *The Settlement of the West*, ed. Howard Palmer (Calgary, University of Calgary); Alan B. Anderson, *Settling Saskatchewan* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

[33] Leo Driedger, "Urbanization of Ukrainians in Canada: Consequences for Ethnic Identity," in *Changing Realities: Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians,* ed. W. Roman Petryshyn (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980); Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Significance," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians,* ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984); Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Identity Retention Among Second- and Third-Generation Ukrainians in Canada," in *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, Oleh G. Gerus, and Mykhailo M. Marunchak (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983).

[34] Koozma Tarasoff, "Doukhobor Survival through the Centuries," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 27, no. 3 (January 1995): 16; Koozma Tarasoff, "The Coming of Age of the Doukhobors in the 1980s," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19, no.2 (January 1987): 129; Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Traditional Doukhobor Folkways: An Ethnographic and Biographic Record of Prescribed Behaviour* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, 1977).

[35] See Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 1993), 217, 245; Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes,* 116, 125; Ashleigh Androsoff, "Spirit Wrestling: Identify Conflict and the Canadian "Doukhobor Problem," (Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of Toronto, 2011), 28, 396.

My thesis adds to the scholarly discussion of the ways in which Canada supported cultural diversity during the postwar period and explains how "integration" differed or did not differ from "assimilation" at this time. Historian Aya Fujiwara maintains that ethnic and mainstream divisions were starting to break down during the postwar period as ethnic minorities were being recognized as Canadian.[36] Jatinder Mann describes Canada's integrationist model as a "replacement" of assimilation that encouraged cultural and language retention.[37] Moreover, historians Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen suggest that ethnic communities hold the power to define how their cultures survive in Canada.[38] My work pushes against these narratives. I side more closely with academics like Franca Iacovetta, who argue that postwar integration pushed cultural assimilation, but rather than demolishing ethnic differences entirely, tried to "modify" ethnicity around folkloric parameters.[39] Iacovetta notes that this process contributed to Canada's multiculturalism policy, which academics have criticized for only supporting colourful performative parts of ethnic identity like music and dance.[40] My discussion of Ukrainian dancing and Doukhobor choir singing demonstrates that folkloric components of ethnicity have been crucial to the cultural maintenance of both communities, but also shows that non-linguistic cultural activities like Ukrainian dancing, which does not require Ukrainian language fluency among participants, have the most success in attracting youth.

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[36] Fujiwara, 105.
[37] Mann, 10, 69.
[38] Loewen and Friesen, 4,5.
[39] Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 51, 60, 169.
[40] See Sarah L. Wayland, "Multiculturalism and National Identity in Canada," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 5, no. 1 (1997): 48; Manoly R. Lupul, "Multiculturalism and Canada's White Ethnics," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 1 (January 1983); Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 127; Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within an Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 161-162, 196, 213, 231; Myrna Kostah, "Baba was a Bohunk: and so am I – A Stranger, Despite Three Generations in Canada," 1976, MG32-C67, Vol. 83-13, Paul Yuzyk Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

My work is also guided by studies of Saskatchewan's history. Historian Bill Waiser has pointed to a gap in Saskatchewan's history of cultural pluralism, noting that multiculturalism was "actively resisted" in the first third of the twentieth century and only embraced in "the last few decades."[41] By focusing on the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' experiences in postwar Saskatchewan, my study gives clarity to the time between Saskatchewan's outright rejection and then acceptance of multiculturalism. Political scientist David McGrane suggests that Anglo-conformity persisted in Saskatchewan from 1870 to 1969.[42] Whereas McGrane focuses on policy changes, I use Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' lived experiences to show that these pressures persisted in Saskatchewan's schools and workplaces and extended into the homes of both communities.

This thesis defines Ukrainians and Doukhobors as ethnic groups. Both fit into Anthony D. Smith's definition of an "ethnic community.[43]" According to Smith, the core components of an ethnic group are a shared group name, familial lineage, a common "ethno-history" and markers like language, a connection to a country or region, and a feeling of group cohesiveness.[44] Similarly, core elements of Independent Doukhobor identity in Saskatchewan include, but are not limited to: familial ties to ancestors who were persecuted in Russia because of their religious beliefs; distinctive foods like *borsch* (vegetarian soup featuring cabbage,

[41] Waiser, "The Myth of Multiculturalism in Early Saskatchewan," 58. Waiser also touches on Ukrainian and Doukhobor experiences in Saskatchewan but has more so focused on the early twentieth century. See Waiser, *Saskatchewan,* 66-67, 72, 232.

[42] David McGrane, "From Liberal Multiculturalism to Civic Republicanism: An Historical Perspective on Multiculturalism Policy in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 43, no.1-2 (2011): 87.

[43] In defining Doukhobors as an ethnic group I follow the direction taken by Ashleigh Androsoff's dissertation, who also uses Smith's definition of an "ethnic community" to define Doukhobors. Doukhobors have also been defined as a "social movement" by Koozma Tarasoff who states that the Doukhobors' main objective is to build a "society on peace rather than war." Anthony D. Smith, "The Formation of National Identity," in *Identity: Essays Based on Herbert Spencer Lectures Given in the University of Oxford,* ed. Henry Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 133; Androsoff, 23; Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava,* 131.

[44] Smith, 133.

potatoes, tomatoes, carrots, and dill) and *pyrohi* (a pastry filled with beans, cottage cheese, or fruit); distinctive traditions, such as the *acapella* singing of Doukhobor hymns in multipart harmony and often in the Russian language; and a commitment to pacifism, based on the religious belief that the Spirit of God resides within each person.[45] Key defining features of Ukrainian identity in Saskatchewan and on the prairies include: ancestral lineage to immigrants from Ukraine, foods like *borsch* (most commonly featuring beets, cabbage, and other vegetables) and *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls stuffed with rice); a knowledge of Ukrainian history in Ukraine and Canada; support for Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union; knowledge of the Ukrainian language; adherence to a Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox church; and the practicing of distinct traditions like Ukrainian Easter and Christmas or Ukrainian dancing or singing.[46]

This thesis also draws on Anthony D. Smith's definition of identity. According to Smith, identity is often centred around the two questions: "Who am I?" and "What am I."[47] Collective or group identities, Smith notes, are defined through "what" groups of people share.[48] For Smith, the essential components of collective identity are sets of shared "symbols, values, memories, myths, and traditions."[49] In turn, this thesis interprets identity as something constructed through shared symbols, values, memories, myths, and traditions, which can be subjected to change.

Assimilation and integration are defined in a historical sense. Jatinder Mann's *The Search for a New National Identity* (2016) notes that assimilation in English Canada pressured ethnic immigrant minorities to "abandon the traditions and cultures of their homelands and instead

[45] Androsoff, 28, 156; Woodcock and Avakumovic, 350; Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes,* 116.
[46] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause,* 246, 255; Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes,* 139, 168, 176. This thesis focuses on Canadian-born generations, many of which refer to themselves as Ukrainian-Canadian or Doukhobor-Canadian rather than Ukrainian or Doukhobor exclusively. I use the phrases "Ukrainian" and "Doukhobor" for consistency and clarity when discussing their experiences in an environment where prairie-based Anglo-Canadian language and cultural norms had hegemony.
[47] Smith, 130.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid, 131.

adopt the values and behaviour of English-speaking Canadians."[50] Simply put, assimilation meant replacing one cultural trait (the Ukrainian or Russian language) with another trait (the English language). This parallels the Royal Commission's definition of assimilation in its fourth book, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (1970), which defined assimilation as "the almost total absorption into another linguistic or cultural group."[51] Another sign of assimilation, the Commission noted, was when an individual turned away from their cultural identity by changing their last name, for instance.[52] Integration, as Mann notes, differed from assimilation, or Anglo-conformity, because it encouraged ethnic minorities to join mainstream Canadian society but did not pressure them to discard their cultures and traditions.[53] This closely resembles the definition of integration laid out by the Royal Commission, which noted that integration and assimilation were not "synonymous."[54] The Commission maintained that integration supported cultural preservation because it only required individuals follow the "behaviour" of the dominant society and did not pressure individuals to discard their cultures and traditions to participate in mainstream society.[55]

This thesis uses a similar comparative approach as the one employed by William Janzen in his book, *Limits on Liberty* (1990).[56] Janzen's book compares the interactions between three pacifist groups, the Doukhobors, Mennonites, and Hutterites, and the Canadian government through the themes of military exemption, education, and communal landholding. In this study, I compare the Doukhobors with an ethnic community that is not pacifist but shares other cultural

[50] Mann, 32.
[51] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 5.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Mann, 10.
[54] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 5.
[55] Ibid., 5, 6.
[56] William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

and experiential similarities. Both Ukrainians and Doukhobors are of Slavic origin. Both were largely engaged in farming in the early twentieth century. Canadians frequently drew comparisons between the two communities, often highlighting traits that they viewed as negative. Many prairie-based British-Canadians viewed Ukrainians and Doukhobors alike as difficult to assimilate, and subjected members of both communities to similar assimilatory pressure during the postwar period. Yet, a comparison of these similar communities shows that they were not evenly affected by these pressures. By assessing both the similarities and the differences between these two groups' cultural identities, and their historical experiences, this thesis helps to explain why some ethnic groups are less vulnerable to assimilation into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream than others.

Throughout this project I have used a community-engaged research approach, which enables academics to construct their research around community interests and concerns.[57] As a person of both Ukrainian and Doukhobor descent, I have benefitted from the opportunity to further explore my heritage. By attending a number of cultural and religious events organized by Saskatchewan's Ukrainian and Doukhobor communities, I have been able to build new relationships in the communities that I am studying. Community engagement has also allowed community concerns to guide my research. By attending Doukhobor prayer meetings (*moleniye*) in Saskatoon, I was exposed to the community's sense of urgency regarding their need to attract more youth. Once I turned to the historical record, I found that similar concerns existed in the Doukhobor community and in some segments of the Ukrainian community during the postwar

[57] See Nicola Lercari, et al., "California Gold Country's Digital Heritage: Innovations in Community Engaged Research and Training," *Collaborations: A Journal of Community-Based Research and Practice* 2, no.1 (2018): 1-2.

period.[58] Community engagement has driven my effort to find answers to these problems and has strongly contributed to the formation of my research questions.

My thesis heavily relies on three oral history collections for primary source material. The Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society (SHFS) completed interviews with Ukrainians and Doukhobors in 1990 to understand how their customs and traditions were being preserved. The Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage (PCUH) interviewed Ukrainian-Canadians in Saskatchewan in 2002 to document their life stories and perspectives towards cultural change. The Doukhobor Living Book Project (DLBP), led by community member Mr. Ryan Androsoff and historian Dr. Ashleigh Androsoff, interviewed members of Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community between 2016 and 2018. I had access to these interviews as Dr. Androsoff's Research Assistant. As these interviews are with individuals who are largely active in their respective communities, it is through their perspectives, rather than those who fully assimilated into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream, that I analyse the impacts of assimilation. Yet, these testimonies have allowed my thesis to explore perspectives across Saskatchewan with individuals who are proud of their heritage and highly cognizant of assimilatory forces.

This thesis is organized into three thematically orientated chapters that explain how assimilation pressure persisted against Ukrainians and Doukhobors during the postwar period and how it affected their cultural identities. Chapter one focuses on how Ukrainian and Doukhobor cultural identities evolved in private spaces by analysing changes in the home during

[58] Correspondence from Makaroff to P.E. Elkington, 7 October 1937, S-A28, File I. 14, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; "Commission interested in "other" ethnic groups: Doukhobor community life viewed," *Regina Leader Post,* 11 June 1964, Saskatchewan News Index, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon; Correspondence from Frances Horkoff to Koozma Tarasoff, 20 March 1960, A690, File II.A.164, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Mary Fofonoff and Peter Fofonoff, interview by Geo Stushnoff, 11 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-14964, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Father Andrew Muzyka, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 29 May 2002, interview 49a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

the postwar period. Before the Second World War, Ukrainian and Doukhobor households were largely monocultural spaces, where extended family members lived together, spoke Russian or Ukrainian, and shared the same traditional foods. As Ukrainians and Doukhobors entered Saskatchewan's schools and workplaces, they became more removed from intergenerational connections. Their homes became more vulnerable to language loss as Canadian-born generations continuously entered Saskatchewan's unilingual public spaces, where the English language prevailed. As members of both groups pursued education and employment away from their home communities, they connected with diverse outsiders. These relationships, which sometimes resulted in intermarriage, extended the reach of assimilation pressure into the private sphere.

Chapter two compares Ukrainian and Doukhobor experiences in Saskatchewan's public spaces between 1946 and 1971. As students, Ukrainians and Doukhobors were exposed to intensive pressure to assimilate linguistically and culturally in Saskatchewan's schools which continued to exist as unilingual environments throughout the entirety of the postwar period. As many Ukrainians and Doukhobors were leaving rural communities for education and employment, particularly from the 1950s onward, they were becoming more dispersed, leaving members of both groups more vulnerable to assimilation. Not all connections with diverse outsiders in Saskatchewan's public spaces were positive. Some exposed Ukrainians and Doukhobors to negative stigmatizations and prejudices despite governmental policies that made discrimination in Saskatchewan illegal.

Chapter three examines the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' cultural preservation efforts and their community spaces between 1946 and 1971. It opens with an analysis of English-language assimilation in the religious spaces of both groups. It compares how Ukrainians and

Doukhobors used activities like dancing and singing choirs to reinforce their identities and how both groups associated their cultures with good Canadian citizenship during the postwar period. While both groups had success in preserving their cultures, chapter three shows that Ukrainian dancing, which did not require participants to be fluent in the Ukrainian language, and the Ukrainian-Canadians' confidence in equating their culture with good Canadianism played pivotal roles in helping the Ukrainian community maintain these successful efforts in the late stages of the postwar period.

This thesis explains how and why assimilation persisted against Saskatchewan's Ukrainians and Doukhobors during the postwar period, a time in which overt calls for cultural conformity appeared to recede. In 1946 and 1947, Canada's federal government and Saskatchewan adopted new policies that tried to reduce racism and stopped expectations for total cultural assimilation. These policies encouraged and supported the involvement of allophone others in mainstream society. Yet, they were not enough to combat the racism and prejudice that ethnic communities in Canada faced. Moreover, these changes did not reduce the pressure of cultural and linguistic conformity that peoples of non-British descent experienced in public spaces. While conformity pressure persisted, it did not affect all groups evenly. This thesis shows Ukrainians were able to limit the impacts of assimilation during the postwar period more so than Doukhobors because of their large group numbers and their investment in cultural activities that continued to strongly promote the Ukrainian cultural identity amongst younger generations whether or not they were fluent in Ukrainian.

Canada's ideological shift from expecting cultural assimilation to supporting integration after World War II gave way to the assumption among some Canadian politicians, both during and after the postwar period, that the option to maintain or disassociate oneself from one's

cultural identity was a largely a personal choice.[59] American sociologist Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life* (1964) shows that the choice between assimilation and cultural retention is not equal, as the forces of an integrated and modernized society "pull" individuals away from an ethnic or cultural lifestyle.[60] A study of Ukrainians and Doukhobors in Saskatchewan during the postwar period not only confirms Gordon's statement but it also shows that assimilation pressure in Saskatchewan, where prairie-based Anglo-Canadian cultural norms and values dominated, strongly influenced what forms of ethnic diversity will and will not survive.

[59] See Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 5; McNichol, 176.
[60] See Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 152.

Chapter One:
Assimilation in Ukrainian and Doukhobor Households

According to prairie historians Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen, the "ethnic household" provided immigrants with a vital support system as they familiarized themselves in a new environment, and was central to the maintenance of ethnic identities as Canadian-born generations were influenced by parents, grandparents, and extended family members in the home.[1] This was certainly the case for Ukrainian and Doukhobor families. The home offered routine exposure to Ukrainian and Doukhobor culture expressed through the preparation and consumption of ethnic foods such as *borsch*; the singing and hearing of traditional music; learning about religious traditions; and speaking the Russian or Ukrainian language. During the postwar period, however, ethnic households were also becoming sites of "cultural change."[2] As Ukrainian and Doukhobor youth sought out expanded educational and employment opportunities – particularly those that were only available in urban environments at a distance from their childhood homes – their exposure to intense assimilation pressure increased. While attending school or working away from home, they missed opportunities that regularly reinforced the Ukrainian and Doukhobor cultural identity, which took place in the household, surrounded by family, and around the kitchen table. When they did return home, they often struggled to reconcile the habits and values they had adopted while away with the cultural expectations of family members who remained at home. Between 1946 and 1971, the ethnic household's ability to support and strengthen the cultural identity of Canadian-born Ukrainians and Doukhobors was starting to decline.

[1] Loewen and Friesen, 13, 15.
[2] Ibid., 123.

Up until the middle of the twentieth century, Ukrainian and Doukhobor households often provided a space for intergenerational contact with extended family members. However, as succeeding generations of Ukrainians and Doukhobors increasingly pursued education and employment away from their home communities from the 1950s and forward, they were becoming more dispersed and urbanized. They were less likely to live in or even near the household they grew up in, and more likely to establish new households in urban areas. Urban households were much less likely to include extended family members. This had a significant effect on the cultural identity of Ukrainian and Doukhobor ethnic households. Whereas prior generations could count on regular hands-on support from grandparents, aunts, and uncles who could influence the development of ethnic identity in the family home, parents alone had to act as cultural promotors in the household.

Maintaining regular usage of the Ukrainian or Russian language in the home was one of the most difficult tasks Ukrainian and Doukhobor parents faced during the postwar period. Despite federal and provincial policy interventions that removed expectations for total cultural assimilation, and the development of a Canadian national identity that was more inclusive of ethnic minorities in the 1960s, English-language influences, especially in Saskatchewan's schools, did not recede. While speaking Ukrainian or Russian was still an important practice in Ukrainian and Doukhobor households, continuous English-language assimilation pressure made it more difficult for parents to regularly use their traditional languages in the home as their children became more fluent in English and less adept at speaking their mother tongue.[3]

[3] Nadia Prokopchuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 31 May 2002, interview 61a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Patricia Olesiuk, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 3 June 2002, interview 54a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Alex Strelioff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview DKBR_1_0017S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Jeanette Stringer, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, no date, interview DKBR_1_0006S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

It was difficult for Ukrainians and Doukhobors alike to escape the effects of language assimilation during the postwar period. Yet, there were other ways in which Ukrainian and Doukhobor households could maintain their distinctive identities in the family home. Cultural markers, like food and holiday celebrations, could also powerfully reinforce Ukrainian and Doukhobor cultural identities. Ukrainians, who were able to refer to strong external symbols such as *pysanky* and vibrant Christmas traditions that could be reproduced in the home, were able to weather the threat of language loss more easily than the Doukhobors, whose traditions often depend on involvement with the broader community in a manner consistent with their religious beliefs. For instance, Saskatchewan Doukhobors' celebration of Peter's Day offered a valuable opportunity for Canadian-born generations to connect with their cultural roots but has traditionally been commemorated through a community gathering rather than in the private family home.

As Ukrainians and Doukhobors were increasingly leaving the rural environment to join public spaces in the urban setting, intermarriage rates in both communities increased. Although intermarriage does indicate a rising level of social acceptance of the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' cultural differences, American sociologist Milton Gordon, studying assimilation and integration in the 1960s, classified intermarriage as "marital assimilation," arguing that it marked the final phase of the assimilatory process that was started by the entrance of ethnic minorities into the core society's mainstream structures.[4] Intermarriage changed the composition of the family home and furthered assimilation pressure bearing down on both Ukrainians and Doukhobors during the postwar period. Not only was it incumbent on parents to communicate ethnic identity norms to their children while physically distanced from their extended families,

[4] Gordon, 124-126; see also Bruce Phillips, "Assimilation, Transformation, and the Long Range Impact of Intermarriage," *Contemporary Jewry* 25 (2005): 51.

but they were increasingly facing the prospect of doing so without the support of a spouse who came from the same cultural and religious background. As this chapter will show, intermarriage played a potent role in reducing the ethnic household's ability to promote the Ukrainian or Doukhobor cultural identity.

Extended family households, which were common before the Second World War and in the early half of the postwar period, played a significant role in the continuation of Ukrainian and Doukhobor identities in Saskatchewan. In most cases, Ukrainian intergenerational households were in Saskatchewan's rural areas, particularly on family farms. Olga Piasta, who was born in 1935, lived on a farm in the eastern half of Saskatchewan with her parents and grandparents. Piasta felt that her grandparents were instrumental to her upbringing in the Ukrainian culture because they taught her about the importance of maintaining Ukrainian traditions, including the "holy days" of Easter and Ukrainian Christmas.[5] Elaine Smysniuk formed a close connection with her great-uncle Fred, who arrived in Canada from Ukraine in 1911, and lived with Smysniuk's family until 1961.[6] Smysniuk felt that her uncle Fred had a "great influence" on her commitment to the Ukrainian culture.[7] He was especially important to Smysniuk's ability to speak Ukrainian because Fred did not speak English fluently.[8] In extended family households, Ukrainian traditions, culture, and language permeated throughout the home and everyday life.

Intergenerational connections in Doukhobor households were equally significant. Connections with relatives who survived the Burning of Arms in Russia, an identity defining event for Doukhobors, had a significant impact on the development of Doukhoborism among

[5] Olga Piasta, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 1 August 2002, interview 59a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[6] Elaine Smysniuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 June 2002, interview 77a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Canadian-born generations. The Burning of Arms took place in 1895, when Doukhobor leader Peter V. Verigin encouraged his followers to participate in a mass demonstration that showed their commitment to pacifism by laying whatever armaments they had in a community bonfire.[9] Following the Burning of Arms, many Doukhobors were subjected to whippings, beatings, and imprisonment at the hands of Russian authorities.[10] William Riben's great-grandfather survived the Burning of Arms. Riben, who was born in Saskatchewan in 1942, remembered seeing the scars on his great-grandfather's back as a young child. "He had 40 lashes," Riben explained, "and all that's left on his back is scars and ribbons all across it."[11] These images are not only ingrained in Riben's mind but they have also motivated Riben to share these powerful stories about the Doukhobors' history with the youth.[12] Mae Popoff's grandfather also survived the persecution that followed the Burning of Arms. Popoff's sense of her Doukhobor identity was intensified in the presence of her grandfather. It was with him, at home, where Popoff recalled "you just knew you were a Doukhobor."[13] His stories inspired Popoff to "spread the peace" amongst others.[14] For many Canadian-born Ukrainians and Doukhobors, intergenerational connections have strengthened their sense of identity and desire to promote their cultures in Saskatchewan.

During the postwar period, however, the influence of intergenerational connections started to decline. According to Doukhobor sociologist Koozma Tarasoff, "the role of the larger

[9] Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, 100-101; Sam George Stupnikoff, *Historical Saga of the Doukhobor Faith 1750-1900s* (Saskatoon: Apex Graphics, 1992), 3, 7; Koozma J. Tarasoff, "The Doukhobor Peace Day," no date, http://www.doukhobor.org/Peace-Day.html.

[10] See Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, 101-105; Koozma Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors* (Grand Forks, British Columbia: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 24

[11] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016, no interview number, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview DKBR_1_0010S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

[14] Ibid.

kinship network" within ethnic communities across the Canadian prairies started decreasing by 1945 due to rural depopulation.[15] As the government of Saskatchewan worked during the 1940s and 1950s to improve access to transportation by developing better roadways, Ukrainians and Doukhobors had greater means to leave the rural setting to pursue more education and employment opportunities in the urban environment, where Canadian census records show that it was less common for extended families to have relatives living at home.[16] Since most intergenerational connections among Ukrainians and Doukhobors were formed on family farms, the movement to cities and towns not only reduced the closeness between elders and youth but also the frequency in which intergenerational households were established.

Rural depopulation was heavily driven by economic hardship that plagued rural and farming life during the postwar period. Not far removed from the Great Depression of the 1930s, many farmers in Saskatchewan remained deeply in debt during the 1940s. In 1944, a staggering forty per cent of farmers in Saskatchewan lived on rented land often under the control of banks and mortgage companies.[17] Between 1944 and 1964, the CCF attempted to improve the financial and living conditions of rural life in Saskatchewan by establishing the Farm Security Act, expanding the province's power grid, extending telephone lines, and by constructing more

[15] Koozma Tarasoff, "Western Canada – Historical and Social Trends, Problems and Challenges," 1973, A690, File IV.B.854, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[16] Ibid.; Thomas H. McLeod and Ian McLeod, "T.C. Douglas," in *Saskatchewan Premiers of the Twentieth Century,* ed. Gordon L. Barnhart (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2004), 185; Census data from 1961 and 1971 provides valuable insight into the composition of extended families in Saskatchewan. Rural families outnumbered urban families in 1961. In 1961, 23,042 rural families had 6 or more members. Only 6,459 of these families reported that they had 6 or more children living at home. Urban families were smaller. A total of 11,215 urban families had 6 or more members, but 2,108 families had 6 or more children. In 1971, urbanized families outnumbered rural families in Saskatchewan. Rural families, though, were still larger as 27,701 had 6 or more members, while only 17,000 urban families had 6 or more members. In rural Saskatchewan 5,375 families reported that they had 6 or more children living at home and 2,825 urban families reported that they had 6 or more children. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Households and Families: Families by Size* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962-1965), 44-2,49-2; Canada, Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Households: Households by Size* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1973-1977), 2-2; Canada, Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Families: Children in Families* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1973-1977), 14-2.

[17] McLeod and McLeod, 185.

roads.[18] These improvements did not always help small family farms and many rural-based Ukrainian and Doukhobor families continued to struggle financially.[19] Joanna Welc and her husband, for example, could not afford power until 1963 when Welc won five hundred dollars at a bingo in the town of Ituna.[20] William Riben, who grew up near Blaine Lake, recalled that his parents pushed him to pursue a university education in the 1960s because of the instability in farming.[21] Financial insecurity inspired many Ukrainian and Doukhobor parents to support their children's educational pursuits so that they could find employment outside of the agricultural sector.[22]

Ukrainians living in rural Saskatchewan witnessed the deterioration of intergenerational connections as youth left rural areas for urban-based education and employment during the postwar period. Olga Borsa, who was born in 1913, started teaching in Yellow Creek in 1933 and lived in the village for much of her adult life.[23] Growing up, Borsa recalled that the Ukrainian youth of her generation had very close connections with their grandparents.[24] Yet, these close connections between young and old were disappearing in Borsa's children's generation, as she recalled "the educated children got jobs, went away from home and weren't able to be with the older generation."[25] As distance between young and old increased, Borsa felt that it became far more difficult for elders to influence the younger generation because they were

[18] Ibid., 183, 185.
[19] Ibid., 185: Waiser, *Saskatchewan*, 406.
[20] Joanna Welc, interview by Natalia Shostak, 8 July 2002, interview 87, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[21] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[22] Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; Mike Krochack, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 2 August 2002, interview 42a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Kimberly Stefaniuk, interview by Jean Wilson, no date, BF 14, interview R-15071, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[23] Olga Borsa, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 31 July 2002, interview 8a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

not able to maintain the "same closeness" as she had when she was growing up.[26] Similarly, when Father Andrew Muzyka was teaching at Yorkton's Ukrainian Catholic private school St. Joseph's Collegiate in the 1960s, he observed that younger generations were wanting to leave the constant challenges of rural and farming life for the urban environment.[27] Muzyka felt that the outpouring of youth to Saskatchewan's urban centres led to a "generational gap" between young and old as the youth were becoming increasingly detached from the Ukrainian language and culture.[28] As young Ukrainians were leaving Saskatchewan's rural areas for education and employment during the postwar period, distance between young and old increased, making it more difficult for close intergenerational connections to form and influence the cultural identity of Canadian-born Ukrainians.

Similarly, as rural depopulation became more prevalent among Doukhobors in the postwar period, fewer were exposed to the powerful intergenerational connections that reinforced the Doukhobors' cultural identity. Mercedes Riben, for instance, who was born in the 1940s, recalled that her family was disconnected from the Doukhobor community because her father had to travel for work.[29] Therefore, Riben did not live near relatives or in any Doukhobor settlement area while she was growing up. Without the daily cultural reinforcement some Doukhobors received in extended family households and in tight-knit communities, Riben lost much of her Russian language abilities as a child.[30] She was not alone. A report in a 1962 edition of the *Star Weekly Magazine* written by Jeannine Locke, who Doukhobor lawyer Peter Makaroff referred to as a "first class reporter," found that Saskatchewan's Doukhobor youth were so

[26] Ibid.
[27] Father Andrew Muzyka, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 29 May 2002, interview 49a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[28] Ibid.
[29] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; Frank Kufka, "Doukhobors of Buchanan: Taken from "The Hands of Time,"" *The Dove*, July 2007, 9.
[30] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016

"dispersed and so thoroughly absorbed into the general community that their elders have trouble keeping the younger generation in touch with Doukhobor traditions."[31] With rising rates of rural depopulation and dispersion amongst Doukhobors in the postwar period, fewer Doukhobors were exposed to powerful intergenerational connections rooted in the extended household that offered daily identity and cultural reinforcement.

As the extended family household became less common, parents occupied the role of cultural promoters and protectors in the home. Ukrainian and Doukhobor parents played a decisive role in teaching their children about their respective cultures. Recounting her upbringing, Lusia Pavlychenko, a co-founder of Saskatoon's Ukrainian dance ensemble Yevshan, recalled that "it was my parents who naturally influenced me the most. My mother introduced me to [Ukrainian] dance and music; my father to [Ukrainian] poetry, art and history."[32] For Patricia Olesiuk, who grew up in Hafford, speaking the language and carrying out Ukrainian religious traditions were an ordinary part of family life during the 1960s.[33] Similarly, Mae Popoff felt "surrounded" by Doukhobor culture when she was growing up.[34] She explained: "I've grown up a Doukhobor all my life, it was my grandparents' influence, my parents' influence…Doukhobor faith was strong in our house, all the time."[35] Doukhobor song and music traditions also helped parents shape their children's Doukhobor identity. Bill Kanigan and Alex Kalesnikoff recalled that their parents "always sang" at home and both felt that this early

[31] Jeannine Locke, "These Doukhobors are Different," *Star Weekly Magazine*, 6 October 1962, S-A28, File I.4, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Correspondence from P. G. Makaroff to Jeannine Locke, 22 October 1962, S-A28, File I.4, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[32] Lusia Pavlychenko, "Some Personal Impressions," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians,* ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 105.

[33] Patricia Olesiuk, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 3 June 2002, interview 54a.

[34] Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.

[35] Ibid.

exposure gave them the confidence to continue to sing as they advanced throughout life.[36] Thus, Ukrainian and Doukhobor parents shaped the cultural identity of their children as they modelled and promoted their respective cultures inside of their family homes.

Parents were not their children's only teachers, however. Between 1946 and 1971, English prevailed as the sole language of instruction in all of Saskatchewan's public schools. Despite early postwar government policies that appeared to reduce blatant calls for cultural conformity, neither the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which held office from 1944 to 1964, nor the Liberals, who were in power from 1964 to 1971, allowed a language besides English or French to be used as a language of instruction in Saskatchewan's schools.[37] As such, English remained central to Saskatchewan's education system, which will be more thoroughly discussed in chapter two.

As generation after generation of Ukrainian and Doukhobor children moved into Saskatchewan's English-dominated schools, it became more difficult for families to keep Ukrainian or Russian as the language of the home. At times, this difficultly led to intergenerational conflicts over language between parents and children. Nadia Prokopchuk, who went on to become a Ukrainian language teacher in Saskatchewan, spoke Ukrainian growing up, as her parents prioritized the use of their mother tongue in their family's household. Yet, Prokopchuk felt that attending school, where the instruction was in English, along with the introduction of the television into her family home during the 1960s, made speaking Ukrainian at home an "uphill battle."[38] Prokopchuk was not the only young Ukrainian to encounter this

[36] Bill Kanigan, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff, 2016, interview DPSPP2_0007S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016, no interview number, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

[37] While languages like French, German, Latin, and Ukrainian could be taught as option courses, English had to be used as the language of instruction. This will be more fully discussed in Chapter Two. See also McGrane, 87.

[38] Nadia Prokopchuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 31 May 2002, interview 61a.

challenge. Marianne Kowal, who grew up in Canora during the 1950s and 1960s, and Latimer Moskal and John Rozdilsky, who were brought up in the 1960s and 1970s in Ituna and Saskatoon, all felt that it became increasingly difficult to speak Ukrainian with their parents as they advanced through school and as their peers continuously spoke English.[39] Marianne Kowal's and John Rozdilsky's parents, however, firmly asserted that Ukrainian was the language of the home.[40] As Kowal and Rozdilsky advanced through school and found that it was becoming easier to speak English and more difficult to express themselves in Ukrainian, both recalled that intergenerational tensions between them and their parents arose over language use in the home.[41]

Some parents elected to stop speaking Ukrainian in the home to support their children's capacity to function well in Saskatchewan's schools. As such, children's educational pursuits could influence change in their family homes.[42] Danny Evanyshyn, who grew up in Meadow Lake during the 1950s, recalled that his parents decided to stop speaking Ukrainian at home because they believed that their children "would have to learn English much better."[43] As Evanyshyn's parents felt that English-language fluency was key to their children's success in school, they changed their household language from Ukrainian to English. Afterwards, English became the language of Evanyshyn's public and private life, and he recalled that "most of my

[39] Latimer Moskal, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 2 August 2002, interview 48a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Marianne Kowal, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 20 August 2002, interview 41a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; John Rozdilsky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 19 August 2002, interview 64, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[40] Marianne Kowal, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 20 August 2002, interview 41a; John Rozdilsky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 19 August 2002, interview 64.

[41] Ibid.

[42] See also Iacovetta, 161; Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 181, 184, 192.

[43] Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Ukrainian disappeared there."[44] Like many young Ukrainians during the postwar period, Evanyshyn acknowledged that speaking Ukrainian became more difficult after he started school, but the largest factor in Evanyshyn's language loss was his parents' decision to stop speaking Ukrainian at home.[45]

Other parents, such as Marie Kischuk, did not teach Ukrainian to their children in order to avoid intergenerational conflict in the home caused by English-language influences. Kischuk's strategy for raising children in the Ukrainian culture in Saskatoon during the 1960s and 1970s was framed around "as much exposure as they would tolerate."[46] In addition to the public-school system pushing linguistic assimilation, the forces of an urbanized and modernized environment in a city like Saskatoon provided Ukrainian youth with more choices and motivation to leave their ethnic heritage.[47] Surrounded by English-language influences in Saskatoon's urban environment, Kischuk wanted to avoid over-zealous parenting and cultural promotion that might give her children motivation to detach themselves from their Ukrainian heritage.[48] The trade-off for avoiding intergenerational conflict, however, was that Kischuk was not able to teach her children the Ukrainian language at home. Sadly, Kischuk stated: "I still regret that to this day."[49]

Language loss was also evident among Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community during the postwar period. According to Koozma Tarasoff and Doukhobor historian Jonathan Kalmakoff, Russian language loss amongst Doukhobor youth in Saskatchewan started to become

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Marie Kischuk, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 21 August 2002, interview 35b, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[47] See Gordon, 135.
[48] Seventy-six per cent of Saskatoon's population spoke English in 1961 and seventy-nine per cent spoke English in 1971. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Population: Official Language and Mother Tongue* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962-1963), 67-15; Canada, Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Mother Tongue* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1973-1976), 21-19.
[49] Marie Kischuk, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 21 August 2002, interview 35b.

more widespread during the 1950s.[50] A survey taken in 1956 by the Kamsack Branch of the Union of Doukhobors of Canada (UDC) revealed that most Doukhobor youth in the area only had "some knowledge" of the Russian language and wanted language classes to help improve their Russian speaking skills.[51] Doukhobor community leaders living in the area of Petrofka, just outside of Blaine Lake, told visiting Commissioners researching Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1964 that they were especially worried about the deteriorating "cultural and language unity among the young people."[52]

Saskatchewan's unilingual school system was a major catalyst driving language loss in Doukhobor homes. Some parents, such as Mabel Androsoff, who started raising a family in the 1950s and 1960s, did not speak Russian in the home because education officials recommended that she speak "more English" to her children.[53] Other parents, such as Polly Meakin, who was born in 1931, tried to pass the Russian language on to her children, but struggled to do so. As Meakin explained: "if anybody tried, I did for my children to learn the Russian language…But I failed because after school to bedtime isn't enough time to push Russian."[54] Parents like Meakin, who were determined to speak Russian at home, found that their best efforts could not counter the strong English-language influences of Saskatchewan's schools, where her children, and many other Doukhobor children, read, wrote, and spoke English for the entirety of the school day.

[50] Koozma Tarasoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2018, no interview number, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Jonathan Kalmakoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview 180410_0031S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

[51] "Sask. News: Kamsack Branch of UDC Survey Through Questionnaires," 5 June 1956, A690, File II.A.51, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[52] "Commission Interested in "Other" Ethnic Groups: Doukhobor Community Life Viewed," *Regina Leader Post,* 11 June 1964.

[53] Mabel Androsoff and Michael Androsoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, no date, interview DKBR_1_0014S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

[54] Polly Meakin, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016, no interview number, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

Saskatchewan's English-dominated school system threatened the preservation of the Russian and Ukrainian languages, but language is not the only marker of ethnicity that can reinforce cultural identity in the family home. Linguists such as Veronika Makarova and Khrystyna Hudyma, as well as sociologists Leo Driedger and Wsevolod Isajiw, and literary scholar Danylo Struk, show that other traditional markers of ethnicity, like food, art, and holy celebrations, become more important to the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identities under the threat of language loss.[55] According to historian Frances Swyripa, cultural markers like food and art have the most success in reinforcing ethnicity over the longest amount of time because they are things that we can see, feel, and interact with on a regular basis."[56] In addition to traditional foodways, Ukrainian and Doukhobor families used cultural and religious celebrations to reinforce their distinctive identities throughout the postwar period. As language loss threatened Ukrainian and Doukhobor households, cultural and religious celebrations around Easter, Christmas, and Peter's Day, which could be repeated on a yearly basis, were increasingly important to the perpetuation of Ukrainian and Doukhobor cultural identities in the postwar period.

Ukrainian Easter and Christmas traditions are rooted in the home and are stamped with unique and powerful markers of the Ukrainian-Canadian culture. Both are aligned with Ukrainian cultural and religious traditions. Ukrainian Easter is marked in Saskatchewan and elsewhere by the baking of the bright golden-brown breads, known as *paska* and *babka*, along with the preparation of colourful and artistically designed *pysanky*, or Ukrainian Easter eggs.[57]

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[55] Veronika Makarova and Khrystyna Hudyma, "Ukrainian Ethnicity and Language Interactions in Saskatchewan," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47, no. 4-5 (2010): 89; Driedger, 131, 132; Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity," 120; Danylo H. Struk, "Between Ukish and Oblivion: The Ukrainian Language in Canada Today," http://sites.utoronto.ca/elul/Struk-mem/Works/Between-Ukish.pdf: 71.

[56] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 245.

[57] "'Anxious' tells about Easter – Ukrainian style," *The Western Producer,* 22 April 1965, A690, File IV.D.1, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds. Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Elizabeth Gabruch, interview by

Maureen Stefaniuk explains in her master's thesis that some Ukrainian-Canadians consider the Ukrainian Easter egg to be "*the* quintessential object" of the Ukrainian culture in Canada.[58] *Pysanky* have been especially important to the cultural identity of Canadian-born Ukrainians and have held a range of different purposes.[59] Specific *pysanky* designs, for instance, hold diverse meanings. A design known as the "line without end" serves as a reminder that life is complex and is "made up of both good and evil."[60] Additionally, *pysanky* formed a part of the "blessing basket" that was filled with various meats, cheeses, and garlic, which Ukrainian families brought with them to church to be blessed by the priest at Easter.[61] *Pysanky* also serve an important decorative function as a powerful symbolic reminder of the Ukrainian culture.[62] During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, *pysanky* were a central part of Ukrainian Easter celebrations in Saskatchewan. Egg decorating classes and exchanges were customary events and the creation of *pysanky* in the home remained a popular family activity.[63] While *pysanky* have been central to

Figure 1.1: Pysanky or Ukrainian Easter Eggs, personal collection.

Anastasia Tataryn, 13 May 2002, interview 22a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies," St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Olga Borsa, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 31 July 2002, interview 8a.

[58] Maureen Stefaniuk, "In My Baba's House, In My Parents' House: Perspectives on Two Houses in Kamsack, Saskatchewan" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Alberta, 2009), 176.

[59] Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity," 123.

[60] Ibid., 124.

[61] Anxious, "Anxious" tells about Easter – Ukrainian style," *The Western Producer,* 22 April 1965.

[62] Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity," 126.

[63] Rev. W. Iwaszki, ed., *Parish Hall – Youth Centre: St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral*, trans. Stan Chepyha and Edward Werbicki (Saskatoon: Mr. Zip Instant Priniting, 1977), F196-4, File No. 9, Bohdan Kazymyra

Ukrainian Easter traditions and serve as a symbolic reminder of Ukrainianness, they have allowed Ukrainian-Canadians to mark their Easter traditions in a distinct Ukrainian fashion that can be reproduced in the home as a yearly and family-orientated tradition.

Similarly, Ukrainian Christmas is marked by vibrant cultural and religious traditions that can be continuously reproduced in Ukrainian homes. Christmas Eve in Ukrainian households, which was often celebrated on the 6th of January in accordance with the Julian calendar during the postwar period, featured prayer, food, tradition, and singing.[64] At the Soroka family farm, near the village of Krydor, Christmas Eve festivities began with the sighting of the "North Star."[65] Afterwards, Mike Soroka recalled that his father would spread a bundle of hay beneath the dinner table that was set with the twelve traditional meatless dishes.[66] The family surrounded the dinner table that was covered with plates of *pyrohy* (dumplings commonly filled with potato stuffing), cabbage rolls, and bright red beet *borsch.* As a part of the Christmas Eve tradition, greetings and prayers were exchanged around the table before eating a spoonful of *kutia* (a dish made of boiled wheat, poppyseeds, honey, and sugar) and lighting the candle in the centre of the table, which signified the beginning of the meal.[67] The Sorokas concluded Christmas Eve by

Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Correspondence from Ted Marunchak to Lucy Kuderewko, 2 November 1965, MG28-V8, Vol. 7, Ukrainian National Youth Federation Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; Olga Piasta, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 1 August 2002, interview 59b, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Kimberly Stefaniuk, interview by Jean Wilson, no date, BF 14, interview R-15071, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Joanna Welc, interview by Natalia Shostak, 8 July 2002, interview 87, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Stefaniuk, 153.

[64] Ukrainian Christmas celebrations traditionally follow the Julian calendar. Mary Rudy, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 11 July 2002, interview 65a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; "Ukrainian cookbook lists customs and traditions," *Regina Leader Post,* 23 December 1965, A690, File IV.D.1, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[65] Mike Soroka, *Son of Ukrainian Pioneers* (Canada: Art Bookbindery, 2015), 79; Stefaniuk, 28

[66] The twelve traditional meatless dishes symbolize the twelve apostles of Christ. Soroka, 80; Stefaniuk, 30.

[67] Soroka, 79-80.

listening to midnight mass over the radio.[68] Much like Easter, these vibrant Christmas traditions have allowed Ukrainian-Canadians to mark their at-home Christmas celebrations in a distinct and unique Ukrainian fashion.

These at-home components of Ukrainian Easter and Christmas traditions are particularly significant because they have helped to reinforce the Ukrainian cultural and religious identity inside the family home despite the threat of language loss and increasing dispersion from rural-based settlements. Rising rates of urbanization and dispersion among Ukrainians in Saskatchewan during the postwar period did not mean giving up Easter and Christmas traditions as they could be modified in the home to accommodate a practitioner's needs. For instance, Bohdan Zerebecky, a member of Saskatoon's Ukrainian community, recalled that it became customary for urbanized Ukrainian families to buy small sheaths of wheat to place on the dinner table as families no longer had access to large bundles of wheat that they could spread on the ground.[69] In the 1950s and 1960s, some Ukrainian families were willing to celebrate Christmas on the 24th and 25th of December so that they could meet with extended family or so that they did not interrupt their work schedules.[70] Moreover, Ukrainian families that were unable to keep Ukrainian as the language of the home nonetheless adamantly retained their Easter and Christmas traditions.[71] Danny Evanyshyn and Latimer Moskal, for example, lost or struggled to

[68] Ibid., 78.

[69] Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Wayne Melgaard, 28 June 1989, BF 14, interview R-15094, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[70] Marianne Kowal, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 20 August 2002, interview 41a; Ann Scherbanuik and Deb MacPherson, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 13 June 2002, interview 71a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; "Ukrainian Catholics to Observe Dec. 25," *Regina Leader Post,* 22 December 1964, A690, File 3.4.3.6, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[71] Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19a; Sophie Skulski, interview by Natalia Shostak, 17 July 2002, interview 73a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Latimer Moskal, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 2 August 2002, interview 48a.

keep the Ukrainian language as children but felt that Ukrainian Easter and Christmas traditions formed a significant part of their Ukrainian identities growing up in the postwar period.[72] While Ukrainian Easter and Christmas traditions are not the only markers used by the family to reinforce the Ukrainian cultural identity, they are some of the most widely kept traditions and practices.[73] These joyous, colourful, and celebratory traditions, that are rooted in the home, gave the Ukrainian family unit a significant layer of cultural reinforcement as the English language infiltrated Ukrainian households and as Ukrainian families were becoming more urbanized and dispersed.

Markers of Doukhobor identity attached to Easter and Christmas traditions are not as colourful or publicized as Ukrainian traditions. Whereas Ukrainians mark their Easter and Christmas celebrations with symbols like *pysanky* and food like the twelve traditional meatless dishes, Doukhobors recognize these holidays through family prayers in the home and through Doukhobor prayer meetings.[74] Mary Fofonoff recalled, for example, that her family observed Christmas and Easter through prayers at home but noted that there was "never a big celebration" or any distinct Doukhobor foods or cultural markers associated with either holiday.[75] Stanley Petroff maintained that Doukhobors recognized Christmas as the birthday of Jesus Christ, and was marked through a Doukhobor prayer meeting rather than any distinct Doukhobor tradition

[72] Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19a; Latimer Moskal, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 2 August 2002, interview 48a.

[73] Gladys Wenc, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 2 August 2002, interview 28, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Elizabeth Gabruch, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 13 May 2002, interview 22a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Latimer Moskal, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 2 August 2002, interview 48a; Elaine Smysniuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 June 2002, interview 77a; Mary Rudy, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 11 July 2002, interview 65a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[74] Mary Fofonoff and Peter Fofonoff, interview by Geo Stushnoff, 11 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-14964, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[75] Ibid.

inside of the family home.[76] For Doukhobors in Saskatchewan, Easter and Christmas are strictly religious observances focused on the birth and spiritual rising of Christ.

Peter's Day, or *Petrov Den,* is a distinctive cultural and religious celebration that Doukhobors in Saskatchewan have used to reinforce their collective identity.[77] On Peter's Day, which is overserved on or around the 29th of June, Canadian Doukhobors commemorate the sacrifices made by their Russian ancestors following the Burning or Arms.[78] Consistent with their religious beliefs and a historical emphasis on communalism and collectivity, Doukhobors observe Peter's Day through a prayer meeting and a community gathering rather than in-home celebrations. Since Peter's Day is recognized through community gatherings – particularly in core Doukhobor settlement areas – rather than in-home traditions, it will be more fully discussed later. However, it must be noted that as Doukhobors were becoming more dispersed from rural settlement areas, some community leaders in localities such as Kamsack, Veregin, and Canora started to notice in the 1970s that young Doukhobors were not returning to their home communities to celebrate Peter's Day.[79] As Doukhobors were leaving core rural settlement areas, fewer youth were being exposed to a key holiday tradition that reinforced the Doukhobors' collective identity.

Though Ukrainian families could more easily adapt their at-home holiday celebrations to accommodate language loss and dispersion than Doukhobors, increasing intermarriage rates in both Ukrainian and Doukhobor communities during the postwar period posed a further challenge to the maintenance of their cultural identities in Saskatchewan. Between 1951 and 1961,

[76] Stanley Petroff, interview by George Stushnoff, 11 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-15051, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[77] See also Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes,* 116.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Stanley Petroff, interview by George Stushnoff, 11 May 1990.

marriages between Ukrainian-Canadians and non-Ukrainians rose from fifty-four per cent to seventy-seven percent.[80] Intermarriage rates were the highest among Ukrainian-Canadians in the professional and managerial occupations, where Ukrainians males married partners outside of their ethnic group in fifty-seven per cent of marriages in 1951 and in fifty-nine per cent of marriages in 1961.[81] In contrast, Ukrainian-Canadian farmers married non-Ukrainians in twenty-six per cent of marriages in 1951 and in thirty-nine per cent of marriages in 1961.[82] This data suggests that it was more common for Ukrainians working in mainstream urban environments to marry outside of their ethnic group, likely because they came into contact with a broader diversity of Canadians during the course of their work and social lives than farmers based in rural communities. When Ukrainians did intermarry between 1951 and 1961, many married partners of British and German descent.[83] By 1971, fifty-eight per cent of Ukrainian intermarriages were with partners of British or German background.[84] This trend was similar in the Doukhobor community. In 1956, intermarriage among Doukhobors in Saskatchewan was enough of a concern for the Saskatoon Doukhobor Student Group to hold a panel discussion entitled "Should Intermarriage Take Place?"[85] In 1961, the only year that the Canadian census measured intermarriage among Russians in Canada, forty-four per cent of Russian males and forty-one per cent of Russian females in Saskatchewan married outside of their ethnic group.[86]

[80] Marlene Stefanow, "A Study of Intermarriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan," (Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1962), 11.
[81] Ibid., 95.
[82] Ibid., 43.
[83] Ibid., 94.
[84] Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Husband-Wife Families,* 63-3.
[85] Saskatoon Student Group's "Minute Book", 16 October 1956, A690, File II.A.233, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[86] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Households and Families: Husband-Wife Families* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962-1965), 96-3.

Intermarriage between Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians pushed families closer to assimilation. Some Ukrainian families worried that intermarriage would bring an end to their distinctive identity. Both of Mike Dyda's children married into English families. Dyda felt that his children "broke the custom" by not marrying Ukrainians which would eventually lead to the discontinuation of the family's Ukrainian identity.[87] Likewise, George Martiniuk, a member of Saskatchewan's Progressive Ukrainian Community, worried about the extinction of his family's Ukrainian identity as he stated "our children grew up, loved and married partners from other nationalities. Ukrainians married into English families, English into Ukrainian families. Our life's journey will end here."[88] In other families, the forecast surrounding intermarriage was not as dire but change still followed as families accommodated new non-Ukrainian members. This included changing Ukrainian Christmas traditions. Mary Hryhor's family started celebrating two Christmases because of intermarriage, where English Christmas was centred around the turkey, while Ukrainian Christmas was celebrated with the twelve traditional dishes.[89] Eva Rodych's family also altered their Christmas traditions due to intermarriage and stopped singing Ukrainian Christmas carols because non-Ukrainian speakers entered their household.[90] Intermarriage often pushed the Ukrainian family unit to adopt more mainstream Anglo-Canadian holiday practices as they welcomed non-Ukrainians into their families. Others, however, worried that intermarriage marked the end of their family's distinctive Ukrainian identity in Canada.

[87] Mike Dyda, interview by Anne Larson, 30 May 1989, BF 14, interview R-14958, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[88] George M. Martiniuk, interview by Clara Swityk, translated by Ann Ewanchuk, 16 July 1976, GR 251, interview A1004/1005, transcript, "Towards a New Past": Oral History of the Progressive Ukrainian Community in Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Oral History Projects, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[89] Mary Hryhor, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 11 July 2002, interview 29a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[90] Eva Rodych, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 1 August 2002, interview 63a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Intermarriage, according to historian Frances Swyripa, could also dismantle the ethnic household because made it more difficult for families to maintain the Ukrainian language which propelled changes in church adherence and religious identity.[91] The Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches were dominated by the Ukrainian language for much of the postwar period, and religion and language were explicitly intertwined.[92] Anne and Leo Hleck believed that the rising intermarriage rates between Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians in their community of Nipawin played a role in the deteriorating usage of the Ukrainian language and attendance in their Orthodox church.[93] From Leo Hleck's perspective, the English-language influences of the community gave youth no reason to learn Ukrainian.[94] Hleck felt that intermarriage added to this problem because most intermarried couples did not speak Ukrainian to one another and had no "need" to use the language or pass it along to succeeding generations.[95] While intermarriage contributed to Ukrainian language loss, it also increased the likelihood that Ukrainians would alter their church adherence and attend English-based churches with their spouses and children who did not speak nor understand Ukrainian.[96] Intermarriage pushed families to English-based churches that were not necessarily Orthodox or Catholic, making it less likely that the Ukrainian religious identities would be passed along to succeeding generations.

The impacts of intermarriage in Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community during the postwar period were strikingly similar to those in the Ukrainian community. In an article

[91] Frances Swyripa, *Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of their Portrayal in English-Language Works* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1978), 74, 99; Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 97.
[92] Swyripa, *Ukrainian Canadians,* 74.
[93] Leo Hleck, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 11 July 2002, interview 27a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Anne Hleck, interview by Natalia Shostak, 11 July 2002, interview 26, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[94] Leo Hleck, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 11 July 2002, interview 27a.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

submitted to the Doukhobor Cultural Society of Saskatchewan's newsletter, *The Dove,* Polly Meakin referred to herself as a "product of assimilation in Canada."[97] Meakin believed that many Doukhobor families in Saskatchewan, including her own children and grandchildren, fit this description.[98] From Meakin's perspective, intermarriage was the primary assimilatory "seed" that caused many Doukhobors to drift away from the community.[99] This was because intermarriage often influenced parents to raise their children in other religions and made it less likely that the Russian language and the Doukhobor identity would be perpetuated in the home. Peter Perverseff, for example, married in 1953, but his non-Doukhobor spouse did not speak Russian. Since Doukhobor prayer meetings in Saskatchewan were conducted in the Russian language at this time, the Perverseffs opted to attend a Lutheran church because it offered services in English, a language that they could all understand.[100] Bill Kanigan married into a Catholic family in the 1960s. As a result, Kanigan's children were brought up in the Catholic faith.[101] Kanigan cited the small Doukhobor population in Canada as the reason for this shift, and felt that so long as his children were raised as Christians, it did not matter whether it was as Doukhobors or as Catholics.[102] Yet, the Doukhobors' small numbers versus the Roman Catholics' larger numbers influenced Kanigan's choice to raise his children in a faith that was supported by a larger following, and was more readily recognized and accepted in Canada. Intermarriage, which began as a result of the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' greater immersion in Saskatchewan's public spaces during the postwar period, reduced the ethnic household's ability to promote the Ukrainian or Doukhobor identity amongst succeeding generations.

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[97] Polly Meakin, "Response to Article in the Iskra," *The Dove,* January 2004, 6.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Peter Perverseff and Edna Wright, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview DKBR_1_ 0003S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.
[101] Bill Kanigan, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff, 2016.
[102] Ibid.

During the postwar period, the ethnic household started losing some of its power to support the cultural identity of Canadian-born Ukrainians and Doukhobors as they became increasingly integrated into Canadian society. With easier access to transportation and expanded roadways in Saskatchewan's rural settings, many Ukrainians and Doukhobors had more means to leave the constant hardships of rural life in the province. This increased dispersion and rural depopulation rates amongst members of both groups as they sought out education and employment opportunities outside of farming. These pursuits eroded intergenerational connections that had been crucial to the promotion of language, traditions, culture, and faith among Canadian-born Ukrainians and Doukhobors.

Maintaining regular usage of the Ukrainian or Russian language in the family home was one of the greatest challenges Ukrainian and Doukhobor parents faced during the postwar period. Saskatchewan's English-language schools were at the centre of this challenge. Some Ukrainian parents chose to make English the language of the home because Saskatchewan's schools offered no support for the Ukrainian language. Other Ukrainian households dealt with intergenerational conflicts as their children grew frustrated over the challenges of communicating in the Ukrainian language after being continuously immersed in Saskatchewan's English-dominated school environment. Similarly, some Doukhobor households found that the English-language influences of Saskatchewan's schools were too difficult to overcome, which led to the loss of the Russian language in the family home. Yet, language loss did not necessarily affect Ukrainian and Doukhobor households evenly. The Ukrainian family unit had a greater advantage in reinforcing the Ukrainian identity under the threat of language loss than the Doukhobors because of powerful Easter and Christmas traditions that could be replicated in the home on a regular basis. Both communities, however, were similarly affected by rising intermarriage rates during the

postwar period. Intermarriage made it more difficult for families to retain distinctive cultural traditions, the Ukrainian or Russian language, and often led to alterations in church adherence and religious identity. These changes that unfolded in the Ukrainian and Doukhobor ethnic household during the postwar period were driven by their entrance into Saskatchewan's public spaces.

Chapter Two:
Facing a "Dissolving Influence of a Powerful Culture": Ukrainian and Doukhobor Integration into Saskatchewan's Public Spaces

In 1973, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) published a *Handbook on Multiculturalism in Saskatchewan* in which it voiced dissatisfaction with the province's lacklustre approach towards cultural diversity.[1] The UCC was particularly critical of Saskatchewan's schools. According to the UCC, the Department of Education had "done just about everything to smother and kill many cultural communities in Saskatchewan."[2] In the same year, the UCC's Saskatchewan Council wrote a brief for the province's emerging multiculturalism policy.[3] It categorized Saskatchewan's schools as "unicultural" stating that the curriculum disregarded the province's cultural diversity and promoted unilingualism as schools instructed parents to speak only English to their children.[4] Clearly, the UCC felt that Saskatchewan's schools pressured children from allophone ethnic groups into linguistic and cultural conformity. A review of Saskatchewan's curriculum, as well as Ukrainian and Doukhobor experiences in the province's schools between 1946 to 1971, confirms the UCC's perspective. Saskatchewan's postwar public-school system pushed for the cultural and language assimilation of students from non-British backgrounds.

While both Ukrainians and Doukhobors faced intensive assimilation pressure in Saskatchewan's public schools between 1946 and 1971, they were also leaving rural

[1] Ukrainian Canadian Committee, *Handbook on Multiculturalism in Saskatchewan*, 1973, MG32-C67, Vol. 110-10, Saskatchewan 1966-1977, Paul Yuzyk Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Saskatchewan Council, "Brief on a Multicultural Policy for Saskatchewan," 29 March 1973, MG32-C67, Vol. 110-10, Saskatchewan 1966-1977, Paul Yuzyk Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
[4] Ibid.

communities and becoming more dispersed. As discussed in the first chapter, many Ukrainian and Doukhobor families pushed their children to pursue jobs outside of farming because of the financial hardships of rural life in the postwar period. With easier access to transportation and better road systems in rural Saskatchewan, young Ukrainians and Doukhobors had greater means to leave rural communities during this time.[5] Many did so to pursue a university education and integrate into occupations outside of farming. This took them away from rural strongholds and possibly to cities or towns that offered little to no support for their cultural identities, making members of both groups more vulnerable to assimilation pressure. Doukhobors were especially likely to move to locations with no established Doukhobor community because of their smaller population in Saskatchewan and were therefore at higher risk for cultural assimilation than were Ukrainians.

As Canada's federal government and Saskatchewan gave greater attention to human and minority rights after the Second World War, governmental policies at the federal level and at the provincial level shifted from insisting on Anglo-conformity to promoting minorities' integration into mainstream social and economic opportunities.[6] Saskatchewan's Bill of Rights, passed in 1947, supported the inclusion of allophone others in mainstream society by making the denial of education and employment on racial or religious grounds illegal.[7] The federal government adopted the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947 to redefine Canadian citizenship through one's "work in Canada" rather than religion or language.[8] By 1960, Canada adopted its own Bill of Rights to outlaw racial and religious discrimination. Also in the 1960s, Canada developed a national identity that acknowledged and promoted the ethnic diversity of its citizens. Yet, policy

[5] Tarasoff, "Western Canada – Historical and Social Trends, Problems and Challenges," 1973.
[6] Fujiwara, 77; See also Lacroix, 73, 82.
[7] Patrias, 291.
[8] Ferguson, 324.

interventions and changing political attitudes towards diversity were not enough to eliminate discrimination against ethnic minorities. Both Ukrainians and Doukhobors still experienced stigmatization in Saskatchewan's public spaces because of their cultural differences during the postwar period. Whether it was through increasing rates of dispersion, direct exposure to cultural and linguistic assimilation forces in Saskatchewan's public schools, or encounters with ethnic prejudice, Ukrainians and Doukhobors faced pressures of cultural and linguistic conformity as they continued to move into Saskatchewan's public spaces during the postwar period.

Schools are significant sites of identity construction. In addition to teaching the fundamentals of "reading, writing, and arithmetic," schools communicate important social expectations to their pupils. These social expectations include messages about cultural identity. Historians can trace these messages by studying curriculum content, as Jose Igartua does in *The Other Quiet Revolution* (2006).[9] Though Igartua uses Ontario's school system as a case study, his focus on Ontario's authorized Canadian history textbooks makes it possible to extend his findings, which show that Britishness remained at the core of English Canadian identity until the mid-1960s, to other provincial contexts.[10] This includes Saskatchewan, where many of the textbooks Igaruta analyses were used between 1946 and 1971.

Saskatchewan's curriculum and authorized Canadian history textbooks presented a largely monocultural British-Canadian version of Canadian history to Saskatchewan's school children throughout the postwar period.[11] Immigration history was largely glossed over. The 1949 *Programme of Studies*, for instance, addressed immigration but primarily focused on

[9] Jose Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2006).
[10] Ibid., 4-5.
[11] See McGrane, 87.

problems associated with immigrants.[12] In the 1950s, grade five and six students learned about diversity, but only through the "colourful stories" of prairie pioneers.[13] Reflecting Canada's emerging multicultural identity, the phrase "ethnic mosaic" first appeared in a curriculum guide in 1967.[14] Yet, it was accompanied by a grade eight Social Studies unit entitled "Our British Background," which had been cemented in the curriculum throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[15] Textbooks like George Brown's *The Story of Canada* was used in grades five and six in Saskatchewan during the 1950s, but Igartua notes that it largely boasted British settler and military achievements while disregarding Canada's language diversity and Indigenous and ethnic minority populations.[16] Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation* was used in Saskatchewan's high schools during the 1950s. While it recognized French Canadians and gave some focus to ethnic minorities, Igartua maintains that it placed a heavy emphasis on British Canadians' "superior" governing abilities.[17] Similarly, *Canada in the World Today,* also used in the 1950s, labelled Britain and France as Canada's "parents," but classified Britain as the strongest of the two, according to Igartua.[18] This British emphasis did not completely dissipate during the 1960s. Clive Tallant's *Canadian Problems*, used in Saskatchewan's high schools in the 1960s and 1970s, reaffirmed Canada's connection to Britain by asserting that "Canadian citizens derived

[12] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the High School: Bulletin 4* (Regina: King's Printer, 1949), 23.
[13] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Elementary School Curriculum Guide I for Language, Social Studies, Music, Art,* Tentative Edition (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1952), 90-91.
[14] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Curriculum Guide for Division III* (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1967), 59.
[15] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Elementary School Curriculum Guide I for Language, Social Studies, Music, Art* (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1952), 106; Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Elementary School Curriculum Guide I for Language, Social Studies, Music, Art* (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1957), 106; Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Curriculum Guide for Division III* (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1967), 59.
[16] See Igartua, 64.
[17] Ibid., 76-77.
[18] Ibid., 86.

their privileges from the rights won by the British people."[19] A.A. Cameron's *Canada's Heritage*, also used in the late 1960s and 1970s, maintained that Canada's cultural richness was made of "two great groups," identified as the English and French.[20] The message to Saskatchewan's school children from other ethnic backgrounds between 1946 and 1971 was clear: Canada's identity was strongly affiliated with its British (and secondarily its French) heritage. Immigrant communities and their descendants were cast at the fringes of Canada's history.

Saskatchewan's public schools remained unilingually English during the postwar period. Unilingual education came into effect during the First World War, when public calls for the assimilation of immigrant groups led to the abolishment of all bilingual schools across the prairies by 1916.[21] By 1917, children in Saskatchewan had to attend school until the age of fourteen or until they passed the "eighth grade equivalence test," although some students could leave school earlier if their families could prove that they needed another income earner.[22] This ensured that children from allophone ethnic communities in Saskatchewan who attended public school would be heavily immersed in an English-dominated environment.[23] In 1931, Saskatchewan's Conservative premier J.T.M. Anderson strengthened unilingualism in the

[19] Clive Tallant, *Canadian Problems* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1963), 35.
[20] A.A. Cameron, *Canada's Heritage,* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1967), 290.
[21] Martynowych, 367; Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 186; Thomas M. Prymak, *Gathering A Heritage: Ukrainian, Slavonic, and Ethnic Canada and the USA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 135; Robyn Sneath, "Whose Children are They? A Transnational Minority Religious Sect and Schools as Sites of Conflict in Canada, 1890-1922," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no.1-2 (2017): 98, 99; Manoly R. Lupul, "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada's Public Schools," in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in* Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 224.
[22] This exemption was removed in 1974. See Philip Oreopoulos, "The Compelling Effects of Compulsory Schooling: Evidence from Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Economics* 39, no.1 (February 2000): 27; John McLaren, "The Law and Public Nudity: Prairie and West Coast Reactions to the Sons of Freedom, 1929-32," in *Laws and Societies in the Canadian Prairie West, 1670-1940,* ed. Louis A. Knafla and Jonathan Swainger (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 314.
[23] See also Veronika Makarova, "Saskatchewan Doukhobor Russian: A Disappearing Language," *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics* 2, no. 3 (September 2012): 94.

province's schools when his government made English the only legal language of instruction.[24] The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) did not change these language policies. As such, sociologist Wilfred Denis defines the period of 1931 to 1964 as a time of "legislative silence" towards language laws in Saskatchewan's schools, which allowed English to retain its dominance in the province's education system.[25]

Saskatchewan's Liberal government made slight changes to the *School Act* in 1968 by allowing French to be used as a language of instruction for one hour a day in public schools.[26] This did little to placate Saskatchewan's francophone community who felt these changes did not reduce English-language conformity, and did nothing to modify or support the language needs of Saskatchewan's allophone ethnic communities.[27] Despite growing attention towards minority rights after the Second World War, students of allophone background in Saskatchewan continued to enter an English-dominated school system as they had during the period of Anglo-conformity.

Strong support for the English-language assimilation of Saskatchewan's school students could be found in the province's curriculum between 1946 to 1971. The 1946 *Programme of Studies* stated that the total development of English was of "paramount importance."[28] Teachers played a central role in this process. The curriculum from 1946 and 1950 asserted that "every teacher is, in a very real sense, a teacher of English" and encouraged teachers to provide "friendly and frank criticism" if a student's English-language abilities were insufficient.[29] The curriculum from the 1950s and 1960s kept a similar tone. Elementary teachers, according to the

[24] McNichol, 117, 118.
[25] Wilfred Denis, "Language in Saskatchewan: Anglo-Hegemony Maintained," in *Language in Canada,* ed. John Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 431, 439.
[26] McNichol, 130; McGrane, 87.
[27] McNichol, 131; Ibid.
[28] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the High School: Bulletin 1* (Regina: King's Printer, 1946), 55.
[29] Saskatchewan, *Programme of Studies for the High School* (1946), 55; Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the High School: Bulletin A* (Regina: King's Printer, 1950), 75.

curriculum guides of 1955 and 1964, were to ensure that English was a continuous lesson that spanned throughout the school day.[30] English permeated throughout the school no matter the class.

The English-dominated environment of Saskatchewan's education system had a profound impact on Ukrainian and Doukhobor school children throughout the postwar period. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, Saskatchewan's teachers enforced English-language conformity not only by verbally prompting, correcting, or criticizing students who spoke a language besides English, but also by using physical discipline to punish allophone children for speaking in their mother tongue. This experience affected many Ukrainian and Doukhobor students in Saskatchewan. Mike Soroka, who was born in 1942 near Krydor, only spoke Ukrainian at home with his parents before he started school.[31] Not knowing any English when he began the first grade, Soroka had to speak Ukrainian at school and was strapped almost daily by his teacher.[32] Mae Popoff recalled that "the rule was you got the strap if you were caught using another language."[33] Fortunately, Popoff was able to learn English from older siblings who wanted to protect her from the stiff penalties that they knew teachers used to promote language conformity.[34] When Elsie Yurchuk was growing up in the area of Prud'homme in the 1940s, she entered school nearly unaware that another language besides Ukrainian existed.[35] After seeing peers "strapped" for speaking Ukrainian, Yurchuk realized that it was only appropriate to speak

[30] Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Elementary School Curriculum Guide I for Language, Social Studies, Music, and Art* (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1955), 7; Saskatchewan, Department of Education, *Elementary School Curriculum Guide for Division I* (Saskatchewan: Department of Education, 1964), 21.
[31] Soroka, 51.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Elsie Yurchuk, interview by Natalia Shostak, 17 July 2002, interview 92b, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies, St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

English at school.[36] In the early postwar period, Saskatchewan's public schools and teachers remained ardent promoters and enforcers of English-language conformity.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Ukrainian and Doukhobor students were not just encouraged to speak English at school, but to do so without an accent. In fact, some students, including former Saskatchewan premier Roy Romanow, were informed that their accents would limit their social or economic advancement after graduation. During the 1950s, Romanow was working as a sports commentator while he attended high school at Bedford Road Collegiate in Saskatoon, yet he was told that his Ukrainian accent would prevent him from finding a job in "mainstream" broadcasting.[37] Throughout high school, Romanow worked countless hours to correct his English pronunciation and entered university without an accent.[38] Others, such as Elaine Smysniuk, were outright criticized by teachers for their accents. When Smysniuk was attending high school in Ituna, Smysniuk recalled that her teacher claimed she would not be able to speak English properly because of her Ukrainian accent.[39] By criticizing accents, Saskatchewan's teachers pushed students to have the English language verbally and linguistically mastered. Some young Ukrainians, like Romanow, had to lose their accents and essentially become less Ukrainian to be a full-fledged member of Saskatchewan's mainstream society.

Although Ukrainian and Doukhobor students continued to face intensive pressure to assimilate linguistically in Saskatchewan's public schools, some had opportunities to learn either the Ukrainian or Russian language in school. Wilfred Denis notes that the CCF made "minor exceptions" to the teaching of non-English languages in the postwar period.[40] These small

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Gregory J. Marchildon, "Roy Romanow," in *Saskatchewan Premiers of the Twentieth Century,* ed. Gordon L. Barnhat (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2004), 354.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Elaine Smysniuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 June 2002, interview 77a.
[40] Denis, 431.

allowances enabled Ukrainian and Russian to be taught in Saskatchewan's high schools as credit subjects. Although students in these classes had to be instructed in English, per provincial law, the CCF was Canada's first provincial government to grant high school accreditation status to the Ukrainian language in 1952.[41] Initially, this was granted to the two Ukrainian Catholic private schools, St. Joseph's Collegiate and Sacred Heart Academy in Yorkton, but was extended to all high schools across the province in 1954.[42] According to Denis, Russian was also granted accreditation status at the high school level in Saskatchewan during the 1960s.[43]

Ukrainian and Russian language classes were unevenly established in Saskatchewan's schools during the postwar period and were often confined to after-hours instruction. While the CCF allowed Ukrainian and Russian to be taught as accredited subjects, approval to teach either language in a school had to come from the local school board.[44] Approval was typically secured if Ukrainians or Russians were sitting school board members and the school board could assume the responsibility of setting up Ukrainian or Russian courses.[45] Establishing these language classes was done unevenly, as it depended on whether or not Ukrainians or Russians formed a majority in a school district. In some communities, like the town of Canora, where Ukrainians formed roughly sixty per cent of the population in 1965, Ukrainian classes were offered in the high school during regular school hours.[46] In locations where Ukrainians were not predominant,

[41] Hnatiuk et al., 45; Lupul, "Ukrainian-language Education in Canada's Public Schools," 221, 228, 236. 239.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Denis, 431.
[44] See for example McNichol, 126.
[45] Heinz Lehmann found that the first step toward German language instruction in schools was attaining school board approval, which required the majority of the school board to be German. See Heinz Lehmann, "Language Loyalty and Ethnic Retention," in *The German Canadians, 1750-1937: Immigration, Settlement & Culture,* trans. and ed. Gerhard P. Bassler (St. John's Newfoundland: Jesperson Press, 1986), 325.
[46] Koozma J. Tarasoff, "A Listing of Ethnic Communities in Saskatchewan," November 1965, A690, File IV. D. 5, K. J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Steven Kobrynsky, "'Ukrainian in Canora's Schools," in *History of Canora, 1905-1990,* ed. Walter Mysak, et al., (Canora, Saskatchewan: Canora's History Book Editorial Board, 1990), 62; Alan B. Anderson, *Settling Saskatchewan* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013), 162.

Ukrainian language classes were separated from a school's mainstream curriculum and were restricted to after-hours instruction. This was the case in cities like Saskatoon and Moose Jaw, where Ukrainian classes were only taught in the evening.[47] Bohdan Zerebecky recalled that he took high school Ukrainian lessons in Saskatoon during the 1960s, where one dedicated teacher took the time to teach students from all over the city the Ukrainian language.[48] Zerebecky received full credit for these classes, but maintained that no courses were set up during regular school hours.[49] Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community also established Russian language classes in some locations. Doukhobors in Blaine Lake, who formed nearly thirty-five per cent of the area's population in 1965, had access to Russian language training throughout the 1960s when the community brought in a Russian doctor whose wife taught youth the Russian language.[50] These classes took place twice a week, after school, with students from grades four to twelve.[51] While Ukrainian and Russian had accreditation status, both were primarily confined to the peripheries of Saskatchewan's school environment and were separated from the mainstream curriculum. English kept its dominance during official school hours.

These extra-curricular and unevenly established Ukrainian and Russian classes did little to reduce the pressure of English-language assimilation propelled by Saskatchewan's school system. Since Ukrainian language classes were set up by local school boards, typically in districts with large Ukrainian populations, they were not available to all Ukrainian students in Saskatchewan's public schools during the postwar period. Ukrainian students who had no access

[47] Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 August 2002, interview 96a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Correspondence from Helen Lys to National Executive, 28 April 1966, MG28-V8, Vol. 6, Ukrainian National Youth Federation Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
[48] Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 August 2002, interview 96a.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Alex Strelioff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.
[51] Virginia Androsoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview DPSPP2_0010S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

to these classes continued to feel intensive linguistic assimilation pressure. Steve Rudy, for instance, did not have consistent access to Ukrainian classes while he attended school near Nipawin during the 1940s and 1950s. Rudy recalled that his teachers encouraged students to speak English and "scolded" them for speaking Ukrainian.[52] Rudy felt as if he "transformed into another type of person" as his English-language fluency quickly grew and his Ukrainian skills declined.[53] Despite this pressure, Rudy did not lose his ability to speak Ukrainian. Rudy's parents and other members of his Ukrainian community paid for a Manitoba-based Ukrainian teacher to give local youth summer lessons in Ukrainian language, history, and music during the 1950s.[54] Rudy felt that these summer courses were crucial to his Ukrainianness as they helped save his Ukrainian language skills and enhanced his interest in the Ukrainian culture.[55] Others were not as lucky. Danny Evanyshyn had no access to Ukrainian classes in Meadow Lake during the 1950s.[56] Evanyshyn noticed that his Ukrainian language fluency quickly deteriorated after he entered the public-school system, where he was immersed in an English-only environment and had no opportunity to speak Ukrainian.[57] His parents stopped speaking Ukrainian to their children because they saw no place for their mother tongue in Saskatchewan's schools. As a result, Evanyshyn's Ukrainian fluency disappeared.[58] Since Ukrainian classes were not evenly spread throughout Saskatchewan, the accreditation of the Ukrainian language did nothing to reduce the pressure of English-language assimilation amongst Ukrainian students who had no access to these classes.

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[52] Steve Rudy, interview by Natalia Shostak, 5 July 2002, interview 66a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid. Rudy eventually became a teacher himself and taught after-hours Ukrainian courses in Alvena, Saskatchewan.
[56] Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19a.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

Access to extra-curricular Ukrainian language classes did not always help prevent the loss of the Ukrainian language amongst Canadian-born generations. When Nadia Prokopchuk was attending school in Prud'homme, she was able to take correspondence Ukrainian courses which were available to Saskatchewan students in the 1960s and 1970s.[59] The coursework for correspondence Ukrainian classes, Prokopchuk recalled, was completed at home, because there was no Ukrainian teacher in Prud'homme.[60] Prokopchuk admitted that completing Ukrainian classes by correspondence was difficult, because it had to be done at home on a student's own time. But she noted that her parents, who were fluent in Ukrainian, provided her with crucial guidance.[61] This was not the case for all Ukrainian families. Prokopchuk felt that the separation of Ukrainian classes from the school's mainstream curriculum may have prevented some of her peers from taking Ukrainian language classes because they did not have the same cultural support from their parents at home.[62] Whereas Prokopchuk's parents were of an "older" generation and were still fluent in Ukrainian, she observed that the parents of her peers were of a "younger" generation and had been more exposed to assimilatory forces over a longer period of time, which made them less equipped to offer linguistic support to their children.[63]

Despite the accreditation of Russian in Saskatchewan's high schools during the 1960s, some Saskatchewan Doukhobors still believed that the province's English-dominated public-school system was one of the driving forces behind Russian language loss in the community. Polly Meakin saw that many of her peers were struggling to keep the Russian language alive amongst succeeding generations of Doukhobors during the postwar period.[64] One of the primary

[59] Nadia Prokopchuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 31 May 2002, interview 61a.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.; interview 61b.
[63] Ibid.; See also Lehmann, 336.
[64] Meakin, "Response to Article in the *Iskra*," 6.

forces fueling this struggle, according to Meakin, was Saskatchewan's "English schools" and the lack of support they and the English-speaking environment offered to other languages.[65] Doukhobor historian and genealogist Jonathan Kalmakoff maintained that English-language homogeneity was becoming firmly established among Doukhobor youth in Saskatchewan during the 1950s and 1960s.[66] Recounting his father's upbringing during this time, Kalmakoff explained that Saskatchewan's education system amplified the pressure of language assimilation allowing English to replace Russian as the working language amongst many Doukhobor youth in Saskatchewan.[67] Much like the Ukrainian community, generations of Doukhobors were being continuously immersed in Saskatchewan's English-dominated school system and were steadily becoming less proficient at speaking their mother tongue and more fluent in English. The accreditation of Russian, often confined to the peripheries of the school system during the latter-half of the postwar period, did little to reduce the pressure and rising tide of English-language assimilation amongst Saskatchewan's Doukhobors.

Ukrainian and Doukhobor educational pursuits increased dispersion amongst members of both communities during the postwar period. In the 1950s, Saskatchewan's CCF government sought to improve the province's education system by establishing more centralized schools in towns and urban centres, which led to the closure of many one-room rural schools during the 1950s and 1960s.[68] Although it was common for Ukrainian and Doukhobor students to attend rural schools at an elementary level, many had to go to nearby towns or cities to attend high school. The dispersion process continued after high school for those pursuing a university or

[65] Ibid.
[66] Jonathan Kalmakoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Waiser notes that one-room rural schools were closed at a one-in-five yearly rate during the 1950s, which increased to two-in-five by the start of the 1960s. Waiser, *Saskatchewan,* 361-362.

college education, which was only available in major cities like Saskatoon and Regina. Increased access to transportation and greater road infrastructure in rural Saskatchewan during the postwar period made urban-based education and employment opportunities more accessible for young Ukrainians and Doukhobors.[69]

While the pursuit of a university education furthered dispersion and urbanization amongst Ukrainians and Doukhobors, established cultural safeguards at or around universities, and in cities, made it easier for members of both communities to stay connected to their cultural roots. These cultural supports, mobilized by community organizers, played an important role in promoting the Ukrainian and Doukhobor culture amongst youth while they pursued a higher education and were away from the cultural influences of their families and home communities. Such safeguards were especially prevalent in Saskatoon and at the University of Saskatchewan. For Ukrainian students, cultural supports ranged from churches to student clubs and residences.[70] Student residences like the Petro Mohyla Institute, established in 1916, and the Markian Shashkevych Institute, founded in 1932 (later rebuilt in 1953 and renamed as the Andrew Sheptytsky Institute), provided a "home away from home" for Ukrainian students.[71] Both residences provided youth with a greater opportunity to become more immersed in faith and both offered lessons in Ukrainian history, language, song, and dance.[72] Along with the Ukrainian

[69] Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016; Mike Krochack, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 2 August 2002, interview 42a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Olga Borsa, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 31 July 2002, interview 8b.

[70] See Anderson, *Settling Saskatchewan*, 184.

[71] The Petro Mohyla Institute was associated with the Ukrainian Orthodox church while the Shashkevych and Sheptytsky Institutes were affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic church. Olga Borsa, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky 31 July 2002, interview 8a; "Markian Shashkevych – Andrew Sheptytsky Institutes," F196-2, File No. 26, Bohdan Kazymyra Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[72] "Calendar 1965-66: Mohyla Institute," no date, MG31-E55, Vol.29-5, Walter Surma Tarnopolsky Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; "Markian Shashkevych – Andrew Sheptytsky Institutes"; Josephine Talpash, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 24 July 2002, interview 82c, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Nadya Orisya Oneschuk, "Saving

University Students Group in Saskatoon and Regina, these structures provided Ukrainian students with a chance to retain a strong sense of their cultural identity while they earned a university or college education.

Doukhobors did not have student residences, but those who attended the University of Saskatchewan and lived in Saskatoon during the postwar period had opportunities to stay connected with the community. One of the primary cultural safeguards for Doukhobors in Saskatoon, and at the University of Saskatchewan, was the Saskatoon Doukhobor Student Group, also known as the Saskatoon Doukhobor Youth. The group originated in 1924 but ceased operations until it was revived by Doukhobor students in 1951.[73] It consisted of "students and young people of Doukhobor background" who were either studying or working in and around Saskatoon.[74] During the 1950s and 1960s, the group held numerous panel discussions that examined topics such as the importance of the Russian language in the Doukhobors culture, as well as Doukhoborism and its relation to good Canadian citizenship.[75] The group had its own choir and was also active in the Doukhobor prayer home in Saskatoon, which was built in 1955.[76] At the prayer home, members took part in prayer meetings and hosted variety nights where they organized and performed theatrical plays.[77] The Student Group provided an

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Heritage": Stakeholders, Success, and Project SUCH," (Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of Alberta, 2018), 68.

[73] Saskatoon Doukhobor Student Group, "Program for Presentation," no date, A690, File II.A.232, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina Saskatchewan; Koozma J. Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava: The Doukhobors* (Grand Forks, British Columbia: Mir Publication Society, 1982), 184.

[74] Correspondence from Tina Ewachiw, Secretary, Saskatoon Student Group to Paul A. Verigin, Secretary, Union of Youth, U.S.C.C., 26 November 1959, A690, File II.A.233, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[75] Summary of Minutes, 9 March 1952, A690, File II.A.233, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Unknown, "Saskatoon Doukhobor Student Group Bulletin," 24 January 1960, A690, File II. A. 233, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[76] "The Doukhobor Society of Saskatoon: Declaration, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations," 19 January 1955, A690, File II. A. 231, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[77] Koozma Tarasoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2018; Koozma J. Tarasoff et al., "Saskatchewan Doukhobor Youth Festivals, 1955-1968: Summary of history, communities, choirs, singers, recorded songs and photos" (no date), 19, http://goo.gl/xoC48I.

opportunity for young Doukhobors to stay connected with their cultural identity as they pursued a higher education.

Dispersion continued after Ukrainians and Doukhobors finished university or college and moved into the workforce. However, Ukrainians who accepted jobs outside of their home communities were less vulnerable to the assimilatory impacts of dispersion than Doukhobors who did the same. Ukrainians enjoyed strength in numbers, being a more populous community than the Doukhobors. The 1961 Canadian census shows, for example, that there were 78,851 Ukrainians in Saskatchewan compared to 3,202 Doukhobors.[78] Living away from their home communities, Ukrainians had a greater chance of having ethnic peers in their localities than did Doukhobors. Furthermore, dispersed Ukrainians were able to establish new homes within what sociologist Leo Driedger refers to as the "Rural Prairie Aspen Belt," which was the original settlement pattern early Ukrainian immigrants formed.[79] The Rural Prairie Aspen Belt stretched from the eastern half of Saskatchewan, around the area of Yorkton, and extended throughout the province towards Edmonton, Alberta, encompassing the major centres of Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, and Prince Albert.[80] Each of these cities – the four largest cities in Saskatchewan – provided urbanizing Ukrainians with some cultural support in the form of Ukrainian churches and organizations during the postwar period.[81] As Driedger explains, the large Ukrainian

[78] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962), 35-2; Canada, *1961 Census of Canada: Population: Religious Denominations*, 11-24.

[79] Leo Driedger, "Urbanization of Ukrainians in Canada: Consequences for Ethnic Identity," in *Changing Realties: Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians* ed. W. Roman Petryshyn (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), 117.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Leo Piasta, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 1 August 2002, interview 58a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Lesley Olchavy, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 16 July 2002, interview 53a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Frank Kushko, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 21 August 2002, interview 43a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

population in the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt helped limit some of the assimilatory impacts of dispersion amongst Ukrainians.[82] This was the case for John Lewchuk, who found a job as a teacher in the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt. Lewchuk taught in Saskatoon's school division in the 1960s. Lewchuk felt that teaching in Saskatoon's Catholic schools, where many Ukrainians were enrolled, helped him to stay connected with his Ukrainian heritage and helped him grow new connections in Saskatoon's Ukrainian community after he moved to the city.[83]

Yet, Ukrainians in Saskatchewan living in the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt were not entirely immune to the assimilatory impacts of dispersion if they lived in a town or city that had no established Ukrainian community and therefore could not offer any cultural or religious support. Lesley Olchavy moved to Humboldt in 1960 with her husband, Peter, who worked in the power industry. At this time, Humboldt had a small Ukrainian population and did not have a Ukrainian Orthodox church, which Olchavy had attended as a child in Prince Albert. Despite growing up in a strong Ukrainian household, where Olchavy's Ukrainian identity was reinforced by the church and her mother, who exclusively spoke Ukrainian, Olchavy noticed that her Ukrainian-language abilities started deteriorating after her relocation to Humboldt.[84] Although Olchavy read Ukrainian-language newspapers in an effort to retain the language, she lost much of her Ukrainian fluency in Humboldt's unilingual English environment.[85] Olchavy's relocation to an environment that provided little to no support for her Ukrainian cultural identity resulted in the loss of her ability to speak the Ukrainian language despite her best efforts to retain her mother tongue.

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[82] Driedger also shows that the "knowledge and use" of the Ukrainian language remained higher in the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt than elsewhere. Driedger, "Urbanization of Ukrainians in Canada: Consequences for Ethnic Identity," 131.

[83] John Lewchuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 4 July 2002, interview 44, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[84] Lesley Olchavy, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 16 July 2002, interview 53a.

[85] Ibid.

Saskatchewan's Doukhobors – numerically much smaller than the province's Ukrainians – did not have a wide-ranging settlement pattern like the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt. During the postwar period, Doukhobors primarily resided in three locations in Saskatchewan.[86] Prominent Doukhobor localities could be found in the eastern half of the province, around the towns and villages of Buchanan, Wadena, Canora, Kamsack, and Veregin.[87] The second area with major Doukhobor settlements could be found in central Saskatchewan around Langham and Blaine Lake.[88] As Doukhobors were becoming more urbanized during the postwar period, many gravitated to Saskatoon, which was and still remains as the only major city in Saskatchewan to have a Doukhobor prayer home and an established Doukhobor community.[89]

As Doukhobor communities were confined to three areas in Saskatchewan, many dispersed Doukhobors not only moved to new towns or cities that offered them no cultural support but they also struggled to stay in contact with the larger community, making them more vulnerable to assimilation pressure. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, many youth left rural Doukhobor communities like Blaine Lake, Buchanan, and Canora in search of employment and education opportunities elsewhere.[90] Alex Kalesnikoff and William Riben both saw many young Doukhobors leave their home town of Blaine Lake during this time.[91] According to them, those who left did not often return to the area because of the lack of employment opportunities in the rural community.[92] Riben's own teaching career, for instance, took him away from Blaine Lake

[86] Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016.
[87] Sam George Stupnikoff, *Historical Saga of the Doukhobor Faith 1750-1900s* (Saskatoon: Apex Graphics, 1992), 65.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016; Frank Kufka, "Doukhobors of Buchanan," 9; Stanley Petroff, interview by George Stushnoff, 11 May 1990.
[91] Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016; William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[92] Ibid.

and to places such as Alsask and Marengo, Saskatchewan, which had no Doukhobor population.[93] Riben believed many young Doukhobors who left Blaine Lake followed a similar path because they also moved to towns and cities that had no Doukhobor community.[94] Riben's passion for choral singing and fairly close proximity to Saskatoon and Blaine Lake both motivated and allowed him to frequently return to the area to sing with Doukhobor choirs.[95] Riben, however, felt that many of his peers were unable or unwilling to make the same return trips as he had because of the distance between them and their former communities.[96] As dispersed families struggled to return to their home communities, they would not be able to regularly visit a Doukhobor prayer home, interact with other Canadians of Doukhobor background, or sing in a Doukhobor choir. Without these support structures it would be more difficult for dispersed families to perpetuate the Doukhobor identity amongst succeeding generations.

While the pressures of linguistic conformity continued to bear down on Ukrainians and Doukhobors, and dispersion made individuals more vulnerable to assimilatory forces, members of both groups also met prejudice and stigmatization in Saskatchewan's public spaces. Despite anti-discrimination policies introduced by the Canadian federal government and by Saskatchewan's CCF in the late 1940s, discrimination, stigmatization, and notions of Anglo-Canadian cultural superiority remained common during the postwar period. In their book, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities* (2009), Gerald Friesen and Royden Loewen explain that on the prairies, those "within the white population" who showed a willingness to learn English quickly,

[93] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

who were closely aligned with Protestantism, and who assimilated with little to no difficulty, were granted "real Canadian" status by British-Canadians.[97] In the ethnically diverse prairie region, "real Canadian" status not only included the British-Canadian population, but also people with Dutch, German, and Nordic origin throughout the 1950s.[98] It did not, however, include Ukrainians and Doukhobors. Both groups continued to experience discrimination, stereotypes, and hostility during the postwar period despite Saskatchewan's efforts to accommodate ethnic diversity and limit overt expressions of racism.[99]

In cities like Saskatoon, some Ukrainians felt that Anglo-Canadians still assumed cultural superiority during the 1950s and 1960s. At times, this made young Ukrainian-Canadians feel uncomfortable and uneasy about their ethnic identity. Roy Romanow became more conscious of his Ukrainian identity as a teenager in Saskatoon during the 1950s.[100] On one occasion, when Romanow left his neighbourhood on the west-side of Saskatoon and ventured into the eastern part of the city, an area he referred to as the "WASP" side of town, Romanow recalled that he felt as a "complete outsider" as a Ukrainian-Canadian amongst upper-class Anglo-Canadians.[101] Other young Ukrainians had similar experiences. They also suspected that Anglo-Canadians felt a sense of cultural superiority in the 1960s, even as Canada's multicultural identity was taking shape. Bohdan Zerebecky grew up in Saskatoon's Riversdale neighbourhood in the 1950s and 1960s. At this time, Zerebecky described Riversdale as a true "multicultural" community.[102] Outside of these multicultural communities, and particularly in areas populated by Anglo-Canadians, Zerebecky felt that he was viewed as culturally inferior because of his Ukrainian

[97] Loewen and Friesen, 75.
[98] Ibid.
[99] See also Swyripa, *Wedded to the* Cause, 218.
[100] Marchildon, 354.
[101] Ibid. WASP stands for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.
[102] Bohdan Zerbecky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 August 2002, interview 96a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies, St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatoon.

heritage.[103] John Rozdilsky, who grew up in Saskatoon during the 1960s and 1970s, similarly remembered that "it wasn't very stylish to be Ukrainian" and explained that "at some points [you] didn't even want to admit that you were Ukrainian to other people."[104] Romanow, Zerebecky, and Rozdilsky all felt that Anglo-Canadians perceived them to be conspicuously different from other Canadians because of their Ukrainian heritage. Despite Canada's emerging multicultural identity in the 1960s and 1970s, Zerebecky and Rozdilsky believed that Anglo-Canadians still had a feeling of cultural superiority. At times, these perceptions pressured some young Ukrainians, like Rozdilsky, to suppress their Ukrainianness.

Ukrainian-Canadians encountered similar stigmatization in schools and workplaces during the postwar period. Lusia Pavlychenko attended City Park High School in Saskatoon during the late 1940s. At City Park, Pavlychenko recalled that her group of friends were occasionally called "hunkies" at school and were at times bullied for their ability to speak another language.[105] These prejudices were not confined to Saskatoon. Steve Rudy dealt with similar problems when he attended high school in Nipawin during the 1950s. During the 1950s and 1960s, Nipawin was largely populated with people of British, German, and Scandinavian descent: in other words, those with "real Canadian" status, according to Loewen and Friesen's definition.[106] During high school, Rudy felt that some students perceived Ukrainians to be socially inferior as he recalled that other students "knew you were Ukrainian and so somehow Ukrainians weren't quite as good as some others during that era."[107] Elaine Smysniuk taught in

[103] Ibid.
[104] John Rozdilsky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 19 August 2002, interview 64.
[105] Lusia Pavlychenko, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 18 July 2002, interview 56a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
[106] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951: Population: General Characteristics* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953-1956), 34-19, 34-20; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963-1964), 37-23, 37-24.
[107] Steve Rudy, interview by Natalia Shostak, 5 July 2002, interview 66b.

Nipawin during the late 1960s and early 1970s. While teaching in Nipawin, Smysniuk recalled that she was sometimes "criticized" and "teased" about Ukrainian Christmas because it was celebrated in January rather than December and was accompanied with "strange traditions."[108] Despite changing political attitudes towards cultural diversity in postwar Canada, Ukrainian-Canadians in Saskatchewan continued to experience prejudice and stigmatizations and felt that Anglo-Canadians perceived them to be socially and culturally inferior.

Similarly, Doukhobors felt that other Canadians viewed them as social inferiors and noticed that some Anglo-Canadians still looked down on other ethnic groups. When the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism visited Saskatchewan in 1964, Norm Rebin, a Doukhobor who worked in the province's education system, told commissioners that "his group felt English-speaking Canadians had a feeling of superiority" over other cultural groups in Saskatchewan.[109] Much like Ukrainian-Canadians, Doukhobors could also be targeted for their pronunciation of English or distinctive cultural traditions during the postwar period despite Saskatchewan's anti-discriminatory policies. From both Ukrainian and Doukhobor perspectives, notions of Anglo-Canadian cultural superiority still lingered in postwar Saskatchewan and members of both groups were at times perceived to be culturally and socially beneath other Canadians.

The negative attention given to the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors in British Columbia by the Canadian media posed an additional and major challenge to the reputation of Independent Doukhobors in Saskatchewan. The Sons of Freedom were a small Doukhobor splinter group who used nudity and arson to protest against rising materialism and government authority, which they

[108] Elaine Smysniuk, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 June 2002, interview 77a.
[109] "Commission Interested in "Other" Ethnic Groups: Doukhobor Community Life Viewed," *Regina Leader Post,* 11 June 1964.

saw as threats to Doukhoborism.[110] Sons of Freedom protest activity escalated during the 1950s and 1960s.[111] Their protest activity was confined to British Columbia after the Second World War, but Canadian media sources and authorized Canadian history textbooks struggled to differentiate the Sons of Freedom from Saskatchewan's Independent Doukhobors.[112] Robert England's *Contemporary Canada,* used in Saskatchewan's high schools in the late 1940s, conflated the greater Doukhobor image with the Sons of Freedom. England, for instance, stated that Doukhobors "live in a form of communism…reject and resist the claims of the state, refuse to bear arms, are vegetarian, and have on occasion in the past practiced methods of passive resistance such as nude parades."[113] Independent Doukhobors refused to bear arms as pacifists, but England's analysis of the Doukhobors failed to differentiate the Sons of Freedom from the Independents, who did not live communally and condemned the Son of Freedoms' nudity and arson. Saskatchewan's media sources followed a similar trend. An article published by the Saskatoon *Star Phoenix* in 1948 noted the lack of Doukhobor "bombings" in Saskatchewan, but attributed this to the province's "federal police force" instead of explaining the difference between British Columbia's Sons of Freedom and Saskatchewan's Independent Doukhobors.[114] In 1956, Koozma Tarasoff wrote to Canadian media outlets, including the *Star Phoenix,* to draw

[110] Most Sons of Freedom moved to British Columbia in the early twentieth century with the Community Doukhobors, as both groups wished to live and cultivate their lands collectively after the Canadian government pressured Doukhobors on the prairies to sign for their homestands as individuals and take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Most Doukhobors who stayed in Saskatchewan became known as the Independents. A small number of Sons of Freedom stayed in Saskatchewan, and nude protests occasionally took place in the province up until the 1940s. After World War II, Sons of Freedom activity was confined to British Columbia. Androsoff, 233; Jonathan Kalmakoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; Woodcock and Avakumovic, 225; J.F.C. Wright, *Slava Bohu: The Story of the Dukhobors* (Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), 314; Carl J. Tracie, *Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobor Village Settlement in Saskatchewan, 1899-1918* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1996), 126.

[111] See Woodcock and Avakumovic, 350.

[112] Larry A. Ewashen, "Doukhobors and the Media," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 27, no. 3 (1995): 149.

[113] Robert England, *Contemporary Canada: A Mid-Twentieth Century Orientation* (Toronto: The Educational Book Company, 1948), 20.

[114] "Federal Aid Sought in Kootenay," Saskatoon *Star Phoenix,* 6 January 1948, R178-1, Box 150, Doukhobors E.C. Clippings, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

attention to the "carelessness" in news reporting that equated the Sons of Freedom with the greater Doukhobor community.[115] It was common for the Canadian media and other sources to equate the law-abiding Doukhobor community with the Sons of Freedom in the postwar period.

The conflation between the greater Doukhobor community and the Sons of Freedom happened often enough in Saskatchewan's mass media sources to unfairly mar the Independents' reputation. This affected how other Canadians viewed and treated Independent Doukhobors in Saskatchewan during the postwar period. When J.B. Rudnyckyj and Jean-Louis Gagon visited the former Doukhobor settlement of Petrofka in 1964 as a part of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Doukhobor community members in the area stated that they were concerned with "discrimination by the surrounding community" and "being identified with the British Columbia Sons of Freedom Doukhobors."[116] Doukhobors often encountered jokes and hostility over the Sons of Freedom protest activity, nudity, and arson while they were at work or at school in Saskatchewan.[117] When Koozma Tarasoff was attending the University of Saskatchewan in the 1950s he recalled that upon taking his seat for an English class he found a drawing of himself standing beside Queen Elizabeth captioned "Koozma, the killer of the Queen."[118] Tarasoff also remembered when his brother was in a romantic relationship during the 1950s and was informed by his partner that her parents had recently asked her the question:

[115] Correspondence from Koozma J. Tarasoff to Editor, Saskatoon Star Phoenix, A690, File II.A.56, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[116] "Commission Interested in "Other" Ethnic Groups: Doukhobor Community Life Viewed," *Regina Leader Post,* 11 June 1964.

[117] Joe Postnikoff and Veronica Postnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff, no date, interview DPSPP2_0006S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Maurice Postnikoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 14 May 1990; William (Bill) Kalmakoff, interview by George Stushnoff, May 9, 1990, BF 14, interview R-14991, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[118] Koozma Tarasoff, "Doukhobor Survival through the Centuries," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 27, no. 3 (January 1995): 5

"does John strip naked?"[119] The Sons of Freedoms' nudist and arsonist activity severely impacted how Saskatchewan's residents perceived the province's Doukhobor population and amplified discriminatory behaviour displayed towards law-abiding Doukhobors by other Canadians.[120]

The hostility Independent Doukhobors faced in Saskatchewan's public spaces over Sons of Freedom protest activity pressured Doukhobors to suppress their identity and turned some away from their heritage. In her doctoral dissertation "Spirit Wrestling," historian Ashleigh Androsoff notes that the "stigma" associated with the Sons of Freedom "accelerated assimilation" amongst some Doukhobor youth.[121] This was the case in Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community during the postwar period, when some Doukhobors strove to minimize the impact of the Sons of Freedom by hiding or distancing themselves from their Russian Doukhobor identity. Jeanette Stringer, who grew up in Langham during the 1960s and 1970s, remembered when her father suddenly stopped her sister from learning the Russian language. Stringer believed that this was related to the Sons of Freedom as she stated "one day I don't know what happened…something got burnt, something got whatever, my dad closed up her books and he said to her…you go to school, you speak English and be civilized and quiet."[122] To avoid attracting any unnecessary attention amidst ongoing Sons of Freedom activity, it appeared that Stringer's father felt that it was safer to have his kids speak only English rather than Russian while in public. Mary Fofonoff maintained that the Sons of Freedom's image "had a detrimental effect" on Saskatchewan's Doukhobor youth.[123] "I don't think they felt secure with all of the

[119] Tarasoff, "Doukhobor Survival through the Centuries," 5.
[120] See also Woodcock and Avakumovic, 310; Swyipra, *Storied Landscapes*, 181.
[121] Androsoff, 396.
[122] Jeanette Stringer, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, no date.
[123] Mary Fofonoff and Peter Fofonoff, interview by Geo Stushnoff, 11 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-14964, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

publicity on the Sons of Freedom," she explained, "it was not good for our young people. They were discouraged and they didn't want anything to do with Doukhoborism."[124] Similarly, Virginia Androsoff recalled that some Doukhobors changed their last names because their Doukhobor-sounding names (typically ending in "off" or "in") made it more difficult to secure jobs in the 1960s, when the Sons of Freedom dominated the Doukhobors' collective image.[125] The hostility, discrimination, and stigmatization Doukhobors in Saskatchewan faced over the Sons of Freedom discouraged some from learning the Russian language, caused others to change their names, and pushed youth away from the community.

While calls for Anglo-conformity appeared to be receding in the postwar period, Ukrainians and Doukhobors continued to face pressure to assimilate through their movement into Saskatchewan's mainstream education and employment environments. Between 1946 and 1971, Saskatchewan's public schools continued to promote a British-Canadian version of history and remained as ardent protectors of English-language assimilation. Some space was granted for the learning of the Ukrainian or Russian language, but this was often confined to the peripheries of the school environment. The place of non-English languages on the peripheries of the school told Ukrainian and Doukhobor students, among others, that English was *the* Canadian language. It also did little to stop the rising tide of English-language assimilation in both communities.

Many Ukrainians and Doukhobors during the postwar period were encouraged by their parents to pursue education and leave the farming business that continued to be plagued by economic uncertainty. Not only did this further their involvement in a school system dominated by the English-language, but the pursuit of employment after their education led members of both groups away from tight-knit communities and possibly to places that offered little to no

[124] Ibid.
[125] Virginia Androsoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.

support for the Ukrainian or Doukhobor culture. Due to their small numbers, dispersion left Doukhobors more vulnerable than Ukrainians to assimilation as they were more likely to move to towns or cities with no Doukhobor community.

While governmental legislation supported the involvement of allophone others in mainstream society and made discrimination illegal, it did not do enough to erase prejudice against ethnic minorities in Canada or Saskatchewan. However, a key difference between the Ukrainian and Doukhobor experience in Canada was the conflation of the greater Doukhobor image with the Sons of Freedom minority. The conflation of the Doukhobors' image with the Sons of Freedom not only tarnished the Independents' reputation but negatively affected how Doukhobors were treated by other Canadians during the postwar period. The stigmatization Doukhobors in Saskatchewan faced over the Sons of Freedoms' protest activity during the postwar period pushed some Doukhobors away from their heritage and closer to assimilation.

Chapter Three:
Staying Culturally Unique: Ukrainian and Doukhobor Community Life

According to Canadian census data, the number of Saskatchewan residents who self-identified as Ukrainian increased between 1946 and 1971. During the same period, the number of respondents who self-identified as Doukhobor decreased.[1] This difference is significant, given the similarities between their experiences with assimilation pressure in Saskatchewan's public spaces during the postwar period. The rise in self-identifying Ukrainians in Saskatchewan is also noteworthy given the fact that census data from 1961 and 1971 shows a drastic decline in the Ukrainian mother tongue, which some members of the Ukrainian community view as essential for the survival of the Ukrainian culture.[2] The bulk of Ukrainian and Doukhobor immigration to Canada and Saskatchewan took place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, so the increase of Ukrainians in the province cannot be attributed to a sudden influx of newcomers.[3] Moreover, there was no mass exodus of Doukhobors from Saskatchewan during the postwar period, so their decline was not a result of emigration. If a natural increase alone accounted for the rise in self-identifying Ukrainians, one would assume that the number of self-reporting Doukhobors would also increase, but this was not the case. The difference between these trends

[1] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Ninth Census of Canada: Population: General Characteristics* (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953-1956), 32-2; Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1973-1976), 2-2; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Religious Denominations* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1964), 11-24.; Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Religious Denominations* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1973-1976), 10-1.

[2] Woycenko, 219; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Population: Official Language and Mother Tongue,* 64-2; Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Mother Tongue* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada 1973-1976), 18-2.

[3] In Saskatchewan, self-identifying Ukrainians increased from 78,851 to 85,920 between 1961 and 1971. The last major wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada ended in the early 1950s, although most Ukrainians in this wave landed in eastern Canada. Moreover, census data also shows that Saskatchewan was not the only province to see a rise in people who self-identified as Ukrainian during this time. This trend was the same both Manitoba and Alberta, where many Ukrainians settled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Canada, *1961 Census of Canada: Ethnic Groups,* 35-2; Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic* Groups, 2-2.

suggests that assimilation pressure affected Ukrainians and Doukhobors differently. Though Ukrainians and Doukhobors faced similar changes to the structure of the ethnic household and met similar assimilatory pressure in Saskatchewan's schools and workplaces, their communities responded differently in their efforts to keep Canadian-born youth attached to their cultural identities. These divergent responses produced different results.

While both Ukrainians and Doukhobors promoted collaborative cultural activities to maintain their collective identities during the postwar period, the Ukrainians' cultural preservation efforts were more successful in attracting youth participation. The Ukrainians' rich dancing tradition was vitally important to the perpetuation of the Ukrainian cultural identity amongst Canadian-born generations. Ukrainian stage dance attracted favourable attention from non-Ukrainian audiences, which helped to increase Ukrainian-Canadians' sense of pride in their ethnic heritage, and sense of belonging in Canada, especially as multiculturalism emerged as a defining characteristic of Canadian identity. The ways in which dance served to reinforce the Ukrainian identity evolved during the postwar period, and it remained accessible to Canadian-born Ukrainians because dancers did not need to speak Ukrainian fluently to participate. Additionally, Ukrainians played a prominent role in wider efforts to resist a bicultural French-English definition of Canadian identity in favour of multiculturalism. This helped Ukrainians associate the preservation of their culture with good Canadian citizenship and bolstered their cultural preservation efforts in Canada and Saskatchewan. In fact, historian Aya Fujiwara, political scientist Jatinder Mann, and sociologist Elizabeth Wangenheim all cite Ukrainian-Canadians as one of the most successful ethnic groups to avoid cultural assimilation in Canada.[4]

[4] Fujiwara, 156; Mann, 98; Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the "Third Force," 184, 189.

Doukhobors used their vibrant choral singing practice and choirs to help perpetuate their distinctive identity amongst youth.[5] Doukhobor choirs appealed to Canadian-born youth and were successful in reinforcing the Doukhobors' cultural identity in Canada. However, Doukhobor choir singing was tied to the Russian language, making it difficult for all youth to participate because Russian language loss became more pronounced in the community during the postwar period. While Doukhobor choir performances were well received among Canadian audiences, Saskatchewan's Doukhobors continued to struggle with stigmatization stemming from the negative attention paid to their Sons of Freedom cousins, based mainly in British Columbia, and because of their pacifism. In contrast to Ukrainians, who were politically active in Canada's multiculturalism debates during the 1960s, Saskatchewan's Doukhobors focused on peace demonstrations that helped Doukhobors assert their own identity as pacifists.[6] However, these demonstrations did not contribute in a significant way to Canada's efforts to reposition its identification as a multicultural country.

The rising rate of English-language assimilation was especially evident in Ukrainian and Doukhobor religious spaces during the postwar period. Unilingual education in Saskatchewan, along with rising dispersion, urbanization, and intermarriage rates amplified English-language assimilation pressure within both communities during this time. The Canadian census shows that both the Ukrainian and Russian mother tongue rates in Saskatchewan decreased from 81,954 to

[5] Not every member of the Ukrainian community or every member of the Doukhobor community has the ability to sing and dance. Yet, one does not necessarily have to participate in these activities to stay connected to their heritage. Watching dance performances or listening to choral singing as an audience member has also helped both Ukrainians and Doukhobors feel closer to their cultural identity. Moreover, dancing and singing are not the only activities used by Ukrainians and Doukhobors to reinforce their identity in Canada. Yet, they are highly comparable activities as they have been used by Ukrainians and Doukhobors to keep youth attached to the cultural identity and have also been shared with other Canadians. Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada: The First Fifty Years, 1924-1974," in *New Soil – Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, Oleh W. Gerus, and Mykhailo H. Marunchak (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 148; Jonathan Kalmakoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.

[6] Tarasoff, *Traditional Doukhobor* Folkways, 71-72.

53,385 and 15,872 to 4,255 between 1941 and 1971.[7] As such, both groups considered various ways to overcome the rising language barrier preventing youth and intermarried spouses from full participation in religious services offered exclusively in Russian or Ukrainian. On one hand, they could comply with English-language assimilation by translating hymns into English and by adding English into their religious services. This made religious services more accessible for youth and spouses from other ethnic backgrounds who were not fluent in Ukrainian or Russian. However, it also risked alienating members of the older immigrant generation, who wanted to resist English infiltration, or excluding them altogether if they were not fluent in English, as was often the case.[8]

Historian Oh'la Woycenko contends that the language barrier pushed Ukrainian youth away from the traditional churches and towards English-language churches during the postwar period.[9] Interestingly, Ukrainian Catholics addressed the language barrier earlier than Orthodox counterparts. In 1969, the Ukrainian Catholic Council in Saskatchewan asked church officials for "more English" in masses and literature due to the loss of Ukrainian amongst youth.[10] With the rise of English, the Council felt that "Ukrainian culture and traditions can be best preserved and passed on to our younger generation without knowledge of the Ukrainian language."[11] In 1970, the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese, at a conference in Yorkton, deemed "language as the greatest

[7] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eight Census of Canada, 1941: Population: Language and Mother Tongue* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1941), 7; Canada, Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Mother Tongue* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada 1973-1976), 18-2; See also Alan B. Anderson, "Ethnic Identity in Saskatchewan Bloc Settlements: A Sociological Appraisal," in *The Settlement of the West*, ed. Howard Palmer (Calgary, University of Calgary), 199.

[8] Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life in the Ukrainian Canadian Settlements of Canada, 1891-1981," no date, F196-2, File No. 11, Bohdan Kazymyra Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Mabel Samiroden, interview by George Stushnoff, 9 April 1990, BF 14, interview R-15061, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[9] Woycenko, 81.

[10] Rev. G.Y. Rudachek, ed. "Unwarranted Accusations," *Ukrainian Weekly,* 24 August 1969, F196-4, File No. 10, Bohdan Kazymyra Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[11] Ibid.

barrier between church and youth."[12] At the same conference, Ukrainian youth also requested that Ukrainian Catholic churches start offering one English service every Sunday.[13] Clearly, English-language assimilation was establishing firm roots in Saskatchewan's Ukrainian community.

Not every segment of the Ukrainian community agreed with the Ukrainian Catholics' reassessment of language. The Orthodox Church felt that Ukrainian Catholics "departed from Ukrainianism" by adopting English, and continued to use Ukrainian exclusively throughout the postwar period.[14] During the postwar period, Saskatchewan's Ukrainian Orthodox Church saw a greater decline in adherents than the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and some members have attributed this to the language barrier.[15] Anne and Leo Hleck, members of Nipawin's Ukrainian Orthodox community, felt that the strict stance taken by the Orthodox church to maintain Ukrainian-language dominance pushed many English-speaking youth away from the church.[16] Anne Hleck believed that if the Orthodox Church added English, more youth could have been persuaded to stay.[17]

The Doukhobor community faced similar problems over the language question during the postwar period. A Doukhobor circular entitled *The Inquirer* provides evidence of the degree to

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[12] "Conference Decides: Language is Barrier," *Kamsack Times,* 8 October 1970, A690, File 3.4.3.6, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Some Orthodox churches began to add English to their services in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life in the Ukrainian Canadian Settlements of Canada, 1891-1981;" Pauline Smysniuk, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 2 August 2002, interview 76a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

[15] During 1951, the first year that "origin" and religious denomination were combined in a census category, Ukrainian Catholics in Saskatchewan numbered 34,018 and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox totalled 27,387. In 1971, Ukrainian-Canadian adherents declined to 30,785 and 20,625. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951: Population: Cross Classifications of Characteristics* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953-1956), 35-18; Canada, Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Religious Denominations by Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1973-1976), 19-6, 19-7.

[16] Leo Hleck, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 11 July 2002, interview 27a; Anne Hleck, interview by Natalia Shostak, 11 July 2002, interview 26.

[17] Anne Hleck, interview by Natalia Shostak, 11 July 2002, interview 26.

which English was infiltrating the Doukhobor community. The circular was started by Saskatchewan Doukhobors Koozma Tarasoff and Nick Sherstobitoff in 1954.[18] Tarasoff explained that it was published in English at that time because the majority of Doukhobor youth did not read or speak Russian fluently.[19] *The Inquirer* took steps to define Doukhoborism to youth by publishing discussions of questions like "What is a Doukhobor?" and "Why are you a Doukhobor?"[20] By publishing content on questions addressing Doukhobor identity in the English language, *The Inquirer* tried to keep youth who had lost their Russian speaking abilities in touch with the community.

The circular also published debates over the language question that took place in Doukhobor prayer homes. A 1956 issue of *The Inquirer* shows that frustrations over the language barrier were rising. At this time, Cathy Perverseff, a Doukhobor from Blaine Lake, wanted community leaders to add English to prayer services, as she explained that "the young people could not understand the Russian language services."[21] While some Doukhobors believed that a mixture of Russian and English would influence more youth to attend prayer services, others believed that English translations would result in the loss of certain aspects of Doukhobor religious ideology that were essential.[22] Doukhobor hymns and psalms – replete with symbolic poetry handed down from one generation to the next in the original Russian – are central to a Doukhobor prayer service. Converting prayer meetings from Russian to English required a

[18] Jack McIntosh, "Maintaining Community Among a Small, Dispersed People: Canadian Doukhobor Periodical Publications on the Wall, in the Mail and on the Internet," in *The Doukhobor Centenary in Canada,* ed. Andrew Donskov, John Woodsworth, and Chad Gaffield (Institute of Canadian Studies: University of Ottawa, 2000), 283.
[19] Koozma Tarasoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2018.
[20] McIntosh, 284.
[21] "Panel Discussion at Blaine Lake," no date, A690, File II.A.52, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[22] Sam Kalesnikoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 4 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-14990, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Mabel Samiroden, interview by George Stushnoff, 9 April 1990; Alex Strelioff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.

tremendous effort and often did not result in translations that accurately reflected the sound and meaning of the original texts. Furthermore, translation efforts have been controversial, not only because of problems with the accuracy and artistry of the translations, but also because many Doukhobors still find singing in Russian more emotionally and spiritually fulfilling than singing in English.[23] Thus, Russian remained central to Doukhobor prayer services and debates over the language barrier continued throughout the postwar period and still exist today.[24] Some Doukhobors in Saskatchewan believe that the language barrier led to a decline in youth participation as youth lost interest in attending prayer services conducted in a language that they could not understand.[25]

Though both Ukrainians and Doukhobors struggled to keep youth interested in religious services, particularly when offered exclusively in Ukrainian or Russian, Ukrainians and Doukhobors alike were able to reinforce their cultural identity amongst Canadian-born generations during the postwar period through cultural activities that required group participation. Ukrainian dancing was a key cultural activity that helped perpetuate the Ukrainian identity amongst youth. Folk dancing was a popular community-based activity in Ukraine that immigrants brought with them to Canada at the end of the nineteenth century.[26] In Canada, Ukrainian folk dances became "standardized" so that they could be uniformly taught to youth

[23] Correspondence from Eli A. Popoff to Kenneth Peacock, 10 June 1966, S-A972, File IV. 5, Kenneth Peacock Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Janet Atamanenko, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff, 8 December 2016, interview DPSPP2_0001S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Peter Perverseff and Edna Wright, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; Jeanette Stringer, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.

[24] Daved Meakin, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016, interview DPSPP2_0012S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.

[25] Maurice Postnikoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 14 May 1990; William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.

[26] Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Wayne Melgaard, 28 June 1989; Andriy Nahachewsky, "New Ethnicity and Ukrainian Canadian Social Dances," *The Journal of American Folklore* 115, no. 456 (Spring 2002): 179.

after the arrival of Ukrainian dance choreographer Vasile Avramenko in 1924.[27] Avramenko's mission was not only to grow the Ukrainian dance movement but also to strengthen Ukrainian youths' desire to perpetuate their heritage in Canada.[28] Avramenko started a dance school in Saskatoon's Petro Mohyla Institute in 1927 and led multiple dance tours across the prairies, which increased Ukrainian-Canadians' enthusiasm for dance.[29] Avramenko had undoubtably achieved his goals by the time he left Canada in 1928. Long after his departure, Ukrainian dance has been eagerly retained by young Ukrainian-Canadians and has become one of the most widely recognized expressions of Ukrainian culture in Canada.[30]

Ukrainian dance played a vital role in promoting cultural identity amongst Canadian-born Ukrainians, but the ways in which dance reinforced the Ukrainian identity changed during the postwar period. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, youth organizations, such as the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK) and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation (UNYF), used dancing to increase participation in organizational life.[31] Youth also learned to dance at the *Ridna Shkola*, often linked to Ukrainian organizations, and was where children of Ukrainian descent took weekend lessons in Ukrainian culture, history, and language.[32] Bohdan Zerebecky attended *Ridna Shkola* in Saskatoon during the 1950s and 1960s, where he recalled

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[27] Jillian Dawn Staniec, "Cossacks and Wallflowers: Ukrainian Stage Dance, Identity, and Politics in Saskatchewan from the 1920s to the Present" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2007), 31.

[28] Staniec, 40; Pritz "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 129.

[29] Staniec, 37; Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 129.

[30] See Staniec, 1; Zenon Pohorecky, "Ukrainian Cultural and Political Symbols in Canada: An Anthropological Selection," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians,* ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 131; Walter Klymkiw, "Choral" in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians,* ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 76.

[31] Alexandra Pritz, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Dance in Canada," in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians,* ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 88, 89; Dorothy Korol and Bernice Hiadun, "Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (C.Y.M.K. – S.U.M.K.)," in *History of Canora, 1905-1990,* ed. Walter Mysak, et al., (Canora, Saskatchewan: Canora's History Book Editorial Board, 1990), 228.

[32] Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Wayne Melgaard, 28 June 1989.

that dance, language, and history classes were divided into hourly lessons.[33] The main goal of these activities, Zerebecky noted, was "cultural and language retention."[34] In the early postwar period, Ukrainian organizations used dance as a mechanism to draw youth into organizational life by linking it with other opportunities that taught youth about their cultural identity. However, as Ukrainian dancing became more popular during the mid-1950s and 1960s, several Ukrainian dancing groups emerged that focused on stage performances rather than cultural education.[35]

The Ukrainian dance ensembles that rose during the mid-1950s and 1960s were highly successful in attracting Ukrainian youth.[36] Alexandra Prtiz, a Ukrainian dance instructor from British Columbia, notes that audience-orientated performances were the top priority of many dancing groups that formed during this time.[37] According to folklorist Andriy Nahachewsky, the turn towards audience-orientated performances made Ukrainian dancing more appealing to younger generations because dances became more flashy, acrobatic, and "carnivalesque."[38] The flashy and fast-paced dances performed by Ukrainian groups often made them headline performances at folk-fest style events in Saskatchewan and even at Expo '67, where the Saskatchewan-based ensembles of Yevshan and Poltava performed.[39] At Expo '67, Yevshan earned the opportunity to dance in front of Queen Elizabeth on Parliament Hill. Danny Evanyshyn was a member of Yevshan for this exciting experience where he recalled that "there

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Major Ukrainian dancing groups first formed in Regina and Saskatoon. In Regina, the Poltava Dance Ensemble, sponsored by the Association of the United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), formed in 1955, while the Verchovyna Dancers, under the UNYF, reconvened in 1963 after disbanding in 1952. In Saskatoon, the Yevshan Ukrainian Dance Ensemble formed in 1960, but was not directly affiliated with any Ukrainian organization. Ibid.; Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 141, 142; Pavlychenko, "Some Personal Impressions," 106.
[37] Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 137; Pritz, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 91.
[38] Nahachewsky, 188.
[39] Correspondence from Emelia Yaciw to B. Klymkiw, 7 May 1963, MG28-V8, Vol. 7, Ukrainian National Youth Federation Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Correspondence between Yaciw and Klymkiw discusses how the Verchovyna dancers were given forty-minutes to perform while other groups received the standard twenty-minute performance time at a multicultural event in Regina.

were forty kids on stage just givin' 'er, live orchestra, Queen and Prince Phillip in the front row tapping their feet."[40] Pritz maintains that the success and positive notoriety Ukrainian dance generated at Expo '67, as well as at other multicultural events, made young Ukrainians increasingly proud of their heritage, which in turn made dance even more appealing to other Ukrainian youth.[41] Audience-orientated performances added to the popularity of Ukrainian dance among non-Ukrainian audiences as dances became more flashy and acrobatic, and made young Ukrainians more proud of their heritage and eager to join the Ukrainian dancing movement.

Ukrainian dance was especially effective at attracting Ukrainian youth at the end of the postwar period primarily because, as Pritz notes, it was an identity-building activity that youth could participate in whether or not they were fluent in Ukrainian.[42] According to Oh'la Woycenko, "non-linguistic Ukrainianism," which refers to those who did not speak Ukrainian but still identified as Ukrainian, started rising in the 1960s.[43] The Canadian census shows that this trend was the same in Saskatchewan, where the amount of individuals who did not speak Ukrainian but still self-identified as Ukrainian rose from 11,674 to 32,535 between 1961 to 1971.[44] Dance played a key role in helping Ukrainians who were not fluent in the language stay connected to their cultural identity. Danny Evanyhsyn, for example, felt that dance was one of the few ways he and other young Ukrainians could maintain their Ukrainianness without the language.[45] Olga Piasta stated that while dance was "only one little facet" of Ukrainian culture, it was still important to the cultural identity of youth because she felt that they did not "seem to

[40] Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19b.
[41] Pritz, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 98; Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 137-138.
[42] Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 137-138.
[43] Woycenko, 218.
[44] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *1961 Census of Canada: Population: Official Language and Mother-Tongue* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962-1965), 64-2; Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada: Population: Mother Tongue*, 18-2.
[45] Evanyshyn cited food as another cultural marker that helped to reinforce his Ukrainianness. Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19a.

have anything else."[46] Despite increasing rates of Ukrainian language loss, Ukrainian dance groups thrived during the 1960s and 1970s. In Saskatoon, for instance, the growing popularity of Ukrainian dance, coupled with rising urbanization rates of Ukrainians, led to the creation of the Ukrainian Folk Dancing Association in 1967.[47] In 1969, the Association only accepted two hundred prospective dancers and had to turn participants away to due heavy demand, but hoped to increase its cap to three hundred dancers in 1970.[48] Groups like Yevshan also continued to blossom. In 1969, they even performed their first full ballet show entitled "The Legend of Yevsahn Zillya."[49] As Ukrainians became more integrated into Canadian society during the postwar period, ongoing and persistent English-language influences made it difficult for Canadian-born Ukrainians to maintain their identity through the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian dance was fundamentally important to the maintenance of the Ukrainian cultural identity during the 1960s and 1970s as youth could fully participate in dance without being fluent in the Ukrainian language.

Despite becoming less associated with lessons in Ukrainian language and history, stage dance continued to reinforce Ukrainian identity. Costumes represented specific regions in Ukraine, which gave dancers an understanding of Ukrainian geography.[50] Performances by Ukrainian dance groups were also imbued with historical and cultural significance. The Legend of Yevshan Zillya, for instance, was based on the tale of the Yevshan herb, which grew on Ukraine's steppe and produced a scent that aroused a deep yearning for one's homeland.[51] Dance

[46] Olga Piasta, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 1 August 2002, interview 59b.
[47] The Ukrainian Folk Dancing Association was a unified group that included Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox, and National Federation Members. Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 August 2002, interview 96a.
[48] Correspondence from Helen Ziolkoski to Ukrainian National Youth Federation, 9 May 1969, MG28-V8, Vol. 8, Ukrainian National Youth Federation Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
[49] Bohdan Zerebecky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 6 August 2002, interview 96a.
[50] Lusia Pavlychenko, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 18 July 2002, interview 56b.
[51] Pritz, "Ukrainian Dance in Canada," 147.

groups were also important for community building amongst young Ukrainians as members of Yevshan and Poltava reported that they formed "lifelong friendships" while dancing together.[52] As such, dance ensembles provided young Ukrainians with a sense of collectivity and belonging with others who shared a similar cultural background or interest in Ukrainian heritage.[53] Through these means, dance connected young Ukrainians to their cultural identity and prevented complete assimilation into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream.

Doukhobors did not develop a folk dancing tradition in Russia or in Canada, but have cultivated a rich choral singing tradition. The Doukhobors' choral singing tradition has grown out of their religious practices, which emphasize the oral transmission of prayers and psalms.[54] Many Doukhobor songs focus on the group's theological values, but Doukhobors have extended their musical repertoire to include a selection of Russian folk songs. Traditionally, Doukhobors sing in the Russian language and in the *acapella* style, using the harmony of many voices to create a distinctive sound. In Canada, singing is a fixture at Doukhobor prayer services, weddings, funerals, and at Peter's Day commemorations.[55] Throughout the postwar period choirs for elders and youth were rooted in many Doukhobor communities across Saskatchewan.

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[52] Patricia Olesiuk, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 3 June 2002, interview 54a; Evelyn Wojcichowsky, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 31 July 2002, interview 89a, tape, Oral History Project: "Ukrainian-Canadians on the Prairies", St. Thomas More Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Staniec, 62.

[53] One did not have to be of Ukrainian descent to take part in Ukrainian dancing during the postwar period. News reports of Ukrainian dancing show that non-Ukrainian Canadians were actively participating in Ukrainian dance. This was, at times, controversial. Lusia Pavlychenko admitted that she was hesitant to promote the involvement of non-Ukrainians in dancing when she first started teaching dance, but soon realized that it was important to include those who showed a desire to learn or take part in Ukrainian cultural activities. Lusia Pavlychenko, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 18 July 2002, interview 56b; "Ukrainian folk dancing recital – a review," *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix,* 23 June 1965, MG28-V8, Vol. 8, Ukrainian National Youth Federation Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

[54] Nicholas B. Breyfogle, "Building Doukhoboriia: Religious Culture, Social Identity and Russian Colonization in Transcaucasia, 1845-1895," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 27, no.3 (1995): 28.

[55] Shirley Perry, "The Importance of Song in Doukhobor Life," in *The Doukhobor Centenary in Canada,* ed. Andrew Donskov, John Woodsworth, and Chad Gaffield, (Institute of Canadian Studies: University of Ottawa, 2000), 342.

Localities like Blaine Lake, Canora, Langham, and Pelly each hosted up to three choirs composed of adults, students, and younger children.[56]

According to a 1956 Kamsack Branch Union of Doukhobors of Canada (UDC) survey, singing and "musical activities" widely appealed to Doukhobor youth.[57] For many young Doukhobors who grew up during the postwar period, singing was engrained in their daily and family life: many learned to sing Doukhobor songs with their families at home or at prayer services.[58] Choirs gave young Doukhobors a chance to carry on this powerful and unique practice with their peers. A particularly important Doukhobor choir was affiliated with the Saskatoon Doukhobor Youth (SDY) or the Saskatoon Doukhobor Student Group, which formed in 1955.[59] The SDY's choir gave young and urbanizing Doukhobors a chance to maintain the vibrant choral singing tradition that they learned as children while they pursued urban-based education and employment in Saskatoon. Between 1955 and 1968, the SDY's choir attracted roughly two hundred Doukhobor members.[60] Clearly, young Doukhobors were interested in continuing their rich choral singing tradition while in Saskatoon.

Just as Ukrainians used dance as a way to share their culture with public audiences, Doukhobors used choirs to share their music with other Canadians. The SDY's choir led a series of Doukhobor choral festivals that were open to public audiences between 1955 and 1968.[61] According to Koozma Tarasoff, the festivals aimed to bring people together through music and

[56] W.P. Strukoff, "Sask. News: Prayer Home Moved into Village in time for Active Season," no date; William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016, no interview number, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Lucille Dergousoff, "Greetings from Canora," *The Dove,* January 2007, 4.

[57] "Sask. News: Kamsack Branch of UDC Survey Through Questionnaires," no date, A690, File II.A.51, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[58] Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016; Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; Lucille Dergousoff, "Greetings from Canora," 4.

[59] Tarasoff et al., "Saskatchewan Doukhobor Youth Festivals," 5, 16, http://goo.gl/xoC48I.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., 5.

in support of "good human values."[62] Two festivals in 1956 attracted large audiences. Nearly eight hundred guests arrived to watch Doukhobors sing at a festival in Veregin, while a festival in Pelly brought in roughly two thousand visitors.[63] Such large turnouts suggest that Doukhobor choirs were successful in their efforts to share their music with other Canadians.

Singing in choirs played a vital role in reinforcing the Doukhobor identity. The act of singing has allowed Doukhobors to strengthen their connection to their ancestors, their history, and to Doukhoborism. This remains true for Doukhobors of today. For Karen Dagenais, singing connects her to the sacrifices made by extended family members who were persecuted in Russia for their religious beliefs. As she explained: "I had one great-grandfather who did have a back full of scars from being whipped in prison…and I'm very thankful to them, and so sometimes that feeling of thankfulness…comes out when I'm singing."[64] Similarly, Jeanette Stringer felt that singing her connected her to the past. Stringer stated that for certain hymns she is "singing to those who sacrificed so I could have a better life."[65] For Dagenais and Stringer, singing Doukhobor hymns has deepened their connection to their faith and to their Doukhobor ancestors.

Choirs also reinforced the Doukhobor identity through community building. The SDY's choir was especially important to community building because it allowed Doukhobor youth to create new connections with peers from diverse areas of Saskatchewan as they kept their rich choral singing tradition alive.[66] Mae Popoff was one of the many Doukhobors who moved from Blaine Lake to Saskatoon to attend university. When Popoff arrived in Saskatoon in 1960, she

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[62] Ibid., 5, 16.
[63] Ibid., 14.
[64] Karen Dagenais, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview DPSPP2_0012S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project.
[65] Jeanette Stringer, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.
[66] The majority of Doukhobors in the SDY's choir were from the rural towns of Langham, Pelly, Canora, and Blaine Lake. An estimated sixty members of the SDY's choir were from Langham, thirty-one from Blaine Lake, twelve were from Pelly, and eleven were from Canora. Tarasoff et al., "Saskatchewan Doukhobor Youth Festivals,"16, http://goo.gl/xoC48I.

recalled that it was "like a second homecoming" as she found comfort in Saskatoon's Doukhobor community, including the SDY and its choir.[67] Many SDY members, noted Popoff, even found and married their romantic partners in the group, thereby eliminating the chance of intermarriage and providing a greater opportunity for the Doukhobor identity to be perpetuated.[68]

During the postwar period, choirs were central to the Doukhobors' celebration of Peter's Day, a Doukhobor holiday that has been crucial to the perpetuation of their collective identity in Canada. Canadian Doukhobors primarily recognize Peter's Day, or *Petrov* Den, as a way to commemorate the sacrifices made by their ancestors in Russia following the Burning of Arms.[69] Saskatchewan Doukhobors commemorate Peter's Day with a community gathering on or near the 29th of June, which is the same day the Burning of Arms occurred.[70] During the 1940s, Nick Trofimenkoff noted that *Petrov Den* in Veregin began with a prayer service, where Doukhobors sang traditional hymns and psalms, that was followed by speeches from those who suffered from persecution in Russia.[71] Following a picnic lunch, the afternoon was filled with choir performances and more presentations in memory of Doukhobor ancestors.[72] In Blaine Lake, visitors gathered under a large white tent to listen to presentations and choir performances that filled the air with Doukhobor hymns.[73] Singing performances resumed in the afternoon after a

[67] Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.
[68] Ibid.
[69] *Petrov Den* originates from the Russian Orthodox church. Stanley Petroff, interview by George Stushnoff, 11 May 1990, BF 14, interview R-15051, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Tarasoff, "The Doukhobor Peace Day," http://www.doukhobor.org/Peace-Day.html.
[70] Though technically, the Burning of Arms took place on June 29th in the Old Calendar, which is July 11th in the New Calendar. Peter's Day was also Peter V. Verigin's Name Day: the feast day for Saints Peter and Paul. Ibid.
[71] Nick Trofimenkoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 28 April 1990, BF 14, interview R-15076, transcript, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016; John Bondoreff, "Dukhobors Meet on Anniversary," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix,* 6 July 1949, R178-1, Doukhobors E.C. Clippings Box 150, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

break for a picnic lunch as families enjoyed traditional Doukhobor foods and watermelon.[74] As such, choirs played a key part in Peter's Day celebrations, a day in which Doukhobors gather to sing and listen to hymns, hear stories of their ancestors, and enjoy traditional Doukhobor foods.

Doukhobor choirs served to reinforce the Doukhobor identity among participants, but there were significant barriers to participation. Chief among them was lack of fluency in Russian, particularly amongst youth. Just as lack of Russian-language fluency affected a Doukhobor youth's ability to participate fully in weekly prayer meetings, an inability to speak Russian negatively affected youth participation in choir singing. Signs that Russian language loss affected participation in Saskatchewan Doukhobor choirs and religious events were apparent by 1952. At this time, the Central Committee of the Union of Young Doukhobors, which was dedicated to increasing youth participation, began calling for translations of hymns and songs so that everyone could understand the material.[75] Not only would this help English-speaking Doukhobor youth understand song content, it would also make religious services and choir singing more open to non-Doukhobors who did not understand Russian.[76] However, as many elder Doukhobors insisted that Russian-language conversancy was essential to Doukhoborism and that hymns and psalms could not and should not be translated into English, elders often encouraged youth to singing in Russian.[77] Polly Meakin, for instance, recalled a time when youth were forming a choir. Their elders insisted that they sing only in Russian, especially if they were

[74] Watermelon is a food that particularly stands out Doukhobor recollections of St. Peter's Day celebrations. Ibid.

[75] "An Official Publication of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Young Doukhobors," 1 December 1952, A690, File II. A. 233, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

[76] The inclusion of peoples who were not of Doukhobor ancestry in choir singing may have not been universally accepted by all members of the Doukhobor community. However, a Student Group panel discussion showed that the group was open to accepting interested outsiders as they agreed that one could not be "born" into Doukhoborism but had to "learn it and believe it." "Panel Discussion at Blaine Lake," no date.

[77] "Sask. News: Kamsack Branch of UDC Survey Through Questionnaires," no date; "Panel Discussion at Blaine Lake," no date; William (Bill) Kalmakoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 9 May 1990.

in the prayer home.[78] A Saskatoon Doukhobor Student Group document from 1960 similarly showed that the group felt that they needed to use Russian so that elders would continue to support them.[79] Meakin believed that the emphasis on maintaining Russian was problematic because it was dividing different generations of Doukhobors rather than unifying them.[80]

As Russian language loss became more pronounced, Doukhobor choirs, including the SDY, struggled to attract youth in the late 1960s. When Mercedes Riben joined the SDY's choir after marrying her husband William Riben in the 1960s, she knew little Russian and struggled to sing Doukhobor hymns.[81] Riben correlated the challenge of learning to sing in Russian with the Doukhobors' struggle to attract youth and felt that the community, as a whole, needed to adopt English to increase youth involvement.[82] Evidently, Russian language loss reduced the Doukhobors' ability to attract Canadian-born youth. As a result, the SDY and its popular choral festivals stopped functioning at the end of the postwar period.

Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community tried to teach Canadian-born generations Russian-language choral skills during the postwar period. In addition to Russian-language classes put together by Doukhobors in Blaine Lake, Doukhobors also relied on Sunday Schools and choir workshops to teach youth how to sing in Russian. Although Doukhobors do not have a standardized Sunday School curriculum, most prayer homes' Sunday Schools taught youth how to sing and interpret Russian hymns.[83] Yet, Sunday Schools were not offered consistently at all times in all Doukhobor communities, because they were run on a volunteer basis.[84] Their

[78] Polly Meakin, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[79] "Evaluation of Years Work," 13 March 1960, A690, File II. A. 233, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[80] Polly Meakin, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[81] William and Mercedes Riben, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016; Karen Dagenais, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016.
[84] "Sask. News: Kamsack Branch of UDC Survey Through Questionnaires," no date.

continuation depended on whether or not a person who had sufficient knowledge of Doukhobor hymns and the Russian language could dedicate enough time to teach the children.[85] Often, a parent of young Doukhobor children volunteered for the task. Not every parent was equipped to teach Russian literacy, however. This was true even for some of the grandparents whose first language was Russian. Many members of the immigrant generation had not learned how to read and write themselves, as their religious beliefs privileged oral communication over the written word, and because Russian authorities had prevented them from attending school.[86]

To help, the UDC hired Harry Vereschagin, a renowned Doukhobor choir instructor from British Columbia, to lead a series of choir seminars in the mid-1950s. Tarasoff notes that Vereschagin's choir seminars, held in eight different Saskatchewan Doukhobor communities, immensely amplified youth interest in choir singing and many who attended his workshops went on to join the SDY's choir.[87] Elmer Verigin, for example, sang under Vereschagin's mentorship and credits Vereschagin with not only teaching him how to sing in Russian but also how to read the language, which gave Verigin the confidence to join the SDY's choir after he moved to Saskatoon in 1958.[88] Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community was unable to keep Vereschagin in Saskatchewan for an extended period of time as he left the province six months after his arrival.[89] Doukhobor youth coming of age in the 1960s and 1970s therefore missed out on the opportunity to benefit from Vereschagin's influential choir workshops.

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[85] William (Bill) Kalmakoff, interview by George Stushnoff, 9 May 1990.

[86] Correspondence from Frances Horkoff to Koozma Tarasoff, 20 March 1960, A690, File II.A.164, K.J. Tarasoff, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Mae Popoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016; John Lyons, "The (Almost) Quiet Evolution: Doukhobor Schooling in Saskatchewan," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 8, no. 1 (1976): 24.

[87] Vereschagin led choir workshops in Canora, Kamsack, Pelly, Watson, Verigin, Langham, Blaine Lake, Saskatoon, and Benito, Manitoba. Tarasoff et al., "Saskatchewan Doukhobor Youth Festivals," 9, http://goo.gl/xoC48I.

[88] Elmer Verigin, "A Phase in Saskatoon Doukhobor Youth," *The Dove*, January 2015, 14.

[89] Tarasoff et al., "Saskatchewan Doukhobor Youth Festivals," 9, http://goo.gl/xoC48I.

While volunteers and occasional choir workshops provided for the Doukhobors' choral and religious education, Saskatchewan's Ukrainian community employed dance instructors and paid for dance studio space. This was important to the promotion of Ukrainian dancing throughout the postwar period. Lusia Pavlychenko opened her own dance studio in Saskatoon in 1954, and began teaching Ukrainian dance in the late 1950s.[90] During the 1960s, Pavlychenko founded two Ukrainian dance ensembles in Saskatchewan, the Yevshan Ukrainian Folk Ballet Ensemble (1960) and the Pavlychenko Forlklorique Ensemble (1967).[91] By opening her own dance studio and by starting two Ukrainian dance ensembles, Pavlychenko provided Ukrainian youth with a secure and permanent environment where they could become a part of the Ukrainian dance movement and stay connected to their cultural heritage throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. A large Ukrainian population in Saskatchewan and a growing interest in Ukrainian dancing helped keep Pavlychenko's career as a dancer instructor financially stable and also helped dedicated teachers like Pavlychenko pass on cultural skills and practices to younger generations over numerous decades. Dance instructors who were financially supported by the Ukrainian community played a key role promoting and protecting the Ukrainian cultural identity amongst their pupils. Voluntary efforts, in comparison, were certainly helpful and appreciated, but were ultimately less effective because they were offered sporadically rather than systematically.

Cultural activities like dancing and singing were not the only strategies used by these communities to keep their cultural identity alive. Throughout the postwar period Ukrainians and Saskatchewan's Independent Doukhobors made efforts to associate parts of their culture with good Canadian citizenship. Ukrainian and Doukhobor community leaders encouraged fellow

[90] Lusia Pavlychenko, interview by Anastasia Tataryn, 18 July 2002, interview 56a; interview 56b.
[91] Anderson, *Settling Saskatchewan*, 184.

community members to view themselves as good Canadians through the preservation and promotion of their distinctive cultures in Canada. Ukrainian-Canadians, however, had more success in associating parts of their culture with good Canadian citizenship than the Doukhobor community did, which in turn helped to bolster Ukrainian cultural preservation efforts in Saskatchewan.

The Doukhobors' connection to pacifism, a central tenet of Doukhoborism, has been significant to the continuation of the Doukhobors' collective identity in Saskatchewan and Canada. Many Doukhobors today, including Koozma Tarasoff, Alex Strelioff, and Alex Kalesnikoff, believe that living by the commandment "Thou Shall not Kill" is the most essential aspect of Doukhoborism.[92] During the 1960s, Doukhobors led a series of peace vigils at a weapons research base at Suffield, Alberta, and at two radar stations in Orcadia and Dana, Saskatchewan. The vigils were planned by members of the Doukhobor community, who invited other pacifist participants such as Mennonites and Quakers to attend. Koozma Tarasoff, who attended the vigils and was instrumental in planning them, noted that their primary goal was to bring an end to war and to encourage Canada and other governments to find peaceful solutions to extinguish conflict.[93] The peace vigils had additional goals. Tarasoff's book, *Traditional Doukhobor Folkways* (1977), maintains that the vigils served to bring Canadian Doukhobors together to support and reaffirm their commitment to peace.[94] As such, Doukhobors used their belief in pacifism to support the wider peace-movement and to unite Canadian Doukhobors to reinforce their identity as pacifists during the postwar period.

[92] Koozma Tarasoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2018; Alex Strelioff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2016, interview DKBR_1_0017S12, transcript, Saskatchewan Doukhobor Living Book Project; Alex Kalesnikoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 21 October 2016.
[93] Koozma Tarasoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2018.
[94] See Tarasoff, *Traditional Doukhobor* Folkways, 71-72.

During both World Wars, Saskatchewan's Doukhobors faced opprobrium because of their conscientious objector status. This in turn prevented some Doukhobors from seeing themselves as good Canadians. During the Second World War, for instance, Polly Meakin stated that "we were called Dirty Douks because our men went to build roads instead of going to war. And the families around here, their sons got killed and they didn't come home, and they hated us for that.[95] While Saskatchewan Doukhobor men could work in an alternative service program, those who objected on religious grounds were incarcerated by police in the province.[96] This was deeply problematic as some Doukhobors felt that the disproval of their pacifism stopped community members from perceiving themselves as good Canadians. Such perspectives were evident at a Peter's Day celebration in 1949 in Blaine Lake, when local Doukhobor P.W. Strelive, addressing an audience of nearly one thousand spectators, stated that Doukhobors "were blamed for not being good patriots" because they did not go to war and "die for the country."[97] Strelive encouraged Doukhobors to equate pacifism with being a good Canadian. He asserted that "good patriotism…should consist of one wanting to live for his country."[98]

During the 1950s, other Saskatchewan Doukhobors likewise encouraged their community members to correlate pacifism with being a good Canadian. In responding to a question on this subject posted in *The Inquirer*, a circular that targeted Doukhobor youth readers, Saskatchewan Doukhobors Norm Rebin and Peter Makaroff asserted that pacifists were good Canadians.[99] Rebin believed that pacifists were good Canadians because they used "reason and persuasion"

[95] Polly Meakin, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 20 October 2016.
[96] See Tarasoff, *Plakun Trava*, 155.
[97] John Bondoreff, "Dukhobors Meet on Anniversary," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix,* 6 July 1949.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Norm K. Rebin, "Can a Confirmed Pacifist be a Good Canadian Citizen," no date, A690, File II. A. 55, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan; Peter Makaroff, "Can a Confirmed Believer in Pacifism be a Good Canadian citizen?" no date, A690, File II. A. 55, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

instead of violence to end conflict, which preserved life and benefited all.[100] For Makaroff, a pacifist was a good Canadian "because he will seek to turn his country away from the path of war that leads to certain death."[101] From their perspectives, pacifists were not only good Canadians, but good citizens of the world, because they attempted to prevent the loss of human life that came through war. By printing these perspectives, the publishers of *The Inquirer* aimed to show Saskatchewan's Doukhobors that their pacifism should be equated with good Canadian citizenship.

Despite Canada's emerging multicultural identity and its developing reputation as a "peacekeeping" country during the 1960s, the confidence which Strelive, Rebin, and Makaroff showed in equating pacifism with good Canadian citizenship was not widespread throughout the Doukhobor community.[102] When the first peace vigil was being planned for Suffield in 1964, correspondence between organizers J.J. Semenoff and Peter Makaroff revealed that Doukhobors in Alberta, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan worried that participating in the vigil would hinder their integration into Canadian society. They feared that their participation might be viewed negatively by other Canadians, and could "ruin" their "university educations and careers."[103] Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community was harmed by such discrimination during the Second World War. According to journalist Jeannine Locke, Bob Makaroff, the son of Doukhobor lawyer Peter Makaroff, was denied entry into medical college for a year because of his and his father's commitment to pacifism.[104] During the 1960s, however, Koozma Tarasoff recalled that fears of possible social and legal consequences over peace demonstrations and

[100] Rebin, "Can a Confirmed Pacifist be a Good Canadian Citizen," no date.
[101] Makaroff, "Can a Confirmed Believer in Pacifism be a Good Canadian Citizen?" no date.
[102] See Walter A. Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?" *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 8.
[103] Correspondence from J. J. Semenoff to P. G. Makaroff, 30 March 1964, S-A28, File I.21, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[104] Jeannine Locke, "These Doukhobors are Different," *Star Weekly Magazine*, 6 October 1962.

protest-style activity among Doukhobors were amplified by the Cold War atmosphere.[105] This prompted Makaroff to appeal to John J. Verigin Sr., leader of British Columbia's Orthodox Doukhobors, to support the initiative and encourage participation.[106] Though Verigin did so, the Suffield demonstration attracted very few Doukhobors from Saskatchewan.[107] Afraid that publicly supporting peace activism would hurt their integration in Canadian society, some Doukhobors chose not to participate in an event that was intended to unite the Canadian Doukhobor community.

Following a successful Suffield demonstration, the two subsequent vigils at Orcadia and Dana drew more Saskatchewan Doukhobors. Nonetheless, Doukhobors in Canora, Kamsack, and Veregin remained hesitant to participate until Peter Makaroff made a convincing in person appeal to their communities.[108] Makaroff's recruitment resulted in between two and three hundred participants at Orcadia, many of whom were from Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community.[109] The Dana gathering, held in 1965, was even larger, as an estimated one thousand people attended.[110] With the success at Suffield and Orcadia, the Saskatoon, Blaine Lake, and Veregin Doukhobor societies pledged their support for the Dana gathering.[111] It took a concentrated effort from community leaders like Makaroff, but the increase in participant

[105] Koozma Tarasoff, interview by Ashleigh Androsoff and Ryan Androsoff, 2018.
[106] Correspondence from P.G. Makaroff to J.J. Verigin, 26 May 1964, S-A28, File I. 21, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[107] Shortly before the start of the event, reporter Ray H. Woollam counted 80 vehicles, nine of which were from Alberta, only four were from Saskatchewan, and the rest were from British Columbia. Ray H. Woollam, "Witness in the Rain," *Canadian Star Weekly,* 11 December 1964, S-A28, I. 21, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[108] Correspondence from Koozma J. Tarasoff to John J. Chernenkoff, Secretary-Treasurer, Doukhobor Society of Canada, 11 November 1964, A690, File II. A. 102, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[109] "200 Peacemakers Gather at RCAF Radar Station," *Yorkton Enterprise*, 11 November 1964, S-A28, File I.22, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[110] K.J. Tarasoff, "More than 1000 Brave Rain In Bid For Peace," 27 June 1965, S-A28, File I.23, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.
[111] Correspondence P. G. Makaroff to Dr. A. Berland, 28 April 1965, S-A28, File I. 23, Peter Makaroff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

numbers at Dana showed that Saskatchewan's Doukhobors were convinced that they could publicly support peace in Canada without repercussions that could hurt their integration into Canadian society. However, this came after a lengthy amount of time in which some Doukhobors struggled to equate pacifism with being a good Canadian.

Ukrainian-Canadians did not question if the preservation of their culture was compatible with good Canadian citizenship to the same extent as the Doukhobors. According to Frances Swyripa, Ukrainian-Canadians used a speech Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir addressed to the Ukrainian community in Canada in 1936 as their "Magna Carta" because it correlated the preservation of Ukrainian arts, dances, and music with good Canadianism.[112] This assurance provided the Ukrainian community with an early and solid foundation for their cultural preservation efforts.

The Ukrainians' confidence in equating their culture with Canadian identity and good Canadian citizenship was evident throughout the postwar period and especially during the 1960s, when the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's formation in 1963 launched the multicultural debates. The Ukrainian-Canadian community, including Canadian politicians of Ukrainian descent, played a leading role in Canada's adoption of multiculturalism. Even before the formation of the Royal Commission, Ukrainian-Canadian politicians advocated for a multicultural definition of Canadian identity, arguing that Ukrainians, in addition to the French and British, played a crucial role in Canada's nation building.[113] These arguments continued into the 1960s. During this time, Canadian politicians of Ukrainian descent, such as Senator Paul Yuzyk, used their political standing resist a bicultural definition of Canadian identity in favour of multiculturalism. In fact, historian Thomas Prymak credits Yuzyk for introducing the concept of

[112] Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 159.
[113] Fujiwara, 73, 125.

"multiculturalism" into Canadian Parliament.[114] Throughout the 1960s and during the multicultural debates, Yuzyk and members of the Ukrainian-Canadian community used Ukrainian agricultural achievements of the early twentieth century to assert themselves as "founding people of Western Canada," and as "co-partners" with English and French Canadians.[115] In contrast to the Doukhobors, most Ukrainians had no link to the peace-movement. Instead, politicians such as Yuzyk used the fact that forty thousand Ukrainians fought in the Second World War as evidence of Ukrainian "loyalty and devoted citizenship to Canada."[116] Due to these achievements, Ukrainian-Canadians, particularly those on the prairies, maintained that they and other non-British and non-French (also known as the "Third Force") pioneers deserved legislative protection for their languages and cultures in Canada.[117] As Canadian politicians of Ukrainian descent advanced a multicultural definition of Canadian identity, the Ukrainian-Canadian community was by far the most active community from the "Third Force" to argue that Canada was a multicultural country. Indeed, Ukrainian-Canadian organizations submitted thirty-two of the fifty-five reports received by the Royal Commission from groups who identified as being neither French nor British.[118]

Ukrainian-Canadian confidence in equating Ukrainianness with good Canadian citizenship helped to perpetuate the Ukrainian cultural identity amongst Canadian-born generations in Saskatchewan. This was particularly clear during the 1960s, when many young Ukrainians, according to Nadya Oneschuk's doctoral dissertation, were more eager and willing

[114] Prymak, 275.
[115] Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes*, 121, 125; Fujiwara, 160.
[116] Paul Yuzyk, "Canada a Multicultural Nation, 3 March 1964, MG31-E55, Vol. 9-26, Walter Surma Tarnopolsky Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; Paul Yuzyk, "75th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada," 1966, MG32-C67, Vol. 45-25, Paul Yuzyk Fonds, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; Fujiwara, 164.
[117] Haque, 64, 67; Lalande, "The Roots of Multiculturalism," 51; McRoberts, 123.
[118] McRoberts, 12

to embrace their ethnic heritage as multiculturalism was becoming a more accepted part of Canadian identity.[119] A part of this eagerness resulted from the firm belief that Ukrainians were contributing to Canada's cultural enrichment. Danny Evanyshyn, for instance, felt that he and others were "adding to the Canadian culture" by promoting their Ukrainianess.[120] Similarly, Anita Drebot felt that by teaching youth Ukrainian dancing, she was helping young Ukrainians understand the role they played in enriching the cultural fabric of Canada.[121] As Ukrainian community leaders asserted that the safe-keeping of the Ukrainian culture was compatible with good Canadian citizenship, this gave young Ukrainian-Canadians more motivation and confidence to embrace their heritage in Canada.

Both Ukrainian and Doukhobor communities in Saskatchewan felt the heavy and divisive impacts of English-language assimilation in their religious spaces. However, Ukrainian-Canadians were better positioned to perpetuate their distinctive identity amongst Canadian-born generations than the Doukhobors because of strong cultural activities, such as dance, which did not require Ukrainian-language fluency for participation. In contrast, Doukhobors found it more difficult to support the growth of their identity amongst Canadian-born youth, because choir singing, the most dominant collaborative cultural activity Doukhobors used to preserve their culture, was deeply tied to the Russian language. While Ukrainian dance groups thrived during the late stages of the postwar period, Doukhobor choirs struggled to attract youth as Russian language loss in their community became more pronounced. Moreover, the Ukrainian community was also able to benefit from community members who crafted careers that paralleled Ukrainian cultural preservation efforts. Whereas Ukrainians confidently asserted that

[119] Oneschuk, 69-70.
[120] Danny Evanyshyn, interview by Angie Wojcichowsky, 15 August 2002, interview 19b.
[121] "Ukrainian Dancers will Put on Concert," *Regina Leader Post,* 21 May 1965, A690, File IV.D.1, K.J. Tarasoff Fonds, Provincial Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan.

the preservation of their culture was compatible with good Canadian citizenship, Doukhobors struggled. This struggle, which was based on past resentments of the Doukhobors' pacifism and the Cold War atmosphere, ultimately stopped members of Saskatchewan's Doukhobor community from attending peace vigils that were intended to unite Canadian Doukhobors. Clearly, the postwar Canadian environment did not provide Ukrainians and Doukhobors with equal opportunities to preserve their cultures.

Conclusion

After the conclusion of the Second World War, Canada and provinces like Saskatchewan revisited discriminatory policies towards ethnic minorities to make Canadian society more inclusive and to limit racism. Much of English Canada shifted from calls for Anglo-conformity, or assimilation, to integration. Whereas Anglo-conformity expected total and immediate assimilation from individuals who were not of British descent, integration did not overtly pressure ethnic groups to immediately discard their cultural identities to participate in mainstream society. Accordingly, some historians and political scientists interpret the postwar period as a key turning point in English-Canadian views towards ethnic diversity. Such perspectives, however, are based on government policy changes rather than the lived experiences of individuals from ethnic communities in Canada. Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' lived experiences in Saskatchewan between 1946 and 1971 demonstrate that postwar integration operated as a continuation of Canada's former assimilation model. During this period, Saskatchewan's Ukrainians and Doukhobors continued to face pressure to conform to Anglo-Canadian cultural and linguistic norms as they moved into the province's mainstream public spaces.

While policy interventions such as the Canadian Citizenship Act (1947) and Saskatchewan's Bill of Rights (1947) aimed to limit racism and encouraged the involvement of allophone others in mainstream society, they did not reduce the pressures of cultural and linguistic conformity that members of these allophone communities faced in public spaces. During the postwar period, Saskatchewan's public-school system continued its efforts to reduce ethnic diversity. It did so through a curriculum that emphasized Britishness while placing ethnic

communities on the fringes of Canadian history. Some extracurricular space was granted for Ukrainian and Russian language instruction in Saskatchewan's schools during the 1950s and 1960s. However, Saskatchewan's schools and teachers continued to promote English-language assimilation by allowing students to speak only English and encouraging them to do so without an accent during regular school programming, making it clear that imperfect accents could severely impede social and economic advancement in Canadian society. Saskatchewan continued to assert itself as an English-speaking province throughout the postwar period.

Neither governmental policy interventions nor the growth of Canada's multicultural identity erased notions of Anglo-Canadian cultural superiority and discrimination against ethnic communities. Despite their willingness to join mainstream society, Saskatchewan's Ukrainians and Doukhobors continued to meet unfair stigmatization in the province's public spaces. At times, these hurtful experiences caused members of both communities to hide and supress their ethnic identity to avoid ridicule in public. While both Ukrainians and Doukhobors experienced this type of pressure, the Doukhobors faced additional hostility and discrimination because of the Canadian media's heavy focus on a small Doukhobor minority group, known as the Sons of Freedom. To avoid stigmatization that resulted from the Sons of Freedom's nudist and arsonist activities in British Columbia, which dominated the Doukhobors' collective image, some Doukhobors in Saskatchewan changed their last names, stopped their children from learning the Russian language, and dissociated themselves from their community and heritage.

Further challenges to the maintenance of Ukrainian and Doukhobor cultural identities in Saskatchewan between 1946 and 1971 arose through increasing dispersion and intermarriage rates. With financial and economic hardships persisting in rural life in Saskatchewan during the postwar period, many Ukrainians and Doukhobors felt pressure to leave the rural setting to

pursue urban-based education and employment. Unlike the first half of the twentieth century, easier access to transportation and greater road infrastructure in rural Saskatchewan gave young Ukrainians and Doukhobors more chances to leave the rural environment. This took them away from extended families and tight-knit rural communities where language, culture, and religious traditions permeated daily life and offered strong and routine cultural reinforcement. Through the pursuit of urban-based employment both Ukrainians and Doukhobors moved to new environments that offered little to no support for their cultural identities. This made it more difficult for families to promote their distinctive identity amongst succeeding generations. With increasing dispersion, more Ukrainians and Doukhobors met and formed new relationships with diverse Canadians, leading to rising intermarriage rates. Not only did intermarriage change the composition of the ethnic household and stop the transfer of the Ukrainian and Russian language between generations, but it also led to changes in religious identity as families often had to search for more inclusive religious spaces that conducted services in English. Dispersion and intermarriage, which resulted from the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' continued integration into mainstream society, posed significant challenges to the continuation of their cultural identities.

During the postwar period ethnic groups in Canada were not afforded with equal opportunities to preserve their cultures. Public reputation, population size, and cultural and religious differences played a significant role in differentiating the Ukrainians' and Doukhobors' ability to limit the forces of cultural assimilation amongst Canadian-born generations. Ukrainians, due to their large group numbers, were better positioned to limit assimilation pressure that resulted from dispersion because they had more culture supports, such as churches and local organizations, spread throughout Saskatchewan than smaller groups like Doukhobors. Additionally, early political encouragement from Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir, along

with Ukrainian agricultural achievements, and Ukrainian participation in the Second World War fortified Ukrainian-Canadians' confidence in equating the preservation of their culture with good Canadian citizenship. Such confidence ultimately bolstered Ukrainian preservation efforts in Saskatchewan during the postwar period. In contrast, a history of public resentment of the Doukhobors' pacifism meant that some Doukhobors struggled to associate pacifism with good Canadian citizenship throughout parts of the postwar period. The Cold War atmosphere further complicated this as some Canadian Doukhobors, including those in Saskatchewan, feared that publicly supporting peace activism during the Cold War may hurt their integration into Canadian society. This prevented some Doukhobors from taking part in peace vigils that sought to unite the community under the banner of peace. These fears appeared to diminish after no legal or social repercussions followed the peace vigils, but this came after a lengthy amount of time during which some Doukhobors struggled to correlate pacifism with good Canadianism.

Cultural activities and markers that do not depend on language retention played a crucial role in helping ethnic communities promote and preserve their cultural identity amongst Canadian-born generations. Exposed to English-only public schools and workplaces, and weakened by increasing dispersion and intermarriage, it was extremely difficult for Ukrainians and Doukhobors alike to keep their respective languages alive in postwar Saskatchewan. As language loss grew within Saskatchewan's Ukrainian community, particularly during the 1960s, non-linguistic cultural markers like *pysanky* and activities like dance became even more important to the maintenance of the Ukrainian cultural identity amongst youth. Ukrainian dancing was especially important to the continuation of the Ukrainian cultural identity of Canadian-born generations because it was an activity that connected young Ukrainians to their heritage even if they were not fluent in Ukrainian. Doukhobor choirs certainly had success in

keeping the Doukhobor cultural identity alive amongst Canadian-born generations during the postwar period. However, due to the widespread loss of Russian amongst succeeding generations of Doukhobors, Doukhobor choirs struggled to attract youth during the late stages of the postwar period. Both Ukrainians and Doukhobors were surrounded by powerful English-language influences in Canada, but strong non-linguistic cultural activities and markers have helped Ukrainian-Canadians become one of the most successful ethnic groups in perpetuating their cultural identity amongst Canadian-born generations.

Despite intensive assimilatory pressure, Ukrainians and Doukhobors in Saskatchewan have collectively continued to preserve their distinctive cultures and identities. Their presence and history in Saskatchewan can still be seen today. In eastern Saskatchewan, for example, the two-story, pearly white, Doukhobor prayer home that sits within the National Doukhobor Heritage Village can still be found in Veregin, protected through the voluntary efforts of Doukhobors from that community. Visitors to the town of Canora, just west of Veregin, are greeted by a colourful Ukrainian statue named *Lesia*, who presents her guests with an offering of braided bread and salt. It has not been easy to maintain Ukrainian or Doukhobor culture in Saskatchewan, particularly when mainstream Canadian society offered little support to diverse communities prior to Canada's official recognition of multiculturalism in 1971. Nevertheless, their cultures, languages, and traditions have persevered. Their communities and religious spaces still provide individuals with a sense of belonging, collectivity, and a place in which they can interact with the traditions, customs, music, and prayers that they proudly shared with their peers, parents, grandparents, and other family members. Saskatchewan's motto, "From Many Peoples, Strength," suggests that diversity has been an asset to the province.[1] A study of Doukhobor and

[1] Waiser, "The Myth of Multiculturalism in Early Saskatchewan," 57.

Ukrainian efforts to preserve their cultural identity despite facing intense assimilation pressure suggests, however, that Saskatchewan has not always seen diversity as an asset and that it took considerable strength on the part of minority ethnic communities to survive.

Figure 3.1: National Doukhobor Heritage Village and Doukhobor Prayer Home in Veregin, Saskatchewan, personal collection.

Figure 3.2: Statue of Lesia in Canora, Saskatchewan, personal collection.

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