

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN AN
ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN RURAL MANITOBA
1896-1970

by
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ABSTRACT

The thesis is concerned with patterns of first marriage among Polish and Ukrainian residents of the Tolstoi area of south-east Manitoba between 1896, the year of settlement, and 1970. The marriage patterns and changes in the pattern over time are investigated through four variables: religion, premarital residence, ethnicity and age at marriage of both bride and groom. The history of immigration to the area and subsequent developments are also presented.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Demographic research has gained acceptance as a legitimate area of enquiry in anthropology. Its importance in cultural research stems from the realization that all social phenomena occur within a demographic context and that the relationship between cultural and demographic factors is a reciprocal one (Davis, 1963). Further, "... the availability of suitable demographic data can prove of decisive importance for problems of human genetics" (Cavalli-Sforza, 1962:221). Demographic information, therefore, can serve as a basis for generating hypotheses concerning both cultural parameters and population genetics, and provide quantitative data to reinforce or substantiate qualitative material (Colson, 1954:58 & 59; Cavalli-Sforza, 1962:221; C. R. A. I., 1954:58; Hauser, 1959:170; Levi-Strauss, 1962:331; Moore, 1959:883; Roberts, 1956:347).

Social demography as defined by Ford and De Jong (1970:4) deals with

... the relationships between social and demographic phenomena ... how general social and cultural factors are related to population structure and process.

It is thus distinguished

from 'pure demography' which deals with relationships among the demographic variables that constitute the demographic system (ibid:19).

This distinction has import for genetic, as well as

cultural anthropology.

Contemporary anthropological geneticists are concerned with the study of the variability of human populations (Johnston, 1966) effected through the transmission of genetic traits along generational lines. The processes involved do not occur in a cultural vacuum. As Rokala (1971:2) states,

... the transmission of genetic variability within and between populations is channelled through and distributed by the directive effects of the prevailing social organization.

Cultural and biological factors are therefore closely interwoven in the results of demography (Weiner, 1958:67), especially when collected and analyzed from a social perspective.

The term 'process' implies consideration of time. Historical-demographic material, such as parish church records (Moroni, 1962), facilitates genealogical reconstruction (Bodmer & Cavalli-Sforza, 1967:458). Such a reconstruction establishes the lineal and affinal family relationships through time and in geographic space for a population. It also enables, through record linkage of individuals and families, the determination of population growth, size of family, mating structure, and in some cases, immigration and emigration. Further, demographic changes over time may be indicative of social changes. The history of settlement in the community, the nature of external influences and internal social attitudes and

organization, past and present, also have a bearing on the development of a population demographically (Herskovits, 1964:442).

Ethnographic and demographic information on Canadian ethnic communities is lacking or incomplete (Elkin, 1964:15), especially concerning those ethnic groups, including the Poles and Ukrainians, who are relatively recent immigrants to Canada (ibid:52, 54 & 56). In this light,

data for the study of the relation between demographic conditions and social institutions are urgently needed (C. R. A. I., 1954:58).

Tolstoi, Manitoba is a rural village situated approximately sixty miles south of Winnipeg on highway 59, in a primarily Ukrainian area (Yuzyk, 1953:42). The population on July 1, 1970 of fifty-three individuals was predominantly Ukrainian and Polish. The majority of the residents can be classified as rural, non-farm. The largest group farmed in the Tolstoi area, upon retirement settled in Tolstoi, and now maintain small garden plots and animals for personal use. Excess produce in small quantities may be sold to, or exchanged with, other local inhabitants; however, there is little involvement in the larger market economy as primary producers. These persons consider themselves to be retired. The second largest group, from an occupational standpoint, own and operate the three general stores, two garages and the hotel.

There are three churches in the community: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Ukrainian Orthodox,

although only the Roman Catholic congregation has a resident priest. The Ukrainian National Home and the Roman Catholic Parish Hall serve Tolstoi and the surrounding area as meeting places for special events. In the summer of 1970 the public school, which closed in 1964, was converted into a community centre as a project commemorating Manitoba's Centennial.

Settlement of the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area was begun in 1896 (Kaye, 1964:164; Turek, 1967:54), although Tolstoi itself was not founded until 1905 (Kaye, 1964:173). The Poles and Ukrainians who came to the region were from the same area of Europe, Galicia, which "for centuries had a mixed Polish-Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population" (Turek, 1967:50). The settlers, because of strong family and community solidarity, sought to emigrate and settle with members of their families and villages in Galicia (ibid:51). The majority (79.2%) of the present residents of Tolstoi either immigrated to the area from Galicia between 1896 and 1911, or are descendants of the original settlers.

Scant information is available on the history of Polish and Ukrainian populations in Manitoba, particularly on the Tolstoi area. Two works, Yuzyk's The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (1953), and Poles in Manitoba by V. Turek (1967), have been used extensively throughout the thesis. Both are heavily biased in favour of one

ethnic group. Therefore, wherever possible the opinions of both authors have been included for comparative purposes. The studies by Kaye (1964) and Marunchak (1970) contain substantial information on the Ukrainians of Manitoba. They are both more factual and objective in nature.

Demographic research was carried out in Tolstoi between June 1970 and June 1971 as a background for genetic work planned for the area (Rokala, 1970: personal communication). Tolstoi was chosen for study because it was easily accessible, small enough for total enumeration, had a mixed ethnic population and was relatively isolated (ibid). Every adult was interviewed following the family-genealogical method discussed by Bodmer and Cavalli-Sforza (1967) and Bunak (1967). Further information on births, marriages and deaths in the area was collected from the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox church records. Through individual and family record linkage, 1543 biological nuclear families were totally or partially reconstructed. At least one member of every reconstructed family has lived in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area.

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the social demography and possible genetic consequences of several parameters surrounding first marital union in the Tolstoi area from 1896 to June 1970. The demographic parameters chosen for investigation are birthplace, premarital residence, age at marriage, religion, ethnicity, and several

combinations of these variables. Only those unions where information is available for both partners and where the date of marriage is known are included in the sample.

The decision to deal only with parameters concerning the act of first marriage was reached for a number of reasons. First, the sample is of adequate size to reveal true patterns. Second, the selected parameters are meaningful without accurate population figures for the area over time. It was impossible to obtain this information with precision for the time period studied, through the utilized church records, interviews, available censuses and the literature. Third, the data were deemed reliable.¹ Other demographic parameters, for example, fertility, are dependent on complete information on all births, stillbirths and miscarriages over time, to enable accurate family reconstruction. Before the present churches in the area were constructed, settlers relied on travelling priests, mainly Roman Catholic, from surrounding towns to perform baptisms, marriages and funerals (Yuzyk, 1953:74). As a result, not all demographic facts on one family are contained in one particular set of church records. It will therefore be possible to investigate other demographic parameters more accurately when records from other churches in the area are analyzed.

¹ Further explanation of the estimation of reliability is contained in Chapter III of this thesis.

The demographic parameters in the present investigation have significance for both social and genetic research. The probability of a marriage taking place depends not only on the personal history of the individuals involved, but also on current social conditions, attitudes and past traditions.

That the choice of a mate is affected by age, by geographic location, by socio-economic and cultural factors and by religion and race (ethnicity) is well known (Bodmer & Cavalli-Sforza, 1967:458).

Social consequences of marriage patterns are also evident. For example, a practice of ethnic and area endogamy in an already isolated (geographic and cultural) community will tend to preserve this isolation.

Bodmer and Cavalli-Sforza (1967:458) in an article dealing with the utility of demography in genetic research state:

Two possible consequences of the mating structure exist. The first is selection due to the occurrence of some marriage in preference to others in a way that makes certain genetic types more or less frequently represented in the next generation. The second is an assortment of marriages which may affect the composition of the population without resulting in differential selection. Some assortative mating with respect to physical traits is known, but it should be emphasized that observed correlations between mates may be the consequence of social stratification and assortative mating for social conditions or of secular traits for the characteristics in question.

Format of Presentation

The second chapter deals with the history of Galicia as it affected the prospective emigrants, causes and patterns of emigration, and the history of the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area, including developments in community relations between the Poles and Ukrainians, and external influences. The methodology utilized and the results of demographic analysis are presented and discussed in Chapter III. Conclusions and an evaluation of the utility of the Tolstoi church records for demographic research are dealt with in the fourth and final chapter.

CHAPTER II
ETHNOHISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a cultural-historical background against which the results of demographic analysis may most meaningfully be viewed.

GALICIA: 1772-1900

The majority of Tolstoi residents are descendents of settlers who immigrated to the Stuartburn area during the latter years of the nineteenth century. They came from Galicia which, at that time, was a province of the Austrian Empire. Poland won possession of the area in 1923 (Paneyko, 1931:582; Yaremko, 1967:224). In 1939, after a series of conflicts, the eastern portion of Galicia was added to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This Act of Union was ratified at Yalta in 1945 (Yaremko, 1967:224).

Political Developments

In 1772, Austria annexed Eastern Galicia, a former Polish possession with a predominantly Ukrainian population (Felinski, 1931:10; Yaremko, 1967:9). A Polish area to the west was added in the same year, forming the province of Galicia (Yaremko, 1967:91).

During the Polish administration (1349-1772), attempts were made to "Polonize" the large Ukrainian population. Many were exterminated, their churches ridiculed, and intermarriage between the ethnic groups was encouraged with

the condition that the Ukrainian partner become Roman Catholic on marriage. No Ukrainian could own land, for by law, all land belonged to the small Polish nobility and the Roman Catholic church (ibid:64-75).

After 1772 the Polish lords retained a majority in the Provincial Diet thus remaining in control of Galician affairs and continuing their program of "Polonization" (ibid:100). As a result, many Ukrainians converted to Roman Catholicism, spoke Polish and called themselves Polish to avoid further harassment (Kubijovyc, 1963:241; Yaremko, 1967:106).

In 1848, Polish lords began to press for the restoration of Poland's borders to the limits held prior to 1772. In an attempt to elicit Ukrainian support, the Polish gentry promised Ukrainian autonomy in Eastern Galicia. On the other hand, Austria tried to gain Ukrainian sympathy by abolishing serfdom in 1848. As a result of their advantageous position in the conflict, the Ukrainian population began to articulate their own grievances (Yaremko, 1967: 117-118 & 123). Both Polish and Ukrainian committees were established to prepare and submit a series of demands to the Austrian government. The Poles wanted complete autonomy over Galician affairs. The Ukrainians sought equality, personal freedoms and the division of Galicia into two provinces along ethnic lines (ibid:118-119). The Ukrainian committee urged the formation of branch

councils in every major city in Eastern Galicia in an attempt to organize the Ukrainian population (ibid:120). In reaction, the Poles created the "Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Assembly" whose purpose was to undermine the Ukrainian activities and to promote pro-Polish sentiment. The Polish efforts were unsuccessful and the Assembly soon dissolved (ibid:121).

Austria dispensed with the Parliamentary system and returned to Absolutism in 1849 (ibid:128). In 1850 the new Galician governor, a Pole, tried to destroy the emerging Ukrainian nationalism by forcibly disbanding the Ukrainian committee and keeping its leaders under surveillance. The governor continued his policies of suppression throughout his ten year appointment (ibid:136-137).

As a result of military defeats in Italy, and a consequent loss of territory and prestige, Austria returned to Constitutionalism in 1859. The newly formed government instituted a policy of equality for all nationalities within Austrian borders. It was designed to force the powerful Galician landlords to cooperate with the Austrian government (ibid:137). The situation changed in 1866 when Bismarck defeated Austria, forcing the Austrian government to implement the Polish demands of 1848-49 in return for a promise of loyalty (Yuzyk, 1953:26).

Autonomy in Galicia gave the Poles

an almost unbounded hegemony over the original Ukrainian population; it became an obstacle to the national revival of the latter and a source of violent conflict between the two peoples (Paneyko, 1931:578).

The Austrian position was expressed by the chancellor, who stated:

It should be left to the Poles to decide how far the Ruthenes (Ukrainians) should be allowed to exist as a separate people (ibid:578).

Although the Ukrainians were still suppressed, violent conflicts between the two groups did not erupt until the 1890's when the Ukrainian nationalistic movement again emerged. Relations between the two peoples during the latter years of the nineteenth century

were at times so bitter that local feuds were frequently precipitated. This animosity was later carried over to Canada and is to a degree still evident (Yuzyk, 1953:26-27).

Population

The Galician population was predominantly Polish and Ukrainian. However, the two groups were not evenly distributed throughout the province. Figure 2 (Yaremko, 1967) shows the ethnic structure of Galicia in 1900. The following table illustrates the composition and ethnic distribution of the Galician population in 1910.

TABLE I

COMPOSITION OF THE GALICIAN POPULATION: 1910
 (after Horak, 1961:86)

| Area | % | % | % | % |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------|
| | Polish language | Ukrainian language | Roman Catholic | Jewish |
| East Galicia | 39.8 | 58.9 | 25.4 | 12.4 |
| West Galicia | 96.0 | 2.8 | 88.5 | 7.0 |
| Total Galicia | 58.6 | 40.2 | 46.0 | 10.0 |

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ukrainians outnumbered Poles in every district, both urban and rural, in Eastern Galicia (see Table II).

TABLE II

ETHNIC STRUCTURE BY RELIGION:
FIVE EASTERN GALICIA DISTRICTS: 1817
 (after Horak, 1961:87)

| District | Nature of Population | % Population Greek Catholic | % Population Roman Catholic |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Lviv | urban | 59.3 | 40.7 |
| Berezhany | rural | 78.8 | 21.2 |
| Tarnopil | rural | 66.3 | 33.7 |
| Stanislaw | rural | 89.1 | 10.9 |
| Kolomya | rural | 90.2 | 9.8 |



Central-Eastern Europe

FIG.1

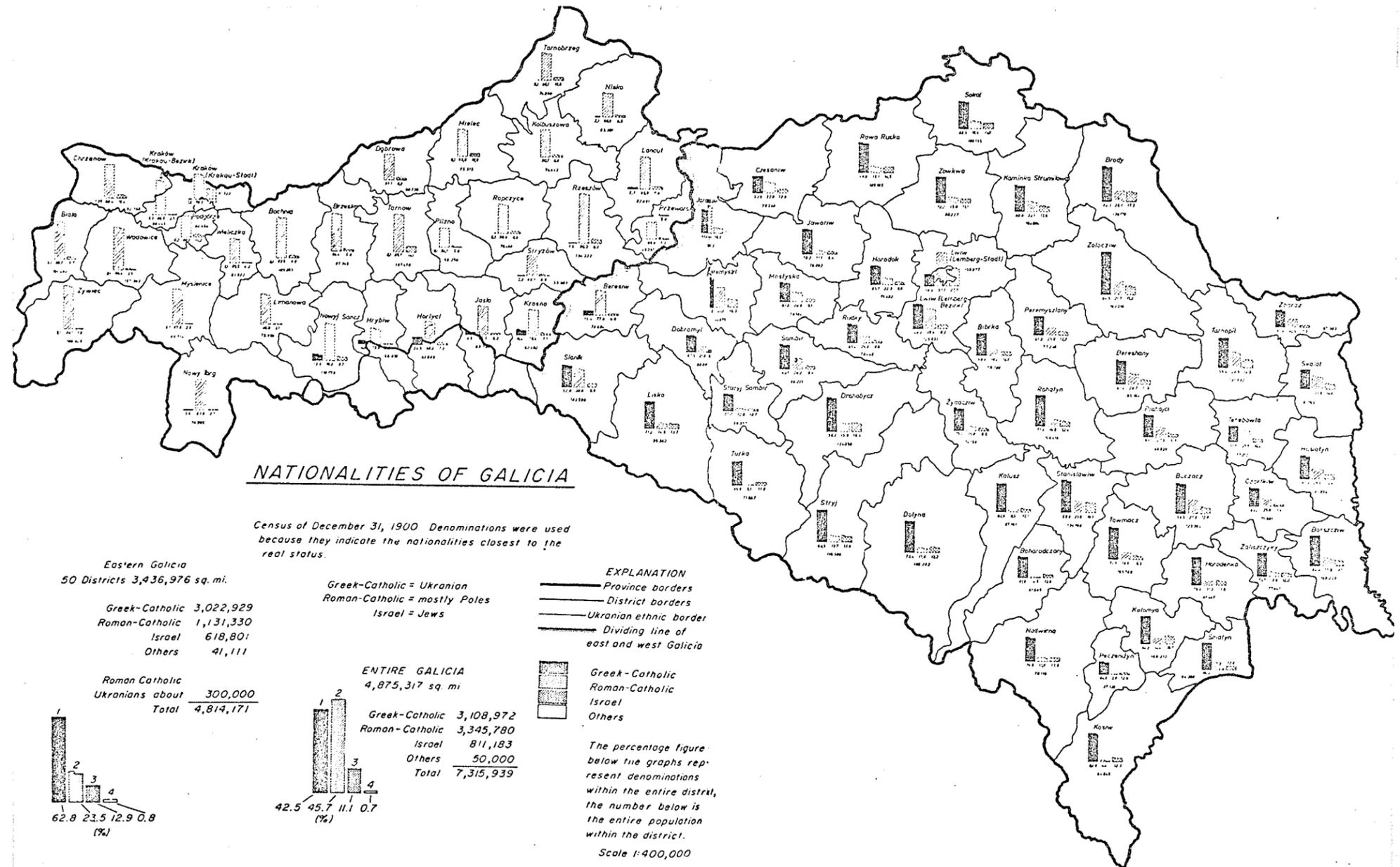


FIGURE 2

NATIONALITIES OF GALICIA: 1900

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Poles began to move settlers into Eastern Galicia in an attempt to increase the Polish population (Horak, 1961:86; Yaremko, 1967:226). As well, government statisticians have been accused of manipulating census figures to show a steady growth for the Polish population, and a corresponding decline in the number of Ukrainians (Felinski, 1931:25; Horak, 1961:80 & 86). Table III illustrates an increase in the Polish population in Galicia measured by religious denomination, and Table IV shows the increase, in the eastern districts, by language.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLES IN GALICIA BY RELIGION: 1869-1910
(Kubijovyc, 1963:187)

| Year | % Roman Catholic | % Greek Catholic | % Jewish |
|------|------------------|------------------|----------|
| 1869 | 21.8 | 64.9 | 12.4 |
| 1900 | 23.5 | 62.8 | 12.8 |
| 1910 | 25.0 | 61.7 | 12.4 |
| | +3.2 | -3.2 | |

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLES IN EASTERN GALICIA BY
LANGUAGE: 1880-1910
(after Horak, 1961:86)

| Year | % Polish Language | % Ukrainian Language |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1880 | 28.1 | 64.5 |
| 1890 | 31.2 | 64.1 |
| 1900 | 33.7 | 62.5 |
| 1910 | 39.8 | 58.9 |
| | +11.7 | -5.6 |

The above tables must be read with caution for a number of reasons:

- 1) There is a lack of reliable data.
- 2) As a result of "Polonization" programs many Ukrainians spoke Polish, converted to Roman Catholicism and called themselves Polish.
- 3) Some Poles were Jewish.

By 1900 the Polish population was in a majority in the urban eastern district of Lviv (Lwiw). The rural areas in the east remained predominantly Ukrainian (see Figure 2).

Peasant Life

There is a paucity of published data in English concerning peasant life in Galicia during the nineteenth century. Turek (1967) and Kaye (1964) are the only references cited which deal specifically with the Galician situation. Information from supplementary sources on life in Poland, Austria and Russia, however, is sufficiently similar to warrant some generalization.

Peasant life centered around the family, land, church and village (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918; Turek, 1967:38). The nuclear family was the primary social and economic unit in the community (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918:89; Turek, 1967:38). Absolute authority in family and economic affairs was vested in the father/husband (Young, 1931:155). His position was endorsed by relatives, often recognized to the fourth degree, the church, and by the community as a whole (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918:90-91; Turek, 1967:38).

Family solidarity was strong, nuclear and extended family members being bound by ties of obligation as well as affection (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918:89; Turek, 1967:38-39).

Land was a peasant's most valuable possession. It provided him with produce and gave him social standing in the community (Turek, 1967:39). Plots were either owned or rented by the head of the family (ibid) and upon his death were equally divided among all sons (Thomas & Zanaiecki, 1918:93; Young, 1931:280). As a result of strong family solidarity and land inheritance practices relatives lived for centuries in the same locale (Turek, 1967:40).

In 1900 a Canadian immigration official, after visiting Galicia, reported the following:

... the people gather together in villages or communities separated only by a few kilometres. ... it is a rare occurrence for their (agricultural holdings) to be in one location; that is, the aggregated area of rentings is in three or more places. ... In the fertile valleys of Galicia land is very valuable and rents are extremely high, therefore the peasant population must be thrifty and careful if they want to eke out more than a bare existence. With good crops and good farming they can manage to make some provision for the future (cited in Kaye, 1964:128-129).

During the nineteenth century the village was socially and economically isolated (Turek, 1967:38). Farm produce not consumed by the family was used as barter for other necessities, as rent by tenant farmers and to pay church dues. It was not necessary for the peasant to leave his

village to fulfill these obligations or to obtain goods (ibid:39).

Until the Ukrainian nationalistic movement re-emerged in the 1890's, Polish and Ukrainian peasants co-existed relatively amiably in the same communities, practiced similar day to day customs and often intermarried (ibid:52). The entire village participated in social activities. Celebrations were held in connection with life crises, seasonal changes and church holidays (ibid:40). The Galician peasant was deeply committed to his religious beliefs. Church doctrine, rituals and customs guided him in his daily existence (Turek, 1967:41; Young, 1931:154).

EMIGRATION: CAUSES AND PATTERNS

The chief reasons for emigration in the late 1890's were economic. Overpopulation, compulsory military service, persecution and personal factors also influenced the peasant's decision to leave Galicia.

The 1848 land reform abolished feudalism and stipulated that the Polish gentry sell land to their serfs (Young, 1931: 36). However, many nobles with strong political influence retained possession of their large estates (Yuzyk, 1953:27). A small number of peasants were able to purchase plots in marginal areas but most became tenant farmers renting land at high rates from their former lords (Marunchak, 1970:195; Turek, 1967:31). During the late nineteenth century 40.5% of all cultivated land was owned by Polish landlords who

were a small minority in the total population (Yaremko, 1967:144).

The productivity of the land was low as a result of overpopulation demanding excessive cultivation, lack of sophisticated agricultural practices (caused partially by adherence to tradition and lack of communication), and scattered land holdings (Kaye, 1964:10; Marunchak, 1970:20; Turek, 1967:36; Yuzyk, 1953:27). Statistics from 1910-11 indicate that the mean 4.8 acres per farmer were located, on the average, in thirty-five plots throughout the village area (Turek, 1967:278). This problem was compounded by legislation regulating land inheritance practices (Kaye, 1964:xiii). Repeated subdivision among sons reduced holdings to such an extent that the amount of land inherited could no longer support the family (Yaremko, 1967:102; Young, 1931:36; Yuzyk, 1953:27). Consequently, many peasants went into debt, mortgaged or sold their property and became farm labourers (Balch, 1910:49; Yuzyk, 1953:28). The associated loss of social status was intolerable (Balch, 1910:49; Yuzyk, 1953:28).

Overpopulation was an important cause of land shortage. In 1860 the population density of Galicia was eighty persons per square kilometre (Kubijovyc, 1963:180). The number rose to 102 by 1910 (Turek, 1967:277). Although settlers from Poland were moving into Eastern Galicia as part of the nobility's attempt to increase the Polish population (Yaremko, 1967:144), most of the increase was due to the

high fertility of indigenous peoples. Table V illustrates the natural population increase in Galicia from 1891-1913.¹

TABLE V

NATURAL INCREASE PER 1000 POPULATION PER DECADE
GALICIA: 1891-1917
(Kubijovyc, 1963:187)

| Years | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase |
|-----------|--------|--------|------------------|
| 1891-1900 | 45.6 | 31.4 | 14.2 |
| 1901-1910 | 43.2 | 28.2 | 15.0 |
| 1911-1913 | 40.3 | 25.9 | 14.4 |

In addition to these problems, young men desired to escape compulsory military service (Turek, 1967:35; Young, 1931:37) and Ukrainians sought political and religious freedom (Davidson, 1947:4, Young, 1931:37).

Emigration was considered to be a viable solution to the situation in Galicia. As few European countries could offer abundant land at reasonable rates, attention was focused abroad. In the early 1890's Brazilian ambassadors and their supporters convinced a number of Galician families to settle in Brazil. However, the early colonists found the environment too harsh for their traditional crops, the land offered covered in dense jungle, and their settlements surrounded by hostile Indians (Kaye, 1964:13-14).

¹ Between 1890 and 1900, 26% of the population growth was drained off by emigration (Kubijovyc, 1963:196).

In 1895 two pamphlets entitled About Free Lands, and About Emigration were published by Dr. Joseph Oleskow (ibid:12 & 136). Oleskow toured Canada in 1895 appraising its suitability for the settlement of Galician peasants. The booklets described Canada as an appropriate, if not ideal, place for colonization, and offered to farmers, free land in the Canadian prairies (Kaye, 1964:8-9; Lysenko, 1947:21ff). "Canada became the principal topic of conversation in village communities", and many residents planned to leave and settle in Canada (Kaye, 1964:65).

Transportation costs to Canada were prohibitive for most peasant families. As a result, it was often necessary for one family member, usually a male, to establish himself in Canada and raise sufficient funds for the passage of his family (Kogler, 1966:17; Turek, 1967:51; Young, 1931:45). England (1936:208) and Young (1931:46) report that males comprised 72.6% of the 67,247 Galician, Ruthenian and Bukowinian immigrants who entered Canadian ports between 1910 and 1914.

The emigration was non-random. As a result of family and community solidarity relatives and neighbours sought to emigrate together, and upon arrival in Canada to establish homesteads in close proximity (Turek, 1967:51). Town meetings were arranged in Galicia at which villagers discussed their destination and travel plans (Kaye, 1964:65). In some cases, the entire village planned to re-settle together in Canada (ibid).

Yuzyk (1953:42) describes the same trend.

... often almost an entire village was transplanted in Manitoba ... with its name, language, manners, customs, institutions, and activities; and it became "a little spot in Canada that is almost Ukraine".

Senkiw, Manitoba, is an example of this transplantation from Galicia. In 1895 residents of Synkiw in the district of Zalishchyky, Eastern Galicia sent two delegates to Lwiw to meet with Dr. Oleskow. This meeting led to the migration of ten families from the village, and the subsequent establishment of Senkiw, Manitoba, composed almost entirely of the former residents of Synkiw (Kaye, 1964:65 & 136).

Following the initial movement,

many if not the majority of the immigrants came out to friends and relatives already here (Young, 1931:38).

It is extremely difficult to establish the number of immigrants, or the proportion of Poles and Ukrainians, who came from Galicia during the early years of the movement (Hurd, 1937:32; Yuzyk, 1953:33). Prior to the First World War, Galician immigrants were registered and referred to in various reports as: Austrians, Bukowinians, Galicians Proper, Poles, Roumanians, Russians, Ruthenians and Slovenians (Hurd, 1937:32; Sessional Papers, 1907-08:87; Simpson, 1951; Yuzyk, 1953:36). The following figures, therefore, may deviate from true values. It is estimated that between 1896 and 1914 inclusive, over 170,000 Galician, Bukowinian and Ruthenian settlers arrived in Canada (Lysenko, 1947:34; Young, 1931:41).

Marunchak (1970:21) states that 97% of the early Ukrainian immigrants were from Eastern Galicia and the official figures for the year ending October 31, 1896 indicate that of the 668 Galicians who passed through Winnipeg on their way to establish homesteads in Manitoba, 630 or 94.3% were Ukrainians and 38 or 5.7% were Poles (Sessional Papers, 1897:123). By 1901 there were 1674 Poles and 3894 Ukrainians resident in Manitoba (Turek, 1967:71).

Turek (1967:35), himself a Pole, describes the Polish immigrant as follows.

... a peasant of sub-marginal type occupying the lowest standing in the peasant social hierarchy, the poorest from the economic point of view and the least developed culturally.

Descriptions of the typical Ukrainian peasant present a similar picture (Kaye, 1964; Yuzyk, 1953). These descriptions can be misunderstood. In reality, the majority of the early immigrants were small landowners, or landless peasants who worked as labourers and artisans within the traditional village system and who wanted to return to agriculture (Kaye, 1964:xiii; Young, 1931:42). A small minority were impoverished Ukrainian gentry and peasants with means (Kaye, 1964:xiv). The peasant's poverty was a result of economic conditions prevalent at the time in Galicia. As land was considered the most valuable possession of the farmer, a lack of it meant decreased status in the eyes of himself and his neighbours.

We may interpret Turek's statement in this light.

HISTORY OF THE STUARTBURN-TOLSTOI AREA

Tolstoi was founded in 1905 with the building of a post office (Kaye, 1964:173; Yuzyk, 1953:30). It subsequently became a focal point in the area and the village grew around it (Marunchak, 1970:356). At first Tolstoi consisted of business establishments and the families which managed or were employed by them. Later, when churches and a school were built and retired farmers settled in the village, it also became a social and religious center for Tolstoi residents and the surrounding farm population (Bially, n.d.).

Until 1905 however, all residents in the area were considered part of the Stuartburn settlement, which also included the present towns of Stuartburn, Vita, Gardenton, Overstoneville, Sundown, Caliento, Arbakka and Senkiw (Marunchak, 1970). Figure 3 indicates their locations. The historical information contained in this section refers to the population of the Stuartburn settlement, including past and present residents of Tolstoi. Available data on historical developments in Tolstoi itself have been included.

Settlement of the Area

In August 1896, ninety-four immigrants comprising sixteen families settled in the Stuartburn area (Kaye, 1964:180 & 136). Although the early population figures cited by Kaye appear to be the best documented, other

estimates range from sixteen families to twenty-seven families and some single men (Marunchak, 1970:38; Sessional Papers, 1897; Yuzyk, 1953). The majority of the settlers were from the districts of Zaliszczyky, Borszcziw and Kolomya in Eastern Galicia, and Bukowina district in Rumania (Kaye, 1964:136; Marunchak, 1970:39).

In August 1896, John Wendelbo, an immigration official, accompanied a delegation of six men through south-eastern Manitoba to select a suitable region for settlement. Wendelbo first took the delegation to the Mennonite colonies at Niverville and Steinbach (Kaye, 1964: 137),

... my desire being to locate them as near as possible to the Mennonites, where Stock, Food and other necessities, required for a new settler could be had on very reasonable conditions, and where employment is plenty nearly any time of the year (Wendelbo, 1896a cited in Kaye, 1964:137-138).

However, he found the area "not well suited for so large a colony..." (ibid). The group proceeded south-west through St. Malo to the region (Township 2, Range 6 East) just north of the United States border. This area, later known as Stuartburn, was chosen primarily because of the availability of sufficient wood for fuel and house construction (Lysenko, 1947:37; Sessional Papers, 1901:290; Young, 1931:55). In this connection, W. F. McCreary (1897, cited in Kaye, 1964:160) reported the following in a communication to Ottawa:

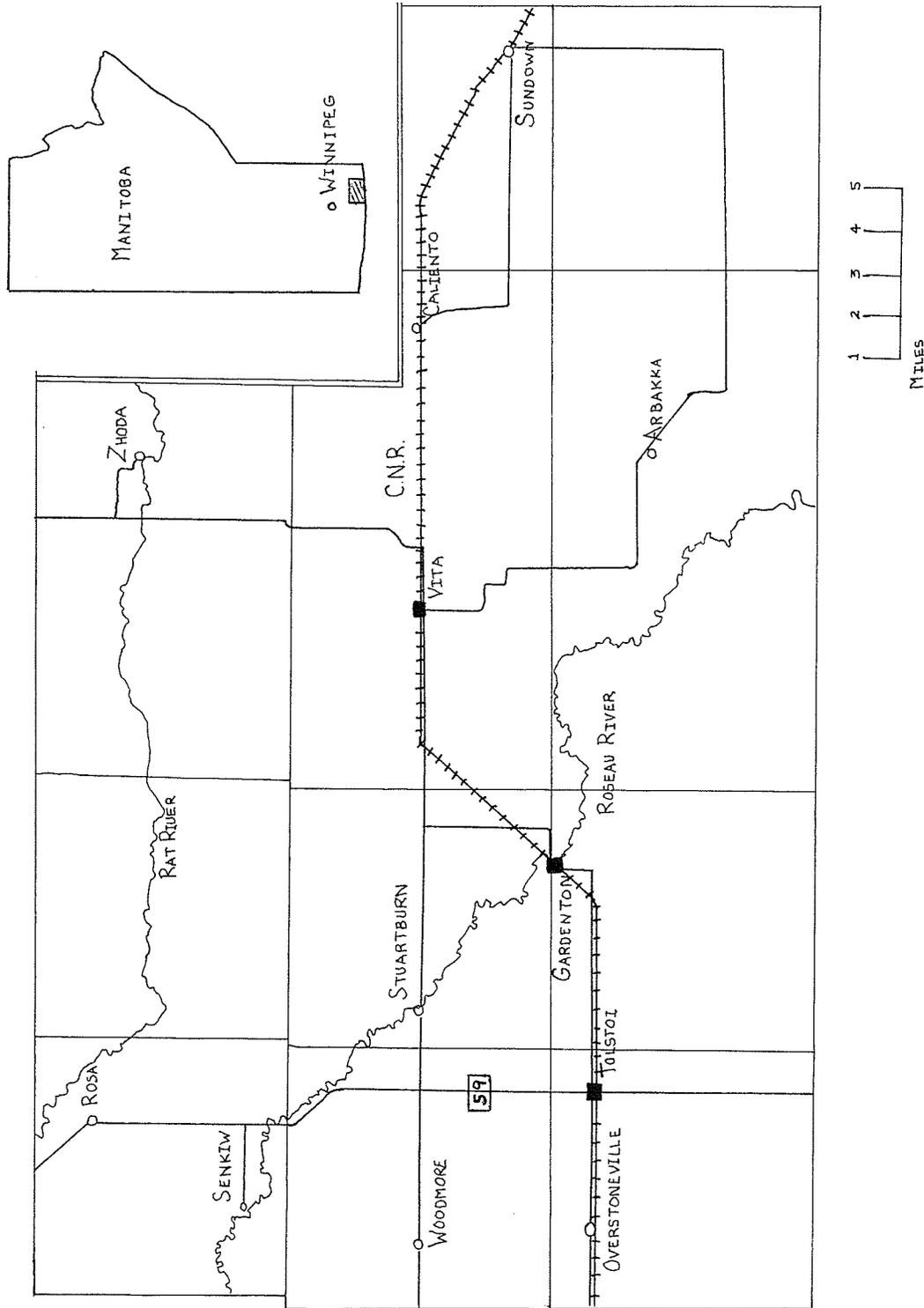


FIGURE 3

TOLSTOI AND SURROUNDING AREA

These Galicians are a peculiar people; they will not accept as a gift 160 acres of what we should consider the best land in Manitoba, that is first class wheat growing prairies land; what they particularly want is wood, and they care but little whether the land is heavy soil or light gravel; but each man must have some wood on his place.

The areas, as well, had a plentiful water supply (Young, 1931:55).

Relatives and neighbours of the settlers continued to join the colony throughout the fall of 1896. An immigration official after a visit to Stuartburn in early December reported:

There are at present in all 152 souls, 31 families and 7 men, 5 of the latter having their families in Galicia, in the settlement, of these 16 families containing 74 souls, have no land as yet, but are living with friends.

...The settlers have in all erected 13 small log houses (the largest one is 16' x 18') in which live 141 people, 2 families 11 souls have rented a farm... (Sessional Papers, 1897).

By the end of 1898, 150 families were residing in the Stuartburn district (Kaye, 1964:172), and in 1901 the population was 3000 (Hrychyshyn, 1970; Kaye, 1964:372).

Community Relations

The early immigrants were registered by country and province rather than by nationality. Thus, all Stuartburn residents were called Galicians or Bukowinians (Turek, 1967: 54). It has been estimated however, that 75% to 95% of the original settlers were Ukrainian (England, 1936:203).

...the colonies were preponderantly Ukrainian save for a sprinkling of other Slavs, such as the Poles ...with whom they have much in common, yet whom they often hate and who, therefore be it remembered, only serve to aggravate the group consciousness of the Ukrainians. It is an interesting fact in this connection, and one, at times, fraught with danger for the harmony of these settlements, that the Ukrainians and Poles who have lived and fought together in the old world and who continue to hate each other, are invariably to be found in the same settlements out here - usually a small minority of Poles in a large settlement of Ukrainians. This arrangement does not work out so badly, but when they are more evenly matched - as in one case where a colonization agent put a Ukrainian and a Pole on the same quarter-section - it surely leads to trouble! (Young, 1931:74).

Outwardly, relations between the two groups were cordial during their first years of residence in Manitoba (Turek, 1967:153). This was for several reasons. First, Ukrainian and Polish peasants were neighbours, often relatives, and they suffered comparable economic hardships in Galicia, Thus, they identified with one another and upon arrival in Canada - "the Poles found their 'own people' in the Ukrainians" (ibid:56).

Secondly, the Stuartburn settlers were isolated. There were no roads linking them with the nearest center, Dominion City, and walking was the only means of transportation until they became better established (Bially, n.d.; Sessional Papers, 1897:123). Communication with surrounding local groups was also a problem, primarily because of language differences. Until the spring of 1897, only one resident of the Stuartburn Colony, Mr. Charles (or Cyril) Genik, spoke English (Stashyn, 1936, cited in Kaye, 1964:139).

Genik, as well, served as interpreter for the immigration department in Winnipeg, and so was not available to the settlers on a full time basis. In the spring of 1897 a second interpreter was employed by the immigration department: Father Nestor Dymtriw, a Ukrainian priest. Dymtriw served all Ukrainian and Polish speaking populations throughout Manitoba (Kaye, 1964:163).

As a result of their geographic isolation and language barriers, the settlers interacted almost entirely within the colony. They became dependent upon one another for assistance (for example, in house construction), for subsistence requirements, and companionship. A third contributing factor to the formation of this isolate may have been related to the non-random nature of the immigration. Most of the settlers were already well acquainted with their neighbours. In many cases they were relatives and old friends. As well, the colonists shared similar customs and mutually intelligible languages. Such a tendency of immigrant populations to isolation has been expressed by Hamilton (1938:454).

Many ... immigrants settle in enclaves; do not learn English; ... and marry among their own people.

The colony was not entirely isolated. A few male settlers obtained temporary work on neighbourhood farms during the harvest season in the fall (Kaye, 1964:143). As well, "a number have been promised work on Threshing-machines intending to work near Dominion City" (Wendlebo, 1896b, cited in Kaye, 1964:141).

Marunchak (1970:39) claims that, "... the new settlers had ample chances to get harvest work in the neighbourhood states of Minnesota and North Dakota". There is no evidence to indicate that the colonists took advantage of this opportunity. Some may have crossed the border into northern Minnesota, however, it is doubtful that men would travel the distance to North Dakota when their primary concern was to construct homesteads and cultivate garden plots in preparation for winter.

To obtain necessities, the settlers also dug "snakeroot" which was used in the preparation of medicine.

They

not only traded snakeroots for sugar and flour, but paid for their wagons, plows, cows, shirts and shoes (Marunchak, 1970:39).

The attitude of the government, the media, and the consequent reactions of the general public, served to alienate the settlement. Ukrainians and Poles found themselves "congregated in population islands, closed and separate" (Turek, 1967:73). The settlers were concerned primarily with obtaining deeds to homesteads and constructing dwellings before winter. As previously mentioned, the immigrants who arrived in August were able to supply necessities through temporary employment and the snakeroot industry. They had sufficient time to prepare for winter. Several families without means arrived late in the fall after the harvest when employment was scarce. Carstens (1896, cited in Kaye, 1964:149), an immigration official,

discouraged several of these newcomers from travelling the relatively short distance to the Mennonite colony at Rosenfeld for work because:

... these people are so very poorly provided with clothing, wholly inadequate against our severe winter...

As a result, the Manitoba Government was forced to supply large quantities of flour and potatoes. Kaye (1964:146-147) includes a list of settlers who required assistance, details their circumstances and indicates the amount of support received from the government. These actions raised questions among officials and the media as to the "desirability" of the Galician immigrants (Sessional Papers, 1897; Turek, 1967:35). One Winnipeg newspaper, whose editor resented the use of government money to support the immigrants, published the following editorial comment claiming it expressed the opinions of the English speaking public. "It cannot be too emphatically repeated that the people of Manitoba want no such settlers as these Galicians" (cited in Marunchak, 1970:74-75). The problem of support was alleviated with the coming of spring 1897 when

... men left the colony to earn cash that was badly needed to buy cows, implements, and supplies for their families, especially since there was a shortage of seed grain and potatoes in Stuartburn (Kaye, 1964:167).

The Galician immigrants, however, were still regarded as highly undesirable. As an example, in the spring of 1897 the settlers requested that more land sections in

the area be opened for homesteading (ibid:161). In a cable to Ottawa the High Commissioner for Canada expressed the following concern:

I might say that it would be just as well that these lands should not be made open for entry at the Land Office here, because if this is done there is no doubt speculators down in that district will at once apply in order, if possible, to shut out the Galicians. ... You must bear in mind that there is a very strong aversion on the part of the English-speaking people to allowing those Galicians to come into their districts, and I have got to devise all sorts of means to circumvent their actions (Commissioner, 1897, cited in Kaye, 1964:160-161).

In approximately 1898, an unfortunate incident in Stuart-burn provoked anti-Galician sentiments - two local settlers murdered a Ukrainian family (Marunchak, 1970:75). Public opinion, encouraged by newspaper headlines such as "Galician Murderers", demanded that they be hanged and fierce criticism was heard in parliament and the media (ibid:75ff). In later years, when the migration of young Poles (second or third generation) to the urban centers began, many changed their surnames

...and adopted characteristics to give the impression that the bearers were not from a despised minority group (Turek, 1967:254).

Lysenko (1947:25) reports the same trend among Ukrainian youth.

The only obvious differences between the Poles and Ukrainians in the early years of settlement were language and religion (Turek, 1967:54). Both groups from Galicia were Catholic, though the Poles adhered to the Latin rite

and the Ukrainians practised Greek ritual. Bukowinian Ukrainians were generally Greek Orthodox (Kaye, 1964:xxiv).

As the settlers became better established and the population grew, increasing the relative numbers of Poles and Ukrainians, underlying hostility began to be voiced. Antagonism was most often expressed in avoidance and name-calling. Several Polish residents of Tolstoi indicated that, as children, they were referred to as "roasted Pollock" and "burned out Pollock" by their Ukrainian peers.

The Poles were in the minority. Turek (1967:56) estimates that in rural Manitoba communities Ukrainians outnumbered Poles 2.5 to 1. This fact, in conjunction with proximity of residence and the isolation of the settlement, caused assimilation of the Poles by the Ukrainians, claims Turek (ibid:66). This was especially noticeable in language as the number of Ukrainian speakers substantially exceeded the number of persons claiming Ukrainian ancestry (ibid:67). The assimilation process and associated Polish attitudes first became evident in the Polish press in Winnipeg, which condemned what it referred to as "Ukrainization" or "de-nationalization" (ibid:66). Consequently, the Polish farm population developed a

...certain prostration, a lessening of ambitions, and a weakening of resilience, which could not be noticed in the urban centers (ibid:56).

This represents a reversal of the situation in Galicia, where although the Poles were in a minority in the east, they were the dominant ethnic group.

On the other hand, the Ukrainians harboured a resentment toward Polish people in general for the discrimination suffered in Galicia. In the early years of the twentieth century

... a separatist national movement, ill disposed toward Poles, existed already but only among the educated classes of the Ukrainian population, it did not yet reach deeply into the masses of peasants to make difficult their co-existence with Poles either in the Galician villages or on the Canadian prairies (ibid:153).

Religious struggles. The first major incident which embittered relations between the two groups concerned religion (ibid:153). Religious faith was an important and integral part of the settlers' existence (Marunchak, 1970: 99; Skwarok, 1959:16), and both nationalities were anxious to establish churches immediately upon arrival in Stuartburn, especially the Greek Catholics who had no religious freedom in Galicia. At first there were no Greek Catholic priests, so all settlers relied on travelling Roman Catholic clergy to perform services, marriages, baptisms and funerals (Yuzyk, 1953:74). In the spring of 1897 the first Ukrainian priest visited Stuartburn and in August a Greek Catholic parish was established (Kaye, 1964:164ff; Marunchak, 1970: 100), although a church was not completed until 1903 (Kaye, 1964:172; Yuzyk, 1953:72). Despite repeated appeals to the Manitoba government, the Stuartburn Greek Catholics

were still without a resident priest and continued to depend on visiting Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholicism was hated by the Ukrainians who identified it with "Polish" and the "enemy" (Turek, 1967: 153; Yuzyk, 1953:70). As Scott (1927:28) reports:

Owing to the fact that they have for centuries been held in political subjection by the Latin Poles, the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) are inclined to distrust all Latin Catholics. To many of them, every Latin Catholic is a Pole, one of their hereditary enemies. They are in constant fear of being Latinised.

In 1900, when the Greek Catholic Ukrainians in Manitoba appealed to the church hierarchy in Lviv, Galicia for priests, they were advised to accept the services of the Roman Catholic clergy (Young, 1931:134). A few priests were sent to Manitoba (ibid:134), but some were Roman Catholics who converted to the Greek rite to satisfy the settlers' requirements (Yuzyk, 1953:72). In 1901 the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Manitoba demanded that all Greek Catholic churches and property be transferred to their corporation (Marunchak, 1970:104). To gain justification for the transfer, Polish Latin priests tried to convert Greek Catholics and

...undermine the settlers' confidence in their own religion by belittling and slandering Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic priests in Canada. This led to the rejuvenation of the old sentiments left over from the fierce religious warfare that went on for years between Ukrainian and Polish people in the old country (ibid:104).

The Ukrainians protested the take over strongly and many, fearing "Latinization" of their church, deserted Greek Catholicism.

The destitute religious condition of these people and the undercurrent of their antipathy to anything savouring of the Roman Church, proved rich soil for the work of two religious movements which started at this time: the first, the Russian Orthodox Church began with a nucleus of Bukovinian Ukrainians but soon derived considerable support from the adherents of the Greek Catholic Church; and the second, the Independent Greek Church with its sensational though somewhat abortive career (Young, 1931:135).

In 1912 the Roman Catholic hierarchy, unable to cope with Ukrainian protests, relinquished their claim to the Greek Church and it became independent (ibid:136). The action was too late to halt the conversion of many Greek Catholics to other religions.

In 1902 an Independent Greek Church was founded and built by former Greek Catholics near Tolstoi. It burned down in 1925 and was never reconstructed (Bially, n.d.). Other disenchanted Greek Catholics joined the Russian Orthodox faith. However, Russia withdrew its support in 1917 and the church in Canada disintegrated (Yuzyk, 1953:74). The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, founded in 1918 (ibid:74), drew its membership from among the Greek Catholics and former followers of the Independent Greek and Russian Orthodox religions. A bitter quarrel developed between the remaining Greek Catholics and the newly formed Ukrainian Greek Orthodox congregation in Tolstoi, who both claimed ownership of the (originally) Greek Catholic church built in 1903 (Young, 1931:136); Yuzyk, 1953:74). Violence was precipitated when "inflammatory articles, inciting the members of the warring factions, were distributed wholesale" (Young, 1931:142). In 1925 the debate reached the Winnipeg law courts where it was contested until 1927 (Young, 1931:142; Yuzyk, 1953:74). When the Greek Catholics won the decision the church mysteriously

burned down a week later (ibid). Later that year Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches were constructed in Tolstoi at opposite sides of town.

Education. Education was another major concern of the early settlers. The basic problem was a lack of facilities, as schools in the area were inaccessible to a large number of students (Kaye, 1964:172; Skwarok, 1959). In about 1901 a petition was sent to provincial authorities requesting that schools be established in the colony. The application was denied and the settlers advised to approach their municipality of Franklin. Again the request was denied. As a result, the residents established their own municipality of Stuartburn in 1902 thus obtaining jurisdiction over education (Kaye, 1964:173). Between 1905 and 1908 nine rural schools were built (ibid).

The language of instruction posed another problem. The settlers were not adverse to learning English, however, they (particularly the Ukrainians) opposed its exclusive use. Two arguments have been advanced as explanation for the Ukrainian position. Yuzyk (1953:145) states

Mistakenly they considered the situation analagous to the one in Galicia where the ascendent Poles forced Polish schools on the Ukrainians...

Marunchak (1970:115) presents a more plausible explanation.

The settlers and their children could not speak English, therefore it was impossible for a teacher without the knowledge of Ukrainian to carry on his work.

Further, he states, Ukrainians opposed the exclusive use of English

...only because the settlers entertained reasonable fears that in the course of receiving instruction solely in English their children could be alienated from their parents and their cultural heritage (ibid:116).

In response to the demands for bilingual instructors the government of Manitoba opened a special Teachers College in Winnipeg in 1904 (ibid:117).

It appears that the curriculum used in Stuartburn schools was varied, containing English, Polish and Ukrainian elements (Kaye, 1964:173-174).

The situation in Galicia and reactions in Manitoba. Persecution of Galician Ukrainians was intensified in the early years of World War One when a pro-Russian movement was gaining considerable support among the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. The Polish administration, ordered by the Austrian Emperor to dispose of Russian agents, used the opportunity as an excuse to purge the Ukrainian population (Yaremko, 1967:202). Further, Austria's defeat in Russia was blamed on the Ukrainians and many were executed or imprisoned (ibid:202).

In 1918, the Polish government informed Austria that they planned to assume complete control of Galician affairs (ibid:209). Fearing Polish military strength, Austria announced that the Ukrainians would take over the provincial administration in 1919 (ibid:210). War broke out in Lwiv between the two groups, both claiming the right to rule Galicia, and the city changed hands

twice in 1919 (Horak, 1961; Yaremko, 1967:211). However, the Council of Ambassadors in 1923 proclaimed Poland the official government in Galicia. "Polonization programs" were intensified and such slogans as "Destroy the Ruthenians", and "Not a foot of land to the Ukrainians" became popular (Hallgren, 1930; Horak, 1961; Yaremko, 1967:218ff). Persecution of the Ukrainians continued through the 1930's (Horak, 1961; Yaremko, 1967:241).

In spite of severe press restrictions imposed by the Polish rulers, news of the terrorism reached the rest of the world (Yaremko, 1967:241). The Ukrainians in Tolstoi raised and sent money and supplies to aid the Ukrainian movement in their former villages. Young (1931:152) in The Ukrainian Canadians reported:

Almost all have rallied to the cause of an independent Ukraine, and their interest in the movement has not been a mere dilettantism but a lively allegiance reinforced by the glamour which attaches to the memory of the homeland and of things familiar in the past. Denied the opportunity of fighting in Europe, some have resorted to quarrelling over these things with the Poles here.

Violent incidents occurred between the two groups in a few Manitoba rural settlements (Turek, 1967:302). In Tolstoi, the Ukrainians rejected anything distinctly Polish, especially language. Communication between the two nationalities was conducted in English or Ukrainian. If Polish was spoken in their presence the Ukrainians pretended ignorance.

In the years since, "a marked pacification of minds has gradually taken place...and a tacitly accepted armistice

has come into force" (Turek, 1967:155). Relations between the two groups were, and still are, limited primarily to private friendships and business transactions (ibid:247) and conversations between members of the two nationalities are conducted in English or Ukrainian. Each has their own exclusive institutions, including churches, Halls, and ethnic celebrations (ibid). An attempt was made in Tolstoi in 1961 to unite the two nationalities through a womans' organization. However, the Ukrainians withdrew after two meetings, claiming that the Polish members were trying to anglicize them.¹

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This information was provided by a resident of Tolstoi who wishes to remain anonymous.

CHAPTER III
DATA PRESENTATION

Demographic research was carried out in Tolstoi, Manitoba and at the University of Manitoba from June 1970 to June 1971 under the supervision of Dr. D. A. Rokala of the Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the sources of data and the methodology utilized in the field and laboratory, and to present and discuss the author's findings with respect to marriage patterns as exhibited in the Tolstoi region between 1896 and 1970.

DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Field

All available records from the three churches in Tolstoi were collected. The Roman Catholic registers contained information on baptisms, marriages and deaths from 1896 to the present. Each baptism entry reported the child's name, birthdate and place, date and place of baptism, names of parents (mother's maiden name) and the signatures of witnesses. In some instances, primarily between 1896 and 1914, father's occupation and the ethnic affiliation of both parents were specified. Marriage records included the names, birthdates, birthplaces, parents' names (mothers' surname) and the premarital residences of

the bride and groom, marriage date and location, licence number and whether papal dispensation for the union was sought. Death registrations listed the names of the deceased, parents and spouse, age at death, the date, cause and place of death, and in some cases birthdate and place of the deceased. Frequently details were reported on the marriages and deaths of individuals who were born in the area but had subsequently emigrated.

The Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox registers were not as instructive or complete. The majority of the early records containing information on members of both congregations were destroyed by fire in January 1927.¹ The few baptism entries which survived were made available to the author by the Greek Catholic Chancellory in Winnipeg. The Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic registers utilized in the study therefore, cover the time period 1927 to 1970.

As a result of the record loss it was necessary to rely on the Roman Catholic registers and personal interviews for data on marriages occurring between 1896 and 1927. The major consequence of this - differential sampling of Polish unions for the missing years - was not as serious as at first suspected. Early Ukrainian settlers in the Tolstoi area relied heavily on the services of local Roman Catholic clergy (Young, 1931; Yuzyk, 1953). As a result, many events occurring within the Ukrainian

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See chapter II p. 37 for a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the fire.

population during this time were reported in the Tolstoi Roman Catholic books. Examination of these registers revealed that, where ethnicity was specified, many entries involved only Ukrainian individuals. As well, names appearing in the Roman Catholic books prior to 1927 were found in the Greek Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox records in later years.

In comparison with the Roman Catholic registers the content of the Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox records differed in three details. First, baptism entries contained no indication of ethnicity. Second, marriage records included the age, not the birthdate, of the marital pair. Third, the registers were written in Ukrainian, which necessitated the use of a translator.

All listings in the registers of the three churches were arranged in chronological order, suggesting that the entry was made immediately or shortly after the event, thus minimizing error in reporting (Henry, 1968:64).

Demographic data were also accumulated through personal interviews with thirty-three of the fifty-three residents of Tolstoi. In each household an attempt was made to question the following persons:

- 1) household head
- 2) wife of household head
- 3) parents of the above if present in the household

- 4) any related individual who by virtue of his or her position in the family genealogy could contribute additional information (ie. individuals). This excluded unmarried children of the household head and wife who were adequately represented in their parents' interviews.
- 5) persons resident in the dwelling who were not related to either the household head or his wife.

The structure of the interview schedule allowed that if each person cited above (with the exception of number five) was consulted in private, and the data obtained compared with the appropriate entries in the church records, there would be a substantial overlap in information. Repetition of the same details by different individuals was used as a check on the accuracy of the data.

It was not possible to interview every individual who fit the above criteria. Of the seven persons who were omitted, six would not grant permission and one was chronically ill. Details concerning their marriages were obtained from their spouses and/or the church registers. Three additional persons were excluded because in each case a relative was present in Tolstoi who had kept complete written records of family activities over the years, and who made these family histories available to the author.

The interview schedule was constructed following the family genealogical method outlined by Bodmer and Cavalli-

Sforza (1967) and Bunak (1967). It was designed to elicit demographic facts on four generations - one ascending and two descending. Information solicited about the index case and his parents, siblings, spouse and progeny concerned birth, marriage, death, migration, occupation and education. Birthdates, names and sex of grandchildren, nephews and nieces were collected. Data obtained for parental siblings included name (husband's surname if female) and residence of living. The interview schedule utilized is reproduced in Appendix I.

Laboratory

Laboratory procedure involved the organization and analysis of the data collected in the field. All sources of information for one individual were linked in an attempt to reconstruct individual demographic histories and, from them, consanguineous and affinal relationships through time. In this manner it was possible to partially or totally reconstruct 1543 nuclear families. At least one member of every family had resided in the Tolstoi area for a time, between 1896 and 1970.

Details on marriages considered to be informative for purposes of the present study were then extracted. Marriages were selected for analysis on the basis of four criteria:

- 1) First marriage for both partners - subsequent unions were excluded because considerations of no great importance in the selection of a first mate become influential on remarriage.

- 2) Date of marriage - the date was necessary for exposure of changes in the pattern over time.
- 3) One or both partners had resided, at some time, in the Tolstoi area.
- 4) Information on parameters under consideration was complete for both partners.

The records of 360 marriages, or 91.13% of all known first marriages, fit the above criteria. Each marriage was included in the analysis of one or more variables, the frequency of use dependent on the amount of information available for the marital pair. Sample sizes by twenty year interval for each parameter under consideration are presented in Table VI.

Definitions

Area endogamy - A distinction was made between "in area" (i.e. premarital residences of both partners were within a defined geographical region) and "out area" marriages. The Tolstoi region was demarcated by the villages in which the majority of the population had emigrated from Galicia during the same time period and under similar circumstances. The villages within the region bordered by the following points were designated "in area" and those outside, "out area": Senkiw, Ridgeville, U. S. border, Sundown and Zhoda.

TABLE VI
SAMPLE SIZES FOR PARAMETERS
BY TWENTY YEAR INTERVAL 1896-1970
(Number of Marriages)

| Parameter | 1896- 1915 | 1916- 1935 | 1936- 1955 | 1956- 1970 | Total Sample |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Age | 164 | 32 | 73 | 30 | 299 |
| Area Endogamy: | | | | | |
| Premarital Residence | 146 | 24 | 52 | 29 | 251 |
| Premarital Residence and Birthplace | 78 | 10 | 26 | 16 | 130 |
| Ethnic Endogamy: | | | | | |
| Poles | 25 | 8 | 14 | 11 | 58 |
| Ukrainians | 48 | 15 | 31 | 14 | 108 |
| Ethnic and Area Endogamy | 56 | 19 | 27 | 16 | 118 |
| Religious Endogamy | 10 | 10 | 6 | 1 | 27 |
| Utilized Marriages | 167 | 42 | 107 | 44 | 360 |

An estimation of area endogamy involving both birth-place and premarital residence was also calculated. For the years 1896 to 1915 a marriage in which both partners were born in Eastern Galicia and had resided in the Tolstoi area premaritally was designated "in area". There were several reasons for this. The majority of the original settlers were from a small Polish-Ukrainian area of Eastern Galicia (Kaye, 1964:136; Marunchak, 1970:39), frequently from the same villages (Kaye, 1964:65; Yuzyk, 1953:47). In essence, the settlers would be marrying within the population of one small geographic territory although the number of potential mates was reduced substantially. Only those marriage entries in which district of birth was specified for both partners were used.

Ethnic endogamy - Marriages were included in the analysis if the reported ethnicity of the parents of each partner were the same. Unions in which one partner was of mixed ethnic heritage were discussed separately. This was done to overcome problems in the definition of ethnic affiliation and to avoid biasing the results. For example, there is a greater probability that individuals of mixed ethnic background would meet and associate with members of both ethnic groups than individuals whose parents were homogeneous ethnically.

Three ethnic groups were distinguished in the calculations - Polish, Ukrainian and Other. "Other" refers to all ethnic groups other than Polish or Ukrainian. The sample size in each case was not sufficient to warrant greater ethnic differentiation. As only those marriages were used in which ethnicity was specified for both partners it was possible to define the marriage as endogamous or exogamous. An endogamous marriage refers to one in which bride and groom share common ethnic affiliation. All other combinations are exogamous.

Nature of the population - A distinction was made between rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban populations. Current definitions of these terms are based on two demographic variables - absolute size, and density of settlement (Larson, 1968:582). The 1966 Canadian census defines urban aggregates as "all cities, towns and villages of 1000 or more population ... " (D.B.S., 1970-71:220). The remainder of the population is classified as rural (ibid). Rural farm areas in the 1966 census comprised

...all persons living on holdings of one or more acres with sales of agricultural products of \$50 or more in the previous year (ibid:221).

Rural non-farm communities, then, are distinguished from rural farm and urban populations by three criteria.

- 1) higher density than farm areas, but
- 2) under 1000 population
- 3) holdings of less than one acre and/or sale of agricultural produce of under \$50 per annum.

Tolstoi itself may be referred to as a rural non-farm community.

Marunchak (1970:356) describes the development of what he defines as rural-urban settlements.

When we consider the urbanization tendencies of the Ukrainian settlers, it may be worth to underline another social phenomenon which must be looked for in the relationship between the city and the village, or rather between city and farm. This is the so-called rural-urban settlement which contained both, the city and country elements. Urbanized centres have come into being in the larger and more densely populated Ukrainian settlements. These were helped by the handy railroad lines and, later on, by well built highways. Beside each railroad station, elevators were built, a store or two opened for business and the inevitable restaurant-hotel establishment as a matter of course. ...Such rural-urban centres were of immense help to the settlers on Canadian prairies in meeting social needs. The rural-urban centres were formed among Ukrainian colonies throughout the west. As example we refer to a few of them such as ... Tolstoi

TOLSTOI 1970: AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION

Aggregate populations may be classified as young, mature or aged. The United Nations (1956:7) defines a population as aged if eight percent or more of its members are sixty-five years of age or over. The age and sex structure of Tolstoi on July 1, 1970, presented in Table VII and Figure 4, indicates that 38.08% of the residents were sixty-five years or more. An alternate system (Taylor, 1966) classifies populations as young or aged by the proportion of the population in each of the categories: pre-reproductive (0-14 years), reproductive (15-44 years) and post-reproductive (45 years and over).

In a young, dynamic population, the majority of individuals would be under fourteen and the smallest proportion over forty-five (ibid). This situation is reversed in Tolstoi where only 5.66% of the residents are in their pre-reproductive years and 83.12% are post-reproductive.

The age and sex composition of a population at any point in time is a consequence of the social and demographic history of the population. Several reasons may be proposed to explain the aged quality of the Tolstoi population. These must remain speculative as no information is available on the age/sex structure of the village over time.

The age composition of the Tolstoi population on July 1, 1970 may be a result of demographic processes initiated by particular historical events and the rural and ethnic character of the village. All foreign immigration to Canada decreased rapidly after 1921 (Kalbach & McVey, 1971:137; Kogler, 1966:17); as a result, ethnic groups resident in Canada "aged" eleven years between 1921 and 1941, in comparison with 3.4 years for the native born population (Kalbach & McVey, 1971:137). In the Tolstoi area, the mass immigration begun in 1896, slowed during the early twentieth century and had stopped by 1914.

A second contributing factor was the rural to urban migration affecting young working people between the ages of twenty and forty-four. In 1961, the age/sex pyramid

TABLE VII

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION BY FIVE YEAR INTERVAL
TOLSTOI POPULATION JULY 1, 1970

| Age Intervals | Male | | Female | | Males per 100 Females |
|---------------|------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| | n | % | n | % | |
| 0- 4 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5- 9 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 10-14 | 2 | 3.774 | 1 | 1.887 | 200.00 |
| 15-19 | 2 | 3.774 | 1 | 1.887 | 200.00 |
| 20-24 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 25-29 | 1 | 1.887 | 1 | 1.887 | 100.00 |
| 30-34 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 35-39 | - | - | 1 | 1.887 | - |
| 40-44 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 45-49 | 2 | 3.774 | 6 | 11.321 | 33.33 |
| 50-54 | 4 | 7.547 | 1 | 1.887 | 400.00 |
| 55-59 | 2 | 3.774 | 3 | 5.660 | 66.67 |
| 60-64 | 3 | 5.660 | 6 | 11.321 | 50.00 |
| 65-69 | 1 | 1.887 | 2 | 3.774 | 50.00 |
| 70-74 | 5 | 9.434 | 5 | 9.434 | 100.00 |
| 75+ | 3 | 5.660 | 1 | 1.887 | 300.00 |
| Total | 25 | 47.170 | 28 | 52.830 | 89.29 |

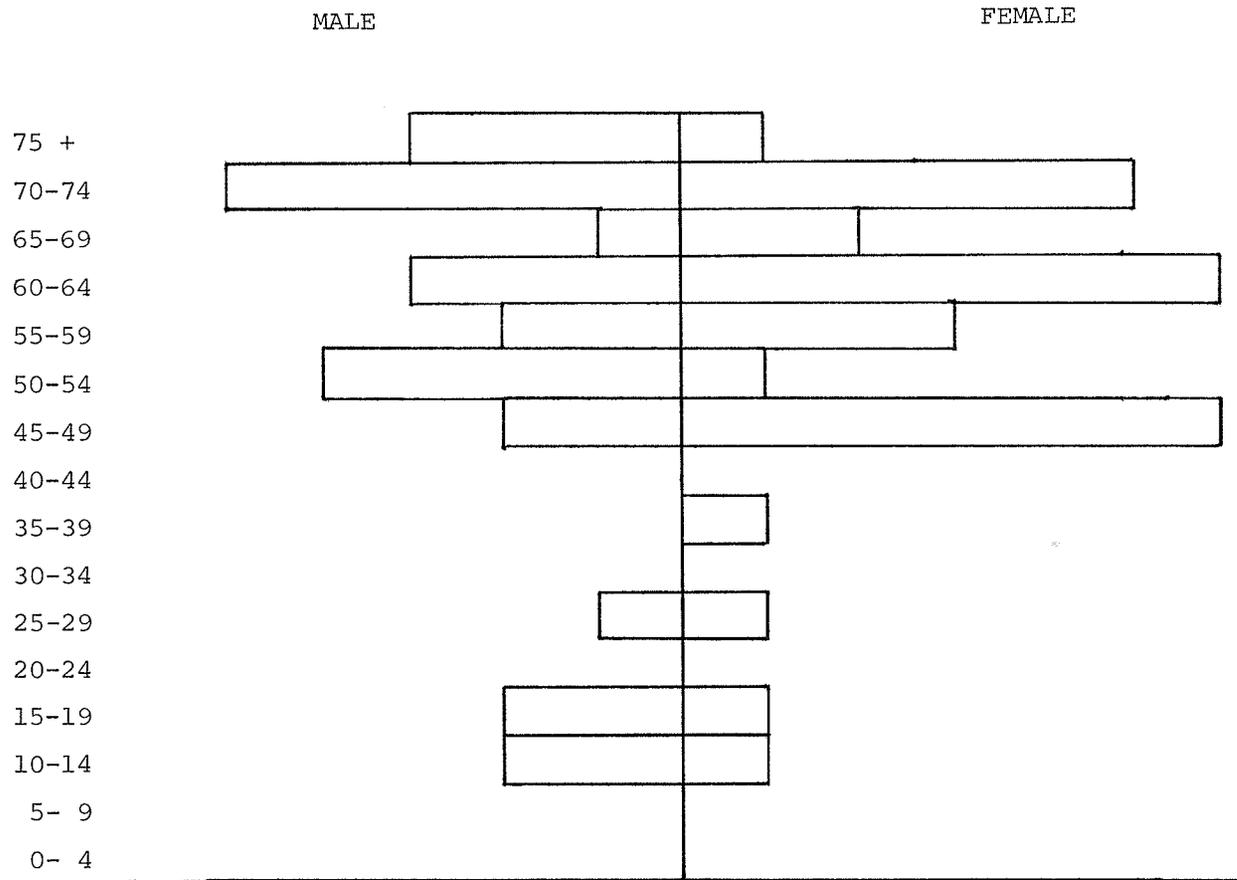


FIGURE 4.

AGE AND SEX PYRAMID BY FIVE YEAR INTERVAL

TOLSTOI POPULATION

July 1, 1970

Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$ " 1%

of rural groups in Canada showed a substantial depression in this category, while urban centers exhibited a corresponding increase (ibid:23). In 1941, 54.3% of the Canadian population and 49.3% of the Polish population were living in urban centers. These figures rose to 69.6% and 76.0% respectively in 1961 (Kogler, 1966:17). Kalbach (1966:59) found that the Ukrainian urban migration rate was also higher than the Canadian national figure. Data collected during interviews with Tolstoi residents indicate that the majority of their children born in the area between 1926 and 1950 now live in urban environments. Yuzyk (1953: 39) documents the trend among Ukrainian youth between 1936 and 1946, and Turek (1967:87) describes the same tendency among young Poles in the decade 1941 to 1951.

A third explanation concerns the purpose served by Tolstoi in the area. Since its inception in 1905 Tolstoi has been a rural, non-farm community providing services - recreational, religious and material - to the surrounding farm population. It has also been a place of retirement for farmers in the region, and to a lesser, but still significant extent, for persons who were born in the area, emigrated, and upon retirement returned. By moving to the town in later life, residents of the area spend their remaining years in a familiar environment. It is possible, therefore, that the population of Tolstoi has always been

aged to some extent and that continuous movement to the village on retirement, either from surrounding farms or elsewhere, has kept, and will keep, Tolstoi viable. During the duration of the present study, several persons upon retirement joined sons and daughters in urban centers. At present, however, this does not appear to affect the majority.

Three of the five businesses operating in Tolstoi have been owned by one family for two generations. It does not appear that children of the present owners are enthusiastic about inheriting the businesses, and indeed, in each case they have other occupational interests. If this practice is indicative of future trends, it could necessitate utilization of such larger centers as Vita for material needs.

The aged quality of the Tolstoi population, therefore, can be seen as a result of three major factors:

- 1) the reduction in immigration to the area in the early twentieth century.
- 2) rural (farm and non-farm) to urban migration of young working people.
- 3) rural farm to rural non-farm migration upon retirement.

The sex ratio in Canadian rural non-farm communities in 1966 showed an excess of males, especially in the older age categories and on the prairies (Kalbach & McVey, 1971: 117,15,123). In 1961 the Canadian census also indicated a

numerical preponderance of males in ethnic groups (ibid:166). Kogler (1966:20) and Kalbach (1966:59) document a predominance of males in the Ukrainian and Polish Canadian populations since the early 1900s. With aging, the imbalance in 1961 was more striking in the older age categories (ibid). The sex ratio in Tolstoi in 1970 was 89.29 males per 100 females (Table VII). The ratio, however, was based on a total population of only fifty-three individuals and is thus very sensitive to minor fluctuations.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

The age at which individuals first marry is influenced by prevalent social preferences and the demographic composition of the population. In a isolated situation the age and sex structure of the population is the most important determinant (Moore, 1959:840). Differential birth, death or immigration rates in favour of one sex, for example, will reduce the number of available potential mates and may, as a result, influence age at marriage. Changes in age at marriage over time may be indicative of demographic and social changes experienced by a population. With regard to other demographic parameters, for a population in which the majority of reproductive behavior occurs within wedlock, the female age at first marriage has important consequences for fertility (Phelps & Henderson, 1958:235).

The mean, median and range of age at first marriage for both males and females was calculated by twenty year interval from 1896 to 1970. As well, the mean and median age deviation and range of age difference between marital partners were computed for the same time period. The results are presented in Table VIII.

During the early years of settlement in Manitoba (1896-1915) the mean age at marriage was 17.79 for females and 24.12 for males. The mean age difference between bride and groom was 6.49 years, the male being older. Median age and age deviation reflect a similar trend to young marriage. There are several possible explanations for this trend.

A primary reason for leaving Galicia was land shortage (Kaye, 1964:xiii). Repeated subdivisions and increasing population density eventually resulted (in the mid-nineteenth century) in inheritances which could not support a small family, forcing young men to gain their livelihood elsewhere or, in later years, to emigrate (Yaremko, 1967: 102). Traditional practices dictated that occupation of land was a preliminary to marriage, as land promised subsistence. Parents were probably hesitant to arrange marriages for their daughters with men whose economic futures were considered unstable. Under these conditions we may hypothesize that marriage was delayed in Galicia in the middle to late 1800's.

Connell (1968:113) found that land legislation, increased population, and famine in early and mid-twentieth century Ireland caused people to marry at a later age. To escape the crisis many young persons emigrated (ibid:115-116). In the middle 1800's when land was available, the age at marriage was appreciably lower (ibid:113).

The relatively low age at first marriage in the early years of settlement in the Tolstoi area may have been caused by the sudden availability of large amounts of land for subsistence, the need for a woman to run the household, and the unbalanced sex ratio.

During the interval from 1916 to 1935 the average age at marriage for females increased by 2.02 years. The mean age of the groom rose by 3.01 years while the mean age difference increased by only 1.14 years. Median age for both males and females and median age deviation also increased although not as substantially. In contrast, the range in male and female age at first marriage decreased. The reduction in both cases was due to a decrease in the older ages at first marriage. For example, between 1896 and 1915 the eldest age for bride and groom was 41 and 45 respectively. In the next twenty years the oldest bride was 29 and groom, 37. Immigration to the area by this time was halted, both by World War I and because most of the homesteads were already claimed (Kaye, 1964). The population

TABLE VIII

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE
MEAN, MEDIAN, RANGE FOR MALE, FEMALE AND AGE DEVIATION
BY TWENTY YEAR INTERVAL: 1896-1970

| Age | 1896-1915 N=164 | 1916-1935 N=32 | 1936-1955 N=73 | 1956-1970 N=30 |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Mean:</u> | | | | |
| Male | 24.12 | 27.13 | 27.66 | 24.27 |
| Female | 17.79 | 19.81 | 21.29 | 21.07 |
| Age Deviation | +6.49 | +7.63 | +6.64 | +3.70 |
| <u>Median:</u> | | | | |
| Male | 24 | 26 | 26 | 25 |
| Female | 17 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| Age Deviation | +6 | +7 | +5 | +3 |
| <u>Range:</u> | | | | |
| Male | 18-45 | 17-37 | 18-44 | 18-32 |
| Female | 12-41 | 14-29 | 16-39 | 16-31 |
| Age Deviation | -9-+27 | -5-+23 | -4-+19 | -4-+8 |

may have been returning to what were regarded as "normal" patterns and males, on the average, were delaying marriage until their finances and land holdings were adequate to provide for a growing family.

From 1936 to 1955 age difference dropped, male age remained relatively stable and female age continued to rise (about 1.5 years). The average age of bridegrooms (27.66) was equal to the Canadian mean male age at first marriage in 1941 (D.B.S., 1969). Average age of brides was about three years younger than the national average (ibid).

Between 1956 and 1970, while mean female age dropped slightly (.22 years), the average age of grooms decreased substantially - 3.39 years to 24.2. In Manitoba, median age for men at first marriage fell from 24.4 in 1956 to 23.6 in 1966 (D.B.S., 1966:204). The median age of brides (21 in the same fifteen year period), paralleled the Manitoba median in 1966 (ibid). Mean age difference in the Tolstoi area diminished appreciably from 6.64 (male older) between 1936 and 1955, to 3.70 in the next fifteen year interval.

The rural to urban migration of young, primarily single persons began around 1940 and continued to gather momentum until the great majority left the area following completion of their schooling. Increased contact with

peers in urban centers was probably a major contributing factor to the age decline discussed above.

RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMY

Precise information on the religious affiliation of both bride and groom was available for only 27 marriages over the time period studied. Although the sample size is extremely small, it should be noted that 24 or 88.89% of the unions occurred between persons of the same religion. This does not deviate substantially from the overall Canadian picture (D.B.S., 1965:Table XII).

AREA ENDOGAMY

For any population, a tendency to marry within one small geographic area may be a function of either imposed or desired isolation from surrounding groups. In other words, such a tendency may reflect both "social distance", as well as geographic isolation. The Tolstoi situation provides supporting evidence.

Estimates of area endogamy and exogamy in the Tolstoi area based on premarital residence appear in Table IX. During approximately the first twenty years of residence (1896-1915) in the Tolstoi region the settlers were virtually completely isolated, both culturally and geographically, from indigenous peoples (see Chapter II p. 29). As a result, 93.15% of all marriages were contracted within the area, and 79.45% involved two persons from the same town (see Table IXA).

TABLE IX
PREMARITAL RESIDENCE:
POLISH AND UKRAINIAN MARRIAGES
1896-1970

| Premarital Residences | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|--------------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Endogamous | 136 | 93.15 | 19 | 79.17 | 26 | 50.00 | 4 | 13.80 |
| Exogamous | 10 | 6.85 | 5 | 20.83 | 26 | 50.00 | 25 | 86.20 |
| Total | 146 | 100.00 | 24 | 100.00 | 52 | 100.00 | 29 | 100.00 |

TABLE IXA

BREAKDOWN OF PREMARITAL RESIDENCES

| | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| <u>ENDOGENOUS:</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Couple resided in same town - | 116 | 79.45 | 11 | 45.84 | 14 | 26.92 | 3 | 10.35 |
| Couple resided in different towns- | 20 | 13.70 | 8 | 33.33 | 12 | 23.08 | 1 | 3.45 |
| <u>EXOGENOUS:</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Bride-external premarital residence- | 2 | 1.37 | 2 | 8.33 | 6 | 11.54 | 5 | 17.24 |
| Groom-external premarital residence- | 8 | 5.48 | 1 | 4.17 | 10 | 19.23 | 4 | 13.79 |
| Both- external premarital residence- | - | - | 2 | 8.33 | 10 | 19.23 | 16 | 55.17 |
| <u>TOTAL MARRIAGES</u> - | 146 | 100.0 | 24 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 29 | 100.0 |

Between 1916 and 1935, the percentage of endogamous marriages dropped to 79.17, with a corresponding increase in exogamous unions. There was also an increasing tendency to select a mate from a different town, although within the defined Tolstoi area. These trends may be a function of improved communication and relations both within the area and with surrounding groups. As well, because of rapidly declining immigration, the number of potential mates within one's town or area may have been reduced. In this situation priority may have been given to like ethnicity, for example, rather than common area residence.

An accelerated youthful migration to urban centers, and temporary or permanent loss of males in World War II may at least partially account for the decreased incidence of area endogamy between 1936 and 1955. By 1970 the majority of unions were exogamous; the most dramatic increase being in the percentage of marriages involving non-area residents. The figure rose from 19.23% between 1936 and 1955 to 55.17% in the next fifteen years.

Table X illustrates a second measure of area endogamy based on birthplace and premarital residence.

TABLE X

AREA ENDOGAMY: BIRTHPLACE AND PREMARITAL RESIDENCE
POLISH AND UKRAINIAN MARRIAGES
1896-1970

| Year Intervals | Sample size | Endogamous n | % | Exogamous n | % |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| 1896-1935 | 88 | 74 | 84.09 | 14 | 15.91 |
| 1936-1970 | 42 | 16 | 38.10 | 26 | 61.90 |

Between 1896 and 1935, 84.09% of all sampled marriages were contracted between persons born and resident at marriage in the defined Tolstoi area. This figure decreased to 38.10% in the next 35 years. This is further evidence to support the initial hypothesis proposed at the beginning of this section.

ETHNIC ENDOGAMY

Propensity to select a mate of like ethnicity is a pattern documented for many multi-ethnic communities (e.g. Hollingshead, 1950). The 1961 Canadian census, for example, revealed that of all married couples resident in Canada, 75% involve members of the same ethnic group (Kalbach & McVey, 1971:278). The incidence of ethnic endogamy, however, varies among groups and within one group in different areas.

The probability that an individual will select a mate from within his ethnic group is dependent upon a number of factors. Several of these are:

- 1) degree of social and geographic isolation of the group under consideration from other ethnic groups
- 2) social expectations and priorities of the group, the individual and his family
- 3) compatibility of ethnic beliefs and traditions (between groups)
- 4) availability of potential mates of like ethnicity (numbers and residential propinquity)

- 5) history of past contact between groups both regionally, nationally and perhaps internationally, and the individual's experience with members of other groups.

Estimates vary on the ethnic composition of the early Tolstoi area population. Kaye (1964) states that 90% of the "Galicians" arriving in Canada after 1895 were Ukrainian and 10% Polish. Yuzyk (1953:42) estimates that 85% of the early settlers in the Stuartburn colony were Ukrainian and Turek (1967:54) claims that Ukrainians outnumbered Poles 2.5 to one upon settlement. Considering these figures, and given the fact that the early "Galician" population was isolated, and further that there was a numerical preponderance of single males, we may hypothesize that the number of potential Polish/Polish unions was lower than Ukrainian/Ukrainian combinations and therefore, that Poles would marry outside of their ethnic group more frequently than Ukrainians. Further, we would expect, assuming minimal contact with surrounding populations, that exogamous marriages would be mixed Polish and Ukrainian.

Supporting this expectation, it was found that between 1896 and 1915, 70.84% of sampled Ukrainian (Table XI) and 44.00% of sampled Polish (Table XII) marriages were endogamous and that 100% of all defined exogamous unions were mixed Polish and Ukrainian (Tables XIA & XIIA).

Turek (1967:249) in discussing the tendency of early Polish immigrants to marry within their ethnic group and community states:

...the economic immigrants brought from the old country a deeply rooted peasant belief that marriages with "strangers" are not advisable, even though these "strangers" originate from the neighbouring village not belonging to the same peasant community; and still more undesirable if they come from a different district, region, social class or nation.

Mixed ethnic marriages, then, were more likely imposed than preferred by early Polish settlers. The hostility generated in Galicia prior to emigration between the two groups may have resulted in a preference for consanguineous marriages over differing ethnicity. Investigation of the incidence of consanguinity in the Tolstoi region during the early years of settlement would be of interest.

Following World War I, hostilities between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia were rekindled (Yaremko, 1967:202). News of the conflict undoubtedly reached the Tolstoi area via personal letters and, perhaps biased, ethnic newspaper reports. As a possible result, incidence of ethnic endogamy increased during this period to 87.50% for Poles and 80.00% for Ukrainians. In comparison, this figure for Polish endogamy is slightly higher than the 1931 Canadian census national estimate of 78% (Hurd, 1937).

TABLE XI
ETHNIC ENDOGAMY: UKRAINIAN MARRIAGES
1896-1970

| Ethnicity | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Endogamous | 34 | 70.84 | 12 | 80.00 | 19 | 61.29 | 6 | 42.86 |
| Exogamous | 14 | 29.16 | 3 | 20.00 | 12 | 38.71 | 8 | 57.14 |
| Total | 48 | 100.00 | 15 | 100.00 | 31 | 100.00 | 14 | 100.00 |

TABLE XIA

BREAKDOWN OF ETHNIC EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES: UKRAINIANS

| EXOAMOUS | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Ukrainian female = Polish male | 7 | 50.0 | 1 | 33.3 | 2 | 16.67 | 1 | 12.5 |
| Ukrainian female = "Other"male | - | - | 2 | 66.7 | 3 | 25.0 | 4 | 50.0 |
| Ukrainian male = Polish female | 7 | 50.0 | - | - | 4 | 33.3 | 2 | 25.0 |
| Ukrainian male = "Other"female | - | - | - | - | 3 | 25.0 | 1 | 12.5 |
| TOTAL EXOGAMOUS | 14 | 100.0 | 3 | 100.0 | 12 | 100.0 | 8 | 100.0 |

TABLE XII
ETHNIC ENDOGAMY: POLISH MARRIAGES
1896-1970

| Ethnicity | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Endogamous | 11 | 44.00 | 7 | 87.50 | 7 | 50.00 | 1 | 9.09 |
| Exogamous | 14 | 56.00 | 1 | 12.50 | 7 | 50.00 | 10 | 90.91 |
| Total | 25 | 100.00 | 8 | 100.00 | 14 | 100.00 | 11 | 100.00 |

TABLE XIIA

BREAKDOWN OF ETHNIC EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES: POLES

| EXOGAMOUS | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | N | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Polish female=Ukrainian male | 7 | 50.0 | - | - | 4 | 57.1 | 2 | 20.0 |
| Polish female="Other" male | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 30.0 |
| Polish male =Ukrainian female | 7 | 50.0 | 1 | 100.0 | 2 | 28.6 | 1 | 10.0 |
| Polish male ="Other" female | - | - | - | - | 1 | 14.3 | 4 | 40.0 |
| TOTAL EXOGAMOUS | 14 | 100.0 | 1 | 100.0 | 7 | 100.0 | 10 | 100.0 |

While the majority of Ukrainian marriages remained endogamous from 1936 to 1955, marriages between Poles and persons of unlike ethnicity rose to 50.00%. As well, although the greater proportion of exogamous unions, in both cases, still involved Poles and Ukrainians, there was a marked tendency on the part of the latter to select mates of "Other" ethnic origin.

By 1970 the majority of marriages for both groups were exogamous. However, differences between Polish and Ukrainian figures are marked. Between 1956 and 1970, 57.14% of marriages involving Ukrainians and 90.91% of those involving Poles were exogamous. In comparison, Canadian census data for 1961 revealed that 74.50% of all Polish Canadian born husbands were living with wives of differing ethnic background (Kalbach & McVey, 1971:278). The census, however, does not discriminate time of marriage. The variance may be a function of the size of the appropriate ethnic population or religious factors.

Individuals from the Tolstoi area contracting first marriages between 1956 and 1970 would be second or third generation Canadian born. Glick (1970:292) reports that the tendency toward homogeneous ethnic marriages in the United States decreases with length of residence. He found that in 1960, 62% of first and 39% of second generation immigrants selected mates of like ethnicity. The Tolstoi data lend support to this thesis for Canada.

Regarding family influence and definition of an individual's ethnic affiliation, it is interesting to note that of the 26 marriages contracted between 1896 and 1970 involving one partner of mixed Polish/Ukrainian background, 20 or 76.92% followed father's ethnic affiliation when choosing a mate.

AREA AND ETHNIC ENDOGAMY

The analysis of area endogamy revealed a pronounced tendency to marry within the Tolstoi area during the first 35 years of settlement. As well, there was a similar tendency toward ethnic endogamy.

Table XIII illustrates that for the first 20 years of residence the majority of sampled marriages were classified as "in-ethnic" and "within-area". As well, more weddings occurred between persons of dissimilar ethnic background than differing area, the percentages being 21.43 and 5.36 respectively. As suggested previously, this trend may have been a function of isolation and unavailability of potential like-ethnic mates. That 3.57% of the sampled unions in this period were defined as exogamous for both parameters is interesting in this regard.

The percentage of unions classified as "within-area" and "in-ethnic" decreased to 63.16% from 1916 to 1935, to 51.85% in the following twenty years and sharply to 18.75% in the next fifteen years. There was also a reverse in exogamous patterns from 1916 to 1955 with more marriages

TABLE XIII

PREMARITAL RESIDENCE AND ETHNIC AFFILIATION
POLES AND UKRAINIANS
1896-1970

| PREMARITAL RESIDENCE | ETHNIC AFFILIATION | 1896-1915 | | 1916-1935 | | 1936-1955 | | 1956-1970 | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % |
| Endogamous | Endogamous | 39 | 69.64 | 12 | 63.16 | 14 | 51.85 | 3 | 18.75 |
| Endogamous | Exogamous | 12 | 21.43 | 3 | 15.79 | 3 | 11.11 | - | - |
| Exogamous | Endogamous | 3 | 5.36 | 4 | 21.05 | 6 | 22.22 | 4 | 25.00 |
| Exogamous | Exogamous | 2 | 3.57 | - | - | 4 | 14.82 | 9 | 56.25 |
| TOTAL | | 56 | 100.00 | 19 | 100.00 | 27 | 100.00 | 16 | 100.00 |

being "out-area" than "out-ethnic". In the last fifteen year interval the majority of all marriages sampled were exogamous on both counts.

In comparison, a study of the relationship between premarital residential propinquity and ethnic endogamy in New Haven, Connecticut found that in 1931 31.51% of Pole/Pole marriages joined individuals who had lived within five blocks of one another and 57.89% residing within twenty blocks (Kennedy, 1943:581). In 1940, the percentages rose to 32.90 and 68.43 respectively (ibid). The author concludes that there was "an increasing tendency toward the development of segregated communities" (ibid:582). It does not appear that persons migrating from the Tolstoi area to urban environments (primarily Winnipeg) settle in one section of the city although Ukrainian and, to a lesser extent, Polish sectors do exist in Winnipeg. This may be a trend toward desegregation. On the other hand, a study in the geographically defined ethnic communities of Winnipeg may reveal similar patterns to those encountered in New Haven.

CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of this thesis were as follows: first, to present patterns of first marriage evident among Polish and Ukrainian populations in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area from 1896 to 1970; second, to discuss probable social-demographic causes, results and possible genetic consequences of the pattern and changes in the pattern over time; and third, to present and discuss the age and sex structure of the Tolstoi population in 1970.

Marriage patterns were investigated through four demographic variables - religion, ethnicity, premarital residence and age of both bride and groom. It was found that the patterns changed over the seventy-five years studied. Religious endogamy was the only parameter selected which persisted throughout the total period. Of the 27 first marriages contracted between 1896 and 1970, for which the religious affiliation of both partners was specified, 24 or 88.89% were defined as endogamous. Similarity of religion as a consideration in mate selection was not only based on personal preference or social custom. Unlike the other variables examined, it was institutionally prescribed behavior. Traditionally, Poles were Roman

Catholic and Ukrainians either Ukrainian Orthodox or Greek Catholic. The doctrine of the three churches dictated marriage between persons of the same faith. As Poles and Ukrainians were, and still are, deeply committed to their religious beliefs it is probable that similarity of faith would override other demographic and social considerations in mate selection.

As a result of the correlation between ethnic group and particular church affiliation, persons of like religion would frequently be of similar ethnicity. However, many Ukrainians were converted to Roman Catholicism in Galicia prior to immigration. It would be interesting in this connection, when a larger sample is available, to investigate the religious affiliation of marital partners of unlike ethnicity.

1896-1915

The marriage pattern during this period was characterized by the following:

- 1) Area endogamy. Premaritally, 93.15% of the sampled couples resided within the defined Tolstoi-Stuart-burn area and 79.45% lived in the same town.
- 2) Ethnic endogamy for Ukrainians (70.84% of the sample). Ethnic exogamy for Poles (56.00% of the sample). All marriages defined as exogamous involved Poles and Ukrainians.

- 3) Area and ethnic endogamy measured in combination. Of sampled couples, 69.64% belonged to the same ethnic group and resided premaritally within the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area. The majority (70.60%) of defined exogamous marriages involved persons of differing ethnicity and common area residence.
- 4) Young age at marriage - mean female age, 17.79 years
- mean male age, 24.12 years
The mean age deviation was +6.49 years (male older).

Several suggestions have been advanced as explanation for this pattern. The sudden availability upon settlement of large tracts of land made marriage desirable, if not a necessity. Young males who would, in Galicia, have delayed marriage until they inherited or were given, a portion of their father's estate, found it advantageous to marry upon receipt of a homestead in Manitoba. The preponderance of single males perhaps influenced the young age at marriage for females who were thus in demand.

It would be interesting to compare family size before and during the first twenty years of settlement in Manitoba. If, as has been hypothesized, female marital age declined after immigration, the risk of pregnancy would have been elevated. Economically, the amount of available land per family increased with a complementary increase in the number of persons which could be supported.

The early settlers were geographically and culturally isolated from surrounding populations. They were able to supply and satisfy the majority of their material and social requirements, including marital partners, within the community. Considering the animosity between the two groups upon settlement and a documented preference for a mate of like ethnicity (e.g. Turek, 1967:249), it can be assumed that ethnic endogamy was the desired form of marriage. However, the isolation of the settlement and the similarity of Polish and Ukrainian customs probably made intermarriage between the two groups preferable to marriage with members of surrounding populations. Because Poles were in the minority, it is expected that they would contract ethnic exogamous unions more frequently than Ukrainians. The results obtained for the years 1896 to 1915 support this expectation.

The incidence of consanguineous marriages may have been elevated during the early years of settlement, especially for Poles. As well, brother/sister exchange may have been advantageous in securing a mate and in facilitating other relationships - for example, extra man power at harvest. These parameters could be investigated through the Tolstoi church records. The Roman Catholic registers specify instances where papal dispensation for a union was sought and, consanguinity may also be estimated from the frequency of marriages between persons of the same surname (Crow & Mange, 1965).

The early marriage pattern in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area tended to preserve the language and customs of the immigrants and to perpetuate their isolation. Family solidarity was strong as parents and children lived in close daily contact and became dependent upon one another. Children eventually married persons who were approved of, or often selected, by their parents. Land remained in the family on the father's death.

Assortative mating to the degree reported in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area during the early years of settlement drastically reduced the number of potential mates. This may in turn have increased consanguinity. Persistent non-random mating coupled with little or no in-migration in an isolate may result in increased homogeneity in the population (Kallman & Rainer, 1959:767) and changes in gene frequencies (Spuhler, 1965:46; Politzer, 1970:84). Little information is available on the marriage pattern in Galicia prior to emigration. It is known that like ethnicity was a strong positive influence in mate selection and that most people were born, married and died within one locale. Land was passed from father to son, encouraging males to remain in their paternal village. Daughters contracted arranged marriages most frequently within a short distance of their natal residences. Until the later 1800's, when the government encouraged the migration of Poles to Eastern Galicia, there does not seem to have

been extensive in or out migration affecting the peasant community. If, in fact, Galician peasant communities were inbred, the effect was dispersed after several decades of residence in Manitoba.

1916-1935

The marriage pattern during this period was characterized by the following:

- 1) Area endogamy. Premaritally, 79.17% of the sampled couples resided within the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area and 45.84% lived in the same town.
- 2) Ethnic endogamy for both Ukrainians (80.00% of the sample) and Poles (87.50%). Ukrainian exogamous marriages involved "Other" ethnic groups more frequently than Poles. The one Polish exogamous union was with a Ukrainian.
- 3) Area and ethnic endogamy measured in combination. Of sampled unions 63.16% were contracted between persons of similar ethnicity and who resided within the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area prior to marriage. The majority (57.10%) of exogamous unions involved persons of differing area but similar ethnic group.
- 4) Female age at first marriage -(mean) 19.81 years
 Male age at first marriage -(mean) 27.13
 Age deviation -(mean) +7.63 years, male older.

Renewal of the Ukrainian persecution in Galicia following World War I generated a resurgence of nationalism among the ethnic residents of the Tolstoi area. As a partial result, the incidence of ethnic endogamy rose sharply for both groups. Improved communication with the Polish and Ukrainian populations of Winnipeg increased the number of potential mates of like ethnicity. As well, contact was partially established with surrounding populations, resulting in a few marriages with "Other" ethnic groups. The area, however, still remained fairly isolated, persons tending to select a mate within the region.

The initial period of disruption caused by immigration had passed. The later age at marriage and greater age deviation may have been a return to traditional patterns, although no information is available on marital age in Galicia prior to emigration. Males of Ukrainian and Polish descent resident in Canada did not participate in World War I. However,, the unstable national economy at this time may have necessitated later marriage.

Area endogamy was measured by similarity of both birthplace and premarital residence by forty year interval. For the years 1896 to 1935, 84.09% of the sampled marriages were defined as endogamous. This is another indication of the isolated nature of the early settlement.

1936-1955 and 1956-1970

The marriage patterns manifested in the area between 1936 and 1955 and from 1956 to 1970 show a continuation and acceleration of the trends appearing in the pattern from

1916-1935. They will, thus, be discussed in combination following a summary of the results obtained for each period.

1936-1955 -

- 1) One half of the sampled marriages involved persons who both resided premaritally in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area. Only 26.92% of the couples were from the same town.
- 2) Ethnic endogamy for Ukrainians (61.29% of the sample). Ukrainian exogamous marriages involved Poles and "Other" ethnic groups equally.
One half of the sampled Polish unions were endogamous. Polish exogamous marriages were contracted most frequently with Ukrainians.
- 3) Area and ethnic endogamy measured in combination. A slight majority (51.85%) of all sampled unions were defined as endogamous. Exogamous marriages were more frequently designated out of area than out of ethnic group.
- 4) Female age at first marriage -(mean) 21.29 years.
Male age at first marriage -(mean) 27.66 years.
Age deviation -(mean) +6.64 years, male older.

1956-1970 -

- 1) Area exogamy. Exogamous marriages comprised 86.20% of the sample and 55.17% involved persons who resided premaritally outside of the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area.

- 2) Ethnic exogamy for Ukrainians (57.14% of the sample) and Poles (90.91%).
- 3) Area and ethnic exogamy measured in combination. Of the sampled unions, 56.25% were defined as exogamous for both variables.
- 4) Female age at first marriage -(mean) 21.07 years.
Male age at first marriage -(mean) 24.27 years.
Age deviation -(mean) +3.70 years, male older.

Area endogamy was measured by similarity of both birthplace and premarital residence by forty year interval. For the years 1936 to 1970, 61.90% of the sampled marriages were defined as exogamous. That is, one partner was not born in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area and one or both partners did not reside premaritally within the area.

The mean age at first marriage for both males and females increased slightly from 1936 to 1955. Males of Ukrainian and Polish descent resident in Canada fought in the second World War. This increase may be attributed, at least partially, to their temporary absence and the unstable war economy. In the following fifteen years, male age at first marriage decreased sharply to approximate the Canadian national average.

From 1936 to 1970 the youthful migration to urban centers, pursuit of occupations unrelated to farming, higher education, and increased communication between peers and with persons of differing ethnic background

contributed to the acceleration of the trends begun in the period 1916 to 1935. Personal characteristics such as similar occupations, interests, education and appearance may have become more important in mate selection than parental approval, similar residence and ethnicity. Young people became more independent during this period at an earlier age, left the community and adopted different life styles, often rejecting ethnic customs. This required, among other things, a redefinition of family roles, relationships and responsibilities, and changes in land inheritance practices, often necessitating selling of the family land upon the father's retirement. Such disintegration of the strong patriarchal family has been reported among several Polish (eg. Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918; Turek, 1967) and Ukrainian (eg. Young, 1931) populations following immigration to North America.

Any genetic effects of the assortative mating pattern evident during the first twenty years of settlement were dispersed to some degree following several decades of residence in Manitoba. The selection of marital partners became more random as the number of potential mates increased and traditional prescribed boundaries were crossed. New genetic material was thus introduced into the gene pool.

Tolstoi 1970: Age and sex composition

The population of Tolstoi on July 1, 1970 was defined as aged, with 83.12% of the residents being in their post-reproductive years (45 and over) and 38.08% being 65 years and over. Further, although the population was small, the sex ratio was 89.29 males per 100 females. Three suggestions have been advanced as explanation for the age/sex structure. First, the mass immigration to the area begun in 1896 slowed during the early twentieth century and had ceased by 1914. A second contributing factor was the rural to urban migration affecting the age groups twenty to forty. A third explanation concerned the purpose served by Tolstoi in the area. Since its inception in 1905, Tolstoi provided services to the surrounding farm population and served as a place of retirement for farmers in the region and to a lesser, but still significant extent, for persons who were born in the area, emigrated and upon retirement returned. This pattern continues. It is possible, therefore, that the population has always been aged to some extent and that continuous movement to the village on retirement has kept and will keep Tolstoi viable.

UTILITY OF THE TOLSTOI CHURCH RECORDS IN DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Much of the data utilized in the study was collected from the records of the three churches in Tolstoi. Their contents have been outlined in Chapter III. As previously

discussed, the Roman Catholic parish books were more complete, in content and in time, than the records of the Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. They were also more accessible to the author as entries were made in English or the Arabic alphabet.

The available records from Tolstoi do not contain sufficient information on past and present residents of the area or even on Tolstoi itself to serve as a basis for investigations in which complete information on the individual is necessary (e.g. fertility). This is not a function of the records themselves but of the history of religion and population movement (primarily on an individual and family level) within the area. Entries on the individual and his family may be contained in one or more sets of records. It would be necessary, therefore, to link records of most or all churches in the area to obtain complete information on the family.

The records utilized in the study however, especially those of the Roman Catholic church, have considerable utility for demographic analysis. First, there is an internal control on the accuracy of information as a result of redundancy. Baptism, marriage and death registrations contain the index case's name and birthdate, parents' names and, if applicable, name of spouse. Second, the premarital surname of females is always specified. Third, entries appear to have been made directly following the event as the dates are in chronological order.

Fourth, in many cases, if an individual leaves the area, information is forwarded to the church and entered in the records. These four characteristics enable the researcher to reconstruct fairly complete genealogies.

THESIS SUMMARY

The Polish and Ukrainian colonists of the Tolstoi area originated from a small eastern region of Galicia and emigrated to Manitoba, primarily for economic reasons during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most immigrants were farmers who, because of land shortage in their native country, desired to take advantage of the large free homesteads offered in the Canadian west. Ukrainians also sought freedom from persecution by the Polish aristocracy. The majority of the current residents of the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area either accompanied their parents at an early age or are descendents of the original settlers. Patterns of first marriage in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area from 1896 to 1970 were investigated through four variables - religion, premarital residence, ethnicity and age at marriage.

Religious endogamy persisted throughout the seventy-five years encompassed by the study.

During the early years of settlement the colony was geographically and culturally isolated. As well, there was a majority of males and of Ukrainians. This situation was reflected in the marriage pattern. Individuals tended to select mates within a small geographic area. Preference

was given to a mate of like-ethnicity, or if not available as in the case of many Poles, to a mate of similar cultural background. People generally married at a young age.

Male and female age at first marriage rose during and following the World Wars, as a probable result of an unstable economic situation and the absence of males during World War II.

Following World War I when the persecution of Ukrainians in Galicia was renewed, the incidence of ethnic endogamy in the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area increased sharply. In later years, as communication with surrounding populations increased through education, mass media, improved transportation and the rural to urban migration of the young, the number of potential mates also increased. In the interval 1916 to 1935 individuals began to select marital partners with an ethnic background other than Polish or Ukrainian who resided outside of the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area prior to marriage. The trend continued until in the last fifteen year period investigated (1956-1970), the majority of marriages were defined as ethnic exogamous, area exogamous, and the ages of bride and groom closely approximated the Canadian average.

The present study was initially designed as a preliminary survey of the Tolstoi-Stuartburn area. The marriage patterns revealed in the thesis should provide a limited foundation for extensive future demographic and genetic research now planned for the area.

APPENDIX I
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Community -

Date -

Time -

Address -

Interview no. -

name -

sex - birthdate -

home or hospital -

birthplace -

lived here all life -

how long lived in ... -

residences: 1) place -

when lived there -

why left -

(repeated 4 times)

nationality -

religion -

occupation(s) -

schooling -

serious illness or abnormality -

what -

marital status -

premarital residence(s) -
married more than once -
mates: 1) name (maiden) -
birth date - home or hospital -
birth place -
premarital residence -
date of marriage -
date of separation or divorce -
present residence -
date of death -
cause of death -

married more than once -
nationality -
religion -
occupation -
schooling -
serious illness or abnormality -
what -

biological mother's name (maiden) -
biological father's name -
occupation -

comments:

(repeated 2 times)

children: 1) name -

sex - birth date - home or hospital -

birth place -

present residence -

how long lived in... -

date of death -

cause of death -

name of biological mother (maiden) -

name of biological father -

serious illness or abnormality -

what -

occupation -

marital status -

premarital residence -

child's mates: 1) name (maiden) -

nationality - occupation -

date of marriage -

premarital residence -

present residence -

date of death -

cause of death -

date of separation or divorce -

comments:

(repeated 2 times)

children: 1) name -

birth date -

(repeated 4 times)

(space was provided for 6 children of the interviewee)

ego's biological father:

name -

was ... your maiden name -

if not what and why -

birth date -

home or hospital -

birth place -

lived there all life -

residences: 1) place -

when lived there -

why left -

(repeated 4 times)

present residence -

date of death -

cause of death -

married more than once -

mates: 1) name (maiden) -

date of marriage -

father's premarital residence -

wife's premarital residence -

nationality -

date of death -

cause of death -

comments:

(repeated 2 times)

religion -

occupation -

schooling -

serious illness or abnormality -

what -

comments:

ego's biological mother:

name (maiden) -

birth date - home or hospital -

birth place -

lived there all life -

residences: 1) place -

when lived there -

why left -

(repeated 4 times)

present residence -

date of death -

cause of death -

married more than once -

mates: 1) name -
 date of marriage -
 mother's premarital residence -
 husband's premarital residence -
 nationality -
 date of death -
 cause of death -

comments:

(repeated 2 times)

religion -
 occupation -
 schooling -
 serious illness or abnormality -
 what -

comments:

ego's sibs: 1) name (married)

father same as ego's -

if not what -

mother same as ego's -

if not what -

sex-

birth date -

home or hospital -

birth place -

present residence -

date of death -

cause of death -

occupation -

serious illness or abnormality -

what -

marital status -

married more than once -

mates: 1) name (maiden)

sibs premarital residence -

spouse's premarital residence -

nationality -

date of death -

date of marriage -

comments:

(repeated 2 times)

children: 1) name -

birth date -

(repeated 5 times)

(space was provided for 5 sibs)

ego's fathers sibs: 1) name (maiden) -

(married) -

residence -

comments:

(repeated 5 times)

ego's mother's sibs: 1) name (maiden) -

(married) -

residence -

comments:

(repeated 5 times)

stillbirths: 1) date - sex -

cause -

length of pregnancy -

name of biological father -

(repeated 2 times)

miscarriages: 1) date -

cause -

length of pregnancy -

name of biological father -

(repeated 2 times)

use contraceptives -

what -

comments:

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