

tion to perform internal surgery common? Was his political participation typical of his profession and, if so, what was the motivation for involvement?

The absence of other secondary sources does not detract from the fact that, within her chosen historical scope, Duffin's inquiry is groundbreaking, intelligent, and historically aware. Her thorough examination and interpretation of casebook information provide, for perhaps the first time in Canadian historiography, as close a view as possible of a typical nineteenth-century medical life. Therein lies the worth of this book. That Langstaff was not a major contributor to the medical practice of his day does not diminish the importance and nobility of his endeavour to heal. Duffin has demonstrated well how the average Victorian country physician "cared for all his patients, was sensitive to their pain, and tried always to help or at least to do no harm" (p. 255).

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Frances Swyripa — *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891–1991*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. Pp. xiii, 330.

The title of this important new study is somewhat misleading. Readers assuming that this book will describe and analyze the life experiences of Ukrainian-Canadian women and their understanding of ethnicity will be disappointed — but only for a moment. Instead readers will find a complex story, not of ordinary women, but rather of the diverse and divided Ukrainian-Canadian elites who wanted to control and shape Ukrainian immigrant women as both the objects and the tools of their contradictory agendas. The book that Frances Swyripa's title suggests has yet to be written. This one reveals much instead about the silencing of women.

Swyripa has turned what might have been a simple tale of ethnic triumph into a layered series of revelations. An essential starting point is the way in which the book explains the diversity of the people who comprised Ukrainian immigration to Canada — a people divided by class, by religion, by experience, by geography, by political ideology. These divisions were the crucial ingredients that shaped the way in which Ukrainians in Canada defined themselves in relation to each other and to the larger Canadian society.

A second important revelation is the extent to which competing elites within the Ukrainian-Canadian community drew on nationalist ideology to insist that women create the conditions for the successes and survival of the community while ensuring that they would be blamed for its failures. By focusing on the elites, Swyripa has illuminated the tenacious grip of nationalist thinking even on progressives who openly disavowed nationalism.

Swyripa makes it clear, too, by recounting the vision of community leaders, just how hard it will be to recapture now the real experiences of ordinary immigrant women in the first crucial decades of the Canadian migration. I looked in vain in this book for my grandmother who died in 1927; nor could I find my mother, her

sisters, my cousins, or the many other Ukrainian-Canadian women who are part of my circle of family and friends. Their stories, the choices they made in their lives, bear little or no relationship to the prescriptions laid down by the community elites.

Most of the old women who were part of the first wave of migration to Canada have died. Their daughters are now elderly; their granddaughters and great-granddaughters are only tenuously linked to their lives. The oral history that would have provided the missing half of Swyripa's story can no longer be done. This intensifies the silence imposed on women by the community elites. Swyripa's study illustrates the limitations of the written record as well as the power it represents.

Equally significant to this problem were the small numbers of women among the Ukrainian immigrants. Before 1910 only about 20 per cent of the entire group were women; between 1910 and 1914 the percentage crept up slightly. Almost all of these women lived their lives in rural isolation and illiteracy (pp. 21, 32). With immigration at a virtual standstill in the interwar years, new immigrants did not arrive until after World War II; only about a third of them were women, who then scattered across the country (p. 183). Initially, the transplanted Ukrainian community was contoured by the values of rural villages, which presumed the inherent inferiority of women and their due subjugation to men (p. 26). This situation, perpetuated by the elites, added to the women's silence.

With the voices of women lost, the elites' agendas alone remain. Swyripa has not left them and their ideas unchallenged, and therein lies the power of this book. At first glance, its organization is deceptively simple. It recounts the story of immigration and settlement decade by decade up to the centennial year of 1991. Within the chronology, however, unfolds an intricate story of the creation of myths and expectations about Ukrainian women in Canada by male and female Ukrainian community leaders. Those who thought of themselves as community leaders were not divided as much by gender as by ideology.

Community leaders, whether Ukrainian patriots or progressives, took the western Ukrainian province of Galicia as their constant point of reference. "The unfinished business of Ukrainian national building, as territorial integrity and political independence eluded twentieth century Ukraine" (p. 6) meant that integration into Canadian society was shaped and reshaped by the vagaries of Ukraine's tortured development. The majority of community leaders in Canada, especially after 1917, were nationalists who cultivated "a mission to liberate Ukraine and preserve an endangered language and culture in Canada" (p. vii). Life in Canada was to be a temporary sojourn before a return "home". Progressives, who disdained nationalism, peasantness, and religion, dreamed of enhancing a sense of class consciousness and struggle (p. 47) by recasting Ukrainian culture and history as the vanguard of aspirations for human dignity, justice, freedom, and democracy (p. 10). The two hostile camps each determined that women, in their roles as mothers — the reproducers, guardians, and transmitters of ethnic identity (p. 59) — were to be transformed to advance the interests of the group as a whole, as each faction defined them.

The result was the invention, in the years before World War I, of the Ukrainian peasant woman denounced by nationalists and progressives in much the same

language as British Canadians, who regarded Ukrainians, like all foreigners, as a threat to Canadian development (p. 35). To advance their respective causes, nationalists and progressives promoted “propaganda and programs devised for women” (p. ix) designed to eradicate the ignorant and apathetic peasant woman who “fail[ed] to measure up” (chap. 1), whether in blending into Canadian society or in advancing the needs of the Ukrainian homeland. What they really promoted was a sense of shame in being Ukrainian. By the 1920s the daughters of the first wave of immigrants became the targets of the elites as education, employment in the cities, and even intermarriage with other groups threatened the fabric of Ukrainian unity. Becoming more Canadian made them less Ukrainian, “jeopardizing the future” (chap. 2).

Through the 1920s and 1930s the community elites, despite their hostilities towards each other, directed enormous energies toward identifying suitable Ukrainian role models — heroines of the past or the present, the Virgin Mary or Rosa Luxemburg — to convince young second-generation women to devote themselves to the Ukrainian cause (chap. 3). More and more they argued that “good Canadian citizenship rested on Ukrainian consciousness” (p. 159). This notion of integrating while remaining apart lay at the core of postwar visions of multiculturalism (p. 9). Women were to assure Ukrainian survival by marrying within the ethnic group, by giving their children Ukrainian names, by cultivating a Ukrainian environment in their homes, and by training the next generation, all the while impressing British Canadians with how Canadian they had become. The elites underestimated, however, the effect of the Depression in breaking up Ukrainian families and communities through the constant search for work and the increasing pressure to anglicize names and habits in order to get jobs.

Ukrainian women’s organizations were perhaps the most active in promoting the image of the selfless woman who simultaneously preserved traditional values and integrated into Canadian society. Women were enjoined to become educated, cultivated citizens, but not for their own sake; their priority was to advance the cause of the elites and to win the approval of British Canadians (chap. 4). As Swyrypa notes, “only a fraction of Ukrainian-Canadian women actually joined the organizations created for them” (p. 160) by community leaders. In spite of the small numbers of adherents, the elites never abandoned their agendas.

With the Cold War came the need to redefine the elites’ prescriptions for women when contact with the Ukraine was difficult if not impossible. In the 1950s and 1960s Canadianization was the goal (chap. 5). The peasant woman reappeared in the postwar years, not as a symbol of Ukrainian inadequacy, but of strength. “Baba” was rehabilitated as a peasant pioneer and nation-builder (chap. 6). In truth, this rediscovery of peasant roots, the “romanticization of their struggles and hardships ... precluded a critical appraisal of the conditions under which they lived” (p. 222). Nor were women left with any sense of urgency about the issues that affected them directly, personally as women. The point was to confirm that, despite peasant origins, Ukrainians had become Canadians. Baba’s return, however, announced the failure of the elites.

This book is immensely rich in detail — the names, programmes, and outpouring

of writing by the elite groups, the women's organizations that silenced women, the intricacies of the relationships between groups. It is a treasure trove of reference materials, especially the photographs that help tie this study together.

Swyripa has unravelled the complex story of the efforts of Ukrainian-Canadian community leaders, first a male intelligentsia and then women leaders of women's organizations, to shape, reshape, and direct four generations of women into conformity with their vision of ethnic identity. This book, while it leaves untold the equally intricate story of women's real lives and their own sense of ethnic identity, offers a fine example of reconstructing the past and can serve as a model for studies of other ethnic communities that ought to be undertaken. Swyripa reminds us that the voices of the few never speak for the many, especially for those whom they have silenced.

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Gerhard P. Bassler — *Sanctuary Denied: Refugees From the Third Reich and Newfoundland Immigration Policy 1906–1949*. St. John's, Nfld.: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University, 1992. Pp. 288.

This pioneering study is based upon meticulous research in Canadian, Newfoundland, American, British, and German governmental archives and media as well as interviews with immigrants to Newfoundland. It represents an important new dimension to Newfoundland's social self-portrait. It also speaks to similar contemporary anti-immigration reactions in other fearful or recently isolated societies, be they East Germany or the Canadian prairies.

Gerhard Bassler, a Memorial University historian and himself a German immigrant to Newfoundland over a quarter-century ago, became puzzled by the apparent lack of research into the island's immigration history. Newfoundlanders, he writes, have been so little interested in the topic of local immigration that no one as yet has written its history. Instead, like closed and self-regarding populations elsewhere, Newfoundland researchers have concentrated on other themes such as economics, sociology, or folklore. As a result, Bassler saw the need to provide a background for his main area of interest, the 1930s anti-Nazi refugee story, by discussing the general immigration situation from 1906. He not only discusses Newfoundland's watertight anti-refugee and immigration policies, but offers good explanations for them.

Despite Newfoundland's 1906 immigration act, which adopted the notion of refugees as a category 50 years before Canada, the colony's practice of access remained very restrictive. The tough 1926 immigration act was meant to supplement, not replace, the 1906 act, but its stringent procedures were easier to implement, especially once the Depression hit. Although Canada admitted fewer than 4,000 refugees from the Third Reich before the war, Newfoundland practised as policy what Canadian Immigration Director F. C. Blair is often quoted as having