UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE MONTREAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

1911 - 1945

A Thesis
Submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
McGill University
Montréal, Québec

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in
Administration and Policy Studies in Education

Iryna Melnyk
March 1987

ISBN 0-315-38167-1

ABSTRACT

This study examines Ukrainian bilingual education in the public school system of Montreal. Bilingual Ukrainian-English education existed in the prairie provinces from 1897 to 1918. In Quebec Ukrainian bilingual classes began only in 1911 but continued until 1945. This study endeavours to explain why bilingual classes were maintained so much longer in Quebec after they had been abolished in Western Canada.

The study is based on primary sources consisting mainly of archival material and personal interviews with Ukrainians and others who had been pupils, parents, teachers or administrators in these schools. Some secondary material such as newspaper and magazine articles were also used.

A comparison of Ukrainian bilingual schools in Western Canada and Quebec shows a marked difference in the reasons for their existence. In the West, the Ukrainian community had to struggle for the schools and the provincial authorities accepted the classes as a means for the assimilation of new immigrants. In Quebec, it was actually the Montreal Catholic School Commission which initiated the Ukrainian-English bilingual program within the French schools, at first, as a means of drawing Ukrainians into the Catholic system and then to fight the socialist and communist influences that the French Catholic Church perceived was influencing the Ukrainian community.

RÉSUMÉ

La présente recherche a pour but d'examiner l'éducation bilingue ukrainienne dans le système des écoles publiques de Montréal. L'éducation bilingue, dont les deux langues étaient l'ukrainien et l'anglais, existaient dans les provinces des prairies entre les années 1897 et 1918. Au Québec les classes bilingues ukrainiennes n'ont commencées qu'en 1911 et ont continuées d'exister jusqu'en 1945. Cette thèse essaie d'expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles les classes bilingues ont été maintenues d'une plus longue durée au Québec après leur abolition dans l'ouest du Canada.

L'étude s'appuie sur les sources primaires telles que les archives et les entrevues personnelles avec les ukrainiens et d'autres personnes qui étaient dans le temps les élèves, les parents, les enseignants ou les administrateurs de ces écoles. En plus, les articles de journaux et des revues ont été utilisés comme sources secondaires.

Une comparaison entre les écoles bilingues ukrainiennes dans l'ouest du Canada et celles du Québec démontre une différence marquante des raisons pour leur existance. Dans l'ouest la communauté ukrainienne devait lutter pour lesdites écoles. Les autorités provinciales ont acceptés les classes bilingues dans ces écoles pour faciliter l'assimilation des nouveaux immigrants. Au Québec, c'était la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal qui a pris l'initiative de créer le programme bilingue ukrainien-anglais dedans les écoles francophones pour attirer, en premier, les ukrainiens au système catholique, et deuxièmement, de cette façon combattre les influences socialiste et communiste que l'Église catholique française croyait être dominantes dans la communauté ukrainienne.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge with sincere appreciation the support and assistance received from many persons in several ways.

I extend my gratitude to all those individuals who agreed to be interviewed. Their cooperation was beyond any expectation.

I wish to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Ratna Ghosh for her skillful guidance and valuable suggestions during the writing of this research. My deeply felt gratitude is also extended to the late Dr. Michel Laferrière whose untimely death prevented him to see the completion of this study.

Many thanks also to friends, especially Wolodymyr Cichowlas and Wolodymyr Lewyckyj who listened graciously through various stages of this research. A special thanks to Andrij Serbyn for his patience, concern and support through my research traumas and successes. For the tedious job of typing, I thank Natalka Striletska. Her patience and endurance was greatly appreciated.

Finally, and especially, I want to thank my family for all they have done over the years. I owe so much to my father, my sister Oksana and my brother-in-law Oleh who have sustained, encouraged and loved me throughout. Without their patience and numerous personal sacrifices, the deadline for this thesis could not have been reached.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Minority ethnic groups have only recently been recognized by the dominant Canadian cultural groups as important contributors to the development of Canada. There exists a clear contrast between the type and amount of research done on these groups prior to World War II as compared to the writings undertaken since the war. The research prior to the war was almost entirely within the context of developing policies and promoting interest in assimilation programs of the institutions concerned. In the 1950's and 1960's, as older and more established Canadian ethnic groups found time to look back at their past, there emerged a proliferation of historical works by the groups themselves. These writings emphasized the groups' contributions to Canadian society. The problem, however, is that Canadian historians generally have not interested themselves in research on ethnic groups. This lack of interest has resulted in a scarcity of factual information available on Canada's ethnic minorities.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to record the existence of and analyse the reasons for bilingual Ukrainian classes in the public school system of Montreal between the years 1911 and 1945. Until now the existence of these classes has not been analyzed and documented by scholarly research.

The argument that will be presented in this paper is that Ukrainian bilingual classes in Montreal were set up by the Montreal Catholic School Commission itself heavily influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, as a means of keeping working class Ukrainian children in the Catholic school system. This effort had nothing to do with the preservation of Ukrainian culture. It was simply an attempt to get Ukrainian children into Catholic schools and away from socialist and after 1918 communist organizations that the French Catholic Church believed were directing the Ukrainian community. The church with the help of the Montreal Catholic School Commission wanted to guide Ukrainians so as to steer them away from the dangers of socialism.

Ukrainians in Quebec were an unknown element, a foreign influence within the French Catholic culture. They were poor immigrants who spoke a foreign language and practiced unknown traditions: even their brand of Catholicism seemed like a different religion. The Catholic Church felt Ukrainians posed a potential threat if they remained autonomous and apart from the influence of the dominant society. The

bilingual classes were a way of drawing Ukrainians and other ethnic groups into society to better watch their activities, monitor their associations and generally diminish their impact on their new environment.

This argument will be developed by reviewing who the Ukrainians were, their reasons for emigrating and the physical conditions they found in Canada upon arrival. Very little research has been done on the growth of Ukrainian communities in Eastern Canada, specifically in Quebec. It is therefore important to take advantage of the resources and publications on Ukrainian immigration to the western prairies to contrast the development of the two communities. An understanding of the differences greatly helps to see that bilingual education for Ukrainian immigrants in the east was established by the government and school commissions to accomplish specific political objectives to benefit the ruling Catholic clergy.

It is therefore important to look at the differences between Ukrainians in the west and Ukrainians in Quebec. The two communities were not only separated by great distances but also by their distinctive manner of development. For one, western Ukrainians were mainly set in a rural environment on uninhabited land, while Ukrainians in the east found themselves in an urban environment and were forced to fit into the already existing urban life surrounding them. In the west, Ukrainians

were much more numerous than in the east. Therefore, it seems logical to assume that as a group they would have been much more influential in their endeavours. The information gathered surprisingly shows that eastern Ukrainians were a very influential group of immigrants. A review of the immigration, settlement and development patterns of Ukrainian communities out west offers a base for analyzing the east.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This study describes a group of people at a period which up until now has been neglected. Libraries and research centres are void on the topic of early Ukrainian settlements in Eastern Canada. Most of the publications on Ukrainians in Canada have concentrated on the settlers in Western Canada. No research has been conducted on Ukrainians in the east, and more specifically in Quebec. As such, it was very important to take advantage of the human resources still available within the Ukrainian community and to begin to record their experiences.

For the purpose of this paper I have focused mostly on the information pertinent to a study of the bilingual school program which was made available for Ukrainian school children in Montreal. An investigation of the purpose of these schools will help identify whether the schools were used as tools for assimilation or for retention of ethnic

identity. It is of interest to the Ukrainian community to compare and contrast the reactions of the Quebec government regarding these schools with other government reaction across Canada.

The Manitoba School Act or the Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1897 opened the door for establishing bilingual schools. It stated:

> "When ten of the pupils speak the French language, or any other language than English as their native language, the teaching for such pupils shall be conducted in French or such language, and English upon the bilingual system" (Marunchak, 1970:117).

It is interesting to compare the bilingual education program for Ukrainians in Quebec with those in other provinces. This comparison helps to explain why the schools existed for so much longer in Quebec and why they were closed down so much earlier in other provinces.

On the practical side, this study will be useful as an aid for the contemporary Ukrainian community to rediscover its past and it may also help the community to clarify its own attitudes towards the federal and provincial governments within Canada.

RELATED RESEARCH

The rare material that does exist on Ukrainians in Quebec is to be found in Master of Arts theses written for different universities in the Montreal area. C.M. Bayley's (1939) and S.M. Mamchur's (1939) research were submitted to McGill University, while N.A. Hrymak-Wynnycky's (1964) thesis was written for University of Montreal and Y.G. Kelebay's (1975) was submitted to Concordia University. All these works deal with the different aspects of the immigrant's life and work in the new surroundings. These are local studies pertaining to geographical location of the settlements, church and community development and the immigrant's adjustment to Canadian society.

No research has been conducted so far on the specific topic of education of Ukrainians in Quebec. This study will document Ukrainian education in Quebec from the beginning of this century until 1945 and present what information is available. More specifically, the study will be concerned with bilingual Ukrainian classes found within the public school system in the Montreal area.

My analysis and conclusions differ greatly from previously published works on Montreal Ukrainians on two main points. According to M.H. Marunchak:

> "In 1912, Ukrainian workers in Montreal used their best endeavours before the Catholic School Commission so that their children might receive Ukrainian language instruction in the city schools. These efforts were realized when Rev. T. Dwulit assumed leadership of the Ukrainian parish congregation in Montreal. Upon his renewed solicitations, supported by massive petitions, the school authorities agreed to a formation of four separate classes for the Ukrainian children who henceforth received instruction in two languages. The language of instruction in the morning was Ukrainian, and in the afternoon the teaching was conducted in French. Thus, all school subjects were taught in these two languages. The teachers of this bilingual school system were on the provincial payroll" (Marunchak, 1970:149).

My data indicate that first the eastern Ukrainians never had to struggle to obtain their bilingual classes and second that these classes were taught in each case in Ukrainian and English, and not in Ukrainian and French as Marunchak contends.

The paper has a broader framework involving the historical, geographical and economic background of the Ukrainian community in both the western settlements and in Montreal.

Bilingual education in Quebec evolved in a very different way from bilingual education in the west. Various publications by such authors as M. Lupul (1985) and J. Skwarok (1959) on prairie bilingual education mention only in passing that bilingual education also existed in the east. In his Master's thesis (1975) entitled, "The Ukrainian Community in

Montreal" Y. Kelebay nowhere mentions the existence of these special classes. However, N.A. Hrymak-Wynnycky, in her Master's thesis "Les Églises Ukrainiennes à Montréal," deals with the rise of Ukrainian churches in Montreal and mentions an everyday school for Ukrainian children (Hrymak-Wynnycka, 1964:45). Her sources were books written on bilingual education in the West. The assumption has usually been that both eastern and western bilingual programs were the same. In point of fact, they were not.

Reviewing the Quebec situation, Ukrainian schools which existed in Montreal between 1910 and 1945 were the only publicly financed bilingual schools in Canada at that time. While the rest of Canada took away bilingual privileges around the year 1916, Quebec seems to have encouraged their classes to continue. The uniqueness of this fact would prove the topic of Ukrainian bilingual education in Quebec an important research topic. The findings may prove to be interesting for students and scholars on education of minority groups as well as providing important historical documentation for the Ukrainian community itself.

METHODOLOGY

The subject of this thesis required much of the material to be obtained from primary sources but both the interview methods and archival research were found to be necessary. There still exist within the community a few senior members who arrived in Montreal prior to or during the year 1910. Also, a large number of adults who were students at the bilingual schools can still be found. However, because the bilingual classes were located within the public school system in Montreal, an attempt was also made to locate students who attended the other so-called normal classes within these schools. A total of 59 interviews were conducted. Most of the interviewees were of Ukrainian origin.

The interviews were conducted in such a way as to allow the interviewees to express their own views or give information on their old schools. With the permission of the interviewees, some of the interviews were taped for future reference. Most of the interviews required several visits to complete due to the lapse of time since the interviewees had attended school and the amount of time they needed to reflect on the questions asked. This was especially true for the interviewees who are now in their nineties. A "snowball effect," where each interviewee was asked to give the researcher names of people of the same generation who attended or helped organize these schools, took place.

In my search for interviewees, ten senior citizens were located, each of whom was interviewed. Unfortunately, during the research period, five passed away. Numerous Ukrainian students from that time period were located. However, only thirty-two agreed to be interviewed. Also, four teachers or Sisters who had taught in the schools were located. Two were residing in Montreal and the other two in Toronto. While in Toronto, two more students were located. A visit to several Golden Age Clubs in Point St. Charles, the area where two of these schools had been located, uncovered thirteen senior citizens of non-Ukrainian origin who attended these schools.

Church and parish records of that time were utilized as well as the minutes of meetings of different social organizations such as Ukrainian Reading Society Prosvita (Montreal Branch) and the Ukrainian Sick Benefit Society. The archives of the Montreal Catholic School Commission, Quebec's Ministry of Education records and Public Archives of Canada were also studied. In the preceding documents, information was sought on the establishment of these classes and why they ceased to exist. Certain newspapers and magazine articles written in English, French or Ukrainian carrying any information on the existence of these schools were also reviewed.

Secondary sources involved an intensive research of existing literature on Ukrainians in Canada to find the little data available on this topic and to obtain comparative elements for other parts of Canada.

Chapter II is divided into two sections. The first details the history of Ukrainian emigration to Canada and the second records the development of education for Ukrainians in Western Canada.

Chapter III gives a description of the different areas of Montreal in which Ukrainians settled at the turn of the century. Here one sees how an urban industrial environment influences the development of the Ukrainian community in Montreal.

Chapter IV deals with the bilingual Ukrainian-English classes in the public school system in Montreal. It will be shown that the special classes were not opened as a result of any special effort by different ethnic groups, but rather through the efforts of the French Catholic Church and the Montreal Catholic School Commission.

Chapter V concludes that the Catholic Church of Quebec feared that Ukrainians may develop into a potential threat to the existing social fabric of Quebec society which at that time was heavily influenced by the French Catholic Church. This threat was to be neutralized by drawing Ukrainian children into the Catholic public schools where they would be properly monitored by the Church.

CHAPTER II

UKRAINIANS IN WESTERN CANADA

REASONS FOR LEAVING UKRAINE

The first Ukrainian settlers arrived in Canada in the late nineteenth century, anticipating a long awaited prosperity. Their strongest motivation for leaving Ukraine was to be free from oppressive poverty and political tyranny. The grim reality that greeted them left many asking why they had come and what they were doing here.

Ukraine had been partitioned between Russia to the east and the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia to the west.

It had been only recently, in 1848, that serfdom had been abolished in Western Ukraine by the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I. (Kostash, 1977:12). Under serfdom exploitation had been very high and the peasants suffered enormously. They were obliged to pay rents in labour, produce and money to the lord of the manor, the state and the church. As a serf, the peasant provided free labour for the landlord. He could

not marry or send his children to school without the lord's permission, and the lord could enlist the serf's twelve-year old son in the army at will (Piniuta, 1978:17). Military service lasted fourteen years (Himka, 1984:16). Landlords could kill serfs on their own authority or sell them without the land to which they were, in theory, attached (Himka, 1984:10). The peasants were kept ignorant and the violence used against them was severe. Before a peasant would be beaten, a doctor would estimate how many blows that peasant could endure without being crippled or killed (Himka, 1984:13). The entire political influence of the Galician nobility was used to hinder the development of popular education and maintain authority. In 1842, only fifteen percent (15%) of Galician school-age children attended school, while in Bohemia, ninety-four percent (94%) attended and in all of Austria, excluding Galicia, seventy-five percent (75%) attended (Himka, 1984:16).[1]

The abolishment of serfdom brought about a new life for the Ukrainian people by providing for certain liberties. However, the act which abolished serfdom also created a heavy taxation system on Ukrainians to compensate the landlords. Ukrainians had few political liberties, and were therefore powerless to change their position. The Polish landlords, themselves former sovereigns of Western Ukraine until

---

[1]For a more descriptive account of the peasantry in Galicia during serfdom, refer to the Jean-Paul Himka's article "Serfdom in Galicia" (1984).

the division of Poland among Austria, Prussia and Russia, had remained in Galicia, a province of Western Ukraine, as landlords, administrators and judges (Kostash, 1977:13). The electoral process was weighed in favor of the Polish landlords who rejected the notion of a distinct Ukrainian nationality and so meticulously suppressed its development.

The Ukrainian people, dependent on agriculture for a living, had minimal landholdings to divide among themselves. As late as 1892, the great Polish landowners still owned forty-three percent (43%) of all the titled lands (Piniuta, 1978:17). Statistics from that time show that more than seventy percent (70%) of the farms were less than five hectares in size (2 hectares = 5 acres). The Ukrainian farmer had to keep subdividing his land among members of his family which gradually left each individual with too small a portion to produce anything but the barest necessities of life. Father Basil, an early immigrant, described the hardships:

> My father had seven children. He had five acres of land. How was he going to divide up that land among his children? It was the hunger for land and wood that drove people to Canada. Wood was so scarce, people had to divide matches into two or even four pieces before using them (Keywan, 1977:7-8).

Rural overpopulation added to the hardships caused by the scarcity of land. Western Ukraine had long been kept underdeveloped with no major industries able to absorb the rapidly growing population (Kubijovyc, 1984:819). Poverty forced people to become transient and

look for seasonal work in Hungary, Germany and France (Piniuta, 1978:18). The majority of peasants were destitute with no hope of change. The dominating classes determined that the oppressive peasant life would be rigidly maintained. Ukrainians had no effective majority in any government body, therefore the laws were never in their favor. Schools were controlled by Poles and the language of instruction was Polish (Piniuta, 1978:14). Education beyond an elementary level was denied. In some villages, there were no schools at all (Keywan, 1977:7). According to Myrna Kostash, "only minimal schooling was available to peasants and because the peasants had no schooling, they were always peasants generation after generation" (Kostash, 1977:67).

Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna were considered Austrian subjects and were forced into military service for the Austro-Hungarian empire. Their compulsory service was for three years from the age of twenty-one (Keywan, 1977:7). To escape conscription young men approaching their eighteenth birthday emigrated to Canada, sometimes with their families, but often alone. No boy of eighteen could get a passport, so his plans to leave had to begin long before his eighteenth birthday. Parents often falsified their children's documents in order to help them get out. One early immigrant remembers his plight:

> I came mainly to get away from armies and wars. My older brother was in the army. He could see that war was coming, so he told me to get away, to go to Canada. I was eighteen years old, but to get a passport I had to lie, to say I was only seventeen. So I left for Canada in the spring of 1913 (Keywan, 1977:8).

The impoverished peasants were grateful when countries across the ocean opened their doors to immigration. They knew very little about these new countries, but the situation in Ukraine was so bad that the hardship of leaving home and friends to venture into the unknown seemed a lesser hardship than staying behind. The knowledge that there was a possibility of changing their lot, drew people to start a new life overseas.

EMIGRATION

Emigration began around 1870. The earliest groups went to South America. By 1879, Ukrainians had begun to establish themselves in the United States (Skwarok, 1959:9). Movement to Canada began later, likely by migrant Ukrainian workers who were in contact with Germans who received letters from German relatives already settled there. It is difficult to determine the exact number of Ukrainians who came before the First World War because they were registered under several nationalities corresponding to the subdivided Ukrainian states and the peasant's passport, e.g. Galician, Bukovynian or Austrian. The Ukrainian who used the old Ukrainian term "Rusyn" was listed as Russian. Piniuta writes that between 100,000 and 200,000 Ukrainians arrived before the

First World War (Piniuta, 1978:9). Marunchak cites Department of Immigration data that no less than 170,000 Galicians, Bukovynians and Ruthenians entered Canada, not counting Ukrainians who were identified as Austrians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians and even Rumanians (Marunchak, 1970:63). The exact number who entered will probably never be determined.

The first Ukrainian immigrants were mostly peasants with little or no capital and no formal education. A survey of a Ukrainian rural settlement in western Canada, conducted in 1917, revealed that fifty percent (50%) of the 832 families interviewed had no money at all upon arrival in Canada and another forty-two percent (42%) had less than five hundred dollars ($500) (Avery, 1975:56). They were poor and dispossessed. They had suffered political, social and cultural oppression and now were wanting to believe the promises of Canadian officials that the new land offered wealth and freedom. From 1890 to 1896 groups of Ukrainian immigrants began to arrive. Frequently several men or families arrived from the same village.

Thomas Daly, the Minister of Interior in the Conservative administrations of John Thompson and Mackenzie Bowell, in collaboration with Dr. Osyp Oleskiw, formulated a plan for the settlement of Ukrainians in the prairies of Western Canada (Piniuta, 1978:20). Wilfred Laurier's Liberal government continued the settlement policy following

their election in 1896. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, advertised the Canadian West throughout Europe (Piniuta, 1978:20). He published pamphlets in twenty languages which praised the soil of the Canadian prairies and the magnificent crops that could be grown there (Woycenko, 1967:12). The campaign promised 200 million acres of land for new settlers in Western Canada - 160 acres for each homesteader (Keywan, 1977:12). The Ukrainian peasant could not begin to imagine a piece of land so big and so readily available.

Immigration agents received a commission for every immigrant (five dollars per family and two dollars for each member who went to Canada). To increase their own income they spread fantastic stories about "the promised land" throughout the Galician villages (Kubijovic, 1984:820). Some stories stressed the economic conditions, others the political and religious liberties, and others the freedom from compulsory military service. Some "bogus agents", men not connected in any way with shipping companies, simply pocketed whatever money they squeezed out of gullible peasants (Keywan, 1977:20). The agents used any means at their disposal, honest or not, to influence people to emigrate. No one had a clear idea of what awaited them and no one knew the economic, physical and emotional costs involved. For many, the image of Canada was too often completely distorted, and many had their dreams cruelly shattered upon arrival.[2]

---

[2]In his article John C. Lehr (1983), "Propaganda and Belief: Ukrainian Emigrant Views of the Canadian West" (Lehr, 1983) goes into greater detail of why many Ukrainian settlers held so many erroneous images of what they would find in Canada.

THE PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT OF WESTERN CANADA

Canada's "open door" immigration policy had a specific objective. Canadian industrialists and the government had ambitious plans to build a country from coast to coast that would be independent from the quickly expanding United States of America and American business. The Canadian establishment wanted to profit from the rich natural resources of the land west of Ontario; the minerals, lumber and farmland. They needed a population base throughout the vast empty stretches of the Canadian interior who would develop these resources cheaply and who would be in the market to buy back finished goods from these same Canadian manufacturers and merchants.

Settlers were needed to fill the millions of acres of prairie land that lay untouched and unpopulated. Ukrainians were targetted for the settlement. The reasons can be assumed from the following words of Clifford Sifton:

> I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality... These men are workers. They have been bred for generations to work from daylight to dark. They have never done anything else and they never expect to do anything else (Kostash, 1977:17).

Government officials assumed that those who farmed in the old world would automatically farm in Canada. The endurance Ukrainians had shown in Europe and their incredible will to survive under intolerable living conditions was precisely what the government expected to profit from on the homesteads out west.

Ukrainians selected their homesteads in order to stay close to one another. The importance they placed upon being together influenced many to make the error of settling on worthless land. Others, remembering the shortage of wood back in Ukraine, chose bush land to supply wood for building and fuel (Piniuta, 1978:21). Government officials tried to persuade the immigrants to go to the open prairies where far less land clearing had to be done. However, mistrustful of government officials back home, and already deceived about life in Canada, Ukrainians made their own decisions. Whatever the reasons, none were prepared for what awaited them.

The immigrant's first worry was shelter. Often they simply dug holes in the ground or put together rude huts from the trees and branches until they could build their first homes. Determined to succeed, the settlers laboured unremittingly both on their homesteads and at any other

available jobs. The difficulties of adapting to the Canadian environment and of securing enough money to survive forced many to seek temporary employment in mining, harvesting, lumbering and railroad construction (Avery, 1977:16).

John A. MacDonald's National Policy was to build his railway and to construct the national dream. Railway companies needed workers, cheap workers:

> The building of these lines required a pool of cheap labour, prepared to endure the deplorable conditions of construction life. Not surprisingly, the railway companies favoured the employment of European settlers in railway construction especially since Ukrainians and other groups had proven themselves to be "obedient and industrious" because of their poverty (Avery, 1975:56).

CANADIAN ESTABLISHMENT REJECT UKRAINIAN SETTLERS

The government gained from the settler's work: however, the established Canadian population did not particularly want these new foreigners. Newspaper articles voiced the public's animosity. The Winnipeg Daily Nor-Wester, in September 1897, included these prejudicial statements in its editorial:

> The dumping down of these filthy, penniless and ignorant foreigners into progressive and intelligent communities is a serious hardship to such a community. These people... bring with them disease in almost every consignment... and their dirty habits render the stamping out of infection among them a very difficult matter... It cannot be too emphatically repeated that the people of Manitoba want no such "settlers" as these "Galicians" (Keywan, 1977:37).

British Canadians feared the dilution and contamination of everything they considered typically Canadian. They could not see how the "filthy" people arriving in their immigration halls in odd native dress would possibly fill the void of the great West. Ukrainians were looked upon as the least promising for nation-building. What was totally ignored was that these new farmers had travelled thousands of miles in third-class accomodations to a land they didn't know much about, but were ready to spend their energies cultivating.

Protests continued in the press and from Members of Parliament. They strongly suggested that the future of the country was in jeopardy because of the kind of people settling the West. Frank Oliver, the Honourable Member for Edmonton stated in 1902, "...it is necessary that settlement should be, as much as possible, of people not only much like ourselves, not only in ideas of civilization but also in political traditions; in other words that we should draw upon the British islands as much as is possible for the western country" (Popowich, 1971:20-21).

Political leaders failed to realize that not all settlers would be ready to face the hardships of settling in Western Canada: Eastern European immigration to the Prairies was occurring as a consequence of the failure of French Canadians and Anglo-Celts to settle there (Petryshyn, 1978:77). The Eastern Europeans came from countries where inferior land had been cultivated for centuries, and many were "willing to make any sacrifice in order to obtain land for themselves and their children" (Avery, 1977:16). An eyewitness account by a Mr. Christopherson, Chief of C.P.R. colonization in Montreal, describes the conditions of settlement life near Yorkton, Saskatchewan:

> Each family was brought to their land grant on a drizzly, cold, late autumn day and left amidst thick poplar bush, without shelter of any kind. We Anglo-Saxons in Yorkton took little interest in those strange people; in fact we forgot all about them, but after that extremely cold and long winter we were amazed to see that they had somehow survived, and were coming out of their dugouts to begin chopping down the trees for log cabins and to clear the land (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:33-34).

Immigration officials knew that British settlers, the very people some politicians wanted, would be unable to bear the difficulties of pioneer life. As early as 1899, W.T.R. Preston, Inspector of Agencies in Europe, included this significant statement in his yearly report to the Canadian High Commissioner in London:

> But one has only to be thrown into contact with these people here to be assured that they are not likely to leave their positions of ease and comfort upon English farms, and assume cheerfully the alleged responsibilities attached to pioneer life in a new country... the project to induce them to emigrate to Manitoba and the Northwest might, in my humble opinion, be abandoned (Popowich, 1971:21)

Therefore, despite the strong prejudice of British Canadians, Ukrainians continued to arrive and build the west, even under severe hardship. The peasants, however, wanted conditions to be different for their children. The first generation may have had to accept strenuous physical work but they did not want the same for the next generation. The pioneers were quick to realize the opportunities available to their children if their children learned English. They also realized it was possible to get a formal education in this new country.

Education in the homeland had been denied to the Ukrainian peasant, therefore in Canada he wanted to take advantage of the availability of schools.

EDUCATION FOR UKRAINIANS IN WESTERN CANADA

The arrival of the new Ukrainian settlers to Canada created a problem in education. Schools and teachers were required for thousands of Ukrainian children who knew no English. And in most of the areas populated by Ukrainians, there were no schoolhouses at all. Records

show that demands by Ukrainians to provide an education for their children began before the end of the nineteenth century. In 1899, C.W. Speers wrote about the colony of Ukrainians settled northeast of Saltcoats, in today's province of Saskatchewan:

> There is no public school of any kind in this colony, although there are about 125 children of school age. Therefore, the necessity of the establishment of English-speaking schools must be apparent, as this seems to be the universal wish of the Galician Colonies that have been established (Popowich, 1971:23).

The predominantly rural environment slowed the pace of language acquisition. The immigrants learned to get by with a limited number of English words. Beyond this, language acquisition was not facilitated. Recognizing the disadvantage in not knowing the language, most of the immigrants resolved that their children would not be similarly handicapped. But their resolve came into conflict with the government's priority, which was merely to settle uninhabited areas. The government did little to organize schools apart from defining school districts. Children were growing up with no formal education and those who had emigrated as 10 year olds were in the worst position. By the time a school was opened in their settlement, many were in their teens, and therefore old enough to work on the homestead or elsewhere: "I was eight years old when we came to Canada. That was 1902. There was no school in the district until 1912. So I never went, At sixteen I had to go out and work on the railroad" (Keywan, 1977:122).

Education developed at a very slow pace because working on the farm conflicted with building schools and finding teachers. Survival took precedence. The sole exceptions were children of immigrants homesteading in regions already well populated by earlier non-Ukrainian settlers. Here, schools already existed and some Ukrainian children did attend.

Organized education for Ukrainians began as a partial solution to satisfy the spiritual ~~or~~ religious void which Ukrainians were experiencing. The French Catholic clergy could not understand why Ukrainian people, who claimed to be of the Catholic faith, refused to have anything to do with the Western Canadian Catholics. They were unaware of the situation back in Ukraine, where Ukrainians considered the Latin Rite as synonymous with "oppressor." Any Ukrainian who became a Catholic of the Latin Rite was labelled "Latynnyk," which name, so far as Ukrainians were concerned, might just as well have been "national enemy" (Popowich, 1971:25). The Eastern-Rite practiced by the Ukrainians differentiated them from their Polish rulers who, through the years, had tried to destroy Ukrainian national consciousness by forcing the Latin Rite upon them. Ukrainians had for centuries attempted to preserve their identity through religious autonomy and so their animosity for the Latin Rite was slow to die.

The following excerpt from an article submitted by a Canadian pioneer to Svoboda, a Ukrainian newspaper published in the U.S., reveals the Ukrainians' suspicions:

> The French Catholics have already extended their paws and are quite convinced that we will soon be within their grasp. As you can see, fellow Ukrainians, these are people who are preparing to destroy us. Slowly we are being led into the Latin rite; systematically we will be forced to adopt the Polish tongue until finally we will be Latynnyky-rosary mumblers, and scapular wearers (Popowich, 1971:26).

For a time, Archbishop Langevin in Manitoba believed that the Latin Rite priests could handle the situation. Reverend A. Lacombe, O.M.I., strongly disagreed in a letter to the Archbishop: "No, no, never will we be able to retain these good people within the Catholic Church by endeavouring to do so through the Latin Rite" (Popowich, 1971:26). The priests wanted to find other priests from interested religious congregations who would learn the Ukrainian language and even change their rite if this was the only way to help Ukrainians.

The effort to fill the educational void in the new communities was launched by the French Canadian hierarchy in the west and by various English Protestant churches. These churches set up missions in the poor "Galician settlements" (Skwarok, 1959:24; Keywan, 1977:123). They operated private schools in which a limited number of children boarded and received instruction. Still, attendance was irregular because most of

the children appeared only if they were not needed at home. The parents worried about the unilingual English-speaking teachers who arrived in the Ukrainian districts to teach only English. The settlers regarded these teachers as instruments of the government's assimilation plans. Speeres' comments show their feelings were justified:

> The people are very anxious to learn our language and ways and this is particularly the case with the Galicians who have even adopted Canadian dress and discarded their traditional costumes. They will soon become absorbed in our Canadian nationality (Keywan, 1977:126).

According to Zonia Keywan, the view of many provincial educational authorities, and most of the Anglo-Canadian public, was that schools in immigrant colonies should serve as vehicles for speedy assimilation (Keywan, 1977:127).

In Saskatchewan, School Inspector Anderson urged that immigrant children be taught by "good strong types of Canadian manhood and womanhood who would mould their young charges to fit Canadian life and ideals" (Keywan, 1977:127). Ukrainians were quick to notice which way the education system was headed, for old frightful memories were being stirred up of the Poles and Russians back home who had ruled over them and who had had similar notions of making them fit the system.

Education in Manitoba. In Manitoba the fears of some Ukrainians were partially appeased by the signing of the Manitoba School Act in 1897, also known as Laurier-Greenway Agreement. It stated:

> When ten of the pupils speak the French language, or any other language than English as their native language, the teaching for such pupils shall be conducted in French or such language, and English upon the bilingual system (Marunchak, 1970:117).

Ukrainians in Manitoba supported the bilingual school system. The first Ukrainian school district, Galicia, was formed in 1899 (Lupul, 1982:216). Ukrainian parents wanted their children to know English and Ukrainian and to keep their own culture and religion. A request was made to train teachers to satisfy the demands of the parents. Only four Ukrainian teachers had landed in Canada with the settlers before 1900 (Marunchak, 1970:115). Obviously, more were needed.

Other national groups supported a bilingual school system for Ukrainians. In Winnipeg a separate committee, the Galician Education Committee, was formed. It was composed of non-Ukrainians and included many distinguished citizens such as Ven. Archdeacon Fortin and J.F. Fowler, Chairman of the Winnipeg School Board (Marunchak, 1970:116).

This Committee supported the demand for bilingual teachers for the "Galician schools", demanded subsidies from the provincial and federal governments for these schools and stressed the necessity of teaching children not only the official language of the country, but their own language as well (Marunchak, 1970:116).

In 1903 John Baderski was appointed organizer and inspector of Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools (Lupul, 1982:216). Baderski noticed that attendance improved under teachers who spoke Ukrainian, and recommended "a special preparatory school for bilingual (Galician-English) teachers", all the more important as the "isolated situation" of school districts made it difficult to obtain qualified teachers (Lupul, 1982:217). As a result, Manitoba opened a special school to train bilingual teachers on February 16, 1905, in Winnipeg. It became officially known as the "Ruthenian Training School" (Marunchak, 1970:117). In 1907, the school was transferred to Brandon, Manitoba, where it functioned until 1916, when the bilingual system in the province was abolished (Woycenko, 1968:89; Marunchak, 1970:148). The steady supply of bilingual teachers from the Training School encouraged districts without schools to erect buildings and begin bilingual education. In Manitoba, by 1905, there were 111 districts operating bilingual schools and employing 114 teachers with an enrolment of 6,513 pupils (Skwarok, 1959:53). By January 1911, the first official demand to introduce teaching in the Ukrainian language in Winnipeg's public schools was

recorded (Kovacs, 1978:111). In 1913 the government published the first Ukrainian-English reader with an English text on one page and the Ukrainian translation on the other (Skwarok, 1959:106). For the time being the school problems in Manitoba seemed resolved.

Education in Alberta and Saskatchewan: A different situation existed in what was later to become Saskatchewan and Alberta. Regulations in all three western provinces permitted a certain amount of bilingual or foreign language instruction. Manitoba permitted full-scale bilingual education in any language and English, and Ukrainian was often the language of instruction. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, the teaching of Ukrainian was permitted in classrooms between 3:00 and 4:00 in the afternoon (Marunchak, 1970:115).

Some attempts were also made to educate the immigrant outside of the formal school system. A French Oblate Father from St. Joachim's parish in Edmonton, Father Jean, had come into contact with young Ukrainian girls, numbering around three hundred, who had arrived in Canada with no families (Popowich, 1971:32). It took great courage for an unmarried woman from Ukraine to come to Canada alone. However, some single women had been inspired by the advertisements or stories circulating around the villages and yearned for a change in their lives. They usually had even less education and money than the men. In

Canada, the law did not allow a woman to claim a homestead of her own. Therefore, she had no skills other than housekeeping to trade for wages in a Canadian city. Father Jean feared the girls he met in Edmonton would be easily exploited. He recruited the teaching assistance of Sisters from the religious Congregation of the Faithful Companions of Jesus, and in February 1901, organized a night school, where three evenings a week, these girls attended classes in English, religion and handicrafts (Popowich, 1971:32).

In 1903, Archbishop Langevin arranged for the first Ukrainian Basilian missionaries and four teaching Sisters to come to Canada and settle in Edmonton (Skwarok, 1959:24). They took over the existing Ukrainian Girls' Night School organized in 1901 by the Oblate Fathers. During the next eight months, the Ukrainian teaching Sisters spent most of their time in acquiring the English language under the supervision of the Faithful Companions of Jesus (Skwarok, 1959:26) and teaching young Galician working girls catechism and prayers in their language (Popowich, 1971:41).

By the end of 1902, Bishop Legal began plans for two schools in opposite parts of Edmonton to accomodate all Ukrainian children. The schools would be conducted by the Sister Servants once they learned English and acquired the necessary pedagogical training.

In 1903, one of the four Sisters died, and in July, a decision was taken to move the three remaining Sisters to Beaver Lake, Alberta. The decision did not follow the plans Bishop Legal had envisioned for the Edmonton community. Reasons for the move are not clearly given. One possible explanation is that the Basilians owned a homestead and had begun construction of a log cabin to serve as a convent for the Sisters. An unfinished log cabin greeted the Sisters and in order to survive, they had to do the heavy physical labour of all early pioneers. There was little time to study English or set up a school. But by 1904, a small chapel began to serve as a classroom for Ukrainian children. It was a daily school serving the locality and outlying districts, and soon sixty children were attending (Skwarok, 1959:28). Only cramped quarters prevented the school from accepting more children.

The majority of parents in Alberta expected the same privileges within their public schools as existed in Manitoba. However, the Liberal government of Alberta firmly refused the idea of bilingual schools. For a long time, the Ukrainian public struggled with Alberta's Department of Education for bilingual schools and teachers in those settlements where the children of Ukrainian parentage constituted a majority (Marunchak, 1970:142). In the years 1909 and 1910, Peter Svarich of Vegreville, travelled about organizing school districts on his own initiative and without official approval (Piniuta, 1978:123). By 1912, 90 Ukrainian school districts had been organized in Alberta, and by 1915, there were 130 (Skwarok, 1959:53).

Constructing schools proved to be easier than supplying teachers. At that time, it was difficult just to find Anglo-Saxon teachers. During regular school hours, the teachers who were available used both the English and Ukrainian languages for instruction. According to the Alberta Public Schools Act, Ukrainian was permitted only after the official school hours (Piniuta, 1978:124). When brought to the school inspectors' attention, these teachers were reprimanded, but many failed to comply.

PROVINCIAL PARTY POLITICS AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

In Alberta: The struggle for bilingual schools in Alberta became closely linked with provincial party politics of 1913. In opposition to the Liberal government's restrictions on the teaching of Ukrainian, Ukrainians nominated independent candidates in five electoral ridings (Piniuta, 1978:124). The Liberal party establishment, traditionally supported by Ukrainian voters, was resentful of this show of independence. The blame was placed squarely on the shoulders of the province's bilingual teachers. The Vegreville Observer, on September 10, 1913, did its part to blame the teachers:

> ...In all these disturbances the Ruthenian teachers were taking the lead... The Ruthenian teachers have only one idea, and that is to instruct the children and parents that as they were persecuted in Galicia by Polacks, in Russia by Russians, so they are persecuted in Canada by English fanatics... We all saw teachers Czumer, Sytnik, Bozik, Mykytiuk, etc... on the platforms at Vegreville and Mundare talking to people and telling them that the rule of the English cowboys is finished; we are now in charge, we are a nation able to govern our own matters etc... (Keywan, 1977:128-129).

Amidst all the controversy only one candidate, Andrew Shandro, a Russophile, was elected (Piniuta, 1978:124). John Boyle from the Ukrainian district of Smokey Lake was appointed Minister of Education. According to electoral law Boyle had to be reelected in his own riding to retain his cabinet post. The Conservatives put the pressure on to defeat Boyle and he turned to Peter Svarich for help. Taking advantage of this situation, Svarich put certain demands on Boyle if he wanted his aid and if Boyle should win. Svarich, an influential member of the Ukrainian community, convinced the voters to back Boyle. In return Boyle promised to translate the School Act into the Ukrainian language and open a teacher-training school, where graduates of the old country gymnasia could complete high school and normal-school courses in three or four years and become qualified teachers (Piniuta, 1978:126).

Boyle won the election. Soon afterwards, the Department of Education opened the "English School for Foreigners" in Vegreville (Marunchak, 1970:142) but the training was not adequate to qualify graduates to teach even in Ukrainian settlements (Lupul, 1982:229). In addition, within a month after the election, Boyle punished the teachers for their separatist activities by revoking their temporary teaching permits (Keywan, 1977:129). Strictly speaking, Boyle was within his right, for none of the permit holders had attended normal school in Alberta (Lupul, 1982:229).

The Ukrainians' support for Boyle had backfired. The government enacted an amendment to the "School Ordinance" which was adopted at a session of the Legislature in October 1913. It reads:

> Any person not so qualified (namely, having a valid certificate of qualification issued under the regulations of the Department) shall not be entitled to recover in any court of law, any remuneration for his services as such teacher.
>
> Any person other than the holder of such certificates of qualification who undertakes to conduct a school as teacher shall be guilty of an offense, and, on summary conviction, liable to penalty not exceeding fifty dollars, and in default to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.
>
> Provided, however, that no persecution shall be instituted under this section except on the orders of the Minister (Marunchak, 1970:143).

Ukrainian teachers lost their permits to teach and were replaced by English-speaking teachers. Antagonisms mounted due to the unexplained legislation. Ukrainians would not accept that the same dismissed teachers were recognized as qualified in Manitoba but not in Alberta. Different forms of protest erupted. A Ukrainian teacher with Manitoba credentials (Vasyl Czumer) was replaced in the Bukovyna School District by an English-speaking teacher (Armstrong). Ukrainians built another school across the road and continued to send their children to the Ukrainian teacher. The qualified English teacher sat in an empty school on salary from month to month, while the people financed the Ukrainian teacher (Skwarok, 1959:97). This outraged Boyle and his supporters. He appealed to the public and threatened to use the Truancy Act (Lupul, 1982:232). The Edmonton Bulletin quickly jumped to support Boyle:

> In Manitoba the Galicians were allowed to get control of their schools with the result that children are growing up in the province unable to speak a word of English. Mr. Boyle emphatically declared that no such state of affairs would be permitted in Alberta. "This is an English-speaking province" said Boyle, "and every Alberta boy and girl should receive a sound English education in the public schools of this province" (Keywan, 1977:129).

Stronger measures followed. Ukrainians fought back. They refused to send their children to school. There were even incidences of teachers beaten by a group of masked women and driven from the school (Skwarok, 1959:98). According to Lupul, "...on January 4, Armstrong was set

upon in his teacherage by several women. Recognizing one of them, Armstrong sued for assault and Mary Karpitsky was fined $200 and, with her eighteen-month child, spent two months at the women's jail in Macleod" (Lupul, 1982:233). Ukrainians had hoped that by making an issue of the problem, they might eventually win. However, in each case, the school law was upheld, and the school districts began to change to take the form required by the government. In this way, bilingual education for Ukrainian children in Alberta was defeated before it ever had a chance to become effective.

The conclusion in the school struggle in Alberta is incromprehensible. On May 16, 1916, the government, in an Order-in-Council, re-introduced the 1903 language regulations. The Alberta Gazette did not carry the executive's legislation and it went unnoticed. Ukrainians were theoretically provided with the opportunity to study in Ukrainian in the public schools but because they were never informed of the change in the statutes, they did not take advantage of the new law until after the Second World War (Lupul, 1982:233-234).

A writer for the Calgary Herald wrote that he feared the Ruthenian mass of human ignorance, filth and immorality would give the rest of Canada a bad name: "Like a hotel or other public place, a country is guaged and sized up according to the class of people who frequent it" (Kostash, 1977:35).

British Canadians worried that these immigrants would never assimilate, and thus "... would drag down the cultural level of the whole area and undermine Anglo-Saxon institutions" (Palmer, 1972:73). Comments like these were at first ignored, but the Anglo-Canadian establishment was in a position to institutionalize its biases. The First World War began and the Anglo-Canadians began to look upon Ukrainians, who were formally under the Austrian Empire, as enemies.

Manitoba: The bilingual schools again became linked with provincial party politics, but this time in Manitoba. Strained relations were surfacing. In the year 1914 the Provincial Liberals were searching for a way into power. Party propaganda of T.C. Norris sought to abolish the bilingual school system.

In the election platform, outlined in the 136-page Liberal handbook, the Party attacked the bilingual schools by alleging that the English language was poorly understood and indifferently spoken in these schools. It said:

> In the French, Polish and Ruthenian settlements of Manitoba the English language is but poorly understood and indifferently spoken by the children and by a considerable number of the adult population. The Liberals contend that this condition represents not only a wrong inflicted upon these children individually, but a prejudice

> to the entire province and to the entire Dominion. For this condition of things means that the French children and the Polish and Ruthenian children are being unprepared not only to make their own way of life, but unprepared also for responsibilities of Canadian citizenship and the burdens of Canadian nationality (Marunchak, 1970:145).

An odd aspect of statements like these was that the accusations were totally inconsistent with what had been asserted on the part of the government to that time. Robert Fletcher, Manitoba's Deputy Minister of Education, stated clearly in his report for 1912-1913:

> Every effort is being made to maintain the status of the English language in all schools. The Department has no doubt that this purpose is being achieved. There are, as everybody knows, certain difficulties in the way, but these difficulties are being steadily overcome, and the progress made in this important feature of public instruction is encouraging and satisfactory (Marunchak, 1970:146).

In the same report Fletcher made still another important observation regarding bilingual teachers: "They are not only able to give efficient instruction in two languages but to inculcate the true spirit of Canadian patriotism" (Marunchak, 1970:146).

Provincial elections in 1914 and 1915 brought the Liberals under T.C. Norris to power, and the new Minister of Education, R.S. Thornton, a Scottish physician, immediately requested the Superintendent of Schools, C.K. Newcombe, to prepare a special report on the bilingual school situation (Lupul, 1982:218). Although the situation was not perfect, Newcombe did not find it serious enough to recommend the abolition of the bilingual system (Lupul, 1982:219). However, there were many people within Manitoba who expected drastic changes.

The Winnipeg Free Press, which supported the Liberals and their point of view, came out in 1915 with over 60 editorials and articles against the bilingual school system. The Winnipeg Telegram alone defended the bilingual schools (Marunchak, 1970:146). The Liberals were counting on Anglo-Saxon patriotism and set the Anglo-Saxon majority against the French Canadians, Germans, Mennonites, Ukrainians, Poles, and all those ethnic groups who made use of bilingual schools (Marunchak, 1979:147).

Norris' Liberals set out to close the schools against strong opposition from Ukrainians. A petition with 6,000 signatures (Lupul, 1982:220) was presented to the government. Norris was unmoved: "The multiplicity of nationalities within the province makes the present (bilingual) law impossible. All would benefit from the system of education enjoyed by the English-speaking Canadians" (Lupul, 1982:220).

Despite the efforts of different Ukrainian delegations sent to the government to convince it otherwise, and despite the long and dramatic parliamentary debates by French-speaking Members of Parliament as well as the Conservative Members in the Legislature, on March 8, 1916, the Manitoba parliament passed the proposed legislation, and that same year, Ukrainian public schools in Manitoba closed their doors (Marunchak, 1970:148).

The government tried to explain the abolition of the bilingual school system as an effort to raise the standard of teaching in these schools. As a sign of protest, many bilingual teachers resigned their positions. The Norris government had enacted compulsory attendance of children up to age 14 (Marunchak, 1970:149) and the resignations created a shortage of teachers. To remedy the shortage, the government assigned teachers who had no qualifications (Marunchak, 1970:149). Ironically, bilingual schools in Manitoba were cancelled in order to "improve" the quality of education, and now, unqualified teachers were supposed to accomplish this task.

Saskatchewan: The situation in Saskatchewan is difficult to assess. Early on, Saskatchewan tried desperately to follow in the footsteps of Manitoba. The education of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan dates effectively from 1901 (Lupul, 1982:222). A law passed that year

permitted trustees, on parental request, to employ "competent persons to give instruction in any language other than English" provided the course did not "supersede or in any way interfere with" instruction in the schools, and "a special rate" was levied on participating parents to meet any additional costs (Lupul, 1982:222).

The Department of Education restricted the teaching of languages other than French to the last hour in the school day, and confined instruction to reading and writing from texts authorized by the education ministry (Lupul, 1982:222). The need for bilingual teachers was recognized and in 1909, official notices appeared in the press to the effect that beginning September of that same year, a teacher's training school would open in Regina for the purpose of training young lads as "Ruthenian English teachers" in the province of Saskatchewan (Marunchak, 1970:123). In reality, students of other backgrounds attended, and not much attention was paid to teaching Ukrainian. The Ukrainian Canadian press continued to refer to this school as the "Ukrainian English Teacher's Seminary in Regina" (Marunchak, 1970:141) but government's official name for the institution was "The English School for Foreigners."

The minimum requirements of this school were grade four in a student's own language and a "fair" knowledge of English, but many students were admitted without them (Lupul, 1982:223). The quality of

training within the school seems highly questionable. The course required eight months, yet seldom lasted more than six, as classes opened late and closed early (Lupul, 1982:223). There is not much information as to what was taught.

Estimates vary as to the number of schools which actually taught or used Ukrainian. According to Skwarok, in Saskatchewan, there existed over 200 Ukrainian schools and 80 Ukrainian teachers (Skwarok, 1959:53).

However, Lupul states: "By 1916, in the comprehensive annual reports of the province's twenty-five inspectors, only inspector J.T.M. Anderson of Yorkton, a critic of bilingualism, indicated that Ukrainian was taught in three public schools. There was no authorized text "to be found" and there were "very few teachers competent to teach a second language'" (Lupul, 1982:222). With the quality of education being offered within the Regina training school, the absence of qualified teachers is no surprise. However, the great disparity between Skwarok and Lupul in the number of schools and teachers mentioned is difficult to explain.

Sandwiched between the provinces of Alberta and Manitoba where protests were already taking place on the subject of bilingual education, the people of Saskatchewan realized they would also soon be affected. In April 1917, the government closed the "Training School for Teachers for Foreign Speaking Communities" (Lupul, 1982:223). Just as in the other

two provinces, all efforts were placed on making English the only language of instruction during school hours. Problems quickly mounted. Following the closure of the Regina training school, the Liberal government forbade the use of old-country Ukrainian textbooks, and removed Androchowich and Kuhn of Yorkton (two Ukrainians) as school supervisors (Lupul, 1982:225).

Even with these reactionary events taking place, Saskatchewan Ukrainians appeared remarkably calm about the predicament of their schools. At the convention of the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association in February 1918, Ukrainians (one delegate from each school) were urged to attend and oppose changes bearing on language, school consolidation, and the replacement of school trustees by municipal councils (Lupul, 1982:226). There is no mention of how many Ukrainians participated. However, with the on-going battle in the other provinces (especially Manitoba), being very strong, it seems reasonable to expect that Ukrainian participation at the convention would have been likewise strong. Not so. According to Lupul, while the debate on the language resolutions was extensive, there is no evidence of Ukrainian participation (Lupul, 1982:226). When the Saskatchewan government ousted all languages other than English (and French within strict limitations) from its schools, the public reaction of the Ukrainian community was barely visible (Lupul, 1982:226).

The Ukrainians' low profile was likely the result of caution: Discriminatory political policies were introduced in Canada at that time due to the war in Europe. Ukrainians were commonly spoken of as enemy aliens. On August 21, 1914, the government in Ottawa passed the War Measures Act prohibiting enemy aliens from leaving their homes or being near bridges, waterways and railroads. Other measures introduced during the war prevented enemy aliens from buying farmland, printing newspapers or magazines in their own language and, finally, from voting. These events may have proven to be too intimidating for Ukrainians of Saskatchewan. After seeing the futile attempts of the well organized battle for Ukrainian education in Manitoba around 1916, defense of their modest Ukrainian linguistic provisions may have been seen as too jeopardizing. Ukrainian bilingual education in Saskatchewan ceased to exist in 1918 (Keywan, 1977:130).

QUALITY OF EDUCATION RECEIVED

It would be incomplete to record the existence of bilingual schools in the western provinces without describing the actual situations children and teachers encountered within these schools. The mere existence of the bilingual schools did not mean progress in education for Ukrainian settlers in Canada. Having the school did not always guarantee proper education. The parents had fought for bilingual schools and some succeeded in attaining them; however, the demand for Ukrainian speaking

teachers was greater than the supply. Vacant positions had to be filled with English speaking teachers. Ukrainian parents did not want these English teachers but had to accept what was given to them.

The problem was amplified by English teachers who were prejudiced about the abilities of the children. An English missionary-teacher, writing in a religious journal, stated: "...The Central European children are so dense that it is perhaps too much to expect that they should ever make good and desirable citizens in Canada" (Skwarok, 1959:56).

Stereotyping is demonstrated in the following anecdote:

> A Ukrainian woman was replastering her clay oven, heard voices and climbed out of the oven covered with mud and clay. In front of her stood the local school trustee and the new teacher. Unable to speak English she stood there and smiled, the trustee looked at her with disapproval then turned to the young teacher in his charge and said "You see I told you the Galicians are a dirty lot (Keywan, 1977:39).

Few qualified teachers wished to teach in the primitive facilities of the "bush countries." Teachers lodged with the entire farm family in a single room and the salaries were very low. Often as many as three different teachers taught in one school during one school year. The children suffered from such frequent changes. Ukrainian school boards were forced to hire uncertified teachers, many of them still students themselves, who had been granted temporary teaching permits (Keywan, 1977:125).

Many rural schools operated on a part-time basis, or with school terms shortened to the four or six spring and summer months of the year. The weather and the distance required to walk to the nearest school were prohibitive. Eva Kretzul, an immigrant, described her situation:

> I was lucky that the school was one mile away. Some of the children had to walk as far as six miles. It was hard to learn in those old schools. We didn't know English, and there were eight or nine grades with only one teacher. I spent two and a half years in grade one. It took me two years to learn how to read (Keywan, 1977:132).

Some schools stayed open throughout the regular school months. Children walked through prairie blizzards, sinking to their waists in the snow, arriving at school frozen. The building greeting them was a log cabin with no lights or lamps. If it was dark outside, it was dark inside. There was a stove in the back, but one had to sit right on it to feel any heat. There are stories of teachers and students running around the room in a snake dance to keep warm, sitting on top of desks to keep their sodden feet out of draughts, and hanging wet clothes in the heat of the stove, suffering then a stench as well (Kostash, 1977:78).

The desks were double-seated maplewood and bore little relation to the height or breadth of the student sitting in it (Kostash, 1977:78).

John Strynadka describes his school:

> It was a one-room school. Some of the children had to walk five miles to get there. We had 83 children going at the time, all in one room. It was very hard for the teachers. Two years was the most any teacher would stay (Keywan, 1977:131).

During the spring months students suffered through mosquitos and the sudden prairie heat. School attendance was poor. During seeding and harvest times every extra hand was needed at home. It was not uncommon to have the whole school empty at the work season.

When students could attend overcrowding was prevalent and remained so until the late 1920's. Crowded conditions inhibited quality education. Big tall fourteen year olds attempted to master the same subject that seven year olds were struggling with. Discipline was a problem. Pioneer teachers usually had little advanced schooling: the completion of grade eight was the norm, followed by four months at normal school (Lupul, 1982:215). The teacher had to rely on his own resources. Teaching aids were unheard of. Eaton's catalog, with its handy combination of words and illustrations, was used in many schools across the prairies as a first reader (Keywan, 1977:125). Some more prosperous schools had a globe, chalk, window netting, story books, writing paper, and sometimes a map courtesy of the Neilson Company with

pictures of chocolate bars in each corner. Scribblers were a luxury item. According to a Mrs. Homeniuk, "We didn't have any money to buy paper for our children when they were in school. They did their homework on wrapping paper that we got from the store" (Keywan, 1977:32).

Education beyond grade eight did not exist in a rural school. Families had to pay room and board in a town or city to educate their children further. A serious decision had to be made: to send a child to school for higher education or to keep the child on the farm as an extra hand.

In the first years very few ever reached grade eight. According to a 1915 report on the bilingual districts of Manitoba, sixty-eight percent (68%) of the Ukrainian and Polish school population was enrolled in grades one and two, while only two percent (2%) could be found above grade five (C.K. Newcombe, cited in Keywan, 1977:126). Many of the children, especially the girls, had to drop out.

Work blocked education. Charles Young estimated that fifty percent (50%) of Ukrainian immigrants were illiterate on arrival: according to the 1921 census twenty years later, forty percent (40%) still were

(Kostash, 1977:69). However, despite all the hardships some did make it to grade eight and even higher through university. The sacrifices by the families of these students are not forgotten:

> I was proud to be at university - I was the third person from Two Hills to go. And when I came home for visits people would point me out on the street, "There goes the university student." They would gawk at me like at some animal in the zoo. So I tried my damnedest not to flunk anything. I was afraid of letting myself down, the town down - and there was a little of Ukrainianism there too. Letting the Ukrainians down (Kostash, 1977:69).

Given a chance and proper education, Ukrainian children demonstrated success in the system. Robert Fletcher, Supervisor of Schools among Foreigners in Alberta, said "Ruthenian children are as a rule bright and intelligent and even with the handicap of acquiring a new language, they keep abreast with the children of English-speaking parents" (Skwarok, 1959:57).

The mass responsibility of continuing Ukrainian education in the prairie provinces fell to the private school systems. These schools were closely related to the parishes, churches and youth organizations and had to be exclusively maintained by the fees charged to the parents. In many cases this hampered the survival of the schools. Ukrainians established their own system of bursas (student residences in Ukraine usually housing students from poor families and orphans) and institutes

around the time the bilingual schools were abolished. Students received room and board and after school hour classes in the language, history, literature and religion of Ukraine. The bursas and institutes were a demonstration by Ukrainian parents that they wanted to preserve the Ukrainian language and combat the assimilation campaign of the federal and provincial governments. They met the need of extending education beyond the simple pioneer provisions of the one-room rural school. The bursas aided in cushioning the students' sudden contact with urban life.

The Presbyterian church also set up a system of bursas with the specific objective of assimilating Ukrainian students. They did not work. Ukrainians kept to their own institutes.

The foregoing discussion has dealt with some historical aspects of the educational problems of Ukrainian settlers in Western Canada. Ukrainians had been prompted to emigrate by the promise of land. Their first years here were spent struggling for survival and there was no time to concentrate on education. However, after securing a foothold in the new country, Ukrainians became anxious for their children to become proficient in English in order to gain economic opportunity and success in the future. They were convinced that the best means to attack the problem was to train Ukrainian-English bilingual teachers. In their minds, these teachers would be the best qualified to meet the needs of Ukrainian school children. The French Catholic clergy became

involved early on. The Manitoba Conservative government was the first provincial government to respond to the Ukrainian appeal. It allowed the opening of a training school for Ukrainian-English speaking school teachers. The other two provinces soon followed with similar schools.

However, the dreams of Ukrainian settlers were soon shattered. Alberta was the first province to close down these schools, with Manitoba and Saskatchewan following shortly after. Ukrainians struggled for nearly four decades to reinstate these classes.[3] Abolition of bilingual schools forced the establishment of private schools for Ukrainian language, history and literature. It is not the aim here to judge the actions of the different provincial governments. The situation and problems encountered have been only highlighted in this work. The education of Ukrainians in Canada is still an open field for study.

Ironically the very same provinces which originally closed down bilingual schools for being "backwards" are today conscientiously supporting a bilingual school system. Alberta, which was the first to abolish bilingual schools in 1913, stands now as an example of half-day

---

[3]The Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, on September 4, 1952, recognized Ukrainian language study not as an optional subject, but as a fully accepted credit in public schools (Marunchak, 1970:227; Lupul, 1982:227). This was the first province to make a move in repatriating the Ukrainian language within the schools.

Ukrainian, half-day English schools. As of April 1971, with the School Board's approval, Ukrainian can be a language of instruction in grades one and two (with an hour in English) and for fifty percent (50%) of the school day in each subsequent grade (Lupul, 1982:235). In Edmonton, Ukrainian bilingual education is growing with every year. It has already reached the high school level.

The development of the Ukrainian community and its educational opportunities followed a completely different course in Montreal. It is necessary to describe the differences between rural and urban conditions of settlement in order to more fully comprehend the unique development of Ukrainian city dwellers.

The next chapter will show that the Ukrainian ethnic community which evolved in Montreal adapted quickly to survival in the urban industrial environment it was confronted with.

CHAPTER III

UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT IN MONTREAL

URBAN CONDITIONS

The majority of Ukrainian settlers came from traditional old world agricultural societies but once in Canada many of them did not finish their journey to the western Canadian farms. Some stayed behind in the urban industrial environment of the east. They remained because they ran out of money to continue westward. Staying was less their choice than the only option available to them under the circumstances. For these settlers, leaving behind a rural agricultural lifestyle proved to be an immensely dramatic change. The groups who settled in large numbers on western Canadian homesteads or in rural farm areas had their own particular experiences and their own particular problems. Survival was not easy; however, their familiarity with agriculture and living off the land created a continuity between the old life and the new. But for immigrants adapting to urban conditions farming experience was not much help and these new urban settlers often found themselves totally unprepared for city life. Their behavior, their attitudes and many of their old familiar ways had to change drastically right from the start.

Montreal provides a good base of study from which to analyze the growth of a Ukrainian community made up of those immigrants who found themselves stranded. Unlike the western settlements whose origins have been studied and documented, in such books as Keywan's Greater than Kings and Kostash's All of Baba's Children and many others. (Refer to books in "References" for more titles.) the origin of Ukrainian settlement in Montreal is difficult to trace. Urban settlement was not planned and official records do not exist. Researchers disagree about the exact arrival date of the very first Ukrainian settlers in Montreal. Whereas Hrymak-Wynnycky (1964:40) documents that the first Ukrainian family came to Montreal in 1899, Mamchur states that the origin of Ukrainians in Montreal is 1904 (Mamchur, 1939:69). One early immigrant, W. Anastazievsky, wrote in 1906 in the American newspaper Svoboda and in Winnipeg's Canadian Farmer that, "Ukrainians have been in Montreal for already seven years... The first Ukrainian was Ivan Tuchtie, a bachelor."

Point St. Charles Settlement: It seems safe to say that by the turn of the century Montreal was seeing the arrival of its first Ukrainian settlers. Penniless and segregated from the start Ukrainians sought out low rental areas for accommodations. They were forced to look for industrial employment and therefore settled in Point St. Charles, between the aqueduct and the canal, where heavy industry was concentrated. Even at that time Point St. Charles was not an affluent area.

The industrial working class lifestyle the Montreal immigrants fell into was a far cry from the homestead lifestyle their fellow immigrants were experiencing at the same time in western Canada. Each group developed its own distinct pattern of survival within its new environment.

Point St. Charles has always been considered a unique area of Montreal. It covers approximately seven by eleven city blocks and lies island-like, between the Lachine Canal to the north (the oldest centre of industry in the city) and the C.N.R. tracks to the south. Before the turn of the century, it was almost all residential. As industry worked up the canal, tenements were torn down and replaced by factories. Estimates indicate that some ten thousand people were forced to move out with the appropriation of property by Northern Electric and Belding Corticelli (Bayley, 1939;41-42).[4]

The Point, as it is commonly referred to, was regarded by many as a slum area of Montreal. Buildings were soot-black from boats passing in the canal, from the spewed out factory waste and from the churning

---

[4]At present these two factories have moved away leaving behind their massive structures to remind the people of a life in the past.

engines of the trains. The area had wide streets and sidewalks because the large factories all required good transportation routes to move their supplies and products.

More detail is found in a letter written by Mykhailo Tsytulsky about his arrival in Montreal with his brother in early April 1907. A friend greeted them at the train station and brought them to a home on Grand Trunk Street. Tsytulsky described the streets of the Point as being littered with garbage and having holes everywhere. There were a few wooden sidewalks, the houses had no electricity and were lit by naphta. The streetcars were heated with tiny stoves in the rear.

The two major streets in Point St. Charles are Center Street and Wellington Street. According to a map, the two streets intersect at the entrance to the Point and then branch out in the form of a "V". It was here where the commercial area and major business establishments were found: grocery stores, confectionaires, pool rooms, dry-good stores, meat markets and taverns. Both streets are divided by the Canadian National Railroad tracks with Wellington Street below or south of the tracks and Center Street above the tracks. The two streets are not more than a five minute walk apart. Most of the first Ukrainians settled in the area north of the tracks.

The Point, though fairly isolated from the central section of Montreal, was connected with it by street car service. The general residential scene was one of the red-brick tenements, often admitting passage only through a hooded staircase near sheds in the back lanes. Many Ukrainians found themselves with no front door, a situation very different from the Ukraine farmlands. The homes facing the street had doors immediately adjacent to the wooden sidewalk. There were no verandas or balconies, just one or two steps to the door of their home. On a hot summer day, the people would come out and sit on their steps or would bring chairs from their house right out on the sidewalk and crowd the path of the pedestrians. This situation was unfamiliar to them. The buildings were in a poor state. Walls leaned several degrees from the vertical, stairways were almost collapsed and floors sunken. The tenements were "cold flats" - very damp in the winter months and dusty and hot in the summer. The area was poor indeed and the most densely populated Ukrainian section was found on the most deteriorated streets: Richardson, Center and Manufacture (Mamchur, 1939, p.73). Bayley describes the early settlement as if the Ukrainians had crossed the bridge to the Point and settled right on the first corner (Bayley, 1939:43). Though newer homes were to be found scattered on certain streets more distant from the factories, Ukrainians as a rule could not afford to live

in them. Photographs from that period show a thick cloud of smoke and dust hanging over Point St. Charles from the industries. The roads also did not help. As described by an early immigrant, "The sidewalks were made of wooden boards while the streets were covered with gravel. Because of this in the summer a cloud of dust would rise like in the Sahara." Elizabeth Pelletier, Secretary of the Provincial Board of Health at that time complained that the streets "were in an intolerable state though tolerated" and that the lanes were used as "refuse dumps" (Copp, 1974:18).

Point St. Charles was not a Ukrainian settlement per se, however, the largest percentage of Ukrainians grouped there. Being together in their own "ghetto" helped to make the unknown seem familiar. One settler, arriving in Montreal in 1913, described the Ukrainian enclave:

> I couldn't walk out of my house nor down the street without meeting a number of Ukrainians. When we used to go Christmas caroling at Christmas time, no one would carry with them a list of addresses. We would just walk down Center and the other streets around Center and knock on almost every second door. We rarely made a mistake because the houses were filled with Ukrainians. (my interview w/Drozdowich).

St. Lawrence Settlement: About 1908, new Ukrainian immigrants and a small number from the Point began to move into the central slum section around St. Lawrence Street (Mamchur, 1939:66). The immigrants here

also found themselves in cheap tenements close to a highly developed commercial section of Montreal and a region surrounded by needle-trade factories. The main "pull" factor in this area was the concentration of Jews, who, knowing Ukrainian or other Slavic languages, directed the Ukrainian newcomer to this area for lodging. The women found jobs in the clothing factories and employment as maids in Jewish households (Mamchur, 1939:66). The Ukrainian settlement spread between Amherst and Papineau Streets (Mamchur, 1969:67). Here, Ukrainian immigrants usually rented their dwellings and many lived in rooming houses where they shared one room with two or three other people. These Ukrainians were considered to be aristocrats by Ukrainians of the Point, for they did not have to live in the "lean-to's" and rooms under built-in back verandas as the latter had to (Bayley, 1939:46).

Frontenac Settlement: A third area of settlement in Montreal was created by the location of a huge gas factory presently known as the "Natural Gas Company" on Frontenac Street, just below Ontario Street. It provided opportunities for employment for a large number of Ukrainians. Those who had settled in the central section between Amherst and Papineau began to move farther east, forming the nucleus of the Frontenac settlement (Marunchak, 1939:67).

The Frontenac area stood in distinct contrast to the Point. Where the latter was situated within an industrial section along the harbour and the canal, the Frontenac settlement was a residential area. With the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railroad tracks to the east of the settlement, Frontenac was not surrounded by factories. The immigrants had access to many small shops and other trading institutions which served to make the area fairly self-sufficient. While most of the homes were still somewhat old, they were much newer than those in the Point. Also, the streets were developed as part of a residential section of town and therefore had some green spaces around them. Ukrainians were mostly found on Gascon, Berry, Hogan, Montgomery, Florian, and Wurtele Streets (Mamchur, 1939:73).

The Frontenac working-man's residential area had a good chance of becoming a compact Ukrainian neighbourhood. However, the French ecclesiastical and school authorities, finding the French moving out and their own institutions being depopulated, prevailed upon the French landlords to lease only a portion of their residential property to Ukrainians and not to lease in compact blocks (Mamchur, 1939:67).

During the years 1907 and 1908, there was high unemployment and many of the Ukrainians found themselves in financial distress:

> We would daily go searching for employment and with no success we would find ourselves at the city dump looking for some old shoes or clothes to have something to wear. The French people in the area were very unfriendly. They would throw rocks or snowballs or knock our hats off as we walked along the streets. They would also break the windows in our homes. To protect the windows during the winter months we would break off springs from our beds and make barriers across the windows to break the flight of a rock. I lived in a house together with twenty-six other men. It was not uncommon to get together and jump a Frenchman in return for their great hospitality. The police would survey these happenings but would not intervene. Milk, ice, coal and other products were delivered by horse-drawn wagons (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:238-239).

The Point and the central slum areas were considered as quite separate from each other. Point St. Charles tended to house families while the central slum area was populated by unattached individuals, either maids, factory girls or homeless men. These were known as the "hobo type" of workers, because they would take any job available even if it meant travelling great distances, just to accumulate some money. A good example of this is Mykhailo Kotsulym's description of his jobs during his first year in Canada:

> I arrived in Canada, April 13, 1905. After a few days in Montreal I was offered a job digging the foundation for the Sun Life building on Dorchester Street. I worked all day like a horse and received eighty cents pay at the end of the day. I worked there for one week, at the end of which I received ten dollars. The following week, a newly acquired friend took me to work in Point St. Charles to a steel plant. I worked there for two months, near the smelters on twelve hour shifts. My salary was ten cents an hour. I then switched jobs to a factory on Grand Trunk Street also in the Point. My salary there was thirty-five dollars a month. At the end of seven months work I had made some good money. However, I wanted to try my luck out west working in the fields. I didn't find anything better. The farmers were paying three hundred dollars for a year's work. I then tried my luck in Winnipeg. However, there also I didn't find anything better because one needed one's own pick and shovel as you walked around the city asking for work. After two weeks of wandering I arrived in Fort William. There I was able to work on road constructin for twelve cents an hour. However, I feared unemployment in winter and decided to seek something more definite. I continued to Chapleau where I got a job with the C.P.R. During my holidays in 1906 I returned to Montreal and to Point St. Charles, where I decided to stay (Davidowych, 1963:53-55, my translation)

Transient immigrant workers were a source of profit to the Anglo-Canadian industrialists. According to Donald Avery (1975:54) "the attitude of these industrialists was disarmingly simple: immigrants should supply a steady flow of cheap labour". Many immigrant workers hoped to make as much money as possible and as quickly as possible. In reality, the immigrant workers became victims of economic and social exploitation.

ORGANIZING A COMMUNITY LIFE

As already mentioned, the first Ukrainian immigrants arrived with little knowledge of what Canada was like. This lack of knowledge was further magnified by their not being able to communicate easily with the people of Canada. Linguistic differences greatly hindered the amount of progress that could be achieved. The immigrants who settled on homesteads or in rural areas were closer to each other and at a greater distance from other Canadians. Although being around one's own people aided in combatting feelings of isolation, the rural immigrant was not forced to learn too much of the new language. The situation of urban immigrants was different. They were much more handicapped without the ability to communicate in either French or English, the majority languages.

The urban immigrant remained residentially segregated and socially isolated unless he sought out his own people. Because he was forced to live in a low rent district and did not know the dominant language, he suffered rejection by the dominant population groups. The immigrant community ultimately came to be held together by a network of personal relations scattered about the urban environment, each helping the other whenever possible.

In Western Canada the Ukrainian immigrant's primary objective was physical survival. Life was too harsh to allow time for organizing a social life as well. Only when their primary physical needs began to be taken care of, could the prairie immigrants start building their community organizations. Their first attempts were to reestablish and follow the same familiar institutions they had known in Ukraine. Even in the most progressive villages, the center of community life was usually the village church. The homogeneity and isolation of the settlement meant that much of the old world culture was duplicated in Canada. Not surprisingly, the first Ukrainian organization in Canada was the St. Nicholas Brotherhood, established in Edna-Star, Alberta, in 1897, by Greek Catholic Ukrainian immigrants (Woycenko, 1982:174). The recorded arrival of the first Ukrainian immigrants to Western Canada was 1891. It had taken the first Ukrainian farmers six years to set up their first distinct organization.

Ukrainian organizations were set up in half the time in urban industrial Montreal. Here the immigrants were confronted immediately with the cultural ways and relational structures of the dominant established society. Ukrainians soon developed their own organizations for mutual aid and problem solving. Their first institutions and associations were survival oriented and were organized to protect the immigrants from crises. They helped provide a minimum satisfaction of needs, especially economic ones.

In 1902, approximately three years after the first immigrants were stranded in Montreal, Ukrainians created the "Ukrainian Canadian Citizen's Club". Its aim was for members to help one another with affairs involving the municipality, such as rents and water, and to deal with these problems collectively in the English language. The club lasted until 1930 (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:297). Urban living had accelerated the development of organized associations.

This need for physical survival and cultural protection under a dominant society is further amplified the following year, in 1903, when Ukrainians of Montreal organized the "Association in Care of Settlers" (Marunchak, 1970:209). Not much is known about the founding meeting. However, a small article in the Canadian Almanac Nove pole, describes the organization as follows: "September 17, 1903, Ukrainians in Montreal began the Association in Care of Settlers. The elected president was Volodymyr Anastazievs'kyi, the secretary was Iakov Sysak. The dues were fifteen cents a month. This was a reading society with its duty to take care of the newly arrived Ukrainians. This Society changed its name after two years..." (Marunchak, 1972:89-90, my translation). Another of Marunchak's books published in 1970, describes the Association as "a cultural center whose duty, among other things, was to look after the needs of labourers arriving in Montreal and new settlers in general" (Marunchak, 1970:20). The members did not forget their homeland and

aid was also sent back to their families still in Ukraine. In time the name of the Association was changed to "Association in Care of Settlers and Aid to the Old Country" (Marunchak, 1970:209).

The third organization recorded in Montreal is the "Self-Help" or the "Ukrainian Sick Benefit Society." It is almost impossible to track down the exact year this society was founded. Marunchak sets the date as February 3, 1907 (Marunchak, 1972:95; 1970:20). A jubilee book commemorating the early Ukrainian pioneers in Quebec dates the beginning of the organization in 1903 (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:297). While we cannot be sure of the exact date of its founding, there is no dispute as to why it was formed. The reason for its existence is clear. With no unemployment insurance or guaranteed income in case of illness or injury, Ukrainian settlers were quick to realize how disastrous a crisis would be during times of underemployment, economic downturn or no income. A disproportionate number of Ukrainian workers were found in undesirable or heavy labor jobs, where accidents were common. A high percentage of workers were involved in seasonal jobs, such as road work or construction. Put into these situations, it was very advantageous to the immigrants to have their "Ukrainian Sick Benefit Society."

Members paid monthly dues set at one dollar. After six months, if a member fell ill, he would receive seven dollars a week over a three month period. Following this, the payments would be diminished to three dollars a week. If after two years a member suddenly died, the widow and children would receive three hundred dollars to help them survive, and one hundred and fifty dollars for the funeral arrangements (Marunchak, 1972:95; Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:297). Forty people signed up at the first meeting and after seventeen months, there were close to one hundred members (Marunchak, 1972:96). Meetings were held in Richmond Hall at 280 Richmond Street in Point St. Charles (Marunchak, 1970:209).

The minutes of the meetings of this organization at the National Archives in Ottawa records donations ranging from one penny to twenty-five cents. The names of accident victims who received money from the society are also recorded. No cultural activities are cited in these minutes.

The Montreal associations were originally survival oriented. In time, however, these same associations began to acquire other social functions. The "Association in the Aid of Settlers" began to double as a community center and was the place to go to hear about job openings. Books and newspapers were read aloud to keep the people informed. Speakers were invited to give talks. By May 5th, 1906, the first dance for Ukrainians was organized (Marunchak, 1972:91). By the end of that

year, a total of three dances had been organized by the Association. Reports show that these social nights were well attended with people staying and enjoying themselves until sunrise the next day.

On October 27th, 1906, the first Ukrainian theatre performance was staged (Marunchak, 1972:92). It was organized and performed by the members of the Association in Aid of Settlers. The name of the play was "Who is with God, then God will be with him" (Marunchak, 1970:209). This new Association also became very active and by February 1908 put on its own first theatrical performance titled "Mr. Secretary" (Marunchak, 1972:93).

On August 5th, 1907, the "Association in Care of Settlers and Aid to the Old Country" again changed its name to "Association of Ukrainians" (Marunchak, 1972:92; 1970:209). This is considered to be a very progressive move because most Ukrainians in Canada at that time referred to themselves as Ruthenians rather than Ukrainians.

All the early organizational life was in Point St. Charles. It is not known if the Association of Ukrainians owned or rented their assembly hall or building. However, at the general meeting in 1907, the Ukrainian press reported one member being elected caretaker of 481 Wellington Street (Marunchak, 1972:92). It therefore seems safe to assume that this address was an independent commercial space. Having an organization with access to a building within a such a short space of time indicates the importance Ukrainians in Montreal placed on their organizational life.

SHARED IDEOLOGY OF THE DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS

Little else besides these community centers existed in Montreal to link the immigrants with their ethnic group. Many immigrants arrived in Canada without their extended families. So to them, socialization was crucial. The basic principles and philosophy of these early Ukrainian community groups may be the result of certain parent societies and ideas brought with them from Ukraine. To the outsider, the community seemed to be integrated by a shared ideology which motivated the group and constituted a source of vitality for the community as a whole. The founding of the Drahomanov Society in Montreal in 1907 (Marunchak, 1972:99) offers a theoretical explanation of the harmonious activities of the community during that early time period.

Mykhailo Drahomanov advocated "...the renewal of Ukrainian literature and learning, the study of the Ukraine, the advancement of masses through rational propaganda not bloody uprisings, the study of European languages, reading and literacy, the preservation of faith, custom and tradition, the organization of co-operatives and self-reliance associations, the importance of the household, democracy and socialism" (Kelebay, 1980:79).

Reviewing the organizations and the activities in Montreal up to 1907, all of them fall neatly into Drahomanov's philosophy. It was the "Self-Help Association" that set up the Drahomanov Society (Marunchak, 1972:99). Both organizations closely co-operated with each other and

many performances or cultural activities were prepared together. It is only logical to assume that Montreal Ukrainians believed in the Drahomanovian code if they set up an organization in his name. Kelebay goes as far as naming the first group of Ukrainian settlers in Montreal, arriving between 1899 and 1914, as the "pioneers" or "Drahomanov Men" (Kelebay, 1980:75).

Being mainly of the working class, it is not surprising that the settlers would reflect the working class or socialist ideas they had been exposed to in Ukraine. In consequence, many adopted Drahomanov's program based on socialism, independence for Ukraine, and anticlericalism. This anticlericalism was rooted in the conviction that the clergy were not doing enough for the peasantry, either educationally or economically. In Europe, the youth had been challenging the clergy's traditional control over all that happened in the village. In Canada, because of the great lack of Ukrainian clergy while settlements were formed, much of the community life was organized by peasants or laymen, many of whom championed the above-mentioned ideals. These political objectives would have important implications for the development of community organizations. With little else in Montreal to tie the settlers to their roots back home, even those who did not subscribe to Drahomanov's philosophy participated or were isolated. Therefore, in many cases, immigrants of many diverse political and religious persuasions belonged to the same associations.

The political and religious differences at the base of the lay organizations, and within the hearts of individual Ukrainians, would later clash in an open conflict that would have a serious effect on the bilingual school system.

To the outsider, Ukrainian community life appeared to be built on strong homogeneous thoughts and ideals. A review of the community organizations' membership show that the same names tend to repeat themselves in each new association. But when the community became better established, the immigrants began to show their political and ideological divergencies. With more groups established, people began to identify themselves with specific political orientations or interest groups. In Montreal, the establishment of the Drahomanov Society may be considered a catalyst in the introduction of groups with a more expressed socialist leaning. Groups were becoming identified by their political philosophies and the membership lists begin to stabilize around this time. The members of the Ukrainian community were finding, and staying with, the associations which reflected their personal political beliefs.[5]

---

[5]The names of different organizers and members are mentioned in the Jubilee Book Commemorating the 85th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, Province of Quebec (1979: 307-308).

RIFT IN THE MONTREAL UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY

Marunchak describes the Montreal community as more harmonious and co-operative compared with other Ukrainian Canadian communities at that time, but says this harmony ended around 1910 (Marunchak, 1972:99). He provides no details as to why unrest suddenly appeared within the community. But considering the different philosophical persuasions of Ukrainians, it is interesting to note that in 1910, the major event for the Ukrainian community was the visit of Metropolitan Andrii Sheptyts'kyi of Lviv and Bishop Soter Ortynsky of U.S.A. for an Eucharistic Congress being held in Montreal (Marunchak, 1970:210). It is entirely possible that the sudden rift cited by Marunchak within the community was the direct result of this visit. There may be strong enough evidence to substantiate this hypothesis. In this context the background of the Ukrainian church community and organizations in Montreal leading up to 1910 provides some interesting information.

The province of Quebec supports the largest Roman Catholic population in Canada, and therefore, the Ukrainian immigrant found no lack of churches to attend. Ukrainian Catholicism is a part of the eastern Orthodox faith and is fundamentally different from the beliefs and

rituals of the Latin or Western Roman Catholic Church. Ukrainians knew a little about the Roman Catholic Church from having been exposed to the religious traditions of their Polish neighbours. It was also a faith, or institution, they were very suspicious of.

The Roman Catholic Church in Quebec was actually very different from the one they were familiar with back home. The difference often confused the immigrants but did not decrease their uneasiness about this form of Catholicism. In addition, there were numerous other religious denominations in Montreal. Several sects believed it their duty to attract the Ukrainian immigrant to their churches. Some of the immigrants in Montreal came from villages with progressive secular ideas and so were unwilling to subordinate themselves to the clergy. These advances by the churches were often met with defiance. An indication that the church lacked credibility with some in the community is the popularity of the following joke: "In Canada there is no God because no one gave Him a ticket for the boat" (Davidowych, 1963:55).

Across the American continent there was a great lack of Ukrainian Rite priests to serve the Galicians. The Ukrainian Rite (Ritus Ruthenus) (Kazymyra, 1984:1) differs from the Latin Rite or the Catholic Church in Rome. Some of the most obvious variations include the ceremonies, the liturgical vestments, and the option to marry before ordination for priests. It was this marital option that led to Ukrainian priests being

barred from the continent. The Roman Catholic clergy in North America were vehemently opposed to having any Ukrainian married priest in North America, fearing it would arouse indignation and ill-feeling among their own priesthood. The Roman Catholic Church authorities agreed (Marunchak, 1970:100). The result was that only unmarried clergy were allowed to work in the U.S.A., and this same rule was soon applied to Canada (Marunchak, 1970:100).

Montreal received only a few Ukrainian priests in transit to western Canada who stopped over to hear confessions and give a service in one of the Roman Catholic churches. These visits were infrequent. The lack of church and clergy led some Ukrainians to change over to the Latin Rite (Marunchak, 1970:209).

The people most active in the secular organizations were not often themselves active supporters of the Church. However, they recognized that for many Ukrainians their church participation was central to their Ukrainian identity and cultural independence. In addition, Ukrainian priests could always be counted on as people who could read and write and who were therefore important in passing along important information to the community and speaking on behalf of the community.

As long as people intended to continue their religious faith, the activist organizations wanted the priests and the Rite to be Ukrainian. If there were to be priests in the community, better that they be allies. This was a position of compromise and, as will be mentioned later, did not mean the lay organizations were ever willing to allow the Church a primary, dominant role in the life of the Ukrainian community.

Nevertheless, the "Self-Help Association" and the "Ukrainian Association" were alarmed by their people switching over to the Latin Rite. In 1907 the Canadian Farmer, in an open letter addressed to Ukrainian Canadian priests, stressed the urgency of giving spiritual care to this community in Montreal (Marunchak, 1970:209). In reply, Rev. Navkratij Kryzhanowsky, OSMB, was brought to Montreal from Western Canada. Several hundred Ukrainians greeted the priest and his first service was held in the Church of Redemptorist Fathers on McCord Street (Marunchak, 1972:97). But he soon returned to the prairies. The settlers had to wait a full year before his return. The service on the second visit was held in the Church of St. Evzevius (Marunchak, 1972:97), but again, it was a short stay. During this second visit, people began to discuss how to organize a permanent church committee. The idea was lost with the Reverend's departure.

French Redemptorist priests from the prairies also served the community for short periods of time. During these visits no further discussions are recorded regarding the organizing of a parish.

The church did not greatly influence the development of the community until after the Sheptyts'kyi visit of 1910. Some of the immigrants, touched by his visit, were encouraged to begin a permanent church committee.

The numerous Ukrainian active social democrats were organized into the "progressive", or so-called "communist" parties (Kelebay, 1980:79). Montreal had three branches, one in Lachine, one in Point St. Charles at Center and Ropery Streets where they owned their own building, and another on Prince Arthur Street in the "Central Slum" area (Kelebay, 1980:79). The objectives of these organizations were sometimes in open conflict with the plans to build a strong influential church. This conflict could easily have been the cause of the rift that Marunchak describes within the Montreal community.

The first permanent priest, Rev. Dr., Carlo Ermij, arrived at the beginning of July 1911 (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:49). On July 16, 1911, the "Greek Catholic Ruthenian Church of St. Michael's" was organized and a church committee elected. On September 2, 1911, the first entries were made into the new Ukrainian parish's

official book of birth records, which was entitled "Nouvelle Paroisse Romaine de Montréal." That the entire Ukrainian community did not support this new church life is revealed in one sentence in a commemorative book written in 1948: "The beginnings were difficult because the Social Radicals would disrupt our meetings."

The secular organizations likely felt that the church would challenge their existence. It was the socialists, not the Church, who had a history of strong involvement in the social and cultural life of the people from the beginning of the Ukrainian community. They were the ones who had worked to organize and provide material help for the physical and emotional well being of their struggling fellow immigrants. They were certainly not willing to have the Church come in and assume leadership within their community.

The new parish was established in what is now the Frontenac area. For the first five years, services were held in the French church of St. Antoine on the corner of LaGauchetière and Plessis Streets (on the site presently occupied by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation complex). It is worth noting that the secular Ukrainian organizations all started in Point St. Charles, but the first parish began in the Frontenac area. The population base had not shifted dramatically enough to explain why the Church was located there. In fact, a second priest, Rev. Dwulit, was sent to the Point soon after Rev. Ermij's arrival. Also, both Rev.

Ermij and Rev. Dwulit lived in the Point (Borecki, 1948:21). It seems safe to conjecture the reason why the church did not start in Point St. Charles. Most associations were meeting in the Point, including the socialists and the radicals. According to one source, "Ukrainians in the Point had little interest with the work in the religious field" (Borecki, 1948:21).

The socialist forces were possibly strong enough that these residents were interested in secular, rather than religious affiliation. People interviewed admit there were problems:

> There were socialists and radicals, enemies of the church and religion in general. These people - can be considered lucky or unlucky - did not leave our church but from the inside created all sorts of unbelievable problems and rebellion (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:51-52).

In summary, the western agricultural and eastern urban Ukrainian immigrants were confronted by vastly different living conditions. In the industrial cities, specifically Montreal, these conditions accelerated the development of socially conscious secular groups whose stated objectives were to provide for the physical and material needs of the settlers during times of economic hardship, unemployment or following a work accident.

Within a short time these societies broadened their function and became the social focus of their community as well. They organized local theatre and held dances.

Isolated from the main stream of English and French social life, Ukrainians of diverse interests were drawn to their social centres for help in adjusting to their new lives and to ensure the preservation of their Ukrainian culture and identity.

At first, the Ukrainian community in Montreal reflected an overall homogeneity, but in time different social and political values began to emerge. A rift is recorded within the community following the visit of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in 1910 when the first real attempt to organize a Ukrainian religious parish in Montreal began. This earliest parish was located outside of the established original Ukrainian community in Point St. Charles. It was located instead in the Frontenac area, even though the priest of the parish himself lived in the Point. The lay organizations which actively endorsed and followed the socialist working class politics of Drahomanov were strong in Point St. Charles and prevented the Church from assuming the leadership and dominant role in their neighbourhood.

Disputes arose between conservative and traditionally oriented Catholic followers and those with more faith in the work of the labour oriented community groups. One of the battlegrounds for these disputes ended up being the schools. Big differences arose over which methods and systems would be best for educating the Ukrainian youth.

The following chapter will trace how the Church-dominated educational system in Montreal reacted to its own fears that Ukrainian school children were introducing socialist ideology into the schools.

CHAPTER IV

UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL CLASSES IN MONTREAL

Most studies concerned with the beginning of Ukrainian education in Canada have concentrated on schools in the western provinces - mainly Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. Previous research has focused primarily on the effectiveness of the western bilingual school programme which was created for the newcomers at the beginning of the century, and on the struggle of Ukrainians within the different provinces regarding the fate of these schools. This research focuses on an analysis of the situation in the province of Quebec, where Ukrainians were also given (during the same time period) bilingual schools and classes.

This chapter will document the existence of bilingual ethnic schools and, more specifically, public bilingual Ukrainian classes in Montreal during the first half of the century. The existing documentation on Ukrainians in Montreal during that time period, indicates much discrepancy in information regarding the educational options available to Ukrainian immigrants. The following discussion will attempt to clarify problem areas as much as possible.

The Catholic Church in Quebec played a vital role in all education in the province. It regarded itself as the sole agent responsible for education. Any attempt by government or secular groups to intervene in education was considered an attack on the social order of Quebec. Schools were seen as a means of socializing the population in order to produce good citizens.

Immigration brought various foreign elements into the province that were considered alien and undesirable to those in authority in Quebec. Ukrainians, with their different form of the Catholic religion and presentation of a unfamiliar type of political exposure presented a potential threat to the existing system. Some way had to be constructed to draw Ukrainians into the society, but in a harmless way - ergo the bilingual classes.

The impetus to establish bilingual classes within the public school system came from the Catholic Church and the Montreal Catholic School Commission. The classes were not the result of struggle on the part of Ukrainians to maintain their native language as had been the case in the west. Ukrainian language classes were an attempt to bring Ukrainians into the Catholic school system and render them "immune" to other secular influences. This chapter will document the Catholic Church's control of education in Quebec and its decision to set up bilingual classes. It will show the efforts by the Church to maintain these

classes, especially after the First World War when it panicked over the spread of socialism and communism. It will also describe the differing attitudes Ukrainian parents had regarding these classes.

CHURCH INFLUENCE IN EDUCATION

The political structure established in Canada at the time of Confederation was favourable to church influence in the province of Quebec. The provinces were given jurisdiction in those fields that the Catholic Church in Quebec already had control over - education, public health, property and civil rights. Religion was one of the basic elements of Quebec's dual school system. The Quebec government, at Confederation, was content with not having even an advisory role in education in Quebec (Linteau, 1983:196).

During the 19th century, the church reinforced its controlling influence over public instruction. Quebec was then a patchwork of numerous small school boards. Most boards were controlled by the local Catholic parishes, and followed the administrative and curriculum decisions of the local bishops and priests. The Quebec Provincial School Law of 1846 made the cities of Montreal and Quebec exceptions to the school administration plan. Both were given the privilege of having two distinct school commissions - one for Catholics and one for Protestants.

It was the Catholic section in Montreal that made provisions for special ethnic classes. Montreal's Catholic educational system at the beginning of this century was fragmented among some forty school commissions. The largest one was the Montreal Catholic School Commission (M.C.S.C.). The M.C.S.C. was further divided into English and French sections. The dominant influence of the Catholic Church on school affairs is evidenced by the fact that both the M.C.S.C. directorship and school committee presidency positions were awarded by the clerical hierarchy to powerful clergy members.

CHURCH EDUCATIONAL ROLE CHALLENGED

Urban life destabilized the traditional parochial equilibrium. The church's tactics in new urban areas were to establish first a large number of parishes to divide the territory as minutely as possible and then, to set up a panoply of organizations aimed at ensuring effective leadership of the population. Determined to extend its influence into numerous organizations that were not strictly religious, the church did not hesitate to intervene wherever it saw a threat to its dominance.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the growing urbanized and industrialized population of Quebec began to challenge the church's power. The church was not ready to relinquish control.

START OF BILINGUAL CLASSES FOR IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

It was not until a meeting on October 12, 1909, that the minutes of the Meetings of Commissioners of the Montreal Catholic School Commission mentioned immigrant children. In the 1909 report, it suddenly seemed important to quote statistics regarding the number of foreign children attending M.C.S.C. schools. Reports before this date do not at all refer to this or similar data. The number quoted was 675 pupils (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, September 24, 1904 to August 3, 1910:391). There is no record of the ethnic origin of foreign children and no discussion about the significance of the number.

The next mention of ethnic groups in School Commission minutes came almost two years later, on May 23, 1911. M. le Chanoine Roy gave notice that at the next meeting the Commission should make the proper arrangements to promote the education of Catholic children of foreign nationalities (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, Comité des Écoles, 1910-1913). No details are available as to which foreigners he meant or to what was considered "proper arrangements". The Montreal Catholic School Commission conceded that foreign groups whose children attended particular schools in sufficient numbers would be permitted to have their language used and taught in the first two grades by teachers of their own nationality (Bayley, 1938:256). The minutes of the August 24th 1911 meeting indicate that the foreign student question was studied

and resolved with the recommendation to begin the process by opening an Italian class in St. Helen School (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, 1910-1913). This is the first reference to an ethnic class within a normal school.

There is no indication that these bilingual classes arose by interaction with the ethnic communities and the School Commission. They were established by the School Commission, according to motives and intentions not discussed with the Committee.

Many immigrant groups were granted special classes in their ethnic languages, where there existed a sufficient number of children. In addition to the already mentioned Italian classes, the minutes of the M.C.S.C. record the opening of Chinese, Lithuanian, Polish and Ukrainian classes. All of the classes were set up without consultation with the ethnic groups involved. The children arrived at the school and were automatically directed into the bilingual classes.

During the years of greatest debate regarding bilingual education in the western provinces, the province of Quebec was actively accomodating the different immigrant children within their public schools. The Montreal Catholic School Commission granted money and rented buildings for the newly arrived immigrant children. Ethnic teachers were being hired or even imported from the immigrant's home countries (as in the Chinese case) to teach these classes. The Ukrainian story follows.

Ukrainian Bilingual Classes: Ukrainian families who arrived with school age children created classification problems for the school authorities. Early Ukrainian immigrants found themselves in working class areas populated, typically, by numerous English-speaking Irish Catholics and many French-speaking French Catholics. The Latin Rite priests of the M.C.S.C. knew very little or nothing about Ukrainians, or "Ruthenians", and knew even less about the Ukrainian Catholic Rite and its religious traditions. Arriving leaderless, with no Ukrainian priests or higher authorities to explain the situation, the immigrants found themselves in an uncomfortable position. They were confused about which system to send their children to - the English or the French.

Not one Ukrainian immigrant from that time period who agreed to be interviewed was able to give clear answers regarding the political parties and efforts involved in establishing bilingual classes. Most said that the classes just began. No records exist at the beginning of the century of any movements, activities or petitions by Ukrainians themselves on the question of education. One interviewee was quick to add that there did not exist much time or even interest in education. The families were large, and securing food and clothing for the children was more important than sending them to school.

The number of school age Ukrainian children was not as high as in the west. By 1911 Ukrainians in Montreal were geographically scattered about Point St. Charles, St. Lawrence and Frontenac areas, impeding the construction of one central Ukrainian bilingual school. The deliberations which led to the final decisions of Ukrainian children as being considered Catholics do not exist in the meetings of the Commissioners of that time. Where numbers existed, the school authorities created special classes. As Ukrainian settlements in Montreal fluctuated, so did the classes. No real stability existed, except in Point St. Charles. New immigrants continually found their way there because of lower rents and industry. Bilingual Ukrainian classes existed here from the beginning to the end of the bilingual program.

The arrival of some Ukrainian brothers to the Montreal area spawned Ukrainian education for Ukrainian children. It is not known whether prior to this Ukrainian children even attended school. According to Hrymak-Wynnycka, in 1909 Archbishop Bruchesi of Montreal requested two Brothers, O. Kuziva and V. Ladyka (later a bishop), to teach cathechism to Ukrainian children in Point St. Charles every Sunday in the Irish Church's basement (Hrymak- Wynnycka, 1964:45). No numbers are available as to how many children participated. Another article also cites Ukrainian Brothers from the Grande Seminaire teaching catechism to Ukrainian children in Point St. Charles (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:48). The source does not give the year this

occurred, but claims that these classes lay the foundation for the first all-day Ukrainian schools in Montreal (Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" of Montreal, 1979:48). Details on the events leading to permission of Ukrainian day classes are not available.

The beginning of the bilingual Ukrainian classes in Montreal is recorded as 1910 by Hrymak-Wynnycka (1964) and 1912 by Marunchak (1970) and Lupul (1982). Both Marunchak and Lupul claim the existence of four classes learning Ukrainian and French. Marunchak cites four classes teaching Ukrainian in the morning and French in the afternoon (Lupul, 1982:236; Marunchak, 1970:149).

After exhaustive interviews carried out by this author, the conclusion is that the first bilingual Ukrainian classes in Montreal began in the year 1911, and not 1910 or 1912. Two such classes were introduced, one for Ukrainian boys in Sarsfield School and one for the girls in Notre Dame des Anges School. Both schools were located close to one another in Point St. Charles. Sarsfield was an English Catholic Elementary Boys' School, while Notre Dame des Anges (Our Lady of Angels) was a French Catholic Elementary Girls' School. Not one person confirmed half-day Ukrainian and half-day French classes. The languages taught were Ukrainian in the morning and English in the afternoon. Both classes were taught by lay teachers who had been teachers in the Ukraine. The boys had a Mr. Kowbel, the girls Maria Turcheniak-Katzko (Davidowych, 1963:63).

The discrepancy between the accounts of the interviewees and those of Lupul and Marunchak likely stems from the names of the schools involved. In the records of the Montreal Catholic School Commission, most schools - English or French - were named either by the name of the closest Catholic Parish or by French names of Saints. Lack of awareness of this fact, can lead out to easily assume a school to be a French language school with instruction in French on the basis of the school name. Perhaps earlier researchers presumed that classes, in a French name institution, would be taught in French. An additional pecularity is that most often it was the French schools that shared their premises with the ethnic classes. However, within these classrooms, it was English and not French that was taught as a second language.

Hrymak-Wynnycka cites the examples of catechism classes being held in 1909 in the Irish Church basement and, the following year, of professor Kowbel's teaching in St. Gabriel's School. The transition from the church basement to the school the following year appears to be logical. However, according to a member of Mr. Kowbel's family, Mr. Kowbel began teaching Ukrainian classes in Sarsfield School in the year 1911 and not 1910 as Hrymak- Wynnycka claims. Moreover, St. Gabriel's School was run by the Order of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and no male teacher is known to have taught in the building.

The age of the children attending the first classes varied tremendously - ranging between 5 and 12 - but all were in the same classroom. The classes were overcrowded with up to 57 children in one room. Ukrainian was taught in the first grades by Ukrainian lay teachers and special religious instruction was given by Ukrainian clergy.

The subjects taught in Ukrainian were reading and writing, literature, poetry, religion, history and geography of Ukraine. Half the day, approximately 3 hours, was in Ukrainian, the rest was in English. No special person was delegated to inspect or set up the Ukrainian curriculum: the teachers were left to their own resources. Usually textbooks from Ukraine were used. The established English curriculum was used for all regular classes.

A curious factor is how the children within the bilingual classes managed to follow the regular school curriculum, especially if they were permitted to study a half-day in their own ethnic language. The answer to this question has not surfaced in any previous written documentation but only through interviews of students attending the early bilingual Ukrainian classes. To illustrate: on paper a certain school had 4 different Ukrainian classes, e.g. 1A, 1B, 2A and 2B. In appearance this looks like these were 2 grades at each level. Such was not the case. Upon completion of grade 1A, the student would not be promoted to grade

2, but rather to grade 1B. It would take a Ukrainian student two years to complete one grade level and therefore compensate for the loss of time in the regular curriculum. Even with this drawback, Ukrainian children continued to attend the bilingual classes. This would make the Ukrainian child much older than his fellow English students in a regular English classroom.

On September 16, 1913, St. Jean Évangéliste School, a French primary school in Point St. Charles, opened a class for Ruthenian girls (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, 1911-1916).

On October 14, 1913, St. Anselme School, in the central part of Montreal, requested funds to set up a special class for Ruthenian children. These funds were to be provided according to the number of students from the neighbourhood registered for the class. The Commissioners also agreed to contribute money to pay for a teacher (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, 1911-1916). In a picture taken in 1913 with the children seated at their desks with their teacher in the background, forty-three boys and girls are photographed (and it seems that some children may have been cut out).

By the year 1913, there were four Ukrainian-English classrooms set up in four different schools. If one calculates a low average of 40 children per classroom, approximately 160 children attended the special bilingual classes.

The lay teachers hired were on the School Commission payroll. However, it is not known if they were paid on the same salary scale as regular teachers in the Commission. Also, it is not known if the priests making regular visits to the classes to teach religion were also paid for their services.

The immigrants continued to arrive and more classes were constantly needed. According to a report submitted to the Department of Public Instruction of the province of Quebec in 1914-1915, the number of all types of classes had greatly increased in the Montreal area from 1505 in the year 1914 to 1640 classes in 1915, an increase of 135. Records show that more were required (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, 1915-1916:116). The pressure of numbers on the existing school facilities added to problems of health and safety in the limited school space. There was not adequate school space in the city for the original French and English population even without considering the added burden of providing for the education of immigrants.

In 1915, a study of the educational facilities available to the "foreign element" in Montreal, concluded that "the total number of foreign children in Montreal without regular school facilities would be about 5,000" (Copp, 1974:67). The Commission worked at accomodating as many

children as possible. For example, a decision was made on September 29, 1915, to rent at $70.00 a month a heated, swept and washed store and two dwellings to establish three new classes for the Polish and Ruthenian children in the center of the city. The necessary alterations were made to provide classrooms and a teaching staff was hired (Montreal Catholic School Commission Deliberations, 1913-1916:464). No mention is made of how many classes were Polish and how many Ruthenian. Also, no information is available as to how long these accomodations were used and to which main school they were considered to be an annex.

On June 15, 1915, a suggestion was upheld by the Commissioners to subsidize an extra $10.00 per school accomodating Ruthenian children. Reasons are not given as to why this subsidy was needed and there is no explanation as to why only the schools accomodating the Ruthenians were to receive this money. On November 27, 1916, Meilleur School in central Montreal was permitted to open a new class for Ruthenian children.

The minutes of the Commissioners' meetings recorded the sequential openings of Ruthenian or Ukrainian classes starting in Point St. Charles and progressing into the central part of the city. The openings coincided with the demographic flow of Ukrainian settlers within Montreal.

On April 3, 1917, the Director General decided to open another class for Ruthenian children. The location of the new class is unknown. On April 17, 1917, a first record appears of a Ukrainian teaching position not to be renewed for the following school year. The records do not show if a class was actually eliminated or just relocated, for, on September 10, 1918, the Commission opened a new Ukrainian class in St. Gabriel's School.

It appears the Montreal Catholic School Commission was making a sincere and concerted effort to accommodate the schooling needs of the new immigrant population. In fact, records show that finding classroom space for ethnic bilingual classes was a priority for the Commission, at a time when one would expect its major preoccupation to be to satisfy the needs of the French Roman Catholic population. It is no coincidence that special efforts were made on behalf of the eastern European immigrants.

THE ROUGE SCARE IN THE MONTREAL CATHOLIC SCHOOL COMMISSION

Following is the evolution of what may be referred to as the Rouge or Bolsheviki Scare of Montreal and, in particular, of the Montreal Catholic School Commission.

After the First World War, certain ethnic groups became very active in societies with communist ideologies. The Montreal Catholic School Commission noticed that some of the children affected by these ideologies left their schools to attend the Protestant system.

The bilingual ethnic classes were affected by this exodus. Ways had to be found of bringing these children back into the Catholic schools and, according to the Catholic Church, back into the Christian way of life.

The involvement of foreign workers in socialist organizations and in trade union activity across Canada was quite pronounced before the war. Prominent businessmen, especially those associated with labour-intensive industries going through labour unrest, were hostile to immigrant involvement in militant trade unions and socialist organizations. The coming of the First World War provoked demands from business circles for coercive measures against alien workers. Foreign workers from Central and Eastern European countries were officially classified during the War by the Federal Government as enemy aliens.

Business and conservative labour groups, mostly in Western Canada, demanded that all enemy aliens, either immigrants or naturalized Canadians, be dismissed from their jobs and thrown into internment camps. The Federal Government was not prepared to implement a mass

internment policy, primarily because of the prohibitive cost involved in operating these camps. However, about 8,800 immigrants were imprisoned across Canada between 1914 and 1920 and more than 5,000 were Ukrainians (Maceluch, 1985, B-1).

The case for a repressive policy by the government was further strengthened in September 1918 by a report on so called alien radicalism. The report points out the "Russians, Ukrainians and Finns, who are being employed in the mines, factories and other industries are now being totally saturated with the Socialistic doctrines which have been proclaimed by the Bolsheviki faction of Russia" (Avery, 1975:61). The panic was that these groups, if left unattended, could organize a revolt here in Canada. Measures had to be taken to abate these ethnic movements.

The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party was banned in Canada in 1918. It re-emerged under a new name, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (U.L.F.T.A.) (Kolasky, 1979:3). Government persecution of Ukrainians provoked antagonism and an ensuing increase in the number of members in socialist centres (Marunchak, 1970:226). Quebec was no exception.

In the early 1920's, Montreal had three Labour Temples. The extent of Ukrainian communist activities in Montreal is exemplified by their relief fund set up after the 1921 Famine in Ukraine. Money was raised by the Labour Temples across Canada and aid was sent to the stricken areas. The Winnipeg group and the other in Montreal pooled their resources and had raised enough money to purchase agricultural implements and set up two entire communes in Ukraine (Kolasky, 1979:12).

The organizations placed great emphasis on educational, cultural and social activities as a means of spreading the communist ideology.[6]

The Labour Temples' activities spread to the setting up of classes and lectures in the evenings for children in Montreal under the name "Robochi Shkoly" or Labour Schools. The schools stressed that only they were capable of providing proper Ukrainian education for Ukrainian children. Parents who were members, pulled their children from the bilingual classes, registered them in regular classes to learn English, and sent them to Labour Schools to learn Ukrainian.

---

[6]During the interviews with members of the Ukrainian community about their experiences most were still very reluctant to discuss the strength of the socialists and Labour Temples in Montreal. Information had to be pieced together from the skimpy acknowledgement of each interviewee to get a full picture.

The School Commission reacted by reminding the Labour Schools that Ukrainian priests were responsible for the religious training in the special classes and that entrance to regular classes should be refused. Atheism was openly propagated in the Labour Temple Halls, so parents who did not want their children to receive religious training sent their children to the nearest Protestant school. Actions like these made the Catholic Church in Quebec anxious.

The maintainance of the Catholic tradition was of prime importance to the Roman Catholic Church. Education had to be Catholic, charity had to be Catholic, employer-employee relations had to be based on Catholic Christian principles (Linteau, 1983:533). Ukrainian Catholics joining the Labour Temples and sending their children to Protestant Schools was not acceptable to the Catholic Church.

Tension developed between school officials and Ukrainian parents who still had children in the Catholic system. Some school officials or teachers regarded Ukrainian children with open suspicion. They did not refrain from overt speculation in a classroom or public gathering as to why children were enrolled in Catholic schools if their principles were not similar to the rest of the school. Children undergoing this abuse inevitably also switched to the Protestant system.

Other Ukrainian parents with children in the bilingual classes began to question the educational value of these classes. They were sceptical about their children taking twice as long to finish their education. The end result was that many Ukrainian children refused to attend the higher grades because they felt they were too old. Parents raised their apprehension that children were not learning enough English to become functionally fluent in the short time spent in school. These parents also opted for English only education in the regular classes.

On October 23, 1923, the Ukrainian Reading Society Prosvita started a "Children's Society." One evening a week a Ukrainian teacher taught Ukrainian language, reading, writing and culture classes. The children had to be ten years of age to join. It is not clear if the Society was set up to rival the Labour Temple Halls or merely to service the children whose parents wanted them to learn Ukrainian in the evenings rather than in the bilingual day classes.

The four above-mentioned points - the Labour Schools, suspicions of officials, double time in school and the availability of evening Ukrainian classes - diminished the number of Ukrainian children in the bilingual classes in the early 1920's.

In 1923, the public education system of Quebec underwent a big change. Primary education was extended from four years to six years, and a complementary primary course was added to include a seventh and eighth year of school. In the complementary primary course, the pupil had industrial, commercial and domestic science options.

The bilingual classes were also extended with some ethnic groups having these classes until the sixth level. Ukrainians had the classes extended until grade four. This move increased the need for more Ukrainian teachers.

In 1924, Archbishop G. Gauthier of Quebec appealed to Bishop Budka in western Canada to provide some Ukrainian teaching nuns for the public school system (Popowich, 1971:103). On August 23, 1925, four Ukrainian Sisters of the Congregation of Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate arrived. They were the first Ukrainian sisters to settle in Montreal. Teaching positions were assigned in two French schools, St. John the Baptist and Jeanne Mance (Popowich, 1971:104). They taught religion, Ukrainian and English.

It is uncertain whether the names of the schools are correct or if error repeated itself in the English translation. It is possible that St. John the Baptist is St. Jean Évangéliste in Point St. Charles. To further confuse the issue, the School Commission files show that for the school

year 1925-1926, in St. Anselme School in the Section des Élèves de Langues Étrangères, two classes of Ruthenian boys and girls existed in the building. One was taught by a lay teacher and the other by a Ukrainian Sister of the Congregation of Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate. The same file records a Ukrainian Sister teaching a Ruthenian class in the girls' pavillion in Jeanne Mance School. Therefore, the records point to more than two schools that hired Ukrainian Sisters. The Sisters introduced Saturday and Sunday classes for students who attended schools where the bilingual option did not exist (Popowich, 1971:104).

More Sisters arrived for the school year 1926-1927 to teach English and Ukrainian in two French schools - Notre Dame des Anges and St. Jean Évangéliste in Point St. Charles (Popowich, 1971:104).

According to one of the Sisters, before the beginning of the classes for the school year 1926-1927, all the Sisters went on a door-to-door campaign visiting Ukrainian families in Point St. Charles. They inquired if the children were planning to attend the bilingual classes; if the answers were negative, they diligently worked at trying to convince families to change their minds. Some families relented and returned their children to the special classes. These were not the families who frequented the Labour Temple Halls. For a short while, the arrival of the Sisters boosted the participation of Ukrainian children in some of the bilingual classes. In the year 1926, there were a total of eight bilingual Ukrainian classes in Montreal.

Unable to supply an adequate number of Ukrainian students in all the areas of Montreal, many of the classes were multilevel. Grade 1 to grade 3 or 4 were in one room with one teacher in order to keep the bilingual classes in operation.

Confrontations continued between school officials, teachers and Ukrainian students. Ukrainian priests who corresponded with the School Board registered complaints of Ukrainian children being reprimanded or punished for not attending services in the local Latin Rite parish.

One letter by a Ukrainian priest reported a case of a girl, from a school run by Latin Rite Sisters, being told that if she wanted to attend the Ukrainian church on Sundays, she would have to attend another school.

Other children in the normal Catholic schools without the special bilingual classes were forced to prepare for the sacraments from the Latin Rite church.

Some of the schools harbouring the bilingual classes created a separate recess for the "ethnics". Ukrainian parents did not want their children isolated. Actions like these continued to antagonize those Ukrainians who sent their children to the bilingual classes.

Confrontations developed between Ukrainian children attending the bilingual classes and Ukrainian children attending the Labour Temple schools. Practising Catholics feared their children were coming face to face with communism and children who had been friends were warned by parents not to speak to each other. Fights broke out on city streets between students of different mandolin orchestras and choral groups.

The peak of organizational work for the Labour Temples was reached in the 1930's, especially during and immediately after the Great Depression. Many of the unemployed Ukrainians trying to find a solution to their economic problems turned to the Temples. The number in the bilingual classes continued to drop. These drop outs were not ignored by the Commission.

On July 15, 1934, a Ukrainian priest in Montreal wrote a letter to the Commission hoping that it would aid him to find a common solution to the problem of the diminishing number of children in the bilingual classes. In his letter, the priest claims he had spoken from the pulpit at St. Michael's Parish and personally visited homes of Ukrainians to

encourage them to register their children. His efforts had failed. Even more discouraging was that children attending the regular classes and those in the Protestant schools were not attending any church services. The priest suggested that the best way to solve the problem was to have the Commission give instructions to all principals that all Ukrainian children be automatically registered in Ukrainian classes and encouraged to attend mass in their own Rite (Montreal Catholic School Commission, Accueil aux Immigrants, Ukrainiens).

The School Commission described the problem as the infiltration of communist ideologies into the schools. Their only solution was to alter what was presumed to be un-Christian behavior and to redirect the students into the bilingual classes and into the Catholic school structure.

The redirection effort often failed. The numbers in some bilingual classes dropped to such minimal participation that classes closed.

On September 17, 1935, the Ukrainian class in Sarsfield School fell victim. Only eight pupils registered. Prior to the closing, the Ukrainian pastor was given an extension of six days to find more pupils. He failed. The number remained at eight. The pupils were dispersed into the English classes and Mr. Kowbel, the Ukrainian teacher, was dismissed. The Commission decided the problem had to be tackled differently than just co-operation with the parish priest.

In October of 1935, a Ukrainian teacher, Walter J. Bossy, drew up an elaborate eight page memorandum in which he argued that the Montreal Catholic School Commission required a special representative to ensure that the "foreign" children were obtaining a Catholic education. In his words, "...As you may see from the memorandum itself, I envisage the work I outlined as an integral part of the general and necessary fight against Communism... So much is at stake...for the cause of Christian civilization as against Communism among the "New Canadians" of Montreal whom I desire so much to help to keep, or bring over the right side" (Public Archives of Canada, MA30, C72, vol. 9, File MCSC - Correspondence, 1935-1939).

Bossy circulated the memorandum to Roman Catholic priests, to each of the twenty-one Commissioners in the School Commission, to members of the National Assembly, and even to a commander of the R.C.M.P. He was not immediately hired, but according to some of the letters he received in reply to his memorandum, many were in agreement with his presentation.

The following year, in October 1936, Bossy re-circulated the same memorandum reminding all that: "...the menace of anti-religious and anti-patriotic Communism is more obvious than ever..." (Public Archives of Canada, MA30, C72, vol. 9, File MCSC - Correspondence, 1935-1936).

A month later he was appointed as an Auxiliary Assistant to the Director of Studies of the Montreal Catholic School Commission. In a general way, Bossy was assigned all those problems that dealt with the foreign children in the Commission schools. More important, he was authorized to visit all teachers who had foreign children in their classes. He was to discover the extent to which the families of the foreign pupils were "infected" or immediately exposed to the "poison of Communism." He was to assist the teachers in counteracting this menace. Bossy was also assigned to work with foreign parish priests to inform them which families did not attend their church and were instead attending Protestant schools. It was hoped that this co-operation would lead to an organized movement towards having Catholic foreign children return to Catholic schools.

Late in December 1936, Bossy submitted his year end report to the General Chairman of the Montreal Catholic School Commission. In the report, he claimed to have found 2,326 pupils attending the Protestant schools whose parents renounced the Catholic faith. The names were separated by nationality. Lists were compiled and submitted to foreign parish-priests or ministers in an effort to ascertain the exact status of the children's religion. Bossy believed that by supplying these lists, he was facilitating a prudent effort to bring back these children to their Catholic schools and their families to their church and faith (Public Archives of Canada, MA30, C72, vol. 9, File - MCSC Correspondence, 1935-1939).

In the specific matter of reacting against the efforts of Communists among the foreign pupils in the Catholic schools, Bossy affirmed that he could soon supply the Commission with names, addresses, places of meetings and other details about those foreign pupils attending Catholic schools who likewise frequented Communist meetings or followed regular courses at night in communism in their native languages. In addition, he promised to submit authoritative statements regarding the activities of Communist groups in Montreal, as well as the gains of the Communist Party in other cities of Canada.

In reading Bossy's documents, what is perceived, is that Ukrainians are the group most often mentioned in any detail. When he spoke of reviewing textbooks in foreign language classes, he focused on Ukrainian books as examples of textbooks not suitable for the intellectual and moral teaching of future Canadian Christian citizens. When he referred to his visit with Hungarian, Polish, German and Ukrainian priests, it is the Ukrainian priest's name that he singled out most often. It appears Bossy considered Ukrainians the most pressing problem in the Commission. The Bossy archives in Ottawa include lists of Ukrainian children's names who were frequenting communist halls in the evenings. These names were supplied in a letter forwarded by a Ukrainian priest.

Throughout the rest of the school year of 1937, Bossy continued to meet with members of the different foreign groups to compile information on the "red activities" of students and their families. During the summer of 1937, a three week boys' summer camp was organized by Bossy and several foreign parish priests. Bright boys from each foreign parish were sent to this camp where they were instructed on the dangers of communism and the demands of Catholic action. Bossy worked diligently in order that the educational authorities had every resource for Catholicizing these new Canadians.

The Government of Quebec had strong apprehensions about anything communist. On January 26, 1938, in the anti-communist drives of the province of Quebec, the provincial police raided one of the Ukrainian Labor Temples under the provisions of the new Padlock Law (Kolasky, 1979:23). The police seized the literature found in the hall, boarded up the windows and locked the doors. In the following few months, the other Ukrainian Labor Temples were also raided. By June 1938, through the Montreal Catholic School Commission's intercession, J.W. Bossy received access to the Police Court chamber to inspect the seized literature of the subversive Societies and Night Schools (Public Archives of Canada, MA30, C72, vol. 9, File - MCSC Correspondence, 1936-1939).

He claims to have made good use of the confiscated registers, books and names to confirm and complete lists as to whom from amongst the Montreal foreigners were sending their children to the private communistic night schools. To counteract, in his words, "this subversive propaganda", he organized in Montreal on June 9, 1938, the "New Canadian's Allegiance Day." Foreign pupils of Protestant and Catholic schools were cordially invited to participate in this parade. Over 3,000 adults and 500 children took part (Public Archives of Canada, MA30, C72, vol. 9, File - MCSC Correspondence, 1936-1939).

No reports exist recording the progress of the fight against communism in the School Commission. It is unknown if the Commission, with Bossy's help, succeeded in bringing the children attending the communist halls back into the Catholic system.

The June 1939 report shows only three Ukrainian bilingual classes in the Commission's schools. It also states the three classes were partitioned into eight grade levels. Classes were made multilevel in order to keep together enough children to retain a bilingual class. This supports the view that Bossy's campaign was not very successful.

Bossy maintained his position as Auxiliary Assistant until 1940, when his work was questioned and contract terminated. Upon the intervention of some priests, the Commission reinstated his contract and

let him stay on until 1948. He was finally suspended pending reports from his supervisor that no one seemed to know what Bossy was doing. This was an odd accusation by employers who formerly had highly regarded his services.

By 1948, the Montreal Catholic School Board had no more bilingual classes, and therefore no need for an Auxiliary Assistant for foreign classes. The exact year in which each foreign class was closed is not available. The classes just gradually stop appearing in the records of the Commission. A trickle of letters were sporadically received in the 1950's from different ethnic priests asking that the bilingual classes be reinstated in certain schools. The Commission did not acquiesce to their demands. The foreign elements which were previously regarded as a threat to society may by now have been considered under control.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The research conducted for this paper indicates that at the beginning of the century the institutions in power regarded Ukrainian immigrants as a threat in terms of a group breeding discontent within Quebec society. The power groups reacted to this perceived threat by making specific changes to Quebec's educational system. They introduced bilingual education for immigrant children in order to instill in them "proper values" and from 1911 to 1945 Ukrainian children in Montreal were channelled into Ukrainian-English classes.

The purpose of this bilingual program was to keep Ukrainian children within the church controlled school system. The Quebec government and the Roman Catholic Church hoped that by maintaining a hold over the children's religious and secular training they could thereby stop the spread of socialist organizations.

At the end of the nineteenth century in western Canada the first Ukrainians grouped together in block settlements on the homesteads they purchased from the government. These settlements developed with

minimal integration into Canadian society. During the early years of settlement the western Ukrainians' energy was totally consumed by their efforts to survive in the Canadian wilderness. Many years passed before they organized Ukrainian cultural organizations and societies. When the organization did begin, it was the congregation and church committees that were organized first. Various secular organizations followed later (Woycenko, 1968:188).

However, Ukrainians had always been interested in the educational opportunities for their children. In 1897 Manitoba passed a language legislation which provided for French children to be taught in both English and French. Similar legislation was eventually adopted in the other two provinces permitting a certain amount of bilingual or foreign language instruction. Ukrainian communities were quick to jump at the chance to have their children taught in two languages as well. The bilingual combination to include Ukrainian and English classes had not been envisaged by any of these governments (Lupul, 1982:216). Ukrainians nevertheless organized themselves to open their own bilingual classes. Government officials reported that the attendance of Ukrainians increased in schools with bilingual teachers whose first language was Ukrainian. However, the western governments still intended immigrant children to learn English so they would not remain segregated in Ukrainian block settlements.

Soon after, certain British based groups across the prairies urged their governments to repeal the bilingual school clause because Ukrainian teachers were incapable of developing "thoroughgoing Canadians" (Lupul, 1982:218). They said the system was retarding the process of assimilation. As a result of Anglophone public pressure ways were sought to abandon the bilingual school policy. Ukrainians were determined to keep their bilingual schools and their strong fight to retain the system was interpreted by some Canadians as un-Canadian activity. Western Canadian politicians argued that the retention of the Ukrainian language conflicted with becoming responsible Canadian citizens. The governments were in a position to implement their biases, thus the bilingual schools in western Canada were abolished.

Ukrainian immigrants in Montreal faced a very different situation. First they found themselves in a French Canadian society which was itself trying to deal with the changes that came with industrialization and urbanization. Secondly, Ukrainians were poor and from an agricultural background - thus themselves unfamiliar with city ways. They settled in the low income or slum areas of Montreal and quickly sought out industrial employment in order to survive. Not knowing English, or French they were very vulnerable as individuals to the ongoing changes around them. Employment in many cases was seasonal so labourers had

to change jobs often. Feeling defenseless, they wasted no time in organizing their own associations for mutual aid and problem solving. The first organizations were secular and linked the immigrant with his own group to find help when it was needed.

During the early years of settlement in Montreal Ukrainians lived through three short recessions, in 1904, 1907 and 1913 (Linteau, 1983:306). Decades earlier, in the late nineteenth century, Ukrainians had lived through the social and economic injustices in their own native land.

Having emigrated from an area of Eastern Europe undergoing social and political unrest, Ukrainians had already been exposed to socialist and anarchist ideas. Many of their former associations had been political and social-democratic in principle. Reliving social unrest in their new environment influenced the type of organizations they set up in Montreal.

Research indisputably shows that the early Montreal Ukrainian organizations had a definite socialist political base. These first organizations sowed the seeds of the ideology which permeated the Montreal Ukrainian community for the first few decades of this century. In 1906, the Socialist Party of Quebec organized in Montreal a May Day march. Although this march attracted only five to six hundred people (Linteau, 1983:540), Ukrainians who were new settlers were noted as a

participating group. The founding of the Drahomanov Society in 1907 was an overt demonstration of the political leanings of much of the Ukrainian community.

The community seemed to be harmonious until 1910 when some members began discussions to build a church. Drahomanov's ideas were anti-clerical, which explains the controversy which ensued. The community split over the issue of whether to build a church and strengthen the influence of the Catholic religion or whether to stay with the secular organizations and strengthen them.

In February 1910 the Federation of Ukrainian Socialist Democrats of Canada was formed and Montreal's branch was the only branch in eastern Canada (Marunchak, 1970:225). The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party was banned in Canada in 1918. The group re-emerged immediately as the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Association. Montreal is noted to have had three very active branches. By this time a complete re-orientation from socialism to communism in the above-mentioned party had taken place. To attract a larger following, socio-cultural activities became a significant part of the Association's program.

In Montreal, the membership increased following the Russian Revolution. Possibly the emergence of the communist regime was interpreted by many as beneficial for the working class and peasant.

Montreal's working class was suffering through the changes of industrialism and could have been easily influenced to support socialist beliefs. Ukrainians were no exception.

Stranded in an urban environment Ukrainians had been left to fend for themselves in the industrial world. Other associations paid little attention to the economic problems of the working class and poor families. In contrast, the communist organizations were speaking out for better working conditions and higher wages for the labourer. These were commitments the Ukrainian working class could easily identify with. In addition, these organizations were actually meeting the social needs of their members. The exact Montreal membership is unknown. However, the group collected enough money to organize a commune in Ukraine after the Revolution, which indicates that their Montreal membership base and participation were strong.

The Quebec authorities responded in the 1930's by hiring Walter J. Bossy to fight communism. Bossy was asked to prepare lists of children's names who attended communist halls and finally the authorities organized police raids on these halls. These actions strongly suggest that the activities of these organizations had increased to the point where the government decided to intervene.

By the late 1930's the organization was declining across Canada. Some had become disillusioned with communist ideology, but even more devastating was the banning of the Association in Canada during World War II. Its activities came to a standstill under the repressive measures taken against it. There was a comeback after the war, but the Labour Temples never regained their previous strength (Woycenko, 1968:196).

Because the political associations of Ukrainians were considered to be controversial by being social-democratic in character the bilingual classes were not set up by the Montreal Catholic School Commission to preserve Ukrainian culture. In effect they may have aided Ukrainian children to learn their mother tongue on a daily basis within the public school system. But the motive for setting up the program was to have the children learn catechism or their own religion in order to keep them as practising Catholics and not practicing socialists.

Conclusions: The impetus for the establishment of the bilingual system came from the French Catholic Church of Quebec and not from Ukrainian organizations. It was not the result of a struggle as it had been in Western Canada. Quebec's Catholic Church had powers where other provinces did not. It feared the social changes taking place and saw its persuasive force was ineffective in stopping the social and ideological changes that came about through industrialization. The Catholic schools in Quebec were seen by the Catholic Church as

ideological tools to infuse the children with "Christian justice." Ukrainians were an unknown element, a foreign body within the French Catholic culture. They soon organized themselves and leaned to organizations outside the mainstream of French Catholic Society.

The Catholic Church could not permit Ukrainians to develop into a potential threat to the existing social fabric of Quebec. It therefore took an active interest in drawing these recent Ukrainian immigrants into the existing school apparatus in order to keep them obedient Catholics. This desire to control the interests of the immigrant population explains why in 1915, when the Montreal Catholic School Commission was suffering from overcrowding in all of their schools, Ukrainian children were still "benevolently" accomodated in specially rented store space and private homes.

In 1934 the Church and the Commission formally articulated in writing the need to control the socialist and communist ideologies within the Catholic schools. The actions of the M.C.S.C. prior to this points to the fact that the primary reason for these classes had always been to prevent the growth of anti-church and socialist organizations.

Future Research: With regard to future research, it would be interesting to compare and contrast Ukrainian bilingual classes to other bilingual classes that existed at around the same time in Quebec. It would be interesting to compare and contrast the attitude of the Quebec Government to these different groups.

Other possible approaches for future research might include a current study of the reasons why Ukrainians do not presently have bilingual classes in Quebec. The opportunities exist to restart bilingual classes, therefore, why are Ukrainians not taking the initiative?

REFERENCES

Anderson, Jim. The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem. Toronto:J.M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1918.

Avery, Donald. "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada 1896-1919: from 'Stalwart peasants' to radical proletariat." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, No. 12 (1975) 53-64.

_____. Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932. Toronto:1979.

Bayley, C.M. "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal," M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1939.

Behiels, Michael. "L'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne-Française and the Quest for a Moral Regeneration 1903-1914." Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 13 No. 2 (Summer, 1978) 27-41.

Bilash, B.N. "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba 1897-1916." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of Manitoba, 1960.

Borecki, I. Souvenir Booklet of the Dedication of Holy Ghost Church. Toronto:1948.

Bradbury, Bettina. "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870's." Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers, (Saskatoon:1979) 71-96

_____. "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885." Childhood and Family in Canadian History. Ed. J. Parr. McClelland and Stewart, 1982, 109-128.

Carter, Emmett G. The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec. Montreal:W.J. Gage Limited, 1957.

Copp, Terry. "The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929." The Anatomy of Poverty, Toronto:McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974.

_____. "The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1920." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers/Communications Historiques, Montreal:1972, 157-180.

Corrigan, Philip and Bruce Curtis. "Education, Inspection and State Formation: A Preliminary Statement." Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers/Communications Historiques, Montreal:1985, 156-171.

Davey, Ian. "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School." In Egerton Ryerson and his Times. Eds. N. McDonald and A. Chaiton. Toronto:MacMillan, 1978, 187-220.

Davidovych, M., ed. Smoloskyp, osvita i zhytia. Toronto:Basilian Press, 1963.

Doughty, Arthur. Quebec of Yerster-Year. Toronto:Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1932.

Falardeau, Jean-C., Ed. Essais sur le Québec Contemporain. Québec:Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1953.

Graff, Harvey. The Literary Myth. New York:Academic Press, 1979.

Hamel, Thérèse. "Obligation Scolaire et Travail des Enfants au Québec: 1900-1950." Revue Historique de l'Amérique Française. vol. 38 (Eté, 1984) 39-56.

Heap, Ruby. "Urbanisation et Éducation: La Centralisation Scolaire à Montréal au Début du XXe Siècle." Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers/Communications Historiques. Montréal:1985, 132-155.

Himka, Jean-Paul. "Serfdom in Galicia." Journal of Ukrainian Studies. vol. 9, No. 2 (Winter, 1984) 3-28.

Houston, Susan E. "Social Reform and Education: The Issue of Compulsory Schooling, Toronto, 1851-71." In Egerton Ryerson and His Times. Eds. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton. Toronto:MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 254-276.

Hrymak-Wynnycky, N.A. "Les Églises Ukrainiennes à Montréal," M.A. thesis, l'Université de Montréal, 1964.

Humeniuk, P. Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers - Memoirs from Stuartburn. Steinbach, Manitoba:Derksen Printers, 1977.

Isajiw, Wsevolod, W., ed. Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society. Toronto:P. Martin Associates, 1977.

_____. Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society. Jersey City, N.J.:M.P. Kots Publishing, 1976.

Johnson, Micheline-Dumont. "Des Garderies au XIXe Siècle: Les Salles D'Asile des Soeurs Grises à Montréal." Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française. Vol. 34 (June, 1980) 27-55.

Johnston, Wendy. "Keeping Children in School: The Response of the Montreal Catholic School Commission to the Depression of the 1930's." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers/Communications Historiques. Montreal:1985, 193-217.

Kalbach, Warren E. The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population. Ottawa:The Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970.

Katz, Michael. "Who Went to School?" In Education and Social Change. Eds. M. Katz and P.H. Mattingly. New York:New York University Press, 1975, 271-293.

Kazymyra, Bohdan Z. "Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in Canada." Paper presented at the Sheptyts'kyi Conference, Toronto, Ontario, November 1984.

Kelebay, Yarema Gregory. "The Ukrainian Community in Montreal." M.A. thesis, Concordia University 1975.

_____. "Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal, 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach." Ukrainian Ethnic Studies. Vol. XII, No. 2, Edmonton:1980, 74-87.

Keywan, Zonia. Greater Than Kings. Montreal:Harvest House, 1977.

Kolasky, J. The Shattered Illusion. The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada. Toronto:Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1979.

Kostash, Myrna. All of Baba's Children. Edmonton, Alberta:Hurting Publishers, 1977.

Kovacs, Martin L. Ethnic Canadians. Culture and Education. University of Regina:Canadian Plains Reserach Center, 1978.

Kubijovyc, V. and V. Markus. "Emigration." Encyclopedia of Ukraine. Vol. 1 (A-F), 1984.

Laporte, Pierre. The True Face of Duplessis. Montreal Harvest House Limited, 1960.

Lawr, Douglas A. and Robert D. Gidney. Educating Canadians. A Documentary History of Public Education. Toronto:Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973.

Lehr, John C. and Wayne D. Moodie. "The Polemics of Pioneer Settlement: Ukrainian Immigration and the Winnipeg Press." Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XII, No. 2, Edmonton:1980, 88-101.

Linteau, P.A., R. Durocher and J.-C. Robert. Quebec: A History 1867-1929. Trans. Robert Chodos. Toronto:James Lorimer and Co. Pub., 1983.

Lupul, Manoly R., ed. "Osvita, Ukrainian Bilingual Education." Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. Edmonton:1985.

_____. Ukrainian Canadian Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment. Edmonton:University of Alberta Press, 1978.

_____. "Ukrainian Language Education in Canada's Public Schools." In A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. M.R. Lupul. Toronto:McClelland and Stewart, 1982, 215-243.

Maceluch, Daniel. "How Ukrainians Were Exiled to Quebec Gulag," The Gazette, 11 May 1985, sec. B, p. 1, cols. 1-6.

MacGregor, J.G. Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.

Magnuson, Roger. Education in the Province of Quebec. Montreal:McGill University Printing Services, 1974.

Mallea, John R. and Jonathan C. Young. Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education. Ottawa:Carleton University Press, 1984.

Mamchur, S.M. "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada. With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal." M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1939.

Marunchak, Michael H. Studies in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Vol. IV. Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences Series. Ukrainica Occidentalia. Vol. XIII. Winnipeg:New Pathway Press, 1972.

_____. The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. Yorkton, Canada:Redeemer's Voice Press, 1970.

McDonald, Neil. "Egerton Ryerson and the School as an Agent of Political Socialization." In Egerton Ryerson and His Times. Eds. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton. Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978, 81-106.

Migus, Paul M., ed. Sounds Canadian. Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1975.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, Accueil aux Immigrants - Classes Bilingues.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, Accueil aux Immigrants - Ukrainiens.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, "Deliberations", September 24, 1904 to August 3, 1910.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, "Deliberations, Comité des Écoles" 1910-1913.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, "Deliberations" 1911-1916.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, "Deliberations" 1913-1916.

Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives, "Deliberations" 1915-1916.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École Jeanne-Mance.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École Notre-Dame-des-Anges.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École St-Aloysius.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École St-Anselme.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École St-Charles.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École St-Gabriel.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École St-Gabriel Annexe.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École St-Jean Évangelistes.

Montreal Catholic School Commission, Service des Archives - École Sarsfield.

O'Bryan, K.G., J.G. Reitz and O. Kuplowska. Non-Official Languages. A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism. Ottawa:Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976.

Palmer, Howard. Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism. Vancouver: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975.

Petryshyn, Roman W. "The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition." In Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Edmonton:University of Alberta Press, 1978, 74-97.

Piniuta, Harry. Land of Pain Land of Promise. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978.

Popowich, Sister Claudia Helen, SSMI. To Serve is to Love. The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1971.

Potrebenko, H. No Streets of Gold - A Social History of Ukrainians in Canada. Vancouver:New Star Books, 1977.

Prentice, Alison. The School Promoters. Toronto:McClelland Stewart, 1977.

Prentice, Alison and Susan E. Houston, eds. Family, School and Society in Nineteenth Century Canada. Toronto:Oxford University Press, 1975.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, F.A 335.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, Vol. 9, File:MCSC Correspondence Sent 1932-1935.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, Vol. 9, File:MCSC Correspondence Special Foreign Representative 1936-1939.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, Vol. 9, File:MCSC Correspondence 1940-1941.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, Vol. 9, File:MCSC Correspondence 1942-1949.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, Vol. 15, File:Clippings Catholic Schools.

Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division. Walter J. Bossy File. MG-30 - C72, Vol. 17.

Roberts, Leslie. The Chief, A Political Biography of Maurice Duplessis. Toronto:Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1963.

Rozumnyj, Jaroslav, ed. New Soil - Old Roots. The Ukrainian Experience in Canada. Winnipeg:Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983.

Sheffe, Norman. Many Cultures Many Heritages. Toronto:McGraw-Hill Limited, 1975.

Skwarok, J. The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools. Toronto, Ontario:Basilian Press, 1959.

Stechishin, Julian. History of Ukrainian Settlements in Canada. Edmonton: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1975.

Swyripa, Frances. Ukrainian Canadians. A Survey of their Portrayal in English-Language works. Edmonton:University of Alberta Press, 1978.

Swyripa, Frances and J.H. Thompson, eds. Loyalties in Conflict. Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War. Edmonton:Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983.

Teslia, I. "Prosvita i ukrains'ka emigratsia do Kanady v ostanioumu desiatyrichi deviatnatsiatoho stolitia." In Smoloskyp, osvita i zhytia. Ed. M. Davidovych. Toronto:Basilian Press, 1963, 14-30.

Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Trysub" of Montreal, ed. Lest the Toil and the Glory of the Pioneers Be Forgotten. Toronto:Basilian Press, 1979.

Wilson, Donald J., Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet. Canadian Education: A History. Scarborough:Prentice Hall, 1970.

Woodley, Elsie C. The History of Education in the Province of Quebec. Unpublished Masters thesis, McGill, 1932.

Woycenko, Ol'ha. "Community Organizations. The Pioneer Years." In A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Ed. Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto:McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982, 173-214.

_____. The Ukrainians in Canada. Winnipeg:Trident Press, 1968.

Young, Charles H. The Ukrainian Canadians. Toronto:Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited, 1931.

Yuzyk, Paul. Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. Toronto:Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967.