

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN

COMMUNITY IN MANITOBA

1899-1922

by

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Department of Political Studies

University of Manitoba

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Graduate
Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
of the Degree of Master of Arts

February, 1979

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ABSTRACT

The first and largest influx of Ukrainian immigrants to Manitoba came between 1896 and 1914. Having left oppressive conditions in Eastern Europe, they desired equality with other Canadian citizens, but initially their political participation was neither welcomed nor encouraged. In 1899 the Conservative opposition in Manitoba came to power by characterizing them as a political threat to the province's British heritage and character. For four years, the new government invoked legislation designed to deny Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans the vote. By 1904, however, this attitude changed to a manipulative paternalism as both Liberals and Conservatives sought to win votes through the work of various political agents. The Conservatives in particular established a political machine which conceded Ukrainians and others the right to benefit from the bilingual educational clause of the 1896 Laurier-Greenway agreement.

By 1910, the Liberal party headed a reform coalition in opposition to the Conservative government. Coming to power in 1915, during a period of intense wartime patriotism, it repealed legislation providing bilingual education. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian community in the province was fragmented into rival factions, including conservative Catholics, liberal nationalists and radical socialists, as well as being subjected to various "colonizing" efforts by French Catholics and British Protestant clergy. Restrictive legislation and social hostility necessitated an initial political participation by Ukrainians which was turbulent and defensive in nature. Political

participation and representation was first achieved at the local municipal level, and later in 1915, provincially, with the first Ukrainian Canadian being elected to the legislature.

The effect of wartime nativism and Liberal intolerance was to move the Ukrainians towards greater community-oriented political activity, independent of the previous manipulation by party interests. By 1922, the Ukrainians had achieved a permanent legislative presence, a development which was welcomed in the community as a step towards a more equitable political participation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to those people who have assisted in the completion of this study. Special thanks is due to my supervisor, Professor Thomas Peterson. His insightful criticism, patient counsel and guidance were central to the development of the thesis. I am also indebted to Martha Baniyas for her untiring and efficient work in editing and typing the manuscript in its various draft copies. The support and encouragement of family and friends were invaluable. I of course accept full responsibility for any omissions or shortcomings.

PREFACE

While the present study deals with the Ukrainian community in Manitoba, the term "Ukrainian" was not always used when referring to these people. It came into common usage only during the period of the First World War. Thus while it might appear an anachronism when applied to the earlier pre-war period, for the sake of simplicity and clarity the single term has been used throughout, except in the context of cited materials. Ukrainian language sources have been transliterated according to a modified Library of Congress system. With respect to proper names, the transliterations used by people themselves (when such information is available), have been retained in the text. On the otherhand footnotes and bibliographic notations of the same persons, have been rendered according to the accepted system of transliteration. Thus textual references to proper names such as Jastremsky, Stechishin, and Hryhorczuk correspond to Iastremsky, Stechyshyn, and Hryhorchuk in the footnotes and bibliography.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION (Modified Library of Congress)

а --- a	і --- i	ф --- f
б --- b	й --- i	х --- kh
в --- v	к --- k	ц --- ts
г --- h	л --- l	ч --- ch
г --- g	м --- m	ш --- sh
д --- d	н --- n	щ --- shch
е --- e	о --- o	ю --- iu
е --- ie	п --- p	я --- ia
ж --- zh	р --- r	ь --- --
з --- z	с --- s	-ий --- y (in
и --- y	т --- t	endings of per-
і --- i	у --- u	sonal names only)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the 1978 session of the Manitoba legislature, the Honourable Keith Cosens, the Conservative Minister of Education, announced that legislation permitting instruction in languages other than English or French was currently being prepared. Instruction in Ukrainian and other languages would be allowed in selected elementary subjects for half of each teaching day.¹ Evidently influenced by the increasing awareness within Canadian society of its multicultural character, the Manitoba government was moving to restore policies for cultural minorities similar to those which had been abolished over sixty years earlier. The historical record of that early period shows that the cultural acceptance of ethnic minorities in Manitoba was initially resisted and occurred only gradually as the culmination of a long and hard process.

While numerous and varied minorities have contributed to Canadian awareness of the country's cultural diversity, the Ukrainian Canadian community has been active in this respect out of all proportion to its size. This community has in many ways promoted policies to acknowledge Canada's multicultural origin and character. As Elizabeth Wangenheim states in her study of Ukrainian

1 Winnipeg Tribune, June 24, 1978; and Winnipeg Free Press, June 24, 1978; and Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Debates and Proceedings, Vol.XXVI, Wednesday, June 28, 1978, p. 4538.

Canadians as a "third force":

"...it is dangerous to choose any one ethnic group as representative of all 'New Canadians'. However... the Ukrainians themselves show a growing tendency to 'speak for' all these groups, while pursuing the goals which they see as important for their own separate continued existence within Canadian society." 2

As a background to this present role, what will be considered here are the historic antecedents of Ukrainians in Manitoba. The purpose is to provide some insight into the initial political experience of the Ukrainian community in Manitoba. From a description of that experience, the present relatively secure position of Ukrainian Canadians may be placed in historical perspective. Also, although the early political experiences of Ukrainians in Manitoba cannot be regarded as typical of all ethnic groups, nor even of all Ukrainian immigrants to North America, they are also not completely unique. Within limits, they serve as a case study of the first stages of ethnic politics, when immigrants are introduced into unfamiliar and often hostile environments. The Ukrainian experience in Manitoba serves as an example of an immigrant group seeking to adapt to new cultural, economic and political realities.

Accordingly, the main political developments affecting Ukrainians in Manitoba will be analyzed, with particular attention to leaders and organizations who molded the political direction of the community. To a degree, the study will trace the political attitudes and behaviour of Ukrainians in Manitoba with regard to cultural matters, but will also go beyond this to examine the

2 Wangenheim, E., "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force' ", in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives (Blishen, Bernard R. (ed.)), Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968, p. 649.

economic and social status of Ukrainians in Manitoba and government decisions which affected their basic living conditions. To this end, the study will at first consider the conditions in Eastern Europe which precipitated the massive emigration of Ukrainians, the main social and political attitudes and expectations of Ukrainian immigrants who came to Manitoba, and the nature of their reception.

The political reaction to the arrival of Ukrainians in Manitoba will then be described, with specific reference to the 1899 election. Following this, there will be a general account of the internal developments within the Ukrainian community in Manitoba which created several divergent political attitudes and which were accompanied by sporadic and defensive ventures into politics at the municipal and provincial levels.

During this period, the community was especially vulnerable to manipulation by party bosses who secured immigrants' votes in return for various promises, benefits and services. In time, however, the group developed distinct voting patterns in an effort to serve its own interests.

The study will conclude with a description of how these interests, and their expression, were affected by the assimilationist policies of the Manitoba government during the First World War, and how, in the post-war period, greater experience led to significant achievements in gaining direct legislative representation.

Although it attempts only to trace and interpret the main events in the political experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba from 1899 to 1922, this study of what appears to have been a formative stage may provide useful, albeit particular, information relevant to the general ethnic and cultural experience in Canadian society and politics which has recently resulted, among other things, in federal and provincial policies designed to promote an awareness of Canada's multicultural heritage.

CHAPTER II

THE INITIAL UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION TO MANITOBA AND THE SOCIAL REACTION TO IT

The identity of Ukrainians in Manitoba is partly rooted in their European experiences. These experiences implanted certain social and political attitudes within the community which affected their political participation in Canada. Both pre-emigrational and post-immigrational milieus were largely responsible for the extent to which the identity of the Ukrainian community became a firmly entrenched factor in its socio-political attitudes and behaviour. As Michael Parenti states in his study on the relation between ethnic identification and ethnic politics,

"For those groups who have experienced maximum hostility and oppression the question of ethnic identification takes on a ubiquitous quality, there being few instances where, for real or imagined reasons, race does not define, shape or intrude upon both the ordinary business of living and the extra-¹ordinary business of politics."

The determination with which the Ukrainians in Canada asserted their cultural and political rights was in part due to the history of oppression which they experienced in Europe. After the flourishing statehood of Kievan-Rus' came to an end in 1240, with the Mongol destruction of Kiev, Ukrainian lands were repeatedly conquered and partitioned by alien powers.

1 Parenti, Michael, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification", American Political Science Review, Vol. 61, Sept. 1967, p. 723.

Since that time the Ukrainian nation experienced only two periods of independence: the Kozak State of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and the Ukrainian People's Republic of 1917-1921.²

In the latter part of the 19th century, Ukrainian lands were divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires. Most Ukrainian immigrants to Canada before 1914 came from the Western Ukrainian provinces of Galicia, Bukovina, and Sub-Carpathia, all of which were under Austro-Hungarian rule. Fewer than 5% of those arriving were from the Eastern Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire.³ Thus a knowledge of the political and socio-economic situation of the Western Ukrainian lands is necessary to understand the reasons for the migration of up to 200,000 Ukrainians to Canada prior to the outbreak of the First World War.⁴

Galicia was the most populous Western Ukrainian province, numbering nearly 3,500,000 in 1914, while Bukovina and Sub-Carpathia included another 750,000 Ukrainians.⁵ Galician Ukrainians represented the largest Ukrainian

2 Hrushevsky, Michael, A History of Ukraine, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; and Reshetar, John S., The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.

3 Marunchak, Michael, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970, p. 22.

4 Woycenko, Ol'ha, The Ukrainians in Canada, Ottawa & Winnipeg: Trident Press Limited, 1968, p. 15; and Shlepakov, A.M., Ukrainska trudova emihratsiia v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi (kinets XIX - pochatok XX st.) Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Akademii Nauk Ukrainskoi PSP, 1960, 1960, p. 80. (The Ukrainian Working Class Emigration in the U.S.A. and Canada (end of XIX - beginning of XX cent.)), Kiev: Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, 1960, p.80).

5 Rudnytsky, Ivan L., "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule", Austrian History Year Book, Vol. III, 1967, p. 394.

group arriving in Canada, and the conditions in Galicia were similar to those within the rest of the Western Ukrainian provinces.

Western Ukrainian lands came under Austro-Hungarian rule after the partition of Poland in 1772. Although Eastern Galicia was predominantly Ukrainian, the Polish minority had succeeded in assimilating most of the Ukrainian land-owning gentry and urban entrepreneurial class. Deprived of a nationally conscious upper class, Ukrainian Galicia was treated by the Austrian government as Polish territory. The Ukrainian peasantry and the Ukrainian Catholic clergy were the only elements of the society which retained their Ukrainian identity. "It was a society of peasants and priests, or of 'khlopy i popy', as the Poles derisively called them."⁶

The Western Ukrainian provinces constituted a poor and backward region whose economic and social destiny was controlled by privileged Polish, German and Hungarian landowners. The economic wealth, social prestige, and educational opportunities of the Ukrainians were far inferior to those of the ruling non-Ukrainian population. In Galicia there was Polish pre-eminence in all positions of power.

"In 1868 Galicia received, largely at the expense of the Ukrainians, a broad measure of administrative home rule, in exchange for which the Polish conservatives supported

6 Bilinsky, Yaroslav, "Mykhailo Drahomanow, Ivan Franko, and the Relations between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century", Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Vol. III, 1959, #1-2, p. 1543.

the Austrian government. For all practical purposes 7
Galicia was administered by the Poles themselves."

The educational system suppressed the Ukrainian language, with education primarily conducted in the Polish and German languages. Educational restrictions were passed by the provincial Diet preventing secondary schools and universities from becoming readily accessible vehicles of social mobility for Ukrainians. The two Galician universities were Polonized, while for many years only one gymnasium was available to Ukrainians.⁸ The educational question came to a peak at the turn of the century with underground Ukrainian universities being organized and riots occurring in the capital of Western Ukraine where students demanded language rights.

The Ukrainian peasantry in the Austro-Hungarian Empire also suffered from an acute land shortage. In the late 1800's, an average family of five had about 7.5 acres of land. By 1905, 5.5% of Galician landowners held 56.13% of the province's land.⁹ Although serfdom had been abolished in 1848, the plight of the Ukrainian peasants did not change to any great degree, with the bulk of lands remaining in the hands of the feudal nobility and the church. The peasants were left with small tracts of land which when divided

7 Kohn, H., The Hapsburg Empire, 1804-1918, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961, p. 61.

8 Rudnytsky, I. L., op. cit., p. 404.

9 Shlepakov, A. M., op. cit., p. 17.

up within a family were barely enough for survival.

By 1908 an American investigator visiting Galicia found that 80% of agricultural properties were less than 12½ acres in size. Almost 50% were less than 5 acres in size.

"In the 50 parishes in the political district of Skalat, 32% of the 'rustical' holdings were, in 1882, less than 1½ acres, nearly 60% were under 4½ acres. It is estimated that a man must have 14½ (10 yokes) to get his living by working his own land and to fully occupy his time. Over 70% have not more than half this and only 1/10th is above the minimum of independent farming." 10

Feudalism was replaced by a devastating form of semi-feudalism. Former landlords received high compensation payments while high taxes were levied against the peasants. This, coupled with the inadequate size of peasant farms, as well as low prices for farm produce, led to the inability of peasants to earn sufficient money to operate their farms. Many farmers went into debt, mortgaging their holdings for very high interest rates, and eventually lost them in foreclosures. Between 1873 and 1883, 23,237 farms valued at 23 million florins were seized for the non-payment of taxes and debts totalling 7 million florins.¹¹

The peasant farm economy was ruined, forcing masses of peasants

10 Balch, Emily Greene, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, New York: Charities Publishing Company, 1910, p. 138.

11 Kaye, V.J., Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada: 1895-1900, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964, p. 10.

from the land, either onto the estates of large landowners where they received negligible wages as hired labourers, or into the employ of the developing oil industry in Western Ukraine. The 1880's and 1890's were a time of grave economic crises in Galicia, brought about by the policies of the Polish landowners and economic bourgeoisie. They showed no desire to bring about economic and social change, artificially retarding industry and prolonging a primitive agricultural base, supplemented by a petty artisan workshop industry.

"The peasants used primitive, almost medieval, implements and methods of production. The countryside was entangled in a tragic net of illiteracy, usury, and alcoholism. The progress of urbanization and industrialization was slow. At the turn of the century the number of workers had still not reached 100,000. Mounting population pressure caused endemic famine. Every year about 50,000 people died of malnutrition."¹²

Within the constitutional structure of the Austrian Empire, the Ukrainian peasantry had the legal right to form private societies. They also had parliamentary and bureaucratic channels through which to seek government redress of grievances arising from Polish pre-eminence over them. Until the 1880's these possibilities were largely unused due to obstacles in the provincial administration, as well as the organizational weakness of the largely clerical Ukrainian intelligentsia.¹³

¹² Rudnytsky, I. L., op. cit., p. 417.

¹³ Rudnytsky, I. L., (ed.), Mykhaylo Drahomanow: A Symposium and Selected Writings, New York: Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1952, Vol. II, #1, p. 56.

The political machinery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was successful in serving the social and economic designs of the Polish ruling class due to the function and procedure of the electoral system. Although the 1867 Constitution nominally gave Ukrainians equal rights, there was no transferral in actual practice. The governor of Galicia was always appointed from the Polish aristocracy, while his state administration, as well as the autonomous provincial administration which was under the jurisdiction of the Diet, were both staffed almost exclusively by Poles. Business was transacted in the Polish language.¹⁴

The Ukrainians were severely underrepresented in the Galician provincial Diet (legislature), as well as in the Austrian federal Reichstag (parliament), due to the curial electoral system. The basis of representation on these bodies was by class or economic group and not by popular vote. The curia of industrialists, merchants, and urban real estate owners were dominated by Poles and Jews. Ukrainians could only hope to be elected through the peasant curia, where administrative pressures and electoral corruption took their toll. Elections were held in an indirect manner with village delegates meeting in their respective county seats to elect deputies by a roll call vote. Essentially the electoral system remained a tool of the Polish oligarchy, ensuring that social, economic and educational policy did not meet the needs of the Ukrainian peasantry.¹⁵

14 Rudnytsky, I. L., "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule", p. 404.

15 Ibid., and Rudnytsky, I.L. (ed.), Mykhaylo Drahomanow: A Symposium and Selected Writings, p. 49.

Despite these difficulties, however, Ukrainian leaders were increasingly using legal and parliamentary rights to express their protests. Also, the political leadership which had traditionally been provided by the Ukrainian Catholic clergy was gradually passing into the hands of lay intelligentsia. The latter were largely of peasant origins: "every educated Ukrainian was only one or two generations removed from either a parsonage or a peasant hut."¹⁶ These populists (narodovtsi), the majority of whom became secondary school teachers, dedicated most of their political efforts towards educational reform. In 1868 they founded the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society to promote mass education. The perceived task of the populists was to combat the Polish insistence that Ukrainians be excluded from positions of political power, and that their educational and economic opportunities be restricted.

The 1860's saw widespread support for the Ukrainian populist movement amongst circles of university and gymnasium students. The movement dedicated itself to the plight of the Ukrainian peasant people, rejecting clericalism and all manifestations of servility towards the central government in Vienna. This youthful movement was later joined by some intellectuals of the older generation, as well as by some priests. As the popularity of this movement grew, it attracted increasing numbers of the older intelligentsia, and assumed a more conservative and clerical complexion. Gradually the movement lost many of the democratic and reformist qualities

16 Rudnytsky, I. L., "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule", p. 406.

which had characterized its earlier development.¹⁷

In the 1870's, there arose a new youth-inspired "radical" movement, guided by a non-Marxist socialism and agnosticism. The influence of clerics was increasingly resented by a growing lay intelligentsia which endeavoured to disentangle the national movement from clerical control and to take energetic action amongst the people to establish economic, cultural and political associations.¹⁸

In 1890, the Ukrainian Radical Party was formed from the union of militant socialist intellectuals with grassroots peasant political leaders, who due to their great appeal as speakers to the masses became skilled party organizers. The Radical Party, which is considered the first modern Ukrainian political party, was guided by a program of non-Marxist ethical socialism with an independent Ukrainian Republic as its ultimate political goal.¹⁹

Unlike the earlier populists, who tended to concentrate on cultural matters, the Radicals were mainly concerned with the conditions afflicting the peasants and the growing numbers of industrial workers. The avowed economic

17 Ibid., pp. 411-13.

18 Ibid., pp. 414, 420; and Rudnytsky, I. L. (ed.), Mykhaylo Drahomanow: A Symposium and Selected Writings, pp. 56, 59.

19 Rudnytsky, I. L. (ed.), Mykhaylo Drahomanow: A Symposium and Selected Writings, p. 59.

goal of the Radical Party was the collective socialist use of property. The party platform advocated the abolition of land and house taxes in favour of progressive income taxes, the termination of mortgage foreclosures on land indispensable to survival, the priority of village communities in buying land, the abolition of the curia system in favour of equal suffrage, and the continued introduction of the Ukrainian language into the educational system, as well as free secondary education. It was the first Ukrainian party to demand universal equal suffrage, freedom of the press, and agrarian and tax reform.²⁰

In 1899, former Radicals of more moderate and nationalistic persuasions merged with the populists to form the Ukrainian National Democratic Party. The more liberal National Democrats were a broad coalition party, including a wide spectrum of seemingly disparate groups, who were united by a platform of democratic nationalism and social reform. The party's social programs were similar to those of the Radical party.²¹

These two parties formed a two party system amongst the Ukrainians in Galicia. The Democrats became the dominant political party while the Radicals constituted its opposition. Both parties cooperated in the Reichstag and Diet to defend the interests of the peasants, to strive for universal suffrage, and to achieve a unified and independent Ukrainian state.

20 Bilinsky, Y., op. cit., pp. 1555-56, 1559-60.

21 Rudnytsky, I.L., "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule", p. 423.

Minor parties such as the Marxist Ukrainian Social Democrats and the conservative Christian Social Party had only limited influences, the former concentrating on the emerging trade union movement.²²

During the early 20th century the Ukrainian parties focused their work primarily on educational and electoral reform, the latter including the abolition of the curia, the introduction of universal suffrage, as well as the institution of a secret direct vote. In 1907 universal suffrage to the Parliament was granted, the main beneficiaries being the Ukrainians at the expense of the Poles, although gerrymandering of ridings continued to deny Ukrainians the proportional representation due them. Further reforms, in 1914, continued to break the monopoly of power which the Poles had enjoyed in Galicia since 1867.²³

The most important aspect of the political movements which spread throughout Western Ukraine at the turn of the century is that they were based on the mass organization of people. The once passive and easily intimidated peasants were being mobilized into an aspiring nation, by the broad appeals of educational societies, cooperative and economic associations,

22 Ibid., p. 424; and Rudnytsky, I.L. (ed.), Mykhaylo Drahomanow: A Symposium and Selected Writings, p. 59.

23 Rudnytsky, I.L., "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule", pp. 424-25, 427.

and sport and paramilitary groups. The goal of all was the creation of local associational networks with an emphasis on decentralization and direct participation. What emerged from all of these movements was a distinct and unified national identity which saw as its essential duty the elevation of the common masses so that as a people they could live freely on a par with other nations.

These trends were developing at a time when hundreds of thousands of impoverished Western Ukrainian farmers were deciding that emigration to other countries was the only way of improving their economic situation. The only way that many villagers could hope to salvage their farms was by emigrating for seasonal labour to Prussia, France and other industrial areas of Western Europe. Increasingly, though, the industrial areas of North America became a popular destination for migrant labourers. The late 1870's saw a sharp rise in the emigration of Ukrainians to the United States, as Pennsylvania coal mine operators turned to Eastern Europe as a source of labour. By 1910 over 600,000 Ukrainians were believed to be in the United States.²⁴

Tens of thousands of peasant families were also attracted to new settlement areas in South America, especially in Brazil and Argentina. These countries attracted immigrants with promises of free land, free transport and

²⁴ Halich, Wasyl, Ukrainians in the United States, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. 18, 22.

prosperity for all. Unfortunately the promised lands of South America held little more promise than the overcrowded and oppressive Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian immigrants in South America received homesteads on the fringes of dense primeval jungles. Many succumbed to hunger, deadly tropical diseases, wild animals, and armed attacks by aborigines. In some cases women resorted to prostitution, while children were bartered for food and money so that families could survive.²⁵

Reports of the calamitous South American emigration were met with shock and disbelief in Western Ukraine. Ukrainian parliamentarians and educational societies such as Prosvita concluded that although a continued emigration of impoverished peasants was necessary, it was essential that this be an organized movement of well-prepared peasant farmers, to lands where they could hope to farm successfully. They endeavoured to eliminate the role of profiteering agents who duped people into leaving their homeland without the means or money necessary for successful settlement elsewhere.

Professor Joseph Oleskiw of Lviv, Western Ukraine, became a major figure in the organized flow of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, being directly responsible for establishing the first large Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba.

25 Myshuha, Luka, (ed.), Propamiatna knyha, Dzherzi Syti: Ukrainsky Narodnyi Soiuz, 1936, pp. 54-56. (Jubilee Book, Jersey City: Ukrainisn National Association, 1936, pp. 54-56); and Vihorynskyi, Irynei, Ukrainski pereselentsi v Brazilii: Irasema v istorychnomu rozvytku v 1895-1958 rr, Irasema: OO. Vasyliany, 1958, pp. 42, 48, 56-57. (Ukrainian Settlers in Brazil: The Historical Development of Iracema between 1895 and 1958, Iracema: Basilian Fathers, 1958), pp. 42, 48, 56-57.

He, along with the educational society Prosvita, figured largely in redirecting the flow of Ukrainian emigration from Brazil and Argentina to Manitoba and the Canadian Northwest. Their desire to find suitable conditions and lands for the peasants of Western Ukraine coincided with the particular need of the Canadian government of the time in finding new sources of immigration to settle its western territories.

Although large-scale immigration to Manitoba did not begin until 1896, small numbers of Ukrainians did arrive earlier. The de Meurons soldiers who settled briefly at Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement in 1817 included a small number of Slavs, a few of whom are alleged to have been of Ukrainian origin.²⁶ Other Ukrainians are thought to have arrived individually in the 1850's and 1860's, while others came in the 1870's and 1880's, probably accompanying Germans and Mennonites emigrating from Ukrainian lands.²⁷ By 1883, there was also a group of Ukrainians living in Winnipeg which had arrived via the United States.²⁸

Although the mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada is associated primarily with the years from 1896 to 1911 and the Liberal administration

26 Marunchak, M., Studii do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady, Tom I, Winnipeg: Ukrainska Vilna Akademiia Nauk, 1964-65, pp. 14-16. (Studies in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, Vol. I, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1964-65, pp. 14-16.).

27 Biletskyi, Leonid, Ukrainski pionery v Kanadi: 1891-1951, Winnipeg: Komitet Ukraintsiv Kanady, 1951, p. 17. (Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada, 1891-1951, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1951, p. 17).

28 Marunchak, M., op. cit., pp. 56-60.

of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the groundwork was laid by Oleskiw during the Conservative government of Sir Mackenzie Bowell and Sir Charles Tupper.

In his negotiations with the Conservative government of Canada in 1895, Oleskiw proposed that he coordinate a non-profit flow of immigrants who would be sent and settled in groups on suitable lands selected prior to their departure. He envisioned the establishment of cooperative village communities headed by capable leaders well-briefed in the problems of settlement.

The response of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Conservative government was reserved, avoiding any definite commitments and promising no help to the first planned settlers. During the Bowell administration there was forceful opposition to the costs of such state-aided immigration. The government's instability due to changing leadership, coupled with the mounting crisis over the Manitoba Schools Question, as well as misgivings about the feasibility of Oleskiw's proposals, effectively ruled out government assistance at that time.²⁹

The first group of about one hundred Oleskiw settlers arrived in Canada in 1896 right in the middle of the cabinet crisis of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's government. Upon resigning, Bowell was replaced by Sir Charles Tupper, while Hugh John MacDonald became the new Minister of the Interior. Although the majority of these first settlers settled in Alberta, a few remained in the

²⁹ Kaye, V.J., op. cit., p. 51.

Lake Dauphin area of Manitoba. Subsequent Oleskiw groups arriving that same year became the nucleus of two of Manitoba's largest Ukrainian settlements: the Dauphin-Drifting River (Trembowla) and the Stuartburn (Rus) settlements.³⁰

Sir Charles Tupper's Conservative government was defeated in the 1896 election and replaced by Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals. The newly appointed Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, was dedicated to fostering a large flow of immigration of capable agriculturalists to the Canadian West. Once Sifton, his Deputy Minister and newly appointed Commissioner of Immigration became acquainted with Oleskiw and his work, they asked him to take charge of Ukrainian immigration to Manitoba and the Northwest. Between 1898 and 1900 he acted as the unofficial Canadian immigration representative for Galicia, receiving a partial agent's fee to cover expenses. In 1896, on the advice of Oleskiw, Cyril Genik was hired in Winnipeg as a government interpreter for Ukrainians and thus became the first Ukrainian-Canadian civil servant. In 1898 Rev. N. Dmytriw of the United States was hired to supervise the Canadian side of the immigration as well as to encourage Ukrainian immigration to Canada from the United States.³¹ Prior to 1896, Ukrainian immigrants to Canada had not numbered over 500 per year. In 1897, 4,999 Galician immigrants were registered, another 5,509 arrived in 1898, while 7,276 and 6,618 arrived in 1899 and 1900 respectively. After 1895, 90% of

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 137-38, 184-86.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 78-79, 117; and Marunchak, M., op. cit., Tom IV, pp. 67-71.

"Galician" immigrants were Ukrainians. A great many of these settlers went to Manitoba, so that by 1902 there were over 17,000 Ukrainians in the province. Although Canadian immigration officials were able to supply the above approximations, the actual numbers are difficult to establish. At the time of this immigration to Canada, Ukrainians often used political and geographic designations upon declaring themselves. Ukrainians were variously registered and referred to as "Galicians", "Bukovinians", "Ruthenians", "Austrians", etc. After the First World War, the single ethnic-national term "Ukrainian" replaced all others. This initial problem in identification procedure has made it difficult to establish an accurate statistical count of Ukrainians who arrived prior to the First World War.³²

With Oleskiw's withdrawal from immigration work in 1900, and his death in 1903, the flow of Ukrainians to Canada was determined by the immigration policies of the Liberal Laurier government, as directed until 1905 by Clifford Sifton. His aggressive policy of western settlement was one of a number of factors which influenced the phenomenal speed of prairie settlement. Economic conditions in Canada and the world were on an upsurge, with Canada emerging from a depression and entering a period of prosperity. Farm prices were rising while new technology increased the productivity of western agriculture. Between 1896 and 1914, the Canadian grain economy became increasingly important. Western settlement was also aided by the expansion of the railroad network which developed transcontinental

32 Ibid., pp. 361-62; and pp. xxiii-xxvi, "The Problem of the Ethnic Name".

trade in grain, machinery and other staples.³³

There were still large tracts of untitled land in Manitoba, and in the Northwest, to which an insufficient number of British and Western European farmers were being attracted. Because these traditional sources of immigration no longer had a large surplus of agriculturalists, Sifton selected Eastern Europe, particularly Austro-Hungary, which had the largest proportion of farmers in relation to the total population, as a new source. The extensive development of all branches of the Canadian economy forced the opening of this new immigration source, so that industrialization and the development of agriculture and natural resources could proceed.³⁴

Although great protest was to be raised against the importation of Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans to Canada, parliamentarians were encouraged by business interests, especially the railroads and steamship lines, to allow their entry.³⁵ The following parliamentary excerpt from M.P. David R. Rogers' comments regarding immigration clearly shows the role that Ukrainians were expected to play in Canadian society:

"Of course they work for low wages, but they do not come into competition with the artisan or mechanic, because they are all agriculturalists.... We want cheap

33 Hobart, C.W., et al., Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta, Edmonton-Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1975, p. 59.

34 Ibid., p. 56; and Corbett, David, Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, pp. 32-33; and Macdonald, Norman, Canadian Immigration and Colonization: 1841-1903, Toronto: Mcmillan of Canada, 1966, pp. 46-48.

35 Shlepakov, A.M., op. cit., p. 109; and Chumer, V.A., Spomyny pro perezhyvannia pershykh ukrainskykh pereselentsiv v Kanadi, Edmonton: avtor, 1942, pp. 13-14 (Memoirs of the Experiences of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, Edmonton: by the author, 1942, pp. 13-14).

agricultural labourers. We have to compete in the foreign markets with very cheap agricultural labour in other countries, and, in order to do so successfully we must have cheap agricultural labour at home. That is the only means by which we can increase our agricultural products, and by which men who have money invested in agricultural enterprises, can get a good return from it." 36

Serving this purpose, Ukrainian immigrants were directed to unoccupied western lands, where they were destined to build up the agricultural base of the country as well as to labour in the natural resource and transport infrastructures which were being developed. Most ended within the most exploited low status sectors of industrial and agricultural labour.

The Ukrainians in Manitoba settled mainly in areas which comprised a primitive hinterland of the better developed and higher quality Anglo-Canadian core. By the 1890's, successive waves of Eastern Canadian, American, British and Western European immigrants had taken up much of the readily accessible lands, leaving only unfavourable lands which had either been avoided or abandoned after unsuccessful homesteading attempts. It was largely this sub-marginal land which was opened up for Ukrainian settlement. Much of this land proved unsuitable for farming.³⁷

36 Canada, House of Commons, Debates, July 26, 1899, p. 8516 (henceforth cited as Debates).

37 Warkentin, John, and Ruggles, Richard I., Manitoba Historical Atlas, Winnipeg: The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1970, p. 332.

The main Ukrainian settlements established in Manitoba were located along the northern boundary of existing settlement, close to the inhospitable Canadian Shield. The main settlements were clustered into large blocks to the southeast of Winnipeg along the American border, directly to the northeast of Winnipeg stretching as far as the east shores of Lake Winnipeg, along a wide corridor stretching north into the Interlake district, as well as along and between the slopes of the Riding Mountain and Duck Mountain complexes.³⁸

Except for the few years when Professor Oleskiw was involved, most Ukrainian immigration was handled by steamship companies whose agents in Eastern Europe secured bonuses for every immigrant they persuaded to move to Canada. This system was often haphazard. Agents were willing to book passage for all who could raise the fare, regardless of their ability to survive in Canada. Because of their lack of guidance the Galician peasants were easy prey for various immigration schemes. Selling their land for fractions of what it was worth, they were often overcharged for fares, cheated in currency exchanges, and extorted for room and board during the process of their journey. Some were sold fares which later turned out to be valid for only a portion of the planned journey. Some Austrian border points were controlled by "agents"

38 Yuzyk, Paul, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. 31-39.

who had bribed officials in order to have the rights to control concessions, as well as to be able to levy special exit taxes on the immigrants.³⁹

Not only did this pattern of emigration involve corruption and exploitation, it also involved much physical hardship and danger. Should a peasant succeed in reaching his ship with sufficient money to continue, the total voyage from the Galician village to the Canadian shores would often take over a month. Cattle boats recently arrived from Canada were among the boats used to transport Ukrainians across the ocean.

Landing in Canada, the passengers would be loaded into railroad cars and shipped across the continent to their point of destination, which was often Winnipeg. The exploitation experienced in Europe was partly repeated in Canada, the arrivals being overcharged for food, as well as being the target of swindlers who would endeavour to sell them useless objects in exchange for their little money. Land speculators dissuaded some from taking up homesteads, selling them high priced lots instead, and in some cases selling the same lot to several unsuspecting purchasers.⁴⁰

39 Franko, Ivan, "Emihratsia halytskykhselian" and "Emihratsiini ahenty v Halychyni", v Ivan Franko, Tvory v dvadtsiaty tomakh, Tom 19, Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Khudozhnoi Literatury, 1955-56, pp. 311-17, 318-24. ("The Emigration of Galician Peasants" and "Emigration Agents in Galicia" in Ivan Franko, Works in Twenty Volumes, Vol. 19, Kiev: State Publishing House of Belles Lettres, 1955-56, pp. 311-17, 318-24).

40 For general immigrant accounts, see: Humeniuk, Peter, Hardships and Progress of Ukrainian Pioneers: Memoirs from Stuartburn Colony and Other Points, Winnipeg: by the author, 1977; and Paximadis, Mary, Look Who's Coming: The Wachna Story, Oshawa: Moracle Press Ltd., 1976.

The role of the transport companies in influencing and directing the course of settlement in Canada was considerable and in many respects a drawback. The railroads such the C.P.R. were concerned in the main with cheap manpower, as well as the prospect of increased freight and passenger revenue. The Canadian Northern and other railroads held sizeable land grants in Manitoba and were instrumental in the establishment of Ukrainian settlements. The Stuartburn colony for example was established with the encouragement of this company, in an area unsuitable for settlement.⁴¹ The C.P.R. also desired settlement near its lines, and sold immigrants lands which it controlled. Since the land along railway lines, particularly through remoter areas, was not always fit for settlement, such sales likely benefitted the railroad companies more than the prospective farmers. However unsuitable these lands were for colonization, some immigrants were attracted to them because they usually included access to water and timber, both of which, in Austro-Hungary, had always been the exclusive property of the landlord class.

Whereas in 1896 settlement in areas such as the Stuartburn district appears to have resulted from government acquiescence, by 1898 and 1899, the settlement of infertile land was the result of government colonization agents openly calculating that they were settling land that no one else but the Ukrainians would accept. Opportunities for the Ukrainian immigrants to examine

41 Davidson, Gordon, The Ukrainians in Canada: A Study in Canadian Immigration, Montreal; by the author, 1947, p. 9.

various land parcels were no longer provided. Ukrainians were evidently perceived as a lower class of pioneer material, suitable for inferior areas, while more favourable lands were retained for "higher" classes of settlers. The reports of General Colonization agent G. W. Speers in 1899 indicate the government's policy of reserving suitable land for settlers other than the Ukrainians, who were to be compelled to take up sub-marginal tracts:

"The last named districts offer excellent facilities for any class of settlers and possibly it had better be reserved for future colonization and other European classes."

and again;

"I think strong measures have to be applied to place these people where it is the desire of the Department that they should go, irrespective of their own wishes 42 in the matter."

Government officials took strong and at times brutal measures to implement this policy. In 1897 a group of Ukrainian immigrants refused to be moved from the Winnipeg immigration hall, until promises made by immigration agents were fulfilled. Eventually the group was forcibly evicted by a detachment of Winnipeg police.⁴³ Other contingents who desired to be settled in specific Manitoba and Alberta locations were instead

42 Quoted in Kaye, V.J., op. cit., p. 250.

43 Ibid., pp. 281-85.

directed to Saskatchewan. Guided by "interpreters", some of whom carried whips,⁴⁴ they were forcefully conveyed to unpromising locations and dumped there, irrespective of inclement climatic conditions. At times facing starvation, they were denied food or provisions until they agreed to take up the designated land. Revolting contingents were subdued by R.C.M.P. detachments.⁴⁵

On May 23rd, 1898, an article in the Nor'-Wester, although conceding that the Ukrainians were undesirable in Canada as settlers, protested the measures which the immigration officials were using to carry out their policies. It warned that should the Ukrainians continue to be treated as brutes and not human beings, they would not soon forget "... the dishonourable and high handed manner in which they had been treated by the Canadian government." The article specifically referred to a case where:

"... brutal treatment was employed to force settlers to comply with the whims of the Immigration Commissioner. On that occasion, they were locked in their cars and were brutally beaten back, and otherwise maltreated when they attempted to escape."⁴⁶

An extreme example of the callousness of the Canadian government's settlement policy occurred in Manitoba's Shoal Lake Ukrainian settlement in the early spring of 1899. An overflow of Ukrainians in the inadequate Winnipeg

44 McCourt, Edward, Saskatchewan, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968, p. 116.

45 Kaye, V. J., op. cit., pp. 300-302, 309-10.

46 Daily Nor'-Wester, May 23, 1898. See also Stonewall Gazette, quoted in Daily Nor'-Wester, September 3, 1897.

immigration sheds led to the prompt designation of a "suitable" location for settlement. Although better lands were available, the area chosen for its suitability for "Galician colonization" lay south of the Riding Mountains. It was an area of rocky and rolling burned out timber land, crossed with lakes and streams. Eighty families, with women and children already malnourished, filthy and weak from weeks of travel in unsanitary boats and railroad cars, waited in Winnipeg for transport, sleeping on the ground.

Although a number of these immigrants died en route to the homestead site, and the outbreak of a disease (scarlet fever) was apparent, officials deemed it suitable, when reaching the end of the rail line, to shunt the people by wagon and foot through snow and rain to abandoned lumber camps distant from local habitation. Over 200 poorly provisioned people were forced to survive in two tents for a period of two frosty and snowy weeks. Nearly sixty people, mostly children, perished on the shores of Manitoba's Paterson Lake and were buried in shallow graves.⁴⁷

Several Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba and the Northwest were plagued by destitution and starvation in their first years, because the settlers arrived with few or no provisions, and because the various levels of government

47. Marunchak, M., op. cit., Tom II, Winnipeg: 1966-67, pp. 273-99; and Kaye, V.J., op. cit., pp. 255-63.

gave relief sparingly and reluctantly. In February of 1898, a Winnipeg newspaperman, visiting a settlement near Yorkton reported ill-clad people, some of whose limbs were rotting from frostbite, living in crowded dirt dug-outs on nothing but bread, snow water, and some milk. These people, some of whom were on the verge of starving to death, had been told in Europe and again in Canada by agents and government officials, that they would receive the livestock, provisions, and equipment needed for making a start in Canada. All they received in fact was a few sacks of low grade flour.⁴⁸

When a disastrous prairie fire hit the Dauphin-Ethelbert area in 1899, many settlers lost all of their crops, possessions and buildings. Although clothing and food assistance was offered by the Manitoba government to the others affected, the Ukrainians were excluded from this aid. Manitoba Minister of Agriculture and Immigration, J.A. Davidson, contended that they were the wards of the Federal Government.⁴⁹ The Federal Commissioner of Immigration, William F. McCreary, on the other hand, seemingly had as much concern for economy in government as he had for destitute Ukrainian settlers. A few of the families who had no feed for their livestock, or food or clothing for themselves were eventually forwarded a few sacks of flour, cornmeal and bran on which to survive until the next harvest. For this assistance liens were taken on the recipients' homesteads. In a report to his superiors, McCreary

48 Debates, June 2, 1898, pp. 6822-24.

49 Kaye, V.J., op. cit., p. 226.

wrote the following regarding the situations at Yorkton and Dauphin:

"Rest assured, I will give no more assistance than will barely prevent sensational reports in the press of a 50 condition of starvation."

As things turned out, "sensational reports" continued through the next decade. As late as 1908 the federal Parliament discussed the assistance being extended to starving settlers in the Ukrainian districts at Teulon and Gimli in the Interlake. About 138 families, some having gone for days even without bread, were on the verge of starvation.⁵¹

The first year on the homestead, with no community or government services, usually meant living in a quickly fashioned hole or lean-to, and subsisting largely on wild plant and animal life, along with the occasional handout of poor flour. The achievement of successful cash crops was the culmination of a long process of cutting pulpwood, gardening and small scale mixed farming.

Land clearing and tilling as well as the selection and cultivation of suitable crops involved a process of trial and error. A Ukrainian agricultural field agent employed by the province of Manitoba during the 1920's commented on this early period of agricultural endeavour.

"Agricultural literature, rich as it is, has never reached them. Ten years ago I approached the Minister of Agriculture at Winnipeg, asking for posters in the Ukrainian language. He said that he would not give them for this was encouraging

50 Quoted in Ibid., p. 231.

51 Debates, June 4, 1908, pp. 9867-69, and June 5, 1908, pp. 9979-81. Frank Oliver, then the Minister of the Interior, assured opposition members that the assistance was not a political handout. Aid was given to only 85 of the destitute families. All recipients were homesteaders, so that liens could be taken on their farms in return for the "necessaries" of "flour, sugar and a little tea or coffee" which they received.

migration of men led to permanent employment in industries.⁵⁴

The plight of Ukrainians on the industrial front was no more encouraging than it was on the agricultural front. J. S. Woodsworth, a prominent social critic at the turn of the century, commented on the role of the twice dispossessed Ukrainian immigrant farmer in the Canadian West.

"Much of the rough work of nation-building in Western Canada is being done by the despised Galician. The unskilled labour for which contractors and railway builders have been loudly calling is supplied principally by the Galician."⁵⁵

The railroad companies were especially pleased with the influx of Ukrainian peasant labour, who filled their work camps across the prairies. As

Liberal M.P., D. C. Fraser (Guysborough) succinctly noted:

"There is not a railway in Manitoba or the North-West Territories that has not discovered that after the first year the Galician and Doukhobor make as good men as any from eastern Canada or any part of the world.... I do not suppose that the railway company, which has neither soul to be saved nor body to be burned, would employ these men because they were Galicians or Doukhobors. They employ them on commercial principles and because they give the best returns for the wages paid to them."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Martin, Chester, Dominion Lands Policy, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1938. pp. 395-96, 405-406.

⁵⁵ Woodsworth, James S., Strangers within Our Gates: Or coming Canadians, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, p. 110.

⁵⁶ Debates, April 12, 1901, pp. 2943-44.

Railway employment offered meagre rewards. Living conditions were primitive and unsanitary and wages were low, while prices for supplies were exorbitant. After months of work in railway camps many workers would leave penniless. The religious practices of Ukrainian workers were not taken into consideration as they were forced to work on such church holidays as Christmas. They risked being fired if they requested days off without pay.⁵⁷

Between 1903 and 1914, there were as many as 3,000 frontier work camps a year involved with logging, pulping, hydro development and railway construction in Canada. These camps employed approximately 200,000 men or 5% of the country's total labour force. Ukrainians formed the largest single group (about 12%) involved in this frontier work.⁵⁸ Foreign-born labourers constituted 25% of winter lumbering camps while summer railway gangs were between 80% and 90% foreign-born.⁵⁹

The Ukrainians and other "foreigners" who dominated railway work, unlike the "white men" in the camps,⁶⁰ did all of the heavy, dirty and menial tasks for non-union wages. One chronicler of these camps, Edmund Bradwin

57 Marunchak. M., The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, pp. 89-90.

58 Bradwin, Edmund W., The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada 1903-1914, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, pp. vii, 249.

59 Cook, George, "Alfred Fitzpatrick and the Foundation of Frontier College (1899-1922)", Canada: An Historical Magazine, June 1976, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 17.

60 Bradwin, Edmund, op. cit., p. x.

likened the conditions of frontier employment to that of indentured slavery.

"There is in wage-accounting a trend toward petty exactions if not at times to undue coercion. Definite tendencies still lurk unmolested in the camps of Canada which, in their ultimate effects on the individual labourer, are tantamount to lesser forms of serfdom."⁶¹

Railway companies and contractors were interested in having as many sturdy Central and Eastern Europeans signed up and forwarded to their camps as possible. In some cases men were manacled and conveyed under guard to frontier camps in order to ensure that they fulfill contracts signed at store-fronts employment offices.⁶² Also it was not uncommon for Ukrainians and other Slavs to be paid by contractors with loaded revolvers lying conspicuously close by.⁶³

The harsh code of frontier labour did not leave much room for negotiations. Grievances over pay or conditions accomplished little more than dismissal from work. Vacant positions were quickly filled by other recently arrived immigrants or struggling homesteaders. Labour disputes or strikes initiated by Ukrainians or other "foreigners" received no support from the privileged "white" workers. A contemporary of those times wrote of the situation:

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶² Ibid., p. 60.

⁶³ Cook, George, op. cit., p. 20.

"The Ukrainians were held in check by the small Anglo-Saxon element present in every camp who, being decently treated, were always ready to put down with fist, club and even guns any outbreak of the 'Bohunks'."⁶⁴

Forming a large portion of the unskilled labour force, Ukrainians were placed in the most difficult, unpleasant and dangerous of occupations. Between 1904 and 1911, 23% of all fatal industrial accidents occurred on the railways, with the fatality rate of frontier labour equalling that of the British Army.⁶⁵ The first Ukrainians employed in the mining industry were brought in as company strike breakers and reserve labour. They were sent to the remotest areas, and hardest jobs, often receiving half the usual pay. Previous workers motivated by a perceived threat to their own job security and wages often fell upon the newcomers, beating them and driving them off.⁶⁶

The continued flow of seasonal labour from marginal homesteads led to the establishment of the first urban Ukrainian concentrations in Winnipeg's Point Douglas area, north and south of the C.P.R. mainline, as well as in other centres such as Brooklands, Transcona, Fort Rouge, Portage la Prairie and Brandon, where railroad and construction jobs were available.⁶⁷

64 Ely Culbertson,, quoted in Lysenko, Vera, Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947, pp. 55-56.

65 Cook, George, op. cit., p. 20.

66 Lysenko, Vera, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

67 Pohorecky, Zenon and Royick, Alexander, "Anglicization of Ukrainian in Canada between 1895 and 1970:- A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization", Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol.1, No.2, December, 1969; and Yuzyk, Paul, "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba", Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No.8, 1953, pp. 35-36.

The stark and often harsh realities which met the Ukrainians in Canada were far removed from the bright and prosperous vistas which had been promised. A number of these initial immigrants were to return to Europe after experiencing these realities. In Western Ukraine, they dissuaded others from moving to Canada, and advised them to remain in the homeland and struggle for an equitable existence. One article in the 1914 Prosvita Almanac published in Lviv, was entitled bluntly "Ne idte do Kanady ("Do not go to Canada").⁶⁸

The great emigration of Ukrainians to Canada at the turn of the century made them the largest single immigrant group arriving in the Canadian West between 1895 and 1900.⁶⁹ This influx coincided with a period of great success for British imperial exploits. These successes were accompanied by the development of pseudo-scientific social doctrines which expounded the inherent genetic inequality of races and people. These race theories, sometimes referred to as Social Darwinism, classified people hierarchically according to their presumed social and biological traits. Concepts such as "survival of the fittest" and "natural selection" were used to identify races and cultures which were alleged to be innately inferior.⁷⁰

68 Almanakh Prosvity, (Prosvita Almanac), Lviv: 1914, p. 178.

69 Kaye, V.J., op. cit., p. xiii.

70 Berger, Carl, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, pp. 147-52; and Barber, Marilyn, "An Introduction", in Woodsworth, op. cit., pp. xii-xv.

Large segments of Anglo-Canadian society evidently identified with the rise of British imperialism and more or less accepted the notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority. The Ukrainian immigration to Canada became the object of their concern, as fear arose that the "racial" purity of Canada was being threatened. Newspapers and politicians identified Ukrainians as biologically inferior and culturally decadent.

In the federal Parliament, Liberal M.P. Frank Oliver of Alberta was perhaps the most vocal critic of the Ukrainian intrusion into Canadian society. A longstanding Liberal M.P. who in 1905 assumed the cabinet post of Minister of the Interior, Oliver arrived in Edmonton in 1876, establishing himself as a trader and prominent citizen. In 1881, he founded the Edmonton Bulletin. Oliver was a fierce critic of the Liberal immigration policy which brought the Ukrainians to Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. By 1904, though, his stance towards Ukrainians changed as they emerged as a significant proportion of his constituency's electorate. Oliver eventually came to boast of his party's past policies before his Ukrainian electorate, but at the time of their arrival he distinguished himself as one of their most vocal opponents.⁷¹ Oliver stated simply: "This is not an immigration, it is a deportation."⁷² His thesis was that the very reason why the Ukrainians were arriving

⁷¹ MacGregor, J.G., Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969, pp. 26-27, 189-91, 195, 237.

⁷² Debates, June 2, 1898, p. 6820.

in such numbers was that the Austro-Hungarian government had concluded that they were incapable of self-improvement, and was therefore evicting them to make room for more capable and industrious races, such as the Germans. The Germans were, in his opinion, a dominant race, energetic, farsighted, honest, reliable, productive, and above all citizens of the highest character. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, were a servile subject race, an "under race":

"... a people who, less than two generations ago, were serfs of the soil, and who, unfortunately, have not had the opportunities, even if they had the capability, to rise very high above that position to-day." 74

Oliver predicted that the inherent limitations of the Galicians arriving in Canada would prevent them from ever becoming adequate producers and citizens:

"Let it not be forgotten that the good citizen is the greatest producer; that a colony of Germans or Canadians will produce more inside of two years than a similar colony of Galicians or Doukhobors will in ten years. If you want production it is just the same in farming as it is in anything else, the men of the highest intelligence and the highest character will give you the best results." 75

73 Ibid., p. 6842, and April 12, 1901, p. 2934.

74 Ibid., April 12, 1901, p. 2934.

75 Ibid., p. 2935.

The Ukrainians could not be worthy citizens of Canada as they were incapable of taking part in the building up of a civilization and social system. Not being able to take their places as citizens they were an obstacle in the way of progress. The institutions and general prosperity of the Northwest depended "upon the maintenance of the supremacy of a civilizing and directing influence in that country."⁷⁶ As early as 1899 Oliver was forecasting that the whole of that territory stood in danger of the new immigrant influxes. Should people such as the Ukrainians ever become a majority and gain control, there would be no hope for progress or prosperity ;

"... we stand in danger of having a greater number of these people than we can handle and assimilate and who will control us instead of our controlling them There is no use in waiting until we do suffer serious loss."

"... There is danger, very serious, to the settlement of the North-west, and particularly that part of the country from the influence of these Galicians." ⁷⁷

According to this argument, the Ukrainian immigrants were not like their successful Canadian neighbours. Oliver considered them alien "in race and every other respect",⁷⁸ and certain to retard Canadian progress:

⁷⁶ Ibid., July 26, 1899, p. 8523.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 8524-25.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 8521-22.

"...we resent the idea of having the millstone of this Slav population hung around our necks in our efforts to build up, beautify and improve that country, and so improve the whole of Canada." 79

Other parliamentarians were concerned about rumours that the Ukrainians were largely a criminal class being "palmed off" on Canadians.⁸⁰ Conservative Thomas S. Sproule (Grey E.), criticized the arrival of Doukhobors and Galicians as an unjustifiable injustice against Canadians, as these people were "two of the outcast classes of nations of continental Europe....the country from whence they come have practically cast them from their shores." 81

The prospect of assimilating people such as the Ukrainians was generally seen as a process which would lower the standards of Canadian society, adulterating healthy bloodlines. As Sproule put it:

"There may be a fusion of the races in the future, but they will assuredly drag down the Canadian race. Instead of uplifting and bettering the condition of the Canadian people, they will rather make it worse; and I fear that there may be a time, it may not be in the near future, it may be in the distant future, when we shall be subjected to another such expense as we have had to incur in keeping the Boers under control in South Africa and that will be for the purpose of taking care of and keeping in subjection the undesirable class who are pouring into our country to-day." 82

79 Ibid., April 12, 1901, p. 2939.

80 Ibid., July 26, 1899, pp. 8506-07.

81 Ibid., July 9, 1900, p. 9642.

82 Ibid., pp. 9645-46.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the former Conservative Prime Minister of Canada, also added his voice to the attacks directed against the Ukrainians. Writing in the Bellefonte Intelligencer, in 1899, he compared the arrival of more Ukrainians in Canada to the dumping of another cartload of Old World refuse;

"The Galicians, they of the sheepskin coats, the filth and the vermin, do not make splendid material for the building of a great nation. One look at the disgusting creatures as they pass through over the C.P.R. on their way West has caused many to marvel that beings bearing the human form could have sunk to such a bestial level. Since the first band settled in Manitoba, from their settlements have come nothing but tales of murder, arson and brutality, more horrible than anything ever dreamed of by the wildest disciple of the school of realistic fiction."

McGill economist Stephen Leacock was also an exponent of the popular racial theories, and condoned at best only a small importation of people such as the Ukrainians :

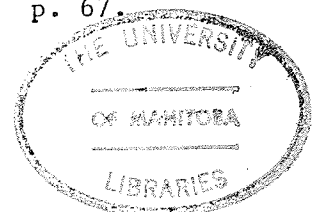
"A little dose of them may even by variation, do good, like a minute dose of poison in a medicine...." 84

In Manitoba, where a greater part of the first Ukrainian immigration was to settle, the voices of protest were raised early.

An editorial in an 1897 issue of the Daily Nor-Wester supported a resolution of the Rosedale Municipal council protesting the settlement of

83 Cited in Manitoba Free Press, February 1, 1904.

84 Cited in Porter, John, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968, p. 67.



destitute Ukrainian immigrants within their municipality:

"The protest of the council is quite justified. The dumping down of these filthy, penniless and ignorant foreigners into progressive and intelligent communities is a serious hardship to such community.... A few families of them will constitute a permanent menace to the public health of the neighbourhood in which they are located They are not a people who will mix socially with the English speaking population, nor do the English speaking population desire them to do so even if they would.... In a variety of other ways their presence will be an injury to a progressive settlement. The farmer who happens to have one of these objectionable intruders settle next to him will have his farm permanently depreciated in value. His sons who are growing into manhood, or the friends he proposed to induce to come from the east and settle near him, will have to find homesteads elsewhere because the European scum has been dumped on all the vacant quarter sections in his neighbourhood. It cannot be too emphatically repeated that the people of Manitoba want no such 'settlers' as these Galicians. There is no such large area of desirable vacant land in the partially settled portions of Manitoba that we are obliged to throw it away on people of this class." 85

In what later became a common theme, a Winnipeg daily accused Ukrainians of the worst criminal tendencies, when in 1898 it editorialized on the arrival of more "sorry specimens of the human race hailing from Galicia":

"By-and-by we may be hearing of incendiarisms, wholesale (and retail) poisonings, and perhaps other forms of murder, It is neither likely nor possible that the Galician who poisoned, robbed or murdered in Galicia, without apparent compunction or remorse, will immediately on his arrival in Manitoba become a decent and well-ordered citizen. Already there are complaints from adjacent settlers to the Galician communities of their lazy and thievish habits. If such is the case while yet strange to the country what will they do when they grow fat and lazy? If Mr. Sifton were to be the only one to suffer it would not matter so much, but he will doubtless be steeped in luxury, while better Canadians than he are suffering from the dirt, vice and depredations of his Slavonic and Ruthenian importations, and bearing the burden that such useless and helpless additions will throw upon the community." 86

85 Daily Nor'-Wester, August 3, 1897.

86 Winnipeg Telegram, July 12, 1898.

The Liberal government actively defended Ukrainian immigrants and its immigration policies against these attacks. In spite of this, the fears and prejudices against Ukrainians remained deeply entrenched within the public perception and influenced the relations of Western Canadian society for years to come. Politics in particular became an expression of Anglo-Canadian apprehension vis-à-vis the Ukrainian immigration in the Canadian West. Ukrainians were perceived as lacking the necessary skills to participate responsibly within the political institutions of the country. In Manitoba, where the greater part of the Ukrainian immigration landed, their presence provoked immediate political reaction. Efforts were launched to deny them equal access to the franchise. The first immigration of Ukrainians to Canada left Austro-Hungary at a time when strong educational, cooperative and political movements were mobilizing the Ukrainian peasantry to combat illiteracy, poverty, cultural discrimination and political exclusion. Ironically, as the new century opened, similar difficulties confronted those Ukrainians who had come to Manitoba.

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL REACTION TO UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN MANITOBA: ACCUSATIONS OF RACIAL INFERIORITY AND ATTEMPTS AT EXCLUSION

The increasing numbers of Ukrainian immigrants arriving in Manitoba during the late 1890's came to a province under the administration of a Liberal government. The Premier was Thomas Greenway, an English-born farmer who had emigrated to Manitoba in 1878, following a successful career in business and politics in Ontario. After taking office in 1888, the Greenway government revoked the status of French as an official language in Manitoba and discontinued the provisions for a publicly financed dual and denominational school system. The French Catholic minority in the province appealed against the latter action, both to the courts and the federal cabinet, without success.¹

With the coming to power of the federal Liberal party in 1896, under the leadership of Wilfrid Laurier, Premier Greenway was pressured into granting certain educational concessions to Manitoba minorities, including the use of languages other than English in Manitoba public schools. This negotiated settlement between the two levels of government became known as the Laurier-Greenway Compromise and was enacted as an amendment to the Manitoba Public Schools Act.²

1 Morton, W.L., Manitoba: A History, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, pp. 240-50; and Sissons, C.B., Bilingual Schools in Canada, Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1917, pp. 114-56.

2 Statutes of Manitoba, 1897, Cap. 26; and Morton, W.L., op. cit., pp. 268-72.

This compromise agreement with the federal government became one of a number of issues which brought the Greenway government under increasing criticism from the province's Conservative opposition. The Conservative attack against the Liberal government of Manitoba was headed by Hugh John Macdonald, the popular Ontario-born lawyer-politician son of Sir John A. Macdonald.³

The Conservatives focused on a lack of economy and efficiency in government finances as well as on the province's weak performance in railway policies and territorial extension. The need for franchise reform, an agricultural college and a non-partisan educational system were also underlined, along with support of prohibition. The question of federal immigration policy was also a prominent Conservative issue, the Greenway government being blamed for the increasing numbers of Eastern European immigrants arriving in Manitoba and the Northwest.⁴

As his Conservative associates were doing in the federal Parliament, Macdonald assailed this immigration as a serious threat to the prosperous development of the Canadian nation, underlining that in Manitoba it constituted a threat to the province's newly asserted British character.⁵

3 See Guest, Henry James, "Reluctant politician: a biography of Sir Hugh John Macdonald," (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973).

4 Canadian Annual Review, 1903, pp. 184-85; and Morton, W.L., op. cit., pp. 279-82.

5 Peterson, T., "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba", in Robin, Martin (ed.), Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party System of the Ten Provinces, Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1972, pp. 71-72.

Macdonald led the Conservative party in the provincial election of December 1899, repeating the nativist and alarmist slogans which had been voiced in the federal Parliament. He focused on Eastern Europeans, and Ukrainians especially, as alien influences which threatened the life and development of the province and nation. During the campaign, Macdonald developed a formula which ascribed to Ukrainian immigrants various religious, political and racial characteristics which made them unsuitable for participation in the life of Canadian society. From their popular reception, Macdonald's statements evidently reflected the sentiments of a large segment of Manitoba's Anglo-Saxon majority.

During this period, the Winnipeg Telegram and the Manitoba Free Press were generally recognized as the respective organs of the Conservative and Liberal parties.⁶ During the 1899 election these two journals editorially reflected the policies and interests of the province's two parties vis-a-vis the Ukrainians in Manitoba.

In February of 1899 the Conservative Winnipeg Telegram supported the alarm expressed by the Wetaskiwin Free Lance over the increasing volume of "foreign", i.e. non-British, immigration. The Telegram predicted that the English-speaking peoples of the West would soon be aliens in their own country. Although it did not foresee settlement exclusively by English-speaking

6 Morton, W.L., op. cit., p. 294; and McRaye, W. (ed.), Pioneers and Prominent People of Manitoba, Winnipeg: Canadian Publicity Co., 1925, p. 266.

settlers, it insisted that the British element be dominant in the West. Only those non-British immigrants of a similar racial stock who would assimilate readily and whose standard of civilization was not greatly inferior to that of the British were to be encouraged to settle in Canada. The paper urged its readers to protect the great British heritage for which they had assumed enormous burdens to improve.

"Why have we done so? Was it for the benefit of ourselves, our children and our race; or was it simply that we might make a present of it to the worst elements of our racial antagonists." 7

The role of railway and transportation companies in securing non-British immigrants was also assailed by the Telegram:

"If a colony of ourang-outangs could import supplies and export products, no matter to how small an amount per head as compared with the intelligent farmer [sic] they would urge the government to secure the ourang-outangs." 8

The Conservatives focused on politics as an area of special concern, as any immigrant in accordance with federal statutes, was able to exercise the franchise after three years' residence, "regardless of his qualifications for intelligently using that sacred trust." The majority of "foreigners" were seen as "serfs and vassals with, as little capacity for self-government as the mediaeval English villain." The Conservatives warned that ignorant foreigners

7 Winnipeg Telegram, February 10, 1899.

8 Ibid.

were in fact being given the right of governing British-Canadians who had for centuries been trained in the duties and responsibilities of liberty. They claimed that in a large number of districts the foreign vote was (already in 1899) the "determining factor in an election" and that it would only be a matter of a few years before the British vote was a minority in the West.

"Our boasted British institutions will become a mere simulacrum , in the name of which the most odious tyranny and misrule will be practiced....What guarantee have we for the loyalty of these sons of our rivals and enemies that we are importing and handing over the governing power to?"

The 1899 annual address by the Grand Master of the Manitoba Orangemen, Mr. J.M. Toombs, also included a statement of preference for English-speaking immigrants. In the same vein, rural papers such as the Portage la Prairie Graphic stated bluntly;

"If the Government can't get better immigrants than the Galicians, better have none... for degraded races the country is much too narrow." 10

Such critics claimed that immigrants from Eastern Europe lacked the progressive qualities needed in building the nation, as they were "degraded and semi-civilized aliens, who will eventually prove a drawback instead of an advantage to the country that attempts to assimilate them." 11

9 Ibid.

10 Portage la Prairie Graphic, as quoted in the Winnipeg Telegram, February 11, 1899.

11 Ibid.

A Telegram editorial entitled "More Moral Lepers" condemned in extreme terms the newest arrival in what it felt was an "invasion of Galicians" :

"A vigorous protest should be made against further consignments of these people being dumped down among us. Not only are they poor and filthy, but their moral character is disgraceful....Not only do they hold robbery and murder in very light estimation, but they are inveterate and unscrupulous perjurers....All the time evidence is being furnished as to their disgustingly low moral standardThere are very few white women who sink so low as to become the mistresses of Chinamen. Yet the Galician women have¹² no scruples against so doing."

Increasingly, the Conservatives in Manitoba focused their campaign on the political aspect of the "Galician peril";

"The Galicians today hold the balance of power in this country. Surely this is no light thing. Are we as a people to be thus corrupted in order that an unscrupulous Government may have readily purchasable votes at its command ? It is a shameless degradation of our nationality for the basest of purposes, and should move every right-thinking man, regardless of party, to vehement protest."¹³

In this spirit, the newspaper accused Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior in Laurier's cabinet, of an "unscrupulous" design to dominate Western Canadian politics by means of the immigrant vote;

"Even Liberal settlers do not care to advance Mr. Sifton's unscrupulous and ambitious scheme of dominating each western constituency by means of a large, ignorant and controllable foreign vote at his personal command, when such involves their having this foreign scum as their neighbours¹⁴ and social associates."

¹² Ibid., March 7, 1899.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., March 10, 1899.

The Conservative party in Manitoba put forward the idea that there ought to be a differential enfranchisement procedure which would deny "Mr. Sifton's Galician pets" the right to vote. It proposed reading and writing tests in the language of the country, in order to prevent the degradation of the franchise as well as to maintain the rightful preponderance of the British in Manitoba:

"Why, it was chiefly that these ignorant foreigners might serve as voting machines under the manipulation of Mr. Sifton's departmental officers, and so swamp the Tory and disaffected Liberal English speaking voters, that these people are being imported and kept at the public expense...." 15

The Conservatives contended that the English speaking electorate was totally within its rights to exclude from the franchise "an ignorant, boss-ridden Galician, brought up in serfdom, and without the slightest conception of the issues he is voting on." They ridiculed Liberal protestations to the effect that equal rights for all rather than discrimination should guide the enfranchisement of immigrants. The Telegram scoffed at the suggestion that all of the ideals which Britons held sacred were imperilled should they "not force the franchise on the most unfit of the scum of the lowest civilizations of Europe who are being dumped down among us!"¹⁶ It felt that at least a generation would pass before these people were fit for the franchise and thus

15 Ibid., March 24, 1899.

16 Ibid.

it was only just that these people prove their competency in matters and rights which had never been accorded to them, and which they had never exercised in their own country.¹⁷

Rural newspapers in such places as Neepawa, Portage la Prairie and Stonewall echoed the above sentiments, protesting strongly against Galicians having anything to say in the governing of the country.¹⁸ They agreed that the time was right to exclude alien voters before they had acquired any vested right to the franchise. In a matter of a few years large numbers would acquire the vote in accordance with the federal government's three year residence requirement. The danger menacing good government and Canadian institutions was imminent should this uninformed vote get into the hands of demagogues. The genius of British-Canadian institutions would be threatened. To protect it, the Conservatives urged that if Manitobans could not curtail the immigration, they could at least "prevent these people from becoming their virtual rulers, by regulating the terms on which these people shall be accorded the franchise."¹⁹

Pointing to restrictive enfranchisement regulations in such countries as the United States, the Conservatives under Macdonald put forward an election platform which heavily emphasized the dangers of the existing electoral

17 Ibid., June 10, 1899.

18 Rural editorials cited in the Winnipeg Telegram, February 11, June 9, and June 12, 1899.

19 Ibid., June 12, 1899.

process, as well as the necessity of enfranchisement limitations. They also advocated an immigration policy which would secure a just proportion of desirable European immigrants, as well as people from other Canadian provinces and the United States.²⁰

Macdonald personally directed the attack against Ukrainian and other Eastern European immigrants in Manitoba. Speaking at an election meeting in Beautiful Plains constituency, Mr. Macdonald was cited:

"He did not wish to have a mongrel breed in this part of Canada. He wanted good men of the same race as ourselves. He would add to the next franchise act, an education clause cutting out anyone who cannot sign his name and cannot read in English. He would not, however,²¹ cut out the Mennonites."

The last sentence in the preceding statement sheds light on the proposed Macdonald franchise limitations in that the limitations had only one real purpose, this being to disenfranchise the Ukrainian or "Galician" vote in Manitoba.

At the time of the 1899 election, naturalized Ukrainian immigrants were enfranchised to take part in both provincial and federal elections through provincial statutes incorporated within the Manitoba Elections Act. Ukrainian immigrants who were residents of the country for three years were qualified to

²⁰ Manitoba Free Press, July 11, 1899.

²¹ Ibid., July 27, 1899.

become citizens of Canada, by virtue of the federal Naturalization Act which naturalized them as British subjects. As British subjects, naturalized Ukrainian immigrants were qualified by Manitoba law to an equal suffrage, subject to residence requirements. By law, the franchise was treated as a right accompanying citizenship, rather than a privilege entrusted through property, income or educational qualifications.²²

The franchise proposals of Macdonald and the Conservatives were to become very convoluted. Although their platform was originally presented as a measure to exclude "objectionable aliens" of all foreign nationalities, the proposals evolved into a program affecting only immigrants from Eastern Europe. The educational qualifications being demanded by the Conservatives were not to be applied to the French, Germans or Scandinavians, and would not affect those already granted the franchise, whether they met the qualifications or not. Those over sixty years of age would not be affected as well, while the vested franchise rights of Mennonites and Quakers were to remain intact. Doukhobors, on the other hand, would be excluded from the franchise, should their naturalization certificates include clauses exempting them from military service.²³ The Galicians and Doukhobors were in fact the main target of Macdonald's franchise proposals.

22 Revised Statutes of Canada, 1886, Cap. 113, Sec. 8; and Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1891, Cap. 49, Sec. 12-18; and Ward, Norman, The Canadian House of Commons Representation, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, pp. 223-25.

23 Winnipeg Telegram, July 31, 1899.

Central to Macdonald's arguments were the numerical proportions he ascribed to the "Slavic" groups in question. In 1899 Ukrainians formed the largest single immigrant group arriving in the Canadian West. Between 1896 and 1900 Ukrainians constituted 90% of the "Galicians" arriving in Canada. The other 10% consisted mainly of Poles. In accordance with present estimations, by 1899 there were over 17,000 Ukrainians in Canada, about 10,000 of whom were in Manitoba.²⁴ Other Slavic nationalities from Austro-Hungary did not form a significant proportion of Manitoba's population, and did not figure in the discussion as they were of little electoral consequence. The fact that the Slavs in question were Ukrainians rather than ethnic Russians is attested by the fact that Macdonald warned of their superstitious Catholicism. They were not referred to as Ukrainians, however, but by the geopolitical designation of "Galician", which was the popular terminology of the time.

The inclusion of the Doukhobors in discussions on the Galician "threat" was a device used to link the Ukrainians to a completely unrelated religious sect, which was viewed with some apprehension by society. In 1899 there was no major Doukhobor settlement in Manitoba, as these people settled in large numbers in the territories further west. The brief Doukhobor

24 Kaye, V.J., op. cit., pp. 361-62. Note: Davidson, Gordon, op. cit., p. 5, estimated that 60% of all Ukrainians arriving in Canada during the first immigration were destined for Manitoba.

presence in Manitoba as they passed westward tended to inflame the attitudes of people against all foreigners, and aided the Conservative campaign of bigotry.

Macdonald claimed that because the Ukrainians were illiterate and superstitious, they were peculiarly susceptible to undue influence in electoral matters by their ecclesiastical superiors. He appealed to the fears and prejudices of his largely Protestant audiences, picturing the Ukrainians as primitives controlled by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. As well, Macdonald exaggerated the numbers of Ukrainians in Manitoba during the fall of 1899 to larger and more ominous proportions. Speaking in Neepawa, he created a figure for Galicians which included virtually all Manitobans not of British, French or native origins.

"He did not want Slavs introduced among us, whether from Austria, Poland or Russia, men who are practically serfs and slaves. He wanted white men. According to statistics, 50,000 Galicians have come here. For every five of us there is one Galician, which is a very serious matter. What does it mean? At an election, if they ever become entitled to vote, what would it mean? They do not know what free government is. They are not free men and they will simply be up for sale. They will vote largely for the government of the day, and which ever way they vote, they will vote overwhelmingly. They will be influenced by money. They will be influenced by the church; they are Roman Catholics. That condition of things is not desired. The people here do not want to be swamped by a lot of ignorant foreigners." 25

The Liberal party in Manitoba, along with the Manitoba Free Press countered Macdonald's efforts, maintaining that the franchise was too sacred to human rights to be treated as a party issue. If the present system was to be changed there would have to be consistent and coherent plans for this change, based on the declaration of some basic principle. It also criticized a franchise which would be based on a principle of fear being applied against one certain group:

"This dangerous class number a little over three in every hundred, and Mr. Macdonald wants the remaining ninety-seven to solemnly declare at the polls that they are afraid of these three Galicians." 26

The Liberals advanced three main arguments against Macdonald's proposal to restrict the franchise: that the proposals were discriminatory; that they lacked consistency; and that they were based on an exaggerated "problem".

"His test of ability to read and write in English is to be applied to every person British and foreign, native and alien, but he will try to fix it so that those now on the voters' list, who are in a position to punish him at the next election, will be made exceptions to his universal rule and impartial law." 27

The Liberals pointed out that Macdonald and the Conservative press had reassured every group in Manitoba other than the Ukrainians that they in fact would not be affected by his proposals.²⁸ In a letter to the Icelandic paper Heimskringla, Macdonald personally explained the limited scope of his "equitable" proposals:

26 Ibid., September 6, 1899.

27 Ibid., September 7, 1899.

28 Ibid.

"This change will not, of course, affect anyone who has already acquired the franchise, and it is in no way directed against the Icelanders, the French, the Germans, the Swedes, the Danes or the Norwegians, or against any others who come from any of those countries where the people have and understand responsible constitutional government. This clause is only intended to debar large flocks of Slavs, who have come here these last years, and who, on account of their numbers, are becoming dangerous to the free institutions of the country...." 29

The Free Press underlined Mr. Macdonald's use of the Ukrainians and Doukhobors as scapegoats, in his attempt to appease the other non-British peoples as to the security of their rights.

"It was with this end in view, no doubt, that he stated at Neepawa that there were 50,000 Galicians in Manitoba. There being no Doukhobors, and the real number of Galicians being 9,000, he wanted to make sure of a sufficient number of scapegoats, and as 50,000 includes the Icelanders, the French, the Germans, the Swedes, the Danes, the Norwegians and the Galicians, he chose that number to brandish as a rhetorical weapon on the stump." 30

Furthermore, the Free Press contested Macdonald's allegation that the people he desired to exclude came from countries where they had no experience in constitutional government. While the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires were not as free as Britain or the United States, the people there were dissatisfied. Only political oppression prevented them from voicing their discontent and demands for political reform.

29 quoted in Ibid., September 8, 1899.

30 Ibid., September 11, 1899. Note: The Free Press allegation is supported by Canadian census statistics. See Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969, pp. 259-60.

In terms of Galicia itself, the Free Press maintained that it was part of a country whose form of government was precisely the same as that of Great Britain and Canada. It possessed regional autonomy in matters of internal administration, education, justice, taxation, agriculture, public works, and so on, as did Canadian provinces. The newspaper emphasized that in Galicia the people were involved in popular elections of the Imperial Diet, the provincial Diet, as well as on the municipal levels, and were thus no strangers to constitutional and representative government. All that was necessary for their participation in Manitoba was the present three year probationary period during which time the adults could learn English and be acquainted with the principles of Canadian institutions, even if in their own language:

"The only thing in this country they will find at all hard to understand is why the leader of one of the great parties refers to them as 'mongrels', and makes war upon them for endeavoring to till our vacant lands and earn a livelihood which we tell everybody can be 31 had with industry."

The Conservatives saw the Free Press' claim of the Galicians being freemen, devoted to the principles of self-government, as ridiculous to any intelligent person. They reiterated their view that the Galicians were government paupers, ignorant, dirty and debased, obeying any authority as long as they were fed. The Winnipeg Telegram challenged the Free Press to make up

31 Ibid., September 12, 1899.

its mind as to whether the Galicians fled from a land of oppression or a land of freedoms and institutions similar to Britain's. Austro-Hungary was in the Telegram's estimation the most autocratic government outside of Russia.³²

Although it is possible that the Liberal party was arguing from a defensive stance, on an issue it was not particularly interested in defending, the Free Press characterization regarding the suitability of Ukrainian immigrants for participating in the Canadian political system was the more accurate of the two views expressed. The Telegram evidently chose not to recognize that a people long politically oppressed could conceivably overcome the limits and liabilities in its past experience. In spite of their limited input into the Austro-Hungarian political system, the many Ukrainians who came to Canada readily developed an interest in public affairs, and some, within only a few years of their arrival, showed an eager willingness to join actively and "loyally" in political contests. In 1899, however, this was yet far from clear and the Telegram's exaggerated warnings accordingly caused mounting alarm in the province.³³

³² Winnipeg Telegram, September 26, 1899.

³³ Woodsworth, J.S., et al., Ukrainian Rural Communities: Report of the Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, Winnipeg: 1917, pp. 116-17. This study reported that Ukrainians had maintained a great interest in public affairs and participated in politics to the full extent permitted while still in Austro-Hungary. In Canada, although initially underestimating the limits of their political input as citizens, they were to adapt well. Moreover, they were dismayed by the magnitude of political corruption which existed in Canada.

The Free Press summarized its views of the Macdonald proposals by attacking their implicit claim that there was no intelligence in the world other than English intelligence:

"... it is not an educational test which Mr. Macdonald proposes but an English-speaking test and until it can be shown that a French-speaking citizen is unable to think in French, unable to follow public affairs by discussion and reading the French-Canadian press, it would be difficult to justify any discrimination The right of the franchise extends as much to our German-speaking or our French-speaking fellow subjects and others, as the right to breathe. Any idea in the direction of confining the franchise to the 'cultured' portion of the community is a false one, and opposed to the principle of manhood suffrage." 34

Macdonald on the other hand continued to depict the Ukrainians as a race of people incapable of valuing the vote or representative government for at least a generation or two after settling in Canada. He contrasted the Ukrainians to the Scandinavian races and North Germans, who, a few generations earlier, were

"... of the same blood, the same kin, as ourselves. They understand what it is to have representative government, understand our politics, fall into our ways and are as much Canadians as we are ourselves.... I will do everything I possibly can to prevent the influx of an alien race. We do not wish to see in this province a mongrel race, and if we can do anything to prevent[it], we are not going to see it." 35

34 Manitoba Free Press, September 15, 1899.

35 Ibid., September 23, 1899.

The Conservatives endeavoured to show that they were not alone in their disdain for the Ukrainian settlers, by trying to link the Liberals to the same racial stance. They seized upon the words of Clifford Sifton during a Liberal meeting in Portage la Prairie, as betraying the federal Minister's private opinion, that Ukrainians were other than "white people". While discussing the costs involved in bringing Doukhobors and Galicians to Canada as opposed to other settlers, he was reported as saying that the government had spent more upon white settlers than upon foreigners.

"Everyone acquainted with Western idiom knows what depth of opprobrium is involved in declaring that anyone is not a 'white man.' In Mr. Sifton's private opinion, the Doukhobors and Galicians are not 'white men', and he allowed his private opinion to become public property at the Liberal meeting here on Tuesday." 36

The Conservatives used this instance to try to discredit the Liberals as hypocrites in their defense of Galicians.

During the final weeks of the 1899 election campaign, the Conservative press was packed with warnings of impending "Galician Government" should Macdonald and his party not be elected. It claimed that if Greenway could have constitutionally delayed the elections for but a few months, there would have been enough Galicians on the lists to give him a majority in a number of constituencies. The Telegram warned that if Greenway won the coming December election, he would be given a perpetual lease of power, since with the aid of the Galicians and Doukhobors, he would be able to counteract the

36 Winnipeg Telegram, October 27, 1899.

honest, intelligent and educated electorate of the province.

"When the lists come to be made up preparatory to the next election, four years hence, the whole of Mr. Sifton's swarms of Slavs will be entitled to be placed on the lists; that is, unless at this election Mr. Macdonald gets into power and passes his educational amendment to the Franchise Act.... The placing of Mr. Macdonald in power on December 7th, is the only thing which will prevent the balance of power in this province being placed in the hands of Messrs. Sifton and Greenway's hordes of ignorant and sheepish Slav serfs. Every Manitoban who values British institutions, will vote on December 7th to rescue Manitoba from Galician³⁷ Government."

Four days later the Telegram announced that "Galician Government" had indeed already arrived in Manitoba, as, although there should have been no Ukrainians on election lists, some were included in a number of constituencies. Poll Number Three in Springfield constituency was cited as a particularly dangerous example as 26 of 157 voters were Galicians and thus could decide a close election contest.

"Is it not time for the people of Manitoba to arouse themselves to the danger which is already upon them? Is not there pressing necessity for the adoption of Mr. Macdonald's³⁸ franchise policy?"

"There are at least four constituencies in this province where the Galician vote today is sufficient to turn the election....What will be the condition of affairs, when at the next election, the whole swarm of Sifton's Slavs are entitled the right to be put on the list? Is it not 'time for a change', so as to rescue the province from the³⁹ evil of Galician government?"

³⁷ Ibid., November 20, 1899.

³⁸ Ibid., November 24, 1899.

³⁹ Ibid.

In a November 25th editorial entitled "Galicians vs White People", the Conservatives complained that although the law was enforced to the letter in the case of "white settlers", it counted for nothing when it was desired to extend special privileges to "Mr. Sifton's Slav protégés for political purposes." Witness, they claimed, the settling of Galicians on odd quarters, and forest reserves to facilitate compact settlements. The editorial claimed that Ukrainians were "hived" together for political purposes, so that they could be easily manipulated and remain impervious to Anglicizing influences.

"It is decidedly an advantage to be a dirty ignorant Slav. And the British and Canadian settlers are asked by Mr. Greenway to vote on the 7th of December to make these people their political masters, in addition to all the other special privileges which have been showered upon them." 40

During the days immediately preceding the election, the Conservative paper's editorial page was interspersed with curt notes warning of impending political doom should Macdonald fail to be elected.

"Those who wish to become the political slaves of Sifton's Slav serfs will vote for Greenway and against Hugh John Macdonald's franchise policy." 41

Five days prior to the election, the Telegram's editorials were separated by short messages placed in print three times the normal size:

"No Galician government, no Doukhobor domination." 42

40 Ibid., November 25, 1899 .

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., December 2, 1899 .

The results of the December 1899 election brought the Conservative party under Macdonald to power in Manitoba, largely due to the support of British farmers in southwestern Manitoba. Thomas Greenway's Liberal government was handed a crushing defeat. Prior to the contest the Liberals held 32 seats, as opposed to 5 Conservative and 3 Independent seats. The polling results saw the Liberals retain only 15 seats, while the Conservatives triumphed in 23, and two ridings elected Independents.⁴³

In commenting on this result, the Liberal Free Press complained that the Conservatives under Macdonald had waged a campaign of "deliberate deception" and "falsehood" which hundreds of Manitoba voters were "ignorant enough of our methods of government and credulous enough" to believe, that the Conservatives had succeeded only by making war on peaceful, inoffensive settlers and by inciting prejudice against all non-British settlers, and that the Conservative tactic was irrational, because receiving immigrants from all lands was necessary for the development of Western Canada, and had dishonoured the political traditions of great party in return for a few votes.⁴⁴

In 1899 the Conservatives used the widespread anti-Ukrainian xenophobia of the day as an integral part of their election campaign. The party successfully emerged from the election as the protector of Anglo-

⁴³ Canadian Annual Review, 1903, p. 184; and Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 280.

⁴⁴ Manitoba Free Press, December 9 and 12, 1899.

Canadian institutions from the threat of imminent "Galician Government". Their victory was seen as effectively staying the perceived political threat posed by Ukrainians. Thus, immediately upon their arrival in Manitoba, Ukrainians had become the focus of contention between the province's political parties. The mere presence of this community, albeit in small numbers, became one of the election issues upon which the Conservative opposition vaulted into power. Popular sentiments against the Ukrainians were manipulated and transformed into concrete electoral results. Having classified the Ukrainians as a race unfit to participate in Canadian politics, and having won the 1899 election partly upon this issue, the Conservatives had initiated what became a recurring theme in Manitoba politics during the next quarter century.

CHAPTER IV

DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN MANITOBA AND ITS EFFECT ON POLITICAL ALIGNMENT

The hostile reaction of Manitoba society to Ukrainian immigrants forced Ukrainian community structures to carry the burden of acculturating Ukrainian immigrants into Canadian society. As the Ukrainian immigration was of an unorganized nature, those who arrived did so without the aid of an accompanying intellectual or clerical class. Consequently the community structures developed in Canada had to provide leaders in guiding political participation. The multifarious nature of the Ukrainian community's internal development included a variety of groups, each of which promoted its own brand of politics.

Over 80% of the Ukrainian settlers in Canada were Eastern rite Greek Catholics, the remainder being of Greek Orthodox and Baptist persuasions.¹ The Ukrainian Catholic Church, although in union with Rome, was of the Byzantine rite, and different in language, liturgy, customs and canon law, with priests not being restricted to celibacy. Thus Ukrainians had more in common both traditionally and liturgically with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church than with the Latin rite Roman Catholic

1 Kubijovyc, V., (ed.), Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, Vol. 2, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971, p. 1160; on Ukrainian Baptists in Canada, see Kmeta, I.A., With Christ in America: A Story of the Russian-Ukrainian Baptists, Winnipeg: The Christian Press Ltd., 1948.

Church. Because Ukrainians arrived in Canada without clergy, they became the subject of active competition between various religious groups who vied for control over them. Most prominent were the French Canadian Roman Catholics, English Canadian Protestants, and Russian Orthodox missionaries.

The predominantly French Canadian Catholic clergy of Western Canada saw the Ukrainians as falling under its religious sphere and made efforts to assume its rightful guidance of Ukrainian Catholics.² English Canadian Protestants, on the other hand, were motivated by the same premises which had instilled the political reaction against Ukrainians in Manitoba, i.e., that the Ukrainians were an ignorant and degraded people, who, under the leadership of their own Catholic clergy, would resist all influences of Canadianization and would constitute a peril to the civilization of the Canadian West. The mission of the Protestant churches was to "Christianize" and Canadianize immigrants such as the Ukrainians, so that they might become an integral part of an Anglo-Saxon and Protestant nation. Their concern was that the alleged superstition, ignorance and autocracy of Roman Catholicism not be permitted to spread beyond French Canadians.³

2 For the position of the French Canadian clergy regarding Ukrainian Catholics, see Delaere, Achille, Memoire sur les tentatives de schisme et de schisme et d'heresie au milieu des Ruthènes de l'Ouest canadien, Quebec: l'Action sociale, 1908; and Sabourin, Joseph, Les Catholiques ruthènes; leur situation actuelle dans le Diocèse de Saint-Boniface, Quebec: Imp. de la lie de l'Événement, 1909.

3 Barber, Marylin, op. cit., pp. xvi-xviii.

In Western Ukraine the Ukrainian Catholic Church was an institution which the Latin rite Poles had hoped to use as a transitional device for culturally and politically assimilating Ukrainians. Instead, however, this Church developed into a strongly independent national institution which in fact combatted attempts at both religious and cultural assimilation by the Poles. Because of the historical connections between the Roman Catholic Church and the ruling Poles, a certain amount of mistrust had always been harboured against that church by Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox alike.⁴

The suspicions of Ukrainian Catholics towards Latin rite Catholicism were transferred to Canada where their spiritual needs were initially entrusted to the established Latin rite Catholic Church. Inevitably ecclesiastical problems arose out of the sudden and large infusion of thousands of Eastern rite Catholics into a country where the Latin church alone prevailed. The Catholic Church in Canada was faced with what seemed to be an insurmountable problem, as there was a dearth of priests familiar with either the Ukrainian language or rite, who could cope with the tens of thousands of Ukrainian Catholics who had arrived in the West.⁵

4 Yuzyk, P., op. cit., pp. 68-70.

5 Daly, George Thomas, Catholic Problems in Western Canada, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1921, pp. 76-77.

A central figure in the religious development of the Ukrainian community in Manitoba was Roman Catholic Archbishop Adelard Langevin. Born in Quebec in 1855, he was elevated to the position of Archbishop of St. Boniface in 1895. Langevin was a tenacious defender of Roman Catholic educational rights before the Manitoba legislature. He exercised the trust and duty accorded to his position zealously, some contending that he fulfilled his responsibilities with too much vehemence and with insufficient care for diplomacy.⁶

The predominantly French Canadian Catholic hierarchy in Manitoba, under Bishop Langevin of St. Boniface, was anxious to preserve the Ukrainian community's ties with the Roman Catholic Church and insisted upon its jurisdictional supremacy in Manitoba. The hierarchy's zeal in attempting to strengthen Catholicism among Ukrainians led to a certain disregard of their traditional rights. Not fully understanding the position and tradition of Eastern rite Catholics, the French Canadian clergy became suspect to the Ukrainians, who began to associate them with the overt pressures of Latinization which the Polish ruling class had exerted.

From the time of their arrival in Canada, Ukrainians appealed to the head of their church in Western Ukraine, Metropolitan Andrey

6 Roberts, Charles G. D., and Tunnell, A. C., A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Canadian Who was Who, V. II, Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1938, pp. 234-35. For a positive evaluation of Msgr. A. Langevin's contribution to Ukrainian Catholicism, see Kazymyra, Bohdan, Monsignor Adeliar Lianzheven i Ukraintsi, Edmonton: Biblioteka Katolytskoi Aktsii, 1952 (Monsignor Adelard Langevin and Ukrainian Catholics, Edmonton: Library of Catholic Action, 1952).

Sheptytsky, for priests of their own rite. As the need for Ukrainian rite priests became more apparent, Bishop Langevin personally urged Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1896 to send missionaries to serve the Ukrainian settlers. This plea included a stipulation that the missionaries be exclusively celibate. As it was, only a handful of Ukrainian Catholic priests who were serving the needs of the larger Ukrainian settlements in the United States occasionally visited Canada. Thus, in 1897, Father Nestor Dmytriw was the first Ukrainian Catholic priest to serve the Ukrainians in Manitoba. For a short time he was employed as a federal immigration translator in Winnipeg.⁷

It was extremely difficult for Metropolitan Sheptytsky to meet the growing demands for Ukrainian priests in Canada, in light of the Canadian hierarchy's insistence that no married priests be active in Canada. In 1894, less than three percent of Ukrainian priests were celibate.⁸ To remedy the Canadian situation, Sheptytsky promised more celibate priests and favoured Latin rite priests converted to the Ukrainian rite as a compromise while working towards securing an independent episcopate

7 Dmytriw, Nestor, Kanadiiska Rus, Vinnipeg: Ukrainska Vilna Akademiia Nauk, 1972 (Canadian Ruthenia, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1972). Reverend Dmytriw's pamphlet recollecting his travels in Canada gives an accurate and detailed description of the beginnings of Ukrainian settlement in Canada.

8 Yuzyk, P., "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-1951)", (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1958), p. 82.

for Ukrainians in Canada.⁹ In spite of Sheptytsky's efforts, the French Canadian hierarchy under Bishop Langevin aided the inroads of Protestant missionaries amongst Ukrainians both by failing to understand the traditional position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church vis-à-vis the Roman Catholic Church and by grossly overestimating the numerical importance of other Catholic settlers from Austria.

In 1899, Bishop Langevin established the Holy Ghost Church and Parochial School on Selkirk Avenue as a religious centre for all Austro-Hungarian Catholics in Western Canada. This church became dominated by Polish Catholic clergy (Father Kulawy), in spite of the fact that the Ukrainians constituted about half of all Austrian Catholics in the parish.¹⁰ The Ukrainians refused to take their spiritual leadership from this Polish dominated church and broke away in 1900 to establish the independent Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Vladimir and Olga. In reaction to this move, Bishop Langevin forbade Father Polywka, the only Ukrainian Catholic priest in Winnipeg, to serve either the newly established Ukrainian Church or the religious needs of any Ukrainian Catholics. After being reprimanded by Langevin, Polywka left Winnipeg for the United States.¹¹

9 Marunchak, M., (ed.), Two Documents of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: 1911-1976, Winnipeg: The National Council of Ukrainian Organizations for the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1977. See also Kazymyra, Bohdan, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptycky and the Ukrainians in Canada", Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, Ottawa: 1957, 77-86.

10 Iastremskyi, T.A., Kanadiianizatsiia: politychnyi rozvytok kanadiiskyykh Ukraintsiv za poslidnykh 46 rokiv, Vinnipeg: avtor, 1946, p. 30 (Canadianization: The Political Development of Canadian Ukrainians During the Past 46 Years, Winnipeg: by the author, 1946, p. 30).

11 Yuzyk, P., The Ukrainians in Manitoba, p. 71.

News of the newly established Ukrainian Church and of the Bishop's hostile reaction to it spread through the Ukrainian settlements of the West. Mistrust towards the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy increased, leading to greater inroads by Protestant sects. The Bishop further forbade Ukrainian Catholic priests from performing Mass in any independent Ukrainian Catholic churches in rural settlements, as long as the church elders did not sign over the church property to the Roman Catholic Bishop's Corporation. This spurred new suspicions that the Bishop was not concerned with matters of Catholic religion, but was solely occupied with gaining the assets of Ukrainian Catholic communities.¹²

As more Ukrainian priests arrived in Canada, increasing numbers of independent rural Ukrainian churches were placed under the jurisdiction of the local Bishop, while the St. Vladimir and Olga parish in Winnipeg remained independent. To further emphasize his claim to complete authority, and in order to demonstrate his recognition of the permanent nature of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, Archbishop Langevin in 1904 built a large Ukrainian Catholic Church (St. Nicholas') directly across the street from the St. Vladimir parish. The new parish was to serve as the centre for Ukrainian Catholics in Winnipeg and was intended to stem the rebellious trends among Ukrainian Catholics. In earlier years the Archbishop

¹² Iastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 30-31.

imported a number of Belgian and French Canadian priests who had accepted the Ukrainian rite and learned the Ukrainian language and history in order to do missionary work amongst the Ukrainians in Canada.¹³ Although these priests were originally to serve for a period of only five years, until a greater number of Ukrainian priests arrived, many remained in the service of Ukrainian Catholics permanently. The initially cold reception by the Ukrainian community passed as the honest and conscientious intentions of these priests became apparent. Some Polish Roman Catholic priests even complained of the Ukrainian "chauvinism" displayed by these Belgians.¹⁴

In 1908 a committee of six prominent Winnipeg Ukrainian Catholics prepared a petition which was distributed in fifteen thousand copies throughout Canada, pleading with Metropolitan Sheptytsky to press for the establishment of a separate ecclesiastical province for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.¹⁵ In 1910 Langevin again attempted to win favour among Ukrainian Catholics by using subsidies from his

13 Bozhyk, P., Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi, Vinnipeg: Kanadyiskyi Ukrainets, 1927, p. 10 (Churches of the Ukrainians in Canada, Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927, pp. 13-14.).

14 Skwarok, J., The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools: With Reference to Government, French Canadian and Ukrainian Missionary Influences, 1891-1921, Edmonton: Basilian Press, 1958, pp. 39-52. Also see pamphlet by Father Josaphat Jean, a French Canadian native of St. Fabien de Rimouski, Quebec, who accepted the Ukrainian Catholic rite in 1911 and served the Ukrainian community for over 50 years. Following the conclusion of the First World War, he lobbied on behalf of the Ukrainian people at the League of Nations. Zhan, Iosaphat, Moie sluzhinnia Ukraini, Edmonton: Biblioteka Katolytskoi Aktsii, 1953 (My Service for Ukraine, Edmonton: Library of Catholic Action, 1953).

15 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 86-87.

archdiocese to establish the St. Nicholas parochial school in Winnipeg. Given to the disposition of an order of Ukrainian Catholic nuns, the school offered a regular curriculum along with instruction in religion and the Ukrainian language. In spite of Langevin's overture, many Ukrainian settlers in Manitoba continued to defend the principle of community owned and directed churches.

Following the 1910 International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal, Sheptytsky travelled throughout Canada on pastoral visits to Ukrainian settlements. During his stay in Winnipeg he was approached by numerous deputations from throughout Western Canada who complained of the lack of Ukrainian priests.¹⁶ That same year, three thousand people gathered in Winnipeg to urge Sheptytsky to send married Ukrainian priests to Canada, and to reiterate the need for a Ukrainian bishop in Canada.¹⁷

Following his Canadian visit, on March 18, 1911, Sheptytsky wrote a bilingual English and French appeal to the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada in which he presented the case for the creation of an independent episcopate for Ukrainians in Canada. He demonstrated the need for such a central authority for Ukrainians, underlining the dangers which were posed by the well organized Protestant churches. By 1910 there were only nine Ukrainian Catholic priests in Canada to serve a population

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ukrainskyi holos, August 28, 1910.

of over one hundred and twenty thousand Ukrainians.¹⁸

As a result of this appeal the Roman Catholic hierarchy sought a permanent solution to the problem of the Ukrainian Catholics. In 1911 Langevin established and financed the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper Canadian Ruthenian (Kanadyiskyi Rusyn). That same year, Father P. Delaere, who in 1899 became the first Belgian priest to serve the Ukrainians in Canada, travelled to Rome to present their case to the Pope. He emphasized the need for a separate Ukrainian bishop in Canada and conveyed the fact that the existing Roman Catholic bishops were in agreement as to the necessity of such a step and had consented to relinquish their jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholics in favour of such a new authority.¹⁹

In July of 1912, Reverend Nykyta Budka was appointed Bishop and head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. With headquarters in Winnipeg, he proceeded to unite all Ukrainian Catholic parishes into one incorporated, Dominion-wide ecclesiastical body, independent of the jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops. Budka pursued an overly zealous policy of trying to bring all Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions under the jurisdiction of his charter, thus further alienating those segments of the community which championed the existence of community

18 See Szepticky, Andrew, "Address on the Ruthenian Question to Their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada", in Marunchak, M. (ed.), op. cit., p. 13.

19 Bozhyk, P., op. cit., p. 104.

controlled institutions. He angered nationally conscious Ukrainian intellectuals by using the term Ruthenian rather than Ukrainian in the church incorporation, and by not taking decisive actions against Latinization. Although the Ukrainian Catholic Church was eventually established as a major institution within the community, strong cultural and educational currents remained independent of any religious control. As well, the difficulties encountered in establishing the dominant Ukrainian Catholic Church left the community open to proselytization by various religious groups.

The earliest inroads amongst the Ukrainian immigrants were made by Tsarist-financed Russian Orthodox missionaries. By 1908 the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada had attracted twenty-seven congregations amongst Manitoba Ukrainians, providing priests of a language, rite and tradition with which Ukrainians were familiar. But as Tsarist financial support waned, and the church's Russophile tendencies became more apparent, it lost its influence. Finally, in 1917, when the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada failed to recognize the importance of the Ukrainian People's Republic, it alienated much of its support in the community.²⁰ While the Russian Orthodox Church declined as a rival to the Catholic Church in Manitoba, there developed another alternative, independent of either Rome or Russia, with considerable support from the Canadian

²⁰ Bozhyk, P., op. cit., pp. 14-23 ; and Yuzyk, P., op. cit., p. 72.
and Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, pp. 111-12, 291-92.

Protestant churches - the Presbyterian Church in particular. The rise of independent and nationally oriented religious movements amongst Ukrainians were exploited by the Protestant churches in an effort to steer Ukrainians away from Catholicism.

In 1903, under the direction of the self-styled Bishop Seraphim, an All-Russian Orthodox Church was established in Winnipeg. Metropolitan Seraphim (Stefan Ustovsky) had an academic training and had been a priest in the Tsarist court of St. Petersburg. Claiming to have been consecrated a bishop by the Patriarch of Constantinople, he arrived in Winnipeg in 1903. Because of the great demand for Ukrainian priests, he indiscriminately ordained anyone who could read and would pay a requisite fee. In 1908 he returned to Russia.²¹ Seraphim's church grew at a phenomenal rate to a strength of as many as 60,000 by 1904.²² In 1904 a split developed within the Seraphim movement. Aided by the Presbyterian Church, a group of dissident priests led by Ivan Bodrug established the Independent Greek Church. The Independent Greek Church was served by Ukrainian speaking priests who performed the traditional Ukrainian Orthodox rites and was seen as a return to traditional Ukrainian Orthodoxy. The church was encouraged and financially supported by the Presbyterian Church of Canada. To strengthen this connection, Manitoba College established a separate course for

21 Bozhyk, P., Ibid., p. 25; and Yuzyk, P., Ibid., pp. 72-73.

22 Bozhyk, P., Ibid., p. 30.

Ukrainian students. Between 1905 and 1912, over 200 Ukrainian students received financial support and free education in the hope that they would become Protestant ministers amongst their people. As it turned out, only a handful of the students became ministers after matriculating.²³

The emphasis of the Manitoba College course was on promoting good Canadianism by the Anglicization of Ukrainians. The Presbyterian Church was jubilant that its initial overtures had "prevented 30,000 to 40,000 people from falling under the sway of the Church of Rome."²⁴ But Ukrainian students attending the Manitoba College courses increasingly protested against the imposed view that to be a good Canadian one had to be Protestant and assimilated. Jaroslav Arsenych and Orest Zerebko were the first two students to protest. Later they became participants in the establishment of the independent Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, which was to be the ultimate reaction of Ukrainian settlers against the threats of Catholic Latinization and Protestant assimilation. As the Manitoba College courses were failing to produce the desired type of Ukrainian Protestant preachers, they were eventually discontinued.²⁵

Ivan Bodrug was the main protégé of Protestantism amongst the Ukrainian people. He attracted the bulk of Bishop Seraphim's movement to the Independent Greek Church and endeavoured to make it a totally evangelical

²³ Ibid., pp. 33-35.

²⁴ Young, Charles, op. cit., p. 141.

²⁵ Bozhyk, P., op. cit., pp. 33-35; and Iastremsky, I., op. cit., p. 6.

Ukrainian church. The church was run as an independent democratic church with representation from both clergy and faithful on a central church council (consistory). Increasingly, however, the hidden influence of the Presbyterian Church, which had been limited to the paying of the Ukrainian missionaries and the subsidizing of a Ukrainian newspaper (Ranok), became more direct in applying the underlying policies of assimilation. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church insisted on abolishing traditional Ukrainian church rituals, as well as doing away with the Ukrainian consistory, in favour of direct Synod control of Ukrainian priests. This attitude alienated increasing numbers of Ukrainians from the Independent Greek Church.²⁶ In 1913, financial subsidization was cancelled in order to undercut the autonomy of the church and precipitate its direct absorption into the Presbyterian Church of Canada. With the arrival of N. Budka as the first Ukrainian Bishop in Canada, the majority of Ukrainians in the Independent Greek Church returned to the Ukrainian Catholic Church or joined the developing movement which was to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

The proselytization of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada by the Protestant churches was done in a spirit which conformed to the perceived social and political dangers posed to Canadian society. The Presbyterian

26 Yuzyk, P., op. cit., p. 73.

Church feared an alliance between French and Ukrainian Catholics. It encouraged the Ukrainian distrust of the Latin hierarchy and created an "independent" Ukrainian Church whose only purpose was to function as a transitional link for complete religious and cultural assimilation of Ukrainians into Anglo-Canadian Protestantism.²⁷ The Protestant churches' work was inspired by a philanthropic desire to "Canadianize" Ukrainian immigrants. "Canadianization" as such was a conception which took on oversimplification and propagandistic tendencies. A report of the Methodist Missionary Society exemplifies the crusading nature of Protestant Canadianization of that time:

"Many of these Ruthenian people are ignorant and degraded; and under the sinister leadership of their priests are resolved to resist all Canadianizing influences.... For the Christian Church to act at once is the need of the present hour, if the foreign peoples are to be made Christian citizens of the great West" ²⁸

The Protestant experiments were designed to induce a large number of Ukrainians to accept a new religion within a short period of time. Traditional forms of Ukrainian worship were given in order to convey for consideration an evangelical interpretation of Christianity. The Presbyterians in particular pursued a generous policy of paying missionaries, establishing Ukrainian publications, educating students, and funding hospitals and residential schools.²⁹ In spite of this, the experiments were ultimately

27 Bozhyk, P., op. cit., p. 31.

28 Quoted in Daly, T. G., op. cit., p. 82.

29 See Hunter, A. J., A Friendly Adventure: The Story of the United Church Mission Among New Canadians at Teulon, Manitoba, Toronto: Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1929.

failures as the Ukrainians rejected the assimilationist attitudes of Canadian Protestantism. By and large they joined the newly established Ukrainian Catholic Church and later the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

The unstable religious situation amongst Ukrainians stemmed in part from the fact that the small numbers of educated Ukrainians who had arrived during the first immigration were in the main sympathetic to the radical political parties of Western Ukraine and shared the generally anti-clerical views of these groups. The earliest groupings of literate Ukrainians in Winnipeg became centres of opposition to Catholic hegemony within the Ukrainian community. Groups such as the T. H. Shevchenko Society along with dissenting lay leaders, bilingual Ukrainian teachers and former leaders of the Ukrainian socialist movement, were responsible for directing the increasingly national feelings of the community in opposition to the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.³⁰ The question of the ownership and direction of Ukrainian educational institutions established throughout the prairies brought these two opposing systems to loggerheads. "Bursas" or residence institutions were established in major cities where students from rural areas stayed while pursuing education at high schools, normal schools and universities. Resident students received instruction in Ukrainian language, history, music, drama and folk dancing.³¹

30 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 41, 42, 54, 59.

31 Yuzyk, P., op. cit., p. 148. See also Iuvileina knyha instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatuni 1916-1941, Saskatoon: Institut im. P. Mohyly, 1945 (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon 1916-1941, Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945).

Bishop Budka demanded that such institutions be signed over to his Catholic corporation, while lay leaders argued for their retention as independent democratically-run national and non-denominational institutions. As well, these lay opponents began to organize an independent national church which would be acceptable to a majority of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian National Revolution of 1917 and the brief period of Ukrainian statehood in Europe intensified the national feelings of Ukrainians in Canada and contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada in 1918. The new church was a lay-controlled, national church, independent both of Rome and Moscow.³²

The process of establishing and consolidating this new national church was characterized by verbal warfare within the Ukrainian press, as well as by incidents of personal assaults, arson and lengthy court battles in some parishes. This conflict and antagonism within the community caused persistent difficulties for the later establishment of common programmes for all Ukrainians regardless of their religious convictions. The two dominant Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches developed duplicate organizational networks which included fraternal and mutual aid societies, lay organizations with men's, women's and youth branches, publishing houses, newspapers, educational institutions, community centres and museums. This fragmentation and duplication weakened the community's resources and hampered its ability to solve common problems.

32 See Trosky, Odarka, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, Winnipeg: Bulman Bros., 1968; and Yuzyk, P., "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (1918-1951)".

Because of the initial absence of any organized Ukrainian church in Canada, as well as the chaos involved in the establishment of the two main Ukrainian churches, secular organizations came to play a major role in community life. The first organizations formed were the local Prosvita reading associations and the People's or National Homes (Narodnyi Dim), fashioned after the Prosvita (Enlightenment) movement in Western Ukraine. These community centres emphasized educational and cultural work among farmers and labourers. Lectures were held on agricultural techniques, animal husbandry, reading, personal hygiene, history, literature and music. Each centre usually maintained a local library, and supported a choir, a drama group, a dance ensemble or orchestra. Many of these centres later became aligned with one or the other of the two main churches, while a few remained as independent community centres.³³

The creation of these national community centres was in part a reaction to the discrimination and poor social conditions which confronted Ukrainians in Canada. They were shelters where immigrants were taught to adapt to a new language, customs and laws within the context of their traditional cultural identity. These centres were not uniform in their political directions. Some were dominated by former Radical and Social Democratic party members from Western Ukraine, while others were dominated

33 Storichchia materi "Prosvity": Narys istorii matirnoho Tovarystva Prosvity i ohliad prosvitnykh tovarystv u Kanadi, Winnipeg: Chytalnia Prosvita, 1968 (Centenary of "Prosvita": Outline of the History of the Parent "Prosvita" Association and Review of "Prosvita" Association in Canada, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Reading Association "Prosvita", 1968).

by Populists, Democratic Nationalists and others from across the political spectrum from left to right.³⁴

In 1899 the International Reading Association was organized in Winnipeg, largely by Ukrainian socialists. Replaced in 1906 by the Taras Shevchenko Reading Society, this focal point of Ukrainian socialists included many of the earliest community leaders, such as Cyril Genik, Taras Ferley, M. Stechishin, J. W. Arsenych, T. Stefanik, I. Bodrug and others.³⁵ The society was primarily geared towards workers, propagating socialist ideas through literature, lectures, meetings and concerts. The program consisted basically of cultural and educational work as well as anti-religious propaganda and lectures in politics, literature, philosophy and sociology. Lacking a well-defined political platform, the society's leadership was not uniform in purpose. Rifts within the group resulted in some members eventually leaving, with the society becoming more markedly radical and socialist.³⁶ Cyril Genik, Ivan Negrych and Ivan Bodrug left the group in favour of association with the Liberal Party and participation in the independent church movements. Others, such as Theodore Stefanik, left the socialist circles and aligned themselves with the Conservative party.

The intellectuals who formed these early societies were among the first immigrants to achieve advancement socially, economically and politically.

34 Shlepakov, A.M., op. cit., p. 135.

35 Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 225.

36 Shlepakov, A.M., op. cit., p. 136.

politically, and formed an elite able to use its social knowledge and skills to personal and community advantage. As a link between the less articulate Ukrainian majority and the Canadian society in general, these intellectuals would be used by political parties to reach the Ukrainian vote. The Conservative and Liberal parties endeavoured to use these relatively "better-off" intellectuals to secure political control over Ukrainians.

The earliest leader of Ukrainian socialist groups in Winnipeg and the first articulate leader of Ukrainian immigrants was Cyril Genik, an immigrant who was descended from a long line of then impoverished Ukrainian gentry. In Western Ukraine, after attending Teachers' Seminary and the Academic Gymnasium where he obtained his baccalaureate, he was employed as a public school teacher. Although he passed civil service exams, he was refused appointments due to his close political affiliation with the Ukrainian Radical Party. Before collaborating with Dr. Oleskiw in matters of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, he ran a village general store. Genik came to Canada as the leader of an early group of immigrants, and settled in Stuartburn in 1896. Because he knew German, Ukrainian, Polish and English, Genik was hired by the Commissioner of Dominion Lands as an immigration agent.³⁷

Genik was a central figure in the International Reading Association of 1899 and was instrumental in the rise of the socialist "Ukrainian

37 Kaye, op. cit., pp. 381-82.

Brotherhood" which hoped to establish a string of Ukrainian communes throughout North America and later Ukraine. The first collective farm which was established in Hayward, California, in 1902, was not a success and most of its twenty-odd members returned to Manitoba. The Ukrainian Brotherhood was a project which lacked any clear formulation of structure or purpose. The members thought of it variously as a model of Tolstoian Christianity, as a recreation of Kozak warrior society, as an agrarian union, or as a simple harmonious commune. Besides Genik, prominent Ukrainian socialists from Winnipeg who were involved in the experiment included Taras Ferley and Myroslav Stechishin.³⁸

After the failure of the California commune, Genik became increasingly disillusioned with socialism. In 1903, he established the first Ukrainian newspaper in Canada, the Canadian Farmer (Kanadiiskyi farmer). Although established by a board of directors to function as an independent newspaper in the service of Ukrainian immigrants, during its early years the paper was generally accepted as an organ of the Liberal Party. The close ties of Genik and his associates to the Liberal Party led to direct Liberal financial support, resulting in open promotion of the Liberal Party and its policies on the pages of the Canadian Farmer.³⁹ The paper had a Protestant,

38 Marunchak, M., Studii, Tom IV, pp. 162-87; and Stechyshyn, M., "Ukrainske bratstvo v Kalifornii", Kaliendar ukrainskoho holosu, 1940, pp. 111-21 ("The Ukrainian Brotherhood in California", Ukrainian Voice Almanac, 1940, pp. 111-21).

39 See Bowling, J., and Hykawy, M.H., (eds.), The Multilingual Press in Manitoba, Winnipeg: Canada Press Club, 1974, pp. 89-93; and Marunchak, M., op. cit., pp. 112-20.

anti-Catholic flavour and eventually endorsed the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada.⁴⁰

Those Ukrainians who remained within the Winnipeg socialist circles, although generally reflecting the political philosophies of the Western Ukrainian parties, displayed a wide variety of social and political thought. One goal which they did share was their desire to alleviate the economic, cultural and political exploitation of the Ukrainian immigrant in Canada. The lack of a well-defined program among the Ukrainian socialist groups was partly overcome by the 1905 Russian Revolution. A number of Ukrainians who participated in the revolt later emigrated to Canada. They were experienced political organizers who became dedicated to the development of proletarian class consciousness among Ukrainian workers in Canada. These new arrivals introduced more radical ideological goals and organizational tactics into the community in Manitoba.⁴¹

In 1907 Ukrainian socialists in Winnipeg were centred about the "Ukrainian Free Thinkers Society" which constituted a branch of the Socialist Party of Canada.⁴² During 1907 Ukrainian socialists went through a major split as moderate populist-oriented members such as Taras Ferley, J.W. Arsenych

40 Bozhyk, P., op. cit., p. 59.

41 Shlepakov, A.M., op. cit., p. 139.

42 Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians....., pp. 164 & 265.

and Orest Zerebko left and eventually established the Ukrainian Voice (Ukrainskyi holos) newspaper as an independent populist-nationalist organ for all Ukrainians regardless of religious or political affiliation.

The "Ukrainian Free Thinkers Society", under the more radical leadership of those such as Myroslav Stechishin, Wasyl Slipchenko and Wasyl Holowacky, was transformed into the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Canada. The party produced its own newspaper, Red Banner (Chervonyi prapor), under the editorship of Paul Crath, which was dedicated to creating support among Ukrainians in Canada for a new socio-economic order superior to the capitalist system:⁴³

"The Red Banner will lead the toiling masses into battle against injustice, exploitation and slavery, over the ruins of capitalism and into sunshine and life." 44

In the eighteen issues which appeared prior to its demise in 1908, the paper attacked the evils of capitalism and denounced Ukrainian nationalists as being in the service of capital. At times utopian and polemical, it nonetheless secured a circulation of about two thousand readers scattered far beyond Manitoba. Its underlying message was the necessity for political and economic struggle:

"Struggle for wage increases. Strike! For every mean action by a boss or contractor, our reply shall be a strike." 45

43 Marunchak, M., Studii, Tom IV, p. 144.

44 Chervonyi prapor, quoted in Shlepakov, A.M., op. cit., p. 142.

45 Ibid., p. 144.

The entry of Paul Crath into Winnipeg socialist circles, as editor of the Red Banner, signalled the beginning of the movement's transition from utopian socialism through to a position of social democracy. Crath was an active participant in the 1905 Russian uprisings, and introduced the platform of revolutionary nationalism into the Ukrainian socialist movement. Providing the movement with dynamic leadership through his oratorical and journalistic skills, he also became the source of numerous intellectual and ideological rivalries.⁴⁶

In 1909 the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party established a new organ Working People (Robochyi narod), its purpose being to "propagate socialist ideas among Ukrainian citizens of this country, and to organize our working masses for battle against our exploiters, for a socialist Canada."⁴⁷ Through the new paper's network of subscriptions, a national convention of Ukrainian socialist groups was held in November of 1909. Delegates agreed to form a Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats as an autonomous affiliate of the Socialist Party of Canada, and in February of 1910 the new party was established. Two of the federation's seven executive committee positions were filled by Manitobans, Myroslav Stechishin acting as Secretary.⁴⁸ The Socialist Party of Canada did not recognize the

46 Martynowych, Orest T., "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918", Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, Vol. I, No. 1, 1976, pp. 39-40.

47 Cited in Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians...., p. 266.

48 Martynowych, P., op. cit., pp. 41-42; and Chisick, Ernie, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement 1900-1925" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 64.

Federation's autonomy, leading to a formal break between the two bodies. As a result of this break, the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, along with Jewish, German and Finnish socialist groups, founded the Social Democratic Party of Canada in August of 1910 in Winnipeg. The new party had an organizational committee based upon cultural representation. Myroslav Stechishin became a leading figure in this new party along with Herman Saltsman, R. A. Rigg and Jacob Penner.⁴⁹

In 1912, Paul Crath and Myroslav Stechishin became embroiled in a dispute regarding support of the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle in Europe by the Ukrainian working class movement in Canada. Wasyl Holowacky and Stechishin withdrew from the party, the latter joining earlier party drop-outs in the Ukrainian Voice.⁵⁰ Because most of the senior Ukrainian socialist leaders had left the movement, Paul Crath was left to face a young generation of energetic, highly politicized and radical activists, who arrived in Canada after 1910. This new guard had taken an active part in the mass organizations, trade union movements and large scale peasant strikes which were developing in Western Ukraine. Upon arriving in Canada, they began organizing Ukrainian labourers and farmers into socialist clubs.

49 Shlepakov, A.M., op. cit., p. 145.

50 Ibid., p. 160.

The most prominent of this new group were Matthew Popovich and Ivan Navazivsky (Navis). Both came from the Zalishchyky district in Western Ukraine. While studying at the district teacher's college, they entered the local socialist cell of which Popovich eventually became head. Navazivsky emigrated to the United States in 1908 while Popovich followed in 1910. Both became members of the Socialist Party of America and came to Canada in 1911 on the invitation of local Ukrainian Social Democrats.⁵¹

In 1916, Crath was ousted from the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party leadership by the new radicals, including Popovich, Navazivsky, W. Kolisnyk, John Boychuk and Danylo Lobay, who steered party policy to support of Russian Bolshevism at its second annual convention in Winnipeg in August, 1917.⁵² Following this alignment, Popovich and Navazivsky became founding members of the Canadian Communist Party.⁵³ The change of focus of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada from the socio-economic inequities and cultural injustices within Canadian society to a propagandistic support of Russian Bolshevism led to a general decline in the movement's support, especially in light of the Bolshevik crushing of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

51 Ibid., p. 154.

52 Ibid., pp. 161-62 & 192; and Yuzyk, P., op. cit., pp. 97-98; and Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians...., p. 226; and Martynovych, O., op. cit., pp. 24-26; and Konstytutsia Ukrainskoi Sotsial-Demokratychnoi Partii v Kanadi, Winnipeg: Ekzekutyvny Komitet U.S.D.P., 1918. (Constitution of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party in Canada, Winnipeg: Executive Committee of the U.S.D.P., 1918).

53 Chisick, E., op.cit., p. 98.

During the formative years of the Ukrainian community in Manitoba, there were three major groups which vied for dominance within it. Generally, these groupings reflected a political division into conservative, liberal and radical positions, which eventually took expression as coherent political alignments. The conservative Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, the liberal-oriented Ukrainian intellectuals, and the radically-oriented Ukrainian Social Democrats and Communists, each produced leaders who were prominent in the Ukrainian community's initial participation in Manitoba politics.

After gaining its independence from Latin rite control, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was established as the dominant influence within the community. Nevertheless, its conservatism produced troublesome and persistent dissent, especially among teachers and intellectuals who wanted to exercise initiative and leadership independently of clerical regulation. Consequently, although intellectuals within the Church tended to align themselves with the Conservative Party, there was no corresponding alignment by the bulk of the Church's membership towards that party other than at times when community interests clearly deemed such support necessary.

The liberal-oriented opposition movement within the Ukrainian community, along with the independent church experiments which eventually broke free of Protestant control, joined forces to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada as the second largest grouping within the

community. The lay movement which spurred this new church's creation concerned itself with cultural and community issues rather than broad economic questions, and did not challenge the basic values of Canadian society. It advocated equality of opportunity in employment, advanced education and professional qualifications, the preservation of Ukrainian culture through Ukrainian-English bilingualism, and strong cultural and educational societies. The eventual commitment to the creation and support of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, in contrast to its earlier goal of being a popular national movement for all Ukrainians, greatly limited this group's appeal. Although this movement generally aligned itself with the Liberals, ultimate support for that party was determined by the particular policies of the Liberals as they applied to Ukrainians.

The radically-oriented Ukrainian Social Democrats were most critical of clerical influences and more than any other group challenged the socio-economic conditions that faced Ukrainians in Manitoba. Limited in numbers through defections, internal splits, and the solidification of the major community groups, this segment became increasingly radical and aligned itself with radical opposition parties and movements. The strength of the two larger community groups and the relative weakness of the radical parties in Manitoba precluded the possibility of the Ukrainian Social Democrats' effecting a large scale alignment within the Ukrainian community away from the Conservative and Liberal parties and in favour of more radical opposition.

Each of these three groups in its own way assisted Ukrainian settlers in becoming better acquainted with political issues in Manitoba, and the combined efforts of these groups, albeit at times opposed to each other, established the first links between the Ukrainian community and the political parties of the province. Each group developed political dispositions which aligned them with corresponding political parties within the province. These alignments did not necessarily translate into voting behaviour, as intervening factors moderated the attraction of certain parties to the Ukrainians during different times and under different circumstances.

CHAPTER V

INITIAL UKRAINIAN INVOLVEMENT IN MANITOBA POLITICS

The initial political involvement of Ukrainians in Manitoba occurred at the local municipal level, both as a practical outgrowth of their primary activities in settling the land, and as a result of their temporary exclusion by the Conservatives from the provincial level.

Having gained power, in 1899, the Conservatives proceeded to implement the franchise limitations which they had promised. Speaking in Montreal in September of 1900, Premier Macdonald repeated his opposition to the importation of people such as the Doukhobors and Galicians, stating that they were in fact not agriculturalists, but people who "crowded into towns where they lived on rats and a little rice."¹

In October of 1900, Macdonald stepped down as Premier of the province, in order to contest a federal riding. His position was assumed by Rodmond Palen Roblin, a successful Ontario-born businessman of Dutch descent. First elected to the legislature as a Liberal in 1888, Roblin left that party to eventually become the driving force behind the

¹ Manitoba Free Press, September 13, 1900.

Conservative Party.² Under his leadership, Conservative policies regarding franchise limitations remained intact.

During the first session of the new Manitoba legislature, the Conservatives presented their new franchise statutes, including a clause designed specifically to bar Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans from the vote. Moving the second reading of the new legislation, Attorney-General Colin H. Campbell emphasized that the Ukrainians were "ignorant and not intelligent enough to have votes."³

Until the introduction of this new legislation, the voting rights of Ukrainians in Manitoba (according to provincial legislation), were consistent with the Naturalization Act administered by the federal government.⁴ This act gave rights to naturalized citizens equal to those of Canadian-born citizens, after three years' residence in Canada. Thus, prior to the Conservatives' gaining power, the requisite for Ukrainians to receive the right to vote was naturalization via federal law.

2 Morton, W. L., op. cit., pp. 279-82; and Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1909, p. 388.

3 Quoted in Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1904. See also June 9, 1900, and Winnipeg Tribune, June 8, 1900.

4 Revised Statutes of Canada, 1886, Cap. 113, Sec. 8.

The proposed Conservative legislation was designed to raise the effective term of naturalization of Ukrainians in Manitoba from three years to seven years. People not British by birth and not resident in Canada for seven years, whether naturalized or not, would not be admitted to the franchise in Manitoba, unless they could pass a literacy test to be administered in one of seven languages (English, French, German, Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish).⁵ Although designed to specifically exclude the large Ukrainian community in Manitoba, the act would consequently disenfranchise for a period of four years, any immigrant who was illiterate or who did not fall within the linguistic boundaries of the legislation. An immigrant literate in one of the specified languages would have access to the franchise upon three years' residence and naturalization, while illiterates or immigrants literate in languages other than those specified would not be enfranchised until four years beyond their naturalization.

Besides the literacy tests, the Conservative electoral amendments included the principle of personal registration by voters, as opposed to the Liberal-Greenway use of municipal lists as the basis for determining provincial voters' lists. Also, the administration of voters' lists was to be entrusted to the judiciary rather than to provincial civil servants.⁶

5 Donnelly, M.S., The Government of Manitoba, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, p. 72.

6 Manitoba Free Press, June 8, 9, 20, 22 & 28 and July 6, 1900. For synopsis and discussions on bills affecting the franchise.

As leader of the Liberal opposition, Thomas Greenway vigorously protested the proposed franchise qualifications:

"We have a great country, and we are proud of it; we invite the people of the world to come to it; why should we say to a particular class, 'You shall not have the franchise'?Let every man be a free man, and exercise his franchise, if not, let us say there is special legislation here for special people." 7

Other M.L.A.'s of the Liberal opposition protested the "un-British" character of the law, claiming that the real purpose of the Conservative refusal of justice to the Ukrainians was to undermine Clifford Sifton, the Federal Minister of the Interior responsible for immigration.⁸

In spite of Liberal protests, the Conservative franchise amendments were assented to on July 5th, 1900. Section six of the amendments enacted the literacy tests qualifying the provincial franchise.⁹ During the legislative session of 1901, the Liberals again came to the defense of Ukrainians, as the reconstituted Manitoba Election Act was passed by the house.¹⁰ M.L.A. T. A. Burrows protested the exclusion of one specific nationality from the rights of citizenship:

"They were anxious to exercise their franchise here, and thought it unfair that they should not do so. They said that in coming to this country, their one great desire was to become citizens." 11

7 Ibid., June 9, 1900.

8 Ibid., June 20, 1900.

9 Statutes of Manitoba, 1900, Cap. 11, Sec. 6.

10 Ibid., 1901, Cap. 11.

11 Quoted in Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1904.

Liberal criticism persisted during the next several years. In January of 1902, Burrows again spoke against the Conservative policy, emphasizing that the Ukrainians "had come to this country to get away from institutions which were not progressive."¹² In 1903, he urged that the "Ruthenian" language be added to the list of languages which qualified people to be admitted to the franchise:

"If there is to be an educational test, why not apply it to all classes alike? Why refuse it to one class?"¹³

Burrows' proposed amendment to have Ukrainians placed on an equal basis with other immigrants was defeated by the Conservative majority.

In spite of this Conservative policy, some early interaction between the government and individual spokesmen from the Ukrainian community did take place. In August of 1901 Thomas Jastremsky, a recent immigrant involved with the independent Ukrainian Catholic community in Winnipeg, presented Premier Roblin with a brief assessing the state of education among Ukrainians and urging that action be taken to meet their educational needs. Jastremsky himself had completed teachers' college in Western Ukraine and after working at various odd jobs throughout western Canada, attended Winnipeg Business College, where besides learning English, he studied accounting, Canadian history and immigrational and constitutional law.¹⁴

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Jastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 40, 44-46.

Jastremsky gradually became a staunch supporter and agent of the Conservative party. He pledged that in return for the creation of a teachers' college for Ukrainians, he would build a non-denominational educational "hall" in Winnipeg where all Ukrainian immigrants would be open to "Canadianizing" as well as Conservative influences.¹⁵

The limited exchanges between the Manitoba government and such individuals as Jastremsky went largely unnoticed by the bulk of Ukrainian settlers. The typical settler was preoccupied with the tasks of homesteading, and in any event, political and social hostility discouraged his participation. As one historian of the Ukrainian immigration noted:

"The Government of Canada can hardly be said to exist for the Ukrainian during the period immediately following his immigration to this country."¹⁶

The first real contacts by wider segments of the Ukrainian community with government institutions were to be self-initiated and came as a result of their haphazard settlement by government agents. Often Ukrainians were given lands which had been set aside as railroad grants or forest reserves. Settlers improving their land, building houses, establishing schools and paying taxes were obliged to compose crudely worded petitions

¹⁵ Ibid , pp. 6 & 53.

¹⁶ Young, Charles, op. cit., p. 241.

to government officials asking that their land titles be clarified.

Thus, in 1901, settlers in the Dauphin district presented their case:

"But we are living on the C.P.R. Co. lands since that same time, and we have built a good house and stables and give You a list how many money we spent here and how menny we have cleared and broken land (each of us) and we have a school building up for purpose of our children and we paid whol taxes to the Dauphin Municipality.

Now we are writing to ask you for permission to make entry's for thise lands. You will grant such permission as we are very anxious to gain permission of thise lands, when we have spent so much time and money on it - as we are Your Obedient servents...." 17

Municipal government was the first in which Ukrainian settlers were to become directly involved as active participants. This was the level of government which most directly affected everyday life. While the Ukrainian settlers were preoccupied with meeting their primary needs, municipal affairs were administered by previous settlers who often resented the entry of Ukrainians into their area and attempted to prevent them from entering local politics.¹⁸ The entry of Ukrainians into municipal affairs was precipitated by the fact that this administration was not, in their view, being exercised fairly, because matters which affected them directly and needs which required attention were neglected. Ukrainian settlers in the Stuartburn area were the first to enter municipal politics. As part of Franklin

17 Quoted in Kaye, V. J., op. cit., pp. 214-15, 220.

18 Young, Charles, op. cit., p. 256.

Municipality, they received little, if any, attention to requests for roads, bridges and schools, and complained that they were forced to assume a disproportionate segment of the tax burden. Frustrated by unsuccessful appeals to the provincial government for support of their demands for the establishment of a school by the local municipal authorities, the Stuartburn Ukrainians broke with Franklin municipality. The new Rural Municipality of Stuartburn was created in 1902. All members of the new municipal council except for the Reeve were Ukrainian homesteaders.¹⁹ Theodore Wachna, who had spearheaded the drive for the new municipality, became the first Ukrainian municipal secretary in Canada, in spite of opposition from the Municipal Commission, headed by former Attorney-General Colin H. Campbell, in confirming his election. Although the area was poor, and was saddled with an initial debt of \$13,000, within the first year three schools and a post office were established, and within three years of incorporation, nine schools which had been built largely by voluntary labour were in operation.²⁰ In 1908 Ivan Storosczyk became the first Ukrainian Reeve in Canada, while the Stuartburn Council became the first all-Ukrainian council in Canada. Ukrainians throughout North America heralded the Stuartburn developments as an example for other Ukrainians.²¹

The situation in the Interlake was similar to that in Stuartburn. In the Gimli area the Ukrainians who settled between five and fifteen miles

19 Marunchak, M., Studii, Tom II, pp. 41-45; and Humeniuk, Peter, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

20 Kaye, V. J., op. cit., pp. 173-74.

21 Kanadiiskyi farmer, February 15, 1907; and Ukrainskyi holos, December 12, 1910.

in from the shore of Lake Winnipeg had to contend with a municipal government dominated by Icelanders who had concentrated themselves along the shores of the lake. These previous settlers were disinclined to spend municipal dollars on the development of the interior areas settled by the more recent Ukrainian immigrants. In spite of their numbers, the Ukrainian settlers in the municipalities of Gimli and Rockwood were to lack their own representatives for years, both as a result of the strongly organized Icelandic community, as well as the tendency to split their own Ukrainian vote by running several candidates. Determined to play a stronger role in municipal affairs, so that their needs might be met, the Ukrainian farmers increased their efforts at gaining representation. As one farmer stated in the Canadian Farmer:

".... we have strength here, and where there 22
is strength, there is victory...."

The first victories came in 1909 when Andrij Amvros was elected to the Gimli Council while Michael Rojeski became the rural municipality's Reeve. Dissatisfied with poor roads, rising taxes, and rumours that corrupt administrators of the Gimli municipality had squandered tens of thousands of dollars, Yakim Felyk and Stefan Humenny initiated a movement in 1913 to divide the Municipality of Gimli in two. This move received much opposition

22 Kanadiiskyi farmer, January 8, 1909.

from the Icelandic-dominated Municipal Council. The nationalism which had inspired the creation of the independent Republic of New Iceland in Gimli was disinclined to yield to any new settlers such as the Ukrainians, who were regarded as occupying a subordinate position in the area. ²³

The main obstacle to the secessionist forces was the opposition of the Conservative Municipal Council led by G. S. Thorvaldson, the local Conservative party boss. The secessionist cause was helped significantly when an Icelandic, I. Helgason, sided with the Ukrainians against Thorvaldson. On November 7, 1913, Peter Woytowych, and Martyn Kylar, a German, were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba to present the case for municipal separation. Yakim Felyk also appealed to the Municipal Commissioner, George Coldwell, and the case was decided in favour of the petitioners. The new municipality of Kreuzberg was established, where Ukrainian settlers gained considerable influence. ²⁴

Ukrainians in rural areas generally believed that only by running municipal affairs themselves could they be guaranteed equitable treatment. An Ethelbert resident wrote to the Canadian Farmer, prior to local municipal elections in 1907, calling for suitable Ukrainian candidates, and emphasizing that by not voting, Ukrainians were in fact enslaving themselves. Pointing

23 Ivanchuk, M., "Do istorii ukrainskykh poselentsiv v okolytsi Gimli", Ukrainskyi holos, June 27, 1973.

24 Ibid., January 23 and 30, 1974.

to previous years, he warned that if the small English group regained power, they would spend money recklessly and line each other's pockets.

"I think that we should elect our own reeve as well. Fear hard times and God: there are 450 Ukrainians in this municipality and only 55 English, 5 Jews (Russian) and 4 Germans. Thus in whose hands should the municipal government be? You can all see it well enough !" 25

With this desire to control their own affairs, large Ukrainian settlements took control of municipal affairs in the Gimli, Ethelbert, Brokenhead, Dauphin, Chatfield, Stuartburn, Kreuzberg, Rosssburn and Mossy River areas. Some of the municipalities in which Ukrainians predominated were of such poor agricultural value, however, that they eventually reverted to Local Government Districts administered by appointed administrators or receivers. 26

Bilingualism was practiced in municipalities such as Stuartburn and Ethelbert. Most local business was transacted in Ukrainian, while correspondence with other levels of government was in English. All Ethelbert by-laws were published in Ukrainian until 1916, while important provincial notices were bilingual. Numerous government pamphlets and booklets were published in Ukrainian for use of municipalities. 27

The 1903 Manitoba provincial election was the first in which larger numbers of Ukrainians were involved, in spite of the provincial statutes in

25 Kanadiiskyi farmer, November 22, 1907.

26 Yuzyk, Paul, op. cit., pp. 180-82.

27 Marunchak, M., Studii...., Tom IV, pp. 238-42.

force restricting their right to vote. In rural districts, Conservative registration clerks were determined to keep Ukrainians off voters' lists. At Stuartburn in Emerson constituency, a small group of Ukrainians personally appeared at the newly established registration booth. They presented their naturalization certificates, responded to interrogations, and successfully passed the English reading tests. In spite of this they were denied entry into the electoral register. The successful performances by this initial group led to the booth being closed down for days on various pretexts. According to the opposition press, Thomas Bolton, the Deputy Returning Officer, followed Conservative candidate D. H. McFadden's instructions in excluding Ukrainians: after abandoning the poll for days, he sent a substitute with a club-wielding bodyguard to ensure that the local Ukrainians did not register.²⁸ The lost days were not made up, while those who were denied the vote after successfully completing the tests were reluctant to try again. The result was that between fifty and a hundred Ukrainians at Stuartburn were denied the vote in spite of the fact that they were qualified to be registered.²⁹

It was only through the efforts of Emerson Liberal candidate George Walton that some Ukrainians were added to the registration lists, by appeals to the Emerson reviewing officer. In spite of Walton's efforts this officer refused to have the court of revision sit at Stuartburn, in order to accommodate those Ukrainians who wanted to register there.³⁰

²⁸ Manitoba Free Press, February 1, 1904. As noted earlier in the text, the Free Press was avowedly Liberal. Hence its accounts of Conservative electoral abuses should not be considered completely objective, although they do indicate the kinds of charges which were made.

²⁹ Ibid., February 9, 1904.

³⁰ Winnipeg Telegram, June 16, 1903.

The Liberal party championed the right of Ukrainians to vote and Walton condemned the Conservative policy of denying Stuartburn Ukrainians access to the polls, even though they paid taxes, owned and developed land, educated their children and met all the requisite qualifications.³¹ The Liberal party's election platform specifically opposed the Conservative Franchise Act as un-British. Thomas Greenway attacked Premier Roblin's political machine for carrying out its dubious mandate to excess, citing the case of a Ukrainian editor who spoke and wrote in Ukrainian, English, Polish, French and German, yet was not allowed to register as a voter.³²

The Stuartburn situation was repeated in the riding of Gilbert Plains, where hundreds of Ukrainians were kept from the electoral lists by the Conservative party machinery. On May 16, 1903, Glen Campbell, a prominent Conservative, was accused of sending a telegram to a senior party worker at Ethelbert, stating clearly, "See that no Galicians register at Garland."³³ Such tactics kept the Ukrainians from voting Liberal during this election. The 1903 contest was a sweeping victory for the Conservatives, who won thirty-one of the forty seats.³⁴ In Gilbert Plains riding, Campbell was returned with a 900-vote majority, while losing the Ukrainian poll at Ethelbert. McFadden captured Emerson as well, winning the Stuartburn poll from Walton by a margin of one vote.³⁵

31 Manitoba Free Press, July 1, 1903.

32 Ibid., July 6, 1903.

33 Ibid., February 4, 1904.

34 Canadian Annual Review, 1903, p. 193.

35 Manitoba Free Press, July 21, 1903.

During the 1903 election, election committees were established throughout Winnipeg as centres where immigrants who had been in Canada for three years could apply for citizenship papers and the subsequent right to vote. Each committee had an official who was authorized to process naturalization affidavits, as well as an interpreter to administer a language test in one of the qualifying languages. It was through such election committees that large numbers of Ukrainians first gained the right to vote. Thomas Jastremsky, who by this time had established an informal liaison with the Conservative party, conceived a scheme whereby hundreds of Ukrainians would be permitted to vote.

All Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainians who had served the compulsory three year service in the Austrian Army had a basic knowledge of German military terminology. Jastremsky gathered a dozen or so of such Ukrainians and briefed them on what they were to do before the commissioner of applications in the North Winnipeg Conservative Election Committee Bureau.³⁶ To demonstrate that the new applicants understood German, Jastremsky gave the gathering a series of simple German commands to which they responded by standing at attention and bowing towards Commissioner McKechee. Impressed by the demonstration, the Commissioner swore the applicants' allegiance to the British Crown. The applicants signed the declarations with an X, after which the Commissioner completed their papers. Further contingents brought by Jastremsky were not tested by the Commissioner, who took for granted their ability to understand German, and were put directly to the task of securing their naturalization

³⁶ located on Henry Avenue between Main and King Streets.

papers. Thus, in one month, Jastremsky succeeded in having over 1500 Ukrainians in Winnipeg naturalized and entered upon the list of registered voters for the 1903 provincial election.³⁷

Complaints were raised to Attorney-General C. H. Campbell in regard to Ukrainians receiving their papers and voting privileges in spite of the laws which were designed to prevent just that. Campbell called in Jastremsky to clarify this situation, and the latter explained the process by which the Ukrainians came to appear on the voters' lists. He explained that although they could not speak German they could understand the language and that at any rate the legislation barring Ukrainians from the vote was discriminatory and an obvious contravention of the federal Naturalization Act. Campbell conceded the victory to Jastremsky and excused him from facing any indictments.³⁸

Thomas Jastremsky was also responsible for the organization of the first Ukrainian political meeting, which was staged on behalf of the Conservative party. This event can be seen as the first instance of classic ethnic politics within the Ukrainian community. Jastremsky championed the Conservative cause within the Ukrainian community in return for certain commitments.

37 Jastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 47-49.

38 Ibid., pp. 49, 51-52.

Jastremsky was advised by Andrew Norquay, the chairman of the North Winnipeg Conservative Election Committee, to forge a political coalition with the Poles, who many politicians mistakenly believed were the largest group among Winnipeg Slavs. Believing in the political inefficacy of the Polish community, Jastremsky refused to compromise himself within the Ukrainian community by a useless coalition with the Poles. To prove his point, he asked Norquay to hold a Conservative political meeting in the Polish Catholic hall on Selkirk Avenue. The meeting was arranged, and announced in the Polish Church, which was the "official" centre for all Austrian Catholic immigrants. On the day of the meeting, only a handful of people appeared and two hours after the announced commencement, the rally was called off.³⁹

Having proved his point, Jastremsky used the situation to the advantage of his own Ukrainian community. He met with Norquay and Samson Walker, the Conservative candidate in North Winnipeg, telling them of his efforts in registering fifteen hundred Ukrainians. He pledged that should Walker persuade the Conservative government to establish a Ukrainian teachers' college, as well as openly promote the idea before public gatherings of the English speaking electorate, he would guarantee fifteen hundred votes for Conservative candidates. If Roblin and Walker could not agree to this matter, Jastremsky stated that he would be forced to make some sort of agreement with the opposing Liberals. After having met with the Premier, Norquay and Walker assured Jastremsky that Roblin was favourable to the establishment of the

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

proposed teachers' college following the 1903 election. With this assurance, Jastremsky busied himself in securing the support which he promised to the Conservatives.⁴⁰

Using official Conservative stationery and English printing type, Jastremsky composed a Ukrainian letter to be sent to the fifteen hundred Ukrainians whom he had helped onto the voters' lists. The letter invited them to the Henry Avenue hall for the purpose of a political meeting which was to be addressed by prominent Conservative spokesmen. Word about the meeting spread quickly among the thousands of Ukrainians and other Slavs in Winnipeg. The night of the meeting had the one thousand capacity hall filled to overflowing. Only those bearing invitations were allowed entry. City police were needed to clear the streets of the many who wanted to attend. Speeches by Norquay and Walker assured the gathering that they would make strong efforts in meeting the educational needs of Ukrainians in Manitoba. Former Premier Hugh John Macdonald learned of the meeting, but could not gain entrance to it because of the crowds. Hearing from Jastremsky that these people would be voting Conservative, Macdonald stated emotionally:

"And I was told that they were Austrian Indians.⁴¹
What a mistake I made in believing it."

The 1903 provincial election thus marked the beginning of increased political participation by Ukrainians. Consequently Manitoba's political

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴¹ Quoted in Ibid., p. 52.

parties intensified their efforts to win the political support of the Ukrainian community. The first Ukrainian language paper in Canada, Canadian Farmer, was established in 1903, becoming a mouthpiece for the Liberal Party both provincially and federally. In 1904 the first Ukrainian books were printed in Canada. Two of the four books, all of which appeared in Winnipeg, were political pamphlets published by the Liberal and Conservative parties.⁴²

The Liberal party had always supported the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, along with the right of these people to vote, and thus could expect considerable Ukrainian support, especially at the federal level. The Conservative party, on the other hand, had always taken a negative position towards the Ukrainian immigration. Yet, the Conservative party's desire to secure favourable electoral majorities obliged it to reassess its position.

42 The Liberals published Berit, chytaite i rozsudit (Take It, Read It and Judge), while the Conservatives published Dlia dobrykh ruskykh vybortsiv (For the Good Ruthenian Electorate). See Marunchak, M., op. cit., pp. 125-26, 301-302.

CHAPTER VI

BLOCK MANIPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN VOTE DURING THE HEIGHT OF CONSERVATIVE POWER: 1903-1913

The 1903 Manitoba election affirmed the fact that Ukrainians could not be excluded forever from politics and that it was dangerous to alienate their potential electoral support. Early in 1904, Premier Roblin and the Conservative party performed what the Liberals called the "most complete volte face imaginable" in the matter of enfranchising naturalized aliens. Motivated by pragmatic needs of the party, both provincially and federally, the Conservative attitude towards Ukrainians shifted from hostility to paternalism. This change of strategy, if not of heart, was ridiculed by the Liberals as a "wonderful piece of political contortionism" which displayed the Conservative party's "splendid contempt for consistency."¹

The prospect of a federal election in 1904, in which all naturalized Ukrainian citizens would have the right to vote in spite of provincial restrictions evidently assisted the change. The federal government retained ultimate control in making up federal voting lists through the powers invested in it by the Dominion Franchise Act of 1901. The act protected the federal franchise against the possibility of provincial legislation disqualifying

¹ Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1904.

certain classes of people. All citizens qualified to vote according to federal law were guaranteed the federal franchise, with conflicting provincial status being declared void.² This legal position set the stage for a federal election in which the Liberals would not be hindered by provincially imposed handicaps. The federal Conservatives feared that thousands of voters who had been disenfranchised by the local Conservative government would react against their candidates. Thus Glen Campbell, who had been elected to the legislature in 1903, refused to stand as a federal candidate unless provincial franchise limitations were lifted.³ Realizing the danger of their situation, the Conservatives moved to appease their previously avowed "enemies" by reversing their franchise policy.

Their new concern for the Ukrainian electorate was first voiced by Premier Roblin during the February 1904 Budget Speech, in which he defended the Ukrainians, and attacked the federal Liberal government as their real oppressors. He questioned the wisdom of focusing on the unkind things which had been said of the Ukrainians in the past, contending that the poor conditions of the federal immigration scheme were responsible for the initial negative appearance of these immigrants. He accused the federal government of treating Ukrainian settlers harshly and unjustly, settling them without choice upon swampland, while other settlers received allotments of fertile land. The

2 Statutes of Canada, 1901, Cap. 15, Sec. 1; and Ward, Norman, op. cit., pp. 224, 235; and Manitoba Free Press, February 5 & 6, 1904.

3 Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1904.

Ukrainians, he continued, were settled on wastelands, without leadership, schools or supervision, creating a situation where progress was difficult if not impossible. He accused the Department of the Interior of a great wrong in not having given these capable immigrants a fair chance. Roblin maintained that provincial franchise limitations had only followed the precedent set by Ottawa's differential settlement policy.⁴

The Premier stated that in spite of their educational handicaps, their poor European environment and their unjust reception in Canada, the Ukrainians had adapted well to Canadian ideas and conditions. He had been visited by a number of Ukrainian deputations in regard to the franchise and he was satisfied that the Ukrainians could now speak English and were cognizant of those duties and rights of citizenship of which they had been unaware upon their arrival. Roblin felt that their progress in Canada qualified the Ukrainians for equal participation. His government was anxious to meet the Ukrainians half-way in their desire to become full citizens by presenting new and impartial franchise legislation.⁵ Although this new stance towards the Ukrainians was a complete reversal of the Conservatives' past course, and was clearly motivated by party consideration, Roblin did achieve his aim of emerging as the new champion and benefactor of the Ukrainian community in Manitoba.

4 Manitoba Free Press, February 6 & 8, 1904; and Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 59.

5 Manitoba Free Press, February 6 & 8, 1904; and Canadian Annual Review, 1904, p. 339.

Liberals reacted sardonically to this move, noting that in Conservative eyes the scum of Europe had suddenly been transformed into the salt of the earth. The Free Press lampooned the Telegram for its "present burning desire to hug the dear Galicians and their votes to its editorial bosom",⁶ and the Conservatives in general for their unscrupulous approach to the political rights of Ukrainians:

"The Galician-baiting gentlemen, who only a few months ago were denouncing the Galicians as loathsome creatures, are now eager to get the Galicians to allow them to fall upon their necks and embrace them 7 as men and brothers."

The Conservative government's new Election Act received assent on February 8, 1904. The new legislation repealed the special clauses which had been designed to disenfranchise Ukrainians and other naturalized citizens through the administration of literacy tests.⁸ Another significant consequence of the Roblin government's reversal in attitudes was that in 1905 the Department of Education established a Ukrainian teachers' college, the Ruthenian Training School. Roblin had promised such a school as early as the 1903 election. Along with Thomas Jastremsky, a number of others representing various segments of the Ukrainian community had lobbied for the establishment of such a school. Taras Ferley, Ivan Negrych, Theodore Stefanik, Ivan Bodrug, Michael Rudnitsky and others had all sought to bring about the

6 Manitoba Free Press, February 3, 1904.

7 Ibid., February 1, 1904.

8 Statutes of Manitoba, 1904, Cap. 13, Sec. 2.

establishment of a school to prepare qualified Ukrainian public school teachers.⁹

The March 7, 1907, provincial election was the first in which naturalized Ukrainian citizens could participate unhindered. Consequently, the Ukrainian vote was actively courted by both major Manitoba political parties, with local election committees again becoming vehicles for the hasty distribution of citizenship papers. Hoping to deliver a large number of Ukrainian votes to the Conservative party, Thomas Jastremsky was most active in this regard. He engaged ten people in the task of processing naturalization affidavits in order to assist the election of Conservative John F. Mitchell in North Winnipeg. Mitchell was the editor of a small newspaper entitled the North Ender, and was felt to be sensitive to the situation of immigrants and poor workers.¹⁰

At pre-election meetings in favour of Mitchell, Conservative spokesmen emphasized their party's new attitude. The welfare of all people, including immigrants, was now the party's avowed concern. In the new election all citizens had the right and the responsibility to register and vote. They abandoned their xenophobia regarding immigrants..

"They are no longer foreigners but henceforth
are to be called British subjects."¹¹

9 Bozhyk, P., op. cit., p. 87; and Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 62.

10 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 75-76.

11 Quoted in Winnipeg Telegram, February 23, 1907.

Jastremsky's educational hall became the centre for numerous election meetings on behalf of the Conservatives. The Liberal Canadian Farmer suggested that their main attraction was abundant beer:

"Jastremsky, the host, endeavoured to pass on all of the things which the Conservative lords had dictated to him. Kegs of beer set in rows, constituted the principal decoration of the hall. The addresses of the speakers were very brief, as the eyes and minds of all were turned in the direction of the unopened kegs. Each speech was interrupted by wild ovations. 'Let's get on with the drinking already!' and 'Long live the Conservatives!' shouted our patriots.

During the bout of drinking, the candidate himself approached, wishing to talk some nonsense to our people, but it was impossible, as 'our citizens', under the leadership of Jastremsky and other traitors as he, ¹² were drinking."

For its part, the Canadian Farmer urged Ukrainians to vote Liberal so that the "rotten and corrupt" Conservative government, which had earlier abused Ukrainians, could be defeated.¹³

A typical issue of the paper carried a large picture of Manitoba Liberal leader, Edward Brown, with a message that as the Ukrainians were primarily engaged in agriculture, it was necessary to build better roads in their settlements, so that their goods might be brought to market. Brown proposed to establish creameries, cheese factories and farmers' institutes, and to build better-equipped schools for Ukrainians, staffed by Ukrainian teachers from a proper training school.¹⁴ He also declared that he welcomed

¹² Kanadiiskyi farmer, March 8, 1907.

¹³ Ibid., February 7, 1907.

¹⁴ Ibid., February 22, 1907. "To supply these [teachers] a proper training school ought to be established."

the opportunity of addressing the Ukrainians, believing that "the encouragement of Ruthenians to become Canadian citizens is one of the best things that the Liberal party ever did for its country - Canada."¹⁵ In a bottom corner of the same page, the newspaper printed a small picture of Premier Roblin, along with the following caption:

"The present Premier of Manitoba, the fanatical Conservative and opponent of Ukrainian immigration; the legislator of the law granting Ukrainians the right to vote only after seven years of residence in Canada. Every Ukrainian elector should vote for his opponents." ¹⁶

The pre-election issues of Canadian Farmer were filled with scorn for what it described as a mercenary Conservative government backed by hotel-owners, bribe-takers, land speculators, and others who hoped to gain concessions. Liberal candidates, on the other hand, were described as well-informed, staunch protectors of Ukrainian interests who deserved the support of Ukrainian voters.¹⁷

Editorially, the Canadian Farmer presented a history of the two contending parties, emphasizing their attitudes towards the Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Quoting extensively, it endeavoured to show that the Conservatives had never hesitated to defame Ukrainians by depicting them as

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

uncultured intruders. In its view, the Conservatives personified Anglo-Canadian hostility towards Eastern European immigration. The Liberal party, on the other hand, was heralded as being responsible for the greatness of Canada. Its policy had always been to settle Canada with impoverished agriculturalists from Europe, giving them the same rights as previous settlers, and even promising to appoint Ukrainians to positions of public office. The paper warned the rural population against hired Conservative "good-for-nothings" who, for miserly sums of money, were trying to swing the Ukrainian vote to the Conservatives: "Our people are well acquainted with these assassins, having experienced them enough in Galicia."¹⁸ The paper asked the Ukrainian voters to remember the sympathy and protection which the Liberal party had offered in the past, and to act accordingly when weighing the merits of the two parties at election time:

"Who is our friend - and who our enemy? Who
treats us as people - and who as animals?" 19

No doubt to the editor's dismay, however, the Conservatives won the election. Roblin's government won twenty-eight of the legislature's forty-one seats, as opposed to the Liberals' thirteen.²⁰ The election was fraught with corruption and bribery; and violations were particularly numerous in North Winnipeg. A relatively independent newspaper, the Winnipeg Evening Tribune pointed to the Conservatives specifically as being responsible for the

18 Ibid., March 1, 1907.

19 Ibid.

20 Canadian Parliamentary Guide. 1909, p. 389.

bulk of "foreigners" voting under improper influences:

"In North Winnipeg an election the most corrupt in the annals of Winnipeg is being conducted by the Conservative machine artists. Corruption is rampant throughout the whole constituency, votes are being purchased broadcast and every effort made to debauch the electorate.

"Foreigners are being purchased in batches and are being voted together by the election agents 21 of the Conservative candidate...."

Impersonations at the polls were common, while money and free liquor were distributed throughout the constituency by government agents. Immigrants who were not sure of voting procedures were quickly reassured by government representatives who produced imitation ballots with heavy red crosses marked opposite the name of the government candidate.²²

Although John Mitchell won the North Winnipeg riding for the Conservatives, rural polls with large numbers of Ukrainian voters were delivered mostly to the Liberal party. In Emerson, Conservative David McFadden was upset by Liberal George Walton, who secured a 105 vote majority.²³ In the Ukrainian poll of Stuartburn, Walton received 134 votes to McFadden's 28.²⁴ The Conservative Telegram reacted angrily to this result, placing the blame for McFadden's defeat directly upon Ukrainian voters:

"The defeat of Dr. McFadden in Emerson is to be sincerely regretted. His record as a public man deserved recognition and this no doubt he would

21 Winnipeg Evening Tribune, March 7, 1907.

22 Ibid., March 7 & 11, 1907.

23 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1909, p. 391.

24 Manitoba Free Press, March 9, 1907.

have received but for the Galician vote which seems to have gone solid against him.... But for the manipulation of the Galician vote ... there can be no doubt that Hon. Dr. McFadden would still be a member of the Legislature...." 25

Gilbert Plains constituency returned Conservative Glen Campbell by acclamation. The ridings of Springfield and Dauphin were captured by Liberals. In Springfield, the Ukrainian polls of Ladywood and Whitemouth gave 9 and 65 vote majorities to Liberal D. A. Ross. In Dauphin, the poll at Sifton gave Liberal John Campbell a 15 vote majority. Gimli, Rockwood and Kildonan-St. Andrew's all returned Conservative candidates. In Kildonan-St. Andrew's, although the poll at Gonor gave Conservative Orton Grain a slim 6 vote majority, other Ukrainian polls at East Selkirk, Poplar Park and Balsam Bay all went in favour of Liberal M. J. O'Donohue.²⁶

A Sifton resident described the contest in Dauphin, where in spite of "furious" agitation by Conservative agents including Orest Zerebko and W. Smuk, whom he denounced as "fanatical fighters for the ideas of Conservative-capitalism", the Ukrainian settlers succeeded in electing the Liberal candidate.²⁷ A Winnipeg resident also attacked Zerebko as a "Conservative

25 Winnipeg Telegram, March 8, 1907.

26 Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1907.

27 Kanadiisky farmer, April 26, 1907.

mercenary and traitor" who served the "Ukrainian-devouring Conservatives" with "dog-like loyalty".²⁸

Following the 1907 election, the Roblin government at first appeared to forget the election promises made in order to induce Ukrainians to vote Conservative. Ukrainian school organizers, Ukrainian translators at municipal institutions, and a Ukrainian teacher for the Ruthenian Training School had been promised, yet four months after the election no action was apparent. In order to expedite matters, a mass meeting was held in North Winnipeg, and a delegation including Taras Ferley, H. Slipchenko, Theodore Stefanik and A. Novak was chosen to present the government with requests for two Ukrainian school organizers, a Ukrainian clerk in the Winnipeg Post Office and Ukrainian-speaking staff at Winnipeg hospitals.²⁹ The only visible concessions made in response to these requests was that the Department of Education appointed Theodore Stefanik as organizer of schools in Ukrainian districts, while Taras Ferley assumed the position of Ukrainian instructor at the Ruthenian Training School.

The Conservative government's establishment of the Ruthenian Training School and its commitment to bilingualism in public schools were

28 Ibid., May 17, 1907. Although there is some evidence that Ukrainian bilingual teachers repaid the Conservative favour of establishing the Ruthenian Training School by campaigning on behalf of that party, the fact that the statements regarding Zerebko appeared in the Liberal Canadian Farmer should mitigate the harshness of the charges made.

29 Kanadiisky farmer, June 7, 14, & 21, 1907.

policies which drew stiff criticism from the Liberal opposition. The source of the increasingly bitter confrontation over bilingual education was the Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1897, which included a statute in the Public Schools Act of Manitoba guaranteeing bilingual instruction in those schools where ten or more students spoke a language other than English as their native tongue.³⁰ Desiring a knowledge of their mother tongue as well as English for their children, the Ukrainian community took advantage of their legal right to bilingual schools. To aid Ukrainians in establishing schools in their settlements, the Department of Education hired its first special school organizer in 1903.³¹

The establishment of the Ruthenian Training School in Winnipeg in order to train qualified bilingual teachers came in 1905. There was a demand for teachers in Ukrainian settlements, as qualified English teachers were reluctant to teach in these areas.³² The school offered a three year public school curriculum, upgrading students to a grade nine level. Courses dealt with English language and literature, Canadian and British history, mathematics, geography, botany, bookkeeping, science, art, music, as well as Ukrainian language and literature. Upon completion of these studies, students enrolled in the six month pedagogical course at Normal School, which led to a third class teaching certificate,

30 Statutes of Manitoba, 1897, Cap. 26, Sec. 10; and later Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1913, Cap. 165, Sec. 258.

31 See "Report of John Baderski, Inspector for Schools among the Galicians", in Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1903, pp. 50-51.

32 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1905, p. 53.

after successfully passing standard provincial examinations.³³

In the fall of 1908 the Ruthenian Training School was relocated to Brandon. From its inception to its closure in 1916, the school trained approximately 200 teachers.³⁴ Attendance was geared towards sons of farmers between the ages of 18 and 22, who had knowledge of English and preferably a completed public school education.³⁵ The students generally came from family homesteads in Canada or directly from Europe. Their range of education varied, some having previously attended high school and university. Many of the students were members of the early Ukrainian socialist groups and had bold ideas on meeting their community needs. The Ruthenian Training School thus developed somewhat of a radical, Protestant and nationalistic reputation.

The Catholic Church suspected the school of being under Protestant -atheist control. One Catholic historian described the school as "nothing but a hotbed of infidelity and anarchy" where students collaborated with the "worst subversive elements in the country".³⁶ Father Sabourin, a French Canadian priest who accepted the Ukrainian Catholic rite in order to minister in Western Canada, substantially agreed:

"This school is under the direction of Mr. Cressey, a man who has been deemed worthy by the Orangemen to be the grandmaster of one of their lodges. His only assistant is a Ruthenian by the name of Ferley,

33 See "Report of J. T. Cressey on the Ruthenian Training School, Brandon", in Ibid., 1913, p. 124; and Skwarok, J., op. cit., p. 61.

34 Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 121.

35 Skwarok, J., op. cit., p. 61.

36 Daly, G. T., op. cit., p. 91.

an individual well-known in socialist circles in Winnipeg, and one who claims to be able to explain the existence of the world without having recourse to the hypothesis of a creator. And it is under this direction, exclusively Orange and atheist, and helped by the public money that the present generation of Ruthenian teachers is trained, teachers who are destined for the greater part, to give a Ruthenian Catholic youth, a Catholic education in harmony with the wishes of a Catholic population." 37

In contrast to its reputation, the avowed purpose of the school was to train teachers who would act as immediate agents of acculturation for new settlers. It was politically an expedient way for the Conservatives to attract the favour of Ukrainian settlers while at the same time carrying out the necessary task of integration. The principal of the Ruthenian Training School, J. T. Cressey, embodied this task in the school's programme.

"... we encourage the students to be searchers after the truth; to appreciate the beautiful and to do good; so that by standing for high ideals they will enable their people to be true nation-builders; and from my personal contact with Ruthenian students for the past five years, I have come to the conclusion that in the years to come the Ruthenian people will do their share in making Canada a great nation, and will say as Britishers, 'One King, one Empire, one Race, and one Flag.' " 38

Many of the school's graduates became respected leaders within the Ukrainian community and were to include the first Ukrainian M.P., the first Ukrainian M.L.A.'s, agronomists, judges, doctors, and editors. They acted

37 Manitoba Free Press, January 17, 1913.

38 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1909, p. 115.

as transitional links, transmitting an understanding of the language and values of Canadian society to the whole of their community, adults as well as children, while at the same time nurturing pride in their own heritage.

The bilingual Ukrainian teachers formed the Ukrainian Teacher's Association, holding annual conferences and influencing the creation of Ukrainian Voice in 1910. The 1915 convention urged the establishment of a Department of Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Manitoba, over thirty years before such a department became a reality. With regard to politics, they resolved to support only those parties which were demonstrably ready to aid the cultural growth of the Ukrainian community. The teachers also expressed the idea of establishing a Ukrainian National Council in Manitoba to act as a representative body before the government.³⁹

In general, the aim of these teachers was to rebut the prejudiced stereotype being imposed upon Ukrainians by Anglo-Canadian teachers, one of whom summed up Ukrainian social activities as consisting of nothing more than "dancing, bootlegging and baseball."⁴⁰ This goal, however, was frustrated by the coming of the First World War and the heightening of anti-foreign sentiments which further compromised the already contentious issue of bilingual education in Manitoba.

³⁹ Marunchak, M., Ibid., p. 341.

⁴⁰ Young, Charles H., op. cit., p. 264.

As a result of the Conservatives' favourable stance on bilingualism there was a small number of Ukrainians who were dedicated to the promotion of that party. In 1907 the Ruthenian Conservative Club was organized in Winnipeg under the direction of Thomas Jastremsky, while in the following year a Ruthenian Liberal Club was established under the leadership of Zyhmont Bychynsky. The Conservative Club was composed in the main of Ukrainian Catholics while the Liberal Club consisted largely of supporters of the independent and Protestant church movements.⁴¹

In spite of this organized Ukrainian Conservative element, many Ukrainians remained skeptical of Conservatives, and stayed Liberal in federal politics. In the 1908 federal election, many Ukrainians supported the Laurier government although only two of Manitoba's ten seats returned Liberals. In Dauphin, Ukrainian polls went Liberal by more than a two to one margin, while in Provencher, the Ukrainian polls of Stuartburn and Vita gave Liberal J. P. Milloy large margins in his victory. In Marquette's Shoal Lake poll, Liberal M. B. Jackson scored a 153 to 56 victory over W. J. Roche, who ultimately won the riding. In Selkirk riding Ukrainian polls did not show the same consistency: Liberal S. J. Jackson won Tyndall, Hazelridge, Whitemouth and Janow (87-58, 37-18, 64-28 and 21-11, respectively), while Conservative winner George Bradbury took the polls at Brokenhead, Cromwell, Beausejour and

⁴¹ Marunchak, M., op. cit., p. 223.

Komarno (40-19, 52-30, 151-64 and 77-46, respectively).⁴²

Meanwhile, Ukrainians also became more active in municipal elections in Winnipeg. In 1907, Thomas Jastremsky ran unsuccessfully as an independent aldermanic candidate representing the Ukrainian and German voters of Ward Six. The next year he ran again, this time for the position of one of four Winnipeg controllers, on a Conservative ticket headed by mayoralty candidate Sanford Evans, and used the campaign to publicize grievances such as poor drainage and sewage facilities which were causing wide-scale health hazards, the lack of Ukrainian-speaking staff at municipal hospitals, and city employment policies which he claimed discriminated against Ukrainian labourers. Although he was defeated, his proposal for the establishment of a municipal cemetery affordable to all citizens was acted upon the following year, when the city purchased land at the site of Brookside Cemetery.⁴³

Members of Jastremsky's "club" campaigned actively for the Conservatives in the 1910 election. The Roblin government attracted the now common Liberal criticism that its agents and "civil servants" were demoralizing Ukrainians. Liberal D. A. Ross of Springfield denounced the government for subjecting Ukrainian settlers to local bosses, road inspectors and school organizers, such as Theodore Stefanik, instead of promoting solid citizenship. Claiming that Stefanik was a Conservative party organizer, rather than a school organizer, he cited the 1908 Gilbert Plains

⁴² Winnipeg Free Press, October 28, 1908.

⁴³ Jastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 88-89; and Winnipeg Tribune, December 1 & 9, 1908.

by-election where Stefanik allegedly organized Conservative meetings. When trustees of one Ukrainian school withheld the use of their school for a meeting, Stefanik broke the school's windows. Ross also accused Stefanik of slanderously characterizing him, in a public petition, as an opponent of bilingual education. Possibly as a result of Ross's charges, Stefanik resigned his position and was replaced by Paul Gigeychuk, another Conservative appointee, who earlier had been employed as a weed inspector. The Liberal Ukrainian press reacted to his promotion with a comment that he apparently cared little about weed control, having sown the noxious weeds of Conservatism.⁴⁴

The Liberal party generally presented itself as the party of the poor man and farmer, which would eliminate the graft and waste of the Conservative government. Liberal M.L.A. S. Jonasson of Gimli characterized the Conservatives as the defenders of "capitalist interests" and accused them of using funds from federal grants to pay the various "civil servants" whose job it was to corrupt the electorate.⁴⁵ Other Liberals claimed that the Conservatives sent road construction crews into ridings prior to elections, but withdrew them afterward, leaving roads as bad as before. In this regard, the Canadian Farmer reported that the Conservatives started road "construction" in fifty separate places among Ukrainian settlements prior to the 1910 election.⁴⁶

44 Kanadiiskyi farmer, March 9, & May 4, 1910; and Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 93.

45 Kanadiiskyi farmer, March 16, 1910.

46 Ibid., June 8, 22, & 29, 1910.

In rebuttal, the Conservatives published a number of Ukrainian language pamphlets. In Emerson, government candidate David McFadden issued a reminder that federal Liberal Frank Oliver had vehemently opposed Ukrainian immigration to Canada. McFadden also accused earlier Liberal governments in Manitoba of committing the very same "crimes" of which the Roblin government was accused: namely making concessions to capitalists and corporations, and incurring large deficits in the process. The Liberal Canadian Farmer reacted by discounting Oliver's role, by arguing that benefits to capitalists under the Liberals were very few in comparison to those provided by the Conservatives, and by claiming that the Conservative government deficit was twice that of the Liberals and still increasing.⁴⁷

The Conservatives also directed attention to the fact that there were numerous federal "civil servants" such as Cyril Genik who were used to influence Ukrainian voters on behalf of the party which furnished their salaries. The Canadian Farmer disputed this allegation, issuing a final call to Ukrainian voters in Manitoba:

"The only ones who will give their votes to the Conservatives are those, who were the allies of the Polish aristocrats in the old country, and who are accustomed to oppression, as well as giving votes for head cheese." 48

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., July 6, 1910.

The Free Press echoed the sentiments of the Ukrainian language Liberal press, predicting the Conservatives would use all their machinations to secure another victory:

"There is every reason to believe that the beer will flow and that the five dollar bills will fly more plentifully than even at the last election, in the interests of honest government, pure politics, and the Roblin regime. And the campaign fund for carrying on the work is made up in part from the contributions of well-to-do citizens, 'Simon pure Anglo-Saxons', and pillars of the church, who are wont to deplore the corruption of our politics and lament the low political ideals of our foreign-born citizens." 49

For his part in the campaign, Thomas Jastremsky sought to prove his worth to the Conservatives by winning two marginal ridings for the party. Leaving five workers to handle the North Winnipeg contest, Jastremsky himself was assigned to the Gimli and Gilbert Plains ridings by the chief Conservative organizer. In Ethelbert, Jastremsky organized an election meeting of a few hundred farmers, where the Conservative and Liberal candidates had an opportunity to address those gathered. Although the meeting seemed to go in favour of Jastremsky and his candidate,⁵⁰ the Ukrainian Liberal press reacted predictably:

"Well then, away with the Conservatives! After all we are acquainted with them from the old country, therefore let us do without them here in free Canada." 51

49 Manitoba Free Press, July 7, 1910.

50 Jastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 94-95.

51 Kanadiiskyi farmer, June 29, 1910.

The week prior to the election, Jastremsky campaigned in the Gimli riding, while the Conservative party organization in North Winnipeg worked to re-elect Mitchell. Mitchell's election in 1907 was Jastremsky's pride, as was the M.L.A.'s record while in office. Jastremsky conveyed to Mitchell the plight of large numbers of Ukrainian labourers who were seriously maimed or incapacitated during their work, yet did not receive compensation from their employers. On Mitchell's initiative the Roblin government formed a special commission, whose recommendations led to the enactment of a Workmen's Compensation Act in 1909. In Jastremsky's absence from North Winnipeg, however, Mitchell's election campaign among Ukrainians was upset by Liberals and Socialists who disrupted meetings with heckling, rock throwing and brawling.⁵²

The 1910 election brought no change to the legislature, as the Conservatives remained in power with 28 members, while the Liberals, now led by T.C. Norris, elected 13.⁵³ Gilbert Plains and Gimli, where Jastremsky had campaigned, returned Conservative candidates, while Mitchell was defeated in North Winnipeg by Liberal S. Hart Green. Mitchell won only three polls, while tying one. In Gimli, Ukrainian polls went Conservative, while in Gilbert Plains the losing Liberal, W. Shaw, won the large Ethelbert poll by a 118 to 73 count. In Emerson, D. H. McFadden, the Conservative, was

⁵² Jastremsky, op. cit., p. 95.

⁵³ Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1912, p. 466. Note: during the 1909 session, T.C. Norris replaced C.J. Mickle as Liberal house leader, and assumed the party leadership from Ed Brown later that same year. See Canadian Annual Review, 1909, pp. 495 & 508.

victorious, having split the Ukrainian polls almost evenly with incumbent Liberal George Walton. In Dauphin, Sifton switched allegiance from Liberal incumbent John Campbell to James Harvey, the victorious Conservative, although other polls remained Liberal. In Kildonan-St. Andrew's, Conservative victor Orton Grain won all the Ukrainian polls which had voted Liberal in the previous election. In Springfield, Liberal D. A. Ross retained the bulk of the Ukrainian vote.⁵⁴

In the wake of this provincial election, Winnipeg municipal elections were held in December of 1910, with Theodore Stefanik as aldermanic candidate in North Winnipeg. In spite of support from Ukrainian newspapers, Stefanik failed in his attempt. The Ukrainian Voice advised its readers not to be disheartened by the loss, but to intensify their efforts to elect Ukrainians.⁵⁵ In 1911, Stefanik again contested the position of alderman, and with support from the Conservatives and a joint committee of Ukrainian, Polish and German electors, this time was successful.⁵⁶ Stefanik's victory was a surprise upset: the previous year he had lost to Alderman Gowler by 67 votes, but now received 762 votes, with a margin of 330 votes over the nearest of his three opponents.⁵⁷ Stefanik's victory in becoming the first Ukrainian alderman in Canada touched off celebrations and spontaneous demonstrations within Winnipeg's Ukrainian community.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Manitoba Free Press, July 13, 1910.

⁵⁵ Ukrainskyi holos, November 30 & December 14, 1910, and November 8 & 22, 1911.

⁵⁶ Iastremsky, op. cit., p. 97.

⁵⁷ Manitoba Free Press, December 9, 1911.

⁵⁸ Ukrainskyi holos, December 8, 1911.

During his term on City Council, Stefanik took an active part in trying to eliminate the discrimination practiced against Ukrainians in employment. In the summer of 1912, Ukrainian workers employed in the construction of city water mains in North Winnipeg went on strike to protest the fact that they were being paid less than workers on similar projects in different parts of the city. A delegation which visited the city council in order to present the workers' grievances included Stefanik. The petitioners were favourably received and the situation rectified.⁵⁹

Stefanik's election victory was one of the first successes of the trend to political self-assertion in the Ukrainian community. This mood also motivated proposals for an all inclusive Ukrainian organization in Canada. In 1912 Ukrainians in Alberta formed an Association of United Ruthenian Farmers, which many saw as a prototype for a Canada-wide union of Ukrainian farmers.⁶⁰ The widely felt sentiment that the established Canadian parties had always treated Ukrainians simply as a lever for attaining power gave rise to suggestions that the community form a nationwide Ukrainian-Canadian political body, to be guided by community needs rather than party interests. The desire for a distinct communal and political development for Ukrainians within Canada was expressed by a Ukrainian priest at a meeting in 1913 of a reported five hundred Ukrainian farmers at Drifting River, north of Dauphin:

⁵⁹ Ibid., June 12, 1912.

⁶⁰ Ibid., June 26 and September 4, 1912. Note: Wasyl Holowacky was the first and only Ukrainian to run in a federal election in Manitoba during the period of this study. In 1912 he campaigned as an Independent socialist in Selkirk. He received only 234 of the 6,343 votes cast, placing third and last. See Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1912, p. 252.

"Amongst us we have strength; amongst us we have life. Just as Moscow and Poland did not destroy us, so Canada will not destroy us. Who knows if the life of the Ukrainian people shall not shift from Halychyna to this place here? We must be prepared for every eventuality. We must have the proper means to support and house it adequately. For this reason we have to do the following: build educational societies amongst our settlements, abandon drunkenness amongst us, and in its place develop and carefully cultivate unity." 61

The first practical application of the philosophy of Ukrainian political self-reliance on a large scale came during the 1913 Alberta provincial election. Ukrainian community leaders from Manitoba played an active role in this election. A mass meeting in Vegreville in January protested a planned realignment of electoral boundaries which would divide areas of wide scale Ukrainian settlement, thus weakening the chance of Ukrainians achieving direct political representation.⁶² Efforts to have Ukrainians nominated as either Liberals or Conservatives in those ridings where they predominated proved all but futile. The Conservative nominating meeting in Vegreville was dominated by Ukrainian delegates but the Ukrainian nominee was rejected by the largely Anglo-Saxon nominating committee, which chose an opposing nominee, without his being ratified by the voting delegates. The resulting protests by Ukrainian delegates touched off a riot which spread from the meeting hall into the streets. Later the disgruntled delegates gathered in the market place and decided to run an independent Ukrainian

61 Ibid., May 14, 1913.

62 Ibid., January 1, 1913. Note: Regarding Ukrainian delegation to the Alberta legislature in this matter see Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, March 1, 1913.

candidate from the district. Petro Zvarych, the man chosen, jumped onto a wagon and addressed those gathered:

"Until this time I staunchly supported the Liberal party, but in this political campaign I realized that neither the Liberals, nor the Conservatives treat the Ukrainians as citizens and for this reason I accept your proposition." 63

The efforts of the established parties to exclude Ukrainians from elective office not only led to the candidature of numerous independent Ukrainian national candidates in Alberta, but were responsible for the rise of the "Ruthenian Independent Party". This movement was created with the moral support and guidance of Manitoba Ukrainians such as Taras Ferley, Vasyl Chumer and others, some of whom went to Alberta to help in the campaigns of the independent Ukrainian candidates. Ferley took part in the unsuccessful campaign of Paul Rudyk in Whitford riding. Among other things, the Ruthenian Independent Party presented petitions to the Liberal government of Alberta proposing a Ukrainian University. The Liberal press in Alberta interpreted the appearance of the party as a device to split the Ukrainian Liberal vote to the benefit of the Conservatives. The presence of Ukrainian bilingual teachers from Manitoba in the party's campaign was also seen as a Conservative tactic.⁶⁴

63 Chumer, Vasyl, op. cit., p. 124.

64 Ibid., pp. 134-35. See also Ukrainskyi holos, April 9 & 30, 1913.

The results of the 1913 Alberta election saw all independent Ukrainian candidates defeated. Andrew Shandro, who ran as a Liberal, was elected, however, and thus became the first Ukrainian M.L.A. in Canada. Although the experiment of an independent Ukrainian political party was a failure, its activities stimulated political interest among Ukrainians throughout Western Canada. Thousands read of the mass rallies in favour of independent Ukrainian candidates, who assured their supporters that "the rule of English cowboys is finished; we are now in charge; we are a nation able to govern our own matters...." ⁶⁵

In Manitoba, the first successful revolt of the Ukrainian vote against the traditional manipulation of party bosses occurred in Gimli. The riding had a large Ukrainian population and was notorious for political corruption. In a 1913 by-election, made necessary by the appointment of local M.L.A. B. L. Baldwinson to the position of Deputy Provincial Secretary, the Conservative candidate was E.L. Taylor, a Winnipeg barrister, while the Liberals put forward Arni Eggertson, a Winnipeg real estate broker originally from Gimli.⁶⁶ A central issue of the by-election was the question of bilingual schools. T. C. Norris, the Liberal leader, stressed the need for educational "reform", with increased grants so that the facilities and efficiency of schools amongst recent immigrants could be improved, and a compulsory

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135. Note: Shandro, although of Ukrainian origin, was at the time of his election an avowed Russophile. Only in 1916 did he recant his views and align himself with the Ukrainian community. During the 1913 election, he was opposed in Whitford riding by one of the Ukrainian independent candidates. See Marunchak, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 223-24 & 290.

⁶⁶ Manitoba Free Press, May 5, 1913.

educational system in which every child would be able to acquire a working knowledge of the English language. The record of the Liberal party and the Manitoba Free Press in criticizing Ukrainian bilingual schools as negligent in teaching English led many of the Ukrainian voters in Gimli to fear and desert Eggertson. The Free Press tried to characterize Taylor's support for bilingual schools as an endorsement of ignorance: one of its cartoons showed Taylor's whiskers spelling "illiterate children".⁶⁷

Eggertson was supported locally by such Ukrainians as A. Ostrowski and Gimli reeve Michael Rojeski. The only prominent Ukrainian from outside Gimli campaigning on behalf of the Liberals was newly elected Alberta M.L.A. Andrew Shandro. The Free Press defended Shandro's presence in Manitoba, alluding to the independent Ukrainian candidate who had been one of his opponents in Alberta: "In any case he is simply returning the compliment paid him last month when Ruthenians from Manitoba campaigned against him in Whitford."⁶⁸

Shandro spoke at numerous Ukrainian meetings throughout the riding in an effort to gain support for the Liberal party. Throwing off his jacket, rolling up his sleeves and mounting a chair, he launched himself into high praise of the Liberal party's record of achievements in Alberta:

⁶⁷ Ibid., May 2 & 9, 1913.

⁶⁸ Ibid., May 9, 1913.

"Where are your roads? You are rambling about on foot paths like rabbits. The roads are cemented in my province. When I drive my Ford at night I can see a nail lying on the road up to four miles away, with the lights of my car." 69

The Conservatives accused the Liberals of importing "hordes" of "Grit heelers" from Alberta and Saskatchewan to corrupt the electorate with money and whiskey; and the Winnipeg Telegram urged that provincial police be sent to the riding to "protect" the voters.⁷⁰ At one point in the campaign, when Shandro had not been seen for days, rumour spread that the police had kidnapped him.⁷¹

The Liberal press in turn quoted Taylor as threatening Ukrainians in Komarno with total neglect by the Roblin government if they voted Liberal:

"If you elect Arni Egertson, you will not get a mile of road, as long as the present government is in power." 72

It also claimed that the government sent numerous "engineers" to survey projected routes, to create the impression that road work was imminent, distributed road graders through Ukrainian districts, and advanced road "wages" to Ukrainian labourers.⁷³ It estimated that nearly five hundred Conservative civil servants were active in the by-election. These included school organizers, immigration

69 Quoted in Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, January 30, 1974.

70 Winnipeg Telegram, May 3 & 8, 1913.

71 Manitoba Free Press, May 10, 1913.

72 Ibid., May 14, 1913.

73 Ibid.

officials, weed inspectors, provincial engineers, employees of the Liquor Licence Department, along with the provincial police.⁷⁴ According to the Liberals, the riding was reportedly awash with liquor.⁷⁵ Although brought in on the pretext of preventing irregularities, the police were themselves causing irregularities, to the degree that townspeople threatened to run them out.⁷⁶

The issue to which Taylor paid particular attention when addressing Ukrainian voters was education. He promised that public schools would be constructed in towns as soon as people requested them, and that wherever there was a need for bilingual schools the government would support them.⁷⁷ He characterized a series of Free Press articles on bilingual schools in Manitoba as a malicious attack which had been suspended for the by-election to cloak the true intentions of the Liberal party, which if elected would arrest and fine Ukrainians who did not send their children to English schools.⁷⁸

Such threats probably affected the result. Taylor won the by-election with 1674 votes to Eggertson's 832,⁷⁹ and secured majorities in thirty of the riding's thirty-three polls. The Free Press singled out the Ukrainians for specific censure following the election, by focusing on Komarno, the third largest poll in the riding.⁸⁰

74 Ibid., May 10 & July 16, 1913.

75 Ibid., May 12 & 14, 1913.

76 Ibid., May 10 & 13, 1913.

77 Winnipeg Telegram, May 26, 1913.

78 Manitoba Free Press, May 10 & 14, 1913.

79 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1914, p. 477.

80 Manitoba Free Press, May 20, 1913.

"Komarno an almost exclusively Ruthenian poll, has the distinction of having polled the largest majority for Mr. Taylor" ⁸¹

The post-election battles between the two parties proved to be as lively as the by-election itself. The Liberals filed petitions in the courts charging widespread and flagrant violation of election laws.⁸² They also accused the Conservatives of fanning the fanaticism of "foreigners". The Conservatives, of course, denied all charges and retaliated with their own charges of Liberal bribery and "malicious misrepresentation" and intimidation.⁸³ Caught up in this crossfire was Orest Zerebko, a Plume Ridge bilingual teacher, who issued a statement regarding the electoral campaign waged amongst the Ukrainians. While blaming both parties for promoting corruption and demoralization, Zerebko was especially critical of the various "civil servants" such as school organizer Paul Gigeychuk, immigration officer Thomas Jastremsky, weed inspector Fred Bodner, as well as Theodore Stefanik and F. S. Szablewski, who were escorted throughout the riding by provincial police to speak on Taylor's behalf. Zerebko also reported that the liquor pumped into the constituency reduced meetings to drunken orgies, and campaign tours to a constant procession of cars full of drunken men passing his school:

"The election had a bad effect on old and young. The people are being educated not to look for real things, but for liquor and money, and I am sorry

81 Ibid., May 13, 1913.

82 Ibid., July 7, 1913.

83 Winnipeg Telegram, May 23, 26 & 31, 1913. See also Orlikow, Lionel, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1920" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955), p. 45.

to say that too many of them are ready to get into the trough.... I protest against my own people, the Ruthenian citizens of Manitoba being corrupted and demoralized by those who are supposed to be educated and cultured. I ask why the church-going people of Winnipeg and Manitoba, people who call themselves Christians, allow the politicians to practice this devilish corruption and demoralization of the foreign 84 settlers they have persuaded to come to Canada."

The Free Press seized Zerebko's statement to support its claims that the Roblin government was thoroughly corrupt.⁸⁵ The Telegram countered by depicting Zerebko as a Liberal partisan formerly employed as a "heeler" by the Scott government in Saskatchewan:

"The man who wrote of the Gimli electors 'going to the trough' seems to have had both feet in 86 this same trough for many moons."

The truth of the matter appears to be that Zerebko initially worked for the Conservatives,⁸⁷ then for the Liberals, and was by 1913 fed up with both.

Probably many Ukrainian voters shared Zerebko's attitude. But even so, the Conservative machine flourished. In the fall of 1913 a Ukrainian Conservative committee including Thomas Jastremsky, Theodore Stefanik and Fred Bodner launched a Ukrainian Conservative newspaper which was to counterbalance the influence of the Liberal Canadian Farmer. The new paper was called Canada and was financed by the Conservative party.⁸⁸ The

84 Manitoba Free Press, July 16, 1913.

85 Ibid.

86 Winnipeg Telegram, July 19, 1913. See also Manitoba Free Press, July 17, 18 & 22, 1913.

87 Refer to footnote 28 of this chapter.

88 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 102.

independent Ukrainian Voice commented with a note of resignation:

"So from now on, side by side with the Canadian Farmer, published by the English-speaking Liberals, there is Canada, the organ of the English-speaking Conservatives. Both parties of the English speaking Canadians will now have their organs among our settlers in Canada." 89

The Catholic Canadian Ruthenian reacted with misgivings that the new publication would be nothing more than an organ of the Conservative party and advised it to be "honest" and to have foresight. The editor noted that although the Conservatives were presently diametrically opposed to the Liberal party in matters concerning bilingual education, this position could well be only a facade to get votes;

"If in reality Canada honestly endeavours at all times and in all instances to have in mind only the interests and good of Ukrainians in Canada - then no one will ever have anything against its appearance and existence. On the contrary, all will rejoice over it and wish it healthy development and dissemination." 90

The initial issue of Canada, on September 2, 1913, focused on what it described as the shameful treatment of Ukrainian schools by the Liberal government of Alberta, in contrast with the Roblin government's full support of Ukrainian bilingual rights:

"If the present government of Manitoba is defeated, then our cause, our schools and the use in them of our native tongue will be gone forever." 91

89 Ukrainskyi holos, September 9, 1913.

90 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, December 6, 1913.

91 Quoted in Manitoba Free Press, September 23, 1913.

The same message was conveyed in subsequent issues:

"The Alberta Liberals have beaten the record of the Galician Pan-Poles and the Russian Black Hundred. They undertook to solve the question of the existence of the Ruthenian language and the existence of the Ukraine. Their decision is a very simple one: neither the Ukraine nor the Ukrainian-Ruthenian people shall exist.... The Ukrainian people withstood numerous hordes of Mongolian races - Magyars, Tartars, Turks, etc. They remained intact from the psycho-physical and linguistic points of view. Despite the century-long efforts of the Russians, Poles and Magyars to assimilate Ruthenians, they did not succeed. Even such measures as gaol, deportation to Siberia and bayonets did not bring about the wished-for results. What was and is impossible to achieve for those guardians of ours in Europe during centuries, it surely will be impossible for the Canadian Liberals." 92

The Free Press reacted by charging the government with prejudicing the acute educational problem in bilingual schools to the point where it would not be resolved "without bitter civil strife and wide social turmoil".⁹³ Increasingly the Free Press attacked one contributor to Canada, Professor Peter Karmansky, an instructor in Ukrainian language and literature at the Brandon Ruthenian Training School.⁹⁴ He was described as a "Racial Firebrand", busying himself with "Anti-English languages", having been hired by the Conservatives in order to "Stir up Race Feeling" through his violent opposition to the Liberal policy of "Adequate Education in English".⁹⁵

92 Quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 27, 1913.

93 Manitoba Free Press, September 11, 1913.

94 Karmansky arrived in Canada in July of 1913 on the invitation of Ukrainian bilingual teachers in Manitoba in order to present a series of lectures. On the suggestion of the Ukrainian teachers' convention he was appointed to a teaching position in Brandon by the Department of Education.

95 Manitoba Free Press, December 27, 1913.

Karmansky accused the Liberals of inciting English against Ukrainians to defeat the Manitoba government and urged bilingual Ukrainian teachers to use their influence to generate support for the Conservatives.⁹⁶ The controversy surrounding Karmansky eventually embroiled the Minister of Education and resulted in Karmansky's leaving Canada.⁹⁷

Another 1913 by-election, this time in Kildonan-St. Andrews, reinforced Ukrainian alignment with the Conservative government. The Canadian Ruthenian saw support for Roblin as unavoidable, in light of the danger posed by the Liberals to bilingual schools:

"Mr. Norris would like to tear the mother tongue of Ukrainians from their hearts; he desires that they forget their own glorious history, to deny their own Ukrainian name and to become as soon as possible manure for the English nation. In his chauvinistic blindness and ignorance, Mr. Norris cries that only the Anglo-Saxon race is worthy of existing and ruling in the world while all other peoples should disappear as soon as possible from the face of the earth and sink in the Anglo-Saxon sea."⁹⁸

In this heated atmosphere, the by-election went heavily in favour of the government candidate, W. H. Montague, who polled 1123 votes against A. W. Bredin's 753.⁹⁹ The Conservative majority increased to 370 as compared to 88 in the 1910 election. Over half of the Conservative majority

96 Quoted in Manitoba Free Press, December 27, 1913.

97 Canadian Annual Review, 1914, p. 606.

98 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, November 22, 1913.

99 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1914, p. 478.

came from polls where "foreign"-born voters predominated. In the 1910 election the Ukrainian polls of East Selkirk, Gonor, and Thalberg had all gone Liberal. Winnipeg Beach alone had delivered a one-vote majority to the Conservatives. In 1913 however, all of these polls delivered convincing majorities to the Conservative candidate.¹⁰⁰

During 1913 the Conservative government won two by-elections and saw the solidification of the Ukrainian vote on its behalf as a result of its stand on bilingual education. Within the decade the Conservative government had transformed itself from the harshest critic of the Ukrainian community into its avowed benefactor and defender. But a growing reform movement, centred around the Liberal party, was undermining the electoral base of the government and would shortly engulf the Ukrainian community as well.

¹⁰⁰ Manitoba Free Press, December 1, 1913.

CHAPTER VII

PREMIER ROBBLIN'S DEFEAT AND THE UKRAINIAN REACTION TO IT: 1914-1915

By 1914, a burgeoning Liberal opposition was becoming the principal component of a reform coalition of predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant interests concerned with a number of issues such as prohibition, grain marketing, taxation, women's suffrage, the electoral principles of initiative and referendum, and public education in English. It regarded the non-English population as a potential threat which needed to be taught English and assimilated. The Protestant churches and the public schools especially were seen as the agents for this compulsory Anglo-Canadian assimilation.¹

Increasingly, Roblin's Anglo-Saxon and Protestant support was eroded over the question of education and assimilation. The Liberals pressed for the adequate teaching of the English language and for higher teacher qualifications as minimum goals for solving these problems. Throughout 1913 these issues took on increased political importance. The Protestant churches, the Orangemen, some members of the Manitoba judiciary, the Manitoba Free Press, and the Liberal Party formed a common front in opposition to bilingual schools. A heated debate was initiated by a series of fifty-four Free Press

1 Orlikow, L., op. cit., pp. 123-32 and 142-48; and Morton, W.L., op. cit., pp. 334-36.

articles dealing with these schools. Although purporting to be objective, the articles in fact were unsympathetic in nature and sought to discredit bilingual education. One of the articles, while admitting that Ukrainian teachers were not ill informed in school subjects and were passing their Normal School examinations with honours, went on to say that they had an "imperfect" command of the English language, that they were unfamiliar with Canadian ideals and standards of life and were thus lacking "the assimilating touch of the English-speaking teachers."²

Beyond this, the Free Press charged the Conservatives with delivering the public school system into the hands of alien influences, in return for political favour:

"Manitoba, for political purposes, has consistently pandered to foreign-born factions. It has allowed them to control the public schools of their settlements Worse and more sinister than this is the plan now being prepared in cold blood to elect Polish-Ruthenian candidates on the strength of having allowed public school conditions to be degraded." 3

Ukrainian bilingual teachers and community leaders were unfavourably compared to political bosses:

"In all probability the coarse foreign-tongued scoundrel, executing the corrupting orders of the frock-coated, silk-hatted, English-speaking scoundrel, is less dangerous to the foreign-born population than his own fanatical countryman, who,

2 Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1913.

3 Ibid., September 19, 1913.

sincere at heart no doubt, urges the foreign settler to resist educational advancement and to look askance at Canadian citizenship."⁴

In this spirit the Free Press praised the Alberta Liberal government for eradicating Ukrainian community control over schools by dismissing locally elected school boards and replacing them with appointed trustees, who in turn dismissed Ukrainian teachers on the grounds that they were underqualified.⁵

In reaction to these accusations the Roblin government maintained that bilingual teachers were better suited to teaching immigrant children and that the best way to improve the skills of managing municipal affairs was through the immediate involvement of settlers in such activities. George Coldwell, the Minister of Education, emphasized that immigrants appreciated the importance of the English language, and that his department followed the principles of the Public Schools Act and endeavoured to encourage people in the management of their own local educational affairs.⁶ Premier Roblin also defended his government's stance towards immigrants who were learning English in good time:

"Our Liberal friends, who are responsible for this system, have within the last twelve months made bitter and determined attacks upon my Government because it will not penalize, and attack, and punish the children of parents who speak a language other than English."⁷

4 Ibid., October 3, 1913.

5 Ibid., September 19, 1913. See also Chumer, Vasyl A., op. cit., pp. 125-43; and Skwarok, J., op. cit., pp. 94-101.

6 Canadian Annual Review, 1913, p. 566.

7 Ibid., p. 537.

Against this, the Liberal party assumed the role of an uncompromising champion of non-sectarian, English-speaking "national" schools.⁸ Norris declared that bilingual schools were "race schools":

"These schools are race schools, often more devoted to encouraging racial ideas than to the developing of a broad Canadianism that would enable these boys and girls in after life to meet Canadians of other races on equal terms."⁹

The Liberals proposed five major policies regarding schools: the maintenance of national schools in their complete integrity; the repeal of the Coldwell amendments; the enactment and enforcement of a compulsory education act; establishing English as an essential part of the education of every child; and establishment of a state university.¹⁰

These positions reflected the sentiments of a broad spectrum of Anglo-Manitoban society. Presbyterian ministers lamented the lack of proper educational facilities amongst Ukrainians, and pledged to improve these conditions through increased missionary activity.¹¹ Reporting on their investigation of public institutions, members of a Manitoba Grand Jury urged that English become the compulsory language of instruction, as they had witnessed twenty-year-old Manitoba-born citizens who could not give testimony in English.¹² Influential members of the Orange Lodge moved towards expelling George Coldwell, the Minister of Education, from their association,

⁸ Manitoba Free Press, September 30, 1913.

⁹ Ibid., November 11, 1913.

¹⁰ Ibid. Regarding the "Coldwell amendments", see footnote 13 below.

¹¹ Ibid., October 1, 1913.

¹² Ibid., July 10, 1913.

and threatened to defeat the Roblin government if it refused to repeal the Coldwell amendments¹³ and abolish bilingual schools.¹⁴ Roblin later accused the Liberals of misrepresenting his school policies to the Orangemen and seeking to "arouse the passions of the people of the province along lines of race and creed."¹⁵

The Ukrainian community became increasingly united against Liberal attacks and pressures, regarding them as outright prejudice and not simply concern for better instruction in the English language.¹⁶ The editor of the Ukrainian Voice urged his readers to hold protest meetings and to send petitions of protest to the Department of Education and to their M.L.A.'s.¹⁷ There followed a number of mass meetings. In February of 1913 a Winnipeg meeting was organized by Ukrainian teachers, including Orest Zerebko, who, speaking in English, contested the Free Press articles and outlined pedagogical and psychological theories which supported the merits of bilingual education for immigrant children. He concluded by stating his belief that a Canadian identity would surely develop in time, through a gradual process in which all cultural minorities would participate in an atmosphere of freedom rather than oppression.¹⁸ Taras Ferley followed this, in Ukrainian, with an account of

13 Statutes of Manitoba, 1912, Cap. 65. In effect, the Coldwell amendments provided public support for Roman Catholic schools in Winnipeg & Brandon. See Orlikow, L., op. cit., p. 131; and Donnelly, M.S., op. cit., pp. 49-50.

14 Manitoba Free Press, September 4, 1913.

15 Winnipeg Telegram, July 11, 1914.

16 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, February 1, 1913.

17 Ukrainskyi holos, January 29, 1913.

18 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, February 8, 1913.

Protestant missionary schools, in areas such as Teulon, where Ukrainian children were being subjected to vigorous religious and cultural assimilation. His speech contained a segment which was oft-quoted, out of context, by English language newspapers. Referring to the Presbyterian school in Teulon, Ferley reacted to the treatment of Ukrainian children in the following manner:

"Another nation, which loved more than our people do, their nationality, ritual and religion, would spit on such a bigoted school. Any other nation would not send its dogs to such a school to be trained." 19

Similar meetings were held in rural districts as well. In the Cook's Creek area a meeting of Ukrainian and Polish farmers produced a petition with over one hundred signatures protesting against the Free Press articles, denying that education was harmed by bilingualism, and reaffirming their willingness to learn English, along with their own language:

"We declare that those who desire to destroy our native language in the schools, are destroying us at the same time." 20

At another meeting, in the Ethelbert district, over three hundred Ukrainians similarly protested against what they considered unfair attack and began organizing for the next provincial election.²¹ Thus the Ukrainian community, increasingly alarmed by the dangers posed to their schools by the Liberals,

19 Manitoba Free Press, May 5, 1913.

20 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, February 15, 1913.

21 Ibid.

were driven to the Conservative party as a protector. This move was most apparent during the 1914 general election.

In its customary manner, the Liberal opposition presented itself as the spokesman of indignant moral patriotism. A large cartoon collage in the Free Press lampooned a "shadow" cabinet of the Manitoba government. Amongst those pictured encircling the "Big Boss" Roblin, was "Hon. Theo. Stefanik", who was dubbed "Foreign Minister".²² The Liberals demanded that the Roblin Government establish a Royal Commission to investigate widespread bogus naturalization schemes in which liquor interests were alleged to be involved,²³ including a conspiracy by which hundreds of fraudulent naturalizations of Italians and Ukrainians in Winnipeg were approved on instruction of Chief License Inspector for Manitoba, Michael J. Johnstone.²⁴ In La Verendrye constituency, the Conservative candidate J. B. Lauzon was reported to be giving whiskey to Ukrainian settlers near Elma, promising thousands of dollars for road construction and reaffirming the government's policy of letting them choose the language of instruction for their children.²⁵ In Emerson, provincial road gangs were paid overtime, plied with alcohol, released from work, and driven to Liberal meetings which they disrupted.²⁶

²² Manitoba Free Press, June 7, 1914.

²³ Ibid., July 1, 1914.

²⁴ Ibid., July 2, 1914.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., July 6, 1914.

The Ukrainian Conservative paper, Canada, responded with a cartoon of Norris as a serpent, constricting a Ukrainian bilingual school, while a group of Ukrainian children stood outside crying over the fate of their mother tongue.²⁷ The Ukrainian Voice appealed to its readers to support the Conservative Party because of its support for bilingual schools.²⁸ The Canadian Ruthenian was of the same opinion, stating that "it is fitting that we support the present Conservative government with all our strength."²⁹ One of its contributors urged Ukrainians to reject the Liberals as well as resist all corrupt election "gifts":

"Do not pay heed to those slaves who bring whiskey, beer and cigars amongst us. Don't look at the whiskey but show them that you are a nation, that you are a people, and the sons of the famous Zaporozhian Kozaks." 30

How many refused these gifts is unknown, but the Ukrainian community's support for the Roblin government was clearly determined not by Conservative "gifts" but by its fear of Liberal intolerance. No doubt to the general relief of Ukrainian voters, the government was re-elected. The Conservatives captured 28 seats, compared to the Liberals' 21, but took only a minority of the popular vote.³¹ The Conservative victory appeared to be due largely to the non-Anglo-Canadian vote in frontier constituencies.

27 Ibid., July 4, 1914.

28 Ukrainskyi holos, July 17, 1914.

29 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, July 4, 1914.

30 Ibid.

31 Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 612; and Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 337.

In Elmwood all polls in Ukrainian districts gave Conservative H. D. McWhitier sizeable majorities in his victory. Sapton polled 89 to 31 in his favour over Liberal T. G. Hamilton, while Cook's Creek was 171 to 37. Incumbent Conservative S. Hughes in Gilbert Plains also received majorities in Ukrainian polls. Ethelbert gave him a 131 to 77 advantage, Garland 85 to 14, Sclater 44 to 4, and so on. In Russell, Olha School and Karasiwicz's went 83 to 29 and 7 to 0, respectively in favour of the government candidate. In the reconstituted Kildonan-St. Andrew's, the Hon. W. H. Montague was returned with the government by a narrow one vote margin. In Winnipeg Beach he received a close three vote majority. In the newly created St. Clements, Gonor and Poplar Park polled heavily in favour of Thomas Hay, the losing Conservative, while East Selkirk, Ladywood, Thalberg, and Balsam Bay gave majorities to victorious Liberal D. A. Ross. In Emerson, although Tolstoi and Kyrsga's polls went in favour of Liberal George Walton, the bulk of the Ukrainian polls went to incumbent Conservative G. D. McFadden. Contributing to his 46 vote margin of victory were majorities at the following polls: Stuartburn 77 to 41, Vita 99 to 41, Senkiw School 3 to 0, Boycjuk's 19 to 0, Sundown 10 to 0. Zaha's poll was split evenly giving each candidate 51 votes. Taras Ferley, the lone Ukrainian candidate in the election, ran as an independent in Gimli, but received only 264 of 1770 votes cast and placed third and last. The only polls won by Ferley were at Hass-Rembrandt and Carter. In the largely Ukrainian polls of Kreuzberg and Meleb he ran second to the large majorities won by Conservative S. Thorvaldson

on the way to his landslide victory.³²

The post-election consensus within the Ukrainian press was that the Ukrainian vote had saved the Roblin government from defeat:

"Our vote had a deciding influence in the election of the government. It is thanks to the Ukrainians that the Conservatives were elected with their small majority. It was because of the fact that our people voted in the main against the Liberals, that that party was defeated...." 33

The Canadian Ruthenian saw the result as a warning to the governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan:

"... today's Ruthenian-Ukrainian is not the 'Galician' of old, with whom one could do anything one pleased - with whiskey and cigars. No - he is a conscious electoral citizen who is now able to orient himself in the political relations of Canada. Even more importantly he understands today very well, who is his enemy, and who is his friend." 34

In apparent agreement and admiration, a German-Canadian bilingual teacher in Saskatchewan urged his compatriots to adopt the same type of community strategy as the Ukrainians in Manitoba:

"The English-speaking Canadian cannot bear to have other nationalities growing up beside him. And the Manitoba Conservative government, with Sir Rodmond Roblin at its head, is at heart against the Ruthenians. But the Ruthenians are united, and that will break the neck of any hostile government. For the Ruthenians and the French together can with the quickness of an arrow return to power a government which wins their favour." 35

32 Manitoba Free Press, July 11 & 13, 1914; and Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1915, pp. 440-42.

33 Ukrainskyi holos, July 15, 1914.

34 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, July 18, 1914.

35 Manitoba Free Press, July 7, 1914.

Although it was an exaggeration to claim that Ukrainians could "break the neck of any hostile government", a similar argument was adopted by the Liberals. The Free Press blamed the Conservative victory directly on "foreigners":

"The Minority Government continues in power solely because of the majorities of foreign votes in twelve constituencies...." 36

As it turned out, however, the Conservative return to power was brief. Liberal M.L.A.'s and members of the public accounts committee forced the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate charges of graft and corruption in the construction of the Manitoba Legislative Buildings. A resulting scandal brought about the resignation of Premier Roblin on May 12, 1915. The Liberals, led by Norris, formed a new government and called a new election for the following August.³⁷ In disarray the Conservatives chose a new leader, Sir James Aikens, renamed themselves the Liberal-Conservatives, and borrowed policies in an evident effort to escape their disreputable past. A parallel move occurred within the Ukrainian community. Those who had earlier praised Roblin's government as the protector of their educational rights now tried to placate the Liberals. The old alliance was abandoned. A Canadian Ruthenian editorial entitled "Le Roi Est Mort - Vive le Roi",

36 Ibid., August 7, 1914.

37 Morton, W. L., op. cit., pp. 341-46; and Inglis, Alexander Innes, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government: 1915" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968).

characterized Roblin as a politician and statesman extraordinaire, who with an air of oriental despotism led his "disease-ridden machine" to its demise. Although Roblin was accepted as a friend of the Ukrainian people, the new government was welcomed as one consisting of talented people assuming the sacred duty of guiding the province. Extending best wishes from the Ukrainian people, the editor, Dr. Alexander Sushko, ended with an expression of hope that the new government would be friendly to them.³⁸

A week later, the Canadian Ruthenian urged Ukrainian teachers and clergy to break any ties they had with "unscrupulous politickers", and called for a province-wide congress of all Ukrainians, where the future of the community could be planned in a more rational and dignified manner than was possible in the old system of boss politics.³⁹ This congress was held in July, with a fifteen-member committee established to promote a prairie-wide organization which would put an end to the era of machine politics.⁴⁰

".... on account of such a state of affairs existing there has not been clear political ideas, and from this quasi-politicians drew advantages of all kinds through their persistency in the bartering of their own people to one or the other party, entailing disgrace for the whole nation. It is ended now and from now on the Ruthenians will act in their political life as an organized body."⁴¹

38 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, May 19, 1915.

39 Ibid., May 26, 1915.

40 Ukrainiskyi holos, July 21, 1915.

41 Manitoba Free Press, July 24, 1915.

During the 1915 election campaign, Dr. Sushko became implicated with a controversial circular attributed to him entitled, "Ukrainians of Manitoba and all Canada, the Frenchmen sold us to the Conservatives, Let us Save Ourselves", in which he claimed that some French clergy at the Roman Catholic West Canada Publishing Company, which printed his newspaper, were deleting criticisms of the Conservative party. In recommending that Ukrainians should now support the Liberal party, as it gave "clear and sincere proof of its honesty and ideals" in its exposure of graft in the previous government, he went on to criticize the influence of a French Conservative "clique" for interfering with the freedom of the Ukrainian Catholic press and urged Ukrainian Catholics to protest to their Bishop against this attempted censorship:⁴²

"Down with the French Conservative hirelings.
Let us establish immediately our own printing
plant, and during the present elections let us put
an end to all the thefts in support like one man
[sic] those who will make harmless the French
Conservative hydra, which so strongly entrenched
itself in our Ukrainian and other foreign press.
Down with terror, down with slavery, down with the
demoralizers and robbers of the hard-earned money 43
of the citizens of Manitoba."

42 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, August 4 and September 22, 1915. Following an investigation of Sushko's allegations, he resigned as editor of the newspaper and was replaced by Rev. A. Sarmatiuk.

43 Manitoba Free Press, August 5, 1915.

The circular also included portions of a Canadian Ruthenian editorial by Sushko which had urged Ukrainians to vote for the Liberals:

"We always were, are, and will be for honest representation and a clean government, and considering this, those who during many years were demoralizing, debauching and buying with liquor our people, who by daylight so shamelessly were stealing the people's money, and who after a long string of years of this thief-like management of our country are now faced with the bars of the prison, will not get one vote of an honest Ruthenian elector, without difference as to his party allegiance. Down with the robbers of the people's money." 44

Sushko spoke at one of several Ukrainian Liberal meetings in North Winnipeg and urged all Ukrainians to cast their ballots for the "clean politics" and "progressive" platforms of the Liberals.⁴⁵

The Ukrainian Voice, on the other hand, urged Ukrainians to nominate their own candidates, and if this were not possible, to vote for those candidates pledged to preserving bilingual schools from jeopardy.⁴⁶ The Ukrainian community was trying to adapt to the abruptly altered political situation as well as it could, and some of its spokesmen - however enthusiastic they might have appeared about the new era - were doubtless apprehensive.

Under Liberal administration, the 1915 campaign was orderly. A. B. Hudson, the new Attorney General, placed advertisements in Ukrainian

44 Ibid.

45 Manitoba Free Press, August 6, 1915. See also August 2, 1915.

46 Ukrainskyi holos, July 14 & 28, 1915.

papers outlining the provisions of the Election Act, and the penalties for violations.⁴⁷ All voting booths were guarded by special constables appointed by the Attorney General with instructions not to leave their posts for a moment.⁴⁸ The election result brought an overwhelming victory for the Liberal party, which captured forty-one of the legislature's forty-nine seats. The Conservatives retained only five seats, while Independents won three.⁴⁹

Norris was greeted at the CPR station in Winnipeg by a parade of hundreds of cars, including one decorated with Union Jacks, bunting and Ukrainian blue and yellow flags and crammed full with enthusiastic Ukrainian supporters.⁵⁰ The Liberal victory was expected by most, including the Canadian Ruthenian, which commented that the change in governments had been too long in coming. Pleased with the fact that old electioneering tactics had not been resorted to, the editor expressed hope that the Liberals would not do away with bilingual schools.⁵¹ The Ukrainian Voice also commended the clean nature of the election, in which the people freely supported the party of their choice.⁵²

47 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, August 4, 1915.

48 Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1915.

49 Morton, W.L., op. cit., p. 348. Morton included Taras Ferley as a forty-second Liberal, although he was one of three Independents elected.

50 Winnipeg Tribune, August 10, 1915; and Manitoba Free Press, August 11, 1915.

51 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, August 11, 1915.

52 Ukrainskyi holos, August 11, 1915.

In the 1915 election, Ukrainian polls chose overwhelmingly to vote Liberal. The exceptions were few. In Roblin, Ukrainian voters contributed to Conservative incumbent F. Y. Newton's victory. The poll at William Kozar's house went Conservative by a three to one margin. In North Winnipeg, polls in areas of heavy Ukrainian population went in favour of Independent Labour candidate, R. A. Rigg, who won the seat. In Dauphin the poll at Sifton went Conservative, while Valley River added to the margin of Liberal W. J. Harrington's victory. In North-end Brandon, Ukrainians voted Liberal by a three to one margin. All Ukrainian polls in Elmwood delivered lopsided majorities to Liberal T. G. Hamilton, whereas the year before they had gone solidly Conservative. Also reversing their previous pattern were the Ukrainians in Emerson, who contributed massively to Liberal T. D. Baskerville's easy win. Tolstoi went 60 to 22 in his favour, while other poll results were similar: Rosa 45 to 2; Zyha 76 to 17. Conservative S. Hughes failed to retain Gilbert Plains, where Ukrainian polls also turned to the Liberals: Borshaw 72 to 11; Ethelbert 141 to 43; Garland 62 to 31; and Restowski 45 to 25. In Kildonan-St. Andrew's, likewise. Winnipeg Beach and Melnice went against the Conservative representative by 52 to 16 and 61 to 10 tallies. Incumbent Liberal D. A. Ross of St. Clements won majorities in all Ukrainian polls in his riding: Gonor 115 to 109; East Selkirk 89 to 50; Ladywood 143 to 23; and Poplar Point 65 to 37. Ukrainian polls in Minnedosa, Russell and Rockwood also switched to support the Liberal candidates.⁵³

⁵³ Manitoba Free Press, August 7 & 9, 1915; and Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1917, pp. 414-15.

For Ukrainians the highlight of the 1915 election was the victory of Taras Ferley in Gimli, as an Independent, making him the first Ukrainian M.L.A. in Manitoba. Born in 1882 in Western Ukraine, Ferley finished gymnasium in Kolomaya and attended the University of Lviv, where he became a member of the Ukrainian Radical Party, before coming to Canada in 1903. In Manitoba, he was a key member of a number of Ukrainian educational and community organizations. Involved with Ukrainian bilingual teachers, he taught at the Ruthenian Training School before helping to establish the Ukrainian Voice newspaper. He played a leading role in the opposition movement which developed against the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. At the time of his election, Ferley lived in Winnipeg where he worked as a real estate broker and director of the Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada (Ukrainian Voice).⁵⁴

The circumstances surrounding Ferley's victory had been complex. After losing the official Liberal nomination to E. S. Jonasson, a popular municipal official in Gimli, he decided to run as an Independent Liberal. Thus the opposition to the Conservative incumbent S. Thorvaldson appeared likely to be split. Jonasson later withdrew from the race, however. According to one account, he was pressured by Gimli Reeve Michael Rojeski, who demanded that he resign his municipal post if he wished to remain a candidate.⁵⁵ Another account claims he was influenced by leaders of the Icelandic community, who

⁵⁴ Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1916, p. 387.

⁵⁵ Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 6 & 13, 1974.

evidently feared that their vote would split ineffectually between two Icelandic candidates. To avoid this, Jonasson withdrew in favour of Ferley, on the condition that he sign a pledge of support to the Liberal party.⁵⁶

The organizers and workers of Ferley's successful campaign included Ostap Boyaniwsky, Dr. St. Clair Dunn, and the Ukrainian bilingual teachers of the district. Dr. Dunn, a Gimli physician and pharmacist, who knew the Ukrainian community well, led Ferley's campaign. Dunn's wife had grown up and attended school in the Foley district of the Interlake, knew Ukrainian and translated her husband's election speeches on Ferley's behalf into Ukrainian.⁵⁷ The Canadian Farmer campaigned against Ferley as long as the official Liberal candidate remained in the race. It urged all Ukrainians to support Jonasson if they desired to have a true representative in the next government.⁵⁸ When Jonasson dropped from the contest, the newspaper threw its support behind Ferley and criticized Ukrainians such as Theodore Stefanik, Paul Gigeychuk and S. Kharambura for trying to restore the "dishonoured" Conservatives to power.⁵⁹ The Ukrainian Voice also supported Ferley's candidacy, declaring that his election would encourage Ukrainians throughout the prairies to field their own candidates.⁶⁰ On the crucial schools question, Ferley advocated compulsory education and the necessary teaching of English, but also defended the right of all children to learn

56 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 110. If avoidance of an Icelandic split were a goal, however, it was not achieved. In fact it did occur and probably assisted Ferley's success as Icelandic voters dissatisfied with the Conservatives had no choice but to vote for Ferley.

57 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 13 & 20, 1974.

58 Kanadyiskyi farmer, July 30, 1915.

59 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 13, 1974.

60 Ukrainskyi holos, July 31, 1915.

their mother tongue in the public schools.⁶¹

Ferley won fifteen of twenty polls, outpolling Thorvaldson, the Conservative, by a count of 1172 to 562.⁶² The Free Press commented that the Icelandic vote had split nearly evenly, while the Ukrainian vote "almost to a man" went to Ferley.⁶³ Praising this solidarity, the Ukrainian Voice rejoiced that the electors had fulfilled their "holy duty".⁶⁴ The Canadian Ruthenian, while emphasizing that Ferley's role as an opponent of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was not forgotten, nevertheless applauded his victory:

"Long live the first Ukrainian member for the
good of our People, Province and Empire." 65

On August 7, Ferley returned to Winnipeg, and was greeted by over a thousand Ukrainian supporters. In a gaily decorated automobile, heading a parade of cars, he was followed by hundreds of Ukrainian men, women and children. Singing hymns, they marched along Main Street and Selkirk Avenue to the Ukrainian Catholic Church School on McGregor, where speakers eulogized Ferley at length and he responded with appropriate expressions of gratitude and appreciation. He concluded by advising his supporters to foster education

61 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 13, 1974.

62 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1916, pp. 396-97.

63 Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1915.

64 Ukrainskyi holos, August 11, 1915.

65 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, August 11, 1915.

and organization, in order to enter the mainstream of Canadian society.⁶⁶ The jubilant mood of the Ukrainians celebrating Ferley's victory, however, was to prove short-lived. As an Independent Liberal supporter of the new Norris government, which was intransigently opposed to bilingual education, he faced an ominous political prospect.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 20, 1974; and Ukrainskyi holos, August 11, 1915; and Manitoba Free Press, August 9, 1915.

⁶⁷ There is some uncertainty as to Ferley's affiliation during this period. Having unsuccessfully sought the official Liberal nomination in 1915, he ran as an Independent Liberal pledged to many of that party's platforms. In the legislature he initially remained an Independent Liberal, voting largely with that party, although being a member of neither of the party caucuses. His independent status was eventually reconciled with the Liberal party, so that during the 1920 election, he was the official government candidate in Gimli.

CHAPTER VIII

LIBERAL ASCENDANCY AND THE ABOLITION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Upon attaining office, the Liberal party under Norris embarked on a campaign of civil and political reform. Among the government's concerns was the allegedly "un-Canadian" nature of the province's non-British citizens, including the Ukrainians. After an initial period of silence on the schools question, the Liberals proceeded to launch a final campaign against bilingual education.

When the new government's first Speech from the Throne provided no policy statement on the question, the Winnipeg Tribune expressed dismay:

"Nothing short of English teaching - that is the teaching of children in the language of the nation - will suffice Now is the time to put the British-Canadian stamp upon Manitoba. Hybridism had its day under 'Roblinism': it was another name for division and dishonour." 1

The next day a province-wide Ukrainian delegation to Norris and his cabinet tried to determine the government's plans, warned that the elimination of bilingual education would lead to the creation of private schools over which the government would have no control, and also presented a number of proposals for upgrading the efficiency of the bilingual school system. To this, the

1 Winnipeg Tribune, January 7, 1916.

government was noncommittal: Premier Norris and Robert S. Thornton, the new Minister of Education, declared that the matter had not been resolved and the Ukrainian delegation departed expressing hope that "the best possible solution would be arrived at."²

Within a week, Thornton denounced bilingualism as a "weapon for reactionaries" which enabled "foreign" speaking elements to drive the English-speaking population from rural areas, and advocated the evolution of a new nationality in the Dominion, which would be "simply Canadian and British."³ The Winnipeg Tribune reacted positively to Thornton's speech, editorializing that "Bi-lingualism Must End".⁴

An important aspect of Thornton's accusations against bilingual schools were the special "investigations" which were initiated by his department.⁵ The Liberal party had long been a critic of bilingualism, proposing instead common national schools as agents of Anglo-Canadian assimilation. Thus the findings of the Department of Education reports were accused of being determined more by political criteria than by educational

2 Ibid.; and Ukrainskyi holos, January 12, 1916.

3 Winnipeg Tribune, January 13, 1916.

4 Ibid., January 15, 1916.

5 Manitoba, Department of Education, Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1916. In 1916, of the province's approximately 1450 school districts, 126 were bilingual French, 111 were bilingual Ukrainian and Polish, and 61 were bilingual German. Of these, all of the German, 113 of the French, and only 79 of the Ukrainian and Polish districts were scrutinized by the report. Another 100 rural districts where non-English speaking children attended English language schools were also investigated. The final published report consisted of usually unflattering extracts from inspectors' reports on only one quarter of all the schools investigated.

criteria. Taras Ferley criticized the Department's final report as a biased tract designed to give a convincingly negative impression of bilingual schools, with no attention paid to the excellent progress made in many of them.⁶ Even though these reports on bilingual schools were of a selective nature, they were used by Thornton to make a conclusive condemnation of the bilingual system. They were the basis for his claims that the bilingual schools were inadequate in providing English instruction and were bringing the province to the edge of linguistic chaos. But, in fact, they contained little or no evidence to support his claims, and their negative aspects were repeatedly exaggerated in Thornton's speeches and in the English-language press. The special report did not in fact recommend the abolition of the bilingual school system, and only pointed out the possibility of administrative difficulties which could arise from the continuation of bilingual schools. As one historian of this period states:

"The repeal of Bilingualism was therefore, the accomplishment of a limited group of English-speaking extremists led by Thornton and the newspapers, and had the acquiescence, if not the enthusiastic support of the English-speaking community." 7

6 Manitoba Free Press, February 29, 1916.

7 Rea, J. E., "My main line is the kiddies... make them good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing." in Isajiw, Wsevolod, (ed.), Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1977, p. 9.

As the only Ukrainian member of the legislature, Taras Ferley tried to rebut this anti-bilingual sentiment. Although he was pledged to the Liberal platforms of prohibition, direct voting, equal rights for women, additions to the Workmen's Compensation Act, and so on, Ferley declared himself opposed to any measure which would abolish bilingual teaching. Instead he urged the government to adopt a compromise plan which would make English the language of instruction while at the same time retaining some degree of instruction in non-English mother tongues.⁸

In his maiden speech, Ferley declared that he would defend the interests of his ethnically varied electorate, as they were an honest and progressive people. He noted that, as the province's first M.L.A. of Ukrainian background, he was the only member who was a British subject through naturalization rather than by birth. Crediting his presence in the legislature to the constitutional equality enjoyed by all loyal citizens, he emphasized the loyalty of the Ukrainian community which simply wanted a reasonable approach to the question of bilingual schools:

"All that is needed here is fair treatment on the part of the governing bodies as well as by individuals and the Ukrainians will be the best citizens of Canada. As for the bilingual system I emphatically declare myself in favour of it.... Should the bilingual system in the public schools of Manitoba be abolished, the need might arise to establish private or separate schools, which I consider undesirable...[as] this would involve separatism amongst the population of our province."⁹

8 Winnipeg Tribune, January 12, 1916; and Ukrainskyi holos, January 26, 1916.

9 Ukrainskyi holos, January 26, 1916.

The apparent danger to bilingualism evoked a province-wide campaign in defence of Ukrainian bilingual schools, coordinated by a central committee in Winnipeg. M.L.A.'s representing Ukrainian districts were to be pressured to defend the bilingual system, as well as uphold previous pledges to this effect. January 20th, 1916, was set as the date for mass meetings throughout the province on the question. Appropriate resolutions in defence of the schools were to be passed and petitions addressed to the Liberal government. Each provincial riding was to elect a local representative who would join the Winnipeg central committee in deputations to the province.¹⁰

The English-language press in Winnipeg reacted harshly to this stepped up activity. The Free Press emphasized that the legislature had complete freedom to deal with bilingual education as part of its reform program. It referred to the provincial clause dealing with bilingualism as a "monstrosity" which could not be retained. Teaching efficiency and national solidarity dictated the undesirability of any second language occupying even a subordinate position in public school teaching. It emphasized that the only language which had a "moral right" for consideration was French. The need to abolish bilingualism was urgent as the non-English were continuing to wrest control of education in rural areas from English-speaking settlers:

¹⁰ Ibid., January 12, 1916; and Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, January 19, 1916.

"We can say with perfect propriety to the Ruthenian or the Pole that if he is dissatisfied with our educational laws he can pack his trunk and go back 11 to his happy home in war-torn Europe."

The Ukrainian Voice took exception to this editorial as evidence of the distortion surrounding the bilingual schools question. In rebuttal, it emphasized that the Ukrainians were satisfied with Manitoba's educational laws as they stood, and claimed that before settling in Canada, Ukrainians had been reassured that British constitutional traditions did not permit the type of minority persecution for which the Free Press clamoured.¹²

The January 20th meetings were followed by a similar meeting of Ukrainians in Winnipeg on January 30th. Over one thousand protestors gathered at the Grand Opera House and passed resolutions supporting bilingualism and condemning the English press for "traitorous, unpatriotic and unchristian terrorism". A similar meeting was held by over 500 Poles at the Queen's Theatre.¹³ A Mennonite delegation warned Premier Norris that if the right to use German in their schools were denied, there was a chance of the 18,000 member community leaving the province. The Irish Association of Winnipeg passed a resolution in favour of bilingual schools, calling on all Irish in Canada "to help those people here who are presently fighting for their native language and for their rights."¹⁴

11 Manitoba Free Press, January 24, 1916.

12 Ukrainskyi holos, January 26, 1916.

13 Ibid., February 3, 1916.

14 Ibid., February 16, 1916.

On February 1, a Winnipeg conference of 150 Ukrainian delegates from throughout the province prepared for a meeting with Premier Norris. Those assembled forecast the deterioration of the community if bilingualism were abolished, and declared that the Ukrainian language was a spiritual force which preserved the social and moral standards of the community from degrading influences.¹⁵ Although seventeen M.L.A.'s representing ridings with large Ukrainian constituencies were invited to the meeting, only six attended. Conservatives Albert Prefontaine (Carillon) and Frederic Newton (Roblin), along with Independent Taras Ferley (Gimli), all spoke in favour of the bilingual system. Liberals Robert Lowery (Winnipeg North) and Arthur Lobb (Rockwood), foresaw some changes, but were not sure of the extent to which, if at all, bilingualism had to be uprooted. Independent R. A. Rigg (Winnipeg North) expressed his opposition to bilingualism, ascribing the movement in its defence to the influence of the clergy. To cries of "shame", Rigg declared that he would work against bilingualism as it was a product of "nationalistic sentiment" which was of no value to workers.¹⁶

The Free Press equated the Ukrainian defence campaign to past government corruption under Roblin. Describing the Ukrainian central committee in defence of bilingualism as "A Monument to the Former Regime", it accused it of desiring to "create and perpetuate in Manitoba another

¹⁵ Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1916.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Ukraine, a piece of territory resembling, as much as they can make it, their southern European homeland." ¹⁷

On the 3rd of February, 1916, a delegation of the Ukrainian defence committee consisting of 28 delegates from 18 ridings met with Premier Norris and his cabinet. Bearing 125 petitions with 6,000 signatures in favour of bilingualism, the delegation was introduced by Taras Ferley. J. W. Arsenych, a bilingual teacher and prominent community leader, acted as the deputation's principal speaker.¹⁸ Arsenych appealed for the government to correct the shortcomings of the bilingual system rather than seek its abolition. He maintained that administrative problems were caused by exploitation of the schools for party advantage in the past, and that while Ukrainians were eager to learn English, they did not want schools which would be in conflict with their spiritual heritage or hostile to their cultural identity. He underlined as well the crucial role of the Ukrainian bilingual teachers in the processes of integration into Canadian society. As equal citizens of Canada, the Ukrainians desired recognition of their claim to preserve their language and culture. They desired to preserve their heritage under the jurisdiction of government public schools, but should bilingualism be abolished, they would be forced to turn to private schools controlled in the main by the clergy. Arsenych maintained that in the United States unilingual schools had proved to be failures, leading to the creation of bilingual private schools. Such a development would not be consistent with the Liberal goal of establishing

¹⁷ Ibid., February 2, 1916.

¹⁸ Ukrainskyi holos, January 26, 1916; and Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, February 9, 1916.

national public schools. He concluded by urging the establishment of a chair of Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Manitoba, the expansion of facilities and programmes at the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon, the appointment of school organizers for Ukrainian settlements, the production of bilingual school texts, and warned that if the government abolished bilingualism, Ukrainians would be forced to appeal their case to the federal government.¹⁹

A subsequent speaker, J. Petrushevych, the editor of the Canadian Ruthenian, emphasized that bilingualism promoted cooperation rather than separation amongst all Canadians. He felt that there was a plague of prejudice, misinformation and indifference working against any attempt by the government to keep an open mind on the matter. Nicholas Hryhorczuk, who represented the Ukrainians of Gilbert Plains riding, emphasized that he came from a Ukrainian district which was making great progress through the bilingual schools. He hoped that the Norris Liberals would improve rather than abolish the bilingual system:

"We hope that we won't have to appeal to the Dominion Government for protection, and ultimately to take the education of our children into our own hands."

20

In response, Norris explained that the present conditions within bilingual schools could not continue. While no definite solution had been secured, he

19 Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1916; Winnipeg Tribune, February 3, 1916; Ukrainskyi holos, February 16, 1916.

20 Winnipeg Tribune, February 3, 1916; Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1916; Winnipeg Telegram, 3, 1916.

assured the delegation that nothing hostile was being planned, as laws were to be for the benefit of all. In a more negative vein, Norris stated that many of the demands presented could not be met as they were not consistent with the needs of a mixed population. He accused the Ukrainians of being "selfish" in asking for "privileges", and indicated that although the Laurier-Greenway pact might be retained, bilingualism clauses would be interpreted as applying only to English and French.²¹

The consensus of the reporting media was that Premier Norris had delivered a justified reprimand to the delegation. In an editorial entitled "Canadianize Manitoba", the Winnipeg Tribune urged the legislature to be "patriotic":

"Our soldiers are fighting for British ideals. Are our legislators less patriotic that they should shrink from promoting British-Canadian ideals by establishing English schools in every section of this British-Canadian province?" 22

In this spirit, Anglo-Manitoban society began to apply increased pressure on Premier Norris, with numerous delegations and petitions opposed to the continuation of non-English instruction in schools. The Anglican Church in Manitoba made strong deputations to the Premier, emphasizing that it was dangerous to have people talking different languages and instilling different ideals: Canada was a British colony where English was the mother

21 Ibid.

22 Winnipeg Tribune, February 4, 1916.

tongue, and the Anglican Church the church of the land. The rural officials of the church declared themselves in full support of any move by the Norris government to "crush the curse of bilingualism".²³ A convention of Winnipeg Baptists voted unanimously in favour of the exclusive use of the English language in schools, and declared all movements towards bilingualism or multilingualism as "subversive to the best interests of the province and inimical to highest patriotism."²⁴

Former president of the Canadian Club, C. W. Rowley, saw the abolition of bilingualism not as a curtailment of rights, but a "salvation", and declared that complacent inaction would be "suicidal" for English speaking people:

"If we do not face it today, our children will have to face it tomorrow, and it may even lead to bloodshed." 25

The Orange Lodge in Selkirk, Manitoba, saw the abolition of bilingualism in schools as a precondition for developing a united Canada and a loyal British citizenship.²⁶ In Winnipeg, the Manitoba School Trustess Association and the Manitoba Home Economics Convention both passed unanimous resolutions against bilingualism in schools.²⁷ The Free Press suggested that the bilingual movement was a political scheme supported not only by the Conservative

23 Manitoba Free Press, February 5, 1916.

24 Ibid., February 4, 1916.

25 Ibid., February 5, 1916.

26 Ibid., February 7, 1916.

27 Ibid., February 17 and March 1, 1916.

party, but also by European powers:

"It is being encouraged and possibly financed as well, from the outside." 28

It also threatened possible violence against Ukrainian bilingual advocates, whom it accused of fostering non-Canadian nationalist propaganda:

"There is no future of any kind, shape or description in Canada for Nationalist propaganda except Canadian Nationalist propaganda. By the grace of God there shall not be on this fair soil another European hellhole of warring nationalities, each trying to place its foot on the other's neck. If necessary, blood will flow to prevent this." 29

The Norris government was initially indecisive as to the extent to which bilingualism was to be abolished, as some cabinet ministers did not want the French language included in these plans. The bulk of private members, however, favoured complete abolition.³⁰ Believing that the non-English were led by "capable and shrewd agitators", the cabinet feared that complete abolition would disrupt the educational system, and at one point considered a compromise policy which would retain a degree of bilingual instruction in homogeneous non-English areas.³¹

But any hope for a moderate policy was quashed after Franco-Manitoban Liberal M.L.A.'s and party members stated their demands for the continuation of existing rights. On February 18th, Thornton introduced a bill to abolish

28 Ibid., February 8, 1916.

29 Ibid., February 14, 1916.

30 Winnipeg Tribune, February 12, 1916.

31 Ibid., February 17, 1916.

bilingual education by repealing Clause 258 of the Public Schools Act.³² The Free Press welcomed the bill as a move to eliminate the peril posed by "strongholds of un-Canadian feeling and sentiment" which were turning the English into "pariahs and outcasts in their own land".³³ The legislature found itself split into two clearly defined camps. The five Conservatives led by Albert Prefontaine, were with one exception, Frederic Newton (Roblin), Franco-Manitobans, and unanimously opposed the bill. Independents R. A. Rigg and F. J. Dixon supported the bill, while Taras Ferley opposed it. Of the forty-one Liberals, two Franco-Manitobans, Adjutor Talbot (La Verendrye) and Joseph Dumas (St. Boniface), quit the party and crossed the floor to vote against the bill and to sit as Independents.

Franco-Manitoban M.L.A.'s who were opposed to abolition did not try to disassociate French language claims from the bilingual rights of Ukrainians and other minorities. Dumas personally preferred a complete end to bilingualism, if it could not be maintained and improved:

"We have been accused in the house of being selfish; of disregarding the rights of Ruthenians and others in our desire to maintain bilingualism. As a matter of fact we have lost ground because we would not throw those other non-English speaking people overboard If the French were to forsake the other claimants of privilege it would simply mean to us, death by slow³⁴ elimination."

³² Ibid., February 18, 1916; and Manitoba Free Press, February 19, 1916.

³³ Manitoba Free Press, February 19, 1916.

³⁴ Winnipeg Tribune, March 2, 1916.

Talbot agreed in this matter, terming the government bill a "criminal outrage" to be used for the unjust assimilation and "deliberate oppression" of minorities.³⁵

An important aspect of the Liberal government's decision to proceed with complete abolition was that it went opposite to reassurances made prior to the 1914 election. Talbot denounced Norris as a hypocrite for having repeatedly given his word at that time that bilingualism would not be abolished, and added that half of all Liberals in the house were elected on the strength of similar assurances. Norris responded that his 1914 promise no longer applied and regardless, his present policy had the support of a majority of the population.³⁶ On the same point, Dumas claimed that Liberal party leaders had assured him that all 1914 election promises to maintain bilingualism held true for 1915 as well.³⁷ Conservative Aime Benard (Iberville) estimated the number of unfaithful Liberal M.L.A.'s at thirty and predicted a Liberal defeat at the next election as a result of their deceit.³⁸

A number of Liberals freely admitted breaking their pre-election promises. Dr. George Clingan (Virden) stated that he was doing so, as on closer examination of the subject, he had changed his mind. The Free Press commented:

"He said that, in a matter of this kind, he did not fear to break his word, since it had been given before ³⁹ he knew what he was talking about."

³⁵ Manitoba Free Press, February 24, 1916.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., February 22 & 25, 1916.

³⁸ Ibid., February 29, 1916.

³⁹ Ibid.

Liberal T. D. Baskerville of Emerson stated that he would keep his pledges to constituents only insofar as they accorded with the province's genuine welfare, and that it was sometimes necessary to modify one's views and not a crime to do so.⁴⁰ R. A. Rigg (North Winnipeg) corroborated the fact that Liberals had distributed pre-election leaflets stating that the Laurier-Greenway clause would not be altered, but nevertheless reaffirmed his personal opposition to any bilingualism for anyone, including the French, who he felt had no more rights than Ukrainians or Germans, who resided in Manitoba in greater numbers.

"In view of such facts then if bilingualism was allowed in Manitoba it should be on the basis of equal rights." 41

An extreme case of post-election metamorphosis was attributed to D. A. Ross (St. Clements). A number of his constituents stated that he had assured his "Brother Poles and Ruthenians" that he would protect their rights better than anyone else, that he would stand by the Laurier-Greenway agreement, and that they could always expect him to do all he could to satisfy them on the schools question.⁴² After the election, however, Ross was accused of greeting delegations in defence of bilingualism with threats of reprisal:

"You people have no right to talk on this question, you are Austrians, this is war time, and if you don't stop this agitation, I'll run you all to Brandon." 43

40 Ibid., March 1, 1916.

41 Winnipeg Tribune, February 26, 1916. See also Manitoba Free Press, February 26, 1916; and Winnipeg Telegram, February 26, 1916.

42 Winnipeg Tribune, February 8, 1916. See also Manitoba Free Press, Feb. 5, 1916

43 Ibid. See also February 11th issue of the Winnipeg Tribune for Ross' denial of the charges. Brandon was the site of a federal internment camp for aliens.

Despite the charges that they were breaking campaign pledges, Liberal backbenchers assailed bilingualism unsparingly. John Williams (Arthur) termed it a "threat" to the British community,⁴⁴ while his colleague N. R. Wood (Beautiful Plains) stated his view that "the government wished to deprive the Ruthenians of nothing that was of worth."⁴⁵ Arthur Lobb (Rockwood) informed the house that the non-English population of his riding had in fact petitioned him to oppose the retention of bilingualism.⁴⁶ Donald Ross blamed the Roman Catholic hierarchy of St. Boniface and the Roblin Conservatives for fostering bilingualism, as a first step to separate schools, and urged the deportation of Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Nykyta Budka, as a "menace to British interests" and guilty of sowing "seeds of sedition and disloyalty", which might lead to bloodshed.⁴⁷

Taras Ferley vigorously opposed the government bill and offered numerous arguments in favour of bilingualism. He underlined that the bill was contrary to the Liberal policy of modifying, rather than abolishing bilingualism, and offered a compromise plan, as follows. When 75% of the pupils in any school spoke a language other than English as their native language, the first two grades would be taught in English and the second language on the bilingual system. Grades three to eight would be taught in English with the second

44 Manitoba Free Press, February 25, 1916.

45 Ibid., February 29, 1916.

46 Winnipeg Tribune, February 26, 1916.

47 Ibid., February 29, 1916. See also Winnipeg Telegram, March 3, 1916.

language being treated as a separate subject. In schools where 50% of the pupils had a mother tongue other than English, this language would be treated as a separate subject and taught for one hour per day. Independent F. J. Dixon (Centre Winnipeg) reacted by stating that "If Mr. Ferley's countrymen did not wish to be beasts of burden, let them learn English." ⁴⁸

Following the second reading of the bilingual bill on March 1st, Premier Norris warned that church and state must not clash over the issue. As the government had reached a decision, he bade the churches to stand aloof:

"The religious authorities will do well to keep ⁴⁹
their hands off our public schools."

In a final attempt to stop the bill, a Ukrainian delegation to the legislature's Law Amendments Committee proposed Ferley's compromise plan, but Norris responded by presenting the arguments of Victor Hladyk, the editor of Winnipeg's Russian People. Hladyk accused the Ukrainians of being disloyal:

"The Ruthenians are not a nationality, they are a ⁵⁰
political party, organized to aid the German cause."

On this note, the committee rejected Ferley's plan by a vote of seventeen to three. ⁵¹

⁴⁸ Manitoba Free Press, February 29, 1916.

⁴⁹ Winnipeg Tribune, March 1, 1916.

⁵⁰ Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1916; and Winnipeg Tribune, March 7, 1916. See also Public Archives of Manitoba, MG13H1 (Premier T. C.) Norris Papers, pp. 42-45, for an earlier Russophile petition against Ukrainian bilingualism in Manitoba schools.

⁵¹ Winnipeg Tribune, March 7, 1916; and Winnipeg Telegram, March 7, 1916.

On March 8, the bill passed third reading by a vote of 35 to 8, and received assent two days later.⁵² Besides abolishing bilingualism, Liberal educational reforms affected a number of other areas. Compulsory school attendance for children between the ages of seven and fourteen was instituted.⁵³ In order to assert the assimilative role of the public schools, and at the same time displace former bilingual teachers, an increase in teacher qualifications was implemented. To enforce these regulations, an Advisory Board of Education was established with power to determine the qualifications of public school teachers. The Board passed new regulations requiring all candidates for Normal School to have completed Grade XI, whereas the previous minimal requirement was Grade IX.⁵⁴ During 1917 the board discontinued the authorization of bilingual texts previously used in Manitoba.⁵⁵ On the instructions of Premier Norris and Education Minister Thornton, the entire stock (seven tons) of The Manitoba Ruthenian-English Reader was consigned to flames on the grounds of the Manitoba legislature, as a graphic display of the new government's mandate to deal with the social "problems".⁵⁶ Special school organizers for Ukrainian districts were released and the Ruthenian Training School amalgamated into the Normal School at Brandon.⁵⁷

Greater control over school boards in Ukrainian and other non-English district was instituted in order to guide their work in expanding public

52 Manitoba Free Press, March 9, 1916; and Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Cap. 88, Sec. 1.

53 Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Cap. 97, Sec. 2.

54 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1916, pp. 25-27.

55 Ibid., 1917, p. 16.

56 Iastremskyi, T., op. cit., p. 110.

57 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p. 159.

schools, as well as to insure the implementation of the Liberal policies of unilingual national schools. An amendment to the Public Schools Act required that the minutes of all school board meetings be recorded in English⁵⁸. A more direct intrusion upon local school boards came through the appointment of Ira Stratton as Official Trustee and Special School Organizer. The Public Schools Act permitted the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to appoint such a trustee for any school district whose affairs were not or could not in his opinion be satisfactorily managed by an elected board of school trustees as provided for by the Act. An appointed trustee assumed all powers and authorities conferred to local trustees, could appoint a secretary-treasurer, and was to be remunerated out of the district's funds. Upon appointment of such a trustee, local boards ceased to hold office and were required to deliver all moneys, books, and records into his possession.⁵⁹

During the first year of his service, Stratton assumed direct control over thirty-five school divisions, and exercised close supervision over another equivalent number. Most of the districts were in Ukrainian and other non-English settlement areas. Stratton's main tasks were to investigate the affairs of the individual school boards, deal with schools not in operation, get new districts organized, build new schools and expand existing ones, adjust disputes, as well as secure teachers and arrange for their accommodation.⁶⁰

58 Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Cap. 87, Sec. 1.

59 Ibid., 1913, Cap. 53, Sec. 21.; and later, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Cap. 165, Sec. 277.

60 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p. 214.

An emphasis of the Official Trustee's administration was to ensure that school districts under his supervision instilled a spirit of Canadian patriotism into their programmes. All traces of bilingualism were to be erased and the exclusive use of English in and about the schools enforced.⁶¹ Objects representative of the Ukrainian heritage, such as portraits of Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, were ordered removed from school walls.⁶² The holding of meetings by local trustees in the Ukrainian language was seen as reason enough to have the Official Trustee appointed to such a district.⁶³ Although Stratton reported that relations within his districts were cordial, with no objections to his administration and "very few" requests to have the management of the schools handed back to local trustees,⁶⁴ there is evidence to the contrary. Ukrainians within many of the administered districts complained of the increased costs and arbitrary decisions characteristic of Stratton's Winnipeg-based administration. Accusations of intolerance and offensive treatment by him and his subordinates led to a number of protests,⁶⁵ as well as threats of resorting to the creation of private schools.⁶⁶ Some have even accused Stratton's administration of retarding rather than advancing educational progress in Ukrainian school districts.⁶⁷

61 Ibid., 1919, p. 77.

62 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, October 10, 1973.

63 Ibid., September 5, 1973.

64 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1919, p. 70.

65 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, June 27, July 4, 1973.

66 Ukrainskyi holos, January 31, 1917.

67 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, September 12 & 19, 1973.

Prior to the Liberal victory in 1915, Department of Education reports always expressed satisfaction with the eager and progressive advancement of education amongst "foreign" districts, while at the same time recognizing the problems which were related to the frontier districts, that is poverty, factionalism amongst settlers, a lack of experience in school administration and the shortage of qualified teachers. In 1913, one school inspector commented on the eagerness of Ukrainians to establish schools in spite of these handicaps:

"I venture to say that many of our Canadian people might hesitate before assuming the responsibilities of operating a school under such conditions, and yet these people have called tenders for the erection of a new school to be completed as soon as possible." 68

Only with the change in government did the primary solution to educational problems in frontier areas come in the appointment of an Official Trustee and the importation of missionary-minded English speaking teachers. The Department of Education under the Conservatives, while admitting that the teaching of English was a problem, found that because of a traditional shortage of male teachers in Manitoba, there was no likelihood of inducing anyone other than Ukrainian bilingual teachers into the frontier Ukrainian districts,⁶⁹ and that if it were not for the supply of teachers provided by the Ruthenian Training School, the Ukrainian children of the province might not have received any education at all.⁷⁰ Under the direction of Stratton, the difficulty in supplying Ukrainian

68 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1913, p. 70.

69 Ibid., 1915, p. 71.

70 Ibid., 1913, p. 124.

districts with qualified teachers did not improve, and in order to staff schools he was forced to issue temporary permits to unqualified English speaking volunteers.⁷¹

The bilingual schools legislation was undoubtedly one of the most controversial parts of the Liberal reform programme. The campaign against bilingual instruction prior to 1915 had been directed originally against the teaching of Ukrainian and Polish. Only after the Department of Education investigations were alleged to show that a "chaotic" condition existed, was it decided that the French and German languages were inextricably involved with the Slavic languages. The final solution was thus decided to be total abolition of bilingualism.⁷²

The Liberals presented their solution as being motivated by a concern that non-English Manitobans be given an equal chance for participation and advancement within a British-Canadian society. Yet below this avowedly benevolent intention, there were various obscure and irrational motives ranging from exaggerated fear to simple prejudice, concerned less with any real problems which existed in Ukrainian and other bilingual school districts than with accusations that Ukrainians were a "political party" aiding the German war cause through the propagation of "un-Canadian" ideas and

⁷¹ Ibid., 1920, pp. 15 & 85.

⁷² Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 351.

"anti-Canadian" languages. The reformers, flushed with British patriotism, purged schools of "alien" culture and made them supposed agents of assimilation.

The priority of the Norris government was clearly economic reform, to which the cultural survival of the non-English was subordinated. In that area the Liberals implemented a number of programmes designed to help the poorer strata of society. Ukrainians benefited in many ways. A minimum wage law was enacted, along with a Fair Wage Board to enforce it. The Workmen's Compensation Act was amended in order to provide greater aid. New laws were introduced to upgrade standards of safety and sanitation in factories and in trades. Amendments were introduced to prevent employment of children which would conflict with new compulsory school attendance laws.⁷³ In the field of public health and welfare, a Mothers' Allowance Act aided widowed mothers to raise their children. Limited state aid was also extended to handicapped people who had no resources for survival. Legislation was enacted allowing needy school boards to obtain provincial loans. Ukrainian homesteaders in frontier districts could hope for improvements as a result of programmes in support of agriculture. Along with a number of agricultural commissions, a

73 See Manitoba Free Press, January 8, 1913, for article dealing with cases of child labour amongst Ukrainian school age children who were found performing field work such as seeding and harvesting, as well as working as waterboys in the Tyndall quarries, and in a glass manufacturing plant in Beausejour.

Farm Loans Act and a Rural Credits Act first extended long-term low interest loans to farmers and later authorized the formation of rural credit societies. Another act assisted needy farmers in establishing livestock herds. The extension of the franchise to women and the beginnings of electrification throughout the province were other far-reaching policy implementations of the Norris government.⁷⁴

The determined reform-oriented Liberals ignored protests against the abolition of bilingualism. The Ukrainian Voice resented the persistence of the English press in referring to Ukrainian Canadians as foreigners and emphatically disputed the charge that Ukrainians were recreating the old world in Canada. Such a goal was not wanted by Ukrainians, even if it were possible:

"...all we desire is to be co-citizens of Canada, and good ones at that; industrious and loyal citizensYou arrived here just as we did. In all fairness you are in the same position in relation to this land as we are. The only difference is that you arrived here a little sooner and some of you have already been born here. But listen! - our children were also born here, and almost all of us have accepted citizenship, yet you always refer to us as foreigners.... And our children also hear no better words than 'dirty Galician', 'foreigner', etc. We are not foreigners, but citizens of Canada, just as you are. We are members of the British Empire and desire to have all rights, as we fulfill all duties towards the nation and the empire. We want to retain our language and culture. As well, we desire to learn your language and adopt all that is good in your culture. In the political arena we desire to stand on an equal level with you; equal with the equal and free with the free." 75

74 Morton, W. L., op. cit., pp. 353-56 & 374; and Donnelly, M. S., op. cit., p. 55.

75 Ukrainskyi holos, July 28, 1916.

Ukrainian Social Democrats were greatly disappointed by the hostile stand taken by Labour M.L.A. R. A. Rigg on bilingualism. In Working People, they issued a condemnation of the Liberals for denying non-English citizens education in their own language:

"No! Social Democrats refuse to comply. We recognize the official language of the state but we claim the right of all parents who wish to educate their children in their native language to do so. The government has no right to prevent this.... On the contrary, it should be of assistance to these parents.... Whom do the Liberals want to deprive? - Why the children of farmers and workers, who will never receive more than an elementary education - while the children of the Liberal bourgeoisie will pursue their studies at college in a number of languages...." 76

With abolition, the Ukrainian community was forced to be more self-reliant in matters of its culture. Those attending the 1916 Ukrainian bilingual teachers' convention, while admitting that their position was difficult, sought new options for educating the community in its language and heritage, on their own strength.⁷⁷ The Ukrainian committee in defense of bilingualism agreed:

"It is obvious that this matter has not ended for us. We cannot and dare not let down our hands in despair. What is left for us to do? First of all we are left with the task of demanding the repeal of the illegal proscriptions. Secondly until this illegal forbiddance is cancelled, we will ourselves conduct the instruction of our language, our history, and of all that which we must know...." 78

76 Quoted in Martynowych, O., "The Ukrainian Socialist and Working Class Movement in Manitoba", (Public Archives of Manitoba: unpublished student paper for the Department of History at the University of Manitoba), 1973, pp. 25-26.

77 Ukrainskyi holos, May 3, 1916.

78 Ibid., May 24, 1916.

It was a full half century before the Ukrainian language was again allowed a place in the curriculum of Manitoba public schools. But the massive protest of the Ukrainian community against the Liberal school policy in 1916 constitutes a major aspect of Ukrainian political activity during this period. The confrontation over educational rights forced the Ukrainian community into a self-protective strategy as a hopeful prelude to a full and equitable participation in politics in Manitoba.

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIVIST REACTION DURING WORLD WAR I

Politically, the years of the First World War were a period of great setback for the Ukrainian community in Manitoba. Besides experiencing defeat in the bilingual schools question, Ukrainians suffered intensified prejudice as many Anglo-Manitobans suspected or feared that their loyalties were with the Central Powers. The resulting hostile acts and restrictive regulations represented in many ways a continuation of the negative attitudes developed towards Ukrainians before the War. Restrictions against Ukrainians were applied independently of any real threat. Although immigrants from Austro-Hungary, Ukrainians did not identify with their "official" homeland, a country where they had been oppressed. Their expectations in terms of the war's outcome were not contrary to those of Canada or Britain. In Europe, Ukrainians sought self-determination, as did other national groups at the time; and this movement was directed against the Russian and Austrian Empires. Ukrainian leaders in fact saw an Allied victory as an opportunity to establish an independent state. Hence suspicions that Ukrainians sympathized with the wartime enemies of Canada were unfounded.

One of the first legislative enactments directed against Ukrainians and other non-British immigrants was the Dominion government's act respecting "British Nationality, Naturalization and Aliens", which was passed in May of 1914. It changed naturalization procedures drastically. Formerly, the submission of an affidavit to a commissioner, establishing the fact that an

immigrant had been in Canada for three years was sufficient for receiving a naturalization certificate. The new act required five years' residence, an adequate knowledge of English or French, and the acceptance of applications by a superior court judge. As well, the Secretary of State had absolute discretionary power to withhold naturalization, with or without assigning any reason, to people not deemed conducive to the "public good".¹

An event which evoked a great deal of anti-Ukrainian reaction was the issuance of a pastoral letter on July 27, 1914, by Bishop N. Budka of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. Budka felt that the future of Western Ukraine was inextricably dependent on the outcome of the war, in which Russia appeared to be imminently involved, since its lands might remain within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they might join with the rest of the Ukrainian territories or they might fall victim to Russian imperialism. In response to the latter threat, Budka reported an official announcement by the Austrian government, calling all subjects to return and join in the defense of that country. Budka advised all those Ukrainians who were still Austrian subjects and who still had their families in Galicia, to consider returning in order to be able to take part in the defence of their homeland, nation and families. Those who decided to stay in Canada, on the other hand, were urged to take an interest in the plight of their homeland, and support the struggles of their nation.²

1 Statutes of Canada, 1914, Cap. 44, Sec. 2.

2 Manitoba Free Press, August 4, 1914.

Budka's letter was issued at a time when neither Canada nor Britain was involved in the European conflict. It pointed out to Ukrainians who were not Canadian citizens that they were considered by the Austro-Hungarian Empire as being subject to certain obligations. Irrespective of these state obligations, Budka underlined the responsibilities of Ukrainian immigrants towards their own nation and families who found themselves directly involved in a war.

On August 5, Britain, and in turn Canada, declared war on Germany and Austria. Budka now released another letter affirming the Ukrainians' loyalty to Canada and urging them to join the armed forces and to support the war effort. In spite of this second letter, the English press persisted in using the first letter as evidence of disloyalty. The Free Press assailed the "Anti-Canadian Nationalism" of Ukrainians in Canada and accused Budka of functioning as a "chief mobilizing officer for the military authorities of Austro-Hungary", recruiting Ukrainians for "the ranks of regiments that will fight in cooperation with the military power of Germany." The paper warned that those who did not feel their first duty to Canada and the British Empire "had better be got out of Canada and kept out."³ The newspaper pressed this attack asserting the Budka had urged Ukrainians to return to Europe and fight against the Allied nations headed by Britain.⁴ It accused him of believing

3 Manitoba Free Press, August 5, 1914; and Canadian Annual Review, 1914, pp. 278-279

4 Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1914.

that the "Canadian Ukraine" was an "extraterritorial possession of Austria, whose residents were still under Austrian control", and of conspiring "to create in Western Canada a Ruthenian national organization intended to maintain in perpetuity the language, customs and racial ideas of the Ukrainian people."⁵ All of Budka's personal attestations of loyalty, along with the statements by various defenders were ignored, as was a meeting of three thousand Ukrainians in Winnipeg addressed by Theodore Stefanik, Ivan Negrych, Ivan Petrushevych, J. W. Arsenych, Taras Ferley and others, which pledged its loyalty to Canada and the British flag, and expressed a readiness to stand in their defence.⁶

The organized Ukrainian community was, with the exception of the Ukrainian Socialists, unanimous in its declarations of loyalty towards Canada and dedication towards the British war effort. The Ukrainian Social Democrats, on the other hand, denounced manifestations of loyalty to the war effort. They argued for the overthrow of capitalism, seeing the war as a struggle between capitalist empires, seeking new markets and colonies. War was a capitalist intrigue which set the working classes of various nations against each other.⁷

5 Ibid., August 10, 1914.

6 Ukrainskyi holos, August 9, 1914.

7 Martynowych, O., op. cit., p. 23.

Although sixty percent of Ukrainians in Canada at the time of the war were Canadian citizens,⁸ and in spite of their manifestations of loyalty, they were not spared from inclusion in legislative enactments designed to restrict the rights of civilian "enemy aliens". A Dominion war proclamation of August 15, 1914, stated that all subjects of enemy countries were liable for arrest and detention, especially if they should try to escape, but that those who pursued their normal occupations quietly would continue to enjoy the protection of the law and be granted the respect and consideration due to peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Suspected, attempted or successful participation in the following acts warranted arrest and detention by the Dominion Police, Northwest Mounted Police or Militia: leaving or escaping from Canada; aiding the enemy; passing information to the enemy; espionage; and hostile acts. The detaining authorities could release anyone whose reliability they felt satisfied with, should that person agree to sign an undertaking, swearing to report periodically to authorities upon prescribed terms. Those with whom the authorities were not satisfied, or who refused to sign declarations, or who failed to abide by the terms of their paroles, were to be interned, according to the laws of war and to be guarded by active units of the Canadian Militia.⁹ Following this, on August 22, the government

8 Young, Charles, op. cit., p. 248.

9 Privy Council Order Number 2150, August 15, 1914; and Canada in the Great War, Toronto: United Publishers of Canada Limited, circa 1917-1921, v. 2, p. 147.

proclaimed the War Measures Act, assuming sweeping emergency powers without accountability to Parliament or existing laws.¹⁰

In September of 1914, T. R. Deacon, the Mayor of Winnipeg, called a public meeting at which all non-English immigrants were given a chance to declare their support of England in the European war. The Ukrainians being represented by J. Petrushevych, each non-English speaker briefly introduced his group and then proceeded to praise England for defending civilization and freedom, wishing her quick victory.¹¹ Meanwhile growing unemployment and destitution amongst "enemy aliens" led to an Order-in-Council on October 28, which permitted them to apply for special permits to leave the country in search of work.¹² By November, offices were established in Winnipeg and Brandon, where registrars listed all enemy aliens according to name, age, nationality, place of residence, occupation, desire or intention to leave Canada, intention of military service, and the names of their next of kin. All aliens within 20 miles of a registrar were to appear as soon as possible for interrogation. Those who had no desire to leave Canada, or who were not permitted to do so, were allowed to remain at large upon declaring that they had the desire and means to remain in Canada conformingly to the laws and customs of the country. They were required to make monthly reports and to carry special internal travel visas and identification cards. Those deemed dangerous, along with those who failed to register, were

10 Statutes of Canada, August 22, 1914, Cap. 2.

11 Ukrainskyi holos, September 16, 1914.

12 Privy Council Order Number 2721, October 28, 1914.

interned as Prisoners of War. In practice, federal internment camps began to function as unemployment centres for those who faced destitution because of a lack of work. Many were released once employment opportunities increased. During the first year of the war, approximately 80,000 aliens were registered. Of the 8,000 who were interned, about two thirds were "Austrians", and the majority of these were Ukrainians.¹³

During 1915, accusations against the Ukrainian community continued. A Ukrainian relief fund established in 1914 was suspected by police authorities and the press as possible evidence of treason:

"Is there a widespread movement going on in western Canada for the support of the enemies of the Empire through money assistance...." i.e. "...to assist in prosecuting the war against Great Britain and her allies?"¹⁴

Those collecting for the fund were arrested, while the Canadian Ruthenian, a main advertiser for the fund, was subject to police investigation. The fund in fact was intended to offer relief to inhabitants of Western Ukraine who faced starvation as a result of a disastrous flood. The two thousand dollars collected for the fund was destined for starving families upon the termination of the war and not for the armies of either Germany or Austria. A similar Polish Relief Committee which was involved in sending money to Austria was not subjected to similar treatment, and in fact received over two thousand

¹³ Canada in the Great War, pp. 152-54; and Boudreau, Joseph A., "1914-1919: Interning Canada's 'Enemy Aliens' ", Canada: An Historical Magazine, Vol. 2, Number 1, September 1974, p. 17; and Morton, Desmond, "Sir William Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LV, No. 1, March, 1974, p. 32.

¹⁴ Manitoba Free Press, May 8, 1915.

dollars in contributions from the Saskatchewan Government, while the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba acted as its Honorary President.¹⁵

The Canadian Ruthenian protested this double standard and questioned why loyal citizens of Canada - Ukrainians farmers and workers - were being persecuted for their humane actions.¹⁶

During the war, unemployment amongst Ukrainians in Western Canada reached crisis proportions, as large numbers of "aliens" were dismissed from slackening industries, and employers adopted a patriotic preference for "Canadian labour". For Winnipeg and the West, the years 1913 to 1915 were depression years following a boom phase. By May of 1914, there was acute distress amongst unskilled labourers in Manitoba. All trades experienced major slowdowns, cutbacks and layoffs. In October, the number of railroad workers was down 40%, compared to the previous year. The remaining workers received 20% fewer work hours. In November the CPR laid off 1,500 construction and repair workers, and the Canadian Northern laid off 300 labourers. By April of 1915 there were 12,000 unemployed in Winnipeg.¹⁷

Early in 1914, there were incidents of Ukrainian immigrants being jailed for eating out of garbage cans, while others asked to be jailed in order to escape starvation. On May 26, 1914, two thousand unemployed workers,

15 Ibid., May 10, 1915.

16 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, May 12, 1915.

17 Sutcliffe, Joseph Harry, "The Economic Background of the Winnipeg General Strike: Wages and Working Conditions" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), pp. 22-26.

mostly Ukrainians, marched through Winnipeg demanding "work or bread". When police attempted to arrest a man addressing the marchers, they were beaten off with shovels.¹⁸ Thousands of unemployed Ukrainians gathered in Winnipeg, the main clearing house for workers. Without food and shelter, they appealed to members of city council for help. A meeting addressed by M.L.A. R. A. Rigg and Socialist leader H. Saltzman was urged to march on the legislature. There, Premier Roblin informed the unemployed that those who had not been residents of the city for one year would have to appeal to federal agencies. Although one immigration agent, upon being confronted by the demands of the unemployed, suggested letting "them damned Austrians drown in the river", the Commissioner of Immigration eventually consented to set up soup kitchens.¹⁹

After enduring the cold and hunger of winter, the Ukrainian unemployed again took to the streets in the spring of 1915. They demonstrated peacefully before the city hall and legislature in order to bring attention to their efforts to secure food and jobs. On April 19, a mass demonstration of over five thousand non-unionized, non-British workers marched in the streets, asserting that they were not enemies and demanding "bread and work". The march was dispersed by club-wielding police. On April 22, there was another demonstration by ten to fifteen thousand unemployed, who marched from Point Douglas to the legislature, where Premier Roblin promised to devise employment

18 Martynowych, O., "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1900-1918", Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1976, pp. 32-33.

19 Iastremskyi, T., op. cit., pp. 106-107.

schemes providing some 5500 jobs. But the results were minimal and chaotic as experienced by the hundreds of Ukrainians and Poles who walked the railway tracks to The Pas only to find that new jobs on the Hudson Bay Railroad were already filled.²⁰

Demonstrations by the unemployed gave way to more desperate actions. In May of 1915, hundreds of Ukrainians and non-British workers marched to the United States hoping to find jobs, and to escape persecution. On May 14, approximately 200 unemployed Ukrainians, Poles, Germans and Russians left Winnipeg on foot. At the border they were stopped by the Northwest Mounted Police and sent to the internment camp in Brandon because they lacked necessary permits for entry into the United States.²¹ A second column of over one thousand unemployed set out for the border a few days later. Answering forewarnings that they would be stopped, they replied that it was "better to die from bullets than from hunger". One fifth of the original marchers actually reached the border after two days without food or water, sleeping in the open during rainy inclement weather. The mayor of Emerson arranged basic food and shelter for the marchers, prior to their being sent either to the Brandon camp or back to Winnipeg.²² In Portage la Prairie, a delegation of destitute Ukrainian residents visited Mayor Taylor to plead for work or relief, in lieu of which they asked to be interned to prevent their starvation.²³

20 Ukrainskyi holos, April 28, 1915; and Martynowych, O., op. cit., p. 33; and Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, May 5, 1915.

21 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, May 19, 1915; and Ukrainskyi holos, May 19, 1915.

22 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, May 19, 1915. See also Manitoba Free Press, Aug. 2 & 5, 1915.

23 Ibid.; and Brandon Sun Weekly, May 27, 1915.

The Brandon interment camp was located in the city's Winter Fair arena. Over one thousand Ukrainians constituted the majority of those detained.²⁴ The camp was the site of numerous escape attempts. In May of 1915, Dmytro Kowalchuk, one of the Ukrainian internees, leapt from a second floor window and managed to hobble within nine miles of the American border on a broken ankle.²⁵ A month later a mass escape attempt by seventeen Ukrainians resulted in the fatal shooting of eighteen-year-old Andrew Grapko, as he scrambled through a stable window. The unsuccessful escape involved cutting a hole through the arena floor, and squeezing through a basement boiler room into a stable. The local Brandon paper briefly mentioned the fatal shooting of Grapko, as well as the pitchforking of other prisoners, while elaborating on the fact that soldiers had soiled their uniforms when pulling one of the escapees out of an inactive boiler.²⁶

The conditions at Brandon were mild when compared to the harsh regimes maintained at camps such as the one at Kapuskasing, Ontario, which was ringed with barbed wire, watchtowers and armed soldiers.

"The food was bad.... In each barrack, there were eighty men. When anyone protested against abusive treatment, spoiled foods or hard work in the woods during heavy frosts, they immediately locked him into a cold isolator. Epidemics of influenza broke out in the camps taking the live of many interned Ukrainians Anyone escaping from a camp was chased by a posse with dogs, and upon

24 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, December 15, 1915.

25 Brandon Sun Weekly, May 6, 1915.

26 Ibid., June 3, 1915.

being captured was thrown into the cold isolators for three weeks. In these isolators the interned²⁷ lived solely on bread and water."

Of those interned in camps, 107 died, many succumbing to infectious diseases, tuberculosis, cold, exhaustion and poor nutrition. A similar number were confined to insane asylums.²⁸

Internment added to the increasing disillusionment of Ukrainian immigrants with the idea that Canada was a country of freedom and democracy. One contributor to the Canadian Ruthenian noted that in Canada there were all the manifestations of Russian despotism: i.e., the denial of human and democratic rights, summary arrests, unemployment, discrimination and chauvinism:

"It can no longer be this way. We cannot look on passively as a small group of deranged howlers attempts to terrorize everyone and endeavours with all its strength to take us loyal citizens of this Dominion under their feet and completely without cause, cast upon us the veil of disloyalty and the²⁹ likes."

An interned Ukrainian worker writing to the socialist Working People also expressed his bitterness:

"...Who levelled the mountains from sea to sea? ... Who built the railroads and cultivated this wasteland where formerly only the wind howled? We, the victims

27 Kravchuk, Petro, Na novii zemli, Toronto: Tovarystvoobiednanykh ukrainitsiv Kanady, 1958 (In the New Land, Toronto: Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1958), p. 118. Kravchuk's description is based on accounts published in the Ukrainian communist press in Canada. For one of the few published first person accounts of life in the internment camps, see Iasnovsky, Pylyp, Pid ridnym i pid chuzhym nebom, Buenos Aires: Vydavnytstvo Iuliana Serediaka, 1961 (Under Native and Foreign Skies, Buenos Aires: Julian Serediak Publishers, 1961), pp. 211-38.

28 Morton, Desmond, op. cit., p. 56.

29 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, June 9, 1915.

who today are being tortured in a manner reminiscent of the Christian captives held by the Turks 500 years ago....[We] make our case known so that all Ukrainians and all the nations of the world might see how the blind, 'civilized' English chauvinists and their Canadian hangers-on 30 treat foreigners...."

Those Ukrainians not in the camps continued to be the target of discrimination, lootings and violent assaults.³¹ The judiciary prior to and during the war also reflected the anti-Ukrainian sentiments of the period. One Brandon magistrate was approached by a group of concerned citizens, alarmed at rumours of white girls marrying Chinese men. Upon investigating the matter, the magistrate assured the people that the rumours were not true, as the girls marrying the Chinese were not white but Galician.³² The hangings of a number of Ukrainians for murder brought community accusations that the severity of the sentencing was due to the fact that those being tried were Ukrainians. In 1913 the settlers of the Dauphin district unsuccessfully petitioned to have John Baran's death sentence commuted to a jail term.³³ A year later a ten thousand signature petition pleading clemency in the case of John Krafchenko also failed to change the verdict.³⁴ A historian of the period sheds some light on the second case:

"To the authorities Krafchenko was what was politely 35 called a Ruthenian and impolitely called a Bohunk."

30 Cited in Martynowych, O., "The Ukrainian Socialist and Working Class Movement in Manitoba", op. cit., p. 25.

31 Yuzyk, Paul, op. cit., p. 187.

32 Brandon Sun Weekly, February 20, 1913.

33 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, April 26, 1913; and Ukrainskyi holos, April 16, 1913.

34 Winnipeg Tribune, July 4, 1914. Two other Ukrainians were hanged in 1916.

35 Gray, James, A Boy from Winnipeg, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970, p. 81.

Wasył Swystun, a community leader during these years, complained of the inherent prejudices of the judicial system against Ukrainian Canadians:

"Here we should have our own Justice of the Peace,
or if not, then one who would not despise us and laugh
at us but try to understand our pleas." 36

In June of 1915, a federal Press Censorship Board was established in order to monitor the "alien" language press in Canada. Criticism of Canadian foreign or domestic policy was considered treasonous, and the Ukrainian language press was warned against criticizing the Russian Empire as well.³⁷ In Winnipeg, efforts by Ukrainian citizens to take part in the Dominion Day parade in 1915 were rejected on the grounds that they had come from Austria.³⁸

During 1916, besides abolishing the bilingual education rights of the province's non-English population, the Liberal government of Manitoba also considered franchise restrictions against non-English citizens through the re-establishment of educational tests and qualifications. This decision came in light of the fact that the enfranchisement of all women seemed imminent. Ukrainian women were actively involved in preparing themselves for the vote. The Ukrainian Women's Educational Association in Winnipeg prepared a leaflet

36 Young, Charles, op. cit., p. 278

37 Martynowych, O., "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1900-1918", Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1976, p.33.

38 Ukrainskyi holos, June 30, 1915.

on the matter of the franchise:

"We must take extra care, so that in the legislature, there might be as many such members as possible, who would solidly and honestly defend our interests - the interests of the poor people and not the rich who squeeze the last drop of blood from us.

"Every woman can register regardless of whether or not she knows how to speak English.

"There is not the slightest reason to be afraid of registering." 39

The Liberal party which had once vigorously criticized the Conservatives for implementing franchise restrictions for the non-English had now come full circle, with disenfranchisement schemes of its own. During the 1914 election, the Liberal campaigner Nellie McClung had dismissed wholesale, Conservative arguments against the enfranchisement of women on the grounds that this would include foreign women as well. Yet, when in power, the Liberals reacted to the spectre of "foreign" women voting, with proposals to make the enfranchisement of all foreign-born, both male and female, increasingly difficult. Practical tests of reading and writing in English were to be the criteria upon which the franchise could be withheld from the non-English. Attorney General A. B. Hudson supported such a proposal as did Provincial Treasurer and former Liberal leader Edward Brown, who stated:

"Any such movement would receive my entire sympathy and support. The question of the foreign vote has always been a serious one in Manitoba and now that the women are enfranchised the problem becomes doubly acute." 40

39 "Vidozva do ukrainskoho zhinotstva u Vinnipeg" ("An Appeal to the Ukrainian Women of Winnipeg"), quoted in Marunchak, M., Studii...., Tom IV, pp. 159-60.

40 Winnipeg Tribune, February 1, 1916.

R. A. Rigg, on the other hand, opposed any franchise based on educational tests:

"To disfranchise any man, or woman now, even for a period, is to enslave that man or woman.... Every man has the inherent right to his part in the government of the country. If we do away with his franchise, then we go dead against the fundamental principles of democracy." ⁴¹

The Winnipeg Tribune had urged such a policy, claiming that it was only fair in a British country, that voters should have a speaking, if not reading, knowledge of the English language, unlike the "thousands of women to whom English print is as unreadable as the inscription on an obelisk...." The enfranchisement of such people, it felt, was adding to the "dangers of our citizenship":

"We are living in special times. The men who speak the English language and the women who endure the anguish of the war are not those of a foreign tongue, save in rare cases." ⁴²

The Winnipeg Telegram also expressed a desire to deny the vote at least for the duration of the war to those citizens who had come from the Central European nations.⁴³ The Winnipeg Board of Trade passed a resolution in February of 1916, advocating the complete disenfranchisement of naturalized aliens until their respective countries of origin relinquished "all rights of citizenship over them."⁴⁴ The Canadian Club also passed a resolution calling for the dismissal of people of alien origin from provincial and federal government positions as they constituted a security risk.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., January 13, 1916.

⁴³ Winnipeg Telegram, December 25, 1916.

⁴⁴ Manitoba Free Press, February 21, 1916.

⁴⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, February 23, 1916.

This increasing pressure for the complete isolation of the non-English population was accompanied by various rumours. In the spring of 1916 Winnipeg papers gave prominent exposure to news that three hundred "Austrians" in the Broad Valley area were arming themselves and organizing an attack against the district's English population. The stories were complete fabrications, created by a local stonecrusher with whom farmers had not cooperated.⁴⁶ Other stories claimed that foreign-born citizens of North Winnipeg possessed firearms in preparation for an uprising.⁴⁷

In July of 1916, six Ukrainian editors in Manitoba released a joint statement protesting that while "Austrian" settlers such as the Bohemians and others were welcomed, the Ukrainians were persecuted for the sole reason "that they were so unhappy as to be born into Austrian bondage":

"Thousands of our Ukrainian boys have enlisted, with the Canadian overseas force and many have already lost their lives fighting beside their English brethren on the battlefields of France. And as the price of their blood we have the right to ask the Canadian people for better treatment of the Canadian Ukrainians." 48

In spite of the general hostility against them during the war, many Ukrainian Canadians joined the Canadian armed forces and served in Europe. Proscriptions against their enlistment specified that un-naturalized Ukrainians from Austria were not permitted to serve in any branches of the

46 Kanadyiskyi Rusyn, May 10, 1916.

47 Manitoba Free Press, January 25, 1917.

48 Quoted in Yuzyk, P., op. cit., p. 188.

Canadian forces, while those naturalized were allowed to serve in Canada only. Those who had come from the Russian Empire were obligated for European service whether naturalized or not, and approximately two thousand of these Ukrainians served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Europe.⁴⁹ Thousands of others, for whom enlistment was forbidden, registered as Russians, Poles or Bohemians, or Anglicized their names in order to serve.⁵⁰ Many died in Europe, while one Ukrainian Canadian, Phillip Konoval, was awarded the Victoria Cross for his "most conspicuous bravery and leadership" during battle.⁵¹ Thousands more Ukrainian Canadians served up to three years with Canadian Forestry Division units in England, Scotland and France. Some of the lumber camps were seventy percent Ukrainian.⁵²

In September of 1917 the War Times Election Act disenfranchised all citizens who were born in enemy countries and naturalized after March 31, 1902, or whose mother tongue was that of an enemy country. All disenfranchised citizens and their sons not of legal age were released from combat service. The act also extended the franchise to all those men, regardless of age, who were in the service, as well as to their immediate female relatives. Thus it disenfranchised naturalized citizens of "enemy" origin, who were expected to oppose conscription, while extending the franchise to those men and women

49 Marunchak, M., op. cit., Tom IV., pp. 188-89.

50 The exact number of Ukrainians who served in the First World War is a matter of speculation. Estimates vary between 10-15,000. Yuzyk, P., op. cit., p 18; and Young, Charles, op. cit., p. 244; and Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 325. Prior to his death, Dr. V.J. Kaye initiated a massive examination of Canadian military records in order to ascertain a more accurate figure in this regard.

51 Macrouch, F.A. (ed.), Ukrainian Year Book and Ukrainians of Distinction, 1953-54, Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Business Directory, 1953-54, p. 79.

52 Marunchak, M., Studii...., Tom. IV, p. 190.

expected to support it.⁵³

Wartime legislation was sufficiently complicated to both deny the vote to naturalized Ukrainians, as well as to make them subject to military service. Theoretical military exclusions were to be accompanied by certificates of exemption which were only issued upon appearing before a competent judge. Thus, with the implementation of federal conscription in 1917, the door was left open for the forced induction of disenfranchised citizens who were not informed of the intricacies of pertinent legislation. Recruiting officers and Canadian military police raided farms and Ukrainian weddings in order to apprehend and induct potential conscripts. Those found without service exemption certificates were treated as service evaders. Local post masters who were responsible for conveying the complex wartime legislation to the public, seldom instructed Ukrainians as to their obligations other than to advise that they were excluded from service as enemy aliens, and were to labour hard and quietly without taking an interest in the war. As a result of these ambiguities, a number of Ukrainians from rural areas were arrested and brought to Winnipeg to stand trial before military court.⁵⁴

The First World War was thus a period of great social and political upheaval for the Ukrainian community in Manitoba. It was a time when

53 Statutes of Canada, 1917, Cap. 39; and Canadian Annual Review, 1917, p. 332; and Boudreau, Joseph A., "The enemy alien problem in Canada, 1914-1921" (PhD.Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 92 & 95.

54 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 116-20; and Humeniuk, Peter, op. cit., p. 127.

anti-Ukrainian fears and sentiments united with intense wartime patriotism and legislative enactments to deprive the Ukrainian community of some of its most basic rights. Certain educational rights were withdrawn, the right to vote was denied to most, community leaders were maligned, and traditional freedoms of expression, movement and association were forfeited altogether for those in the internment camps.

CHAPTER X

POST-WAR POLITICAL SOLIDARITY AND SELF-ASSERTION OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY

By 1918, the social and political composition of Manitoba changed significantly as increasing numbers of demobilized soldiers returned from Europe. On the economic scene, strikes became prominent as rising class consciousness led to stubborn conflicts between labour and capital. The anti-foreign nativism which had heightened during the war shifted towards the domestic economic front with the non-British becoming the alleged cause of economic problems and political radicalism. The pervasive fear of the non-British as the agents of political radicalism and Bolshevism led to the initiation of widespread government investigations into this matter, resulting in the enactment of more repressive orders-in-council directed against non-British citizens.

In the spring of 1918 Prime Minister Borden ordered an extensive country-wide investigation to determine the extent of radical activities within Canada. Any seditious groups which might obstruct the full prosecution of the war were to be identified. The purpose was to determine whether or not the Dominion and other police forces were strong enough to maintain public order. An alternative was the possible creation of Citizens' Protective Leagues as in the United States in order to help control alien subversion.¹

1 Robin, Martin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930, Kingston: Queen's University, 1971, p. 164.

Warranting special attention was the Social Democratic Party of Canada as well as more radical groups such as the International Workers of the World, which had disseminated socialist literature among Ukrainians and other workers, urging the destruction of all state authority, the subversion of religion and the obliteration of property rights. Other revolutionary groups such as the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party organized public meetings and popularized Communist materials and literature received from Soviet Russia. Such activities brought calls for increased restrictions to be implemented against the non-British. Acting chief commissioner of police, A. J. Candon, called for an order-in-council forbidding the holding of meetings in foreign languages, as well as prohibiting the distribution of all literature issued by groups such as the I.W.W. and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party.²

The result of these pressures was that in the last months of the war a number of orders-in-council restricted the rights of speech, press, association, and assembly. One of these orders prohibited the appearance of publications in any of fourteen "foreign" languages, one of which was Ukrainian. A few days later, another order declared fourteen specific associations illegal.³ Among the organizations listed were the International Workers of the World, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party and the Social

2 Balawyder, Aloysius, Canadian-Soviet Relations Between the World Wars, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, pp. 24-26.

3 Privy Council Order No. 2381, September 25, 1918, and No. 2384, September 28, 1918. See also Robin, Martin, op. cit., p. 166.

Democratic Party.⁴ This second order-in-council included a general clause which gave authorities the power to declare any other association unlawful as well. Also, Ukrainian and other languages were prohibited from meetings and assemblies of any kind. Finally, in October, the government took the unprecedented step of prohibiting the right to strike.⁵ In order to supervise the enforcement of these and other laws and regulations, a Department of Public Safety was established.⁶

The ban on associating with the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party as a dangerous political party carried a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment, along with a \$5,000 fine. The continued economic subordination of the Ukrainian worker in Canada, coupled with the wartime restrictions directed against the Ukrainian community, had the effect of increasing the membership of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party as well as widening the base of the party's support. Numbering only 101 members in 1907, by mid- 1917 the party still numbered only 600, while at the time of its prohibition in mid-1918, the party numbered some 2,000 members. The restrictions imposed upon the Ukrainian community in general and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in particular reinforced the party's acceptance of Bolshevism. The party leadership believed that the rights they were being denied flourished within the new Soviet state. The increased identification with the party

4 Balawyder, A., op. cit., p. 24-26.

5 Privy Council Order No. 2525, October 11, 1918.

6 Robin, M., op. cit., p. 166.

as a result of government repressions was also evidenced by the widespread popularity of the party's successor organization during the post-war period - the Ukrainian Farmer Labour Temple Association.⁷

As the conclusion of the war neared, and as the Canadian economy turned increasingly towards a recession, Canadian war veterans became central figures in the public reaction against Canada's "foreign" population. As early as 1915, veterans' groups across Canada had held public meetings, passing resolutions to have "Austrian" Ukrainians deported, after the war's conclusion, as undesirable immigrants.⁸

Wartime demands had established high prices for Manitoba agricultural produce.⁹ Massive recruiting, combined with a cessation in immigration, created labour shortages resulting in general wage increases. By war's end, however, there was a falling away in crop outputs, while production costs remained high. Winnipeg industry was characterized by long work hours and a drop in the real wages of labourers, against a backdrop of spiralling costs.¹⁰ Between 1915 and 1919 money wages of workers failed to keep pace with price increases and the soaring costs of living.¹¹

7 Yuzyk, Paul, op. cit., pp. 98-99; and Martynowych, Orest, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada: 1900-1918", Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, Vol. II, No. 1, 1977, pp. 27-30.

8 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 123; and Canadian Annual Review, 1921, pp. 345-50.

9 Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 356.

10 Ibid., p. 359.

11 Sutcliffe, Joseph Harry, op. cit., p. 32.

During 1918 and 1919 returning soldiers had few employment prospects awaiting them. Factories were unsanitary, while the city of Winnipeg suffered severe housing shortages and inflated rents.¹² Settlement schemes for veterans involved lands of very poor quality. The combined effect was to create a deepfelt animosity amongst veterans against those men who had stayed in Canada and prospered during the war. For Ukrainians in Manitoba, the proscriptions against their enlistment enabled them to benefit from wartime industrial wages and farm prices. As a result of the war economy some areas of Ukrainian settlement prospered and expanded. School Inspector F. H. Belton described the expansion of Ukrainian and other non-English settlers in the Roblin district:

"The advance of the non-English speaking population, outward from the slopes of the Riding and Duck Mountains in the last ten years, creates a situation that is at least startling and some would say alarming. They have spread westward to the Shell River and at some points have crossed over and are invading the level country between that and the Assiniboine. They raise large families, work hard, manage well, and save all they make. ... [they] are cultivating a strip of land, between the Shell and the timber reserve which ten years ago was a wilderness, and they are buying out the former settlers one after another and placing their newly married sons on their farms.... Foreign speaking families are beginning to occupy homes and carry on businesses in the towns all through here." 13

In contrast to this situation, the Ukrainian settlements in the Interlake

12 Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 360; and Sutcliffe, J. M., op. cit., p. 43

13 Manitoba, Report of the Department of Education, 1921, p. 17.

remained largely indigent:

"The country has been heavily treed and is difficult to get into shape for cultivation. The great bulk of Ukrainian settlers have now, after a period of 15 to 20 years settlement, only 15 to 20 acres of land under cultivation. During spring and autumn the men generally go out to work in order to keep things going. Formerly in winter the cutting and hauling of cord wood helped out materially but this source of revenue is fast disappearing." 14

The problem of dropping real wages and the resulting inability of workers to meet rapidly rising costs of living, led to an increased number of labour disputes and strikes during 1918 and 1919.¹⁵ There was a tendency to attribute these disputes to the radicalism of non-British workers and to attempts to set up a communist regime.¹⁶ The reaction of returned soldiers who had offered great sacrifices during the war was in part to turn against Ukrainians and other "aliens" who had filled jobs rightly felt to belong to servicemen. The veterans moved to have such people expelled, if not from the country altogether, then at least from scarce jobs.

Thus, in the fall of 1918, over three hundred returned soldiers marching in columns visited various industrial locations in Winnipeg to drive out the "Germans" and "Austrians". When enterprises such as the

14 Ibid., 1922, p. 63.

15 Sutcliffe, J.H., op. cit., pp. 32, 34 & 35.

16 Ibid., p. 32.

C.P.R. and Swift's barred entrance to the soldiers, they split into smaller groups and handed out individual "justice" to people they could identify as Ukrainians.

"They divided into patrols of three and four, walking along sidewalks. If they met a man coming from work or from downtown, who happened to have his moustache twisted upwards they would give him a severe beating." 17

Other marches were aimed at the city's North End and focused on the destruction of "enemy" institutions, such as the Ukrainian Reading Association, located in a building on the corner of Dufferin and Parr. Early one evening while it was empty, veterans converged on the building, and within ten minutes caused damage amounting to \$1,500. One witness recorded this impression:

"Window panes shatter into the air with a clatter; mangled books from the library sprinkle onto the street; the wind scatters bits of Ukrainian literature over empty lots, and musical instruments seem to shriek as they are dashed to pieces on the cement pavement. On the street a throng of idlers roars with laughter and accompanies the action with applause." 18

The same day saw the sacking of the German Society on Mountain Avenue with its library, furniture and piano being heaved through windows onto the streets.

17 Mandryka, M., (ed.), Pivstolittia pratsi ukrainskoho tovarystva Chytalni Prosvity v Vinnipeg, Vinnipeg: Ukrainske Tovarystvo Chytalni Prosvity, 1958, p. 180 (A half century of work by the Prosvita Ukrainian Association in Winnipeg, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Reading Association, 1958).

18 Propamiatna knyha ukrainskoho narodnoho domu v Vynypegu, Vynypeg: Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim, 1949, p. 292 (Memorial book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg, Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home, 1949).

Larger "manoeuvres" were planned by veterans for the Selkirk and McGregor area. Other Ukrainian cultural organizations, in anticipation of becoming the next targets, quickly packaged their libraries, theatrical equipment and other items of value, and carried them down side streets into hiding places in members' homes.¹⁹ The following evening another group marched west along Selkirk Avenue and attacked and looted Jewish shops. Any passer-by encountered on the street, especially if he had a moustache, was ordered to "kneel and kiss the flag", and if he refused, he was beaten. At McGregor Street they turned north, luckily avoiding a battle which might have developed had they proceeded to the McKenzie Street intersection, where over one hundred Ukrainians armed with oak bludgeons had concealed themselves behind buildings, determined not to let the mob proceed any further.²⁰ North of Selkirk Avenue the marchers stopped at the unfinished Ukrainian Labour Temple as well as the Ukrainian National Home, but were dissuaded from any "patriotic" deeds by a number of recently returned Ukrainian Canadian war veterans as well as a protective cordon of Winnipeg city police. In frustration, they directed their vengeance towards the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church across from the Labour Temple. Pitching rocks at the church's cross, marksmen talented enough to hit the mark were rewarded with cheers and salutations.²¹

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 293.

21 Mandryka, M., op. cit., p. 181.

In response to the various wartime legislative enactments and social transgressions affecting the Ukrainian community, a number of representative committees were formed in order to mount coordinated campaigns in defense of just and equitable treatment. The Ukrainian Canadian Citizens Committee, established in 1917, was a representative body of various lay and parish organizations. As a result of religious rivalry within the committee, the Ukrainian National Council was established in 1919 to represent Catholics. The two committees sent a number of delegations to Prime Minister Borden to deal with the suppression of Ukrainian Canadian publications, disenfranchisement, and the internment of Ukrainians.²² The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party also petitioned the Canadian government, protesting the classification of Ukrainians as enemy aliens, criticizing naturalization restrictions and calling for the establishment of employment bureaus.²³

The existence of more than one representative committee hindered efforts to establish one national Ukrainian lobbying body which could have confronted the various levels of government and their agencies. In spite of this the committees were successful in having some restrictions removed. Ukrainian newspapers were again allowed to be published, provided that they had parallel Ukrainian and English texts. Each publication was required to receive a special license from the Secretary of State, as well as special

22 Iastremsky, T., op. cit., pp. 113-15; and Marunchak, M., The Ukrainian Canadians...., pp. 331-37.

23 Boudreau, J.A., "The enemy alien problem in Canada 1914-1921", p. 173.

authority from the Postmaster General in order to be mailed. These restrictions remained in force until May of 1919.²⁴ As well, it was negotiated with the Borden cabinet that all Ukrainians being held in internment camps for no reason other than their being from Austria would be released.²⁵

Early in 1919, a socialist meeting in Market Square was broken up by war veterans, touching off a day of rioting by civilians who raided about twenty businesses, institutions and private homes, causing damage of about thirty thousand dollars. Thirty people were injured, a number of people of foreign nationality being "severely mauled". After rounding up groups of foreigners at Market Square for the ritual of kissing the Union Jack on threat of beatings, the centre of activity shifted to North Winnipeg.²⁶ The houses of private citizens were entered and the inhabitants left unharmed if they agreed to kiss and cheer the Union Jack. On the streets "aliens" were also forced to kneel and kiss the flag, and some were knocked unconscious in the process. The bloodiest confrontation occurred on Selkirk Avenue where approximately three hundred men took part in a three hour battle. As one paper reported:

"It was here that the foreigners now reinforced by many of their own people, attempted to take the offensive."²⁷

²⁴ Marunchak, M., op. cit., p. 319.

²⁵ Ukrainskyi holos, March 6, 1918.

²⁶ Manitoba Free Press, January 27, 1919; and Winnipeg Tribune, January 27 & 29, 1919.

²⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, January 27, 1919.

Wooden clubs were used in the hand to hand combat. About eight soldiers and twelve foreigners were left on the ground unconscious before the conflict subsided. No one was arrested as a result of the riots.

The following day veterans marched again, this time to demand dismissal of "aliens" from jobs and their ultimate deportation. The marchers stopped at a number of plants in order to expel alien workers. At Manitoba Cold Storage a number of aliens were chased from the plant, after being forced to kiss the flag. The plant manager was pressured into supplying a list of names so that aliens might be identified and expelled.²⁸ When the marchers arrived at the large Swift Canada Co. in Elmwood, in order "to demand that all aliens be replaced by white labour", they were confronted by Winnipeg Mayor C. F. Gray and Brigadier General H. D. B. Ketchen of the military. The latter urged the marchers to let the plant management deal with the dismissal of aliens on their own. Mayor Gray repeated this advice, stating that if management failed to do so, "then is the time for reckoning".

"I am an Englishman and I want you men to give British fair play. We want to get the aliens out and I am with you in that, but let us do it constitutionally."²⁹

The Mayor urged the veterans to write to all employers and give them three days to dismiss all foreigners. He informed them that the Swift Company management was prepared to go over a list of employees, replacing aliens

²⁸ Manitoba Free Press, January 28, 1919.

²⁹ Ibid.

with veterans; and the plant manager explained that he had to hire aliens in the past "after failing to get white help".

"I will have enemy aliens off the job tomorrow
if the boys can get men to fill the places." 30

In order to protect themselves against attacks by marching veterans, large city firms began to discharge "alien" employees,³¹ while Winnipeg dailies carried full page advertisements by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association stating clearly that all enemy aliens would be replaced with returned soldiers, wherever they were able and willing to take jobs.³²

The Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee sent a delegation to visit Mayor Gray in the matter of the veteran attacks. A memorandum underlined that Ukrainians were loyal Canadian citizens whose lives and properties should be protected against crusading marchers.³³

In February of 1919, a delegation of eight hundred veterans presented Premier Norris with a list of twenty four thousand undesirable "aliens" in Manitoba, who were judged suitable for deportation. In response to such deputations the Premier established a provincial deportation commission, the Alien Investigation Board, composed of His Honour Robert H. Myers, Senior Judge of County Court, veterans' representatives Arthur E. Moore and H. J. Mansfield, and labour representative Robert Sutherland.

30 Ibid.

31 Mott, Morris K., "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg 1916-1923", (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), p. 25.

32 Manitoba Free Press, January 29, 1919.

33 Ukrainskyi holos, February 5, 1919.

The board was to determine whether or not persons submitted for scrutiny by provincial bodies, municipalities, organizations or individual citizens were to be deported as undesirable aliens. A questionnaire was established which was to be signed by two reliable people stating that during the preceding four years, the person in question had been a loyal citizen.³⁴ A positive evaluation by the board merited the issuance of certificates of good citizenship in the form of loyalty cards. These cards became virtual prerequisites for Ukrainians seeking jobs.³⁵

This provincial board came under fire from federal M.P., M. A. Mackie, of East Edmonton, amongst others. He charged that the board was a manipulative tool of the Norris government for dealing with the veterans and "foreigners". It was designed to appease the veterans, intimidate the "foreigners" and lay the grounds for a disenfranchisement bill.

"...this order-in-council was calculated to camouflage the returned soldier and to intimidate the foreigner into voting for the Norris government and to place the Norris government in the position that if the results of the investigation showed a deplorable state of matters, it would be warranted in passing a disenfranchisement bill, which I understand from many sources of information, is contemplated by the Norris government at the next session of parliament." 36

34 Peterson, T., op. cit., p. 80; and Iastremsky, T., op. cit., p. 129. Regarding subsequent veteran delegations demanding the internment and deportation of enemy aliens, see Manitoba Free Press, May 2 & 12, 1919.

35 Ukrainskyi holos, March 5, 1919; and Mott, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

36 Manitoba Free Press, May 6, 1919. See also May 7 & 8, 1919.

By May of 1919, the Ukrainian community began a campaign to have the Alien Investigation Board abolished. Preliminary steps were taken to start an action in Court of King's Bench to invalidate the provincial order-in-council which had established the board.³⁷ The M.L.A. for St. Clements, D. A. Ross, meanwhile aggravated the situation by reporting rumours that Ukrainian farmers in the Springfield and surrounding districts were openly holding revolutionary meetings in preparation of a spring uprising. Their goal was allegedly to seize the government into their own hands and establish Bolshevik rule. Upon visiting Springfield, however, the riding's M.L.A., Dr. Glen Hamilton, and a Free Press reporter found the rumours to have no factual basis.³⁸ In reaction to Ross's allegations, Ukrainians in Springfield held protest meetings at Brokenhead and Ladywood, urging the establishment of a Royal Commission to investigate the rumours and to determine who was responsible for them. The Ukrainian Canadian Citizens Committee sent a protest telegram to the Minister of Justice in Ottawa, also demanding that such a commission be established. The committee asked that the Criminal Code be amended to protect classes and groups of people, just as individuals were protected against the dissemination of slanderous statements.³⁹

37 Ukrainskyi holos, May 14, 1919.

38 Manitoba Free Press, May 1, 14 & 15, 1919; and Ukrainskyi holos, May 7, 1919; and Krawchuk, P., op. cit., p. 139; and Lysenko, V., op. cit., p. 115.

39 Ukrainskyi holos, May 7, 1919; and Manitoba Free Press, May 7, 1919.

The year 1919 saw the climax of the post-war economic crisis in Manitoba. Two serious labour disputes during 1918 had raised the expectations of Winnipeg workers and in the new year they were to fulfill their threats of the previous year by taking massive strike action. On May 1, twelve hundred building tradesmen and one thousand metal workers struck. By May 15, thirty thousand workers affiliated with the Trades and Labour Council walked off their jobs in a general strike. They were joined by twelve hundred non-union workers.⁴⁰ By June there were increasing incidents of street skirmishes between strikers and police, and the press reported these events with a special emphasis on the role of the non-British:

"There is anarchy and revolution abroad in Winnipeg ... and organized labor has been betrayed into a position which gives the alien enemies, the Austrians and the Germans, cowards that they are, the chance to do their bloody work." 41

In one bout of hand to hand combat between strikers and mounted police armed with batons, a Victoria Cross war veteran who had been one of the first returned soldiers to offer his services to maintain law and order was pulled off his horse and struck. This brought glaring headlines that he had "... Narrowly Escaped Death at Hands of Aliens During Riot".⁴²

40 Sutcliffe, J.H., op. cit., p. 121. For main sources on Winnipeg General Strike, see Masters, D.C., The Winnipeg General Strike, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950; and Penner, Norman (ed.), Winnipeg 1919: The Striker's Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike, Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1973; and Bercuson, David Jay, Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.

41 Winnipeg Citizen, quoted in Peterson, T., op. cit., p. 81.

42 Manitoba Free Press, June 11, 1919.

Subsequent reports on skirmishes also gave special emphasis to the "Brutal Actions of Foreigners....".⁴³

The strike reached a turning point on June 21, 1919, with a general confrontation between strikers and army cavalry supported by civilian vigilantes. When the cavalry attacked a group of strikers on Main Street, a Ukrainian worker, Mike Sokolowski, was shot dead. He left behind a widow and three children. The Free Press identified him as a registered enemy alien who "... was one of the most active of the missile throwers", being "Shot Through Heart and Instantly Killed, Presumably While Stooping to Pick up Missile". The Free Press also claimed that the riot was started by foreigners:

"The first man to step from the sides of the street and wave a bat in an effort to frighten the horses was unmistakeably a foreigner.

"It was evident that the foreign elements were most active in the attack."⁴⁴

Dozens of workers were wounded in the clash while over one hundred, a quarter of whom were Ukrainians and other Slavs, were arrested. Two days later, a second Ukrainian worker died of gunshot wounds received during the riot. Scores of registered aliens were put under arrest and charged with various offences such as committing disorderly acts or taking part in forbidden

⁴³ Ibid., June 12, 1919; and Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 475.

⁴⁴ Manitoba Free Press, June 23, 1919.

meetings. Some of those arrested were sent to the internment camp at Kapuskasing, Ontario, while others were kept at Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba. As a result of the strike, and acting on the premise that "foreigners" conducted themselves offensively during the street battles, police launched an aggressive policy of rounding up all undesirables. The reaction of the Western Labour News, a leading voice of labour, was that many of those being rounded up were law abiding citizens who were being dealt with because of their nationality.⁴⁵

In July of 1919, Royal North West Mounted Police raided the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg along with the homes of thirty Socialists and Ukrainian Social Democrats in search of seditious documents.⁴⁶ Most of the aliens who were arrested were denied the due process of the law. Magistrates such as former Premier Hugh John Macdonald presided over alien trials and took uncompromising attitudes towards these "radicals", sending most to Kapuskasing. From there many were deported in spite of pleas for writs of habeas corpus made by Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council lawyers.⁴⁷

One of those who was summarily dealt with was Mike Verenchuk, a Canadian war veteran who had been wounded twice while serving overseas.

45 Quoted in Manitoba Free Press, June 23, 1919.

46 Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 476.

47 Avery, D.H., "The Immigrant Industrial Worker in Canada 1896-1919: The Vertical Mosaic as an Historical Reality", in Isajiw, W. (ed.), op. cit., p. 27.

Verenchuk was arrested at gunpoint while looking after a friend's house. Although his name had not been listed on the warrant of arrest, he was nevertheless detained, whereupon his name appeared on the document thirty-six hours later.⁴⁸ Refused bail, Verenchuk was sent to Stony Mountain Penitentiary on charges of sedition. There, he launched a hunger strike. Ultimately, after being subjected to a sanity test, Verenchuk was unconditionally released.⁴⁹

The campaigns directed against the "aliens" successfully camouflaged the real causes of the Winnipeg General Strike, that is low wages, high living costs, unemployment and class division in Winnipeg. The unjust characterization of "foreign" labour acted in widening the gap between the common interests of British and non-British elements of the working class, with British-Canadian labour attempting to disassociate itself from the "foreign" labour it had always wanted to exclude from Manitoba.⁵⁰

Contrary to the publicity which they received, the Ukrainians and other non-British occupied only a small secondary role in the strike. Although a few thousand Ukrainian workers took part in the strike, displaying a high degree of workers' solidarity and militancy,⁵¹ prominent Ukrainian

48 McNaught, Kenneth, A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, p.119.

49 Manitoba Free Press, July 9, 1919; and Western Labour News, July 4, 1919.

50 Peterson, T., op. cit., p. 82; and Mott, M., op. cit., pp. 27-28.

51 Kravchuk, P., op. cit., p. 139.

socialist and communist leaders such as Matthew Popovich, Ivan Navazivsky, W. N. Kolisnyk and others were scarcely involved at all. The reminiscences of an Interlake Ukrainian teacher reveal that at the time of the strike, Navazivsky and Popovich were not even in Winnipeg, having taken refuge in Gimli. Here they lived off the support of the local people, while agitating support for the Winnipeg strikers.

"The farmers would gather, and the 'leaders' would advise: 'Comrades, leave your farms and walk to Winnipeg in order to join the ranks of the striking workers.' Most certainly! Go, while he himself escaped to Gimli for some fresh milk." 52

The Winnipeg General Strike was the culmination of a series of events which during the war years had acted to further isolate the Ukrainian community from the rest of society. These events were a continuation of pre-war anti-Ukrainian prejudice. To a degree, this had succeeded in barring Ukrainians from a normal participation in politics. But the postwar elections provided opportunities for Ukrainians to react in an organized and visible manner to the excesses to which they had been subjected. Ukrainian voting blocks won their first successes in establishing their representatives as an accepted presence in the Manitoba legislature.

The postwar period in Manitoba politics was characterized by more direct action by organized labour and farmers. By 1920 the Norris

52 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, November 7, 1973.

government had lost its vigor and its extensive reforms had incurred budgetary deficits leading to charges of extravagance. A general reaction against traditional party alignments and the growth of non-partisan attitudes towards government worked against the Liberals.⁵³ The prevalent sentiment was that traditional parties were the agents of eastern capitalists and the formation of the Union government in Ottawa in 1917 was looked upon positively. The ambitious programmes of the Norris government evoked distrust from conservative rural areas, while economy-minded businessmen tended to support the burgeoning political force of organized farmers with the hope that they would impose budgetary restraints if elected.⁵⁴

Ukrainians became active participants in the activities of local farmer groups which were becoming the basis of the United Farmers of Manitoba. Although prejudice continued, as shown by reports of English Canadian public school teachers administering twenty lashes to children who spoke Ukrainian during recesses, the all pervasive wartime concern for regulating aliens was subsiding.⁵⁵ Thus Ukrainians were allowed to take part in the first post-war election in Manitoba on June 29, 1920 without imposed handicaps or restrictions. Ukrainian language newspapers launched an active campaign urging their readers to exercise the rights which had so recently been denied.⁵⁶ In preparation for the election a joint Liberal and Farmer convention was held in the Ethelbert district, and seventy-five delegates decided to support a Farmer candidate. Three nominees were put

⁵³ Morton, W.L., op. cit., pp. 373-75.

⁵⁴ Donnelly, M.S., op. cit., pp. 58-63.

⁵⁵ Ukrainskyi holos, April 14, 1920.

⁵⁶ Ibid., April 21, May 5, June 16, 1920.

forward: M. Dembych, N. A. Hryhorczuk, and K. F. Slypets. Hryhorczuk was elected as the official candidate by a two to one margin, with the defeated candidates throwing in their support for the victor as well. In an impassioned speech, Hryhorczuk urged all to actively join in the campaign work ahead.⁵⁷

Three other Ukrainian candidates also entered the campaign. Two ran as Liberals: Taras Ferley in Gimli, and lawyer J. W. Arsenych in Fisher. Both were leading figures in the Ukrainian Voice and Ukrainian Orthodox organizational network. The third, like Hryhorczuk, ran as a Farmer representative. He was D. Yakimischak, a school teacher and barrister in Emerson.

The electoral activity of Ukrainians and other non-English segments of the province evoked reaction in the Winnipeg press. The Norris government was defended as a progressive, honest and sincere administration which did not cater to sectionalism or nationalism within society. The policy of English language public school instruction was stressed as a particularly important achievement of the government, which should not be compromised. The Winnipeg Tribune emphasized the need for vigilance:

"... the institutions of this province are in danger. We have in mind, particularly, our schools. South and north and southwest there still remain not a few

⁵⁷ Ibid., June 2, 1920.

anti-Canadian agitators, men who are against the Norris government, because of the school extension policy, and teaching of English in all the schools." 58

"This situation is a danger and a menace to our public schools. This is no false alarm; the election returns tomorrow night will demonstrate that there has been much group voting on the part of those who would defeat Manitoba's National School System." 59

Premier Norris ended the 1920 campaign by emphasizing that his party's promises of educational reform had been carried out:

"Today there is not a bilingual textbook in use in the whole province; schools have been provided for 6,000 children of non-English nationality, and they are being assisted to work out their own salvation and to become an asset of economic value to the province." 60

He urged renewed support for the government, as there was a danger of undoing what had already been done. 61

In spite of Norris's appeal, the Liberals were returned to power as a minority government with only 21 of 55 seats. The Conservatives won 7 seats, Farmer and Labour candidates filled 12 and 11 seats respectively, while the remaining 4 seats were taken by Independents. 62 The popular vote was 51,659 for the Liberals, 24,210 for the Conservatives, 22,739 for Farmer candidates, and 15,163 for Independents. 63 Results in Ukrainian polls were consistent with the provincial results, showing heavy support for

58 Winnipeg Tribune, June 26, 1920.

59 Ibid., June 28, 1920. See also Manitoba Free Press, June 26, 1920.

60 Manitoba Free Press, June 28, 1920.

61 Ibid.

62 Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 375.

63 Canadian Annual Review, 1920, p. 752.

Farmer and Labour candidates. In St. Clements one Ukrainian poll went to government candidate D. A. Ross. Runner-up Farmer candidate, H. McLennan received the greatest number of Ukrainian votes, while victorious Independent-Labour candidate M. J. Stanbridge easily won the large poll at Gonor. In Springfield, Ukrainians at Elma and Hazelridge gave heavy majorities to Independent-Labour candidate Isaac Cooke, who lost to the Farmer candidate. In Rockwood, Farmer candidate W. E. McKinnell took majorities at most Ukrainian polls to post a one-vote victory over the government candidate. Malonton gave him an 88 to 23 edge in this respect. Winnipeg Beach gave Labour candidate A. Tanner a greater than three to one margin of victory in his successful bid to capture Kildonan - St. Andrews. Russell was retained for the government by W. Wilson. Second place Independent G. Brown won only four polls, three of which were in Ukrainian districts. In North Winnipeg, Labour candidates were heavy favourites.⁶⁴

The election results were received joyously within the Ukrainian community, in spite of the fact that, of four Ukrainian candidates, only Hryhorczuk and Yakimischak were elected. In Gimli, Taras Ferley lost by a close 117 votes to the socialist Icelandic Farmer candidate, G. Fjelsted.⁶⁵ The inherent poverty of his riding seemed to work against Ferley, as his opposition criticized him as being a lord (pan) and an intellectual.⁶⁶ During

⁶⁴ Manitoba Free Press, June 30 & July 1, 1920.

⁶⁵ Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1921, p. 435.

⁶⁶ Ivanchuk, M., op.cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 27, 1974.

his term Ferley had been criticized by the press and government members for his opposition to the abolition of bilingualism.⁶⁷ Ferley's re-election was also hurt by the fact that many Ukrainians had migrated from Gimli in search of seasonal jobs while others simply did not come to vote.⁶⁸ In the riding of Fisher, J. W. Arsenych lost by 81 votes to H. L. Mobb, the Farmer candidate.⁶⁹ At Poplarfield Arsenych outpolled Mobb 128 to 8, while Independent A. J. Gamache took 12 votes. Broad Valley also went heavily in favour of Arsenych, while Chatfield gave a narrow edge to the Farmer candidate.⁷⁰ Claims of election irregularities were voiced, the officials being accused of deliberately detaining Ukrainian voters with unnecessary questions until such time as the polls could be closed. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Voice claimed that the Ukrainian community had won moral victories in both of the closely contested seats.⁷¹

The successful election of the two independent Ukrainian Farmer candidates was the result of a determined effort by the Ukrainian communities in the Ethelbert and Stuartburn areas. The winner in Emerson, which included Stuartburn, was Dmytro Yakimischak. A Catholic, he was born in Western Ukraine in 1888, arrived in Canada in 1898, and grew up in the Interlake region of Manitoba. In 1907 he received permission to teach in

67 See Manitoba Free Press, January 26, 1917. During 1917, Liberal D. A. Ross accused Ferley, through his association with Ukrainian Voice, of conducting propaganda for the Balkanization of Canada.

68 Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 27, 1974.

69 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1921, p. 435.

70 Manitoba Free Press, June 30, 1920.

71 Ukrainskyi holos, July 7, 1920.

Manitoba public schools. In 1916 he received his B.A. and entered the School of Law at the University of Manitoba. An active member of early Ukrainian student societies, by 1915 he was a member of the Ukrainian Prohibition Council and by 1916 a major organizer of the Ukrainian movement in defence of Ukrainian bilingual schools. He was also a founding member of the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens Committee. At the time of his election, Yakimischak was a public school teacher at Shevchenko School in Vita, Manitoba.⁷²

Yakimischak polled 989 votes, which gave him a slim 64 vote victory over Conservative Roy Whitman. Incumbent J. D. Baskerville placed third with 756 votes.⁷³ In a public statement following his victory, Yakimischak thanked the Ukrainian community for its active support. On a subsequent occasion he described the election as a turning point to a better future:

"... I believe that the last election will constitute a turning point in our political existence in Canada, because from an unconscious mass, rose the identity of our people. Today we are beginning to be treated as true citizens of this land." 74

The Winnipeg Tribune foresaw the possibility of a Yakimischak victory as "one of the most significant things in the election", as he was a "Ruthenian" who was "believed to be out for the return of bilingual

72 Ukrainskyi holos, August 14, 1920.

73 Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1921, p. 435.

74 Ukrainskyi holos, May 4, 1921.

privileges" and was suspected of receiving a solid German, French and Ruthenian vote wholly on that issue.⁷⁵ When Yakimischak's victory was confirmed, the Free Press stated that Farmer candidate Whitman would undoubtedly have swept the constituency by a large majority had the victor not entered the field and "coralled the solid Galician vote", while the English vote was split evenly between the two English candidates.⁷⁶ Typical of Yakimischak's tallies at Ukrainian polls were those at Tolstoi, and at Tanchuk's. At the first, he polled 199 votes to Baskerville's 19, and Whitman's 29. At Tanchuk's he added 28 more to Baskerville's 1 and Whitman's 0.⁷⁷ Incumbent J. D. Baskerville attributed his defeat to the failure of the Norris government's Official School Trustee system.⁷⁸ Others saw Baskerville's defeat as the result of his rejection by the English electorate because of his opposition to conscription and war aid. One Free Press reader saw Baskerville's reference to the failure of the Official Trustee as passing the buck since it was a question which affected only the Ukrainian polls which were sure to support a Ukrainian candidate if one ran, regardless.⁷⁹

In Ethelbert riding, Nicholas Hryhorczuk was the successful Ukrainian Independent Farmer candidate. Born in 1888 in Western Ukraine of

⁷⁵ Winnipeg Tribune, June 30, 1920.

⁷⁶ Manitoba Free Press, June 30, 1920.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., July 4, 1920.

⁷⁹ Ibid., July 12, 1920.

Orthodox parents, he arrived in Canada in 1897 at the age of nine. He briefly attended public school but took up farming at an early age and later established a hardware store and a farm implement and lumber dealership in Ethelbert. By 1914 many of the municipal positions within the district were occupied by Ukrainians, although key positions such as Reeve and Chairman of the School Board were occupied by non-Ukrainian members of the district. This situation reminded the local people of the old country practice of Ukrainians being excluded from positions of power and motivated them to put forward their own qualified candidates for municipal leadership. Thus in 1916, Hryhorczuk was urged to run for the position of Reeve of Ethelbert Municipality, a position he gained and held until 1920. As an active member of the Ukrainian committee in defense of bilingual schools, he was among those who petitioned Norris. He also worked with the Ukrainian Voice, the Ukrainian National Home and the Ukrainian Red Cross in Ethelbert. As well, he was a director and promoter of the Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Company Limited.⁸⁰ In 1920, after the new riding of Ethelbert was created, Ukrainians decided to test their political strength by nominating him, in the hope that his victory would resolve a number of pressing problems, such as inadequate road grants and

80 The Duck Mountain Pioneer, (Mr. Nicholas A. Hryhorczuk of Ethelbert, interviewed by M. Ewanchuk), Manitoba, Department of Education, Curriculum Branch, 1975, p. 14; and Hryhorchuk, N., "Ukrainska koloniia Etelbert, Man." v Propamiatna knyha ukrainskoho narodnoho domu v Vynypegu ("The Ukrainian colony of Ethelbert, Man.", in Memorial Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg), pp. 489-93; and Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1921, p. 428.

the direction of local schools by the Official Trustee. Voters were tired of the corrupt electoral practices of the old parties, as well as the arbitrariness of provincial police.⁸¹ In his reminiscences, Hryhorczuk recalled an instance of the old "Austro-Hungarian" style of law and order administered by provincial police.

"During the First World War, there was another constable who used to drive around the country with a loaded revolver and one Sunday, found an open-air church service conducted by a Ukrainian Catholic priest. The constable drew his gun and ordered the service to stop and the worshippers to disperse. The people felt this primitive intrusion keenly."⁸²

In spite of his youth and relative inexperience, Hryhorczuk won an easy victory, polling 1271 votes. English Farmer candidate E. R. Marcroft won 684 votes, while Liberal J. Gnizdaski only won 110.⁸³ The Ukrainian vote went massively in Hryhorczuk's favour. Ethelbert gave him 331 votes to Marcroft's 12 and Gnizdaski's 4. At Ukraina the figures were 82, 12 and 4 respectively, while at Garland they were 162, 8 and 2 respectively.⁸⁴ Hryhorczuk attributed his success to the great amount of work done by Ukrainian teachers and members of the local Ukrainian National Home.⁸⁵

After the election, the loosely structured Farmer caucus began to take on more definite and organizational characteristics. In mid-November, seventeen Independent and Farmer M.L.A.'s, including Hryhorczuk

⁸¹ Duck Mountain Pioneer, pp. 14-15.

⁸² Ibid., p. 17.

⁸³ Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1921, p. 435.

⁸⁴ Manitoba Free Press, June 30, 1920.

⁸⁵ Hryhorchuk, N., op. cit., p. 492. In this article, Hryhorczuk notes that Gnizdaski was the candidate of the Russian community in Sifton.

and Yakimischak, convened to draft a common platform, including twenty-four resolutions, and also to elect W. W. Robson as their house leader.⁸⁶ But the two Ukrainian members were not always accepted, as they were identified with a group of members opposed to Liberal educational policy.⁸⁷

Hryhorczuk recalled:

"The Winnipeg Free Press greeted our election by stating that two Ukrainian M.L.A.'s were elected and that as a consequence of this the Manitoba Schools were in danger. It was silly! What could any two members do to place the schools in the province in danger?"⁸⁸

"Premier Norris established an intolerant attitude which was maintained by some of his ministers and backbenchers....Actually, I was ignored to a certain degree. Some of the deputy ministers would treat you with considerable disdain."⁸⁹

The question of language and religious instruction in schools was raised in February of 1921, when St. Boniface Independent Joseph E. Bernier delivered a lengthy speech demanding the restoration of separate schools and urging the instruction of non-English children in their own languages. The Free Press reacted with an editorial entitled "The Menace to National Schools".⁹⁰

Coming under particular criticism was the official Trustee system of placing Ukrainian and Mennonite school districts under the charge

⁸⁶ Ukrainskyi holos, December 1, 1920. On development of the United Farmers of Manitoba politically, see Donnelly, M.S., op. cit., pp. 57-58, and Morton, W.L., op. cit., pp. 374-75.

⁸⁷ Canadian Annual Review, 1921, p. 739.

⁸⁸ Duck Mountain Pioneer, p. 16.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Manitoba Free Press, March 1, 1921. See also Canadian Annual Review, 1921, p. 774.

of Ira Stratton and J. F. Greenway. The case against the system was presented by Labour M.L.A. M. J. Stanbridge, who moved a reduction of the estimates as they applied to the Official Trustees. He claimed that their services were unnecessary and that in all cases, the right to control education should be in the hands of local trustees where the rate payers so desired. Those who defended the Official Trustees against the charges of arbitrariness and ineffectiveness declared that the power of the Department of Education to intervene through Official Trustees was central in preventing the reappearance of bilingualism in non-English settlements.⁹¹

"Manitoba has to be a one-language province in matters educational, because there is no practical alternative. At this stage of development the provision for an official trustee is necessary if the non-English districts are not to be torn ⁹² to pieces in racial quarrels."

In a plea for moderation, Hryhorczuk defended settlers of non-English origin, stating that they were not inferior, but had been deprived of opportunities. He stressed their loyalty to the Crown and called upon all to stop using the term "foreigner" to denote those of non-English origin and instead to give these people their deserved respect. He dismissed the accusations that "foreigners" were out to upset the system of national schools and accused the Free Press of trying to break up the newly formed Farmer's Party. He also criticized Ira Stratton for behaving like a "Czar" and urged the government to return the control of schools in Ukrainian districts to local trustees as soon as possible, since they had promised to abide by the government's policy of

91 Canadian Annual Review, 1921, pp. 774-75.

92 Manitoba Free Press, May 5, 1921.

national schools.⁹³ Yakimischak also focused on the Official Trustee, and urged people to send him written complaints regarding particular instances of Official Trustee incompetence.⁹⁴ During his maiden speech, he brought the issue to the attention of the house.⁹⁵

In April of 1921, the Manitoba Legislature debated the position and work of the Official Trustee. Both Hryhorczuk and Yakimischak took an active part in the debate, explaining the bitterness which the Official Trustee was generating within the Ukrainian community. Hryhorczuk recalled later that the government was far from sympathetic:

"When I brought this matter to the attention of the Minister of Education, he brushed my question aside in a perfunctory manner and told me that the people were not capable to run their schools."⁹⁶

By August of 1921, however, the pressure mounted by Hryhorczuk, Yakimischak and other M.L.A.'s such as M.J. Stanbridge began to show results. In a meeting with R. S. Thornton, the Minister of Education, Hryhorczuk was informed that many schools would be returned to the control of local boards.⁹⁷ In September of 1921, Stratton resigned his post, and over thirty school districts were returned to local control.⁹⁸

93 Ibid., March 4, 1921; and Ukrainskyi holos, March 9, 1921.

94 Ukrainskyi holos, January 12, 1921.

95 Ibid., March 16, 1921; and Manitoba Free Press, March 9, 1921.

96 Duck Mountain Pioneer, p. 17.

97 Ukrainskyi holos, August 31, 1921.

98 Ibid., September 14, 1921.

Ten months later, the Norris government failed to survive a motion of non-confidence by the legislature, and a new election was called for July 18, 1922.⁹⁹ Over a hundred and fifty candidates, running in over a dozen parties and groups, entered the campaign.¹⁰⁰ Interest within the Ukrainian community was high, with ten Ukrainian candidates being fielded. Of these, the largest group consisted of Independent Farmer and Liberal candidates: Yakimischak in Emerson, M. Vonitovy in Russell, B. Zaporozhan in Gilbert Plains, M. Rojeski in Gimli, and I. Bilash in St. Clements. United Farmer candidates included Hryhorczuk in Ethelbert, and N. V. Bachynsky in Fisher. M. Popovich in North Winnipeg and W. N. Kolisnyk in St. Clements ran for Labour. Elias Grabosky was the lone Ukrainian Conservative candidate, running in Gimli.¹⁰¹ Of the ten, four were elected to the new house: the two incumbents, plus United Farmer candidate Bachynsky in Fisher and Independent Liberal Michael Rojeski in Gimli.

99 Morton, W. L., op. cit., pp. 377-78.

100 Canadian Annual Review, 1922, pp. 769-71.

101 Ukrainskyi holos, July 5, 1922. Evidently a few of these ten candidates did not appear on the final voting ballots, as neither the Canadian Parliamentary Guide nor the Winnipeg press listed Vonitovy, Zaporozhan or Bilash in their election reports. In Vonitovy's case at least, it is known that he filed his nomination papers late (see Ukrainskyi holos, February 20, 1974). Nevertheless, the active participation of Ukrainians as candidates in provincial elections had increased dramatically from Ferley's lone candidature in 1914 and 1915, to the four candidates in 1920, and at least seven candidates in 1922.

The 1922 election results brought victory to the United Farmers of Manitoba, who won a majority of twenty-eight seats, when including one Progressive. The Liberals managed to retain only seven seats, while the Conservatives captured six. Eight M.L.A.'s sat as Independents, while another six represented the Labour Party.¹⁰² The United Farmers persuaded John Bracken, the head of the Manitoba Agricultural College, to act as its leader. After winning an October by-election in The Pas, Bracken assumed the position of the province's seventh Premier.

The results of the 1922 contest showed a heavy preference for United Farmer candidates at Ukrainian polls. Exceptions were rare. D.A. Ross, one of the few Liberals returned to the house, received majorities at all Ukrainian polls in St. Clements, except Ladywood, which was delivered to W.N. Kolisnyk, the Labour candidate. All of Ross's three opponents lost their deposits. The Ukrainians at Mountain Road cast a majority of their ballots for Conservative Richard Coad, in his loss to the victorious United Farmer in Beautiful Plains. In Kildonan-St. Andrew's, the Ukrainian vote split almost equally between Labour, Liberal and United Farmer candidates. In Carillon, Russell, Springfield and Swan River constituencies, Ukrainians cast heavily in favour of victorious United Farmer candidates. In Minnedosa, Ukrainians polled two to one in favour of United Farmer, N. Cameron. In Dauphin, Ukrainians voted largely for third and last place finisher H. P. Nicholson of the United Farmers of Manitoba. At Kosiw he received 101 ballots, while victorious Liberal,

¹⁰² Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1923, p. 461.

Archibald Esplin, received only ten. The overall runner-up, Labour candidate George Palmer, received 14. In Gilbert Plains, Farmer A.G. Berry received heavy support at Ukrainian polls. Lemberg School offered a unanimous decision on his behalf. In Rockwood, United Farmer incumbent William McKinnell took Komarno with 103 votes to a combined opposition of 33. Plumridge totals went 63 to 11 in his favour, and Malonton 117 to 35. In Winnipeg and Brandon, north end polls were again heavily in favour of Labour candidates.¹⁰³

In Ethelbert, United Farmer Hryhorczuk was returned by acclamation. Elected from the same party in Fisher was N. V. Bachynsky. His 581 votes were sufficient to defeat incumbent Independent H. L. Mobb's 354 vote total. Liberal John G. Hamilton was third with 262 votes.¹⁰⁴ In Gimli, Conservative Elias Grabosky tallied a total of barely 100 votes, making the contest a two-man race between Independent Liberal Michael Rojeski and United Farmer Ingimar Ingaldson. The Icelandic and Ukrainian polls voted on behalf of their respective countrymen, Rojeski edging out his opponent by 1570 to 1310 votes. In Emerson, Independent Farmer Yakimischak, although returned with a minority of the popular vote, scored an easy victory over his three opponents. The all but unanimous majorities posted at eight Ukrainian polls were all that was needed for Yakimischak to win the riding. His total of 998 compared to 567 for D. H. McFadden, the Conservative, 566 for R. F. Curran, the United Farmer, and 435 for H. Steward, the Liberal. In Tolstoi, Yakimischak polled

¹⁰³ Manitoba Free Press, July 19, 1922.

¹⁰⁴ Canadian Annual Review, 1923, p. 458.

189 votes to a total opposition count of 11. Similar results were seen at Gardenton with 116 votes to 18, at Stuartburn with 159 to 47, at Vita with 140 to 12, at Arbakka with 135 to 34, at Sundown with 59 to 18, and at Caliento with 118 to 14.¹⁰⁵

Nicholas Volodymyr Bachynsky, along with N. M. Hryhorczuk, became a long-standing Ukrainian representative in the Legislature. A member of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, Bachynsky was born in Western Ukraine in 1887, arriving in Canada in 1906 at the age of 19. After his arrival, he worked in the mines at Sudbury and later in the grain elevators at Fort William. He attended the Ruthenian Training School in Brandon and from 1909 to 1911 acted as a federal court interpreter throughout the prairies. He taught public school in the Ukrainian community of Fisher Branch for 6 years, and in 1918 acted as an interpreter in Winnipeg police and assize courts. Bachynsky belonged to various committees in aid of Ukraine, as well as the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens Committee and the Ukrainian Red Cross. His first political involvement in Canada was in 1911 with the Conservative Party. He left that party in 1917 in protest against the Borden government's decision to disenfranchise "enemy aliens".¹⁰⁶

Michael Rojeski, a Roman Catholic farmer born in Ukraine, was elected as an Independent Liberal in Gimli, holding the seat for only one

¹⁰⁵ Manitoba Free Press, July 19, 1922.

¹⁰⁶ Macrouch, F.A., (ed.), op. cit., p. 69. See also Winnipeg Tribune, March 30, 1944. Bachynsky was re-elected, after 1922, at every election until 1958. He sat as a Progressive and Liberal-Progressive during later years. In 1950 he was appointed Speaker of the Legislature.

term until 1927. Rojeski, who was a past Reeve of Gimli municipality, had been Taras Ferley's main liaison within the riding. Prior to the 1922 election, Rojeski was urged by prominent Ukrainian lawyer and community leader J. W. Arsenych, to seek election as an Independent with the support of leading citizens. It was hoped that Rojeski would become an able representative of the Ukrainian community, under the tutelage of M.L.A. Dmytro Yakimischak and J. W. Arsenych. As it turned out, Rojeski alienated the bulk of the Ukrainian electorate by catering to the small group of Anglo-Saxons who had always monopolized power within the riding. While Yakimischak and Bachynsky appointed Ukrainian receivers to manage defunct Ukrainian municipalities in the mid 1920's, Rojeski appointed an Anglo-Saxon, who along with provincially appointed agents and officials constituted a separate base of power amongst the Ukrainians. Rojeski's actions resulted in the fact that in future elections the Ukrainian electorate of Gimli supported candidates of Bracken's United Farmers. This support was given in spite of the Bracken government's lack of initiative in alleviating the district's poverty and was made in consideration of the presence and work of Hryhorczuk and Bachynsky within that government.¹⁰⁷

The rise of the Bracken government, while coinciding with an effective display of political cohesiveness by the Ukrainian community, was to do little to change that community's socio-economic status. Economy of administration and dislike of party were the outstanding characteristics of the new government, which was to display few positive initiatives or major achievements.¹⁰⁸ It stressed a disciplined economy, a careful administration,

¹⁰⁷ Ivanchuk, M., op. cit., Ukrainskyi holos, February 27, 1974.

¹⁰⁸ Donnelly, M.S., op. cit., p. 63.

and the virtue of self-denial, seeing its role as the provider of firm, cautious and conservative government. In essence, this emphasis on austerity, economy and stability meant cutting back on programmes designed to benefit those on the bottom end of the socio-economic scale.¹⁰⁹

The election of this new government was a reaction to the world-wide depression which followed the First World War. The Bracken government came into power during a time of economic uncertainty and agricultural depression. Wheat prices collapsed in 1921, cattle prices were in a slump and the province experienced high levels of industrial unemployment. Being a predominantly agricultural province, Manitoba sought relief from stresses of rapid change, an exhausting war and a deep depression by returning to the rural virtues of thrift, sobriety and patient labour.¹¹⁰

The new government's devotion to economy brought reductions in expenditures and the cessation of a number of reform policies introduced by the Norris government. Programmes designed to extend financial aid and credit to rural areas were dropped, rural electrification was slowed down, and Mothers' Allowances and educational expenditures reduced in order to fund other demands. The government tried to shift the onus of taxation away from land to income, through the implementation of an income tax and an increase in gas taxes.¹¹¹

109 Peterson, T., op. cit., pp. 84-89.

110 Morton, W. L., op. cit., pp. 378-81.

111 Ibid., pp. 386-87.

Government cutbacks were a hard blow to Ukrainians for whom the quality of life already suffered greatly as a result of their poor agricultural and economic base. The conditions facing the many Ukrainian farmers settled on sub-marginal lands were as desperate as ever before. By 1922, the broad limits of agricultural settlement in Manitoba had been overrun, and the financial breakdown of the school system, rural distress and urban unemployment were largely due to past settlement of marginal and sub-marginal lands which were costly to clear and of low productivity. During the 1920's hundreds of Ukrainians and other farmers were forced to abandon their farms and close their schools. Although the province would prosper in the future as a result of improvements in agriculture and the development of new resources and industries, this prosperity would have to bear the social and financial costs of past settlement by Ukrainians and others, having been allowed in areas such as the water-logged slopes of the Canadian Shield, the Interlake and the bush and marsh areas west of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis.¹¹²

The Bracken government, as were previous legislatures, was marked by an Anglo-Saxon dominance. The ruling group within the legislature was basically intact, consisting of wealthy British farmers from southwestern Manitoba in coalition with British businessmen from south Winnipeg.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid., p. 391.

¹¹³ Peterson, T., op. cit., p. 84.

The Labour and Conservative party caucuses were predominantly British with Ukrainian, French and Icelandic members being elected as United Farmers, Independents or Liberals. Except for one French-Canadian, all of Bracken's ministers were British. This trend continued into the period of the Liberal Progressive coalition, where by 1936 Anglo-Saxon dominance was at its highest in the legislature. Between 1927 and 1936, Hryhorczuk and Bachynsky were the sole Ukrainians in the legislature.¹¹⁴

The new post war government saw its role as transcending class and party interests, in favour of government ruled in a "spirit of united citizenship" and dedicated "to the whole people of Manitoba". Although this spirit of avowed impartiality clearly benefited those classes and segments of society which suffered least from the exigencies of the times, the government apparently succeeded in defusing the animosities which had previously divided the legislature. The school question was removed from the forefront of Manitoba politics. The United Farmer government appointed P. A. Talbot as Speaker of the Legislature and accepted Albert Prefontaine into the cabinet in an apparently successful attempt to acknowledge the Franco-Manitoban fact without reopening the volatile question of bilingual rights.¹¹⁵ The same principle of recognizing the locally elected representatives of divergent groups within the province was apparently applied to

114 McAllister, Jim, "Ethnic Participation in Canadian Legislatures: The Case of Manitoba", Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. III, No. 1, 1971, p. 141.

115 Morton, W. L., op. cit., p. 384.

the Ukrainian M.L.A.'s as well. While not ready to rectify past educational "reforms" by the Norris Liberals, the new government was prepared to accept Ukrainian M.L.A.'s as integral parts of its administration. Thus, Hryhorczuk was asked to campaign on behalf of John Bracken when he first sought election in The Pas.¹¹⁶ Evidently the Ukrainian representatives as well as the community at large were prepared to acquiesce on the issue of educational rights, in favour of an integrated presence within the government framework.

Many old problems thus remained unresolved. Norris' educational reforms stayed intact, with a continued proscription against non-English languages in schools. The discrimination against and harassment of Ukrainian public school teachers continued, some even suggesting that any teacher knowing a language other than English be barred from teaching in public schools.¹¹⁷ Non-English parents of truant children were fined and threatened with deportation on the grounds that they were negligent in the duties of Canadian citizenship.¹¹⁸ Increasing unemployment amongst Ukrainians led to new cries of communist subversion, while immigration restrictions were enacted against Ukrainians, classifying them as "non-preferred" colonization

¹¹⁶ Duck Mountain Pioneer, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ Ukrainskyi holos, August 23, 1922.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., December 16, 1925.

material.¹¹⁹ As the depression of the 1930's approached, wide segments of the job market were barred to Ukrainians. This led to Anglo-conformist tendencies within the community, with many rejecting or concealing their true identity to order to secure social acceptance and employment. Increasing numbers of Ukrainians were threatened with the prospect of deportation as a solution to rising government relief expenditures.¹²⁰

Although the Ukrainian community secured a significant post-war political victory in the 1922 election, its position within society was not significantly changed. Although the major problem of gaining political representation was in part overcome, the community continued to encounter discrimination and prejudice in its efforts to achieve basic equality within society.

119 Davidson, G., op. cit., p. 8.

120 Gray, James, The Winter Years: The Depression on the Prairies, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1966, pp. 126 & 131-32.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

The Ukrainians in Manitoba are an example of an immigrant group which had to adapt to a new cultural, economic and political milieu, dominated by a largely hostile majority. In Europe, they had experienced a long history of oppression by foreign powers, and in coming to Canada they were seeking better economic and political opportunities. To their dismay, they were mainly settled in remote and sub-marginal districts which demanded unremitting labour while offering little more than hardship and poverty. Some escaped their unpromising homesteads to a life of unskilled labour in railway and construction gangs or to menial work in Brandon and Winnipeg. Thus, most early immigrants to Manitoba occupied only the bottom rung of the socio-economic scale. In addition, they encountered social prejudice. After the inflammatory provincial election of 1899, this resulted in Conservative legislation designed to exclude them from voting. Despite this hostile reception, many Ukrainians, particularly those with experience in the recent populist and radical political movements in Western Ukraine, were determined to achieve direct political participation and with it the protection of their national identity.

In the period after 1900, after struggles against the influences of Roman Catholic clergy and Protestant missionaries, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches emerged as the dominant influences within the community. Strong secular organizations also emerged, both in opposition to Catholic

organizational domination and as an extension of the mass-oriented educational movements of Western Ukraine. A significant portion of these early educational societies in Manitoba were of radical political orientation. The Ukrainian community experienced a broad organizational development, characterized by diverse political expression. The intellectual elites within these organizations were the first links between the Ukrainian immigrant community and Manitoba society in general, and became, in many cases, go-betweens for government and parties in their efforts to reach the Ukrainian vote.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, the intellectual movement in opposition to it which contributed to the creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, and the radical Ukrainian socialist associations were the three major groups vying for dominance within the community. Each reflected a political alignment tending to favour the Conservative, Liberal and radical-socialist parties respectively. Each group tended to act as a political liaison on behalf of their respectively favoured party. A wide-scale political alignment in favour of these parties, stemming from affiliation with one of the community groups, did not materialize, however. Voting behaviour was dependent upon popularly held perceptions concerning political parties in Manitoba, and upon the particular policies of parties as they applied to community interests.

Because of Conservative franchise limitations on participation within provincial politics between 1900-1904, the initial political involvement of Ukrainians consisted mainly of attempts to better their positions locally in the task of homesteading. Political activity on the municipal level was initiated in order to rectify problems stemming from haphazard settlement, as well as to remedy the problem of inadequate services being supplied to Ukrainian settlements. The inevitable increased participation of Ukrainians within provincial politics led to the cessation of franchise qualifications and an open competition between parties for the Ukrainian vote. Various intermediaries within the community, in the form of party-backed newspapers and political spokesmen, promoted their respective party platforms, and transmitted various election promises and gifts.

Provincial elections in Manitoba prior to the First World War were characterized by large scale graft and corruption. Political parties used all within their means to influence voters. Besides being awarded their naturalization papers as an inducement to vote for a given party, Ukrainians became the focus of a thriving trade in vote procurement which dealt in money, sausage, whiskey, beer and tobacco. The Ukrainian community was united in its criticism of such election practices. Ukrainians with higher education, or a knowledge of English, figured prominently in early election campaigns, acting as valuable go-betweens for the political parties. In return for trying to influence the Ukrainian vote, they received minor

administrative positions within the government bureaucracy. The increased participation of such individuals in the work of the political parties led to the rise of Ukrainian political clubs.

Although there was a small organized Conservative following within the Ukrainian community, the earliest voting patterns of Ukrainians in Manitoba showed an inclination towards the Liberal party, both provincially and federally. The Liberals had initiated the large-scale immigration of Ukrainians to Canada through their open immigration policy, granted them their homesteads and persistently defended their presence in the country. The federal Liberal government used the years that it was in power after the mass arrival of Ukrainians to its full advantage. In order to have itself favourably accepted by the Ukrainian electorate, the Liberals appointed a number of Ukrainian civil servants and supported the widely-read Canadian Farmer.

Another reason for the Liberal party's favour was that it reminded Ukrainian immigrants of the popular Ukrainian Radical party in Western Ukraine. Conversely, the first Ukrainian settlers displayed a certain aversion for the Conservative party, perceiving it as a party of lords and rich people who were interested in the affairs of their own class only. The nativist reaction of the Conservatives against the Ukrainians left a permanently negative impression, resulting in scant support for that party other than at times when such support was inevitable. Support for labour and socialist-

oriented parties was not substantial until the enduring nature of the economic subordination of Ukrainians became clear. The apparent lack of initiative and commitment by the traditional parties to alleviate this condition supported the trend away from these parties. Wartime government restrictions and nativist reactions, along with the post-war economic depression, led to a shift in favour of reform-oriented opposition parties and labour-socialist parties.

The Ukrainian partiality for the Liberals progressively diminished during the 15-year term of Rodmond Roblin's Conservative government. This regime used all means available to it, both legitimate and corrupt, to ensure itself the benefit of the Ukrainian vote. Its most successful strategy was to openly defend the bilingual rights of Ukrainians and other non-British citizens through a favourable interpretation of the 1896 Laurier-Greenway agreement. This commitment, combined with an increasing Liberal distrust of bilingual schools, led to a widescale shift in support within the Ukrainian community towards the Conservatives. By 1914, this support was all but unanimous, and in part responsible for saving the Roblin government from defeat that year. In spite of this solidification behind the Conservatives, there was a growing discontent within the Ukrainian community with the electoral corruption and manipulation practiced by the political parties of Manitoba. There was a pervasive desire to assert independent community oriented political activity.

The first instance of such community self-assertion came during the 1915 election, following the resignation of the Roblin Conservative government, over the legislative building scandal. That government's penchant for political corruption and fiscal mismanagement finally caused its demise. Yet the Liberal opposition which toppled the government focused on bilingualism in schools as an area which required immediate reform. As the political situation within the province turned irrevocably in favour of the Liberals, the Ukrainian community abandoned its allegiance to the Conservatives and added to the already overwhelming support for the new Liberal government. The major outcome of the 1915 election was the election of Ukrainian Independent Taras Ferley in Gimli, making him the first Ukrainian to sit as a member of the Manitoba legislature. Ferley unsuccessfully opposed the Liberal abolition of bilingual education in Manitoba.

While instituting a number of economic programmes benefiting Ukrainians, the new government's campaign of civil and political reform abolished bilingualism in schools, and impeded community control of education. In spite of massive appeals from the Ukrainian community against such actions, the Liberals were unyielding in their determination to assert a primarily assimilative role for public schools. Although claiming to be motivated by a desire to ensure an equality of opportunity for all citizens, the Liberals were clearly motivated by an unreasoned fear of bilingual schools, especially those amongst the Ukrainians. Massive public representations and proposals put forward by the Ukrainian community were ignored, and community leaders

openly discounted. The callous manner in which the Liberals implemented their decisions sent the Ukrainian community into a protective strategy which was to be enacted during the post-war period. Along with previous efforts to exclude Ukrainians from politics, and restrictive government legislation and excesses of Anglo-Canadian nativism during the First World War, the political confrontation over educational rights was to have a great influence on post-war political behaviour and attitudes.

During the post-war period, persistent anti-alien sentiments and a pervasive belief amongst Ukrainians that the Liberal and Conservative parties lacked a commitment to meet their needs led to increased support for opposition movements and parties of more radical nature. The political alignment of Ukrainians turned increasingly in favour of those political currents whose positions were dedicated to aiding the lower strata of society. The political participation of Ukrainians passed from the hands of personally motivated agents who manipulated the Ukrainian vote on behalf of a given party to community-oriented leaders, amongst whom Ukrainian teachers figured most prominently. The substantial blocks of Ukrainian votes which had been the subject of active competition between the Liberals and Conservatives, became the vehicles for community self-assertion and advancement. Ukrainian voters showed an increasing awareness of their political rights and corresponding political power.

The 1920 and 1922 elections brought impressive examples of the way in which post-war Ukrainian discontent was transformed into affirmative political action. What was evident was a more mature and articulate community desirous of social, economic and political equality and cognizant of the skills needed to survive in Canada. It succeeded in gaining direct political representation by electing a number of Independent and opposition party candidates to the Legislature. By 1922, four Ukrainians were members of the Manitoba legislature, two sitting as members of the governing party.

The community displayed a strength and cohesion which had been largely lacking in previous years, and established their representatives as an accepted presence in the Manitoba legislature. While not visibly raising their socio-economic status, these post-war political successes did lead toward establishing the Ukrainians as an integral part of Manitoba politics.

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