

# The Ruthenian School Revolt of 1913: Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Alberta<sup>1</sup>

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Controversies over the linguistic educational rights of ethnic minorities in western Canadian public schools have a lengthy pedigree. They date back more than a century to the so-called Manitoba School Question. When Manitoba passed the School Act of 1890, a protracted debate over minority linguistic and cultural rights in that province ensued. That debate was not settled until the legislation of 1916.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, another western Canadian drama involving language, culture, and schooling was played out in Alberta in 1912–13. This less-investigated series of events we label the “Ruthenian School Revolt.”<sup>3</sup>

These two events were significantly different. To begin with, their legal antecedents and consequences are dissimilar. School attendance was not compulsory in Manitoba until 1916, although the province had legally operating

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<sup>1</sup>This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Canadian History of Education Association Seventh Biennial Conference, Lethbridge, Alberta, 25–27 October 1992.

<sup>2</sup>For excellent overviews and analyses of the Manitoba School Question see Brian Titley, “Religion, Culture and Power: The School Question in Manitoba,” in *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, ed. E. Brian Titley (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1990) and Cornelius Jaenen, “The Manitoba School Question: An Ethnic Interpretation,” in *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, ed. M. L. Kovacs (Regina: Plains Research Centre, 1978).

<sup>3</sup>Sources, variously secondary and primary, for this event include William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981); Peter Svarich, “Organizing for Education,” in *Land of Pain, Land of Promise*, trans. Harry Piniuta (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978); M. R. Lupul, “Ukrainian-Language Education in Canada’s Public Schools,” in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays on the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. M. R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Francis Swyrypa, “The Ukrainians in Alberta,” in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985). This investigation adds to these brief accounts by further researching records of the Council of Public Instruction of the North-West Territories, the Alberta Department of Education, relevant School Ordinances, and contemporary accounts in both English- and Ukrainian-language newspapers.

bilingual schools, whereas Alberta did not. Also, the legality of key elements of Manitoba's language and school acts and regulations was questioned by the courts and by Parliament, whereas Alberta's legislation and policies were on firmer ground.

Further, Manitoba's cultural, linguistic, and ethnic complexity was considerable, as the province was home to several ethnic and communities active in public schooling. The legal status of the French language in Manitoba and the politically explosive issue of Francophone rights further complicated matters. Finally, denominational school rights were in fundamental contention in Manitoba but in Alberta the issue was moot, because of the provision of separate schools.

The Manitoba School Question should not completely overshadow events elsewhere. As Brian Titley notes, "the controversies which bedevilled Manitoba . . . were not unique in Canada."<sup>4</sup> We think there are instructive parallels between the events in Manitoba and Alberta. Both were characterized by controversy over bilingual instruction in schools, both involved the ethnic Ukrainian community as a major actor, and both tested the spirit and letter of the laws governing schooling in their respective provinces. Each was instrumental in defining the linguistic educational rights of ethnic minorities. Most significantly, both show the resistance of some ethnic minorities to the cultural hegemony of public schooling and to the power of the state in the early history of the prairie provinces.

#### UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT: ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS

Although Ukrainian immigration to Canada was under way by 1870, significant numbers did not arrive until the 1890s. Between 1892 and 1914, about 168,000 Ukrainians settled in Canada across the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Those who chose what is now Alberta typically arrived in Edmonton. If they chose the life of farming, they quickly selected and registered their homesteads, then struck out to the "untamed" land east and northeast of the capital. The early Ukrainian immigrants to this part of the province settled in the Edna-Star area—about forty miles east of Edmonton. As these and adjacent lands were settled, the immigrants moved farther afield until the entire tract of land northeast and east of Edmonton to the Saskatchewan border was primarily occupied by Ukrainian settlers.<sup>5</sup> The negative

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<sup>4</sup>Titley, "Religion, Culture and Power," 75.

<sup>5</sup>For a concise overview of the history of Ukrainians in Alberta see Swyripa, "The Ukrainians in Alberta."

reaction of some Anglo-Celtic Canadians to "foreigners" is well documented,<sup>6</sup> and reactions to Ukrainian immigration were typical and damning. Although the "Galician" immigration to western Canada was generally supported by the Canadian Pacific Railway, business interests, and the federal government, "it infuriated, disgusted, appalled and plagued just about everybody else."<sup>7</sup>

As early as 1897, the editor of the *Calgary Herald* expressed alarm over the masses of Ukrainians arriving in the West. "Canada," he said, "was never intended to be made a dumping ground for the useless surplus population of Eastern Europe."<sup>8</sup> Some members of Parliament shared these sentiments. In the House of Commons, Frank Oliver asserted: "Now transplant in the North-West . . . [Galicians] and you put a collar around the neck of your civilized and progressive settlers."<sup>9</sup> In literature, this attitude was echoed by J. S. Woodsworth:

The Galician figures, disproportionately to his numbers, in the police court and penitentiary. Centuries of poverty and oppression, have to some extent, animalized him. Drunk, he is quarrelsome and dangerous. The flowers of courtesy and refinement are not abundant in the first generation immigrant.<sup>10</sup>

Prejudice was only heightened by the concentration of Ukrainians in ethnic bloc settlements. To politicians and educators, *en bloc* settlement patterns underscored the need to assimilate the foreigners into Canadian society. D. J. Goggin, Superintendent of Education in the Northwest Territories, emphatically expressed his view on this issue:

One of the most pressing . . . problems arises from the settlement among us of so many nationalities in the block or "colony" system. It would be criminal to shut our eyes to the fact that this rapid increase of a foreign and relatively ignorant population is at once a challenge and an invitation to our institutions. To assimilate these races, to secure the cooperation of these alien forces, are problems demanding for their solution, patience, tact and tolerant but firm legislation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) discusses the larger issue of prejudice in Alberta and nicely places the experiences of Ukrainians into this broader context.

<sup>7</sup>Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), 34.

<sup>8</sup>*Calgary Herald*, 15 July 1897, 6.

<sup>9</sup>*Debates of the House of Commons*, 1899, 8522-25.

<sup>10</sup>J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 112.

<sup>11</sup>*Report of the Council of Public Instruction to the North West Territories*, 1898, 11-12.

Such legislation was in effect. The 1901 School Ordinance made school attendance compulsory between the ages of seven and twelve; required that school districts be established wherever a portion of the Territories, not exceeding five miles in length or breadth, contained four resident persons liable to assessment and twelve children between the ages five and sixteen; and defined truancy regulations and penalties for those who defied the compulsory attendance laws.<sup>12</sup>

#### UKRAINIAN PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOLING

Generally, as is noted in school inspectors' reports, the Ukrainian settlers responded positively to the requirements of the school ordinance.

There are eighty school districts already organized chiefly among Ruthenians. Seventy of these schools have been in operation for some time. The trustee boards [in the Ruthenian districts], as a rule, deserve credit for the time they devote and the interest they take in administering the affairs of their districts.<sup>13</sup>

In some of the Ruthenian schools the progress is quite surprising.<sup>14</sup>

It may be inferred new immigrants accepted that their children needed a modicum of education, as parents rarely objected to coercive education laws. At the same time, parents must have recognized the schools' mandate was to assimilate their children. Yet their actions indicate they understood schools could also help preserve their heritage. In particular, the immigrants' desire for bilingual (Ukrainian-English) teachers hints at a belief that such teachers could assure the preservation of their language and other significant aspects of their culture. Bilingual teachers might teach part of the day in Ukrainian and could model and teach Ukrainian values, culture, history, literature, and arts.

Although at the close of the nineteenth century such teachers were not available in what is now Alberta, the situation soon changed. A Ukrainian normal school—the Ruthenian Training School—was established in Manitoba in 1905. Four years later a similar institution, the English School for Foreigners, was opened in Regina.<sup>15</sup> Early in 1913, a number of Ukrainian students from the Manitoba and Saskatchewan training schools were hired by

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<sup>12</sup>*The School Ordinance*, 1901, 233; 204.

<sup>13</sup>*Fifth Annual Report*, 1910, 69.

<sup>14</sup>*Sixth Annual Report*, 1911, 57.

<sup>15</sup>OI'ha Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 2d ed. (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1968), 88–89. Alberta also established an English School for Foreigners in Vegreville, in 1913. However, it was short-lived, closing in 1916.

local school boards in the Mundare-Andrew-Vegreville area. These Ukrainian communities had reason to believe that their cultural and linguistic needs could be met by public schools.

#### INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS

Ruthenians were also active in civic affairs. One major goal was to gain a stronger voice in the legislature. It was logical, some reasoned, to have Ukrainian candidates in the constituencies mainly populated by Ukrainians: Vegreville, Victoria, Pakan, Whitford, and Vermillion. So in January of 1913, with a provincial election imminent, a Ukrainian political convention was called in Vegreville and a plan to place prominent Ukrainian candidates in constituencies with a Ukrainian majority was formalized.<sup>16</sup>

The natural political vehicle to this end was the Liberal party, as some prominent Ukrainians already had strong links with provincial Liberals. The organizational committee affirmed its pro-Liberal stance by passing resolutions supporting Arthur Sifton's administration, and then chose committed Liberals to form a delegation to meet with the premier. The delegates included Peter Svarich, Roman Kremar, Paul Rudyk, Michael Gowda, Hryhorii Kraykiwsky, and Andrew Shandro.<sup>17</sup> As the delegation was introduced by J. R. Boyle, the Minister of Education, success seemed secure. However, the proposal did not impress the Premier.

Of the five constituencies in which the Ukrainians were most numerous—notably Victoria, Pakan, Vegreville, Whitford and Vermillion—only the Liberals in Whitford nominated a Ukrainian candidate, Andrew Shandro. This situation disturbed some Ukrainian party members to such a degree that they decided to switch party allegiance. They launched a vigorous advance campaign to choose a Ukrainian at the Conservative nomination meeting to be held in Vegreville in March 1913. Since the majority of delegates were of Ukrainian origin, the Ukrainian Conservatives were certain they would succeed in nominating their candidate, Peter Kulmatytsky.

On the day of the convention the town hall was packed. "The Ukrainian delegates looked round and rubbed their hands with glee when they saw that there were more of them than others. They were confident of victory."<sup>18</sup> Their joy, however, was to be short-lived. Someone moved that a nominations committee be struck to select the candidates and the motion was carried. The

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<sup>16</sup>Czumer, *Recollections*, 98–99.

<sup>17</sup>Shandro was President of the Association of Ukrainian School Trustees, and a prominent Liberal who later became Canada's first Ukrainian MLA.

<sup>18</sup>Czumer, *Recollections*, 101.

Ukrainian delegates did not realize it was a political ploy which resulted in a majority of non-Ukrainians being selected for the committee. To the Ukrainian delegates' dismay, the committee chose a non-Ukrainian, F. A. Morrison, over Kulmatytsky. "The auditorium burst into pandemonium . . . It was not long before fighting broke out among the delegates in the auditorium, in the corridor, out on the street and in the marketplace. The 'war' raged for almost an hour."<sup>19</sup> But to no avail; Morrison retained the nomination.

Now the Ukrainians were effectively shut out of the political mainstream. In the end, only one of the ridings they had targeted—Whitford—succeeded in nominating a Ukrainian candidate. Unable to campaign under either the Liberal or Conservative banners, Svarich, Kraykiwsky, Gowda, and Rudyk elected to run as independents. On April 18th the only Ukrainian to emerge victorious in the election was Andrew Shandro.

#### CONSEQUENCES AND REPRISALS

Not only was the Ukrainians' first attempt to enter provincial politics a dismal failure, but within a month of the election they were to suffer the repercussions of daring first to turn their backs on, then to oppose actively the victorious Liberals. The party in which the Ukrainians first placed their trust would now repay the perceived treachery of Ukrainian political leaders. In particular, J. R. Boyle, the Minister of Education, identified a small group of "Galician teachers" as the driving force behind the plan to nominate Ukrainian candidates under the Conservative banner.<sup>20</sup>

In the ensuing reprisal, the arenas of public schooling and provincial politics would intersect, as they so often have in the social history of western Canada. About a month after the election, the Department of Education ruled that only "qualified" teachers could be in charge of schools. The significance of this ruling was ominous in school districts serving Ukrainian bloc settlements: the Ukrainians teaching in these districts were deemed unqualified. The ruling affected some thirteen Ukrainian teachers. Three of the teachers were students from Alberta College, seven were from Manitoba College, and three had third-class certificates from Manitoba. None were "qualified" in that all taught on the authority of a permit, as they were not Normal School graduates.<sup>21</sup>

It fell to R. Fletcher (Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners) to effect the ruling. Following instructions, Fletcher visited the boards of trustees of the

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 102.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 103.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 103.

Oleskow, Podola, Molodia, Zawale, Spring Creek, Paraskevia, and Stanislaw school districts to dismiss their "unqualified" teachers and to replace them with the "qualified" teachers whom he had brought. The respective boards quickly executed his directive. But when Fletcher visited the Stanislawow school and issued the same order, the first serious signs of resistance emerged. Although the board of trustees did comply, it did so only with considerable reluctance.

Compliance, either speedy or grudging, was not forthcoming in the Vladimir, Kolomea, and Lwi school districts. There, Fletcher's directives were ignored. This recalcitrance was countered by the dissolution of the elected boards and the appointment of Fletcher as the official trustee for these districts. As official trustee Fletcher immediately replaced the Ruthenian teachers with his "qualified" personnel and there, perhaps unhappily for the community, the matter rested. In one school district opposition to the new directive became active and belligerent.

#### THE RUTHENIAN SCHOOL REVOLT

North of Vegreville lies the Bukowina school district. When the Bukowina school district trustees refused to dismiss their Ruthenian teacher, Fletcher resorted to a familiar strategy. He reported their recalcitrance to the Department of Education and was immediately appointed official trustee. He then returned to the Bukowina school on 15 July 1913, dismissed Mr. Czumer, the bilingual Ukrainian teacher, and placed Mr. Armstrong, a "qualified" but non-Ukrainian and unilingual teacher, in charge of the school.

It soon became clear the local Ukrainian community was not going to acquiesce quietly to this imposed change. Within an hour about twenty rate payers assembled on the school grounds. A description of what transpired is found in Fletcher's annual report:

They were in no pleasant mood. They shook their fists at the teacher and myself, and the language they used was unparliamentary, to say the least. One of the ex-trustees entered the school, disturbed the order of exercises and dismissed the children. He then came outside and strutted among the crowd in high glee at his apparent success. One of the more cautious ones intimated that a court might follow this trouble. He did not care a whit for the court, the police or Government, he said. He was a real hero in his own eyes and would have been a hero in the eyes of the other rate payers had his success not been short lived. Four days later he appeared before the Inspector of Police at Fort Saskatchewan and was fined five dollars and cost. This had the desired effect. He made no trouble since.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>*Annual Report, 1913, 42-43.*

After the trial, Mr. Armstrong conducted classes "without further molestation. But the struggle did not end."<sup>23</sup> Rather than have their children taught by the new teacher, the Bukowinian taxpayers built a private school just off the grounds of the public school and employed the dismissed Mr. Czumer. About thirty students went to the private school. Not one attended the public school.

While these measures and counter-measures were played out by the Ruthenian taxpayers and the Department of Education, newspapers published partisan assessments of the drama. English-language newspapers strongly supported Boyle's actions. A representative example appeared in the *Edmonton Capital*, whose headlines endorsed the positions that "certain qualifications are demanded of pedagogues by [the] Province and must be lived up to" and "no more will instructors be kept who cannot speak [the] English language." The paper reports:

Last spring a number of Galicians came to Alberta from Manitoba and secured employment in different districts. The majority of these are unable to speak English.

Mr. Fletcher . . . was instructed to remove the unsatisfactory teachers and replace them with normal trained instructors. In a number of instances the teacher refused to resign.

In the case of the Kolomea and Bukowina districts the opposition was so strenuous that they were taken before a magistrate, with the result that they were fined for interfering with a regular qualified teacher in the discharge of his duties.<sup>24</sup>

Such reports were regularly published in English-language newspapers. However, Ukrainians had their own Ukrainian-language press and their perspective was trumpeted by the *Nowyny*.<sup>25</sup> The tenor of its attack on Fletcher, the Department of Education, and the Liberal party shows in the following selected excerpts:

#### MORE VIOLENCE BY LIBERAL CURS

The Liberal cur, Fletcher, continues to wage war among the Ukrainian schools. Not long ago he drove the teacher, Kozłowski, from the school in Podolia and replaced him with a lumberjack. In a few weeks, the lumberjack ran away and the farmers hired another Ukrainian teacher, H.B. Gavinchuk.

Gavinchuk did not even teach one week when big-bellied Fletcher came and drove him out, saying "I have already driven you out once and you can no longer teach in a public school."

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 43.

<sup>24</sup>*Edmonton Capital*, 19 August 1913, 2.

<sup>25</sup>Czumer, *Recollections*, 104--5, 110--12, 106--10.



In place of Gavinchuk, Fletcher, against the wishes of the trustees and the people, placed another bull as he had done in other Ukrainian schools.

No less brutal was the event that took place in the L'viv school district.

The teacher, O. Klymok, enjoyed the support and sympathy of the community. He followed the school curriculum as best he could, and neither the school inspector nor the Department could find fault. But if you wish to strike a dog, you'll find a stick. One renegade, by the name of Strashok, reported to the Department of Education that Mr. Klymok was teaching Ukrainian songs on Sunday. At once, the supervisor of Outhouses appeared on the scene and expelled the teacher for this horrible crime.

That the Liberal Cattle had lost all sense of honor and truth is shown by the Liberal Napoleon who, in his speeches, lost little opportunity to attack the Ukrainians. "The politics of my Department is that in all the schools in Alberta teaching shall be done in the English language only. Teachers who have come from Manitoba are not qualified and do not speak English well. That is why my Department has forbidden them to teach."<sup>26</sup>

The confrontation soon went beyond words. Given the expense of operating a private school, the ex-treasurer of the Bukowina district collected taxes from some of the ratepayers to pay Mr. Czumer, the private teacher. Mr. Fletcher intervened. He ordered five of whom he considered to be the leading belligerents to pay their taxes to the public school within ten days, or face dire consequences. This threat was ignored. In consequence, on the 15th of December, Fletcher seized a horse from each of the five "renegades." After legal consultation, the five paid their taxes to Fletcher and the ex-treasurer refunded all the money he had collected. To the rate payers, the consequence was clear—the private school could not be funded by taxes levied on assessed municipal property.

The government took additional and decisive action to counter this Ruthenian School Revolt. Frustrated by school boards re-engaging dismissed teachers, the Legislature effectively checked the practice by adding the following provisions to the School Ordinance:

- (2) Any person not so qualified [namely, having a valid certificate issued under the regulations of the department] shall not be entitled to recover in any court of law, any remuneration for his services as a teacher.
- (3) Any person other than the holder of such certificate of qualification who undertakes to conduct a school as teacher shall be guilty of an offence, and on summary conviction, liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty dollars and in default to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>*Новини*, 12 September 1913, 1 (authors' translation).

<sup>27</sup>*School Ordinance*, 1913, section 149.

The government had struck a fatal blow. The bilingual teachers were legally and effectively barred from teaching. The private school at Bukowina became illegal and at Christmas its teacher, Mr. Czumer, said goodbye to the children and the community and moved to Edmonton.<sup>28</sup>

However, although the Ruthenian School Revolt was legally over, the fury of the Ukrainian community rose one last time. Unfortunately for the newly appointed teacher, Mr. Armstrong, this fury would be directed at him. Shortly after he returned from his Christmas vacation, three women came to his teacherage and asked him to leave the district. They made clear they had no intention of sending their children to him. According to Czumer, Armstrong was an impudent and arrogant man and told the women that it was not their business to give him orders. He proceeded to show them the door. Apparently, this behaviour was interpreted to be most ungentlemanly and was not tolerated.<sup>29</sup> The *Edmonton Capital* reported the affair as follows:

#### WOMEN EMPLOY THEIR TEETH TO FIGHT A TEACHER

... On January 4th when Mr. Armstrong returned to his shack alongside of the school house after the vacation, two women came into his shack and when his back was turned struck him on the head with a pot and proceeded to maul him up generally using their teeth upon him very fiercely. He succeeded in ejecting them from the house. He was then set upon by a couple of men with clubs who beat him up unmercifully. Of course, the offenders will be prosecuted.<sup>30</sup>

Armstrong had recognized one of the women, the "ringleader," as Maria Kapitsky and charged her with assault. Some reports say she was fined \$200 and spent two months in the women's prison at Macleod with her eighteen-month-old child.<sup>31</sup> However, the authors have not been able to locate court records to verify this claim and her fate remains unclear.

#### THE AFTERMATH

Ukrainians must surely have realized, in light of these recent events, that all possibilities of bilingual schooling for their children were rapidly evaporating. A final attempt came when the Ukrainian community succeeded in having a proposal introduced in the Legislature to amend the School Act to make provision for bilingual schools. But the temper of the times was of mounting

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<sup>28</sup>Czumer, *Recollections*, 115.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>30</sup>*Edmonton Capital*, 9 January 1914, 2.

<sup>31</sup>Lupul, "Ukrainian-Language Education in Canada's Public Schools."

feeling against “enemy aliens,” of agitation by organized churches and other groups for unilingual education, and of fear of failing to assimilate these “aliens.”<sup>32</sup> Instead of amending the School Act, the Legislature unanimously passed the following resolution:

That this House place itself on record as being opposed to bilingualism in any form in the School system of Alberta, and as in favour of the English language being the only language permitted to be used as the medium of instruction in the schools of Alberta, subject to the provisions of any law in force in the Province in that effect.<sup>33</sup>

The Hon. J. R. Boyle, Minister of Education in Sifton’s Liberal administration, was even more explicit: “English is the language of this country and it will be the language of the schools.”<sup>34</sup>

#### DÉNOUEMENT

Thus, by 1915, the controversy over bilingual Ukrainian schooling in Alberta had been settled. Ukrainian as a medium of instruction would not be allowed. If Ukrainian were to be found in the schools at all, it could only be taught after hours to children whose parents were willing to pay the extra costs. This arrangement prevailed until the 1950s, when a Ukrainian-as-second-language course was introduced in the junior and senior high schools.<sup>35</sup>

A more flexible attitude to instruction in other languages grew up in the 1960s and 1970s. At the federal level, the political climate was more receptive to the linguistic and cultural aspirations of minority groups. Leading members of the Ukrainian Business Federation, capitalizing on the supportive environment created by the Royal Commission’s report on Bilingualism and Bicul-

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<sup>32</sup>Cornelius J. Jaenen, “Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada,” in *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*, ed. David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1979); Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982).

<sup>33</sup>*Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs [C.A.R.]*, as cited in Jaenen, “Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada,” 55.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>35</sup>J. Sokolowski, “Bilingual Education in Alberta: Past, Present and Future” (paper presented at the annual conference of the Modern Language Council, Edmonton, Alberta, October 1990), provided the authors with a general overview of Ukrainian language teaching in Alberta since 1950.

turalism<sup>36</sup> and the policy of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework,<sup>37</sup> successfully lobbied the provincial government to amend the Alberta School Act to allow any language, in addition to English, to be used as a language of instruction.<sup>38</sup>

In 1974 Ukrainian bilingual (partial immersion) programmes were established in Alberta. A decade later, the 1988 *Language Education Policy for Alberta* affirmed and expanded “opportunities for students who wish to acquire or maintain languages other than English or French so that they may have access to a partial immersion (bilingual) program.”<sup>39</sup> These bilingual programs in Alberta also find moral support in federal multicultural legislation. As the *Canadian Multicultural Act* affirms, it is now the policy of the Government of Canada to “preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French.”<sup>40</sup>

Today, Ukrainian language teaching is well integrated into the public education system of Alberta, supported by legislative provisions, government policies, and public financial assistance. However, eight decades ago in the Ruthenian School Revolt of 1913, Ukrainians decisively lost a battle to gain a measure of control over the educational institutions their children attended. It is a fitting irony that the same political and educational “machinery” that once undermined the cultural identity of Alberta’s Ukrainian community is today used by Ukrainians to preserve and promote their culture and language.

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<sup>36</sup>Government of Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: 23 October 1969).

<sup>37</sup>The House of Commons of Canada, *Hansard* (8 October 1971).

<sup>38</sup>N. Kach, “Education and Ethnic Acculturation: A Case Study,” in N. Kach, K. Mazurek, R. S. Patterson, and I. DeFaveri, *Essays on Canadian Education* (Calgary: Detselig, 1986), 56–58.

<sup>39</sup>Government of Alberta, *Language Education Policy for Alberta* (November 1988), 16.

<sup>40</sup>The House of Commons of Canada, *Bill C-93, An Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada* (12 July 1988), section 3.