

The immigrants' church



The third force in canadian catholicism, 1880-1920

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As a result of mass migration prior to the First World War, one Canadian in six was by 1920 neither British nor French in origin. Such cultural diversity was only slightly less conspicuous among Catholics who accounted for forty per cent of the total population and numbered 3.5 millions. (This figure includes the more than 100,000 Ukrainian Catholics incorrectly categorized in the 1921 census as members of the Greek Church.) The backbone of the Catholic population remained the French Canadians who comprised more than two-thirds of the cohort, a slight drop from 1881; but over the same period the British component (including the Irish) declined from twenty-five to seventeen per cent. Meanwhile the non-French, non-British segment rose dramatically. This group more than tripled in number and represented almost half of non-French Canadian Catholics after the war.

Religion and immigrant settlement

Thanks to the recent research of social historians we have a better grasp of the process of migration and the insertion of immigrants into host societies. We know, for instance, that although many of the non-British newcomers who arrived in Canada prior to the First World War were functionally illiterate, they had some familiarity with market economies, if not with industrial society. We should therefore be wary of terms such as backward, unskilled, and inward-looking to describe these people or the societies from

which they came. Immigrants may have been peasants in the old country; but faced with demographic, economic or social pressures and anxious to meet short-term objectives usually dictated by the family economy, they often improvised a skill or sought wage employment in primary or secondary industries before considering the much more portentous step of overseas migration.

Once that decision was taken, however, prospective immigrants fully exploited family and kinship networks in order to acquire information regarding possible destinations, facilitate the process of migration, and obtain housing, employment, and financial aid in the host society. Such networks were central to the process of chain migration that determined the flow of immigrants to Canada and elsewhere. It was not necessary for the potential immigrant making use of such networks to have an intimate or personal knowledge of the individual providing such assistance because everyone was tied in some way to everyone else, through blood, marriage, kinship, and neighbourliness.

In the case of immigrants from multiethnic empires – Russian, German, Austro-Hungarian, or Ottoman – such ties might at least initially transcend ethnic boundaries. For instance, the German Protestants from East Prussia who settled in Renfrew, Ontario, in the 1850s brought neighbouring Kashubs (Polish Catholics) in their train. Similarly, the Jews and the *Volksdeutschen* from Galicia in Austria-Hungary who came to Canada in the late nineteenth century attracted Polish and Ukrainian *landsleuten* to their areas of settlement. These realities have been somewhat overlooked by writers anxious to portray their compatriots' migration as an ethnically enclosed phenomenon, perhaps driven by religious or ethnic persecution. While the factual existence of persecution cannot be denied, it is no less true that migration was also propelled by economic forces. Otherwise why did most people within these oppressed cultures not emigrate? And why would early immigrants settle close to their ancestral foes in the country of adoption?

The use of primary networks in the migration process raises the complex question of identity. It is clear from the literature that, numbers permitting, immigrants from the same hometown socialized more with each other in the country of adoption than with compatriots

from other hometowns. They often lived in close proximity to one another, patronized their own businesses, intermarried, took part in the same labour recruitment networks, and helped one another through the mechanisms of the informal economy. Did these immigrants, then, possess only a local sense of identity, as a number of immigrant historians have maintained? If such were the case, it is truly striking how quickly newcomers to Canada transcended hometown differences in order to promote their common interests on the basis of ethnicity. For example, mutual aid societies sprang up from coast to coast in the era before the welfare state, drawing together members of the same ethnic group who sought a collective response to accident, illness, or death. Ethnicity for better or worse also provided non-unionized and unskilled workers with a sense of solidarity in their often conflictual, if not violent relations with capital. As well, prewar immigrants spontaneously rallied together in response to tragic events such as natural disasters, wars, or other calamities that befell the diaspora or the country of origin. This ethnic identity did not supplant the hometown one, nor did it preclude even broader ones based on class or the common immigrant experience; but it gave birth to institutions considered by the immigrants themselves to be vital to their collective well-being.

One such institution was the church. Although a significant minority subscribed to secular and even anticlerical values, most immigrants viewed religion as an important facet of their lives. In the last two centuries, newcomers to Canada insisted on religious structures and personnel catering specifically to their ethnic group. Once again, this did not mean that regional loyalties withered. In fact, quite the opposite is true: national parishes allowed for the expression of local devotions. Montreal's second Italian parish was named *Notre-Dame-de-la-Défense* after a cult that flourished in Campobasso, Molise, the province of origin of the parish's single largest component. A feast in honour of the Madonna was held yearly and gradually became the religious patrimony of all parishioners. In addition, though, regular parish life, including worship, confraternities, committees, and the local school, threw people of diverse regional backgrounds together, underlining a broader sense of identity.

In assessing the importance of religion to immigrant communities, a key distinction must be made, however, between sojourners

and settlers. Anxious above all to achieve immediate economic targets set by the family back home, sojourners performed arduous and often dangerous jobs, laboured long hours, and were extremely mobile in their relentless search for work. In fact, they lived in a state of suspended animation that neither fostered spiritual values, nor religious practice. An Italian-speaking priest sent by his bishop to Copper Cliff, Ontario, in 1902 had expected to find five hundred sojourners there; but the visit produced disappointing results. "The works having closed for a month or so," he reported, "many had gone to work on the Railway till work would resume again ... I went to the Creighton Mines, nine miles [away]. I said mass for them. I found fifty there. In both places I heard very few confessions." It is also unlikely that such workers would pay for the services and expenses of visiting clerics not because they were necessarily irreligious, but because their spiritual life, if expressed at all in such difficult conditions, tended to be private and individual. A comparison of two Italian parishes in turn-of-the-century Montreal, one with a high number of sojourners and the other with more stable family units, not surprisingly reveals that parishioners in the second were more involved in its institutional life. Settlement, after all, entailed the reconstitution of families, a process that required a religious structure answering the various needs of its members: rites of passage, education, and a regular religious life.

Contemporary testimony, however, cast doubt on even the settlers' commitment to religion. Parish reports often cited irregular attendance at mass and reception of the sacraments, as well as the more serious failure to perform one's Easter duty. Newcomers were depicted as being inordinately attached to peripheral aspects of the faith: the Italians' devotion to the feast days of particular saints; the Ukrainians' suspicion of Latin clergy and spirituality; the coexistence of superstitious beliefs and practices with orthodox ones. They often reveal more about the rigorist or perhaps even condescending attitude of the clergy making such observations than about the immigrants themselves. Even though there are few in-depth studies in Canada of popular piety among immigrants, fragmentary evidence suggests that for many, religion suffused every aspect of their daily life, whether or not their practice conformed to official norms.

The rural context

1. The Early Years

Homogeneous congregations, neither ethnically French nor British, emerged spontaneously during the first era of mass migration following the Napoleonic Wars. Although immigrants in this period originated overwhelmingly from the British Isles, German Catholics from continental Europe and the United States began to settle in western Upper Canada – in the areas of Waterloo and Welland – around the time of Kingston's erection as the colony's first diocese in 1825. Until mid-century these Catholics were more numerous than their Mennonite and Lutheran compatriots. It was only after this time that regular religious life developed with the arrival of German-speaking male communities, first the Jesuits and then the Resurrectionists who eventually established what would become St Jerome's College. A German female teaching order, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, soon took over schools in a number of districts and ran an orphanage. In this more structured environment a number of lay pious societies flourished. And yet, as German Catholics achieved a form of institutional completeness, they were also subjected to the forces of assimilation. The large influx of Irish Catholics into Canada West following the Famine and the Germans' own migration to new areas of settlement in the province led to the formation of ethnically diverse structures where the English language predominated. This trend apparently met with the approval of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who were increasingly of Irish origin and favoured integration.

Soon Poles from the area near Gdansk (Danzig) in what was then Prussia began to arrive in Canada on the heels of German immigrants. Over a forty year period as many as 20,000 Kashub immigrants, speaking a distinct Polish dialect, are thought to have gone to Renfrew county. A parish was founded at Wilno in 1875 that was consistently served by a resident Polish-speaking priest. Eventually two other churches were built to minister to the scattered rural population. Parish associations, such as lay confraternities and a church choir, emerged and the local primary school included the teaching of Polish in its curriculum. A smaller stream of Prussian Poles settled just before Confederation in Berlin (now Kitchener) where they had a chapel served by Polish-speaking Resurrectionists.

2. The Years of Mass Migration

Until the twentieth century, ethnic pluralism was a localized and almost negligible phenomenon among Canadian Catholics. In the dozen years before the First World War, however, a second wave of mass migration hit Canada. Of the million or so newcomers who decided to settle here, almost half were ethnically neither British nor British-American. Cultural diversity began to have an impact on Canada as a whole, on all of its regions, as well as on the Catholic population. By 1920 there were 450,000 Catholics claiming origins other than French, British, and Amerindian of which the largest components were the Ukrainians with over one quarter of the total, the Germans with one-fifth, while the Poles and the Italians comprised about fifteen per cent each. Belgians, Hungarians, and Czechs probably accounted for another ten per cent; but for the time being, these groups were too small and dispersed to establish enduring religious structures of their own. Although spread out from Cape Breton to Vancouver Islands, these Catholics were concentrated in the Prairies which had the most multiethnic dioceses in the country. Before the erection of a Canada-wide Ukrainian diocese in 1912, they comprised over half the faithful in St-Boniface which covered all of southern Manitoba; sixty per cent of Regina; eighty per cent of Prince Albert in central Saskatchewan; thirty three per cent of Calgary and fifty per cent of Edmonton.

The availability of cheap land and the prospect of becoming successful farmers was what brought immigrants to the Prairies. For most Ukrainians, agriculture was the key to a better life and many established themselves in ten rural block settlements. Five of these were in Manitoba where close to half of them settled, four were in Saskatchewan and one in Alberta where the other half lived (see map 1 page 28). Soon they recreated a familiar environment in their country of adoption. But in the religious sphere they were bereft of spiritual assistance because of the Holy See's prohibition on the emigration of married priests who accounted for almost all of the Catholic clergy of the Ukrainian rite in eastern Europe. After pressure from the Austro-Hungarian government, the Vatican allowed unmarried clerics belonging to the Ukrainian order of St Basil to emigrate from Galicia to Canada in 1902, but they were too few in number.

Three years after their arrival, they had taken charge of only two Manitoba parishes, the first in the largest block settlement at Lake Dauphin and the second at Stuartburn along the American border. Elsewhere Ukrainians had to make do with Polish priests or with multilingual Redemptorists who operated out of Brandon and Yorkton in Saskatchewan's biggest Ukrainian settlement and served various immigrant groups on either side of the Manitoba border. In Alberta, the Basilians had two parishes in the large Ukrainian enclave northeast of Edmonton. A partial solution to the dearth of priests was soon found when Archbishop Adélarde Langevin of St Boniface prompted a handful of seculars and Redemptorists to go over to the Ukrainian rite. By 1912 twenty-one clerics, eight of whom had formerly belonged to the Latin rite, served a population of close to 100,000.

The spectre of mass desertions was what finally impelled Rome to grant Ukrainians their own bishop. On his arrival from Austria-Hungary in December 1912 Nykyta Budka fittingly chose Winnipeg as his see since Manitoba had the largest concentration of compatriots. Soon seculars from Galicia followed. Their presence almost doubled the number of Ukrainian priests in Canada. Contrary to the Basilians and Redemptorists who fostered religious confraternities and other expressions of popular piety, the more worldly secular priests became deeply involved in community life, promoting cultural activities and institutions, as well as mutual aid and other practical services to immigrants. Despite many setbacks and the limited means at his disposal, Budka strove to provide a regular religious life to the faithful by proliferating parishes, schools, and social service institutions.

Ukrainian Catholics had their own newspaper, *Kanadyiskyi rusyn*, begun and initially funded by Archbishop Langevin. In many Prairie communities their children were educated in English and Ukrainian. Although such schooling was legal only in Manitoba as a result of the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897, it was probably common in many rural centres where unilingual instruction was difficult to enforce. In Manitoba alone there were sixty-nine Polish and Ukrainian schools in 1910. Teacher training for such establishments was available in Brandon, Winnipeg, and Regina. Meanwhile more than fifty Ukrainian Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate operated orphanages, convent schools, and basic health facilities in urban and rural parts of the Prairies. As well, there were a small number of

Ukrainian Catholic high schools, minor seminaries, and student residences which dispensed courses in Ukrainian culture and history. Parish-based choirs, literary clubs, and drama societies offered immigrants a wide range of cultural activities. The development of institutional completeness among Ukrainian Catholics, however, stirred up ever-present xenophobic sentiments among British Canadians who demanded the Canadianization of the school system. The war heightened such feelings and within a few short years all vestiges of public bilingual education and teacher training were eliminated.

The Prairies also attracted land-hungry Polish peasants who originated from the same counties in eastern Galicia and occupied in Canada the same block settlements as the Ukrainians and in roughly the same proportions (see map 2 page 29). Unlike the Ukrainians, however, these Poles, who numbered about 35,000 just before the war, had access to spiritual services in their language soon after their arrival. They were served by the Oblates who wasted no time in launching a newspaper, the *Gazeta Katolicka*, that ensured their pre-eminent position in community life. A small lay elite was unsuccessful in its attempts to challenge this institutional control. Polish-speaking Oblates at first catered to outlying settlements from Winnipeg's multi-ethnic parish of the Holy Ghost founded in 1899; but soon religious life became less centralized as missions and parishes were better established. Their pastoral work was seconded by the Redemptorists at Brandon and Yorkton who served a number of scattered communities. Meanwhile Benedictine sisters from Duluth, Minnesota, took charge of some schools and an orphanage. With the exception of one or two centres, the Oblates also ministered to the Poles in other parts of Saskatchewan especially in the diocese of Prince Albert. In Alberta, Polish seculars and Oblates were first stationed in the block settlement northeast of the capital; but eventually the parish of the Holy Rosary in Edmonton looked after the surrounding missions. For a time an Oblate served the Polish settlement at Tide Lake in the diocese of Calgary.

Prairie farming drew another group of immigrants, German Catholics, who accounted for close to 40,000 of the region's population by 1914 (see map 3 page 30). Almost all were *Volksdeutsche* from many different parts of eastern Europe, including the Volga region, the Black Sea areas of Russia and Rumania, and Banat in Hungary. A number of these people had immigrated to Canada via the United

States where some were born or had spent several years. Most German Catholics established themselves in four block settlements in Saskatchewan, the heart of which was St Peter's near Humboldt, founded by American-born immigrants. A monastery built by German-American Benedictines along the railway line at Muenster in 1903 soon became an abbey with nine monks serving over twenty German parishes. In 1921 the Holy See raised it to the rank of an abbey *nullius* which removed it from the local bishop's authority, made it directly dependent on Rome, and conferred episcopal office on the abbot. An Austrian order, the Sisters of St Elizabeth, ran a number of hospitals in the colony, while Ursulines from Cologne founded a girls' academy. The Benedictines, for their part, established St Peter's College for boys in their abbey. They also organized periodic conferences, called *Katholikentagen* (Catholic days) that sometimes brought together compatriots from across the province.

The oldest colony, east of Regina, was created in 1886 by Black Sea Germans who were induced to immigrate by stories of success of their Mennonite *landsleuten's* earlier establishment in Manitoba. The other settlements, one west of Saskatoon and the other around the town of Leader (then called Prussia) in the southwest, developed over the decade before the war. Many parishes, served by German-speaking Oblates and seculars, were founded and used German-language hymn and prayer books published by the Oblates. In addition to the female religious mentioned above who ran the occasional hospital or convent, some local high schools were entrusted to the School Sisters of Notre Dame, an Austrian-based order with a mother-house in Milwaukee. Outside of the block settlements there existed a number of German Catholic parishes, some having their own schools. In Alberta there were two smaller colonies both served by Oblates in the archdiocese of Edmonton. The first at Spring Lake was peopled by German Americans and the second at Rosenheim was the western extension of one of the Saskatchewan colony. Elsewhere German Catholics were too dispersed to form ethnic parishes.

Block settlements gave most German Catholics a firm foundation for a vibrant community life. Two German language newspapers, *Der Bote* published by the Benedictines in Muenster, and *Westkanada* by the Oblates in Winnipeg, were distributed throughout the Prairies.

Westkanada had a circulation of 8,000. As well, voluntary associations and educational institutions flourished. While the abbot of St Peter's jurisdiction did not reach beyond the walls of his abbey – he was not an ethnic bishop like Nykyta Budka whose authority extended over Ukrainians across Canada – his appointment reflected the Germans' pride of place in the Canadian Church and he could act as their spokesman within the hierarchy. Like the Ukrainians, however, the Germans encountered xenophobia. Despite hard lobbying in the early years of the century, the Benedictines were unable to change Saskatchewan's regulation restricting the teaching of German in the public schools to the last hour of the day. Late in the war, the federal government's prohibition on foreign-language publications effectively destroyed both *Westkanada* and *Der Bote* which was replaced in peacetime by an English language newspaper. The teaching of German was altogether prohibited in the publicly-funded schools of Manitoba in 1916 and Saskatchewan in 1919. German as a medium of instruction survived only in private establishments.

The urban context

1. The Resource Hinterland

Outside of agriculture the timing of the immigrants' arrival often determined their choice of work. Job opportunities in extractive industries, such as mining and forestry, as well as in regional transportation were stimulated by Canada's export and railway boom during the Laurier years. Although Cape Breton, northern Ontario, and the Rockies attracted armies of sojourners, immigrant workers and their families did sink roots in these communities. Some brought with them strong working-class traditions and ideologies that vied with the newly created religious infrastructures specifically catering to Italians, Ukrainians, and Poles.

In Cape Breton, Italians formed the largest non-British and non-French Catholic group with close to 1,000 people after the Great War (see map 4 page 31). Divided into two regional sub-groups, the northerners came from the Veneto, mostly worked in the mines, and lived around Dominion and New Waterford; the southerners laboured in the

steel mills and resided around Sydney. These differences in occupation and settlement patterns were also reflected in religious life. Diocesan priests commented on the fact that northerners were good Catholics, while southerners tended to join secret societies prohibited by the Church. From 1908 to 1921 Italians were continuously served by the same priest in a church at Whitney Pier, Sydney's overcrowded immigrant quarter. Shortly after his arrival the cleric founded a fraternal association, the Santa Rita Society. Great festivities marked the event at which the priest warned his flock against the dangers of belonging to godless societies. In the 1910s ethnic parishes were also established for Poles, Ukrainians, and Syrians of the Maronite rite. Wartime labour shortages brought an influx of such immigrants, some of whom were seeking improved employment prospects, while others were forced by the government to relocate there from internment camps.

Northern Ontario also attracted workers of diverse ethnic backgrounds. But because of the transient nature of employment, only the largest groups obtained their own churches. Ukrainians and Italians in Thunder Bay laboured as teamsters in the transport industries or iron workers in the local foundries. The first enjoyed an effective parish life with the arrival in Canada of secular priests from Austria-Hungary in 1913. At about the same time, Italians, who numbered 2,500 after the war and originated mainly from Calabria, had a church in each of the twin cities. In Copper Cliff where mining provided fairly stable job opportunities to both groups, Ukrainians got a resident pastor at the same time as their compatriots in Thunder Bay. The Italians who mostly came from the Veneto, the Marches, and Abruzzo secured their priest a short time later. In Sault Ste Marie, a parish sprang up in 1917 to serve Italians who were mainly employed in the local steel mills. In the same city, the Poles were too few to form a national parish, even though they had apparently built the church of St Stanislaus. As a result, they had to be content with the visit once or twice a year of a cleric from Barry's Bay. No ethnic parishes existed in the mining and logging centres of Alberta and British Columbia, although multilingual Oblates served the numerous ethnic groups working and living in these areas.

2. The Cities

While farming and the extractive industries initially drew immigrants to Canada, work opportunities in the cities increasingly exerted

their pull. This trend was accelerated by the war and especially by the boom that followed in the 1920s. With the movement toward monopoly capitalism at the beginning of the twentieth century, Canadian cities were expanding rapidly as the economy was becoming more integrated. Immigrants worked as unskilled labourers mostly in primary industries and construction or in ethnic enclaves such as peddling and laundering, respectively Syrian and Chinese specialties. While Montreal often had the largest single concentration of urban immigrant groups, these were in fact more numerous in Ontario cities taken together.

Both Montreal and Toronto had a small community of Syrian Catholics, numbering 1,000 and 250 respectively in 1914 and living in the downtown core. They belonged to the Melkite, Maronite, and Syrian rites. Although the Melkites of Montreal worshipped according to their traditions from the time of their arrival in the early 1890s, it was not long before the others too would do so. Montreal boasted a tiny community of 200 Chinese who had converted to Catholicism. A mission was established for them in 1904 initially under the care of an English-speaking Sulpician from St Patrick's parish. During the war a trilingual school (Cantonese, English, and French) was instituted by the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception who also opened a Chinese hospital at the time of the epidemic of Spanish influenza in 1918.

The Italian presence in Montreal stretched back to the War of 1812, but became significant only at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unlike the northerners who preceded them, the new immigrants came predominantly from the southern regions of Molise and Campagna. Initially they settled in the downtown core. But already after the war there was a big concentration in the north-end district called Mile-End. Most held unskilled jobs in transportation or the building of urban infrastructures such as streets, sidewalks, tram lines, and sewers. By 1920 Italians numbered 15,000. A priest had ministered to them since 1890 after the Holy See urged the bishops of North and South America to tend to what it described as the deplorable spiritual condition of Italian immigrants. But it was not until 1905 that the first parish, Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, and an adjacent school were established in the central core. Three years later Notre-Dame-de-la-Défense parish with its local school sprang

up in the second enclave. In 1912 the Servites of Mary took charge of both parishes. That same year an Italian female order, the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, were assigned to the school of Notre-Dame-de-la-Défense, which dispensed trilingual instruction.

Toronto too had an old but tiny colony of northern Italians that was overwhelmed before the war by southerners originating mainly from Sicily, Puglia, Abruzzi, and Calabria. These immigrants settled initially in a district in the crowded city centre called the Ward. Two other nuclei soon developed in the west end. Italians in Toronto found similar jobs to those of their compatriots in Montreal and spiritual services began roughly at the same time thanks to an Italian-speaking Redemptorist from St Patrick's parish. By 1920 Toronto's 9,000 Italians had parishes in all three areas of settlement. The first, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, was soon assigned to the Redemptorists. A short time later the parishes of St Agnes and St Clement were formed and placed in the care of secular priests.

In Ottawa, the spiritual care of Italians who numbered 1,200 in 1920 began at the same time as in Montreal and Toronto and was entrusted to a French Canadian secular priest speaking their language. A mission was later established under an Italian-born Capuchin who supervised the building of the church of St Anthony just west of the downtown core in 1913. The following year the Servites of Mary took over the parish. Hamilton's 3,500 Italians originated largely from Sicily, Abruzzi, and the Marches. They settled in two enclaves close to their places of employment in the city's north-end immigrant quarter: in the first, where Sicilians predominated, a chapel set aside in 1908 near the cathedral was entrusted to a Scalabrinian priest who had previously served in Boston. In the second enclave by the steel mills, a parish was erected in 1912 and named after St Anthony.

In Vancouver, Italian manual labourers from Veneto, Calabria, and Basilicata, settled in the crowded east-side. Although the Oblates ministered to them at first, members of the enclave soon pressed the then archbishop, Neil McNeil, to create an Italian parish. Once again the Servites of Mary offered their services through the auspices of their confrere, the Apostolic Delegate. Created in 1912 the parish of Our Lady of Sorrows was given to the Chicago branch of the order which had

already acquired experience in the care of Italian immigrants in other parts of North America. By 1920 the city counted over 2,000 Italians.

Montreal's Ukrainians, Poles, and Lithuanians lived in two working-class districts: the first in west-end Pointe St-Charles close to a number of factories as well as the Grand Trunk Railway yards and shops; the second in east-end Hochelaga where the CPR had its facilities. Although Ukrainians outnumbered Poles and Lithuanians taken together – in 1920 their populations totalled 5,000, 2,500, and 1,000 respectively – questions of rite prevented the first group from obtaining spiritual services earlier than the others. In 1906 a mission catering to all three communities was established in Hochelaga and placed under the care of a Belgian Redemptorist. Within a decade the parish of Our Lady of Czestochowa was erected in the same area and entrusted to Polish Franciscans, while a mission was created at the same time to serve west-end Poles. The Lithuanians, for their part, worshipped in the church of St Casimir, served by two priests in 1920. The Ukrainians had to wait until after the creation of their parish in 1913, dedicated to the Archangel Michael, to have a resident cleric. Ukrainian priests wasted no time in founding language classes within the Catholic school system, as well as reading clubs, benevolent and women's societies. These were in opposition to the first community institutions to serve Eastern European immigrants in the city, the mutual aid organizations dominated by secularists and socialists.

Like their Montreal compatriots, Toronto's Ukrainians, Poles, and Lithuanians tended to settle in close proximity to one another. After the Ward, these newcomers congregated in two working-class districts in the west end close to factories and the CPR yards. They were occasionally visited by priests speaking their languages. Poles formed the parish of St Stanislaus in 1911 when brewer and philanthropist Eugene O'Keefe bought a Presbyterian church in the first enclave and gave it to the archdiocese for their benefit. A Polish secular priest from Pittsburg became its first pastor, while a colleague took charge of the parish of the Nativity, located in the second area of concentration four years later. Ukrainian clerics serving in the United States became the first pastors of St Josaphat's church built in 1914 also situated in the second enclave. The smaller Lithuanian community obtained a church only in 1928. As in Montreal, clerics from all three groups organized a multitude of fraternal and cultural organizations

to counteract the influence of secularists and socialists. However, such Catholic associations were themselves subject to internal rivalries and conflicts. By 1920 Toronto had over 5,000 Ukrainians, 2,000 Poles, and a few hundred Lithuanians.

The war increased the number of jobs in urban centres and immigrant workers' disposable income, giving impetus to the formation of Ukrainian and Polish parishes and the building of churches in other Ontario cities. The Poles of Hamilton, who numbered 1,700 in 1914 and lived in the north-east end, were fortunate to have the land on which they built their church donated by the bishop. The prelate consecrated both their church, named St Stanislaus Kotska, and the nearby Italian church on the same day in 1911. A Resurrectionist priest from Chicago became its first pastor. In Crowland-St Catharines, a Polish parish was set up in 1914, but population decline after the war soon closed it down. After worshipping for many years in a chapel, the Poles of Kitchener whose origins, as we have seen, predated Confederation, constituted the parish of the Sacred Heart in 1916 under the care of the Resurrectionists. A year later, Ukrainian parishes were established in Kitchener, Hamilton, Oshawa, and Ottawa where the conflict between Catholics on the one hand and secularists and socialists on the other was as intense as in the big cities.

Winnipeg was undoubtedly the cultural centre for Prairie Ukrainians and Poles. Both groups generally resided in the north end where unskilled work could be had in industry, construction, and transportation since the CPR yards were located close by. At the start of the war, the city counted 15,000 Ukrainians and the Uniates among them had four parishes. The earliest, founded in 1900 and dedicated to St Nicholas, was administered by the Basilians and the others by seculars. The expansion of parish structures was hastened by competition from rival Churches. The Ukrainian clergy wasted little time in claiming exclusive leadership of community institutions. But their efforts at domination were foiled by nationalists and socialists. The first group definitely won the institutional turf war with the founding of the National Home in 1916, a two storey, twenty-five room structure with auditorium, that became the focus of community life. The nationalists, comprised of teachers, civil servants, and professionals, challenged clerical leadership in the west, whereas in the east their absence gave the clergy a free hand.

The religious life of Winnipeg's Poles was initially tied to that of the Germans. Even before the multi-ethnic Oblate parish of the Holy Ghost was created, bilingual Oblates were serving both communities. When in 1904 Holy Ghost became exclusively Polish, the Germans formed their own parish of St Joseph situated in the suburbs where the Oblates had bought a large tract of land and sold it piecemeal to their future parishioners, thus ensuring a compact settlement around the church. The parish had its school run by German/Polish Benedictine Sisters of Duluth. Meanwhile, as a result of an expanding Polish population totalling some 6000 by 1920, a second parish was founded in 1917 and placed in the hands of a secular priest. Both Polish schools were run by the Benedictine sisters, while a number of devotional, self-help, and cultural societies flourished under the Oblates.

The early cultural history of Poles in Winnipeg and the west generally is in most respects strikingly similar to the Ukrainians, but with significant differences. The Polish community too had a small but active group of secularists and nationalists, the latter especially resenting their religious affiliation with the Germans. While the secularists organized a cultural association called Sokol early in the century, the socialists published the weekly *Czas*. But the clergy succeeded in monopolizing community life when the Oblates brought about a federation of Polish societies under their aegis. Ukrainian priests who shared with their Polish counterparts a common vision that immigrant organizations had to be Catholic and therefore clerically directed could only marvel at the Oblates' achievement. But the fact that it was easier to recruit Polish priests probably gave them a head start in organizing community activities in Winnipeg. Ukrainian clerics, on the other hand, arrived later and were proportionately fewer in number, thus giving secularists and nationalists greater scope for action.

Edmonton was the second city in importance for Poles and Ukrainians who either settled near the Canadian Northern Railway yards or the meat packing plants. Since Ukrainian nationalists and socialists were not as numerous as in Winnipeg, the Basilians had greater scope for controlling organizational life from their parish of St Josaphat, established in 1904. They instituted a number of devotional and cultural organizations with the help of the Sisters Servant

of Mary Immaculate. This process culminated in the founding of a National Home and a Catholic student residence at the end of the war. As for Edmonton's Poles, they were served by Oblate compatriots well before the creation of the Oblate parish of the Holy Rosary in 1913. In smaller Prairie communities, Ukrainians set up parishes in Brandon, Portage la Prairie, Calgary (1909), and Saskatoon (1912). But the absence of Ukrainian secular priests until 1913 meant that nationalists, secularists, and Orthodox were more prominent in community life.

Immigrants as protagonists

What is to be learned from this survey of religious infrastructures? It is immediately apparent that they were not an isolated phenomenon. Institutions serving Catholic immigrants who were neither French nor British and came to Canada before the First World War were found in every Canadian province except Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick where Italian and Syrian newcomers were too few to warrant their establishment. These infrastructures developed in both rural and urban areas and were especially conspicuous in Montreal, in the resource and industrial cities of Ontario, and throughout the Prairies. Most were established between the turn of the twentieth century and the end of the First World War in an amazingly short period of time after the immigrants' arrival.

It is also clear that immigrants, rather than the clergy or the hierarchy, took the initiative in their creation. Some newcomers, admittedly a small number, came with their own priests. Syrians belonging to the Melkite rite, for example, arrived in Montreal in the 1890s with a priest provided by their patriarch in Jerusalem. As well, German-Americans who settled near Humboldt, Saskatchewan, at the beginning of the century had convinced German-speaking Benedictines from Illinois and Minnesota to follow them. In the absence of priests speaking their language, some early settlers such as the Germans in Upper Canada or Hungarians and Ukrainians in the Prairies, conducted religious ceremonies on their own, singing hymns, reading the epistle and gospel, and perhaps performing some cherished devotions. Those who presided at such services had to be

both literate and familiar with the liturgy. Although a minority, they assumed a leadership role within their group; but their actions obviously met a deeply felt and broadly based need.

Immigrants with the ability to write also became vehicles through whom appeals or formal petitions were made for ethnic clergy and parishes. Diocesan archives in both Canada and the countries of origin as well as even those of the Vatican contain numerous such requests invariably written in the very early years of the immigrant group's settlement. The Kashubs of Renfrew obtained their own priest only after complaining to their bishops back home about the lack of services in their language. Similarly, Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrii Szeptycki of Lviv, Austria-Hungary, was deluged with letters from immigrants urging him to send them priests in the early years of the new century. Italian workers such as the sojourners in Copper Cliff mentioned above exploited common ties of ethnicity to ask the Apostolic Delegate for religious services in their language. In 1892 their compatriots in Montreal had petitioned Archbishop Charles-Édouard Fabre to allow a cleric from the same hometown as they to come to Canada and care for them. Poles, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians, for their part, presented a common petition in 1906 to Fabre's successor, Paul Bruchési, offering financially to support a priest speaking their languages. And when immigrants met with a negative reaction from the hierarchy, as did among others the Italians of Toronto who in 1902 had offered their archbishop \$2,000 for the building of their church, they simply persisted. If bishops finally took action, it was partly in response to such appeals.

And yet the Catholic hierarchy was neither prepared for the massive influx of such immigrants nor particularly responsive to their needs (as defined by the immigrants themselves). It is true that French-speaking bishops for whom preserving the faith was contingent upon maintaining one's native language were in principle more inclined to satisfy them. But in practical terms their concern did not materialize quickly enough into the adequate provision of religious services especially for such groups as the Ukrainians. Moreover the bishops' preference for bilingual religious personnel, while understandable in light of the meagre resources available to serve such ethnically diverse populations, often caused disquiet within immigrant groups. Such priests and nuns were perceived as too German by

some Poles and Hungarians, too Polish or French by some Ukrainians, or covert agents of a rival rite. Ultimately the Canadian hierarchy responded in some way to the immigrants' spiritual needs when prompted by such factors as proselytism, Vatican policy, or French-English rivalries within the Church.

Proselytism is often erroneously regarded as external to immigrants, something that is inflicted upon them or to which they submit. In reality, however, the existence and short-term success of this phenomenon is intimately related to immigrants' wants. Missionaries fundamentally appreciated the newcomers' need to communicate in their native tongue and were often the first to do so in the New World. They preached to them, disseminated Bibles, and provided assistance such as housing and job information, health and child care, language instruction and translation services, as well as food, clothing, and fuel.

In the 1880s the Holy See was alerted to the dangers of proselytism for continental Europeans, especially Italians, emigrating to the United States. It tried to make the Canadian hierarchy among others aware of the need to provide culturally specific religious services at least to larger immigrant groups. French Canadian bishops took the first modest initiatives, inspired by Rome's directives and aware as well of the difficult situation of their emigrant compatriots within the American Catholic Church. In later years, Apostolic Delegates who unlike the Holy See had an on-the-spot appreciation of the dangers of proselytism often goaded the Canadian hierarchy to respond to the immigrants' needs. The first Delegate, Archbishop Diomedeo Falconio, horrified to discover in 1900 that Ukrainian Catholic youth were taking teacher-training and theology courses at Manitoba College paid for by the Presbyterian Church, demanded immediate action from Archbishop Langevin. Falconio's successor, Archbishop Donato Sbarretti, sought ways of curtailing the activities of Italian Methodist ministers in Montreal and Toronto. He prevailed upon Archbishop Fergus McEvay to create Toronto's first national parish after requests from the city's Italians had met with repeated refusals on the part of McEvay's predecessor. Sbarretti also tried to prevent an Italian language newspaper from publishing an item concerning the arrival of an Italian Methodist minister in Montreal.

Already in the last years of the nineteenth century Presbyterians and Methodists had organized missions to Montreal's Italians. Grave concern was expressed in Catholic circles in 1892 about the activities of an ex-priest who was ministering to a small congregation and running a local Protestant school. In turn-of-the-century Toronto, at first the Anglicans and then the Methodists targetted Italian migrants. Before the First World War Methodist missions existed in Toronto's three and Hamilton's two Italian enclaves, as well as in Thorold, Niagara Falls, and Copper Cliff, whereas an inter-ethnic All People's Mission opened in Sault Ste Marie. Archbishop Neil McNeil considered this threat so serious that in 1913 he invited the Carmelite Sisters of the Divine Heart, a multi-ethnic foundation from Milwaukee, to come to Toronto to supplement the work of the national parishes. The sisters countered Methodist proselytizing by offering immigrants a number of parallel services. Their kindergartens directed the children of newcomers to the separate school system and were considered vital by the hierarchy in the denominational battle over education being waged in Toronto. The fact that these proselytizing efforts resulted in a relatively small number of conversions should not obscure the very important role that Protestant missions played in the settlement and adaptation of the multitude of immigrants who used their services.

Because of the difficulties Ukrainians had in recreating their traditional religious culture in Canada, they were special targets of proselytism. The Russian Orthodox Church emphasized features that proved attractive to settlers and distinguished it from Canadian Catholicism: a familiar Slavonic liturgy, subsidized priests and parishes, and local (including ethnic) control. It was also well-organized with some sixty priests and parishes, as well as numerous missions and three monasteries by the end of the war. Meanwhile in 1904 the Presbyterians engaged in a unique proselytizing effort through the Independent Greek Church whose headquarters were in Winnipeg. Apparently a self-governing institution with an Orthodox liturgy and faith, it was in reality secretly controlled and financed by the Presbyterian Church which also paid for Ukrainians wishing to train as public school teachers and ministers. Such clerics were expected to bring their congregations eventually in line with Presbyterian beliefs and traditions. As a vehicle for Canadianization, however, Presbyterians soon discovered that the Independent Greek Church cost too much and moved too slowly. Their eight-year experiment

ended in failure when most congregations refused to follow their clergymen into the fold.

In addition to these covert efforts, Presbyterians and to a lesser extent Methodists operated medical clinics and schools in many rural areas of Ukrainian settlement lacking such facilities. There were Ukrainian Presbyterian missions in cities such as Fort William, Oshawa, Montreal, and Toronto where a Ukrainian-born Baptist preacher also worked among the city's Slavs. Meanwhile in Winnipeg the Methodist All People's church under J.S. Woodsworth catered to a number of immigrants including Ukrainians. Extensive in terms of the groups, services, and geographical areas covered, Protestant proselytism represented a real threat to the Catholic Church particularly in the early years of settlement.

Immigrants and church conflict

In addition to proselytism, higher church politics hastened the establishment of infrastructures and personnel for the exclusive use of immigrant communities. A conflict developed within the Catholic hierarchy in the early years of the new century over which group, French or English speakers, should enjoy the status of Catholic gatekeepers of the nation. Led by Archbishop Langevin, French Canadian bishops maintained that since they valued ethnic diversity and had catered to the cultural needs of the peoples of the Prairies, they should continue to monopolize those sees and direct the integration of Catholic immigrants. English Canadian bishops countered with the argument that since Canada was an English-speaking country, they were better positioned to assure the smooth assimilation of newcomers into national life. Accordingly they claimed all Western Canadian dioceses for themselves. Paradoxically, in order to woo the immigrants, the English-speaking hierarchy had to provide them with religious services at least in the short term. They were not abandoning assimilation as an objective, but simply postponing it. To this end, Archbishop McEvay organized the Catholic Church Extension Society in the year that Toronto's first national parish came into being. This was no coincidence since the prelate was determined to make his see a showcase to promote the pretensions of the English-speaking hierarchy.

Meanwhile Mgr Alfred Burke, an ardent imperialist, assumed the leadership of the Extension Society which had no French Canadian clerics on its board of directors. The Society took a leading role in recruiting priests for Toronto's Ukrainians and providing funds for worship there and throughout Canada. St Augustine's Seminary of Toronto also became the sole Canadian institution for the training of Ukrainian candidates for the priesthood. But if Calgary is any indication, the English-speaking bishops had no genuine interest either in cultural diversity or its promotion. Unlike his French-speaking predecessors, Bishop O'Leary did not publish statistics on the ethnic composition of his diocese, nor did he create any national parishes.

The fact that the immigrant laity, and especially the literate elite, were so active in establishing religious infrastructures in the country of adoption does not mean that they blindly followed the clergy. On the contrary it is precisely because of the prominent role they played that they were likely to collide with the official Church. Such conflict affected all immigrant groups in both rural and urban settings and was more likely to occur in the early years of settlement when religious infrastructures and personnel were not yet firmly implanted. Its origins were as old as the Catholic Church in North America and each successive immigrant wave seemed fated to play out the same drama. Disputes broke out over financial support for the clergy and Catholic education, the location of parish churches and their registration as property of the episcopal corporation, as well as the control of parish funds. Such tensions, although spectacular, usually did not have serious long-term repercussions. However, some resulted in ecclesiastical penalties such as interdicts and excommunications, while others led the laity to break away from Rome and possibly join another religious denomination.

The otherwise pious German settlers in Waterloo county, Canada West, fought with their priests over many of the issues mentioned above. The members of St Clement's, a German parish in the diocese of Hamilton, were punished by their bishop in 1866 for defying him on school and parish matters. He placed them under interdict for an entire year, removing their priest and thus effectively preventing them from holding religious services. In Saskatchewan Germans and Hungarians confronted the clergy over what constituted a properly Catholic education. Many, especially those that had had previous

experience with the American system, were satisfied with the provision of religious instruction by the public schools for a half-hour at the end of the day. Italians in all three of Toronto's parishes had run-ins with their priests whom they variously accused of neglect, financial mismanagement, and moral impropriety. In one incident a petition demanded the removal of a pastor who, feeling that his parishioners were not doing enough for the financial upkeep of the parish, published a list of not only donors and the amount contributed, but non-donors as well. In Toronto's first Polish parish the quarrel between church wardens and their priests over questions of financial control assumed class overtones when one cleric who had been an ex-officer barely disguised his contempt for his peasant parishioners. In a similar vein an Italian pastor in Toronto complained: "some questions brought up are above the average intelligence of the working people of my parish."

Once again because of their rite the Ukrainians found themselves in a particularly difficult situation. Their centuries-old struggle against the assimilative forces of Polish Catholicism made them averse to the piety, liturgy, and clergy of the Canadian Catholic Church, even to priests who spoke their language or adopted their rite. Ukrainian Basilians were also viewed with suspicion because of their collaboration with the Canadian hierarchy. When these priests began to take charge of parishes, the laity in some of these refused to register church property under the episcopal corporation, fearing that the Latin bishops would eventually appropriate what they had built by their sweat. This unrest did not subside with Bishop Budka's arrival. Elements in the community demanded guarantees that church properties would remain in the hands of Ukrainians in the event that Rome appointed a non-Ukrainian as Budka's successor. They resented the prelate's subjection to the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa and urged autonomy from the Latin Church. Believing as well that Latin priests who had gone over to the Eastern rite were preventing the recruitment of properly Ukrainian clerics, they pressed for their removal. But Budka was reluctant to do so because of the desperate shortage of priests that was exacerbated by the outbreak of war in 1914. Eventually the bishop denied priests to parishes that would not register their property with his corporation and he excommunicated the supporters of the Ukrainian student residence in Saskatoon for refusing to give it an explicitly Catholic character.

Even the minority that abandoned Catholicism as a result of such conflicts were still likely to express their dissent in religious terms. They envisioned a revitalized Church that reflected the best of their old-world culture, while absorbing what was good in modern ideologies and ways of life. In fact they fashioned a Church in their own image: a progressive and democratic institution that fought superstition and obscurantism, fatalism and backwardness, and that allowed them to play a prominent role in its life. On the whole, these people belonged to a literate minority. Some had already come in contact with liberal ideology or movements of religious dissent in their country of origin. For others, it was the shock of the New World, together with the absence of religious infrastructures reflecting their cultural needs, that led to their alienation from the Catholic Church. The most spectacular break with Rome occurred in 1918 with the founding of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, an institution embodying all those features dissidents found wanting in Catholicism. Inspired by Ukrainian nationalists, this new body had a membership that tended to be better educated and more affluent. Similarly, some Polish nationalists who felt that their aspirations were not adequately expressed in Canadian Catholicism affiliated with the Polish National Catholic Church, a breakaway movement originating in the United States. They formed their own parishes, but unlike the Ukrainian Orthodox they remained largely marginal to community life. Whether the product of a split with Rome or individual conversion, this dissentient vision was consequently as much informed by cultural as religious values. Even those who became Protestants could not accept the overt assimilationism to a British way of life espoused by mainstream denominations. They perceived conversion not as a betrayal, but a fulfillment of their cultural heritage. They were therefore part of the immigrants' struggle to fashion a spiritual universe incorporating to some degree their ancestral culture.

Religious life stabilized and conflicts such as those described above became less frequent when clerics belonging to religious communities took over national parishes. This was not the case with Ukrainians who showed an enduring attachment to their secular clergy, but they were clearly the exception. Communities of priests had the advantage of guaranteeing continuity of service to national parishes. When bishops first confronted the task of acquiring suitable clerics to care for their newcomers, the choice was very limited.

Unlikely to find such candidates in Canada, they turned either to the country of the immigrants' birth or to the United States where immigrant populations were larger, better established, and more varied in class and educational terms. However, many foreign priests who found themselves in North America did not have the requisite papers from their diocese of origin, often having escaped difficulties they had encountered either with the ecclesiastical or civil authorities. Even if Canadian bishops did fall upon a *bona fide* migrant clergyman, there was no assurance that he would get along with his compatriots. Given the slender resources of immigrant communities in the first phase of settlement, questions relating to the priest's financial support were especially likely to cause strife. The early history of Toronto's national parishes is in fact rife with conflicts between secular priests and their parishioners. Communities of priests relieved bishops of those problems of staffing and discipline that were peculiar to national parishes and proved so vexatious. In addition, such communities with their international ramifications were likely to tap into a wider and more secure personnel pool than could a diocesan bishop.

They were also apt to have greater material resources. With the exception once again of the Ukrainian secular clergy who, buoyed by the national movement sweeping their land of origin, established a profusion of self-help and cultural associations, most parish priests did not have the energy, time, inspiration, or money for such undertakings. But the collective efforts of communities of priests such as the German Resurrectionists and Benedictines and the Polish Oblates to name but three immeasurably enriched the religious and cultural lives of newcomers through the newspapers, libraries, cultural and athletic societies, as well as confraternities and other pious endeavours they promoted. As well, female religious such as the Benedictines from Duluth and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate made fundamental contributions to immigrant life through the numerous educational and health institutions as well as voluntary organizations they established.

Although well resourced, religious communities did not normally agree to care for immigrants without first ensuring the economic viability of their enterprise. The Scalabrinians, for example, declined to take charge of Montreal's Italians in 1895 because Archbishop Fabre would not allow them to supplement the meagre income derived

from their cure of immigrants with other pastoral services. Almost twenty years later the situation had been reversed. The Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Pellegrino Stagni, was strongly urging the Servites to assume ("now and without afterthought") the direction of Montreal's two Italian parishes. Himself a Servite, he stressed the financial benefits such a move would bring to his community: "I am not saying that this is a handsome enterprise, but a pretty good one." At the same time, he advised against accepting the Italian parish in Ottawa because the small population would not allow his colleagues to live respectably. In this instance the Servites did not follow Stagni's advice because they saw his presence as Apostolic Delegate as a unique opportunity for their order to gain a firm foothold in Canada. Consequently, while financial considerations were important in deciding whether male and female religious communities assumed commitments to immigrants, they were not always determining.

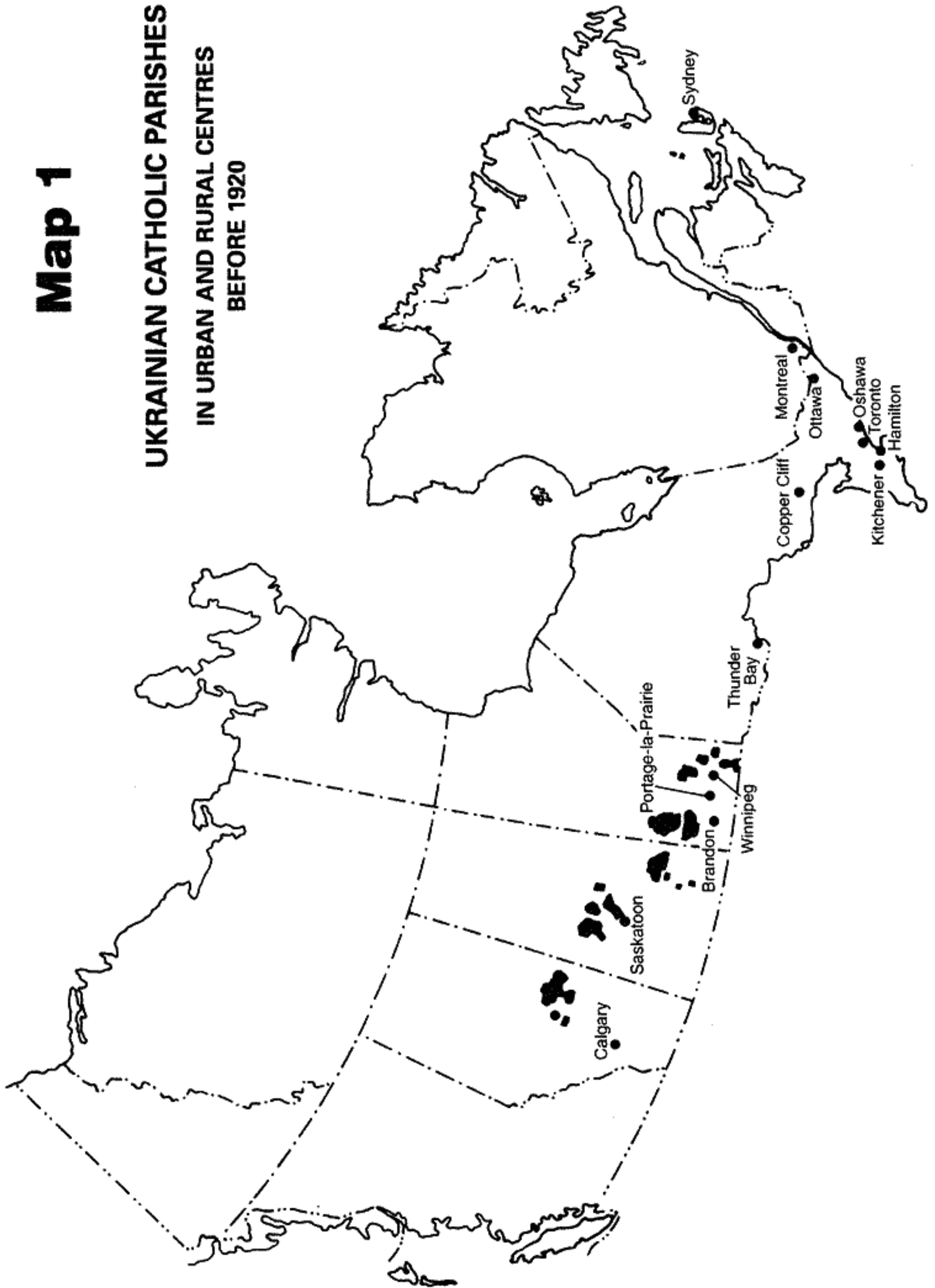
Conclusion

Religious structures appear to have been the manifestation of a deeply felt need on the part of newcomers to express a transcendent view of reality in familiar terms. This need was as real as that to find housing and employment or to secure the family's financial stability, even though it did not have the urgency of these other requirements. Because of the shortcomings of traditional immigrant historiography, contemporary writers have rightly emphasized the study of the mechanisms and structures that helped immigrants make the transition from the country of origin to that of adoption. But such mechanisms and structures are not the totality of the immigrant experience. If immigrant history is to avoid the pitfalls of a reductionist form of historical materialism, it must take into account the cultural, intellectual, ideological, and spiritual dimensions of the immigrant experience, dimensions neither extraneous nor artificial to that experience.

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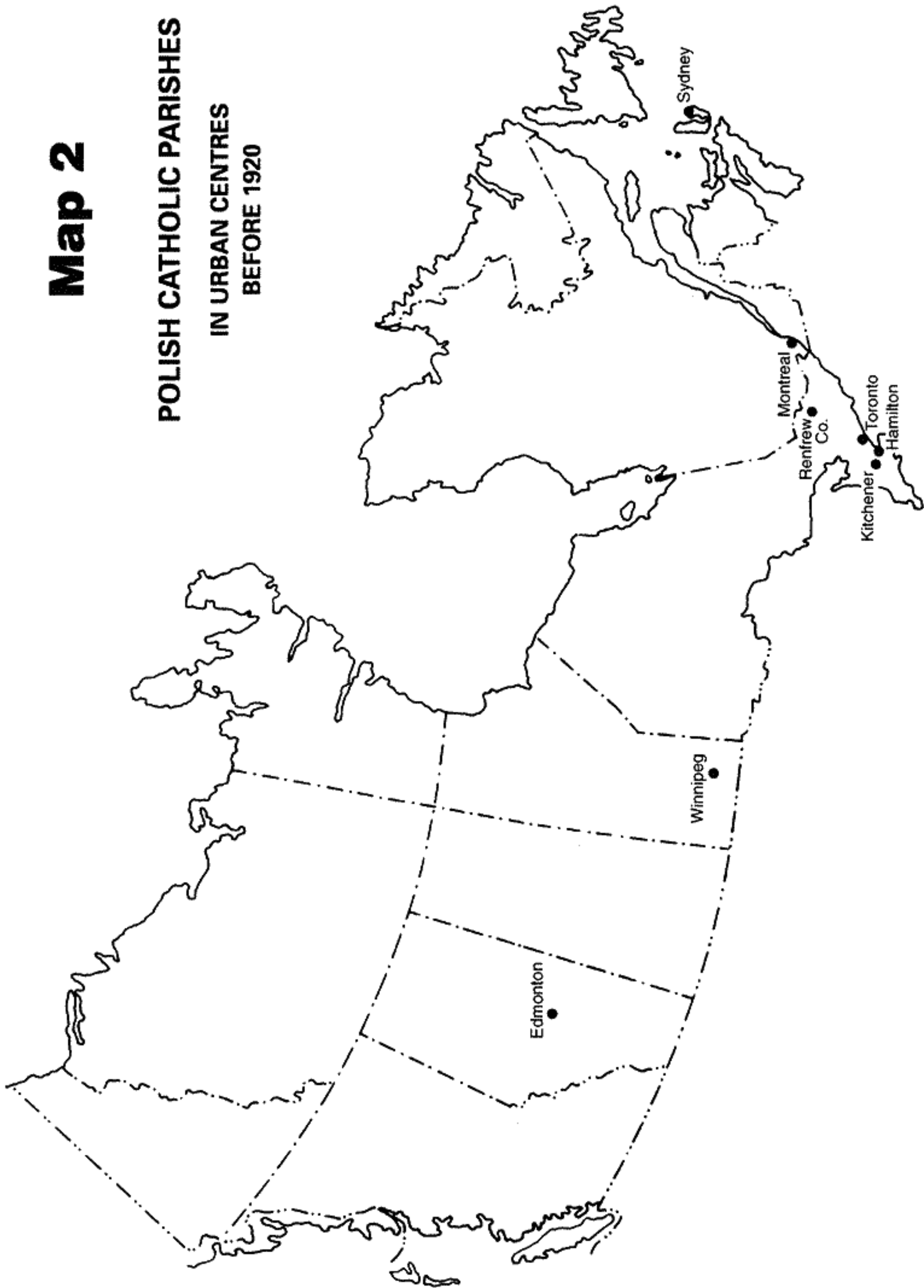
Map 1

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PARISHES IN URBAN AND RURAL CENTRES BEFORE 1920



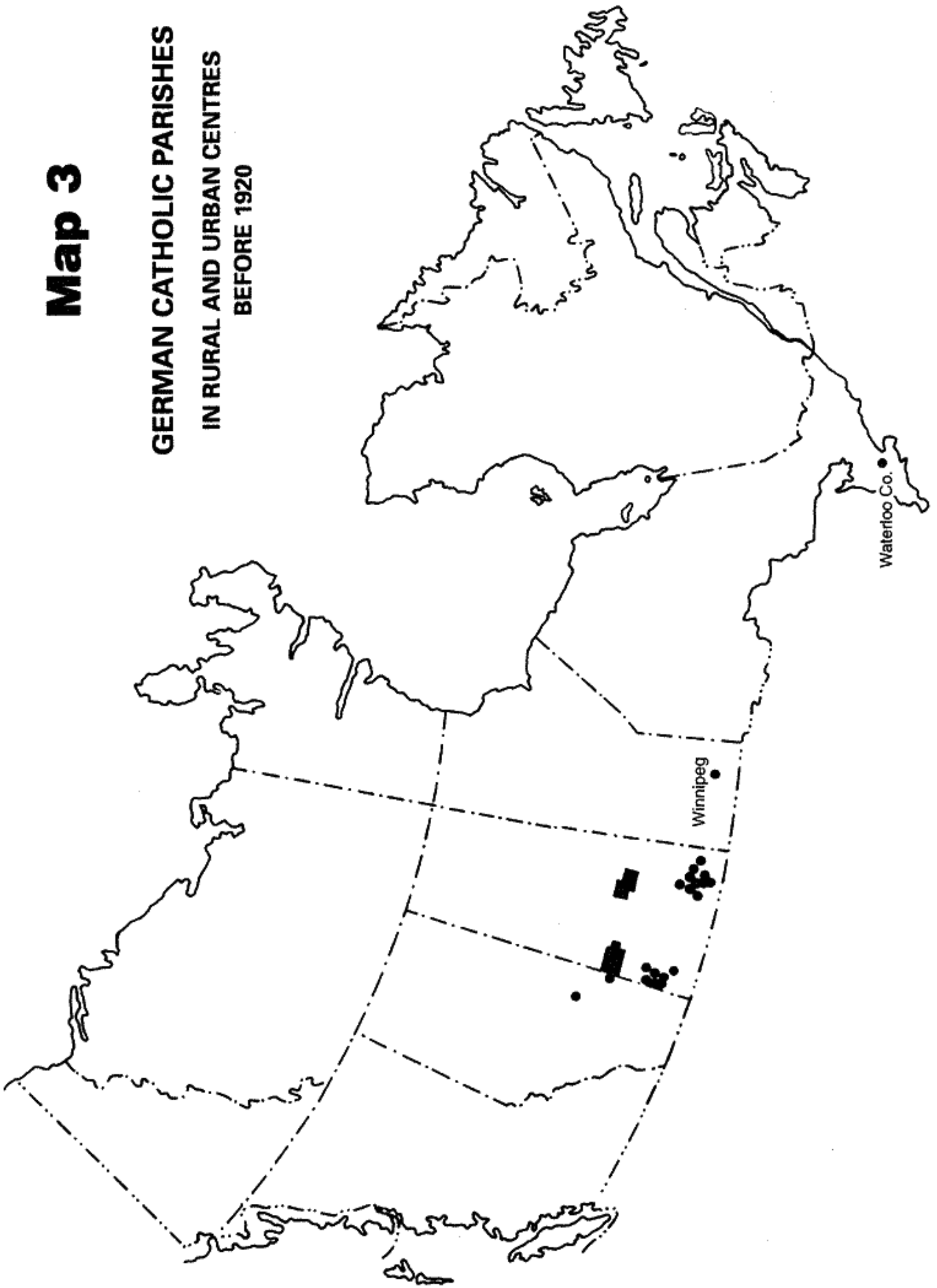
Map 2

POLISH CATHOLIC PARISHES IN URBAN CENTRES BEFORE 1920



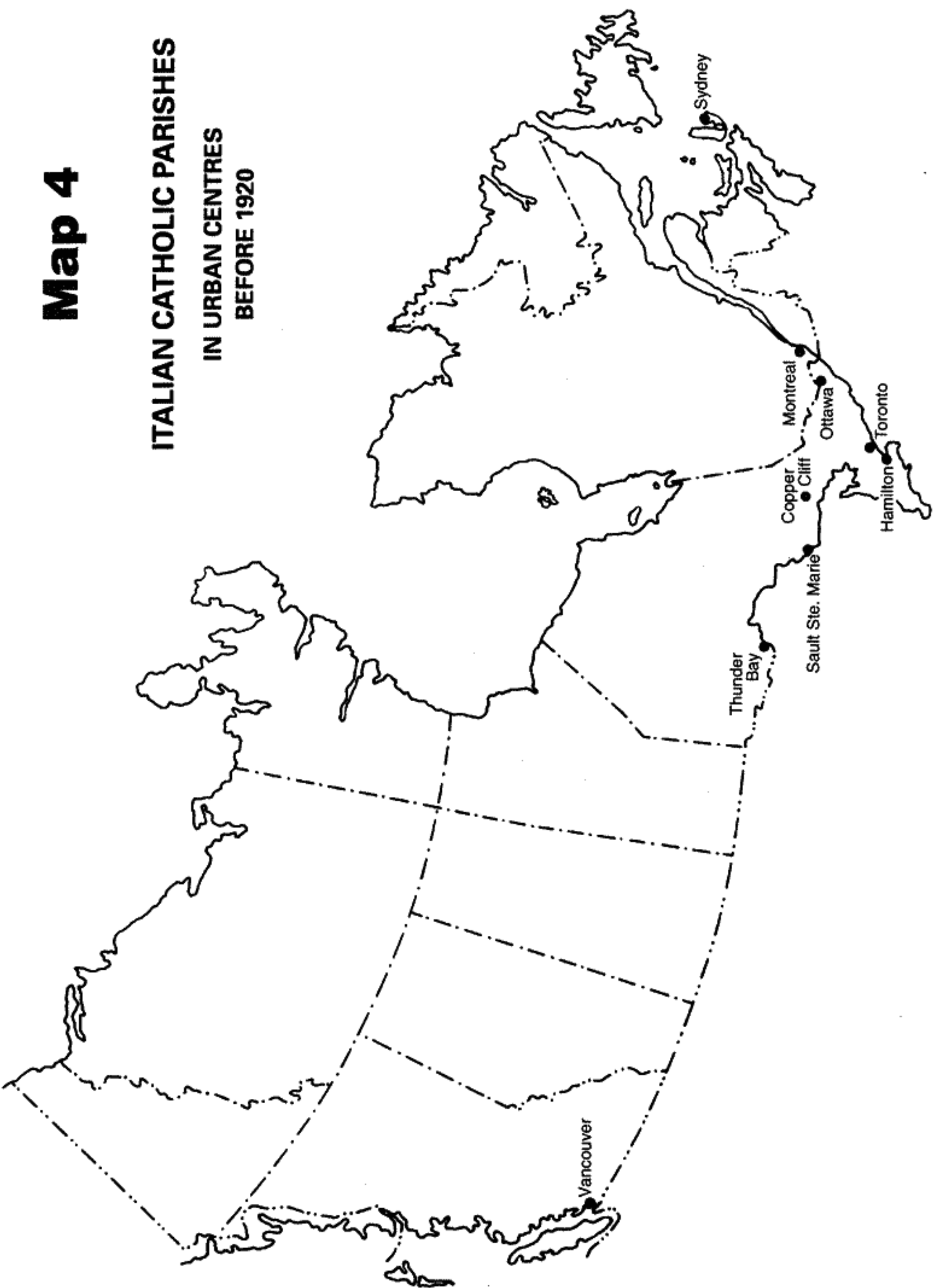
Map 3

GERMAN CATHOLIC PARISHES IN RURAL AND URBAN CENTRES BEFORE 1920



Map 4

ITALIAN CATHOLIC PARISHES IN URBAN CENTRES BEFORE 1920



Suggestions for further reading

There are no general surveys focusing on religion and immigrants of non-British and non-French origin. Even statistics relating to this theme are not readily available. The census of 1930 marked the first attempt to correlate ethnicity and religion in Canada. Figures cited in this article are drawn from a variety of sources which is why some relate to the period before and others to the period after the war. Gordon Darroch and Michael Orenstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* LXI, 3 (Sept. 1980), pp. 305-333, based on samples from the 1871 census, was used to estimate the ethnic composition of Canadian Catholics in 1880. Alexis [de Barbézieux], *L'Église catholique au Canada* (Québec: Éditions de l'Action sociale catholique, 1914) provides the ethnic breakdown of a number of Canadian dioceses in 1914. The Catholic Church's directory *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, published annually in Montréal since 1886, also contains figures, at times unreliable, on the ethnic composition of some dioceses. Such figures were compared against those found in Matteo Sanfilippo, "Documents d'intérêt canadien dans les Archives Secrètes du Vatican. Le fonds 'Sacrée Congrégation Consistoriale. Relations', *Annali Accademici Canadesi* X-XI (1995), pp. 77-120, which presents a synopsis of episcopal reports to Rome around 1914 with statistics on the ethnic affiliation of diocesans. His "Roman Archives as a Source for the History of Canadian Ethnic Groups," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA), Historical Studies* 60 (1993-94), pp. 83-101, as well as citing the same episcopal reports, deals with the Canadian hierarchy's efforts to cope with the immigrant problem. For Ukrainians, William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, *A Statistical Compendium of Ukrainians in Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980) was useful.

No monographs exist in Canada on the religiosity of non-British and non-French immigrants. Brian Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*, deals in part with the devotional life of Irish immigrants. For the religious life of other newcomers, one must turn to monographs on particular groups.

On Ukrainians see the excellent study by Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton; Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991) and the article that sensitively describes Bishop Budka's Canadian years by Stella Hryniuk, "Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times: Nykyta Budka in Canada," CCHA, *Historical Studies* (1988), pp. 21-41. A detailed study of the early problems encountered by Ukrainian immigrants within the Canadian Catholic Church is found in R. Perin, *Rome in Canada: the Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), Chap. 6. Andrii Krawchuk, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Francophone Missionaries among Ukrainian Catholics," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp.206-217, also provides an understanding treatment of Latin priests who took on the Ukrainian rite. A less successful effort in this regard is Zonia Keywan's, *A Turbulent Life: Biography of Josaphat Jean O.S.B.M. (1885-1972)* (Verdun: Clio Editions, 1990). Claudia Helen Popowich, *To Serve is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1971) is a meticulous account of the work of this Ukrainian community of sisters. For Ukrainians in Toronto see Zoriana Yaworsky Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939," in Robert Harney, ed., *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Ethnic and Immigration Studies, 1985), 279-302.

On Italians see John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935* (Montreal-Kingston; McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), as well as the admirable dissertation by Enrico Carlson Cumbo, "As The Twig is Bent The Tree is Inclined: Growing Up Italian in Toronto 1905-1940," PhD (History), University of Toronto, 1996. Passing references to this theme may be found in Gabriele Scardellato, "Beyond the Frozen Wastes: Italian Sojourners and Settlers in British Columbia," in R. Perin and Franc Sturino, eds., *Arrangiarsi: the Italian Immigration Experience in Canada* (Montreal: Guernica, 1989), pp. 135-61, and the popular history by Esperanza Maria Razzolini, *All Our Fathers: the North Italian Colony in Industrial Cape Breton* (Halifax: Ethnic Heritage Series, 1983).

On Germans see the extremely detailed study done before the Second World War by Heinz Lehman, *The German Canadians 1750-1937* Translated, edited, and introduced by Gerhard Bassler (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986); Alan Anderson's informative and insightful article, "German Settlements in Saskatchewan," in Martin L. Kovacs, ed., *Roots and Realities Among Eastern and Central Europeans* (Regina; Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1983), pp. 175-221; C.O. White, "Education Among German Catholic Settlers in Saskatchewan, 1903-1918: A Reinterpretation", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 1 (1984), 78-95; Theobald Spetz, *The Catholic Church in Waterloo County* (Hamilton, 1916).

On Poles see the rather dated but useful work by William Makowski, *History and Integration of Poles in Canada* (St Catharines: Canadian Polish Congress, Niagara Peninsula, 1967), as well as Victor Turek, *Poles in Manitoba* (Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1967); Zofia Shahrodi, "The Early Polish Settlement in Hamilton," *Polyphony* 6, 2 (Fall-Winter 1984), pp. 33-6 and her fine article, "The Experience of Polish Catholics in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1905-1935," in Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke, eds., *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place'* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993), pp. 141-54. Kashubs are dealt with in Anna Reczynska's excellent piece, "Emigration from the Polish Territories to Canada up until World War Two," *Polyphony* 6, 2 (Fall-Winter 1984), pp. 11-19.

On Hungarians see the confused and confusing article by Martin Kovacs "The Hungarian School Question," *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978, pp. 333-358. On Lithuanians see Mylda Danys, "Lithuanian Parishes in Toronto," *Polyphony* 6, 1 (Summer 1984), pp. 104-109. Syrian Catholics are the focus of Sean Gadon's, "The Syrian Religious Experience in Toronto, 1896-1920s," *Polyphony* 6, 1 (Spring-Summer 1984), pp. 65-7 and Murray Nicolson, "Makarios Nasr", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XIII pp. 760-1. For the Chinese see Denise Helly's superb monograph, *Les Chinois à Montréal 1877-1951* (Montréal: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1987).

Methodist proselytizing of Italian immigrants is discussed in a discerning article by Enrico Carlson Cumbo, "Impediments to the Harvest: The Limitations of Methodist Proselytization of Toronto's

Italian Immigrants, 1905-1925," McGowan and Clarke, *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place'*, pp. 155-76.

Conflicts over immigrants within the Catholic hierarchy are perceptively studied in two articles by Mark McGowan, "A Portion of the Vanquished': Roman Catholics and the Ukrainian Catholic Church," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians*, pp. 218-37, and his "Religious Duties and Patriotic Endeavours': The Catholic Church Extension Society, French Canada and the Prairie West," CCHA, *Historical Studies*, (1984), pp. 107-119. Gilbert-Louis Comeault, "Les rapports de Mgr L.-P.-A. Langevin avec les groupes ethniques minoritaires et leurs répercussions sur le statut de la langue française au Manitoba," Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, *Sessions d'étude*, (1975), pp. 65-85, argues unconvincingly that Archbishop Langevin's exaggerated attempts to cater to immigrant groups caused a backlash among English-speakers resulting in the abolition of French language instruction in Manitoba. A thought-provoking comparison of the treatment of immigrants by the archbishops of Montreal and Toronto are found in John Zucchi, "The Catholic Church and the Italian Immigrant in Canada, 1880-1920: a comparison between Ultramontane Montréal and Hibernian Toronto," in Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., *Scalabrini Tra Vecchio e Nuovo Mondo* (Roma; Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989), pp. 491-508. The monograph by Robert Gagnon, *Histoire de la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal* (Montréal; Boréal, 1996) provides interesting details on the integration of immigrants in the Catholic schools of Montreal. For background on the struggle within the church hierarchy see Raymond Huel, "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: the Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," CCHA, *Study Sessions* (1975), pp. 51-70.

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