

Achille Delaere and the Origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Canada

PAUL LAVERDURE

One Catholic missionary stated that to be a saint in Europe, one had to sleep on the floor. On Canada's prairies, sanctity was much easier: to be a saint one had to sleep in a bed. It was guaranteed to be full of fleas. The typical missionary among Canada's Ukrainians should wander from place to place, not to search for lost souls, but to escape the vermin and find a clean place to sleep. Naturally, a good missionary should also console himself with the thought that the redemption of the world was not accomplished without the spilling of blood. On the same or a somewhat deeper level of devilry as Canada's vermin, mosquitos, immense distances, and the weather, were Protestants: usually Presbyterians setting up schools and providing nurses or social workers to attract the immigrants to their churches. One hundred years ago, to be a Roman Catholic missionary on the prairies among the eastern Europeans seemed to require heroic suffering.¹

As part of a larger project to publish the history of the eastern rite Redemptorists for their centenary in 2006, the present article sets out the conditions in Canada and a brief biography of the Flemish priest, Achille Delaere, the first Roman Catholic Redemptorist to adopt the eastern rite. Previous historiography gives Delaere credit for initiative in the evolution of the Catholic Church in the prairie parkland² from Oblate missionary territory, to Redemptorist mission parish, to diocese--or eparchy as it is called by the eastern canon lawyers. To understand Delaere's life, to alert scholars to a longer work that will be published in 2006, and to complete the historiography of the early years of the Ukrainian community, which

identified the Belgian Redemptorists as one of the main problems and a reason for the many defections from the See of Rome in the early part of the twentieth century, a study of those origins from Redemptorist sources provides a corrective. This article will include other individuals in the narrative of the origins of the eastern rite clergy and of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada: Archbishop Adélarde Langevin of Saint Boniface, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv, and, above all, Father Basil Zoldak.

The Roman Catholic Church faced a new situation with the arrival of Ukrainian speaking, eastern-rite Catholics, usually called Greek or Byzantine--or Uniate to indicate their union with Rome. They were from the province of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire beginning in the 1880s when census data began formally asking about Galicians. Formerly an Oblate mission serving French, Native and Metis populations, western Canada's Catholic Church was radically transformed with the arrival of the eastern Europeans. Although Ukrainians, both Christians and Jews, have been present on British North America's soil since at least the War of 1812 when mercenaries from the Austro-Hungarian Empire received land along the Rideau and in the Red River Valley, British and later English Canadian authorities did not take notice of the settlers until their numbers began to increase dramatically.³ It has been estimated by Ukrainian scholars that in the area that became the Province of Saskatchewan, the number of Ukrainians jumped from three thousand to over thirty thousand in the 1901 to 1911 census period.⁴ They were then known as Ruthenians or Rusyns, as well as Galicians, although Galicia refers to a place while Ruthenian and Rusyn refer to the languages now known as Ukrainian and Slovak. Because Ukraine did not exist politically, Ukrainians were by nationality also known or classified as Polish, Russian, Austrian or Hungarian. The majority coming to Canada were from Polish and Austrian Galicia, were Greek Catholics using the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom--but not in Greek--in Old Church Slavonic. Fewer Ruthenians came from Bukovyna, which was under Hungarian rule, and were in the majority Greek Orthodox. Fewer still were Russian Orthodox.⁵ The Greek Catholics were originally under the jurisdiction of Lviv, that is to say, of the Metropolitan Archbishop, Count Andrew Sheptytsky.⁶

The historiography of the origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church⁷ is sparse and complicated by the three main languages involved--Ukrainian, French, and Flemish--and the additional required to examine the primary sources.⁸ Furthermore, no one has examined the Italian and

Latin documents now available in the Congregation for Eastern Churches in the Vatican for the period after 1904, the papers of Propaganda Fide housed in the Vatican's Secret Archives prior to 1904, or the modern Redemptorist archives, all of which the present article incorporates.

The Roman documents highlight the contributions of several other people who not only supported Delaere's pioneering work, but who also were actually the initiators of his eastern-rite work. They had the ideas and made the decisions that Delaere carried out. In Delaere's official biographies, the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument was made that because Delaere adopted the eastern rite, organized the eastern-rite clergy, and struggled for the establishment of the hierarchy, he was the instigator and the cause for each of these steps. While the Orthodox histories also emphasize the role of the French-speaking and Belgian clergy in alienating eastern-rite parishioners, Delaere cannot be called the founder of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; he was not the only person involved. Three other people did more to shape the origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada than he: Archbishop Adélarde Langevin of Saint Boniface invited the Redemptorists and set the sometimes disastrous parameters for their work. Father Basil Zoldak identified the problems caused by Langevin's directives and suggested the solutions.⁹ Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky lobbied Rome for the implementation of the solutions: eastern-rite priests and, later, bishops for North America. Langevin and Sheptytsky were briefly identified by the Canadian church historian Terry Fay as important actors in the history of Catholicism in western Canada. The documents in the Redemptorist and the Vatican's Secret Archives show Zoldak's role as Sheptytsky's emissary and give further details of Langevin's and Sheptytsky's work in Europe.¹⁰ The present article concentrates on Basil Zoldak's reports and his work with Achille Delaere.

The hostility of American and Canadian Roman Catholic bishops to married clergy and to different rites is well documented for the period prior to 1904. Archbishop Ireland as early as 1888 argued for abandoning the rite in North America, in his opinion, a territory entirely Latin in jurisdiction.¹¹ The canon lawyer Pospishil states that Propaganda Fide agreed and on 7 May 1890, declared that Patriarchs--and by implication Metropolitan Sheptytsky--do not exercise jurisdiction outside their patriarchates. Because Rome is the patriarchal see for the western world, the faithful are subject to the Latin ordinary. By October of 1890, Propaganda Fide asked that all married and even widowed clergy be

recalled.¹² Clearly, the care for eastern-rite Christians in North America fell to Latin-rite bishops. Nonetheless, Metropolitan Sheptytsky continued to care for his people, by sending clergy, many of whom were rejected by Latin bishops.

In Canada, the search for celibate clergy to care for the new immigrants from eastern Europe began in earnest just before 1898. The Oblate bishops of western Canada--Bishop Albert Pascal of the Saskatchewan Vicariate and Archbishop Adélard Langevin of Saint Boniface--discussed bringing the Redemptorists into western Canada in the hopes that the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer would send some of their Austrians to staff the house and care for the Galicians in the area.¹³ The Redemptorists are a religious congregation of priests and brothers founded in 1732 by Saint Alphonsus Liguori in Naples for missions and retreats especially to the poor and most abandoned. They are attracted, therefore, to rural areas. They had expanded rapidly in the nineteenth century into the Austro-Hungarian Empire and were already well-known in North America for their work among immigrants.¹⁴

Bishop Pascal wrote to Cardinal Ledochowski, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (commonly called Propaganda Fide) about the four colonies of Galicians in western Canada: Dauphin and Dominion City in Manitoba, one in his own vicariate of Saskatchewan (probably Yorkton), and St. Albert, near Edmonton. He warned Rome that the Galicians, upset by the events in the United States where married and even widowed clergy were being chased away by the Americanizing bishops, were ready to leave for the Orthodox if Latin priests were sent. He had gone to Austria and even to Galicia as far as Lviv to ask the Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv, Count Andrew Sheptytsky, for help and for members of the religious order of Saint Basil.¹⁵ While they would come in 1902, the need was immediate.

The Austrian and Polish Redemptorists were busy in other mission fields, so the Belgians, who had helped to establish monasteries in French and English Canada, were asked to establish a monastery in Regina. The Redemptorists, however, preferred to establish St. Augustine of Canterbury, in Brandon, Manitoba, which was better linked to transportation routes.¹⁶ Because the French and English Canadian Redemptorist monasteries had just been formed into semi-autonomous vice-provinces, the Belgians were ready for a new mission. As the Provincial of the Redemptorists in Belgium announced, the students were inflamed with a holy desire for the western Canadian missions.¹⁷ The Redemptorists

immediately sent two Redemptorist priests, one to work in English and one to work in French and sent two others to Galicia to learn the local languages. One of them, Achille Delaere, was to go to Canada after his studies in Tuchow.¹⁸ All of the priests destined for the west, except those working in the French ministry, were usually Flemish, on the grounds that they already knew more languages than the French-speaking Walloons (Belgian high school education took place in French) and could readily learn more.¹⁹

Who was Delaere? His colleagues painted him as a man of courage and perseverance, but not of talent. Born in 1868 in Lendelode, Belgium, he was the son of a farmer and had very little polish, because his father often needed him and kept him on the farm. The young man eventually joined the Redemptorists in 1889 and was ordained in 1896. Ordination is not necessarily a civilizing influence: he had a habit of telling his confreres exactly what he thought of them. Even Canada's Apostolic Delegate learned about Delaere's frankness. Delaere once told him that only liars and scoundrels wrote to complain to the Apostolic Delegate. The Delegate replied with a smile that sometimes Bishops and Archbishops also wrote to the Apostolic Delegate. Clearly, many people stated, Delaere was more comfortable around horses than people.²⁰ One of his closest co-workers, Noel Decamps, described him as a conqueror and a builder, letting others take care of the details. "It was just too bad for you if in his rush, he insulted you or stepped on your toes."²¹ Otherwise, he was morose, taciturn, and caustic--or sad, discreet, and witty, depending on whether he was liked or not by the person describing him. As for his language skills and his knowledge of the eastern rite, his closest associates declared that he never learned even French properly and at best was mediocre in Ukrainian, but his zeal and his capacity for work made him indispensable to his superiors even though they did not care for his rustic ways. As a community man, he was able to get along with those who worked as hard as he did. They were rare.²² Was this the man to examine a situation and create solutions?

Delaere was sent to Canada on the *Scotsman* out of Liverpool. It wrecked off Belle Isle; sixteen people died. Delaere survived and continued his journey to Brandon, arriving on 11 October 1899. He was welcomed by his fellow Redemptorists as the Apostle to the Poles.²³ Delaere began his work in an area called Hun's Valley because of the number of Hungarians--in reality Hungarian Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Poles--and around what was known as the Kant mission, which was named

for the Polish Saint John of Kant. This required long hours of travel by horse and sled or buggy through the usual extremes of weather in western Canada.²⁴ Delaere had joined the Congregation to work for God and he did the work assigned to him without complaint. His confreres agreed that he could work.

During all of these years, Delaere said mass in Latin and preached in Polish, but he had quickly realized that the majority of Galicians in the pews were actually eastern-rite Ruthenians. Still, for the five years that he worked in Hun's Valley and at St. John of Kant, there were no major problems except for the distance from Brandon. The Catholic communities became well organized as they usually were when a religious congregation such as the Redemptorists dedicated itself to gathering the faithful, establishing the parish, and organizing the parish societies. It helped that the Poles outnumbered the Ruthenians in the Brandon area.

Elsewhere, by the spring of 1900 the entire hierarchy in Canada was becoming concerned about the growing number of defections of the eastern-rite Galicians to other religious groups. The Apostolic Delegate Falconio ordered the Oblate Father Lacombe to obtain Galician priests from the Austrian Emperor.²⁵ The Oblate bishops, however, opposed Falconio's desire for Galician clergy. The bishops, with Langevin of Saint Boniface at their head, claimed they had had some difficulties with individual Galician diocesan priests and preferred sending religious clergy, such as the Redemptorists and the Oblates, as well as some hand-picked diocesan clergy, in order to keep the people entirely within the Roman Catholic Church.²⁶

The Bishops' complaints about such eastern-rite clergy in North America was due in part to the differences in canon law, language, and ritual as well as the Latin's suspicion and fear of the eastern clergy's acceptance of married men for ordination. The immigrants were also unfamiliar with the new country's voluntary support of religion, unlike in Europe where churches were financially supported by the government. Langevin wrote to the Redemptorists:

The best would be to leave Latin-rite religious take care of these people. For centuries these unhappy races have been given over to wavering in their faith and to betraying Grace. Bastardized and ignorant races, unable to profit from the freedom of this country. They passionately tie themselves to the rite--to exterior practises--in inverse proportion to any serious belief. Our religious missionaries are a revelation to them. One Latin priest like one of your Redemptorists,

an Oblate, an Assumptionist, is worth ten of their priests! So, let us save as many as we can and the rest will go to Hell.²⁷

The Redemptorists formally accepted work among the Ruthenians until Langevin's own diocesan priests could take over.²⁸ There was no question of bringing in eastern-rite clergy. Delaere immediately began to organize the Ruthenian parishioners in the Shoal Lake and Hun's Valley districts.²⁹ Still, immigrants were pouring into Canada and even more Galicians had settled in the Yorkton area. The Oblates were pulling out of the Parkland area. Archbishop Langevin, alarmed at the Presbyterians, the establishment of public schools, and the growing propensity of the Galicians to go to any church where Ruthenian was spoken and send their children wherever there were schools, even if taught by Protestants, asked the Redemptorists to abandon St. John of Kant. It had become an organized district he could entrust to a Polish diocesan priest.³⁰ He hoped that the Redemptorists would go to Dauphin, now in Manitoba, where there were about 8,000 Galician Catholics. At his wits' end, he asked if the Redemptorists would care for all of the Galicians in the entire archdiocese.³¹

One of the most important events in the origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada was the visit of Basil Zoldak, a priest of the eparchy of Lviv, who had been sent on a fact-finding mission organized by Metropolitan Sheptytsky throughout North and South America and approved by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Although some bishops were unclear on his powers or jurisdiction--he was Metropolitan Sheptytsky's secretary, but he was paid by the Austrian Emperor to serve as an official Visitor--his report in the Vatican Archives is comprehensive and gives a wide context to Archbishop Langevin and the Redemptorists' rhetoric of crisis. At the beginning of 1903, he wrote, there were about 60,000 eastern Catholics of the Byzantine-Slav rite, most of them from Galicia, all understanding Old Church Slavonic. Brazil had about the same number while the United States had three times as many--180,000. Of the three areas, the saddest picture, he claimed, was Canada. In Brazil and in the United States, there were eastern-rite diocesan and religious priests, the Basilians, who had organized the faithful into communities and parishes. The United States was only suffering from the fact that the diocesan clergy from Lviv, about fourteen in all, were subject to Latin bishops, some of them unsympathetic, and were independent or isolated from each other. In Canada, Russian Orthodox clergy sent out from San Francisco were

stirring up anti-Latin sentiments. The Ruthenian clergy of the United States who were unhappy about their treatment and status under Latin bishops were writing critical articles in Ukrainian in the American newspaper *Svoboda*. He suggested that an eastern-rite Bishop be named for Canada and the United States to organize the diocesan priests and to forestall the anti-Roman sentiment growing in North America.³²

Zoldak examined the archdiocese of St. Boniface even more closely on behalf of the Apostolic Delegate, Sbarretti, and stated that most--15,000--of Canada's Galicians were under Archbishop Langevin. By 24 March 1903, when he wrote his report, he stated that many of them were now going over to the Orthodox, especially the 600 families in the Yorkton region. He also pointed out that there was not a single Catholic school for any of these families and most of the children were growing up without any education.³³ The Catholic population was becoming restless and the Archbishop's attempt to appropriate all of their self-built churches to protect the properties from other denominations and gain collateral for the building of other institutions such as schools had been misunderstood as an attempt to deprive them of their money. This opinion was being actively spread by the Russian Orthodox bishop Tychon, and his priest, Popoff, who visited Winnipeg and its surrounding regions.³⁴ Schismatics ordained by an individual calling himself Serafim, who claimed to be the Russian Orthodox Bishop for America and who ordained people for a fee, had also come into the Yorkton region.³⁵ According to Zoldak, there were six Serafimists recently ordained in Yorkton itself and fifteen others working in the region, none of whom had much education, but who were all eagerly accepted by the people happy to have clergy who spoke their own language and were not under the French Archbishop.³⁶ Although Serafim was quickly unmasked as an adventurous imposter,³⁷ his clergy continued to bring some of their people into the Presbyterian Church, although most became independents.³⁸ Langevin confirmed Zoldak's statistics, but asked for more religious clergy not a bishop.³⁹ Langevin offered to pay for the higher education in Lviv of any Canadian priest who wished to study the Ruthenian language. He already had one volunteer.⁴⁰ While Langevin's intentions were admirable, his solutions were inadequate. *The Manitoba Free Press* of 12 March 1903 reported that Ruthenians were repudiating Langevin and his French-language clergy in ever greater numbers.⁴¹

The Provincial of the Basilians in Canada, Platonides Filas, who was working in Alberta with his confreres since 1902, quietly suggested to the

Apostolic Delegate that the incorporation papers of each of the chapels could have a simple sentence stating that the Archbishop of Saint Boniface would hold the property “in trust” until such time as the Galicians had their own bishop.⁴² A bishop, of course, as Zoldak had written, would be the solution. The other Oblate bishops agreed and the Basilians in Alberta quietened much of the problems there. Langevin continued to refuse.

In the meantime, Zoldak proposed Delaere visit Yorkton at least once a month. He had worked with Delaere; as Langevin wrote to the Redemptorists: “We must hurry to save the Galicians if we want to keep their children from falling into the mouths of the wolves—the English Protestant schools.”⁴³

The Redemptorists, however, at first resisted going to Yorkton because an early informal census reported that Yorkton only had ten Catholic families, seven of them English, and three Polish.⁴⁴ The Greek Catholics were in the rural areas around Yorkton. Florent Borgonie, another Redemptorist stationed in Brandon for the Poles visited Yorkton in early 1903 and was astonished at the recent growth in the area. He claimed there were now thousands of people and hundreds showed up for the mass. Twenty-seven babies were baptised and two marriages celebrated in one day. Despite Delaere’s hope to stay in the Brandon area to deal with the Galicians there, many of whom had accepted the ministrations of Delaere as a Latin-rite priest and had come to accept life within the Polish community as he himself had, Delaere and other Redemptorists began to visit the Yorkton area once a month as Zoldak had suggested.

Delaere himself was stunned by the amount of work required and reported that the territory was actually half the size of Belgium with only thirty to forty English families and was entirely neglected by any other Catholic clergy since the Oblates had moved out. False priests, Orthodox priests, and Protestants had all established themselves in the area. The Redemptorists reported seventeen Protestant ministers in the Yorkton region.⁴⁵ Delaere immediately begged for help, encouraged French Canadian seminarians to study different languages, and brought in Father Kryzhanowsky, a Basilian monk, to help him in the various colonies.⁴⁶

On meeting one of the Serafimists in the home of a colonist, Delaere was challenged to defend the Latin-rite bishop. How could the Roman Catholics and Delaere’s French Bishop claim to be helping the Ruthenians when they refused them their own eastern-rite, married priests when such priests were actually allowed by Rome and eastern canon law?⁴⁷ Faced with increasing hostility, defections, and the lack of help from Archbishop

Langevin, Delaere adopted all of Zoldak's opinions. He established the Redemptorists' monastery in Yorkton on 12 January 1904, to care for the Galicians. It still exists, as St. Gerard's parish, a Roman Catholic parish in the Archdiocese of Regina. That very year, he petitioned to adopt the eastern rite. Delaere became an eastern-rite priest in 1906. Other Belgians soon followed. Although some French Canadian priests did the same, all but one eventually returned to the Latin rite. Delaere and his confreres left St. Gerard's to found a purely Ukrainian monastery, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, now called St. Mary's, Ukrainian Catholic Church. It is in the Eparchy of Saskatoon, part of the Archeparchy of Winnipeg. In this house lived the Belgians and increasingly, the Ukrainian Redemptorists who began to groom young vocations for the priesthood. Delaere also began to argue for the appointment of an eastern-rite bishop to organize the Church in Canada.⁴⁸ Zoldak's reports had also made its way to Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who visited Canada in 1910 and confirmed Zoldak's findings. Sheptytsky nominated another of his diocesan clergy.

On his arrival in Canada in 1912, Bishop Nicetas Budka found five Basilian Fathers, seven eastern-rite diocesan priests, four Belgian Redemptorists and five French Canadian priests who had adopted the rite, for a total of twenty-one clergy. There were four small communities of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate and eighty Ukrainian Catholic churches, most of them small chapels on the prairies, all of them in Western Canada, half of them in Delaere's area of work, the other half in the Basilian area. There were three Ukrainian Catholic schools, two of them in Yorkton and a Catholic weekly printed in Ukrainian.⁴⁹ This was a fully formed Eastern Catholic Church in Canada, a land formerly considered entirely Roman Catholic territory.

Insistence by the United States' Roman Catholic bishops and Canada's Langevin on a celibate clergy using the Latin rite reflected an uncomprehending attitude toward eastern rite Catholics that encouraged the new settlers to break communion with the Catholic Church. Three hundred thousand Eastern Catholics left Catholicism in the United States.⁵⁰ Between 1901 and 1931, roughly two-thirds of all Eastern-rite Catholics in Canada eventually did the same. Redemptorist missionaries in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1904, were part of Saint Boniface's Archbishop Langevin's plan to counteract Protestant proselytism and create a Roman Catholic community among the Galicians in the prairie parkland. Delaere and his colleagues willingly served Langevin and succeeded against the Protestants, but the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada now

became intimately bound up with the phenomenal growth of Orthodoxy in Canada, where most immigrants made their way after leaving Rome.

For the next thirty years, Delaere and other Belgian Redemptorists quietly organized the distant chapels, parishes, schools, orphanages, and halls on Canada's prairies while Ukrainian-born Redemptorists gradually learned from the Belgians how to do the same. The new generation of Ukrainian Redemptorists then reassured and guaranteed an authentically Eastern Church in communion with the See of Rome in Canada, the United States, and eventually in Australia. The Redemptorists, with Delaere as their founder among the Ukrainians, merely implemented their bishops' instructions and continued to suffer from the vermin, the climate, the Presbyterians, and prepared to suffer the Independents who would eventually organize the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

Endnotes

1. Notes by Father DeCoene, CSSR, File 4.7.1.7.4.4.2 in the Archives of the Flemish Redemptorists (henceforth AFR), presently stored in Katholiek Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KADOC), Belgium.
2. The prairie parkland is that band of arable land roughly arcing north from Winnipeg to Edmonton, dividing the Canadian shield from Palliser's triangle. As the historiography of Ukrainians in Canada show, the Parkland was settled after the more fertile Palliser Triangle was full with English-speaking or preferred immigrants. More importantly, the United States had closed its own frontier. The eastern Europeans were consciously sent to less desirable lands, but they were enthusiastically taken up by the newcomers because, although marginal, there was wood and water, both luxuries in Galicia.
3. Zoriana Yaworsky-Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighborhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert F. Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 279-302.
4. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, ed., *A Statistic Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), Series 20.40-62, 36.
5. For further discussion of these political, ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences, see Paul Laverdure, "Murder in the Monastery: Catholic and Orthodox in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1935," *Redemptorist North American Historical Bulletin* (May 2001): 1-20.

6. The best biographical study of Sheptytsky is Cyril Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrew (1865-1944)*, translated and revised by Serge Keleher (L'viv: Stauropegion 1993).
7. The closest thing to a general history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada consists of three books: the 1941 Jubilee Book, *Пропамятна Книга, З Нагоди золотого Ювілею Поселення Українського Народу в Канаді* (Yorkton: Упожана Українськими Католицькими Священиками під проводом свого Єпископа, 1941); the 1955 *Ювілейна Книга Українців Католиків Саскачевану*, by Volodymyr Iwashko and Bohdan Kazymyра (Володимир Івашко і Богдан Казимира), *Апостольського Екзархату Українців Католиків Саскачевану : Jubilee Book 1905-1955. Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan*, (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Catholic Council of Saskatchewan, 1955); and Panteleimon Bozyk, *Церков Українців в Канаді. Причинки до Історії Українського Церковного Життя в Бритійській Домінії Канаді, за Час бід 1890-1927* (Subtitled *Church of the Ukrainians in Canada*) (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian 1927). It is possible that an English language translation of this work will soon be available from his son, Volodymyr Bozyk, Winnipeg. Understandably, the first two sources are concerned with descriptions of growth as revealed by the barest statistics of parish formation and expansion rather than with challenges and problems. The third, and oldest, by Bozyk is more of a description of the state of religious belief, including the Protestant and Orthodox, among the Ukrainians. The further one leaves the early period, the more the books rely upon Delaere's role in the origins of the church. All agree upon the date of his transfer to the eastern rite, his fostering of eastern-rite vocations and an indigenous Eastern-rite clergy, and his role in having an eastern-rite bishop named.
8. Emilien Tremblay's *Le Père Delaere et l'Église Ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville: n.p., 1960), Roman Chomiak's many articles in Ukrainian (1989), summarized in his unpublished 80-page manuscript, "The Yorkton CSSR Province: A Historical Review" translated from the Ukrainian by George Perejda, CSSR (Yorkton: n.p. n.d); and Jozef De Vocht's Delaere biography in Flemish, *Pater Achiel Delaere. Eerste Redemptorist van de Griekse Ritus. Een Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van de Grieks-Katholieke Kerk der Oekrainers in Canada* (Jette: Missieactie der Paters Redemptoristen, 1954) cover the French, Ukrainian and Flemish materials in Canada and in Belgium, but the only English language work is by the late George Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan who was fluent in Ukrainian and who wrote a brief biographical article about Delaere in *Saskatchewan History* based on Chomiak's work in Ukrainian ("Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches," *Saskatchewan History* 3, No. 1 [Winter 1950]: 1-16).

9. Using modern transcription methods from Ukrainian Cyrillic, the name would now be spelled Vasyl Zholdak, but contemporary documents and the man himself used Basil Zoldak. Throughout this article, the former transcription methods are used.
10. Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 177-178.
11. Kenneth Simon, "The Ruthenian Emigration in the United States of America: The Earliest Years (1884-1894): The Earliest Ecclesiastical Structures Viewed with the Aid of Documents Preserved in the Archive of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches" (Diss. Ad Lauream in Facultate Scientiarum Ecclesiasticarum Orientalium apud Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Rome 1982), 105.
12. *Ex Occidente Lex – From the West, the Law: the Eastern Catholic Churches under the Tutelage of the Holy See of Rome* (Carteret, NJ: St. Mary's Religious Action Fund, 1979), 24.
13. Pascal to Langevin, 28 October 1898, in French, copy in Provincial Series, Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Yorkton (henceforth ARPY), original in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. Boniface (henceforth ASB).
14. A brief introduction to the Redemptorists, their historiography, and to their Ukrainian apostolate in Canada can be found in the monograph, Paul Laverdure, *Redemption and Renewal: The Redemptorists of English-Canada 1834-1994* (Toronto: Dundurn Press 1996).
15. Pascal to Ledochowski, 19 December 1898, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY.
16. Adélarde [Langevin] to Provincial [16 May 1898], in French, File 4.7.1.7.4.3, AFR.
17. Van Aertselaer, CSSR, to Langevin, 6 January 1898, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original in ASB.
18. Provincial J.R. Van Aertselaer to Father General Raus, 19 July 1898, in French, File 3 (Vice-provincia Canadensis), Section 6-B (Belgica), Historical Archives of the Redemptorist General Government, Rome (henceforth AGHR). Actually, Delaere was expected to learn Ukrainian, the language of the Hungarian Galicians, but the Polish Redemptorists suggested that he learn Polish. They argued that more people spoke Polish and that more Poles lived in the Brandon area than the Slavs or Slovaks, as the Poles incorrectly identified them (see, ? to Van Aertselaer, 12 December 1898, in French).

Conter mistakenly believed Delaere began the study of Croatian (see Conter to Vice-Provincial De Vocht, 11 March 1949, in French, Delaere File, AFR).

19. Varia, File 3.6/3, 3, AFR.
20. Antoine Conter, CSSR, to Fr. Vice-Provincial [De Vocht], 11 March 1949, in French, Delaere File, AFR.
21. Decamps to [De Vocht], 29 May 1951, in French, Delaere File, AFR.
22. "Notes données par l'ex-Père Decamps," Decamps File, AFR.
23. "Chroniques de la maison de Brandon, Man., 1899," File 4.7.1.7.4.2, AFR.
24. Joseph M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Ontario, 1967), 2, 39, 54, 64-66, 223-225.
25. Lacombe to Langevin, 27 March 1900, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original in ASB.
26. Langevin to Falconio, 18 July 1900, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, from Coll. P. Jean, OSBM, 14, original in ASB.
27. Langevin to Lemieux, n.d., in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB. Father Lacombe, working with contradictory orders from Falconio and from Langevin, wrote in secret to Langevin that he was able to obtain a compromise from Rome for two sub-apostolic delegates, one for the United States and one for Canada, who would work as bishops under the apostolic delegates. These sub-apostolic delegates, however, could only work if a Latin bishop accepted him into his diocese, thus protecting the individual Latin bishop's autonomy and the Roman nature of the Catholic Church. Naturally, the individuals would be unmarried clergy (see Lacombe to Langevin, 14 September 1900, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB). The reality was that in the Ukraine, the clergy were usually married and were rapidly becoming more educated and better prepared for pastoral duties than at any previous time in its history. There was also already a move towards celibacy even among the eastern-rite clergy. The higher education, standards of conduct, and celibacy culminated under Sheptytsky as Anibal Soutus writes in "La formación del clero greco-católico Ucraino en Galitzia en el periodo e la ocupación austriaca (1772-1918)," Tesis para el doctorado en la Facultad de Derecho Canónico Oriental (Roma: Pontificio Instituto Oriental, 1991).
28. J. Favre, CSSR, to Provincial of Belgium, 9 August 1900, in French, File 4.7.1.7.4.5.3, AFR.

29. Delaere to Father Vice-Provincial [Lemieux], 25 February 1901, in French, File 3 (Vice-provincia canadensis), Section 6-B, AGHR.
30. Langevin to Lemieux, 4 January 1902, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB. Delaere repeated the arguments to his provincial (Varia, 150, Section 3.6/3, AFR).
31. Langevin to CSSR Superior General, 4 March 1902, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB.
32. Zoldak to His Excellency, 28 February 1903 [in Italian], Nr. 110, File "Ruteni (Melanges)," Fonds Nunz. Canada 184/1, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (henceforth ASV). A useful finding aid is Claudio De Dominicis, *Inventario dell'Archivio della Delegazione Apostolica del Canada (Nunziatura apostolica dal 1969), Scatole 1-191* (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1989), 272 pages.
33. Zoldak to Sbarretti, 24 March 1903, in Italian, copy in ASV. Zoldak's views have been confirmed by the Orthodox: Archimandrite Serafim (Surrency), *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America: A History of the Orthodox Church in North America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Saints Boris and Gleb Press, 1973), 22, states that the "return" of the Uniates was of major importance to the life of American Orthodoxy.
34. Zoldak to Sbarretti, 6 April 1903, in Italian, ASV.
35. Delaere to Father Visitor [Lemieux], 2 February 1904, in French, copy in Varia, 3.6/3, AFR. See especially, Delaere, *Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy among the Ruthenians (commonly called "Galicians") in the Canadian Northwest* (Winnipeg: West Canada Publishing Company, 1909), 10-13.
36. Zoldak to Sbarretti, 21 May 1903, in Italian; and Langevin to Sbarretti, 18 July 1903, in French, ASV.
37. *Svoboda*, 24 August 1903, in Ukrainian and French, copy and translation, ASV.
38. The most complete account of the early years is in Semen W. Sawchuk and George Mulyk-Lutzyk, *History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, 4 vols. (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Publishing Company, 1984-89), published in Ukrainian. The most accessible in English is Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), which is a continuation of his "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948).

39. Langevin to the Apostolic Delegate Sbarette, forwarded to Propaganda Fide's Cardinal Prefect Gotti, 1 March 1903, in French, ASV.
40. Langevin to Godts, 15 July 1903, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB.
41. Ivan (John) Bodrug, a Ruthenian settler who had been ordained by Seraphim and then entered the Presbyterian ministry, claimed that the English and French Catholics were too busy squabbling about the future direction of the Catholic Church while the Orthodox, too, were divided between different nationalities. He joined the Presbyterian church to establish schools for his people. He also claimed that troubles only broke out when the Archbishop of St. Boniface insisted that all chapel, church, and school properties donated by the Galician settlers for their own use be handed over to the Roman Catholic Church. See Edward Nicholas Bodrug, *John Bodrug: Ukrainian pioneer preacher, educator, editor in the Canadian West, 1897-1913* (n.p., n.d.), 52 [Copy available in the United Church of Canada Archives]. See also John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs pertaining to the history of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the years 1903 to 1913*, ed. J.B. Gregorovich, Introduction by Senator Paul Yuzyk (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation 1980), 159 pages.
42. Filas to Sbarette, 10 May 1903, in Italian, ASV. For Langevin's problems with diocesan clergy such as Zaklinski, see Langevin to Godts, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB.
43. Langevin to Lemieux, 4 January 1902, in French. Original in the Archives of the Redemptorists of the Sainte Anne-de-Beaupré Province, copy in Box 3, Section 4.47 (Yorkton), of the Redemptorist Archives of the Edmonton-Toronto Province.
44. Notes by Father DeCoene, CSSR, File 4.7.1.7.4.4.2, AFR.
45. Notes by Father DeCoene, CSSR, File 4.7.1.7.4.4.2, AFR.
46. Delaere, *Memorandum*, 36. This is borne out by Foundation Series, Yorkton, ARPY.
47. Delaere, *Memorandum*, 15.
48. Decamps to [De Vocht], 25 April 1951, in French, Delaere File, AFR, discusses Delaere's disagreements with Budka.
49. Joseph Bala, "Pioneer Bishop," in Iwashko and Kazymyra, *Ювілейна Книга Українців Католиків Саскачевану*, 135-136. Joseph Bala, Budka's secretary who later joined the Redemptorists, wrote that after fifteen years of work Budka left twenty-nine secular priests, eighteen regular priests, for a total of

forty-seven clergy, 299 parishes and missions, twenty-six evening schools, five schools and five orphanages. How much of this growth was accomplished despite Budka or because of him is an open question.

50. Simon, "The Ruthenian Emigration in the United States of America," 225.

