

Pioneer Bishop, Pioneer Times: Nykyta Budka in Canada

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In 1912 the Vatican created a separate ecclesiastical province for the Ukrainian Catholics of Canada. Reverend Nykyta Budka, Prefect of the Theological Seminary of Lviv, Galicia, was appointed to head this new diocese, with a mission to serve the approximately 128,000 Ukrainian settlers scattered from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island. For the most part, these recent immigrants were found in rural settlements on the prairies. Their religious experiences have been superficially studied, and the problems encountered by their first bishop have been given scant attention. This article is an overview of the episcopate of Bishop Budka, the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop in Canada.¹

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, significant numbers of Ukrainian immigrants, attracted to Canada by the prospect of cheap land, began to settle in the Prairies. The Ukrainians are a Slavic people, whose homeland at the time of the migration to Canada was divided between Austria-Hungary and Russia. Those who settled in Canada came chiefly from the Austrian province of Galicia,² where they had been small landholders and/or agricultural labourers. They were Ukrainian Catholic by religion, meaning that in accordance with the historic Union of Brest (1596) they preserved the Eastern rite, including Church Slavonic as the language of worship, while submitting to the authority of the Pope and accepting the doctrinal standards of the Latin Church.

¹ In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ukrainians in Austria and in Canada were generally known as "Ruthenians." By religion, those who came from Galicia were Byzantine or Eastern Rite Catholics, but more generally referred to in their homeland as "Uniates" or "Greek Catholics." Budka's own letterhead stationery referred to him as the "Ruthenian Bishop." Except in direct quotations, those who at the time were called "Ruthenians" are here named "Ukrainians" and Ukrainian Eastern Rite Catholics are here called "Ukrainian Catholics," even though this term is not technically correct for the period under study.

² Ukrainian settlers from Bukovyna were for the most part Orthodox.

For the Ukrainian peasant, religion was an integral part of his way of life. His work cycle revolved around the seasons and around the liturgical year, with its holy days, feasts, and lenten periods. Within this society, the priest dispensed the sacraments and functioned as the community's moral authority. He also dispensed advice and generally set an example in respect of modern agricultural practice, and usually played a pivotal role in a village's cultural life in the 1880s and even the 1890s, though by the turn of the century secular influences were making inroads in the priest's traditional position in Eastern Galicia. The priest's wife also generally held an honoured position in village life.³

The distinctive religious customs of the Ukrainian settlers, and especially their tradition of married priests, seemed strange and unacceptable to the majority of Canadian Catholics. For their part, however, the settlers longed to reconstruct their traditional religious life in Canada. Many had brought with them icons or framed paper copies of icons which occupied a position of honour in their simple homes and which were the focus of family prayer. The chief difficulty was that they had come almost entirely without priests. A Vatican decree, promulgated in 1890 at the behest of scandalized English-speaking clergy in the United States, had already forbidden married Ukrainian Catholic priests in the New World.⁴ In these circumstances, a community of worship could be formed initially only by groups of lay persons meeting in one of their homes. Maria Adamowska, the child of pioneers, described the typical procedure in her memoirs:

Our poor settlers consulted among themselves and decided to meet every Sunday and sing at least those parts of the liturgy that were meant to be sung by the cantor. Since our house was large enough, that was where the meetings were held. On Sunday morning everyone hurried to our house the way one would to church.... And so it was that we were able to gratify, at least partially, the longings of our souls.⁵

³ J.-P. Himka, "Priests and Peasants: The Uniate Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXI (1979), pp. 1-4; S. M. Hryniuk, *A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1985), esp. pp. 162, 196-197, 247-248, and 413-417; V. Kubijovic, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 387.

⁴ V. Markus, "The Ancestral Faith Transplanted: A Century of Ukrainian Religious Experience in the United States," in P. R. Magoosi, ed., *The Ukrainian Experience in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1979), p. 108.

⁵ M. Adamowska, "Beginnings in Canada," in H. Piniuta, ed., *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p. 47.

The reliance on lay worship continued for a long time. Communities built chapels, erected crosses of freedom, and constructed small churches where they would gather without priests to sing services with the cantor.⁶ Of all the institutions of the homeland the village church with its priest was the one most acutely missed.

In an effort to obtain clergy, Ukrainian settlers appealed to their parishes at home, to the hierarchy in Galicia, and to the Latin-rite prelates of the Prairies.⁷ They also sent letters to the only Ukrainian newspaper in North America, *Svoboda*, which was published in Pennsylvania and whose editor in 1896-97 was a Ukrainian secular priest, Father Nestor Dmytriw. Dmytriw responded by visiting all the Ukrainian settlements in Canada in 1897, conducting services for them, and simultaneously assuming the role of a Canadian immigration agent for two years. Other secular Ukrainian priests visited Canada from the United States after Dmytriw, but only for short periods. In between these visits, the settlers fended for themselves, gathering in their own lay congregations and maintaining their distinctiveness, but seeking out representatives of other Christian churches for special needs such as baptisms, marriages, and burials.⁸

At first, the Roman Catholic bishops of Western Canada were ill-informed about the religious background of the Ukrainian settlers and tended to assume that all Eastern Europeans were alike. This insensitivity to distinctive traditions can be seen in the decision of Archbishop Abelard Langevin of St. Boniface to entrust the spiritual care of the Ukrainians in Winnipeg to two Polish brothers, the Fathers Kulawy. Given the historical efforts of Poles to Latinize the Ukrainians, this was a major affront to their religious sensibilities. “Didn’t we have enough foreign care in the old

⁶ See Ethelbert History Book Committee, *The Ties That Bind: A History of Ethelbert and District* (Ethelbert, Manitoba: Ethelbert History Book Committee, 1985), p. 20; see also M. Ewanchuk, *Spruce, Swamp and Stone: A History of Pioneer Ukrainian Settlements in the Gimli Area* (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1977), pp. 95-96, for examples of such activities in one Ukrainian settlement on the prairies.

⁷ P. Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” in M. R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 147; V. J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 166; O. Bala, *Pershyy ukrains’kyi epyskop Kanady, Kyr Nykyta Budka v soroklitnii iuvilei: osnuvannia ukrains’ko-katolyts’koi iierarkhii v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Tsentralia ukrainsiv katolykiv v Manitobi, 1952), p. 11.

⁸ N. Dmytriw’s account of his tour of Ukrainian settlements in Canada was published in a series of articles in *Svoboda*, in 1897, 1898, and 1899. Descriptions of religious life in the early Ukrainian communities may be found, for example, in Piniuta, *Land of Pain*, pp. 78 and 109; Ethelbert History, *The Ties That Bind*, pp. 95-97. See also Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” p. 147, and Bala, *Pershyy ukrains’kyi*, p. 11.

country?” *Svoboda* asked pointedly.⁹ The Kulawy brothers, who also served in districts surrounding Winnipeg, evidently insisted that wherever there were Latin-rite priests and churches, Ukrainian priests and churches were unnecessary. Likewise, Langevin opposed the formation in 1899 of the Ukrainian parish of St. Nicholas in Winnipeg because he did not want separate Ukrainian parishes established where Roman Catholic parishes already existed.¹⁰

Despite the opposition he often aroused among the Ukrainian settlers, Archbishop Langevin and his fellow prairie bishops – Bishop Sebert Pascal, O.M.I., of Prince Albert and Bishop Emile Legal, O.M.I., of St. Albert – were deeply concerned about the spiritual welfare of the Ukrainians. Frequently during the years 1898 to 1912, they and their representatives made visits and sent letters to Rome, Vienna, and Lviv to try to convince the authorities there to recruit unmarried Ukrainian priests for Canada.¹¹ These efforts bore relatively little fruit, for there were few unmarried Ukrainian Catholic priests; and the exceptional priests willing to come to Canada without their wives for short periods of time were not welcome. Prompted by reports from Canada, and not allowed himself to visit, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia, sent his secretary, Father Zholdak, to Canada in 1901-02 and again in 1903-04 to assess the situation. In part due to Zholdak’s reports, the first Ukrainian Basilian monks were dispatched to Canada in 1902. Two more came in 1903 and one in 1905.¹²

As early as 1898, Archbishop Langevin resorted to another expedient in his efforts to provide priests for the Ukrainians. His visit that year to the Redemptorist Order’s Belgian provincial headquarters resulted in the coming to Canada of the first Redemptorist priest, Father Achilles Delaere. From his mission house in Brandon, first alone and then aided by other Redemptorists,

⁹ *Svoboda*, November 23, 1899; Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” p. 148; Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*, p. 222; and E. Tremblay, *Le Pere Delaere et L’Eglise Ukrainienne du Canada* (Ottawa: By the Author, 1958), p. 38. For some details of the process of Latinization see Kubijovic, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, pp. 487-488 and 489-492.

¹⁰ P. Bozhyk, *Tserkov ukrainsiv v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Kanadyiskyi ukrainets, 1927), p. 10; *Svoboda*, January 4, 1900; Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” p. 148.

¹¹ M. H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian [Free] Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] in Canada, 1982), p. 103; Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” p. 149; Ukrainian Catholic Chancellery Archives, Winnipeg [hereafter UCCA], Andrew Szepticky (Sheptytsky), *Address on the Ruthenian Question to Their Lordships the Archbishops and the Bishops of Canada* (Lviv: 1911), p. 9.

¹² N. N. Svirs’kyi, *Tudy lynut’ nashi sertsia* (Mundare, Alberta: Vydavnytstvo ottshiv vasylian, 1963), pp. 6, 13, 16, and 19; UCCA, Szepticky, *Address*, p. 9.

he served a great number of Ukrainian and some other settlements in the triangle formed by Brandon-Russell-Minnedosa in Manitoba.¹³

Despite the fact that these Redemptorist priests were sent to Galicia to learn Ukrainian and to familiarize themselves with the Eastern rite, they were often rejected by those whom they sought to serve: they were not Ukrainian, they did not have full command of the language, and they were of the Latin rite. By 1906 Father Delaere was convinced that he could best serve the Ukrainians if he changed to the Byzantine rite. He and several other Belgian Redemptorists, as well as French Canadian Oblate and secular priests, did receive permission to make this change. By 1912 a corps of twenty-one priests, of whom eight were originally Latin-rite, were serving the ever-growing and far-flung Ukrainian Catholic settlements in Canada.¹⁴

The Catholic Church of Canada made other contributions to the Ukrainian Catholic cause. Archbishop Langevin funded the building of a church for the Basilian fathers in Winnipeg; Bishops Pascal and Legal helped with the construction of others. The Canadian hierarchy gave much assistance towards the establishment of the school of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Edmonton. Langevin helped the St. Nicholas parish school in Winnipeg through a period of difficulty, and later the Archiepiscopal Corporation of St. Boniface advanced an interest-free loan of almost \$26,000 for purchasing land and rebuilding the school. Ukrainian boys were supported at the minor seminaries of St. Boniface and St. Albert and at St. Boniface College of the University of Manitoba. Missions were supported at Sifton, Brandon, Yorkton, and elsewhere.¹⁵

The total amount raised by Canadian Catholics prior to 1910 for what were called "Ruthenian causes" has not been ascertained. In 1909 the Bishops of Canada pledged \$10,000 per year for ten years "for the Ruthenian Missions," to be raised through collections in all churches. This amount was surpassed in most years up to and including 1914, thereafter falling to a low of \$6,785 in 1918 and increasing a little again for 1919 and 1920. The archdioceses of Montreal and Quebec were consistently large contributors. The Toronto-based Catholic Church Extension Society between November 1909 and April 1911 gave \$1,200 towards the construction costs of two churches and to help send one priest to Galicia for training. Funds from the Archiepiscopal Corporation of St. Boniface provided vital assistance for the establishment and ongoing support of a weekly newspaper, the *Canadian*

¹³ Tremblav. *Delaere*. pp. 81-90.

¹⁴ Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵ UCCA, Szepticky, *Address*, pp. 9-10; UCCA, Annual Reports by the Archbishop of St. Boniface, issued under titles such as *Sommes perçues et dépensées depuis le 1er Mai 1911 au 1er Mai 1912, pour l'Œuvre des Ruthènes du Manitoba, de la Saskatchewan et de l'Alberta*. The loan of c. \$26,000 was subsequently forgiven.

Ruthenian, founded in 1911 as a medium for the expression of a Ukrainian Catholic viewpoint.¹⁶

Even these constructive measures, however, were viewed with suspicion by many Ukrainian Canadians, who refused to accept them as an adequate substitute for priests “of their own kind.” In fact, they only reinforced fears of Latinization. Suspicions were aggravated by Archbishop Langevin’s persistent efforts to ensure that church property was registered in the name of a diocesan corporation, by reports of abusive treatment of Ukrainians by individual Catholic priests, and by the occasions when visiting Ukrainian Catholic priests were refused permission to conduct services for Ukrainians.¹⁷ Despite all best endeavours, there was increasing danger of growing numbers of Catholic Ukrainians turning away from the Church.

Suspicion of Latin-rite clergy made Ukrainian settlers susceptible to alternative missionary efforts that were free of these dreaded “Latinizing” connotations. One such campaign was launched by the Russian Orthodox Church, whose activities in North America were subsidized by the Holy Synod and encouraged by the Tsarist government. Missionaries despatched to Canada, normally from the United States, combined pastoral ministry with pan-Slavist propaganda. They came partly to serve Orthodox Ukrainians who had migrated from Bukovyna but also to proselytize Ukrainian Catholics. Their efforts were facilitated by the similarity of rite and ritual and by their familiarity with the Ukrainian language. Furthermore, they asked little in the way of financial support from the faithful and did not interfere with community ownership of church property.¹⁸ By 1917, the Russian Church

¹⁶ UCCA, *General Report of all the Monies Collected among the Catholics of the Latin Rite of Canada, received, controlled and transmitted from 1910 to 1930 By the Procure of the Archbishop's Palace of St. Boniface, Manitoba in favor of the Ruthenians Greek Catholics of Canada* (St. Boniface: 1933). This report also makes clear that some dioceses, e.g., Vancouver and after 1913 Toronto, contributed through a different intermediary and their contributions were thus not recorded in this source. See also UCCA, *Sommes perçues et dépensées*, and for the importance attached to a Ukrainian Catholic weekly newspaper, UCCA, Szepticky, *Address*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁷ P. Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 72; Tremblay, *Delaere*, p. 37; UCCA, Parish Records of Sifton, Stuartburn, and Venlaw; *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 August 1910; Bozhyk, *Tserkov*, p. 20; Archdiocese of St. Boniface Archives [hereafter ASBAI, Rapport “Réunion épiscopale tenue à l’Archevêché de St. Boniface des 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 septembre 1903,” p. 15; M. H. Marunchak, *Studies in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, vol. 2 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1967), pp. 375-377 (in Ukrainian); UCCA, Szepticky, *Address*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁸ Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, pp. 72-73; Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” pp. 150-151; Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 102, 103, and 111-112. For reports of their activities see *Svoboda*, 21 and 28 October, 4 November, and 16 December 1897; 27 January, 24 February, 30 June, 4 and 18 August, and 29 September 1898; 16 July 1899; etc.

had sixty-two priests, sixty-six churches, three monasteries, and thirty to forty missions in Canada.

The other great proselytizing effort came from the Presbyterian Church. Its considerable success in attracting Ukrainians was achieved through the medium of syncretic institutions, the most important of which was the Independent Greek Church. Established in 1904 by a coalition of Presbyterians and members of the Liberal party, its avowed aim was to Protestantize and thereby Canadianize immigrants. This it sought to accomplish by combining the Byzantine rite and the Ukrainian language with Protestant doctrine and principles. It found willing collaborators in the work of conversion among some of the better educated young men in the Ukrainian community. Disenchanted with their own Church, which they blamed for imposing on the masses a superstitious ritualism, they saw in Protestantism the prospect of enlightenment. Many were educated at Manitoba College at the expense of the Presbyterian Home Missions Board, and some received steady salaries for their services as preachers in the Independent Greek Church.¹⁹

At its peak in 1906-07, this anomalous institution was said to have 60,000 adherents.²⁰ Events were to show that these were scarcely committed converts. The Presbyterian Church sought to subsume the new body within itself, to replace Ukrainian with English in its services, and to get rid of the Byzantine ritual. Once their special rights were taken away, very few Ukrainian ministers and congregations chose to stay with the Presbyterian Church. Among those to leave was one of the leading founders of the Independent Greek Church, Ivan Bodrug, who, like others, finally realized the assimilatory motives of the Presbyterian Church. Faced with wholesale defections, the Home Mission Board had by 1913 withdrawn funding for Ukrainian schools and missions.²¹

¹⁹ Yuzyk, "Religious Life," pp. 151-152; Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, p. 73; UCCA, Szepticky, *Address*, pp. 10-13; see also O. Dombrov'skyi, *Narys istorii ukrains' koho ievanhel' 'skoho reformovanoho rukhu* (New York: Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America, 1979). N. Kazymyra, "The Defiant Pavlo Krat and the Early Socialist Movement in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, X, 2 (1978), p. 45; and O. Martynowych, *The Canadianization of the Ukrainian Immigrant* (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 38-49, 99-108, 139-143, etc.

²⁰ Bozhyk, *Tserkov Ukraintsiv*, p. 30; see also Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, p. 72.

²¹ A. J. Hunter, *A Friendly Adventure: The Story of the United Church Mission among New Canadians at Teulon, Manitoba* (Toronto: Board of Home Missions, United Church of Canada, 1929), *passim*, esp. p. 34; Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, p. 73. On Bodrug see also the brief entry in Kubijovic, *Encyclopedia*, I, p. 251. Presbyterians were not the only Protestant group active among Ukrainians; see, for example, G. N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians," *Alberta Historical Review*, XIX, 2 (1971), pp. 8-19, and Bozhyk, *Tserkov*, p. 52.

Meanwhile, another movement was also disturbing the Canadian Catholic hierarchy. During the years 1907-10, itinerant Ukrainian Catholic priests from the United States urged Ukrainian parishes in Canada to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the newly appointed Ukrainian Catholic Bishop for the United States, Soter Ortynsky. Some proposed the complete separation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from the Latin-rite Catholic hierarchy. This was an attractive idea for some Ukrainian Catholics, and also for many of those who were now withdrawing from the Presbyterian movement. At a demonstration in Winnipeg in August 1910, speakers called for married clergy, a Ukrainian Catholic bishop, and separation from the Latin-rite hierarchy.²²

In 1910 Andrii Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of Lviv and spiritual leader of Ukrainian Catholics, attended the Eucharistic congress in Montreal and used the occasion to undertake an extensive tour of Ukrainian communities in Canada and the United States and was greatly distressed by what he saw. On his return to Lviv he composed a lengthy Address to the Canadian hierarchy in which he analyzed the precarious situation of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada and proposed as the only viable remedy the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop for Canada.²³

It was by no means the first time that such a proposal had been made. The idea was advanced as early as 1900 by the Vicar-General of St. Albert, Father A. Lacombe.²⁴ It was strenuously opposed for almost a decade by Archbishop Langevin, who wished to maintain existing ecclesiastical jurisdictions and who also feared that a Ukrainian bishop might favour married priests. Such an appointment, Langevin believed, would “set altar against altar.”²⁵ The appointment of Father Ortynsky as Ukrainian Catholic Bishop for the United States gave rise to renewed demands for a Canadian analogue.²⁶ Further stimulus was provided in 1908 in a memorial on the

²² Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, p. 108. On Bishop Ortynsky see B. Procko, “Soter Ortynsky: First Ruthenian Bishop in the United States, 1907-1916,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, LVIII (1972-73), pp. 513-533.

²³ UCCA, Szepticky, *Address*.

²⁴ B. Kazymyra, in *Almanakh zolotoho iuvileiu 1905-1955* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Benefit Association of St. Nicholas, 1957), p. 36.

²⁵ ASBA, letter by Langevin, 28 September 1907. See also G. 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, 1895-1916,” *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Reports*, 1975, p. 74.

²⁶ Initially, Ortynsky was, in his own words, “a bishop without a diocese,” as his priests still came under the jurisdiction of the Latin-rite bishops in whose dioceses their parishes were situated; see Procko, “Soter Ortynsky,” p. 516; also Markus, “The Ancestral Faith,” p. 113. Territorially overlapping Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdictions, although acknowledged by Sheptytsky (UCCA, *Address*, pp. 23-24) as presenting some problems, were the norm in Galicia: Lviv was the seat of three Catholic Archbishops: Latin-rite, Ukrainian-rite, and Armenian-rite.

situation of Ukrainians in Western Canada, prepared at the request of the Apostolic Delegate by the clergy ministering to Canada's Ukrainian Catholics.²⁷ This memorial, which supported the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop, was considered at the first general council of the Canadian hierarchy in 1909 and led in the first instance to increased financial support for work among Canadian Ukrainians.

By now even Archbishop Langevin was influenced by the growing number of defections from Catholicism among Ukrainians and by the prospect of further apostasy. Metropolitan Sheptytsky's arguments therefore fell on fertile ground. In July 1911 Langevin and his fellow Western Canadian bishops informed the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa that they favoured the establishment of an ecclesiastical province for Ukrainians in Canada.²⁸ The establishment of an independent Ukrainian Catholic diocese for Canada, separate from the jurisdiction of Latin-rite bishops, was approved by the Holy See in 1912.²⁹ On the recommendation of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and contrary to Canadian advice,³⁰ the thirty-five-year-old Prefect of the Theological Seminary in Lviv, Nykyta Budka, was appointed to be Bishop of Canada and so consecrated, in Lviv, in September 1912.

Budka was born to fairly well-to-do and politically active parents in Dobromirka, Zbarazh County, in Eastern Galicia. Having completed primary schooling in his village and county town, he attended gymnasium in Temopil, supporting himself by tutoring other students. Before going on to theological training, he served as private tutor to the children of Prince Leo Sapieha, a well-known and respected Polonized Ukrainian aristocrat. He then served a year in the Austrian army, taking officer training. In 1902 Budka entered the Theology Faculty at the University of Innsbruck and was ordained in 1905 at the age of twenty-eight. Shortly after his ordination he was named Prefect of the Theological Seminary in Lviv. While holding this post he wrote a doctoral dissertation on Byzantine religious history, which he was never able to defend, first due to ill health and then to his departure

²⁷ A. Delaere, *Mémoire sur les tentatives de schisme et d'hérésie du milieu des Ruthènes de l'ouest canadien* (Quebec: L'Action Sociale Ltée., 1908); see also Tremblay, *Delaere, passim*.

²⁸ Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, p. 109. The changing attitude of Archbishop Langevin was already evident in 1909 – see ASBA, Langevin, "Quelques Remarques," 11 May 1909.

²⁹ Doubts about the status of the new bishop and his relationship to Archbishop Langevin and the other bishops of Canada remained. The situation was not fully clarified until after Bishop Budka's arrival in Canada (ASBA, Apostolic Delegate to Langevin, 20 January and 10 February 1913).

³⁰ The Western Canadian hierarchy and the clergy ministering to the Ukrainians had expressed a wish for the appointment of Father Filas, Protoihumen of the Basilian Order in Galicia, who had earlier served in Canada; see UCCA, Delaere to Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, May 1912, and also ASBA, Langevin to Cardinal Gotti, 4 December 1913.

for Canada. After a time additional duties were assigned to Budka – diocesan adviser to the marriage tribunal and consultant on emigration issues. The latter became a real avocation. He was instrumental in forming a Galician branch of the German-based St. Raphael Emigrant Welfare Society; he paid missionary visits to Ukrainian settlements in Prussia and Bosnia; and he established and until 1912 edited a monthly journal of spiritual and practical advice for emigrants called *Emigrant*.³¹ Budka's expertise in emigration matters was no doubt one of the reasons why Metropolitan Sheptytsky recommended him for the new position in Canada.

Although Bishop Budka issued no overall programmatic pronouncement, it is clear that he embarked upon his task with certain goals in mind. Paramount among these was the spiritual welfare of his people. To achieve this, he would have to place his diocese on a firm institutional footing and recruit more clergy. He was concerned, too, with the material well-being of the settlers and with the preservation of their Ukrainian language and culture. Finally, he wished to work for good relationships between the Ukrainian immigrants and the host Canadian society.³²

Bishop Budka had scarcely arrived in Winnipeg in December 1912 when he set out on a visitation of the Ukrainian settlements in Western Canada, travelling in difficult winter conditions by train, by horse, and on foot. Wherever he went he conducted services, offered advice, and encouraged the faithful.³³ On his return in March 1913, he embarked on his organizational tasks, including the establishment of regular pastoral care and the administration of a diocese which stretched from sea to sea. There were a great number of letters to answer – one author has estimated that Budka personally wrote 2,000 letters in less than a year.³⁴ One of his first actions was to incorporate all Ukrainian Catholic parishes under provincial charters and to establish a Dominion-wide Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation under federal charter.³⁵ He thereby formalized the independence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada and provided a basis for reassuring parishioners that churches and parish property might now be registered with a church corporation without fear of their being lost to the Ukrainian community. Nevertheless, registration of church property remained a volatile issue.

³¹ Bala, *Pershyi ukrains'kyi*, pp. 9-12; *Canadian Ruthenian*, 9 October 1912.

³² Some of these goals had been identified by Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1911; see UCCA, Szeptycky, *Address*.

³³ Bala, *Pershyi ukrains'kyi*, pp. 35-36.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁵ Yuzyk, "Religious Life," p. 150; Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, p. 110; Bala, *Pershyi ukrains'kyi*, p. 37.

What concerned the new bishop most was the spiritual state of his flock. During the course of 1913 he wrote four Pastoral Letters, two booklets for Ukrainian immigrants, editorials and articles for the *Canadian Ruthenian*, which Archbishop Langevin transferred to his control, and numerous letters to parishioners, some assuring them that baptisms and marriages conducted by clergymen of other Christian denominations were valid. The main issues which exercised Budka in this voluminous output were concern for the retention of the Catholic faith and of the purity of the Byzantine rite in its Ukrainian tradition. Having found many variations during his visitations, he took care to explain the rite's symbolism and significance and how it differed from the Latin rite. He gave instructions about the siting of the altar and of the icons, on the removal of statues, on the use of candles, and on singing. He urged attendance at church, especially on the part of children, and encouraged family prayers in the home, according to Galician custom. Budka also stressed unity within the Ukrainian Catholic Church and laid down guidelines for the good management of parish churches and property, for conduct in church, and for personal behaviour.³⁶

Budka also showed his concern for the retention of the Ukrainian language and culture, actions which were readily misrepresented by sections of the anglophone press of Winnipeg, which professed to see a "Ruthenian" state emerging on the prairies. In fact, Budka well appreciated the need for Ukrainian settlers and their children to learn English and to participate in Canadian society, but he believed that this could be accomplished without obliterating their cultural heritage. Consequently, he defended Ukrainian bilingual and also Catholic schooling, and on the pages of the *Canadian Ruthenian* and elsewhere he took issue with the misrepresentations of the anglophone as well as of the Ukrainian antiCatholic press. From the outset of his episcopate, the weekly *Canadian Ruthenian* was of tremendous importance to Budka. But he did not neglect other avenues for pressing his views, speaking, for example, to a German Catholic Congress in Winnipeg about the Manitoba school question.³⁷

Bishop Budka clearly regarded himself as the leading spokesman for the Ukrainian community. He was concerned for its material as well as its spiritual welfare. He thought that Ukrainian settlers, being "either farmers or unskilled labourers" and without adequate knowledge of English, were at "a tremendous disadvantage" compared to other Canadians, no matter how hard they worked. They had a miniscule educated middle class. Moreover, the common practice of remitting money to relatives in Galicia and Bukovyna prevented them from accumulating sufficient capital either for

³⁶ Published texts of some of the Pastoral Letters are in the Library of St. Andrew's College, Winnipeg; letters or copies of letters to parishioners and others are in the Ukrainian Catholic Chancellery Archives and in the Archives of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers [hereafter ARF].

³⁷ *Les Cloches de Saint Boniface*, St. Boniface, 15 July 1913.

effecting improvements to their farms or for investment. Education, including agricultural education, was the way out of the impasse. With his still imperfect understanding of Canadian politics, the Bishop called on the federal government to appoint without delay a “General Commissioner for the Canadian Ruthenians,” whose office would compile statistical data on Canada’s Ukrainians as a first step to remedying the ills that beset the community. With a shrewder comprehension of anglophone attitudes towards Ukrainians, he also requested the government, “in the interest of mutual understanding between the English and Ruthenian people,” to appoint “a permanent *Lecturer on Ruthenian history, literature and art* at one of Canada’s Western Universities.”³⁸

Budka’s thinking here reveals its roots in the traditions of Imperial Austria, with its centralized support of higher education. But in fact he did not wait for actions that were unlikely to occur in the New World. He wanted Canadian Ukrainians to be informed, self-reliant, and, of course, devout citizens. They needed schools, cultural centres, their own press, orphanages, churches, and priests. The religious aspect was obviously predominant, but the secular dimension was not absent. Priests were of primary importance. Here the Bishop set a personal example as missionary priest – from conducting services during visitations to scattered communities, to spending the night in jail with a Ukrainian condemned to death, giving him communion and escorting him to the scaffold,³⁹ to using his “vacation” to help dig the foundations for the school at Mundare, Alberta.⁴⁰ His work was assisted by the arrival from Galicia in mid-1913 of several priests and a number of nuns as well as of some theological students who would complete their education in Canada. Budka was aware, however, that Canada would have to be relied on increasingly as the source of candidates for the priesthood. He worked unsparingly to establish minor seminaries and residences for students and arranged to further the training of theological students at Montreal, Toronto, and St. Boniface. Naturally, he took pride and delight in ordaining new priests.⁴¹

It was the shortage of priests which cast the first clouds on Budka’s episcopate. In the first place, the Latin-rite Catholic hierarchy remained

³⁸ N. Budka, “Memorandum on the Status & Improvements of the Ruthenians of Canada,” 31 January 1914, in B. S. Kordan and L. Y. Luciuk, eds., *A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada 1899-1962* (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1986), pp. 25-27.

³⁹ *Les Cloches*, 1 June 1913.

⁴⁰ Sister C. H. Popowich, *To Serve Is to Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto: Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 1971), p. 78.

⁴¹ Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, p. 110; UCCA, *Rapports*, “Sommes perçues et dépensées”; Anon., *Ripples on the Lake: A History of the Shoal Lake Municipality 1884-1984* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 168 and 197.

fearful that the Bishop, who had come from the ranks of the secular clergy, would try to introduce married priests to Canada.⁴² Although there is no evidence that Budka had such intentions, the suspicion lingered and may have clouded relationships with some clerics, while the fact that married priests continued to be excluded no doubt displeased some parishioners. In the second place, the shortage of priests prevented Bishop Budka from dispensing with the services of those priests originally of the Latin rite who had espoused the Byzantine rite in order to serve the Ukrainians. Certainly there was pressure on him to do so, both from sections of the Ukrainian press and from some Ukrainian settlements, where parishioners sometimes continued to be uncomfortable with priests not of Ukrainian origin. While Budka did make some tactical transfers, he was and remained grateful for the work of the Redemptorists and others who had changed rites, wrote encouraging letters to them, and expressed his annoyance with Ukrainian Catholics who were unappreciative of their services.⁴³

The eighteen months prior to the outbreak of the First World War were Budka's most successful and happiest. The community seemed to respond with enthusiasm to his presence. New churches were being built, also in Eastern Canada,⁴⁴ and new priests and nuns had arrived to assist him in his work. He approved plans for the establishment of a Byzantine-rite Redemptorist Branch in Canada. He was able to obtain financial support for the *Canadian Ruthenian*, and he participated in various non-Ukrainian Catholic activities.⁴⁵ But he remained very anxious about the apostasy of Ukrainians; physical hardships and fatigue took their toll on his slender physique; and there were constant worries about money.⁴⁶ In fact, although much was being accomplished, many old problems were not really resolved and thorny new ones were arising.

Despite their deep religiosity, not all Catholic Ukrainians were readily prepared to accept the authority of their new bishop. For years without recognized religious leadership of the kind they had known in the homeland,

⁴² ASBA, Delaere to Langevin, 2 February 1913; Archbishop of Quebec to Langevin, 7 March 1913; and correspondence between Langevin and the Apostolic Delegate.

⁴³ ASBA, Langevin to Budka, 23 July 1913; ARF, Budka to Delaere, 9 February, 14 July, 13 September, 22 November, and 1 December 1913; see also Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg [hereafter UCEC] (Ruh Papers), Budka to Ruh, 7 February 1916, 30 October 1922, and 12 May 1926; also Budka to "Dear Brothers in Stry," 7 February 1916. Father Ruh, born in Lorraine, was an Oblate who designed and built many churches in Ukrainian communities.

⁴⁴ Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, p. 110.

⁴⁵ *Jubilee Book of Redemptorist Fathers of the Eastern Rite* (Yorkton, Saskatchewan: The Redeemer's Voice, 1956), p. 142; UCCA, Rappports, "Sommes perçues et dépensées"; *Les Cloches*, 1 April, 15 July, and 15 August 1913.

⁴⁶ ARF, Budka to Delaere, see footnote 42; also *loc. cit.*, Budka to clergy, 16 November 1915.

they had established their own parish organizations and had acquired a new independence in the process. Many parishes were reluctant to comply with the Bishop's instructions to transfer their property to one of his newly formed corporations. Some, like that in Brandon, did not do so until the 1930s.⁴⁷ Others refused – a refusal which ultimately contributed to their joining the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which came into being in 1918.⁴⁸

The independence of the faithful was at times reinforced both by the slowly increasing secularization of the community in Canada and also in Galicia, with which many contacts were maintained until 1914, and by their hostility to the supposed Latinizing tendencies of priests not of Ukrainian origin. Budka, who refused to get rid of such priests, was attacked for being insufficiently Ukrainian and too much under French Canadian influence.⁴⁹ The attacks were fuelled by the anti-clerical propaganda assiduously spread by the Ukrainian secular intelligentsia. In 1914 the Bishop unwittingly gave his enemies additional ammunition.

On 27 July 1914 – at a time when war on the European continent seemed imminent but when no country was yet at war and very few Canadians thought that the British Empire would be involved – Budka issued a Pastoral Letter in which he urged Ukrainians who still had military reservist obligations in Austria to return home: “Perhaps we will have to defend Galicia from seizure by Russia with its appetite for Ruthenians” The Letter, though well meaning, was no doubt naive. By 4 August Britain was also at war, and on the same side as Russia. Budka immediately issued another Pastoral Letter, dated 6 August, in which he explained the changed situation, urged that his 27 July Letter be disregarded, and exhorted everyone to perform his duty to Canada. The damage had nevertheless been done. His opponents, including Manitoban Liberals and the *Manitoba Free Press*, accused him of disloyalty. The same newspaper had made equally unsubstantiated accusations against him in the recent and bitterly fought Manitoba provincial election campaign.⁵⁰

Despite the acknowledgement of his patriotic stance by Prime Minister Borden and the ample explanation of the circumstances which had prompted the Letter of 27 July, accusations of disloyalty continued to be levelled

⁴⁷ Interview with Mr. W. Michalchyshyn, Winnipeg, 18 April 1988.

⁴⁸ See the first two points of Resolution I of the National Church Conference, Saskatoon, July 1918, in Kordan & Luciuk, *Delicate and Difficult Question*, p. 34; Yuzyk, “Religious Life,” p. 155.

⁴⁹ For early criticism of Budka on this issue, see *Ukrainian Voice* (Winnipeg), 13 and 20 August 1913.

⁵⁰ For an English translation of the Pastoral Letters, see F. Swyripa and J. H. Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 161-165; for a full discussion see S. Hryniuk, “The Bishop Budka Controversy: A New Perspective,” in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXIII (1981), pp. 154-158.

against Budka throughout the war and afterwards. In fact, Budka continuously demonstrated his attachment to Canada in pastoral letters, in speeches, and in the consultations to which he was invited by the federal government, which valued his opinions on issues such as the release of interned Ukrainians and the censorship of the press. In numerous addresses, Budka urged Ukrainians to support the Canadian war effort, to learn English, and to become worthy Canadian citizens. Nevertheless, in 1918 he suffered the indignity of arrest at Hafford, Saskatchewan, on charges of disloyalty to Canada brought by one of his religious opponents on the basis of the 27 July 1914 letter. The charge was later dismissed for lack of evidence. In 1919 the Great War Veterans' Association brought renewed charges of disloyalty against Budka, but at the resultant trial the Bishop was fully exonerated.⁵¹

The nucleus of the Bishop's most bitter opponents was a group of young Ukrainian anti-clerical professionals, mostly teachers. They had made common cause with Budka on the issue of preserving Ukrainian bilingual schools, but for them he was not a sufficiently ardent Ukrainian, and they disliked the idea of the Ukrainian Catholic Church retaining connections with what they saw as an alien body, the Latin-rite Catholic Church.⁵² They also correctly perceived that Budka wished to maintain a Catholic influence over Ukrainian institutions which they wanted to be secular. Their dispute with the Bishop came to a head over the governance of the Peter Mohyla Institute, a residence for students in Saskatoon, after Budka had expressed fears for the faith of Ukrainian Catholic students living there. The founders of the Institute resented Budka's alleged autocratic behaviour. They took the lead in forming in 1918 the autocephalous Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, claiming that Budka's autocratic tendencies, his refusal to allow married priests, his requirement that church property be registered with an episcopal corporation, and a general Latinizing trend had left Ukrainian Catholics with no other choice than to set up a separate church.⁵³ A wide rift speedily grew within the Ukrainian community. Among its practical effects were split families, theft and destruction of property, numerous lawsuits, and bitter polemics in the Ukrainian-language press.

In a sense, Budka never fully recovered from this defection, especially as the ongoing polemics included continued personal attacks on him. On the other hand, the secession of a part of his community led him to redouble his efforts to save the other, larger portion. His newspaper, renamed *Canadian*

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 159-165.

⁵² Martynowych, *Canadianization*, pp. 38-52.

⁵³ On the formation of this Church see especially O. Trosky, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1968), and P. Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1957* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981). Some major documents in English translation are in Kordan and Luciuk, *Delicate and Difficult Question*, pp. 32-36.

Ukrainian in 1918, became more important than ever for his purposes: to educate Ukrainian Catholics and to counter antiCatholic propaganda and now also the Bolshevik threat.⁵⁴

The work to establish a secure institutional framework for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada continued. The Bishop worked closely with the Basilian and Redemptorist Orders and with the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, for whose Canadian province he provided a reformed system of governance.⁵⁵ Schools, orphanages,⁵⁶ seminaries, novitiates, student residences, a press, were established and needed to be maintained. More parishes were formed, more priests were trained, new churches were constructed – some by the priest-architect Father Philip Ruh, whom Budka transferred when parishes wanted to build a new church.

The task of providing a mission church with the institutions and organization necessary for its proper establishment as a diocese and ongoing effectiveness, while at the same time extending its pastoral work and fending off attacks from within the Ukrainian community, was a costly one. Money worries had beset Budka from the first. To set up the diocese he had received invaluable help from Archbishop Langevin and from the Canadian Catholic Extension Society, plus a one-time gift of c. \$2,000 from the Austrian Emperor.⁵⁷ In default of significant contributions from his own community, Bishop Budka was to be thrown back on support from Latin-rite Catholics in order to preserve Byzantine-rite Catholicism in Canada.

Budka had to provide for his own support and for the administrative costs of the diocese, including the newspaper. Soon after his arrival in Canada, he had stipulated that there should be an annual levy of \$1 per family (50 cents per single person) and two special collections per year in the eighty parishes, to be remitted to him for overall programme purposes, plus five per cent of parish income and five per cent of priests' income, and two annual special collections – one for the Bishop, one for the Seminary.⁵⁸ Such goals were never realized, probably not so much on account of the poverty or parsimony of parishioners but because they failed to understand the changed circumstances of their Church in Canada.⁵⁹ In Galicia, the Church was supported by the State and by some wealthy patrons, secular clergy were

⁵⁴ Canadian Catholic Extension Society Archives, in Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, Toronto [hereafter CCESA], Budka to Archbishop McNeil, 26 February 1925.

⁵⁵ Popowich, *To Serve*, pp. 109-114.

⁵⁶ ARF, Budka to Clergy, 16 September 1914.

⁵⁷ Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw [hereafter AAN], [Austrian] Ministerium für Cultus u. Öffentliche Erziehung, file 423, Foreign Ministry, Vienna, to Consul-General, Montreal, 26 February 1913.

⁵⁸ ARF, Budka to Clergy, 5 December 1913.

⁵⁹ Interview with Mr. W. Michalchyshyn, Winnipeg, 18 April 1988.

largely self-sufficient because they were landholders, and parish dues and fees were relatively low and paid routinely. During the lengthy period in Canada without priests, Ukrainians had gotten out of the routine. Now they turned a largely deaf ear to their Bishop's pleas. Budka each year tried gentle persuasion, played on the priests' and congregations' sympathies, cajoled, and threatened, but without much success.⁶⁰ He set up an advisory committee to run a collection campaign. He had his chancellor make personal visits to parishes to supervise the door-to-door collection of dues. He even ran a contest in conjunction with the sale of portraits of Pope Pius XI and himself in order to raise money.⁶¹ There is much melancholy and at times despondency in Budka's letters to his priests, who, for whatever reason, were not able to draw together the funds that his quite ambitious programmes needed.

The shortage of funds had no impact on Budka's perception of what he had to do. He was the despair of those, like the canny Winnipeg Scot lawyer, T. J. Murray, who tried to bring some financial order to Ukrainian Catholic Church affairs and who regarded the Bishop as a poor manager.⁶² Although there is no evidence of his use of the term, "God will provide" seems to have been Budka's motto. And He often did – usually through the agency of the Canadian Catholic Extension Society or collections in various parishes and dioceses across the country, though on one occasion Budka obtained for the Sisters Servants a loan of \$15,000 from the Sulpician Fathers in Montreal to build their school in Yorkton, Saskatchewan.⁶³

Between 1910 and 1921, the Procurator of the St. Boniface Archdiocese supervised the disbursement of \$139,465.54 for the "Œuvres Ruthenes." Of this total, \$38,151.54 came from the Archiepiscopal Corporation of St. Boniface itself, almost \$90,000 from collections taken up in Catholic dioceses, mostly francophone, and the remainder from diverse sources. About \$100,000 was disbursed after Budka's arrival and in accordance with his requirements. A further \$41,243.91 was collected and disbursed between 1924 and 1930, this time with large contributions also from the Kingston, Saint John, N.B., and Toronto dioceses. Most of the latter was used to support or pay the debts of the *Canadian Ukrainian*. The total contributions from this source during Budka's episcopate was thus around \$140,000, of which \$40,000 was spent directly on the newspaper. Other uses of these

⁶⁰ Budka's letter to his clergy of 22 June 1922 stated that he had suffered "10 years of [financial] martyrdom." See also ARF, Budka to Clergy, 5 December 1913, 1 and 15 November 1915, 17 June 1916, 10 December 1920, 25 May 1921, 17 May 1922, 3 July and 30 September 1924, and 26 February 1925. During the bishop's absence in Rome, his secretary continued to plead for money; see letters to the clergy, 25 September, 17 November, and 20 December 1922.

⁶¹ ARF, Budka to Rev. H. Kinzinger, [?] December 1925.

⁶² CCEA, Murray to McNeil, 2 January 1920 and 21 May 1921.

⁶³ Popowich, *To Serve*, p. 83.

moneys included the support of missions in Sifton and Stuartburn, Manitoba, and Yorkton, Saskatchewan, provision for the maintenance of Ukrainian students and trainee priests, the construction costs of St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg, assistance to schools and residences, the purchase of a lot in Winnipeg for the Basilian Order, and the Bishop's own expenses.⁶⁴

The Canadian Catholic Extension Society also contributed significantly to the cause of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. In the early years, and apart from assistance with Budka's travel from Europe, such contributions often took the form of donations from the Women's Auxiliary of vestments, linens, and church articles⁶⁵ – these were probably the cause of some of the complaints about Latin influences on the Ukrainian rite. The Auxiliary also donated clothing and toys to missions.⁶⁶ By the war years the Society was also supplying money to Budka for his newspaper and to assist with the expenses of maintaining students at St. Augustine's Seminary and of the mortgage on his house.⁶⁷

The Extension Society's main financial support of Budka and for work among the Ukrainians came from 1920 onwards, i.e., when the support promised by the Canadian Bishops for ten years and channelled through St. Boniface came to an end. According to Neil McNeil, Archbishop of Toronto and Chancellor of the Extension Society, between 1920 and 1930 the society provided \$166,968.19 for the construction of St. Joseph's College for Ukrainian boys in Yorkton, and \$55,550.48 to the Christian Brothers who taught there. Furthermore, McNeil claimed that it transferred a total of \$262,302.93 to Budka.⁶⁸ Certainly the Extension Society made work among the Ukrainians a high priority between 1920 and 1927. How the money was disbursed is not clear. Some undoubtedly went to support the *Canadian Ukrainian*, some to support educational institutions and orphanages, and some to facilitate the training of priests, the building of churches, and the general parish work of the Ukrainian Church. Not all of Budka's initiatives could be sustained. The Sheptytsky Institute in Winnipeg was forced to close in 1922, and following a libel action against it the *Canadian Ukrainian* had to be given up in 1927.

The stress caused by constant anxiety about money was compounded by Budka's heavy schedule. He continued to visit Ukrainian parishes, attended

⁶⁴ UCCA, Annual Reports, *Sommes perçues et dépensées*, and *General Report*.

⁶⁵ CCESA, Minutes of Annual General Meetings, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ CCESA, Budka to McNeil, 19 July 1917.

⁶⁸ CCESA, McNeil to "Your Excellency," 24 June 1930; see also M. G. McGowan, "'A Watchful Eye': The Catholic Church Extension Society and Ukrainian Catholic Immigrants, 1908-1930," in J. Moir and T. McIntyre, eds., *Festschrift for John Webster Grant* (New York: 1987).

to the minutiae of ecclesiastical affairs, often without a secretary, and conducted an extensive correspondence about legal, financial, and parish matters. "I'm barely alive," he wrote to the Redemptorist Provincial in early 1918, "here it is two in the morning, and this is my fifteenth letter since 10 o'clock. I write, and there is no end."⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, Budka was frequently tired and ill.⁷⁰ Yet he persevered and dealt as promptly and efficiently as circumstances permitted with such matters as the validity of a marriage, the assignment of fathers confessor to the nuns, the duties of church trustees, and the organization of meetings of the clergy. In his correspondence with priests and lay persons, the Bishop was often tactful, patient, and laudatory, but he could be blunt, as when explaining to parishioners why some request could not be granted. On jurisdictional and property issues, he was firm and even authoritarian, and when provoked over attacks on his priests he could sternly counsel legal action against the transgressors.⁷¹

Bishop Budka also played a significant role in assisting the immigration to Canada during the interwar years. On his initiative, a branch of the St. Raphael's Emigrant Aid Society was formed in Canada. It served throughout the period 1924-1930 as the major institution which helped Ukrainian immigrants from Poland by finding Canadian sponsors for them.⁷²

Bishop Budka left Canada in late 1927 on a visit to Rome. He did not return, for he was granted permission to go back to Galicia.⁷³ There is no indication that he regretted leaving the diocese in which he had laboured for fifteen years. He was worn out by stress and overwork and by the ongoing attacks on him by those whom he had striven to keep within the Church but who had separated from it.

Any assessment of Budka's Canadian work must take note of this key failure. The "spirit of Protestantism" had advanced further among Ukrainian Catholics than Budka had initially expected.⁷⁴ An independence and a sense of the importance of the congregation had grown up among the people

⁶⁹ ARF, Budka to Father Descamps, 23 January 1918.

⁷⁰ Budka's correspondence is replete with references to his ill health. As early as February 1915, a scant two years after his arrival in Canada, he went to Florida for health reasons (*Ding Dang Dong* [St. Boniface], 15 February 1915).

⁷¹ The above is based on correspondence from Budka in ARF, largely in the form of letters to the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Provincial in Yorkton and circulars to the clergy. See also UCEC (Ruh Papers), Budka to Ruh, 7 February 1916, and Popowich, *To Serve*, p. 116.

⁷² Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 365-368; UCEC, St. Raphael's Society Archives, file "Overview of Activities," 18 September 1924.

⁷³ Budka was appointed Vicar-General of the Lviv Eparchy. He was arrested by Soviet authorities and in 1945 deported to central Asia, where he died in 1949 (Kubijovic, ed., *Encyclopedia*, I, p. 312).

⁷⁴ ARF, Budka to Delaere, 22 November 1913.

during the time of the extreme shortage of priests. Budka, with his emphasis on discipline and order, alienated a section of the latently dissatisfied laity. Perhaps a different prelate, one more prepared to compromise and possibly with a more imposing physique and more outgoing personality, might have attained a different outcome. But it is doubtful whether any Ukrainian Catholic bishop of the time could have been sufficient of a Ukrainian nationalist to satisfy some of those who established the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, and no Catholic prelate in the New World could sanction married priests.

Budka was not a particularly good organizer, nor does he appear to have had a fine political sense. Yet he was required to walk a political tightrope – between Ukrainian nationalists suspicious of all contacts with the Latin-rite Church, the dedicated Eastern-rite priests of non-Ukrainian origin, the vision of a French-Canadian-led Catholic Church of Western Canada held by Langevin and others, and the Canadian Catholic Extension Society, some of whose early leaders certainly hoped that work among Ukrainians would lead ultimately to their assimilation.⁷⁵ The need for contacts with governments,⁷⁶ the issue of bilingualism in Manitoba schools, the First World War, and the rise of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church further complicated the situation.

Nevertheless, in many ways Budka succeeded. He maintained his church's independence, despite its precarious financial situation. His relationship with Archbishop Langevin (d. 1915) and his successor was correct but never cordial. His dependency upon Archbishop McNeil and the Extension Society in the 1920s was probably greater, but here, too, he never wavered in his prime task. Overtures with the potential of financial aid from Polish diplomats in Canada in the 1920s he rejected out of hand.⁷⁷ He would not become anyone's subordinate and would not be deflected from his goals of keeping pure the liturgy and rituals of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, increasing the numbers of the religious, and establishing the institutions appropriate to a living Church ministering to a far-flung flock in a new land.

When Bishop Budka's achievements are viewed in the light of the circumstances prevailing in his day, they may be seen as very considerable. When he arrived in 1912, there were in Canada about eighty Ukrainian Catholic parishes and missions, thirteen secular and nine regular clergy, four

⁷⁵ See M. G. McGowan, "'Religious Duties and Endeavors': The Catholic Church Extension Society, French Canada and the Prairie West, 1908-1916," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Papers*, LI, pp. 107-119, and idem., "Watchful Eye."

⁷⁶ In 1914, through the intermediacy of Langevin, Manitoba's premier Roblin invited Budka to see him about possible financial support for the *Canadian Ruthenian* (ASBA, Langevin to Budka, 15 May 1914). I have found no evidence of any follow-up.

⁷⁷ AAN, Ambasada Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Londynie, file 904. I am indebted to Mr. A. A. Zieba for this and the reference in footnote 56.

small convents with thirty-two nuns, and two day schools. By 1927 there was an organized diocese with twenty-nine secular and eighteen monastic priests, two hundred ninety-nine parishes and mission stations, two minor seminaries, two high schools, five orphanages, twenty-six evening schools, the Ukrainian Catholic Institute in Edmonton (a student residence with attendant educational and spiritual programmes), several day schools, and eighty-nine nuns.⁷⁸ It is true that they served 200,000 people, about twice as many as in 1912, and that their numbers were thus still inadequate. But under Budka's guidance the Ukrainian Catholic Church had not only grown but grown sturdier. It was no longer a collection of disparate entities but a united body whose survival and integrity in Canada was not in doubt. The pioneer Bishop, with his faith, dedication, and hard work, had laboured well.

⁷⁸ *Persha ukrains'ka katolyts'ka metropoliia v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg, 1957), p. 170; Popowich, *To Serve*, p. 114.