A Turbulent Life:

Biography of Josaphat Jean O.S.B.M. (1885-1972)

Zonia Keywan

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Zonia Keywan

To Yaroslav, Simon and Julia

Contents

List of Abbreviations Used in the Text

A.U.G.B.	Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain
C.U.R.B.	Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau
C.ss.R.	Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris -- Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists)
E.V.W.	European Voluntary Worker
I.R.O.	International Refugee Organization
O.M.I.	Oblatus Mariae Immaculatae -- Oblate of Mary Immaculate
O.S.B.M.	Ordo Sancti Basilii Magni -- Order of St. Basil the Great (Basilians)
U.C.C.	Ukrainian Canadian Committee
U.C.S.A.	Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association
U.H.A.	Ukrayins'ka Halyts'ka Armiya -- Ukrainian Galician Army
U.N.R.	Ukrayins'ka Narodnia Respublika -- Ukrainian National Republic
U.N.R.R.A.	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
U.U.A.R.C.	United Ukrainian American Relief Committee
Z.O.U.N.R.	Zakhidnia Oblast' Ukrayins'koyi Narodnioyi Respubliky -- Western Province of the Ukrainian National Republic
Z.U.N.R.	Zakhidnio-Ukrayins'ka Narodnia Respublika -- Western Ukrainian National Republic

Introduction

In the early years of this century, because of a serious shortage of priests who could serve the growing number of Ukrainian Catholic settlers in Canada, a handful of Roman Catholic priests took on the Ukrainian rite and learned the Ukrainian language in order to work among those immigrants. The priests were mainly monks from Europe, in particular Belgian Redemptorists, but among their ranks were also five French-Canadian diocesan priests. The changes of rite were in some cases, temporary, in others, permanent. Although quite a few of the European priests remained permanently in the Ukrainian rite, of the French-Canadians only one did so - - Father Josaphat Jean.

Father Jean spent more than sixty years as a Ukrainian priest. He worked for Ukrainians and their Catholic Church in many different corners of the world -- Western Ukraine, Poland, Vienna, Yugoslavia, Great Britain and in virtually every part of Canada. His work was broad not only in its span of decades and continents, but also because it led him to take on many different roles -- those of pastor, teacher, diplomat and colonizer.

What induced Jean to take on the Ukrainian rite and what caused him to make it forever his own? Initially he was moved by a strong sense of mission. Raised, like most French-Canadian youths of his time, on tales of heroic French missionaries who preached in exotic lands and even in his day were still ministering to Indians in the more remote regions of the Canadian West, the young seminarian Jean decided to answer the call put out by French-Canadian bishops for volunteers to help 'save the poor Ruthenians [Ukrainians] from schism and Protestantism.' Also in his mind was the notion, long cherished by Catholic churchmen, that by fighting 'schism' one might help bring about the much-hoped-for conversion of the Orthodox East -- in particular Russia -- to Catholicism.

The change of rite, language and culture undertaken by Jean was a drastic one. Still, he probably found in his new church and people some familiar qualities, which served to make him feel at home. When he arrived in the Western Ukrainian province of Galicia to study his new rite and language, he found there a society not entirely dissimilar from that in which he had grown up in the Lower St. Lawrence region of Quebec. Both societies were largely rural; both were insular and

conscious of their minority status; in both, the church and clergy played a dominant role. Both in Quebec and in Galicia, the local representative of the intelligentsia was most likely to be the Catholic priest, and he often preached not only the gospel of Christ, but also that of nationalism and resistance to assimilation, whether it be to English Protestantism, in the case of Quebec, or Polish Roman Catholicism or Russian Orthodoxy, in the case of Galicia.

What kept Jean in the Ukrainian rite long after the other French-Canadian priests had left? Perhaps it was a stronger attachment to his flock; perhaps it was his character, which was marked through and through by a stubborn determination. His decision to enter the Ukrainian Basilian Order signified his commitment to remain in his adopted rite for the rest of his life.

His sense of commitment to his adopted church and nation was further deepened and set forever by the events that followed his entry into the Basilian novitiate. Caught in Galicia by World War I, he shared there the sufferings and privations of his people and fellow-clergy. After the war, when the spirit of national liberation shot through Galicia as it did through most of the former territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Jean was carried in its sweep. Because of his knowledge of French and English -- the prime languages of diplomacy -- he was seconded by the government of the newly-fledged Western Ukrainian National Republic to serve as its translator and secretary. For the next several years he strove, with the diplomats and politicians of Galicia, to gain international recognition for the newly-created republic. His mission took him to the glittering capitals of Europe and brought him into contact with the leading personages, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, of the day. It was a period of high hopes, filled with the excitement of participating in the great events that were forever changing the face of Europe. This was certainly heady stuff for a young man from Saint-Fabien, Quebec, who, had he stayed at home would, perhaps, have lived the relatively uneventful life of a parish priest in a quiet corner of Quebec, as did his younger brother, Father Georges-David Jean. The experience of working actively for Ukrainian independence turned Jean into a fervid Ukrainian patriot; for him there could be no going back to his roots, even after his return to Canadian soil. From that time onwards, even to his French-Canadian relatives he invariably spoke of 'us Ukrainians.'

Those who knew Jean remember him for his religious and nationalistic zeal, his devotion to duty, his tireless labour and obstinate tenacity. He was a model of generosity and would gladly give the shirt off his back to anyone in need. But at the same time, his hot, combative nature led him to speak out loudly wherever he perceived any threat to his beloved church or people, whether that threat seemed to come from within or from without. In his time, the idea of ecumenism had not yet dawned, and Jean displayed little tolerance for those whom he viewed as his religious opponents -- English Protestants, Polish Roman Catholics, Russian and even Ukrainian Orthodox. He did not hesitate to criticize Rome itself when he thought he saw anti-Ukrainian tendencies at work there, and his bluntness sometimes led him into trouble with his own superiors.

Those who were taught by Jean recall a devoted but stern teacher, one quick with a reprimand or a tug on the ear of any child who displayed behaviour that was unruly, un-Catholic or insufficiently Ukrainian. He had a love and knowledge of music and he passed this on to his charges, organizing bands or choirs in almost every school or parish in which he worked. An even greater passion was his love for collecting antiquities. Over the years, in the many countries in which he lived or visited, he made a habit of picking up old books, pictures and any other objects he judged to be of value. Although some of his acquisitions were lost, a number are now in the Ukrainian Museum and Archives of the Basilian Fathers in Mundare, Alberta, forming the basis of a valuable collection.

The entry of French Roman Catholic priests into the Ukrainian church was a controversial move and Jean did not meet full acceptance by the Ukrainian community. During the first two or three decades of this century in particular, factions within the Ukrainian Canadian community that were critical of the Catholic Church consistently attacked the 'foreign priests,' who, they claimed, were bent on 'Latinizing' and denationalizing the Ukrainian immigrants. Although many Ukrainians came to love and respect Jean, some continued to regard him with suspicion, as an outsider in their midst. However, anyone who knew him well, anyone who witnessed his often-fiery defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, could not doubt the sincerity of his devotion to it. He could, at times, be faulted for naivete or a lack of understanding of Ukrainian traditions -- he was, after all, educated a Roman Catholic -- but never accused of intent to denationalize Ukrainians. In this regard, Jean once cited the following words of the churchman he

most admired, the Galician Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky: "I crossed all of Canada and did not meet a single Ukrainian who became French.... but I met both Frenchmen and Belgians who learned Ukrainian in order to assist our people." [1]

In the face of his detractors -- and these diminished over the years, as the fierce battle between pro- and anti-Catholic forces in the Ukrainian community in Canada cooled down at least a little -- Jean could find comfort in some other words of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, expressed in a letter written in 1921 to the first Latin-rite priest to take on the Ukrainian rite in Canada, the Belgian Redemptorist Achille Delaere:

> Do not be suprised if there are, at times, many difficulties; do not let this cause you pain. It is true that our people feel the need to have priests of their own nationality. But it is also true that, influenced by that desire, they may fail to appreciate sufficiently the devotion of foreigners who have sacrificed their countries, their people and their families, learning a foreign language and changing to a completely different rite, to become apostles among unknown people and to work so that they may keep their faith. Your sacrifice will not fail to bring fruit in the eyes of God and in time it will even be appreciated by the Ukrainian people for whom you have sacrificed your life. [2]

Whatever obstacles Jean may have faced in gaining acceptance among his new people, he showed no signs of regret for having taken on the Ukranian rite. Just after the sixtieth anniversary of his change of rite he wrote proudly to his brother, Georges-David:

> Since my ordination in Rimouski on August 14, 1910, I have said 385 Masses in the Latin rite, and that was all before my change of rite, for, although I was offered biritualism, I did not accept it. Since September 6, 1911, I have said about 21,400 Masses in the Old Church Slavonic language, and for the last two years, in the Ukrainian language . . . . [3]

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[1] Andrey Sheptytsky O.S.B.M., *Kanadiys'kym rusynam*, p. 35, cited by Jean, "Spomyny pro vpreosv. Adeliarda Lianzhvena, pryiatelia ukrayintsiv v Kanadi," *Holos Spasytelia*, December 1955, p. 11.

[2] 19 November 1921, cited by Emilien Tremblay C.ss.R., *Le Père Delaere et l'église ukrainienne du Canada*, p. 268.

[3] 7 September 1971 (French original).

Having inherited a robust constitution from his farmer forebears, Jean had a long old age in which to contemplate his varied life and ponder upon his successes and failures. For certainly he had known both. He saw the collapse of many of his most cherished dreams: that of seeing the creation of an independent Western Ukrainian state, of reviving Ukrainian Studite monastic life in Yugoslavia, of building a Ukrainian colony and Studite monastery in the far northern reaches of Abitibi, Quebec. On the side of success he could place his rescue work among Basilian monks in post-World-War-II Europe, his establishment of the first Ukrainian Catholic parish and church in Great Britain, and his contribution to the Mundare Museum. He had the satisfaction of seeing in his lifetime the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada progress from a very shaky beginning -- it was that very shakiness that caused him to enter it -- to become a solid structure with a network of parishes established all across the country.

Father Jean touched the lives of a great many people and no one who met him is likely to forget him.

Chapter 1

Catholicism Threatened

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the start of a massive influx of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. Most of the newcomers headed for the West, where they were being granted homesteads of 160 acres of land for the nominal sum of ten dollars. These 'stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats,' as Clifford Sifton, then-Minister of Immigration, called them, stood out in a number of ways from French and English-speaking Canadians: in their language, their dress, their customs and their religious practices.

Most of the Ukrainians who entered Canada originated from the Western Ukrainian province of Halychyna, or Galicia, which was then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since that province was overwhelmingly Catholic, that was the faith of most of the newcomers, although some Orthodox Ukrainians arrived from the neighbouring Austrian province of Bukovyna. But the rite the Ukrainian Catholic immigrants followed was not the generally-familiar one practiced by the Roman Catholic Church; the Ukrainian immigrants were Catholics with a difference, adherents of the Byzantine (also called 'Greek' or 'Ruthenian') rite. Their church is known as the Uniate Church, a reference to the Union of Brest of 1596, which brought it into communion with Rome. Although the Ukrainian Catholic Church recognizes the Pope and accepts all the dogmas proclaimed by Rome, in its external forms and rituals -- the form of the liturgy, the style of church buildings and decorations, the vestments of its priests, the calendar it follows -- it remains almost identical to the Orthodox Church.

The Catholics, mostly French and Irish, who were already living in Canada when the Ukrainians began to arrive, were all of the Latin rite. The hierarchs of Western Canada, into whose purview incoming Catholic immigrants fell, were French Oblates of Mary Immaculate, members of the religious order that had been most responsible for missionary work among the Indians and Metis of the West. They included the Metropolitan, Archbishop Adélard Langevin, of St. Boniface, Manitoba, and his suffragan bishops, Vital Grandin and Emile Légal of St. Albert, Alberta, and Albert Pascal of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. These

bishops were imbued with the missionary spirit and very proud of their order's achievements on the mission front. The influx into the western dioceses of new Catholic immigrants gladdened the bishops' hearts, for it strengthened Catholic ranks in the perennial struggle they saw themselves as waging against the English Protestants who formed the majority in Canada. Langevin and his suffragans took a serious view of their responsibilities towards the strange new Catholics in their midst, but they had very little knowledge of the Byzantine rite, or of Ukrainians' attitudes towards their traditional religious practices. Thus they at first mistakenly assumed that Ukrainian Catholics could be treated like other Catholic faithful, with some concessions made to differences of language. But they were soon to learn, to their distress, that Ukrainian Catholics would not be easily integrated into the Canadian Catholic fold.

The immigrants, too, were to do some learning. They may have been surprised, upon arriving in Canada, to find no familiar clergy waiting to serve them. Providing themselves with priests and churches was a challenge they had never before had to face, for in Austria, a strongly Catholic country, supporting priests of the appropriate rite for the local population had been the responsibility of the state. Once the first phase of their life in Canada, that of merely surviving, had passed, the Ukrainian Catholic settlers turned their attention to their spiritual needs. They began to send appeals for priests of their own rite to come and provide them with spiritual care. One Ukrainian settler in Winnipeg, for example, sent the following complaint to the monastery of the Ukrainian Basilian Fathers in Zhovkva, Galicia: "Oh, most kind Missionary Fathers. Our life here is very good for the body. . . . But what of it when our souls are feeling a great famine?" [1]

However, neither this nor any other of the settlers' appeals had any effect. The only Ukrainian priests to visit the Canadian colonists -- Fathers Nestor Dmytriw in 1896, Pavlo Tymkevych in 1898, Damaskyn Polivka in 1899 and Ivan Zaklynsky in 1900 -- looked in but briefly, then left for the United States, where Ukrainians had settled earlier and their community life was more developed. The Ukrainian settlers of Manitoba and the North-West -- numbering about twenty thousand in 1900 and popularly known as 'Galicians' or 'Ruthenians' -- could count

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[1] Neil Savaryn O.S.B.M., "Misiyna pratsia oo. Vasyliyaniv v Kanadi," *Propamiatna knyha poselennia ukrayins'koho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Yorkton: Holos Spasytelia, 1941), p. 45.

for regular religious services only on three Oblate missionaries who had been assigned to them by Archbishop Langevin because they had a knowledge of at least some Slavic language: the Polish brothers, William and Albert Kulawy, and the German, Father P. Enk. But these priests were too few to serve effectively a mass of people scattered over an enormous territory. And, as Langevin and the others were gradually to realize, traditional Ukrainian antipathy to Roman Catholicism, which Ukrainians identified with their not-always-friendly neighbours, the Poles, assured that the Latin-rite priests would never truly satisfy the settlers' spiritual needs. Thus for the next ten years, the Roman Catholic bishops of Western Canada were to be preoccupied with the problem of finding suitable clergy for their Ukrainian faithtful. What might have appeared to be the obvious solution -- recruiting priests from Galicia -- proved to be not so simple. For one thing, during the first phase of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, Ukrainian priests showed a marked reluctance to join their people in their new settlements. Accustomed to a comfortable existence in Galicia, where they were provided with land and dwellings and enjoyed a high social status, they were not eager to take on the rigours of missionary life in the primitive conditions of the Canadian West. Futhermore, the few priests who did come to North America -- to the United States sooner than to Canada -- quickly found themselves mired in conflict with local Roman Catholic authorities. These conflicts served to keep out other clergy who might have been willing to come. The difficulties stemmed from differences in the practices of Eastern and Latin-rite Catholics, and the failure of the two sides to understand each other. The main issues of contention were those of married clergy and jurisdiction.

While in the Roman Catholic Church, celibacy was the rule for all priests, in the Byzantine Church, married clergy was the norm; in Galicia, by far the majority of priests -- about 97% [2] -- were married. The right to maintain their traditional married clergy was guaranteed to Ukrainian Catholics by the terms of the Union of Brest. Ukrainian faithful were accustomed to married priests -- in fact, they looked with suspicion upon any priest who was celibate. But the Latin-rite hierarchs of North America viewed the matter in a different light. The prospect of having married priests in their midst filled them with horror. To them, the very idea of married clergy reeked of depravity and seemed uncom-

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[2] Bohdan Kazymyra, *Monsinior Adeliar Lianzheven i ukrayinsti* (Edmonton: Catholic Action Library No. 7, 1952), p. 15.

fortably reminiscent of Protestantism. Such priests, they believed, would scandalize the Roman Catholic faithful and set a dangerous example to the Latin-rite clergy. To appease Roman Catholic sensibilities, a decree on married clergy was issued in 1890 by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Vatican body responsible for the affairs of the Eastern Catholic Church. [3] The decree, which was to be reaffirmed several times in the coming years, ruled that only unmarried priests would be allowed to work on North American soil.

The prohibition on married clergy served to limit the inflow of Ukrainian Catholic priests to Canada. Potential candidates for pastoral work among Ukrainian immigrants were restricted to widowers, celibate secular priests and members of monastic orders. Monks were very few in Galicia; there were only the Basilian Fathers, and they had not yet attained sufficient strength after their reform of a few years earlier to be able to spare any manpower.

A second decree of the Congregation, issued at about the same time, placed those Ukrainian Catholic priests who did venture to North America under the jurisdiction of local Roman Catholic bishops. The decree satisfied the Latin-rite hierarchs. Accustomed to the usual church practice that allowed for only one ecclesiastical jurisdiction in any given area and placed all priests in that area under the authority of the local bishop, they resented the fact that Ukrainian priests working within their territories rarely reported to them or sought their approval for any activities. The Ukrainian priests, however, had been used in Galicia to seeing separate Latin and Greek Catholic jurisdictions existing side by side. As there were no Ukrainian bishops in North America, they considered themselves still under the authority of their bishops back home. They interpreted the Congregation's decree as a violation of the canonical law of the Byzantine Church which put them under the direct jurisdication of hierarchs of their own rite. In their view, this was simply another attempt on the part of the Roman Catholics to control them, or even deprive them of their rite.

Because of these conflicts, caused by the clash of different religious traditions, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in North America was to have a long, painful and difficult birth. Rebellion

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[3] In 1917, Pope Benedict XV established an autonomous Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, which took charge of all matters relating to Eastern-rite Catholics.

against Roman Catholic authority soon broke out in Ukrainian ranks. It was led at first by the disgruntled clergy, who wanted a reversal of the Congregation's decrees, but soon, as the issue of preserving the rite became tied in with that of national preseveration, it was taken up by laymen as well. Matters came to a head most quickly in the United States, where, in 1901, a Transcarpathian Ukrainian priest, Alexei Tovt (Alexander Toth), led his entire parish from the Catholic fold into the welcoming arms of the Russian Orthodox Church. But the spirit of discontent soon spilled across the border into Canada as well. Anti-Roman Catholic sentiments were carried into Canadian settlements by the American Ukrainian newspaper, *Svoboda*, which was widely read by Ukrainians in Canada and which championed Ukrainian Catholic autonomy, and by the Ukrainian priests who occasionally visited Canadian colonies from the United States. Suspicious of the intentions of their fellow-Catholics in Canada, disillusioned by the continued lack of any Ukrainian priests to serve them, a growing number of Ukrainian Catholics began to leave their church for what they judged to be greener pastures.

The defectors were being lured away by the missionaries of various denominations who jumped into the gap left by the absence of Ukrainian Catholic priests. These proselytizers often promised the Ukrainians the things the Catholic Church was failing to provide -- priests who spoke their language, respect for their rite and traditions, control over their own affairs. With competition growing among the different mission centres, there ensued, as one scholar put it, a "contest for souls . . . in many ways reminiscent of the struggle for souls during the Reformation." [4] For years to come, religious strife would poison the community life and even personal family relations of Ukrainian settlers in Canada.

Most successful of the missionaries who sought out the Ukrainian settlers were those of the Russian Orthodox Church and of the odd offshoot of Russian Orthodoxy, the church of the Russian self-styled Metropolitan Seraphim (Stepan Ustolovsky). The reason for their success was that, in its rite and external practices, Russian Orthodoxy resembled Ukrainian Catholicism more closely than did Roman Catholicism. And, as the Roman Catholic prelates often ruefully pointed out to each other,

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[4] Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life," *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainian Life in Canada*, ed. by Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 147.

the Ukrainian immigrants were more attached to their rite than to Rome or to any set of dogmas. Furthermore, because the Russian Orthodox Church was subsidized from Russia, it made little demand on the settlers for financial support of either its clergy or churches; neither did it object to church properties being vested in the name of each parish rather than the local bishop -- something the Roman Catholic authorities did not want to allow. Apart from the Orthodox, some Protestant churches, too, made converts among disenchanted Ukrainian Catholics, most notably the Presbyterians, who sponsored the short-lived Independent Greek Church, which was to yield the leading figures of the later creation, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. Finally, some Ukrainian Catholics abandoned religion altogether, and joined socialist and radical circles.

In the face of these mounting defections, the Roman Catholic hierarchs of Western Canada grew alarmed. They agreed that something urgent had to be done to stem the tide of Ukrainians heading for schism, heresy and godlessness; otherwise, the 'poor Galicians,' as they called them, would be lost entirely to the Mother Church. In the hope of saving the situation, during the years 1896 - 1904, Archbishop Langevin, Bishop Pascal and the prelates' 'extraordinary representative,' the renowned missionary, Father Albert Lacombe O.M.I., of St. Albert, made numerous trips to Rome, Vienna and Lviv, to appeal for help in dealing with Canada's Ukrainian Catholics. They issued similar appeals in letters and reports addressed to Pope Leo XIII, the Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Cardinal Mieczyslaw Ledochowski, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Galicia, Count Andrey Sheptytsky O.S.B.M., [5] Austrian ambassadors and even the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph himself.

The help the bishops requested was two-fold. They wanted financial support to carry on mission work among Ukrainian Catholics in Western Canada. And they wanted clergy who would be equipped to serve the settlers. They did not, however, want an influx of 'troublesome Ruthenian priests' into Canada. Their observation of American events led them to conclude that Ukrainian priests were disobedient and theologically unsound, ready at any moment to turn to schism. Further, the bishops feared that the entry into Canada of a large number of

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[5] Also spelled Szeptyckyj, Szeptycki, Sheptycky. Born in Galicia in 1865, Sheptytsky was appointed Galician Metropolitan in 1899; he held the post until his death in 1944.

Eastern-rite priests might quickly lead to the establishment of double jurisdiction, that is, the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop who would be granted exclusive authority over Ukrainian clergy in Canada. Such an appointment, they believed, would be disastrous for Canada; having two centres of ecclesiastical power -- 'a state within a state' as they often put it to each other -- would weaken the Canadian Catholic Church and only benefit its opponents, the English Protestants. And who could say what other dangers threatened? A Ukrainian bishop might in time start bringing in married clergy. What the Western Canadian bishops wanted for their Ukrainian faithful were priests who would be, as Archbishop Langevin put it, "pious, zealous and of irreproachable orthodoxy." [6]

As the only Ukrainian priests who the Canadians believed fit that description, the Basilian Fathers, were not yet able to spare any men, Langevin and his bishops turned in their quest to Roman Catholic clergy. They hoped to find priests who would travel to Galicia to learn the rudiments of the Ukrainian language and rite, then either pass over to the Eastern rite, or, at least, follow some of its outward practices, so as to gain the acceptance of Canadian Ukrainian Catholics. These Ukrainianized Roman Catholic missionaries, reasoned the bishops, would not only keep the Ukrainians on the straight and narrow path of orthodox Catholicism, they might also help rejuvenate the 'tired and old' Byzantine rite by infusing it with new, fresh blood and setting an example of zealousness for their fellow-clergymen of the East. In the earlier stages of their planning, the Canadian prelates even hoped that, through the Ukrainianized missionaries, Ukrainians would be brought eventually to fuse into the dominant Latin rite, and thus help create a single, strong, united Canadian Catholic Church. [7] However, as they grew more cognizant of the strength of Ukrainian resistance to Roman Catholicism, and of the seriousness of Rome's commitment to preserving the Eastern rites, [8] the bishops abandoned their hope for the fusion of

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[6] Letter to Mgr. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate in Canada, 31 July 1900 (French original). The letters of the Western Canadian bishops are found in the Archbishops' Archives in Edmonton and St. Boniface, Oblate Archives in Edmonton and Redemptorist Archives in Yorkton.

[7] See for example, Langevin to Lacombe, 2 May 1900; Grandin to Langevin, 4 July 1900.

[8] In 1894, Pope Leo XIII had issued a constitution, "Orientalium Dignitas" (the dignity of those of the East), which asserted the dignity and rights of Eastern-rite Catholics and defined the relations between the Eastern and Roman Catholic Churches. According to the constitution, any Latin-rite priest who tried to persuade an Eastern-rite Catholic to become a Roman Catholic would be *ispo facto* suspended.

rites. But they continued their search for 'Ruthenian missionaries.' They viewed the scheme as a necessary temporary measure, a filling of the gap until sufficient numbers of reliable Ukrainian priests could be supplied. Some of these 'acceptable' priests were expected to come from Galicia; others would be trained in Canada in the seminary the bishops hoped to see established. Unable to procure the missionaries they were seeking from their own Oblate order, the Canadian prelates turned, in a flurry of letters and personal visits, to other Roman Catholic communities: Redemptorists, Salesians, Resurrectionists, Assumptionists, Conventual Franciscans and others. But little immediate result came from these appeals. The orders had few men to spare; money for the scheme expected from the Austrian government was not quickly forthcoming, and Rome itself was creating obstacles. Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda, disapproved of the idea of allowing Roman Catholic priests to take on the Byzantine rite in a country in which most Catholics were of the Latin rite.

Some relief from the bishops' worries came in the autumn of 1902. In the wake of a fact-finding tour of Canada by Metropolitan Sheptytsky's personal envoy, Father Vasyl Zholdak O.S.B.M., three Ukrainian Basilian Fathers, Platonid Filas, Sozont Dydyk and Anton Strotsky, as well as one Basilian brother and four Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, arrived from Galicia. These religious made their centre at Mundare, Alberta, in the area where Russian Orthodoxy was making its greatest inroads. In 1903, two more Basilians arrived and settled in Winnipeg. Nevertheless, this handful of priests was nowhere near enough to meet the spiritual needs of the mushrooming Ukrainian settlements of the West, and Langevin's worries about his Ukrainian faithful were not yet stilled. But help was about to come from other quarters.

Of the many religious orders Langevin had addressed for assistance, the first to respond were Belgian Redemptorists. In October, 1899, a Flemish Redemptorist priest, Father Achille Delaere, arrived in Canada to work among immigrants of the West. Delaere had spent some time in Galicia; he had, in fact, prepared to work with Polish and other Roman Catholic Slavic immigrants. But his parishes near Brandon, Manitoba, turned out to be populated chiefly by Ukrainians, whose continued allegiance to Catholicism was severely threatened by the activities of Seraphimites and other missionaries. Delaere soon realized that in order to work with those Ukrainians and win their confidence, he would have to take on their rite. He sought permission from Rome for a change of rite; after much hesitation, that permission was granted, in August,

1906. Thus Delaere became the first cleric to take the step that was to be followed by other Redemptorists from Belgium and some French-Canadian diocesan priests. The Redemptorists eventually established their centre at Yorkton, Saskatchewan. And, in 1913, a Redemptorist Order of the Eastern rite was formed in Galicia, with the aim of providing Ukrainian priests for mission work abroad.

Delaere's ministry in Manitoba put him at the centre of the religious conflicts and intrigues that were tearing at the fabric of Canada's Ukrainian community. To make this threat to Catholicism better known to Canadian Roman Catholics, and to solicit their help, moral and financial, in combatting the danger, Dalaere wrote a pamphlet on the subject, which was published in 1908 under the title "Mémoire sur les tentatives du schisme et d'hérésie au milieu des Ruthènes de l'ouest canadien" ("Memorandum on the Attempts at Schism and Heresy among the Ruthenians in the Canadian North-West"). The pamphlet ended with a ringing call to young Roman Catholic priests and seminarians to enter the battle for Ukrainian souls:

> The young like to dream of battlefields and victories. Here is a battlefield where the brave can distinguish themselves and victory can be attained. Take your part of the glory owing to you; do not let foreigners snatch it from you. Arise, all those who sleep. Forward, for God and the Church, one, holy, Catholic and apostolic. [9]

The first French-Canadian to take up Ruthenian mission work was Joseph-Adonias Sabourin, a Quebec-born Manitoban who was ordained in 1905. A product of Langevin's own diocese, the brilliant young priest was a great favourite of the Archbishop's. He did a doctorate in theology in Rome, then spent ten months in Basilian monasteries in Galicia studying the Ukrainian language and rite. He celebrated his first Ukrainian liturgy at the monastery in Krekhiv in September, 1907. The following year he returned to Canada and was assigned Ukrainian missions in northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan; he established himself at Sifton, Manitoba, an area rife with Seraphimites and Protestant missionaries.

The Roman Catholic priests who took on the Ukrainian rite laboured hard and, no doubt, sincerely, among their adopted faithful. They were not, however, always met with gratitude. The suspicion

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[9] Delaere, "Memoire," cited by Tremblay, *Delaere*, p 147

Ukrainians traditionally harboured against Latin priests was not easily shaken, and some Ukrainians regarded these missionaries as wolves in sheep's clothing, whose ultimate goal was to denationalize the Ukrainian settlers in Canada. The whole question of Latin-rite priests taking on the Ukrainian rite generated a good deal of debate. The small but influential group of Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia, composed largely of teachers, which was grouped at first around the Independent Greek Church, and, later, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, was very vocal in its criticism of the 'foreign priests.' Their newspaper, *Ukrayins'kyi holos*, launched in 1910, carried many stinging attacks against the French clerics; it did not even spare the Ukrainian Basilians, who, as celibate priests willing to submit to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, were judged to be not 'truly' Ukrainian. In an editorial entitled "Our Uninvited Friends," published in *Holos* on August 24, 1910, the editor Kudryk opined (apparently failing to notice that the French-speaking priests were Belgians and Canadians) that the French Roman Catholic clergy should return to Europe to redeem their native France. [10] A week later he asked, in another editorial, whether "our church ought to be in the hands of the French, French priests and bishops, or in our own hands?" and added, "the Basilians are not ours . . . they lack even a particle of patriotism and stay in the service of the French." [11]

The barrage of attacks against his missionaries could not help but have a discouraging effect on Langevin; his investment of time, money and effort into trying to solve the 'Ruthenian problem' seemed not to be yielding the desired results. In a despondent moment he wrote to Sabourin, "The question is this: Will the Ruthenians accept you? The best ones? Yes. But the mass of the people? I fear not . . . Should I encourage heroic young priests to start on a course the end of which is uncertain? You yourself, are you accepted?" [12]

However, Langevin could seek some comfort in the fact that his scheme had the support of the Galician Metropolitan Sheptytsky, as well as of the new Basilian Protoihumen Platonid Filas, who had headed the first Basilian mission in Canada and was very familiar with Canadian conditions. And he must have found some cheer in the dogged en-

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[10] Cited by Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (University of Ottawa Press, 1981), p 60

[11] Ibid , p 60

[12] 8 May 1909, *Delaere*, p 137

thusiasm of the French priests themselves. In response to Langevin's dispirited letter, Sabourin wrote optimistically: "What do we have to fear? The apostles were far from successful at the start of their endeavours." [13]

Sabourin demonstrated a similar zeal for his work in his writings about his Ukrainian missions and in the lectures he gave at French-Canadian seminaries with the aim of recruiting more workers for the Ruthenian cause.

The urgent appeals from Langevin, Delaere and Sabourin for zealous young Catholics to help save the souls of the devout, but confused, Ukrainian newcomers, who were threatened at every turn by schism and the machinations of villainous English Protestants, were striking a responsive chord among some French-Canadian priests and seminarians, those who possessed the religious zeal, combined with the sense of adventure and thirst for the exotic, that are required to make a missionary. Here was missionary work that needed to be done not among some far-away 'savages,' but right in their own back yard. Willing volunteers for the Ruthenian missions began to come forward. Among them were Désiré Claveloux, who was originally from France but now belonged to Langevin's St. Boniface diocese, and Joseph Gagnon and Arthur Desmarais from Quebec.

Late in the autumn of 1908, Archbishop Langevin received a letter from another would-be missionary. It read, in part:

> Several days ago I had the pleasure of reading the pamphlet by Father Delaere C.ss.R.: "Attempts at Schism and Heresy." I felt a call within me towards those poor Ruthenians and . . . am asking your permission to devote myself to this cause. [14]

The writer went on to explain that he was in his second year of studies at the Grand Seminary in Rimouski, Quebec, and was in excellent health. He signed his missive Joseph Jean.

The Archbishop had no way of knowing when he received this letter that of all the French-Canadian volunteers, this one would prove

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[13] 13 May 1909, *Delaere*, p 138

[14] 13 November 1908 (French original)

most devoted to the Ukrainian church and would remain in it for the rest of his life; he did, however, sense that Jean was a particularly promising catch. In a letter written shortly afterward to Sabourin, he said of young Jean that "according to his bishop, [he is] an elite subject." [15]

[15] 16 October 1909 (French original).

Chapter 2

Enter Joseph Jean

The writer of the letter to Langevin was François-Joseph-Victorien Jean, the son of a farmer from the village of Saint-Fabien in the Lower St. Lawrence region of Quebec, just a few miles west of the city of Rimouski. Saint-Fabien lies in a particularly picturesque area, where high, rounded hills rise steeply above the wide waters of the St. Lawrence River. Joseph, as the young man was called by his family, was born on March 19, 1885, the fourth son of nine children (three others died in infancy) of Edouard Jean and his wife, Elvine Boulanger, a former schoolteacher. The Jeans were an old Quebec family; the first Jean had come to New France from La Rochelle, France, in 1663. Like most rural French Canadians of their time, Joseph's parents were devoted Catholics; three of their sons, Aurèle, Joseph and Georges-David, would end up entering the church.

At his baptism by the village priest during a late winter snowstorm, the fourth Jean son was given the name François in honour of his godfather, Joseph in honour of the saint on whose feast he was born and Victorien in honour of the saint on whose feast, three days later, he had been expected to arrive. At the time of his birth, Louis Riel was just unleashing what was to become known as the North-West Rebellion, at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan -- a fact to which Joseph Jean was later to attribute his combative character.

After ten years at the village school, Joseph enrolled in the Minor Seminary, or classical college for boys intending to enter the priesthood, in Rimouski, in 1901. It was at the Minor Seminary that he first heard of the Ukrainians who had not long before begun to enter Canada. In November, 1901, Rimouski had a distinguished visitor, Bishop Emile Légal of St. Albert, Alberta. The bishop was touring Quebec in order to raise money for work among Ukrainian Catholics in Western Canada. On November 17, he gave a sermon on that subject in the Rimouski Cathedral in the presence of the boys from the Minor Seminary. Joseph later recalled the approximate words spoken by the bishop of the Ukrainians: 'They are very good workers, almost all of them Catholic, but of a different rite. The bishops of the West . . . are doing all they can

to provide them with priests of their own rite who will understand them . . . . the Russian schismatics, who had failed to pervert them back in Galicia . . . now do all they can to bring them to schism here in Canada. The Protestants are lending support to the schismatics. . . . That is why I am appealing to you, help them build churches and schools, for if we can keep the Ukrainians within the Catholic Church, Canada will become a Catholic power.'

The sermon had a riveting effect upon the youngsters who heard it; apparently, it had an effect on their parents as well, for the collection plate brought in fifty dollars for 'Ruthenian missions.'

The following day, Bishop Légal visited the Minor Seminary. He was welcomed by a fanfare executed by the college orchestra, in which Joseph played the cornet. The bishop spoke again about the 'good but poor' Galician settlers and urged the boys to pray that the newcomers would stay faithful to the Catholic Church and that Basilian missionaries would soon be sent to care for them. About a year later, the students at the college were informed that their prayers had been answered: on October 29, 1902, a front-page story in the Montreal newspaper, *La Presse*, announced the arrival in Canada of Basilian priests and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, who were to serve the Ukrainians of Manitoba and the North-West.

During his years at the Minor Seminary, Joseph developed his interest in music and was a keen participant in sports. He also became steeped in the stern Jansenist brand of Catholicism that was prevalent in Quebec in his day. He was an active member of the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne-Française (A.C.J.C.F.), a strongly nationalistic, conservative Catholic movement that had branches at many college campuses in French Canada. Joseph sided with the association's 'traditionalist' wing, which strove to purge the movement of any traces of 'liberal' influence.

In September, 1907, Joseph entered the Rimouski Grand Seminary. He received the tonsure, which marked his entry into the clerical state, from the Bishop of Rimouski, André-Albert Blais. While pursuing his theological studies, he taught Greek to younger students at the Minor Seminary, and directed two wind orchestras. He was an energetic teacher and, even at this early stage, a hard taskmaster who would brook no unruly behaviour. When one of his young charges refused to stop cursing in spite of repeated warnings, Joseph hit him on the mouth so hard that

the youngster fell to the ground. After that Joseph found him to be a model student.

It appeared to Joseph that the pattern of his life was already set: he would live in his native province; he would study and teach. But events were about to take an unexpected turn. On November 11, 1908, he received a letter from Brother Louis Gareau, a member of the religious order Clerics of St. Viator, to which Joseph's brother Aurèle also belonged. Gareau was a friend of the Jean family; he had spent vacations with them in Saint-Fabien. Now he was working at an orphanage in Manitoba, in an area largely inhabited by Ukrainians. Along with his letter, Gareau enclosed a pamphlet: "Attempts at Schism and Heresy" by Father Achille Delaere.

Joseph began to read the pamphlet and found himself unable to stop. He sat up all night reading, re-reading, meditating on the author's words. By the next morning, he knew what his life's path would be. With the permission of the rector of his seminary and Bishop Blais, he wrote to Langevin, offering himself for the Ruthenian missions.

His enthusiasm for his new-found vocation was, however, mitigated by doubts about his ability to fulfill it. Would a mediocre student, such as he believed he was, be capable of learning all that was needed for such work? Were his linguistic abilities sufficient? While waiting for a response from Langevin he turned, for first-hand information and advice, to Father Sabourin at his mission post in Dauphin, Manitoba. Sabourin wrote back with words of encouragement for the young would-be missionary:

> It is true that the Ukrainian language is quite difficult, but *"labor improbus omnia vincit"* [unremitting toil conquers all things]. English is needed for working among Ukrainians, but no more so than for ministering in Rimouski. Being highly-educated in theology does not harm, but a perfect knowledge of one's catechism suffices here. . . .
>
> Therefore you lack nothing to be an apostle if that is what you want, if suffering for the Lord and for the good of souls attracts you. So come. In these conditions, I promise you happiness. [1]

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[1] 17 December 1908 (French original).

A few months later, in May, 1909, Joseph was able to meet Sabourin in person, as the latter travelled to Ottawa and Quebec to publicize the Ruthenian mission cause. Sabourin paid a visit to the Rimouski seminary, where he impressed Joseph and the other seminarians as a knowledgeable and devoted missionary. The meeting with Sabourin only confirmed Joseph's resolve to work among Ukrainian immigrants. He even formed a contingency plan that should Langevin turn down his application for mission work in the West or delay it unduly, he would independently enter the Basilian Order, and thus use another route to reach the Ukrainian Catholic faithful.

The contingency plan was, however, not needed; Langevin happily accepted Joseph into his diocese. He instructed Joseph to complete his theological studies during the coming year at the Grand Seminary in Montreal; Langevin himself would foot the bill for his studies. Thus in September, 1909, Joseph found himself in Montreal, at the seminary of the Sulpician Fathers on Sherbrooke Street West.

Just as Joseph was beginning his studies in Montreal, the problems of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada were being debated in Quebec City, at the Plenary Council of the Catholic Church of Canada. A memorandum on Ukrainian Catholics, written by Fathers Delaere, Sabourin and Fylypiw, was presented to the assembly. The document recommended that to help Ukrainian Catholics to preserve their faith, charitable and educational institutions be established for them, a Ukrainian Catholic newspaper be launched to counter the anti-Catholic messages of many of the existing publications, and particular attention be paid to the recruitment of Ukrainian clergy. Another urgent requirement -- in the view of the authors of the memorandum -- was the appointment of a separate bishop for Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Canada. This was, in their eyes, the only way in which the "lies and calumnies . . . of the Protestants and Schismatics" [2] could be truly overcome.

The question of appointing a Ukrainian bishop was a sensitive one in Roman Catholic circles, for the Archbishop and the other prelates still opposed the idea. But if the memorandum did not change opinions on that issue, it did bring about some positive results. A Ukrainian Catholic newspaper, *Kanadiys'kyi rusyn*, was launched shortly after the meeting. [3]

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[2] *Delaere*, p. 149.

[3] It began publication on 27 May 1911; later its name was changed to *Kanadiys'kyi ukrayinets'*.

At the Montreal Seminary, the fall term brought some unusual new students: three Ukrainian Basilian scholastics newly arrived from Galicia. The young men, who enrolled in the first year of theology, were Brothers Vasyl Ladyka, Orest Kuziw and Ilarion Dorosh. They had come as the result of an arrangement made between the Canadian Roman Catholic authorities and the Galician Greek Catholic hierarchy: the Sulpician Fathers of Montreal agreed to accept Basilian scholastics into their seminary free of charge for a period of ten years. In that time, it was hoped, a separate institution for training Ukrainian priests would be established in Canada.

To the French-Canadian seminarians, the Byzantine-rite students were an exotic novelty; they were soon dubbed 'the Three Wise Men of the East.' As a future Ukrainian missionary, Joseph strove to spend as much time as he could with the new arrivals. He questioned them on everything, and when he learned that Ladyka's name closely resembled the Ukrainain title for a bishop, *'vladyka,'* he began to call him Vladyka in jest, little realizing that Ladyka would indeed, one day, be appointed Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop of Canada. From the Ukrainians, Joseph learned some religious songs in their language, and heard for the first time of the Galician Metropolitan, Count Andrey Sheptytsky, whom they all greatly admired. They recounted how this aristocrat had given up a life of ease to enter the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a Basilian monk. Sheptytsky, as they told it, was a giant -- not only in his immense physical stature, but also in spirit. His goal, they said, was to revitalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and to work for the conversion of the Orthodox East. To Joseph, these recitations were highly inspiring; he hoped that one day he would have a chance to meet the Metropolitan.

In the autumn of 1909 another Ukrainian missionary, Désiré Claveloux, passed through Montreal on his way to study in Galicia. Claveloux, a Frenchman by birth, had been ordained in St. Boniface in 1908; he had done some pastoral work in Saskatchewan and Manitoba before deciding to enter the Ruthenian mission. He was an affable, outgoing man and he captivated Joseph completely during his visit to the seminary. It was with great eagerness that Joseph read Claveloux's report of his arrival in Galicia, which was published in the organ of the St. Boniface archbishopric, *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, for it gave him an idea of what soon awaited him as well. He must have felt encouraged to read in Claveloux's letter to a colleague the following impressions:

I arrived in Lemberg [Lviv] on November 24. At the station, a Basilian Father was waiting for me. I was more than a little surprised to hear someone say to me in French, "Are you Monsieur Claveloux?" That good priest is not the only one here to know a bit of our language. . . . Sweet discovery. . . .

The Ruthenian people are interesting and deserve our sympathy. . . . It is touching to see their faith, their piety, their respect for priests and for holy objects. Their liturgy is beautiful and imposing, well adapted, it seems to me, to the Slavic soul. And how well they sing. . . .

From Lemberg I went to Lavriv, a Basilian community where they teach Philosophy. Lavriv is pleasantly located amidst hills, in the first foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. . . . Here, as at Lemberg, the Fathers are charming. I am not bored for a single moment. I am learning the alphabet which, although certainly not easy, can nevertheless be learned fairly quickly. I am beginning to decipher the Ruthenian hieroglyphics. The process is not lacking in the satisfaction of a difficulty overcome. [4]

Further encouragement came the following April, when the Grand Seminary had another visitor -- the 'father' of all Latin-rite Ukrainian missionaries, Achille Delaere. Joseph was thrilled to meet the man whose writings had inspired him in his vocation. He was particularly impressed by Delaere's seemingly-effortless ability to speak Ukrainian, something Joseph doubted he would ever be able to do. He wrote in a letter to Sabourin, "Oh, if only the time of the languages of Pentecost would return." [5]

In May, 1910, Langevin paid a visit to Rome. He met with Pope Pius X, and after the meeting wrote to two of his missionaries-in-waiting, Joseph Jean and Arthur Desmarais, a student at the seminary in Nicolet, Quebec: "having been assured that Latin priests who change over to the Ruthenian rite will not have difficulties should a Ruthenian bishop be named to Canada . . . I call you two to the priesthood . . . ." [6] The two young men were to be ordained during the summer, then leave for

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[4] 1 December 1909 (French original).

[5] 26 December 1909 (French original).

[6] 25 May 1910 (French original).

Galicia in the autumn, to prepare for their work among the Ukrainians. Joseph Jean's ordination took place on August 14, 1910, at the hands of Bishop Blais in the Rimouski Cathedral. The following day, Jean celebrated his first liturgy in his home village of Saint-Fabien. He felt immense pride and joy as he administered the Holy Eucharist to his parents and his ninety-year-old grandmother.

Before departing for Galicia, the young Father Jean had an opportunity to witness one of the most momentous events in the religious history of Montreal, the Eucharistic Congress of 1910. The event was significant for him personally, not only because of its uplifting grandeur, but also because it brought him face-to-face with the man he was to look to as a model for the rest of his life -- the Galician Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Eucharistic Congresses had been taking place in different cities around the world since 1881, when the first one was organized in Lille, France. They were public demonstrations of the strength of the Catholic faith and, in particular, emphasized veneration of the Holy Eucharist. The Congress of 1910 was the first to be held in North America and constituted a recognition of Montreal as one of the great Catholic centres of the world. The Congress brought unprecedented numbers of visitors to the city: about two hundred thousand pilgrims from all parts of the world mingled with the five hundred thousand permanent residents of Montreal. Among the visitors were 125 archbishops and bishops and over ten thousand priests. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was represented by two distinguished prelates, Metropolitan Sheptytsky and Bishop Soter Ortynsky O.S.B.M., who in 1907 had been appointed Ukrainian Catholic bishop for the United States. Presiding over the Congress was the papal legate, Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli.

For the duration of the Congress, the city was richly decorated and ablaze with electric lights, which were still quite a novelty at that time. Religious services, processions, gatherings and speeches took place continously in different parts of the city. Everything was done on a grand scale, as we see from this eyewitness account of the opening of the Congress:

> The Congress opened on September 6 at midnight. The majestic church of Notre Dame [which could hold ten thousand people] was crammed with faithful; forty thousand people who could not fit into the church stood outside. Exactly at midnight, the heavy bells began to toll and a procession of religious dignitaries entered the church. The Brazilian Archbishop began to chant the

Mass. An eight-hundred-voice choir . . . sang . . . .

> Twelve thousand people took Communion, which four bishops, with the help of local priests, distributed for four hours . . . . Six thousand patriotic young people stood under the papal flag and declared with emotion that they were ready to die for their Catholic faith and their motherland. [7]

Equally impressive was the final event of the Congress, a procession of forty to fifty thousand people which took several hours to complete and ended with a benediction at an outdoor altar in a park. It is described as follows:

> About 4:30 p.m. . . Cardinal Vannutelli came out of Notre Dame Church, bearing the Sacred Host from its altar. He took his place in the procession under an immense baldachino -- a golden canopy that was held over him. Flowers were scattered in his path.
>
> Walking bareheaded, wearing a gold cope, he held the Eucharist in its gold monstrance for the entire length of the procession. It was a considerable feat of strength. . . .
>
> Behind the cardinal walked Sir Wilfred Laurier, prime minister of Canada, members of the federal and provincial governments, the mayor of Montreal, and the judges in their robes. . . .
>
> A thousand voices intoned the Tantum Ergo as Cardinal Vannutelli mounted the steps of the outdoor altar . . . . Under the altar's electric lights, which glowed into the gloom, he held the Host high and gave the benediction of the congress to the thousands kneeling on the grass. [8]

It was certainly an inspiring atmosphere for one just beginning his life as a priest. For Jean, the first day of the Congress, September 6, was doubly significant, for it was also the day on which Langevin arranged for the Galician Metropolitan to meet the young 'Ruthenian apostles,' Joseph Jean, Arthur Desmarais and Joseph Gagnon, who were about to

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[7] From *Dushpastyr* (U.S. Ukrainian Catholic publication), cited in *Misiyonar* (published in Galicia by the Basilian Fathers), December 1910.

[8] Edgar Andrew Collard, "This Week and 1910," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 September 1984.

travel together to Galicia. Sheptytsky impressed all those present at the audience with his aristocartic bearing and proved very aimiable, asking each young man in turn about his home and family.

The Metropolitan had come to North America not only to attend the Eucharistic Congress, but also to visit his beleaguered Ukrainian Catholic faithful on that continent. He had wanted to pay such a visit earlier, but only now had been granted permission by Rome to make the journey. While in Montreal, Sheptytsky met with local Ukrainian Catholics, saying a liturgy for them in a Roman Catholic church near the city centre; at the same time, Bishop Ortynsky held services for Ukrainian Catholics in another part of the city, Point St. Charles. After the Congress, the Metropolitan travelled to all the major centres of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, where he met with the colonists, baptized their children and heard their confessions. Everywhere he exhorted them to remain faithful to their church.

All in all, the personal visit of the Galician Metropolitan had a salutary effect on the Ukrainian Catholic community in Canada. In some quarters, however, he was met with hostility. In the anti-Catholic Ukrainian press, Sheptytsky was the object of much criticism for having established friendly relations with Canadian Roman Catholic authorities. And a group of disgruntled Ukrainian Catholics circulated a petition during his visit, in which they demanded, in addition to "an independent bishop, subject directly to the Apostolic See and having as his diocese the whole of Canada," and a diocesan, married clergy, the dismissal of "priests of foreign nationality." The document asked that Sheptytsky "not . . . permit in future any entry of these priests into our Greek Catholic parishes." [9]

Although he would not ban non-Ukrainian priests, Sheptytsky did agree that a Ukrainian bishop was needed for Canada. Shortly after his return to Galicia, he wrote a memorandum on the subject, which he circulated to the Roman Catholic bishops of Canada. The memorandum helped convince the hierarchs of the inevitability -- if not, in their eyes, desirability -- of such an appointment. Soon rumours were flying about that a Ukrainian Catholic bishop for Canada would be appointed shortly.

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[9] *Delaere*, p. 186.

Jean's life, meanwhile, was proceeding as planned. Not long after the close of the Eucharistic Congress, *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* told its readers that

> Fathers Joseph P. Gagnon, former assistant pastor of the [St. Boniface] Cathedral, Joseph Jean . . . and Arthur Desmarais . . . boarded the 'Corinthian' at Montreal on September 23, in order to sail to Galicia, where they will study the Ruthenian language and pass to that rite. . . . Our best wishes for success go with these generous apostles. [10]

[10] *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*, 1910, pp. 247-48.

Chapter 3

Galicia

The journey by ship, then by train, across Europe to Galicia, the easternmost province of the Austrian Empire, was no doubt exciting for the three young men who were seeing the world for the first time. When they finally arrived at the Basilian Monastery in Lviv, they were delighted to see a familiar face, that of Father Claveloux. Guided by Claveloux, they took a quick tour of the city, the historical capital of Western Ukraine. They saw the old town, the picturesque Castle Hill, with its ruins of an ancient fortress, the market, the city hall and the university. They looked at churches -- the beautiful rococco-style Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of St. George, next to which stood the buildings of the Metropolitanate, and many other shrines, Ukrainian and Roman Catholic alike. The city of Lviv had a multi-ethnic character; in addition to Ukrainians, it had large Polish, Jewish and Armenian populations. After a brief stay in Lviv, the young priests separated into pairs to go to two different Basilian monasteries: Claveloux and Gagnon to Lavriv, in the Carpathian Mountains, and Jean and Desmarais to Krekhiv, north of Lviv.

The monastery at Krekhiv struck Jean as looking like a medieval castle. The institution had a colourful history. It was founded by a monk named Yoil, who arrived at the site in 1618 from parts unknown and began to live in a cave in a cliff, above which he built a wooden church. People began to come from all around to see 'Yoil's cliff' and some decided to stay. Over the years, different monastery and church buildings were erected. In 1669, the buildings were surrounded by a thick wall and towers to provide protection from attacks by Tartars. During Tartar raids, local people would flee to the monastery for safety. The monastery church of St. Nicholas, built in 1751, housed two ikons considered to be miraculous -- one of the Virgin Mary and another of St. Nicholas, which, according to local tradition, had been brought from Belorussia. Because of these ikons, Krekhiv became a popular place of pilgrimage, in particular on the feast of the 'warm' St. Nicholas, in May.

At the time of Jean's stay in Krekhiv, the monastery housed the novitiate of the Ukrainian Basilians. The Basilians were an old monastic

foundation, established in the fourth century A.D. by St. Basil the Great and brought into Ukraine from Byzantium during the 11th century. Later, Basilians were closely associated with the Ukrainian and Belorussian church's union with Rome, which was initiated in 1596. By the nineteenth century, however, the Basilian order had fallen into decline, largely as a result of political developments: after the partition of Poland in 1772, much Ukrainian territory which had been within the Polish state became part of the Russian Empire. On those Ukrainian territories, the Union was gradually suppressed and the faithful were incorporated into the prevailing Russian Orthodox Church; Basilian monasteries were disbanded. In Galicia, which entered into the Catholic Austrian Empire, the Basilians were more fortunate, but there, too, the order gradually declined until only a handful of monks remained, scattered over a number of monasteries. In 1882, Pope Leo XIII ordered a reform of the Ukrainian Basilians. He entrusted the reform to the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits. The reform began at Dobromyl and gradually spread to other monasteries, including the one at Krekhiv, which became the site of the Basilian novitiate in 1901. After the reform, the Basilians began to turn back to the activities that formerly had been traditional to their order: mission work, education and publishing.

Jean and Desmarais found sixty-three residents at Krekhiv: monks, brothers, scholastics and novices. The French-Canadians were warmly welcomed by the ihumen (superior), Father Marian-Ivan Povkh, and were assigned neighbouring cells identical to those of the Ukrainian monks: spare but tidy rooms, each one furnished with a narrow bed, a table, a kneeling-desk, two chairs and a wash basin. On the walls of each cell hung a crucifix and reproductions of Krekhiv's miraculous ikons. The Canadians quickly entered the stream of monastic life. They joined the Ukrainian monks in the chapel for prayer six times a day and at midnight, as prescribed by the Basilian Rule. The first time Jean heard a litany in the Old Church Slavonic language, chanted by a monk with a resounding voice, he was moved to tears by the beauty of the sound.

The Canadians ate their meals with the others. The food was simply prepared, but good. Jean became very partial to the honey-water drunk by the monks; to him it seemed a drink of the gods. There was, however, one dish he never learned to like, and that was tripe.

Less appealing than the monastery food were its sanitary conditions. Shortly after the Canadians' arrival, Desmarais began to complain that he constantly felt itchy, so much so that he had trouble studying and

sleeping. Jean, too, had noticed some discomfort. The cause of their misery was soon discovered -- fleas, which at times were so thick, they could be shaken off in bunches into the washbasins.

The chief occupation of the two French-Canadians was the study of Ukrainian. This was no easy task for someone who spoke French, and it was made more difficult by the fact that no textbook existed for teaching Ukrainian to French speakers. While still in Lviv, the young priests had purchased a handbook written by a local high school teacher, but it was not of much use, for it was intended teach French to Ukrainians rather than the other way around, and thus contained no rules of Ukrainian grammar or pronunciation.

Still, Jean and Desmarais worked diligently from morning to night. Each was assigned a personal tutor who gave lessons for an hour a day. They wrote down new words in their notebooks and repeated them hundreds of times. During recreation periods, the novices and scholastics taught them phrases or whole sentences. In addition to Ukrainian, the Canadians were also instructed in Old Church Slavonic, the language of the liturgy, in Ukrainian church music and in other elements of the Ukrainian rite.

Jean observed with keen interest the life around him, in both its religious and secular aspects. At Christmas, which was celebrated in January, according to the Julian calendar, he delighted in hearing Ukrainian carols sung in the monastery church to the accompaniment of the orchestra of the Basilian scholastics. He noted that the faithful in the church looked poor, but not unhappy.

Like the other Canadian priests, Jean was deeply impressed with the piety of the Galicians. Having grown up in an essentially clerical society in Quebec, he was pleased to note that in Galicia, too, the church played a dominant role and priests were looked up to as leaders, not only in the religious sphere, but in community life in general. The people of Galicia, with the exception of the anti-clerical radicals, appeared no less devoted to their church than his fellow-Quebecers; if anything, they seemed even more demonstrative in their practice of the faith.

Jean had an opportunity to observe the piety of Galician peasants during the feast of St. Nicholas, in May, 1911, when, as every year, masses of pilgrims gathered at the Krekhiv monastery. Thirty thousand

faithful came from all over Galicia to take part in religious celebrations and hear Sheptytsky preach. One group of pilgrims in particular caught Jean's attention. They were old men, led by a cripple, and they seemed to be everywhere among the throngs - - on every street, at every gate, at every tent erected by merchants to serve the gathered pilgrims. Some of the men prayed aloud; others played hurdy-gurdies and sang religious songs and secular ones that dated back to the era of the Cossacks. People would stop and listen, then throw the musicians copper coins.

A few months later, in September, Jean travelled to another site of pilgrimage, the Yasna Hora Monastery at Hoshiv, where a reputedly-miraculous picture of the Virgin drew large numbers of pilgrims, in particular Ukrainians from Transcarpathia, which at that time was part of Hungary. When Jean arrived at Hoshiv, a heavy rain was falling, but that did not prevent two hundred pilgrims from Transcarpathia from standing patiently outside the church, waiting for the service to begin. When the doors of the church finally opened, Jean noted that the pilgrims fell face down into the mud, then rose and entered the church. Late that night he stopped at a large inn in the town and there he saw the same group of pilgrims gathered together, holding candles and singing one hymn after another. Their manifestations of religious devotion moved him deeply.

Jean's stay in Galicia also had some lighter moments. He noticed that the young novices at Krekhiv, like Galician youth in general, enjoyed very little organized recreation. As a former teacher, Jean was a firm believer in the value of organized sport, so he determined to remedy the situation. He wrote to his younger brother, Georges-David, who was then a student at the Rimouski seminary, asking him to send some Canadian baseball equipment. A baseball and some mitts were duly packed and sent. But when Austrian customs officials opened the parcel to check its contents, they were more than a little puzzled by what they saw: strangely-shaped mitts, all for the same hand, and a small, hard ball, which, for all they knew, could be a bomb. A letter was dispatched to Sheptytsky suggesting that the Krekhiv monastery might be harbouring an anarchist. When Jean explained the situation, the Metropolitan was much amused; he wrote to the authorities that he would take personal responsibility for the parcel. A week later, Jean had his equipment. But the ball was useless, for it had been cut in two by the suspicious officials.

Almost a year after Jean's arrival in Galicia came the event of which he had been dreaming for the preceding three years: his change

from the Latin to the Ukrainian rite, which occurred, with the assent of Pope Pius X, on September 6, 1911. On September 7, Jean chanted his first Slavonic liturgy at the monastery. And on Sunday, September 10, he celebrated a liturgy at St. Nicholas' Church; to his delight, he got through the service without making any errors. Afterwards, he distributed souvenir pictures, which he had had printed up for the occasion at the Basilian printshop in Zhovkva.

After his change of rite, Jean was free to travel and explore Galicia. One of the more interesting excursions he made, in October, 1911, was to Lysa Hora, a mountain near Lviv, where a monument was being consecrated to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Markian Shashkevych, a priest and poet who had begun the movement in Western Ukraine for writing in the vernacular, and thus helped awaken the national feelings of the population. A massive crowd of fifteen thousand people attended the event; twelve priests chanted a liturgy to the accompaniment of a 250-voice choir.

Through his participation in events such as this one, Jean was becoming familiar with the social and political realities of life in Western Ukraine. During the early years of this century, winds of change, of growing national consciousness, had begun to blow with gathering strength through the region. Galicia's Ukrainian population, living in the eastern half of that Austrian province (the western half being ethnic Polish territory), was striving to assert its identity and to claim its national and political rights. These attempts were not helped by the fact that the internal administration of Galicia rested largely in the hands of the Poles, who were generally not sympathetic to Ukrainian aspirations. The Ukrainian national awakening was spearheaded by the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, in concert with the new, growing class of secular intelligentsia. As part of the new nationalist movement, western Ukrainians established such organizations as the Prosvita [Enlightenment] Society, which strove to eradicate illiteracy and raise the general cultural level of the predomnantly-rural populace of Eastern Galicia and the neighbouring Ukrainian Austrian province, Bukovyna. Political parties were also being formed, with the aim of fighting for such rights as access to education in Ukrainian, greater representation of Ukrainians in the Austrian parliament in Vienna and in the Galician diet in Lviv, and the division of Galicia into two separate provinces, a Ukrainian one and a Polish one, which, Ukrainians felt, was necessary if the Ukrainians were ever to free themselves from Polish domination. As the struggle heated up, it broke, on occasion, into violence: in 1908, a Ukrainian student, Myroslav

Sichynsky, had assassinated the viceroy of Galicia, the Polish Count Andrzej Pototski. And during the Canadians' first tour of Lviv, Jean had been told of another violent incident: only shortly before, a fight had taken place at Lviv University between Ukrainian and Polish students, over the Ukrainians' demand for a Ukrainian university in the city they regarded as their own historic capital. During that fight, a Ukrainian student, Adam Kotsko, had been killed. The more time Jean spent in Galicia, the more he came to sympathize with the western Ukrainians in their national struggle, which in some ways resembled the struggle of French Quebecers to retain their language and religion in Canada.

Just as he was becoming more involved in the social and political developments being played out around him, so too, Jean was being drawn into the controversies that were raging within the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia, in particular, the dispute that was taking place between two factions: the traditionalists, or 'Easteners,' and the reformists, or 'Westerners.' These two groups, which emerged clearly after a church synod held in Lviv in 1891, espoused different visions of the direction in which the Ukrainian Catholic Church should go. The conservative 'Easterners' wanted to purge the church of all Latin influences; the more modern-minded 'Westerners' favoured drawing the Ukrainian church closer to the Latin rite and championed the idea of compulsory celibacy for all priests. As the Basilian Fathers were in the reformist camp, it is not surprising that Jean soon came to favour that position, which in any case accorded better with his Roman Catholic roots. He believed that the Basilians were the best of the Ukrainian clergy, superior to married priests, and came to share their dislike of the 'Muscophiles,' who clung to the more Eastern elements of church practice. However, when he began to voice his views in his letters to Langevin, and even went so far as to criticize Sheptytsky for allowing 'Muscophiles' to enter the Lviv Seminary, he was told in no uncertain terms to mind his own business: "Be on your guard," wrote the Archbishop. "The Basilians themselves must speak out . . . but you are foreigners and you must keep silent." [1]

In November, 1911, Jean moved from the Krekhiv monastery to Lavriv, to make way for two new Belgian Redemptorist missionaries, Camille Poisson and Franz-Xavier Bonn. At Lavriv, he was taking the place of Claveloux, who shortly before had returned to Canada.

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[1] 13 May 1912 (French original).

Lavriv was an ancient and beautiful site. The first monastery to be built on that spot was said to have been founded in 1292 by the Galician King Lev Danylovych. The monastery of Jean's day was surrounded by two hundred acres of mountain forest and the monks who lived there operated a sawmill.

At the monastery, Jean found ihumen Anastaziy Kalysh and about thirty monks, as well as some students.

"I am very happy here," he was soon writing to Langevin, "for I have more practice at my Ruthenian. Three times a week I teach Catechism to the children at the school for a period of one or two hours. Mr. Gagnon does the same." [2]

At Lavriv, Jean began to sport a small beard, just as Claveloux had done during his stay at the monastery. He was proud of looking like a 'real' Ruthenian priest. In February, Gagnon, who had been at Lavriv since his arrival in Galicia, left to return to Canada. It was decided that Jean would stay a little longer to perfect his knowledge of Ukrainian. He practiced the language to the full, enthusiastically entering the community life of the monastery and the social life of the town. He took long walks with the Lavriv monks and got to know the people of the town, whom he found to be very aimiable. He was invited to join the local 'Prosvita' Society, as well as the Catholic 'Sich' organization and he took part in their plays and concerts. He participated in the wild boar hunt that took place each year in the monastery forest and which brought together the elite of the local society. He attended a Sich dance in the nearby town of Staryi Sambir. There he had the experience, rather novel for a French-Canadian cleric, of being invited to dance by the wife of the the local priest. He declined, but enjoyed observing the antics of the other guests.

One local inhabitant with whom Jean became friendly was Yankel, a Jew from a neighbouring village who carried the mail between the monastery and Staryi Sambir. Before coming to Galicia, Jean had had very little contact with Jews; he had only prayed, while in school, for the conversion of the Israelite nation. From the monastery, he often hitched a ride into town on Yankel's wagon. Along the way stood many stone crosses that farmers had put up on their lands. Habitually, as they

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[2] 23 December 1911 (French original).

drove past each cross, Jean would tip his hat. If, on occasion, he failed to notice one, Yankel would inevitably remind him: 'Father, there's another cross coming up.'

Jean developed a pleasant routine at Lavriv: he would recite an early morning liturgy, then set out, usually on foot, to one of the neighbouring villages in order to search for historical valuables. His interest in collecting historical artifacts -- an interest that was to stay with him for the rest of his life -- had been acquired under the influence of Sheptytsky. As a leader of the social, as well as the religious, life of Galicia, the Metropolitan had established many cultural and educational institutions in the province, using funds from his own considerable fortune. To encourage the preservation of historical valuables, Sheptytsky had shortly before inaugurated, at his own cost, a Church Museum in Lviv, which was later to become the Ukrainian National Museum, the first such institution in Western Ukraine. The new interest in collecting and preserving Ukraine's religious, cultural and artistic heritage was taken up widely by the Galician intelligentsia.

When he had first arrived at Krekhiv, Jean had been most impressed with the monastery library. It contained many precious handwritten manuscripts, such as the famous 'Krekhiv Epistle' from the sixteenth century, as well as letters and documents of Ukrainian hetmans, Polish kings and Russian tsars. The Lavriv library, too, housed some ancient documents. However, many valuable manuscripts had been carelessly destroyed, and Jean was saddened to hear that some old Lavriv frescoes had faded away from neglect.

During one of his visits to Lviv, he had been shown around the Church Museum by Sheptytsky; the Metropolitan had given him some instructions on how to determine the age of manuscripts and religious paintings. Jean was eager to apply his new-found knowledge and he made plans to establish a small museum in Canada, which he would furnish with the artifacts he was collecting around Lavriv. Combing through the villages of the region, he discovered many ikons, old books and manuscripts, which he purchased for very small sums. Some of the objects turned out to be truly valuable.

During the whole of his stay in Western Ukraine, Jean burned with the desire to visit Russian Ukraine, on the other side of the Zbruch River, which marked the border between Austria and Russia. In Eastern Ukraine was that vast sea of Orthodoxy which he always prayed would

one day be brought into the fold of the Catholic Church. In the hope of obtaining permission to go across the border, he had sent his passport to St. Petersburg, along with the necessay fee for a visa. However, the visa was denied him; he was told by the Russian consul in Lviv that Uniate priests were not considered desirable visitors. But Jean was not prepared to give up his dream; he decided he would try to go to Eastern Ukraine even without a visa if the opportunity ever presented itself, for he hated to return to Canada without having seen it.

At Easter, 1912, he visited some Basilians at Zaval, right on the Zbruch River; sitting on the bank, he could hear Easter bells tolling on the other side and see Russian soldiers marching to and fro. The following day, he set out with the Basilian *ihumen*, Father Martyniuk, to cross the bridge at Okopy into the village on the Russian side. On the Austrian side of the bridge, the priests were given permission to cross; on the Russian side, a generous tip to the border officials procured them the right to make a brief visit. In the village, Jean looked at a church that had once been Uniate, but now was Russian Orthodox; he noticed that everyone spoke only in Russian. At a local store, he bought some souvenirs -- a Russian-style cap and some postcards to send home, to let his family know that he had been on Russian territory.

Another place Jean wanted to see before he left Western Ukraine was Transcarpathia. He took a train from Staryi Sambir to the Carpathian Mountain towns of Sianky and Uzhok. He found the landscape there most impressive and was pleased that he would be able to boast to his friends and family that he had travelled through mountains ten times higher than the hills at Saint-Fabien.

The time had come for Jean to return to Canada. On June 1, 1912, he bade farewell to his friends at Lavriv and set off with Yankel for the railroad station, from where he would take a train to Lviv. Yankel's wagon was loaded down not only with Jean's luggage, but also with several boxes of the artifacts he had collected.

Jean travelled to Krakow, then Vienna, where he stopped for several days. The glittering Austrian capital, which at that time was preparing to host the Eucharistic Congress following the one in Montreal, impressed him immensely, as he recalled some years later in a letter:

> It was truly the apex of the glory of this magnificent capital.... Everywhere there was almost complete perfection: churches, palaces, the parliament, museums, hotels, cemeteries. . . . And its population -- so affable, so pleasant, everyone well turned out and of an exemplary cleanliness. I could not stop admiring the officers, their elegance, which was not effeminate, in spite of their white gloves, their well-waxed moustaches and their pomaded hair. [3]

On June 25 Jean boarded the Canadian Pacific ship 'Empress of Ireland' in Liverpool. As the ship passed Newfoundland, the passengers were shown the huge icebergs that two months earlier had caused the tragic wreck of the 'Titanic,' in which 1,500 people were killed. No one could foresee that two years later, on May 29, 1914, the 'Empress of Ireland,' too, would sink, in the St. Lawrence River, taking with it 1,100 passengers.

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[3] Jean to his niece, Thérèse Jean-Belzile, 19 January 1962 (French original).

Chapter 4

Sifton: Missionary School

Upon his return to Canada, Jean was going to head west, to Sifton, Manitoba, where, along with the other French-Canadian Ukrainian-rite priests, he was to run a preparatory school for Ukrainian boys who, it was hoped, would eventually enter the priesthood. While still in Eastern Canada, however, he paid visits to his parents in Saint-Fabien and his brothers, Georges-David, at the Rimouski Seminary, and Aurèle, at the Deaf and Dumb Institute in Montreal.

In Montreal, Jean found Sabourin, who was serving as pastor to the local Ukrainian Catholic community. Although the community had formed a parish, St. Michael's, in 1911, it did not yet have a church of its own; Ukrainian services were being held in the Church of the Franciscan Fathers on St. Catherine Street East. At Sabourin's invitation, Jean celebrated a liturgy for the Montreal Ukrainians on August 4, 1912. The church was filled for the occasion with five hundred faithful. A week later, he held a service for the fledgling Ukrainian community in Ottawa and paid visits to Ukrainians in Ottawa hospitals.

Jean's next stop was at St. Boniface, where he met with Langevin. The Archbishop welcomed him back -- and ordered him immediately to cut off the 'Russian' beard he had so proudly grown. Langevin then explained his plans for the projected Missionary School at Sifton of which, in Sabourin's absence, Jean was to take charge. The idea for the school, which was intended to prepare students for seminaries or universities or to enter religious orders, had been formed some years earlier, during the Plenary Council in Quebec City. Originally, the school was to be founded in Winnipeg and operated by the Basilian Fathers. However, they proved unable to take on such a task, so Langevin entrusted it instead to his French-Canadian missionaries. He chose Sifton as the location for the school because it was one of the major battlegrounds in the Ukrainian religious war: Russian Orthodox, Seraphimite and Protestant missionaries were vying there with each other, and with the Catholic priests, for the souls of the Ukrainian settlers. So fierce was the competition that three years earlier the Ukrainian Catholic chapel built at Sifton by Sabourin had been broken into and its holy pictures and tabernacle

damaged. Langevin hoped that a school on the site would strengthen the Catholic presence and serve to neutralize the effect of the competing sects. The school was to be named after Saint Josaphat, a saint regarded as a martyr for the Union with Rome. [1]

After his interview with Langevin, Jean stopped to pray at the grave of Louis Riel, a stone's throw away from the St. Boniface Cathedral. Then, having purchased some supplies for the school, he set off north to Sifton. Fathers Claveloux and Gagnon were living there already; Desmarais was still in Galicia, but was expected to join the others soon. During the previous months, the priests had been preparing for the establishment of the school and taking care of the spritual needs of the Ukrainian Catholics in the area. Claveloux was ministering to twenty Ukrainian colonies; Jean noted that in spite of his very poor Ukrainian, Claveloux was well-liked by the Ukrainian settlers, because he had a cheerful temperament and enjoyed joking and singing Ukrainian songs. Gagnon was less popular, probably because he was not blessed with a good singing voice.

In preparation for the educational activities at Sifton, a large new church had been built; in the basement was a big hall, in which concerts and plays could be staged, and smaller rooms that could serve as classrooms. A separate three-storey building had been erected to provide a residence for students and teachers. A girls' school was also projected, to be run by the Sisters Servants. For that purpose, the old Sifton chapel had been refurbished into a small convent. Funding for all this work was coming from Roman Catholic sources -- donations from Archbishop Langevin, the other Oblate bishops, the Sulpicians in Montreal and others. Additional revenues, it was hoped, would come from the fees of ten dollars per month for room and board that would be charged to the students' parents. During the school's first year, sixteen boys were expected to enroll.

With the help of a local farmer, Jean set to work building desks and whipping the facilties into shape for the school's opening at the start of September. Arrangements were made with the Sisters for the sharing of

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[1] Josaphat Kuntsevych was born in 1580 in Volodymyr Volynskyi, Ukraine, and became a Basilian monk; later, he was named Archbishop of Polotsk, Belorussia. He was killed by opponents of the Union in Vitebsk, Belorussia, on November 12, 1623. His body was thrown into the Dvina River and when recovered six days later was said to be miraculously preserved. He was declared a saint in 1867.

duties: the Sisters would cook and do the boys' laundry for fifty dollars per month; one of them would teach the boys' English classes; in exchange, the girls from the Sisters' school would be allowed to take Jean's geography and mathematics courses and the Ukrainian reading, writing and singing classes that would be taught by the lay teacher hired by the school, Vasyl Bulyk.

After all these careful preparations, the opening of the school, on September 6, 1912, proved a near-disaster. Nature seemed to conspire against the project; for several days before the school opening, such heavy rain fell that the church basement was flooded and the classrooms were filled knee-deep with water. A last minute compromise saved the situation: a temporary classroom was set up on the stage, high above the water-logged floor. But there was another disappointment: the first-day enrollment consisted of only three boys. Still, as Claveloux wrote to Sabourin during the first week of classes, "Mr. Jean . . . directs the little flock very well and with admirable devotion . . . . I have hope that the number of our little lambs will soon increase to seven, which would be a good beginning." [2] The number did, in fact, increase. By the end of the month there were nine students and by the beginning of 1913, the full enrollment of sixteen was reached. However, very few of the boys paid their fees on a regular basis. To the end of 1912, only fifty dollars were received by the school. In that tight financial situation, the priests needed all the help they could get and Claveloux asked Sabourin to

> Collect what you can, right and left . . . clothes for our children or materials from which they can be made, games, toys, books; do not forget . . . to send some figures for our Christmas creche, try to get us a donation of a gramophone . . . maybe even a piano or harmonium that is not in too bad a shape . . . . [3]

Classes for the boys and the six girls at the Sisters' school were held in English and Ukrainian (bilingual education was permitted in Manitoba until 1916). In order to encourage their students to learn these two languages well, the priests refrained from speaking French even among themselves. The curriculum of the Missionary School was the same as that of public schools in the province. Report cards issued to the students listed the following subjects, taught by Jean, Mr. Bulyk and the

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[2] 13 September 1912 (French original).

[3] Ibid.

Sisters: Ukrainian Grammar, Ukrainian Reading, English Grammar, English Translation, Geography, Arithmetic and Catechism. [4]

The daily schedule Jean worked out for his pupils was a rigorous one. They rose at 5:40 a.m., attended church, then had classes from 9 until 4. Bedtime was at 8:30. During lunch and part of dinner, silence was maintained. Wednesdays and Saturdays were a little easier, for classes were scheduled only for the morning. On Sundays and holidays the boys had the luxury of sleeping in until 6:10 AM. At least once each week, they were required to go to confession.

For the teachers to bring the boys to a level of knowledge commensurate with their age was a struggle, for, as Jean complained to Sabourin, when they arrived at the school, "none of the children . . . knew even a word of grammar, whether it be Ruthenian or English. They did not even know, 'Who is God?'" However, Jean was doing his best to knock them out of their state of ignorance. "I am making sure they play during their recreation periods," he told Sabourin, "so that if they cry during their lessons, they get to laugh a lot during recreation." [5]

The priests who were not teaching at the school were keeping themselves busy with work at the missions. Jean, too, was assigned two mission posts, at Keld and Winnipegosis, which he served on a regular basis. Mission work was difficult and demanding, requiring long journeys to be made in inclement and even dangerous weather conditions. On one occasion, while travelling to a mission north-west of Sifton, where he was to replace one of the other priests, Jean lost his way in a December snowstorm. For several hours he wandered blindly. Only the barking of a dog, which told him in which direction he would find shelter, saved him.

In spite of his hectic schedule, Jean found time to exercise the interest he had developed in Galicia in historical collection. In two rooms of the Sifton residence he organized a museum, which he filled with the items he had brought back from Galicia -- coins, paintings and books. In one of the rooms he painted a picture of the Vydubetskyi Monastery in Eastern Ukraine, which he had seen painted by the

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[4] J. Skwarok O.S.B.M., *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools, 1891-1921* (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1959), pp. 46-47.

[5] 1 October 1912 (French original).

Ukrainian artist and national poet, Taras Shevchenko, and in which he had dreamed of living. To this old-world collection he added some Canadian items, artifacts he had found near Sifton. At the site of the former Fort Dauphin he had discovered an old French axe, firearms and flints, which he put on display for the students and visitors.

Apart from giving life to the Missionary School, the major preoccupation of the Sifton priests during the autumn of 1912 was the imminent arrival of the new Ukrainian bishop whom Rome had appointed for Canada. They knew from an announcement in *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* that he was Nykyta Budka, a Basilian whom Jean had met while in Galicia. Bishop Budka had been consecrated in Lviv on October 13 and was now on his way to Canada.

The prospect of the bishop's arrival aroused anxiety among the priests who had changed to the Ukrainian rite, for they did not know what stance he would take towards them. Even Langevin was unsure of what would happen to the missionaries whom he had so carefully groomed. In the face of this uncertainty, the French-Canadian priests turned to a project they had been nursing for some time, that of grouping themselves into a religious fraternity. The idea of forming such a fraternity had been in Langevin's mind as far back as 1910, and according to Sabourin,

> Even while I was still alone [in Sifton] and Fathers Claveloux, Gagnon, Jean and Desmarais were in Galicia, there was already talk among us of forming such an association. . . . . My colleagues in Galicia had discussed among themselves what name to give to the future association and had chosen . . . that of Saint Josaphat. [6]

The reason for establishing a fraternity would be to give the French-Canadian diocesan priests greater strength and protection than they could have as individuals. The association would provide for them materially in times of illness or other difficulty, and also give them a stronger base from which to resist possible attacks from hostile quarters within the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It was with the expectation that the fraterity would be formed that plans for activities at Sifton had been made. It had been thought that operating the Missionary School would be a particularly advantageous project for the French-Canadian priests to

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[6] Unpublished memorandum by Sabourin, "Etat de la Fraternité après la visite de Mgr. Budka."

take on, for through the school they would help form a Ukrainian Catholic elite, and probably future Ukrainian priests, whose attitude towards Roman Catholicism would be free of hostility. Furthermore, the work of the school would be so valuable to the Ukrainian Catholic church in Canada that the new bishop would be unlikely to dismantle the project, however little he liked the 'foreign' priests who were running it.

Although plans for the fraternity had been much discussed, the exact form it would take had not yet been established. A detailed discussion of the nature and goals of the projected association took place in October, 1912, when Sabourin returned to Sifton from Montreal. The only one not present at these talks was Desmarais -- he had just returned from Galicia and was replacing Sabourin in Montreal -- but he agreed to accept any decisions that were made. The priests sketched out a preliminary charter for the Fraternity of St. Josaphat, in which they stated that the goal of the association was 'the personal sanctification of its members through pastoral and educational work, and any other work of a religious, moral or spiritual nature among the Ruthenians.' The fraternity was to include both religious and lay members; the members would hold all their goods in common. A slate of officers was tentatively chosen: Superior -- Father Sabourin; Assistant -- Father Claveloux; Bursar -- Father Gagnon; Master of Novices -- Father Jean. However, no further action could be taken until the project and its constitution were approved by Bishop Budka.

When Jean learned, at the end of November, that Bishop Budka was sailing from Liverpool on the ship 'Empress of Britian,' he cabled him a greeting in the name of the Missionary School. On December 6, the bishop was in Montreal, where he met with the faithful of St. Michael's parish and their pastor, Father Desmarais. After paying visits to Bishop Ortynsky in Philadelphia, and the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa, Budka arrived in Winnipeg, where he was met by crowds of Ukrainian faithful and a large delegation of Ukrainian clergy, including the priests from Sifton. At the reception for the bishop held at the Basilians' residence on Flora Avenue, Jean was informed by the new bishop's secretary, Father Yosyf Bala O.S.B.M., that when he received the greeting from the Sifton school, Budka had complained that 'French-Canadians are teaching our children,' and added that when he got to Canada, he would close the school. In order to save the school, Bala suggested Jean invite Budka to see it for himself. This was done and the bishop promised to come on January 19, the feast of Jordan (Epiphany).

As is often the case in the prairies in mid-January, the weather on the feast day was extremely cold. Temperatures of fifty degrees below zero delayed the bishop's train by half a day. When he finally arrived, Budka celebrated a liturgy in the Sifton school, and, according to the Ukrainian custom, blessed water outdoors, where an enormous cross, twelve feet high, had been carved out of the ice. In the evening, the bishop attended a concert put on at the school by the students. According to Jean's account of the event, Budka was so moved when he heard the students singing in Ukrainian that he offered to donate five hundred dollars on the spot for the upkeep of the school. Jean asked him instead to give his blessing and permission for the school to continue its work, which the bishop did without hesitation.

In spite of this succcess, however, the future status of the priests who had changed rite still remained unclear. Even Father Delaere, who had been first to make the change, now doubted whether he would be able to continue his mission. In Sifton, the atmosphere of uncertainty was having a demoralizing effect. Claveloux moved away to a mission post at Vonda. Gagnon, whose health had always been delicate, fell ill under the strain. Those who remained on the site found their work loads doubled. Jean was so burdened with duties that he was unable to attend the ordination of his brother, Georges-David, in Rimouski in the spring of 1913; neither could he find time to write to his parents, who were grieving at the sudden death, in May, of their son Aurèle.

On the surface, all appeared to be going well at the school. The students were all healthy and were making good progress, covering two years of courses in one. However, internally, the project was collapsing, as can be sensed in this letter from Sabourin to Father Platonid Filas, *Protoihumen* of the Basilian Order in Galicia:

> Father Claveloux is still at Vonda . . . and seems to have given up entirely the idea of working with us . . . . Father Gagnon is hardly better. He has been in hospital since the beginning of his illness. The doctors say he will need complete rest for at least three months; after that he will probably have to avoid all strain, so he will not be able to resume his life as a missionary in the Ruthenian colonies . . . . after the visit of Mgr. Budka to Sifton, Fathers Claveloux and Gagnon decided definitively to no longer put their incomes into the project. I was afraid that Father Jean would follow their example, he was so afraid that with Mgr. Budka it would be impossible for us to continue. However, so far, Fathers Desmarais,

> Jean and I are continuing to do what we were doing before the arrival of His Grace to Canada. But we are constantly on the alert. That is unfortunate, for it makes our work flag. We should be building a convent at Sifton, expanding our Missionary School, erecting new churches in the colonies. But we are holding back from starting anything so long as things remain undecided concerning us and our Association. [7]

Relations between Bishop Budka and the French-Canadians, particularly Sabourin, were growing worse. At the end of the school year, the bishop told Jean that while he wanted him to remain as director of the Sifton school, he intended to move Sabourin elsewhere. And in July, he informed Langevin that he did not endorse the project for the Fraternity of St. Josaphat because it did not fit in with his plans for the reorganization of pastoral work among Ukrainian Catholics in Canada. This was a sad blow for Langevin; he even appealed to the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, Cardinal Gotti, to save the Fraternity, pointing out that

> . . . the good Mgr. Budka, who seems to fear everything that comes from the Latins except for their money, will deprive himself of very precious and effective help by making the situation painful and even intolerable for diocesan Latin priests who have passed to the Ruthenian rite. [8]

However, it was all to no avail. Rome was not prepared to go against the decision of the new Ukrainian bishop. In all likelihood, Budka's hostility to the non-Ukrainian priests stemmed from the fact that he was so relentlessly criticized on their account by the non-Catholic Ukrainian press, in particular *Ukrayins'kyi holos*. Of the seventeen priests of the Ukrainian rite whom Budka found when he arrived in Canada, more than half were non-Ukrainians, and Holos and the other papers never tired of pointing out that fact.

In the midst of all this chaos and confusion, Jean was making his own plans. Since the Fraternity appeared unlikely to become a reality, he decided he would return to Galicia and join the Basilian Order. He wrote

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[7] 5 June 1913 (French original).

[8] 4 August 1913 (French original).

to Langevin, "I want to save my soul. I want to put myself under a strict rule, where everything is regulated and one need not try this or that, one need only obey. Here I find things too exposed." [9]

At the end of the school term, Jean packed away the objects in his museum and took some of the most precious old books and paintings for safekeeping to the home of the Basilian Fathers in Winnipeg. He paid a visit to his family in Saint-Fabien and, in October 1913, sailed for Europe from Quebec City on the Canadian Pacific ship 'Ruthenia.'

He was sorry to abandon the Missionary School which, in spite of the many obstacles it faced, had made a very promising beginning. After his departure, the school continued to operate for a few more years under Sabourin's direction. In 1917, it was moved to St. Boniface and became the Sheptytsky Bursa.

The failure of the Sifton project marked the end of the practice of Roman Catholic priests changing to the Ukrainian rite, at least within Canada. A few Redemptorists would still come from Europe to work among Ukrainians, as the Redemptorist Order had been permitted by Budka to continue its mission. But no more Canadian diocesan priests would make the change of rite. In fact, those who had already made the change -- with the exception of Jean -- would all soon return to the Latin rite: Desmarais and Gagnon in 1913; Claveloux in 1914 (he eventually went back to France), and Sabourin in 1917.

The decision to return to the Latin rite was made, in most cases, with a sense of bitterness and disillusion. The Canadian priests felt that they had been mistreated, even betrayed, by Bishop Budka. On the occasion of Sabourin's return to the Latin rite, Gagnon wrote to him,

> You are, undoubtedly, as unhappy as I was when . . . I had to do what you do, impelled not so much by illness . . . as by the inexplicable attitude of Mgr. Budka.
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> From Mgr. Budka, I received not a . . . word of encouragement . . . . Mgr. Budka . . . worked constantly to diminish our authority and our influence among the population to which we ministered. . . . And after having devoted all my revenues and my

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[9] 10 August 1913 (French original).

small savings to the Ruthenian project at Sifton, I fell ill, and during nine months I received no financial assistance from His Grace. For six months while resting in the province of Quebec, I heard nothing from Mgr. Budka. [10]

Out of that group of priests, only Jean was spared such feelings of failure and disappointment. The view he took of Budka and his rejection of the project for the Fraternity was more charitable. He believed, as he wrote to Langevin, that

> . . one must not expect too much from Mgr. Budka. He has permitted the Redemptorists to found a novitiate, something that no other bishop has done in the nine hundred years of existence of the Ruthenian people. To accept another foreign society would surely discredit him in front of his own people and, it seems to me, compromise the success of the Redemptorists. [11]

Rather than drive him away from Ukrainians, the Sifton experience drew Jean closer to them. It led him to make a deeper commitment to their church, a commitment that would last for the rest of his life.

[10] 10 July 1917 (French original).

[11] 10 August 1913 (French original).

Chapter 5

World War I

On his way to Galicia, Jean stopped for a week in Rome. He took in the sights of the Eternal City and participated in an audience with Pope Pius X, who impressed him greatly. In Bologna, he celebrated a liturgy in the presence of the city's Bishop della Chiesa, who in the following year was to become Pope Benedict XV.

In Lviv, Jean was welcomed back by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who told him that he would be able to do more good for Ukrainians as a Basilian monk than as a diocesan priest. Jean entered the Basilian novitiate at the Krekhiv monastery, where, with twenty-two other novices, he prepared for the monastic life under the direction of the Master of Novices, Father Dionysius Tkachuk. After six months as a postulant, he received the Basilian habit; on the same day, May 9, 1914, he took on the monastic name of Josaphat. He was now a full participant in the life of the monastery. During the annual pilgrimage to Krekhiv on the feast of St. Nicholas in May, he gave a sermon to the gathered crowd. He also did his share of the humble domestic labour at the monastery, working in the garden or wherever he was needed. Much of his time was devoted to perfecting his knowledge of Ukrainian and Old Church Slavonic. Just how seriously he set himself to that task was recalled many years later by Father Vasyl Laba, who first met Jean at about this time:

> Back in the Old Country I once had in my hands a book of Father Jean's -- a dictionary of Old Church Slavonic, the language in which our liturgy is said. Although in my life I have held many a book, I have never seen another one like that one. It is hard to say whether on the pages of that book there was more print or more tiny notations in Father Jean's own hand. On the white margins of the pages there were notes written in French beside every Old Slavonic word; its meaning in French and Ukrainian was indicated, along with other remarks and linguistic turns of phrase. If there were no other proof of the devotion and enthusiasm with which Father Jean put himself at the service of the Ukrainian Church and

people, this one book would suffice to to show it. [1]

Jean intended to stay in Galicia for another year, enough time to complete his novitiate, then return to Canada, where Ukrainian priests were so badly needed. However, his plans were rudely shattered by an event announced by Father Tkachuk on the evening of June 28: the assassination that very day in Sarajevo, Bosnia, of the heir-apparent to the Austrian throne, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife by a Serbian nationalist. Within a few weeks even worse news arrived: the Austrians had declared war on Serbia. In a matter of days, all of Europe was at war, on the side of either the Entente -- Britain, France and Russia, or the Central Powers -- Austria-Hungary and Germany. Travel became impossible and Jean found himself unable to return to Canada, which was now an enemy state of Austria-Hungary.

If, as a British subject living in a territory of the Central Powers, Jean had mixed feelings about the war, so did the Ukrainians around him. The two great empires between which Ukrainian lands were divided, Austria-Hungary and Russia, were fighting on opposite sides. The outcome of the conflict for Ukrainians was difficult to predict, but victory for either side held potential danger. Complicating the situation for Western Ukrainians was the question of the Poles. They, too, were divided between the Russian and Austrian empires, but unlike the Ukrainians, they were deriving advantage from that fact, for in return for their loyal support in the war effort, both sides were promising their Polish populations eventual indpendence. In the event of an Austrian victory, this boded ill for Ukrainians, for already the Poles were demanding for their future independent state not only their own ethnic lands, but a return to their historical, pre-1772 boundaries, which included Eastern Galicia and other Ukrainian territories. However, a Russian victory would present Ukrainians no advantage either, for it would bring Western Ukraine into the Russian fold and put an end to any hopes of national autonomy.

Considering these facts, most Ukrainian Galicians felt that the greater danger to growing Ukrainian aspirations for nationhood lay with the Russian side. Even before the outbreak of war, Ukrainian political parties in Galicia had formulated a policy, in the event of a conflict, of supporting Austria. Many Ukrainians held the opinion that the major

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[1] "Kudy ty pidesh -- tudy pidu i ya," *Ukrayins'ki visti*, 21 March 1955.

goal in any such conflict should be to effect the liberation of Ukraine, if possible, on both sides of the Zbruch River.

To represent the interests of Ukrainians during wartime, the major Western Ukrainian political parties established the Supreme Ukrainian Council; a military organization, the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, was also formed, in order to fight on the Austrian side, and, it was hoped, eventually serve as the nucleus of the national army of the Ukrainian independent state.

At Krekhiv, the outbreak of war caused upheaval in the tranquil monastery routine. The scholastics and some of the novices and brothers went off to enlist as medical orderlies. The monks who remained soon had direct evidence of the mammoth conflict that was raging between the Austrians and the Russians, as some of the bloodiest battles of the war began to take place around them. While they strolled in their quiet monastery garden, they saw smoke rising in the east from villages being burned along the Austrian-Russian border. Cannons roared in the distance. And frightening stories began to circulate that the Russians, who were quickly advancing through Galicia, were destroying Ukrainian Catholic churches and killing Catholic priests.

When the Russians came close to Krekhiv, the monks prepared to flee. Jean escorted a group of novices to Lviv; they travelled on foot, for no trains were running. In Lviv, the *Protoihumen* announced that the Krekhiv monastery and the Basilian novitiate were to be temporarily closed. Those novices who could still get back to their homes were dismissed with the assurance they would be able to return as soon as the novitiate reopened. The rest were sent to a monastery in Zagreb, Croatia. Jean was told to go to Lavriv.

The Russian advance continued; at the beginning of September, Russian troops took Lviv. The Austrians were in retreat; soon, only the large fortress at Przemysl, about forty kilometeres north of Lavriv, remained as the Eastern Galician holdout against the Russians. Most of the inhabitants of the Lavriv monastery fled, leaving behind only *Ihumen* Kalysh and a few monks, including Jean.

During this movement of the Austrian-Russian front, Jean was able to see how cruelly the population suffered the effects of war. Atrocities were committed even by troops of the friendly side. During the first days of the conflict, large numbers of Ukrainians were arrested, sent to internment

camps, or even summarily executed by Austrian and Hungarian military authorities on charges -- often unbased -- of 'Russophilism.' Many years later, Jean described some of the scenes he had witnessed, when he wrote to the grand-daughter of the Hungarian General, Prince Windisch-Graetz, whom he had met at Lavriv:

> To avenge themselves against the Ukrainians, Poles were denouncing them to the Hungarians as Russophiles, and Hungarian troops were killing them by the thousands; some were being shot without trial in the courtyard of our monastery and not even being given the chance to confess. Questions about those barbaric acts were raised in the Vienna Parliament, but nothing was done to stop them. In September, 1914, General Prince Windisch-Graetz visited the Przemysl-Sambir front and stopped to rest at our Basilian Monastery. . . . We explained the situation to [him] and pointed out that Ukrainians were Austria's most loyal subjects . . . . [2]

In response to the monks' pleas, the general ordered that anyone who was to be executed was to be given a chance to first make a confession. Thus the priests were faced with the unpleasant duty of hearing confessions of people -- sometimes several bound together -- who were about to be killed.

Suspicion regarding Ukrainian loyalty to Austria-Hungary was something that would touch Jean in a very personal way. One day near the end of September, while he was saying his usual morning service in the Lavriv monastery church, he made a mistake: when asking for divine protection for the ruler, he named, instead of Emperor Franz Joseph, the British King George, as he had been accustomed to doing in Canada. Some Hungarian soldiers were present in the church and one ran to inform *Ihumen* Kalysh that the 'British spy' holding a liturgy in the church was to be immediatly arrested. As soon as Jean finished the service, Kalysh warned him to prepare for possible execution. But as Jean waited in the chapel for his executioners to arrive, Kalysh ran in proclaiming, "You're saved. The Russians have come." Russian troops had suddenly surrounded the monastery and the Hungarians had fled.

However, if the Russians were welcomed by Jean at that particular instant, they were not received enthusiastically by the Galician population.

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[2] Jean to Olga Riedmann, Princess Windisch-Graetz, May 1961 (French original).

No sooner did the Russians arrive in the region than they proceeded to shut down Ukrainian institutions and replace them by Russian ones. They also began a crackdown on the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Catholic priests who had not fled were arrested; even Sheptytsky was placed under arrest and imprisoned in Russia, where he remained until the breakout of revolution in 1917. Steps were taken to introduce Russian Orthodoxy into Eastern Galicia; Orthodox priests were brought into the parishes from which the pastors had fled or been deported.

The Basilians who had been living at Lavriv fled to Zagreb, leaving behind only Jean, who, as a British subject, was considered to be safe from Russian persecution, and one old monk who was too ill to travel. Onto Jean's shoulders fell the responsibility for eight parishes left without pastors in the Lavriv area. He spent the winter of 1914-15 tending to those parishes. The wartime conditions were extremely hard. Fuel for heating was in short supply; typhoid was ravaging the population; many of his parishioners had no means of support, particularly those who had worked in the past for the Austrian administration. Jean did what he could to help the indigent. And he guarded his parishes against the Orthodox clergy who had been sent into the area. He was proud of the fact that not a single Russian priest ever held a service in any church under his care.

On March 19, 1915, Jean celebrated his thirtieth birthday to the sound of cannon fire coming from the fortress of Przemysl, which was being beseiged for the second time by the Russians. Three days later the monastery shook so violently, the monks thought an earthquake was occurring. But the tremors were caused by the destruction of the fort. When they heard that the last Austrian stronghold had fallen, the two priests at Lavriv wept like children; they feared that Eastern Galicia had fallen irrevocably to Russia.

But the victory of the Russians was of short duration, for in the spring of 1915 an Austrian-German advance began. At the beginning of June, the monastery was liberated; in mid-June, *Ihumen* Kalysh came back to Lavriv, and a few days later, some of the students returned. It was, however, not until December that the Basilian novitiate reopened.

The retreat of the Russians from the lands they had occupied in north-western Ukraine and Poland brought a event of deep significance to Ukrainian Catholics, and in particular, the Basilians: the recovery of the relics of St. Josaphat. As the monks at Lavriv were told, the body of

the Basilian saint was found in Biala Podlaska (now in Poland) by a Ukrainian officer in the Austrian army, who was informed by a local old-timer of its location. It had been hidden away some forty years earlier in the basement of the Church of St. Cyril, a former Basilian monastery church, by Russian gendarmes during a drive to obliterate all traces of Catholicism from the region. The recovered body of the saint was found to be only slightly damaged. Because of the possiblity of a return of the Russians to Biala, it was transported in July, 1916, to Vienna, and placed in the sacristy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of St. Barbara. Authentication of the relics took place a year later. Jean followed with keen interest all these events relating to the saint whose name he had chosen to bear.

By now, Jean had resumed his novitiate at the Krekhiv monastery. On March 4, 1917, he pronounced his temporal vows. He was then assigned to the town of Zhovkva (now Nesterov), near Krekhiv, as assistant pastor. He was much taken by the town, which boasted many architectural treasures, and its monastery, which housed the renowned Basilian publishing establishment. In Zhovkva he helped care for three parishes and assisted in the monastery office.

Like most Ukrainians in Galicia, the monks at Zhovkva were following with avid interest the events that were brewing on the other side of the Zbruch River, in Russian-dominated Ukraine. Changes were occurring there at dizzying speed. In March, 1917, the so-called February [3] Revolution broke out in Russia, which led to the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and the establishment of the provisional government. On November 7, began the October Revolution in which the Bolsheviks seized power.

With the crumbling of the tsarist regime, the winds of national revival began to blow through the former empire. A movement arose for the national rebirth of Ukraine. In Kiev, the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukrayins'ka Tsentral'na Rada) was formed, which was soon to assume the role of the government of an independent Ukrainian state. The Council proclaimed the establishment of an independent Ukrainian National Republic [4] (Ukrayins'ka Narodnia Respublika -- U.N.R.).

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[3] The Julian calendar was not introduced into Russia until February, 1918.

[4] Also translated as the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Listening to the news coming from their sister-lands in the east, most Ukrainians in Galicia were filled with joy. Some even hoped that the new Ukrainian republic would be able to wrest Eastern Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia from the Central Powers, with which it began peace talks at Brest-Litovsk in January, 1918. However, the U.N.R. was no position to make demands. Almost instantly it found itself at war with the Bolsheviks, who wanted to regain the Ukrainian territory that had belonged to the Russian Empire, and it had to ask for help from the Germans to drive the Bolsheviks out of Kiev.

Shortly afterwards, news came to Galicia that a coup had taken place in the U.N.R., ousting the socialist Central Committe and putting into power as hetman [5] Pavlo Skoropadsky, a former general of the imperial Russian army and descendant of Ukrainian nobility.

In July, 1918, the Basilian *Protoihumen* found a new assignment for Jean, as director of a Basilian-run boarding school for boys in the city of Buchach, a county centre south-east of Lviv. The Missionary Institute in Buchach had ceased to function because of the war, but now the Basilians decided to reopen it. Jean was told to prepare for fifty residents; most of the students would be war orphans who were left with no means for obtaining an education. Expenses for their food and clothing were to be covered by the Austrian government.

Jean set to work preparing for the students' arrival. He purchased needed supplies and cleaned the wooden beds he unearthed, which had previously been used at the institute, but after several years of disuse had become infested with vermin. Arrangements were made for the boys to attend classes at the town's elementary and high schools. The local landowner, although a Pole, agreed to let them use his woods for recreation. At the monastery, where the boys were to live, Jean arranged a study room furnished with fifty tables and chairs.

On September 1, 1918, he welcomed fifty boys from all over Galicia and as far as Yugoslavia. Here, as in Sifton, he kept the students to a tough grind: they got up at 5:30, attended church service, then marched off in pairs, in military fashion, to their schools in town. The boys were orderly and well-disciplined, and Jean had good reports on their account from their teachers and the townspeople.

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[5] This was the title of Ukrainian military rulers during the Cossack era.

Outside the monastery walls, events were moving fast. With the Central Powers on the verge of defeat, most of the ethnic territories that had been within the Austro-Hungarian Empire were preparing themselves for independent statehood. The Ukrainians of Western Ukraine, inspired by the achievements of Ukrainians in the East, also made plans for independence. For support for their aspirations, they looked to the Fourteen Points outlined by American President Woodrow Wilson in January, 1918, which promised autonomy for the national groups that had formed part of Austria-Hungary. The leading politicians of Eastern Galicia constituted the Ukrainian National Council, which declared the intention of creating a state uniting Eastern Galicia, northern Bukovyna and northeastern Hungary (Transcarpathia). That state was to be called the Western Ukrainian National Republic [6] (Zakhidnio-Ukrayins'ka Narodnia Respublika -- Z.U.N.R.). Eventually, it was thought, the Z.U.N.R. might merge with the U.N.R. to form a single Ukrainian state.

As these plans were taking shape, Austria was growing progressively weaker. The main threat to the Ukrainians' hopes lay with the rising new Polish state. The Poles were continuing to press their demands for the restoration of Poland's historic boundaries. Very quickly, events came to a head. When it was learned that the Poles were to take control of the whole of Galicia from the capitulating Austrians in Lviv on November 1, Ukrainians decided to take action. During the night of October 31 - November 1, they staged a bloodless coup. Ukrainian military units disarmed the Austrian troops that were still in Lviv and took control of the city in the name of the Ukrainian National Council. On the tower of the city hall, above the Austrian eagle, they hung a Ukrainian blue and yellow flag. The surprised residents of the city discovered the new state of affairs when they awoke the following morning. Ukrainians regarded the event with joy: for the first time in almost six hundred years the city they considered their historic capital was under their own control. Polish residents of the city were, understandably, less enthusiastic about what had happened.

News about the Lviv coup spread instantly to every town in Eastern Galicia. When the monks at the Buchach monastery were informed of what had happened, Jean, who was identifying himself ever more closely with the Ukrainians, felt a surge of joy. The boys at the Institute

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[6] Also translated as Western Ukrainian People's Republic.

burst into cheers and immediately began to organize military exercises.

But the general happiness was shortlived. Almost immediately after the coup, battle broke out between Ukrainians and Poles for control of Lviv; the battle ended three weeks later with a Polish victory. As all-out war with Poland threatened, the Ukrainian National Council left Lviv for Ternopil, and later, Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk).

The Western Ukrainians hoped to get help in their fight against the Poles from the Hetman's Ukraine in the East, but there, too, events were slipping out of control. In December, the Central Council, reformed as the Directory, staged an insurrection against the Hetman, causing him to abdicate. As the Directory took power, it was faced with another Bolshevik advance on Kiev. Also threatening the U.N.R. was the pro-tsarist 'White' Volunteer Army led by General Anton Denikin. In these conditions, there was little either Ukrainian state could do to help the other, although the two republics did declare a formal union in Kiev on January 22, 1919. [7]

War between Western Ukraine and Poland broke out in December and continued for the next nine months. The Western Ukrainians were in a disadvantageous position: their population was only one-fifth that of the Poles; their army -- the Ukrainian Galician Army (U.H.A.) -- lacked schooled officers and suffered from a serious shortage of arms and ammunition; unlike the Poles, who had material and moral support from the Entente, in particular, France, the Western Ukrainians had no allies. Still, thousands of young men volunteered for the U.H.A., believing that the ideal of independence was attainable.

The new war brought hard times to the monks at Buchach. Support from the Austrians for the Missionary Institute had ceased. With supplies cut off by war, food became scarce. Priests in the neighbouring villages gave Jean permission to beg there for food for his students and, in spite of general shortages, he returned from each such trip with a cartload of provisions donated by local peasants.

In December, his routine underwent a change: the priests who had formerly administered the Institute, most of whom had fled during the

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[7] For a few months following that union, the Z.U.N.R. was known as the Z.O.U.N.R. -- Zakhidnia Oblast U.N.R. -- Western Province of the U.N.R.

war, now returned to their posts. Jean was transferred from the institute to the monastery library. Although the library contained some very valuable items, including several manuscripts from the early fifteenth century, it was in a chaotic state. Jean devoted the next few months to putting it in order.

As Buchach was located near the centre of activities of the Western Ukrainian government, the monastery attracted at this time a number of prominent visitors. One eminent personage who came to the monastery was the Austrian Archduke Wilhelm Hapsburg, who, because of the sympathy he displayed for the Hapsburgs' Ukrainian subjects, was popularly known as Vasyl Vyshyvanyi (in reference to the embroidered shirts he liked to wear). Wilhelm arrived at Buchach at the end of November, 1918, with his adjutant, Captain Ostap Lutsky. Although he presented himself to the monks as Vasyl Stepanovych (his father's name was Karl Stephan), he was instantly recognized and granted lodgings for as long as he wished. The Archduke stayed until March, 1919. During that time he often conversed with Father Jean in French, which he spoke admirably, and in Ukrainian, which he knew quite well. He had with him very few possessions: only two suitcases and a large, round, brass bathtub, for the newly-formed Austrian republic had confiscated all the Hapsburg wealth.

Another visitor to the monastery was Father Franz-Xavier Bonn, a Belgian Redemptorist who, like Jean, had spent the war in Ukraine serving Catholic parishes whose pastors had fled or been arrested. Not long after his stay at Buchach, Bonn was appointed head of the U.N.R. mission to the Vatican.

In December, 1918, the monastery acquired an exotic trio of lodgers: three bearded hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church. They arrived one day in a military wagon from Ternopil, where the Z.U.N.R. government was quartered at the time. The officer who accompanied them informed *Ihumen* Lysko that the bishops had been placed under arrest by the U.N.R. Directory as enemies of the Ukrainian state, and that the Basilians were being asked to hold them prisoners. When the *ihumen* protested that the monastery was not a prison, he was told that if he did not take them in, they would be shot in the nearby woods. At that, Lysko agreed to accept them.

The bishops in question were Antoniy Khrapovitsky, Evlogiy Georgievsky, and Nikodim. All three had proved hostile to Ukrainian

independence and Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly. Khrapovitsky, who was elected Metropolitan of Kiev during the Hetman's rule, had opposed the movement of the Ukrainian Orthodox church towards autonomy from the Russian Patriarch. Evlogiy had worked during the war to propagate Orthodoxy among Ukrainian Catholics in Russian-occupied Galicia. Bishop Nikodim had been auxiliary bishop of Kiev and had annointed Skoropadsky hetman in the spring of 1918.

In spite of the bishops' past activities, the Basilians treated them as guests, providing them with comfortable lodgings and a room in which to hold their religious services. The Russians had their own provisions brought in and were better supplied than their hosts, who were suffering shortages of food. The bishops frequently invited Jean for tea and conversation. They remained at the monastery until Buchach was taken by the Poles in May, 1919. Eventually, Antoniy went to Yugoslavia and Evlogiy to France, where, many years later, Jean would meet him again.

While wars were raging all over Ukraine, the rest of Europe was ceasing to fight. The Great War ended with the armistice of November 11, 1918; ten weeks later began the Paris Peace Conference, a congress of all the Allied Powers and their associates, which was to draw up the new face of Europe. Ukrainians had no ties with any of the Entente countries and no official representation at the conference, although a joint U.N.R.-Z.U.N.R. diplomatic mission was dispatched to Paris to try to gain support for the cause of Ukrainian independence on both sides of the Zbruch. The Ukrainians had a tough row to hoe, for in the view of the Entente, the socialist U.N.R. was little better than a Bolshevik state; the Z.U.N.R. was regarded as too small and weak to resist a possible Bolshevik onslaught from the east, and, because of the Western Ukrainians' consistent loyalty to the Central Powers during the war, was suspected by some of Germanophilism.

The Western Ukrainians hoped that the Peace Conference would put a stop to their war with Poland and bring about a settlement that would recognize Ukrainian claims. However, although two special commissions were sent from Paris to investigate the situation in Eastern Galicia and bring about a truce -- the Berthélemy Commission, in February, 1919, and the Botha Commission, in April -- this did not put a end to the hostilities, for in each case one of the two sides was unwilling to abide by the commissioners' decision.

Thus in Eastern Galicia, war raged on. In mid-May, the Poles launched a new offensive. A Polish army contingent which had been trained and equipped in France for the purpose of fighting Bolsheviks was put into battle against the U.H.A. The results were devastating for the Ukrainians.

The successes and failures of the Ukrainian cause were followed by Jean with a deep and partisan interest. Now, events were unfolding which would draw him into an active struggle for the independent existence of the people he had come to regard as his countrymen.

Chapter 6

Service to Ukraine

In a speech he gave in Edmonton in 1953, and which was published in booklet form under the title *My Service to Ukraine*, Jean explained how he came to take a direct part in the efforts of the Western Ukrainians to achieve independence:

> It was May 30, 1919. The Z.U.N.R. government came to Buchach and was staying in the monastery of the Basilian Fathers. The president [of the Z.U.N.R.], Dr. Yevhen Petrushevych, was there as well. . . . The Minister of Foreign Affairs . . . Dr. Stepan Vytvytsky . . . came to me with the request that I become a translator for the Z.U.N.R. government. I asked for permission to do so . . . it was granted, and so that very day I began to translate into French a memorandum of the Western Ukrainian government to the Entente... This work gave me the possiblity of meeting and working with many people who played a significant role in the life of the Ukrainian State. [1]

Such was the beginning of Jean's career as secretary-translator for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Z.U.N.R. government. In that post, which he was to hold for almost four years, he would translate into French, and sometimes English, hundreds of letters, memoranda, petitions and other documents which the Western Ukrainians were to issue in their efforts to gain international recognition of their right to have their own state. He would act as interpreter at meetings between representatives of the Z.U.N.R. and diplomats and government officials of various countries which the Western Ukrainians hoped to influence to support their cause. He would attend international meetings and conferences, and sessions of the League of Nations, taking advantage of every opportunity to lobby on behalf of Western Ukraine. It was quite natural that Vytvytsky should have turned to Jean for help, for Jean possessed skills that were not at that time very common in Eastern Galicia. As former citizens of the Austrian Empire, most educated

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[1] *Moye sluzhinnia Ukrayini* (Edmonton Catholic Action Library No 15, 1953), pp 6, 8.

Ukrainian Galicians had a fluent knowledge of German, but in that post-war period German did not hold much currency on the world market. The diplomatic language was French, a language few Ukrainian Galicians knew well. A native speaker of French who also had a fair knowledge of English was thus a valuable acquisition for the Z.U.N.R. government. In addition, as a British subject, Jean enjoyed greater freedom of movement and an easier entry into many circles than did the Western Ukrainians. And, as a priest of Roman Catholic background, he could be expected to have free access to western church dignitaries whose influence could be sought to assist the Ukrainians.

The work that Jean was given by Vytvytsky had to be done in utmost secrecy, to ensure that no vital information fell into the hands of the enemy. From one document he translated, Jean learned that, because of the state of crisis prevailing in Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian National Council had decided to name President Petrushevych dictator, granting him the authority to exercise full military and civil power.

The Z.U.N.R. government did not stay for long in Buchach; it moved to Chortkiv, about thirty kilometers to the east. Jean travelled to Chortkiv on a number of occasions at the request of Dr. Petrushevych, in order to act as interpreter during meetings with representatives of the Entente. In Buchach, he often translated military documents, for the U.H.A. was still headquartered there. The Chief of Staff of the U.H.A., General Hrekov, had a room at the monastery next to Jean's cell and often stopped to converse with him in French.

Each day, information came into the U.H.A. headquarters about events taking place at the front. It had to be translated into French and relayed by telegraph to the Western Ukrainian delegation in Paris. The delegation's head, Vasyl Paneyko, then passed it on to the French and the international press. There was no typewriter in Buchach for Jean to use for his translations; he had to write out everything by hand. Since the telegraph operators did not know French, he was obliged to print the texts very clearly, to enable the operators to transmit them correctly. Many of the reports coming from the front concerned mistreatment of Ukrainian civilians by the Polish army as it advanced through Eastern Galicia. Among the victims were many Ukrainian Catholic priests. Jean learned that in May, forty-two priests and brothers at the Krekhiv and Zhovkva monasteries had been arrested and the Krekhiv library plundereded; in June, two Ukrainian priests were killed near Buchach. Translating reports such as these was particularly painful for him.

In spite of the temporary success of a U.H.A. offensive at Chortkiv at the beginning of June, the Western Ukrainians were losing the war. They were simply too weak and ill-equipped to hold out against the Poles. By the end of June, they were again retreating. Buchach was evacuated and the U.H.A. headquarters moved to Chortkiv, where Jean set to work in the office of Dr. Petrushevych. The Western Ukrainians were now hoping that a diplomatic solution to the conflict would be found. The Allied Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris was looking over the Eastern Galician question, and the Ukrainians had hope that the Council would recognize their right to independence, a right that the Peace Conference was granting to the other former members of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

It was while he was in Chortkiv that Jean first met Supreme Otaman Symon Petliura, the central figure in the movement for liberation in Eastern Ukraine. Petliura was the military leader of the U.N.R. and, at this time, head of the Directory, which had overthrown the Hetman's government. Because the U.N.R. was in a state of war, the Directory had left Kiev and established itself further west, in Kamianets Podilskyi. Petliura came to Chortkiv to ask the Z.U.N.R. government for military assistance against the Bolsheviks. In honour of the visit, Petrushevych arranged a banquet. During the dinner, Jean sat across from the Supreme Otaman. He was deeply impressed with Petliura and remained an ardent admirer of his ever after.

The decision of the Paris Peace Conference concerning Eastern Galicia, which the Z.U.N.R. government had been awaiting eagerly, was made near the end of June; when it arrived in Chortkiv, about two weeks later, it proved a grave disappointment to the Ukrainians. Citing the desire to protect the civilian population of Eastern Galicia against 'Bolshevik bands,' the Entente authorized the Polish government to occupy Eastern Galicia as far as the Zbruch River and to establish a civil government there, while safeguarding as far as possible the autonomy of the region and the personal, political and religious rights of the Ukrainian population. Eventually, at some unspecified time to be determined by the Entente, the Eastern Galicians were to be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

In response to that document, the Z.U.N.R. government issued a strong protest, which Jean hurriedly translated into French so that it could be transmitted to Paris that very day. The Ukrainians still held out hope that the unfavourable decision would be reversed, for they felt it

went contrary to all the principles enunciated by President Wilson and other Entente leaders concerning independence for lands formerly colonized by the Austrians.

Having lost their battle against the Poles both militarily and, for the moment at least, diplomatically, the Z.U.N.R. government and the U.H.A. had no choice but to retreat from Eastern Galician territories, which were about to be taken over by Poland. They planned to move across the Zbruch, to the only part of U.N.R. territory that was still in Ukrainian control, for most of Eastern Ukraine was now overrun by Bolsheviks and Whites. In Kamianets Podilskyi, the seat of the Directory, the U.H.A. and the U.N.R. army planned to join forces for a joint campaign against the Bolsheviks. If the Bolsheviks were defeated, the Z.U.N.R. officials thought, the Entente might look more favourably upon the idea of Ukrainian independence, both on the east and west sides of the Zbruch.

While moving eastward, the Z.U.N.R. representatives spent a week in Borshchiv, where they lived in first-class railway wagons. There Jean met a priest, a military chaplain of the U.H.A., who advised him that he, too, could become a chaplain. The idea appealed to Jean, for he considered the U.H.A. the most gallant and courageous army in the world. He lost no time in writing to the chief religious officer of the U.H.A., Father Vasyl Laba, and very quickly received his official certification. A Jewish tailor in Borshchiv made him a field chaplain's uniform within a day. Jean took great pride in wearing his coat with a yellow trident on the right sleeve, which indicated that he worked at the U.H.A. headquarters.

On July 16, 1919, the U.H.A. began to cross the Zbruch. With the troops went people attached to the Z.U.N.R. government and a number of other civilians, in particular, members of the intelligentsia who had served in Ukrainian state institutions and now feared reprisals from the new Polish administration.

In the line of refugees waiting to go over the Zbruch on the bridge erected by the U.H.A. was Jean. In front of him were hundreds of wagons; behind him stood tens more. All around was the sound of gunfire; the U.H.A. artillery was using the ammuniton it still possessed to hold back the Polish advance until the Ukrainian transports with refugees, goods and many sick and wounded got across the river. Jean had travelled from Borshchiv in a wagon driven by a local peasant who was as gaunt

as his single horse. During the twelve-kilometer drive, Jean had sat on the straw saying his rosary, praying for protection for the Ukrainians in this terrible retreat that signified the end, at least for the present, of their dream of independence. Fortunately, before setting out, Jean had thought of buying some bread, cheese and apples, for the journey was long and his driver had brought nothing. At about 10 p.m., Jean crossed the Zbruch River for the second time in his life. On the other side, he knelt and kissed the ground.

The convoy of wagons spent the night beside the river, then moved on to Kamianets Podilskyi. There, an office was set up for the Z.U.N.R. representatives and Jean was given a space. Not far from the office he found lodgings, which he shared with two other Basilians who had also come across the Zbruch. Later, Father Laba of the U.H.A., who was named Vicar General for Eastern Ukraine by Sheptytsky, lived with them as well.

Jean soon fell into a daily routine. He rose each morning at six, recited a liturgy in the chapel which the local Russian Orthodox hierarch, Bishop Pimen, had very reluctantly given him for that purpose, then joined the other government and army officials for breakfast in the dining hall. Meals were simple but adequate: for breakfast -- black coffee, porridge or cornmeal, and black bread; for lunch and dinner -- soup, a small piece of meat with cabbage and potatoes, and a slice of apple cake with tea. By 8 a.m., Jean was in his office, working on the steady stream of letters, notices and other documents that had to be translated into French before being sent out to the world on the wireless. If he had a free moment, he read his breviary.

Every evening, he went to see General Kurmanovych, the Supreme Commander of the U.H.A. within the joint U.N.R.-Z.U.N.R. military force. The General gave Jean military operations reports to translate; he also took from him a daily hour-long lesson in French.

As a chaplain of the U.H.A., Jean's main duty was to visit the many sick soldiers who were dispersed through hospitals and military barracks all over Kamianets. Typhus, which had broken out in territories ravaged by war, was raging among the Ukrainian population, and most particularly, among the troops. The disease, even more than the lack of supplies and ammunition, proved to be the cause of the U.H.A.'s downfall. Hospitals, most of them improvised, were filled with sick and dying men. In some units, only a few men remained healthy; to them fell the

job of digging graves for the dead. Medicines were almost impossible to get; supplies purchased by the Z.U.N.R. government in Vienna never got through to where they were needed.

Each afternoon, Jean made his rounds of the sick. He heard confessions and often administered the last rites. In an attempt to protect himself from the ubiquitous lice that were spreading the typhus, he wore a pair of high army boots given to him at Buchach by the Archduke Wilhelm. Even so, every evening he was obliged to pick off lice from his clothing. He often joked with his fellow-workers that even the president of the republic was not free of lice.

In Kamianets, everything was in short supply. The Western Ukrainians had been compelled to cross the Zburch without much preparation and had been able to bring very few provisions. The U.N.R. Directory gave them what food it could, but it, too, was suffering shortages. It had forbidden requisitioning from the local population, in order not to alienate the peasants from its cause. Thus, everything had to be bartered or bought, often at outrageous prices. Jean noticed that at the Kamianets market, local peasants were even selling ammunition, which the Ukrainian armies so desperately needed. The ammunition had been left behind by retreating armies during the Great War and was collected by the peasants, who were now making huge profits selling it.

During his stay in Kamianets, Jean came into contact for the first time with large numbers of Orthodox Ukrainians. Having witnessed the religious wars between Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Canada, in which physical assaults and deliberate destruction of property were commonplace, he was pleasantly surprised to find little hostility here in the relations between the two religious groups. Most of the Orthodox Ukrainians he met in Kamianets were tolerant of the Uniate Church; in fact, in his later writings Jean claimed that many of Eastern Ukraine's leading figures were very favourably disposed towards Catholicism. Among them he included Volodymyr Vynnychenko, who served for a time as head of the Directory, Hetman Skoropadsky, Andriy Livytsky, U.N.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Supreme Otaman Petliura. In Jean's estimation, only the Orthodox clergy of Eastern Ukraine, which was largely Russian or Russified, had a hostile attitude to the Uniate Church, but not the population or the U.N.R. government. He wrote:

> . . . I had the opportunity to see firsthand with what joy the population of Eastern Ukraine met our two hundred priests from Western Ukraine. The people happily put at their disposition schools and

even churches. . . . Ukrainians east of the Zbruch, in particular peasants and a significant part of the intelligentsia, often came to our liturgies and very gladly listened to our Ukrainian sermons. Never and nowhere did I see any hostility to our Greek-Catholic Church, but on the contrary. [2]

Bearing in mind the esteem with which Metropolitan Sheptytsky was regarded by many Orthodox Ukrainians, Jean even went so far as to say: "I have no doubt that if we had preserved our Ukrainian independence, the Ukrainian Catholic Church would be the state Church of all of united Ukraine." [3]

Jean was very pleased when, in August, 1919, he was invited to join the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood in Kamianets. That organization, which in the nineteenth century had boasted as members such leading Ukrainian intellectuals as historian Mykola Kostomarov and poet Taras Shevchenko before being suppressed by the Russian government, had just been revived. The sponsors for Jean's membership were Dr. Ivan Ohienko, Rector of the Kamianets University, and Volodymyr Chekhivsky, a member of the U.N.R. government.

As all the members of the brotherhood wore gold rings with the initials K.M. [4], Jean had a ring made for himself by a local jeweller from an Austrian gold coin he had in his possession.

In spite of the good personal relations that existed between many Western and Eastern Ukrainians in Kamianets, relations between the two goverment centres were strained. Although a joint Z.U.N.R.- U.N.R. military force went off in August to battle the Bolsheviks, any union between the two governments was more theoretical than real. Too great a philosophical gulf existed between the socialist U.N.R. leadership and the more conservative Z.U.N.R. officials for there to be any significant cooperation between them; furthermore, each was preoccupied with its own problems and objectives, and each had its own main opponents -- the Poles, in the case of Western Ukrainians, and the Russians, both Bolshevik and White, in the case of the U.N.R. In the diplomatic

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[2] *Moye sluzhinnia*, p 8

[3] Ibid

[4] For Kyrylo i Metodiy (Cyril and Methodius)

sphere, too, the interests of the two Ukrainian republics often diverged. The Allied Powers in Paris looked unfavourably upon the U.N.R., in part, because it had signed a separate peace with the Central Powers in Brest, and in part, because they hoped for a restoration of the former Russian tsarist empire, of which Eastern Ukraine was a constituent part. Western Ukraine, however, as a former member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, stood a better chance of gaining Entente recognition. For that reason, there was little advantage to the Western Ukrainians in joint diplomatic actions with the U.N.R., and the members of the joint Ukrainian mission in Paris often worked independently of, and even at cross-purposes to, each other. All of this led to growing friction between the two administrations in Kamianets.

However, on paper at least, they were still united. At the end of August, 1919, they sent a joint Extraordinary Mission to Warsaw, to hold talks with the Poles. The mission was headed by U.N.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andriy Livytsky, and included the Z.U.N.R. Minister of External Affairs, Stepan Vytvytsky. Jean, who was given a diplomatic passport by the U.N.R., accompanied the mission as translator.

Upon their arrival in Warsaw, the members of the mission heard the happy news that Ukrainian troops had taken Kiev from the Bolsheviks; their celebrations were shortlived, however, for the following day they found out that almost immediately after the Ukrainian victory, the city had passed into the hands of the Whites.

The main concern of the Z.U.N.R. representatives was the fact that the Poles, having taken Eastern Galicia, were extending their rule with an iron fist, in disregard of the Entente's provisions for respecting the rights of the Ukrainian population. Thousands of Ukrainians regarded as community leaders were being held in jails and internment camps, where they were poorly fed, inadequately clothed, and often beaten by their captors. So bad were the conditions of their imprisonment that even some Polish newspapers were voicing their objection. Of particular concern to Jean was the fact that among those imprisoned were some five hundred Ukrainian Catholic priests, including many Basilian fathers and brothers. That Poland, traditionally a devout Catholic country, should treat monks in this way was very shocking to Jean; he constantly repeated how appalled he was that 'Catholics should be martyred by other Catholics.' In his view, Polish chauvinism was reaching dangerous heights, even among some of the top authorities of the Polish Catholic Church. During a meeting he had with Warsaw Roman Catholic Arch-

bishop Kakowski, Jean was told by the Polish hierarch that the Ukrainian Basilians who had been arrested all 'deserved the noose.'

In order to monitor the situation of Ukrainian prisoners, the Ukrainian mission in Warsaw established a branch of the Red Cross, of which Jean was named chief secretary. Although he was unable to obtain permission to visit the detainment camps himself, he sent the reports filed by an assistant who was allowed to do so to the head office of the Red Cross in Geneva. He also passed on the reports to anyone in Warsaw who he felt could be of help to the Ukrainians: church dignitaries and officials at the embassies and military missions of such countries as Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia.

One person he approached for help with this problem was the Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw, Achilles Ratti, who, three years later, was to become Pope Pius XI. Shortly after his arrival in Warsaw, Jean attended, as representative of Sheptytsky and the Ukrainian bishops of Eastern Galicia, the consecration of Ratti as titular Bishop of Lepanto in St. John's Cathedral. In almost daily visits to the Nuncio, he informed him about the Ukrainian prisoners and the conditions in which they were held. The Nuncio, whom Jean found very sympathetic to the plight of Ukrainian Catholics, promised to look into the matter of imprisoned priests.

In November, with the approach of the feast of St. Josaphat, Jean conceived the plan that the diplomatic corps in Warsaw, of which the Nuncio, as diplomatic representative of the Holy See, was the head, should use the occasion to ask for the release of the Ukrainian Basilians, brother-monks of St. Josaphat. With Mgr. Ratti's agreement, he penned the petition, which a number of diplomats and others signed, although Archbishop Kakowski refused to. Perhaps as a result of the petition, and the Nuncio's intervention with the Polish head of state, Marshall Jozef Pilsudski, the Ukrainian priests and monks were soon freed, although lay prisoners remained incarcerated.

At the beginning of December, Jean was brought a document to translate that was very much out of the ordinary. It was the text of a treaty and military agreement concluded by the U.N.R. with Poland. As a Western Ukrainian, Jean was shocked by the contents of that treaty, for it recognized the Zbruch River as the border between Poland and the U.N.R., thus, in effect, recognizing Polish claims to the territories of Western Ukraine. To add insult to injury, the document stated that the

U.H.A. had betrayed Ukraine. As a chaplain of the U.H.A., Jean protested and refused to translate the text. He was told he could leave out the reference to the U.H.A., but was asked, nevertheless, to have the translation ready for the next day, for it was to go to the French press before noon.

The treaty, in which the U.N.R. renounced any claim to Eastern Galicia and Ukrainian territory north-east of it -- Volhynia, Podlachia, the Chelm region and Polisia, in exchange for Polish recognition of the Ukrainian right to independence east of the Zbruch, again showed the incompatibility of the Z.U.N.R. and U.N.R. governments, and the tendency of each, when pressed, to act to save its own skin. The U.N.R., put by the Bolsheviks in a desperate situation, was prepared to forget about its alliance with the Z.U.N.R. in order to secure Polish help in battling the Russians, with whom the Poles were in conflict over territories (largely Ukrainian and Belorussian) that formerly belonged to the tsarist empire.

To the Western Ukrainian members of the Extraordinary Mission, the agreement concluded between the U.N.R. and Poland was a betrayal. On the day that the treaty was signed, December 2, they resigned from the mission in protest and prepared to leave Warsaw. Jean also wanted to tender his resignation, but he was asked by the other Z.U.N.R. delegates to stay and keep an eye on matters relating to Western Ukraine. And Sheptytsky, too, wanted him to remain and monitor events touching on the Ukrainian church.

While the mission in Warsaw was disbanding, in Kamianets, too, things were falling apart. The two Ukrainian governments officially parted ways when Petrushevych left Kamianets in mid-November, on the eve of a Polish occupation of that city. From that time, the Z.U.N.R. ceased to be known as the Z.O.U.N.R. Petrushevych went to Vienna, where he established a Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile with the aim of continuing the struggle to gain international recognition of the Western Ukrainians' right to independence.

From Warsaw, Jean travelled about once a month to Lviv, to confer with Sheptytsky. He often carried letters to the Metropolitan which could not be sent through the mail because of government censorship. He also continued to see the Nuncio in Warsaw. In January, he served as interpreter during a meeting between the Nuncio and U.N.R. Minister Andriy Livytsky. Upon the Nuncio's request, he brought in clippings of articles

about the Nuncio that appeared in Ukrainian newspapers, along with translations of the texts into French. On one occasion, a Lviv paper accused the Nuncio of consistently siding with the Poles against Ukrainians. When the Nuncio read Jean's translation of the article, he became visibly upset; he insisted to Jean that he tried to be fair and to help Ukrainians as much as he could. And indeed, Jean believed it was so.

As the only Z.U.N.R. representative in Warsaw, Jean continued to maintain contacts with the staffs of various embassies and military missions, hoping to win supporters for the Western Ukrainian cause. One idea he discussed with the Czechoslovak ambassador in Warsaw, Stephan Osuski, was that, should the Entente prove unwilling to grant independence to Western Ukraine, fearing that it would be too weak to survive on its own, Galicia might consider joining the newly-formed Czechoslovak state, which already had been granted the formerly-Hungarian Ukrainian territory of Transcarpathia. Although such a possibility was viewed favourably by a number of Czechs and Western Ukrainians, it never got beyond the realm of theory.

In April, 1920, the U.N.R. and Polish armies began a joint offensive against the Bolsheviks in Ukraine. When Petliura, who was in Warsaw at the time, was leaving for the front, Jean went to the railroad station to say goodbye and wish him luck. 'Au revoir in Kiev,' he said to Petliura as the Supreme Otaman boarded his special train.

At this time, Jean made the acquaintance of the Very Rev. Giovanni Genocchi, who had been named Apostolic Delegate for the U.N.R. by Pope Benedict XV. Genocchi was sent to study the conditions in war-torn Ukraine and to help organize relief, but in Warsaw he had been prevented from going any further east. While waiting for permission to go to Ukraine, Genocchi studied the Ukrainian language, taking lessons for an hour or two almost every day from Father Jean. Jean taught Genocchi Ukrainian grammar and read with him works of Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian press. Genocchi often met with the Nuncio and showed much interest in the plight of Eastern Galicia.

Jean eagerly sought out news from the U.N.R. front. On May 7, there was triumph, as Polish-Ukrainian armies marched into Kiev. However, a week later, the Bolsheviks launched a counteroffensive, driving the Polish-Ukrainian armies far to the west. Some remaining units of the now-defunct U.H.A. joined the U.N.R. forces in their battle against the Bolsheviks. However, as the U.H.A. troops were former enemies of

Poland, the Poles had them disarmed and sent to an internment camp at Tuchola, north-west of Warsaw. The prisoners passed through Warsaw at the end of April and Jean went to visit them in the cattle cars in which they were being transported. He made appeals to the Red Cross to get some clothing for them.

During the summer of 1920, the Bolsheviks moved westward. When Jean visited Lviv at the beginning of August, he heard the roar of gunfire all around. Upon his return to Warsaw, he found the city in chaos. Expecting the capital to be taken by the Bolsheviks, the Polish government and most of the diplomatic corps had evacuated to Poznan. Father Genocchi had left for Vienna, where Jean would later regain contact with him. While still on his way to Warsaw, Jean heard that the French General Maxime Weygand was expected to arrive to help the Poles defend themselves against the Bolsheviks.

On August 14, Jean was informed that the Ukrainian mission in Warsaw was leaving the city that evening for Tarnow. The members of the mission went on foot, carrying their own baggage, to a railway station just outside of Warsaw. There they sat in third-class carriages for many hours, for the train did not leave until 1 a.m. on August 16; it arrived in Tarnow the following day. During this time took place the Polish victory over the Bolsheviks at Warsaw. The Poles termed their unexpectedly-easy win the 'miracle on the Vistula River,' but Jean was sceptical of this claim of divine intervention.

In Tarnow, the Ukrainian mission moved into a small hotel that had been requisitioned for them. There was not much work for Jean and he decided not to stay. He went to Lviv, intending to return to the Krekhiv monastery. But *Protoihumen* Kalysh informed him that the Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile was requesting that he come to Vienna as speedily as possible.

Chapter 7

Diplomatic Struggle

At the end of August, 1920, Jean was in Vienna, the city he had so much admired during his pre-war visit. The Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile, established there already for some time, had offices in the palace Zita-Hof, on Mariahilferstrasse. Jean was named Director of the Translation Division of the Ministry of External Affairs, which was headed by Stepan Vytvytsky. Upon his arrival in Vienna, Jean found lodgings at a Franciscan monastery. Every morning, he celebrated a liturgy in the monastery chapel, then rode a tram for half an hour to his office. There was no shortage of work to be done. From their Vienna centre, the Western Ukrainians were waging a campaign to convince the Allied Powers that Eastern Galicia [1] should be recognized as an independent state. They were basing their case on President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which promised independence to former Austrian possessions, and on Article 91 of the St. Germain Treaty, signed by the Entente with Austria after the war. In accord with that article, because the political status of Eastern Galicia had not been resolved by the Paris Peace Conference, sovereignty over the territory remained with the Allied and Associated Powers; Poland had only been granted the right to occupy it temporarily, and that right could -- and, the Ukrainians argued, should -- be revoked.

In order to win supporters for its cause, the Z.U.N.R. government in Vienna, with the help of its representatives in Britain, France, the United States and other countries, was issuing scores of memoranda, press releases, brochures, articles, booklets and letters to editors of newspapers presenting its point of view. From its presses came such publications as *Léopol: Capitale de la Galicie Orientale (Galicie), The Case for the Independence of Galicia, and Pour l'indépendence de la Galicie: Pourquoi la Galicie ne doit pas faire partie de la Pologne*, which set out a project for the constitution of a future Galician Republic which would make it a kind of Eastern European Switzerland. Also published were reports documenting Polish mistreatment of the Eastern

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[1] By this time, the hoped-for Western Ukrainian Republic consisted only of Eastern Galicia, as Bukovyna had been given to Romania and Transcarpathia to Czechoslovakia

Galician population. The Ukrainians argued that the creation of an independent Galician Republic would bring greater stability to Eastern Europe: the existing situation was potentially explosive, for the more Poland tightened its grip over Eastern Galicia -- changing the name of the territory to Little Poland, dismantling Ukrainian educational and social institutions, settling Poles on Ukrainian lands and continuing to arrest and detain Ukrainians -- the more militant Ukrainians were becoming in their resistance to Polish rule. As Jean was the only person in the Vienna office capable of translating from Ukrainian into French, he was responsible for producing French versions of all documents, as well as for the government's French correspondence. Because the Viennese printer who produced the Z.U.N.R. publications had no one in his employ who could read French, Jean was also burdened with the time-consuming task of proofreading.

A major problem faced by the Z.U.N.R. government was the lack of money to fund its activities. At first it had financed itself with proceeds from the sale of Galician petroleum from the oil fields at Drohobych. But now that money had run out and the oil was in Polish hands; funds had to be found elsewhere. The Z.U.N.R. government turned for help to its fellow-countrymen in the United States and Canada. Two Z.U.N.R. representatives were sent to Canada: Ivan Bobersky and, later, Dr. Osyp Nazaruk. The two men travelled through Canada, giving lectures about the Galician situation and the activities of the Z.U.N.R. government and encouraging Ukrainian Canadians to pressure Ottawa to support the Galician cause. They also launched the National Defense Loan of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, in the hope of raising fifty thousand dollars by selling Z.U.N.R. government bonds. In spite of some doubts among Ukrainian-Canadians as to the efficacy of the Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile, some thirty-three thousand dollars were collected in Canada.

Shortly after Jean's arrival in Vienna, instructions came to the Z.U.N.R. office from Paris, where Petrushevych -- now again titled President -- was staying, that a delegation be formed immediately to travel to Riga, Latvia. In Riga, negotiations were about to begin to end the war which Poland had been fighting, in alliance with the U.N.R., against the Soviets. The Western Ukrainians had not been invited to the talks, but wanted to be on the spot to monitor the situation and to voice their protest should any decisions be made regarding Eastern Galicia over the heads of the population and its representatives. The Z.U.N.R. delegation was headed by the Minister of Press and Propaganda, Kost

Levytsky, and included Luka Myshuha, Osyp Nazaruk, Ernest Breiter, former Member of Parliament for Lviv and the only Polish politician to support Western Ukrainian sovereignty, and, as secretary, Jean.

Jean found Riga a very attractive old city; its narrow, cobbled streets and gabled houses gave it a medieval air. He was particularly moved when he looked upon the river that runs through Riga, the Dvina, for it was into that river that the body of St. Josaphat had been thrown by his assassins some three centuries earlier.

The Z.U.N.R. delegation was given permission by the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to remain in the country for two weeks. Finding a place to stay was not easy, for all the hotels in Riga were booked by the official Polish and Soviet delegates to the conference. Finally, the Western Ukrainians found rooms in the Hotel Victoria. They met the other unoffical delegates who, like the Galicians, had come to Riga because they felt their interests were involved in the decisions that would be made during the conference; these delegations were from the U.N.R., which by now had lost all control of Eastern Ukraine to the Soviets, and from the short-lived Belorussian National Republic. Disagreements arose between the Z.U.N.R. and U.N.R. delegates over who had the right to speak for Western Ukrainians. When the conference opened on September 20, the Z.U.N.R. delegation prepared a note to send to the chair, in which it proclaimed itself the only legitimate representative of the Eastern Galician population. Jean translated the note and typed out extra copies, which he took personally to the British and French consulates in Riga. Every day thereafter he fed information, giving the Western Ukrainian point of view, to the reporters from French and English-language newspapers who were covering the conference. There were many nights on which he did not get to bed; he sat up at his typewriter, preparing documents for release on the following day.

In spite of all these efforts, the presence of the Z.U.N.R. delegation had no effect on the outcome of the talks. On October 5, the delegates were informed that the Poles and Soviets had reached an agreement and would sign an armistice in a few days; the final treaty would be signed later. The terms of the agreement upset the Ukrainians, for it constituted a division of Ukraine between Poland and Russia without any consultation of the Ukrainian population. Particularly unacceptable for the Z.U.N.R. delegation was the fact that the Soviets recognized the Polish claim to Eastern Galicia and territories in north-western Ukraine. Together with the Belorussians, who were similarly affected by the

agreement, the Western Ukrainians issued a vigorous protest, which was carried in the Riga newspapers on October 7.

The only positive outcome for the Western Ukrainians of their journey to Riga was the contact they made with the Belorussians. The two delegations signed a pact of future common defense, which, they hoped, would come into effect when the two republics regained their independence.

As soon as the Z.U.N.R. delegates returned to Vienna, they began to prepare for another journey -- to Geneva, where the first session of the Assembly of the League of Nations was about to begin. Given the League's mandate to promote 'international cooperation' and 'international peace and security,' the Z.U.N.R. government held the hope that the assembly would be willing to consider the Galician question and deal with it fairly. Before setting out for Geneva, the Z.U.N.R. officials prepared many notes and memoranda explaining the Eastern Galician situation, which they intended to pass out to all the members of the Assembly, journalists and anyone else who might be able to influence the thinking of the western powers.

As there were forty delegations present from member countries of the League, Vytvytsky and Jean were run off their feet distributing their materials and trying to arrange for as many as possible personal audiences with individual delegations. The delegation with which they developed the closest contact -- a contact they maintained for the three years during which they attended the League Assemblies -- was the Canadian one. Because of the lobbying done by the sizeable Ukrainian population in Canada, the Canadian representatives already had some knowledge of Galician affairs. And, certainly, the fact that Jean was Canadian gave the Western Ukrainians easier access to the Canadian delegations. During the first two years of Z.U.N.R. attendance at the League Assemblies, 1920 and 1921, the Canadian delegation was headed by the Conservative Minister of Justice, Charles Joseph Doherty; in the last year, 1922, it was headed by the Liberal Minister of Fisheries, Ernest Lapointe, who came from the same region of Quebec as Jean. Lapointe's first meeting with the Z.U.N.R. delegation gave rise to a rather amusing encounter, which Lapointe recounted thus in the House of Commons some years later:

> They were brought into my room and . . . they pleaded their cause with great eloquence. Two of them [Vytvytsky and Levytsky] spoke

neither French nor English, but the third spoke good French and fairly good English. After we had discussed their matter with them and promised to consult the other British delegates, the one who had been speaking turned to me and said, "Does Your Excellency not remember me?" . . . I replied in the most humble tone, "Have I ever met you?" He continued, "When Your Excellency was finishing the classical college in Rimouski, I was in my first year." "Really? You're from Rimouski?" I said. He replied, "My name is Jean and I was born in Saint-Simon-de-Rimouski." [2] I responded, "If your name is Jean and you were born in Saint-Simon-de-Rimouski, cease immediately to call me "Your Excellency." [3]

Since Western Ukraine was not a member of the League of Nations, the Z.U.N.R. delegation had no official status at the League Assemblies. In order to be able to attend the sessions, the delegates obtained credentials as journalists. Jean was accredited as a reporter for *Ukrayina*, which was published in Lausanne; Vytvytsky had a press card from the Lviv daily newspaper, *Dilo*. The efforts of the Western Ukrainians at three consecutive League Assemblies brought some concrete results. In November, 1920, the delegation presented a note protesting against Polish mistreatment of Ukrainians in Galicia and demanding the right of self-determination for that territory. This plea was supported by hundreds of telegrams sent to the League by Ukrainians in North America. Although there was no time to discuss the Galician question during that session, the matter was referred to the Council of the League of Nations, which was to meet in Paris in February, 1921. During its meeting, the Council ruled that Poland was indeed only a temporary military occupier of Galicia, that sovereign power over the territory lay with the Entente and that the final decision concerning the legal status of Galicia should be made by the Council of Ambassadors of the Allied and Associated Powers. The Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile considered this ruling a diplomatic success.

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[2] Some errors crept into Lapointe's account, probably because of the passage of time Lapointe was twelve years ahead of Jean at the Minor Seminary in Rimouski, so they could not have met there, also, Jean was born in Saint-Fabien, not in the neighbouring village of Saint-Simon However, the meeting took place substantially as described here

[3] Debates of the House of Commons, 2nd session, 17th Legislature (1931), p 1396, cited by Gérald Garon, "Deux Rimouskois à la Société des Nations biographie sommaire de deux fils de la région," *Revue d'histoire du Bas Saint Laurent*, Vol 1, No 3, December, 1974, p 9

At the 1921 Assembly of the League, the Galician issue was raised in a speech by the Canadian representative, Mr. Doherty. A motion, proposed by Doherty, was passed by the Assembly, expressing the hope for a speedy settlement of the question of the legal status of Eastern Galicia.

At the end of 1920, shortly after the Z.U.N.R. delegation returned from the Assembly in Geneva, Sheptytsky paid a visit to Vienna. He was travelling to Rome and from there, to North America, where he intended to collect funds for the many Ukrainian children left orphaned by war in Galicia. The Metropolitan stayed for several days at the same Franciscan monastery as Jean; during that time, he made Jean a gift of two marble statues he had obtained from the Archduke Wilhelm, who was now living in Vienna. For one of them, a figure of a young shepherd, Sheptytsky himself had served as model some thirty-eight years earlier.

From Canada, Sheptytsky wrote to Jean in his impeccable French that he found Jean's native land a very beautiful country; he said he was particularly impressed by the traditional family life of the French-Canadians and by the great dedication of their clergy and religious. On August 10, 1921, the Metropolitan paid a visit to Jean's family in Saint-Fabien, and wrote that there he had passed one of the most pleasant days of his life.

As far as fulfilling his goal of collecting money for Galician orphans, the Metropolitan's trip to Canada proved fruitful, particularly his visits to areas with large Ukrainian immigrant populations. In Edmonton alone some two thousand dollars were collected for his cause during a special 'Ukrainian Day' declared by the city council.

During his visit to Vienna, the Metropolitan had asked Jean to serve as advisor to Father Gulyn, the young pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic church in that city, St. Barabara's. One matter that concerned Jean very much was the poor state in which the relics of his patron, St. Josaphat, were being kept in the church. He resolved to set the matter right. The Metropolitan had advised him to have a reliquary made in which the relics of the saint could be preserved and exposed. At a devotional store near Vienna's famous St. Stephan's Catherdral, Jean ordered a lavish crystal reliquary which was to cost two hundred dollars. He made a deposit of one hundred dollars -- monies he had saved from the salary paid him by the Z.U.N.R. government -- and hoped that somebody would be found who would be willing to pay the rest.

He turned first to his own Basilian Order, but the Basilians in Galicia had still not recovered financially from the war, while those in Canada were unable to spare any funds because they were preparing to establish a novitiate. As no one else was willing to give him any money, he asked for help from his relatives in Quebec. They sent him what he needed and the reliquary, when finished, bore the inscription, 'Don de la famille Jean' ('Gift of the Jean family').

In October, 1921, the body of St. Josaphat was laid out on a velvet mattress and silk pillow inside the long, glass-covered reliquary. The saint was dressed in bishop's vestments; on his neck was a gold chain with a pectoral cross, which was donated by the Archduke Wilhelm. Onto the third finger of the saint's left hand, Jean slipped the gold ring he had worn since 1919 as a sign of his membership in the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. A number of eminent people were present at the ceremony: Vienna church dignitaries, representatives of the Z.U.N.R. government, the Archduke Wilhelm and others. The reliquary was placed in the main altar of St. Barbara's; there it remained until 1924, when a separate chapel was built to hold it. At the end of World War II, when Soviet troops entered Vienna, the relics were moved for safety to Rome.

During his stay in Vienna, Jean was active in the *Ukrainische Religionskomitee* (Ukrainian Committee on Religion), of which he was vice-president. The committee worked to promote the Ukrainian church and culture; as a result of its efforts, university courses in Ukrainian Studies were introduced in Vienna.

In February, 1921, Kost Levytsky, who was now the Z.U.N.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked Jean to accompany him to London where, together with Vytvytsky, now the Z.U.N.R. representative in Paris, he would meet with British politicians to inform them about Polish repressions against Ukrainians in Galicia and try to win their support. The task would be eased by the fact that the Z.U.N.R. London representative, Ivan Petrushevych, had developed good contacts in the British capital. Jean accompanied Levytsky and Vytvytsky during their visit to the Canadian High Commission in London. The Ukrainians felt that their lobbying was having some effect, for the British seemed to show some sympathy for their cause -- at least more so than did the French. In July of that year, the issue of Galicia was raised in the British House of Commons, in relation to charges that Poland was implementing a permanent administration in Galicia, when she was, in fact, only a military occupier.

Early in 1922, the Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile asked Jean to travel to Paris, to try to influence French opinion on the Galician question. To win supporters among the French was particularly important, for France was, at that time, the most influential of the Entente powers. She had also developed particularly good relations with Poland, a fact which the Western Ukrainians considered to be to their disadvantage. French politicians, by and large, concurred with the Polish argument that a strong Poland -- and thus one that included Eastern Galicia and other non-Polish territories -- was needed to maintain stability in Europe, to contain the growing German power in the west and Soviet power in the east.

Jean arrived in Paris just at the time of the election of the new Pope, Pius XI, the former Warsaw Nuncio. The timing made things more difficult for him, for some of the church dignitaries he had hoped to see were absent from the city; others were unwilling to commit themselves in any way, being uncertain what the policies of the new pope would be. Still, Jean met with as many people as he could who had influence in Catholic circles: church hierarchs, heads of organizations and editors of Catholic publications. He also arranged meetings with political and military leaders.

One of his most important interviews was with French Marshall Ferdinand Foch. Here is how he described the proceedings in a letter to his superior, Levytsky:

> At 3 p.m. I was received by Marshall Foch. He spoke with me cordially and said he knows little of our affairs. I gave him information about us, in accordance with the points in our memorandum. He asked me what the Ukrainian people want. I replied, "Total independence." "And can Galicia alone maintain its independence if she gets it, being surrounded by powerful enemies?" I replied, "Let the Supreme Council give us independence and we Galicians will not only prove capable of upholding it, we will bring order to the whole of the East." I described to him the courage and dedication of our army, particularly in its fight against the Bolsheviks and said that only the Galician Army could bring order to Eastern Ukraine. "Our greatest desire is to bring order to Europe," answered Marshall Foch, "but that is not possible at present." To this I replied, "Undoubtedly we are living through difficult times, but it seems to me that it is better to do it now, rather than later.... the Marshall replied, "Give me all the materials concerning your

affairs; I will study them and will willingly do all I can, but I do not have much power, for I am not a minister." I gave him two of your memoranda and promised more. [4]

On February 14, Jean had an appointment to meet with the Prime Minister of France, Raymond Poincaré. However, Poincaré proved too busy to speak to Jean personally; he asked that Jean state his case to his secretary, who would then pass the information on to him. The secretary diligently made notes of everything Jean said and accepted his literature about Eastern Galicia.

During his stay in Paris, Jean met with Prince Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma, the brother-in-law of the last kaiser of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Jean had secured a letter of recommendation to the Prince from his kinsman, Archduke Wilhelm, before he left Vienna. Prince Sixtus welcomed Jean warmly and told him about a project he had been nurturing, which would unite into a single federation all the Catholic countries of south-eastern Europe, including Galicia and Transcarpathia. In the view of the Prince and other supporters of the scheme, this would reduce the danger posed by a strong Germany, for it would take Bavaria from her and would surround her by a chain of Catholic states. As a Catholic priest, Jean was naturally much taken by the idea. However the project was never realized; Jean attributed its failure to the opposition of the influential Masonic Order.

Jean's battle for Galician independence did not confine itself to the elegant chambers of diplomats and politicians, nor were his tactics always exemplary. He was prepared to defend his cause anywhere and in any way. During his stay in Paris, he learned that a certain Polish priest was presenting a series of talks at the Catholic Institute, in which he was stating that Lviv had always been a Polish city and that no Ukrainian state had ever existed. Hearing about this aroused Jean's hot temper; he quickly rounded up a few fellow French-Canadians, students at the Sorbonne, and took them to the Polish priest's lecture. When the speaker broached the subject of Lviv, Jean and his companions began to make such a racket that the Pole was unable to continue. The director of the Institute had to call for silence several times before the lecture could go on. Jean left Paris in mid-February; he paid a quick visit to London,

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[4] 8 February 1922 (Ukrainian original)

where he met with Roman Catholic officials, the Canadian High Commissioner and some Liberal M.P.s. Upon his return to Vienna, he was immediately put to work translating literature that the Z.U.N.R. government intended to distribute at the upcoming international economic and political conference at Genoa. The Genoa Conference was considered significant, for it was to include, for the first time in a post-war international gathering, even those states which had been hostile to the Allied Powers -- Germany and the Soviet Union.

The Z.U.N.R. unofficial delegation to the conference, headed by Levytsky and with Jean as secretary, left for Genoa at the beginning of April. The day after their arrival, April 9, was Palm Sunday. Jean celebrated a liturgy for the Galicians and some Italian faithful in a church that had been granted to him by the local archbishop. After the service, he and Levytsky dressed in their diplomatic finery -- Levtysky in tails and top hat, Jean in his Basilian cloak -- and set out for an audience with the bishop whom the Pope had named his observer at the conference. Later, the Ukrainians watched as the Italian King Victor Emmanuel welcomed the official delegates to the conference, which was to open the following day.

The Z.U.N.R. delegation attempted to have the Eastern Galician question put on the conference agenda. However, the issue, being as yet unresolved, was considered 'too sensitive' to be discussed. Still, the Ukrainians did what they could to lobby individual delegations. Petrushevych met with the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Walter Rathenau. Jean and Levytsky went to see the British representatives; they presented their case to the secretary of Prime Minister Lloyd George, for the Prime Minister himself did not have time to meet with them. The Ukrainians found the Canadian and Belgian delegations to be particularly cordial. Z.U.N.R. delegate Ernest Breiter, who was an independent socialist, established good relations with the Soviet representatives, Chicherin and Rakovsky.

The Z.U.N.R. representatives took all their meals together at their hotel, the Stella; during those meetings, they discussed the goings-on of the conference. One event that aroused their interest was the unexpected signing, by Germany and the Soviet Union, of the Treaty of Rapallo,

which established diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The mealtime discussions of the Z.U.N.R. delegation were not always peaceful. On one occasion, Jean threatened to resign from his post -- and then was fired by Petrushevych -- when a disagreement arose as to whether the President should attend a certain meeting that Jean had arranged for him. Jean stormed from the table to his room to pack. However, both he and Petrushevych were soon calmed down, apologies were made, and everyone got back to work as normal.

After the close of the Genoa Conference, the other Z.U.N.R. delegates returned to Vienna while Jean travelled for a week to Rome. He found the Italy of 1922 to be in terrible disorder: it took interminably long to make the journey by train to Rome. In Rome, Jean arranged, with the help of Father Genocchi, to have an audience with the recently-elected Pope. Pius XI remarked that Jean had not changed at all since their Warsaw days, except that he now sported a little beard. Jean related to the Pope the difficult conditions in which Ukrainians in Galicia were living under Poland. Pius listened sympathetically and replied that although he could not intervene in the matter, he would do what he could indirectly. He gave Jean his apostolic blessing.

At the end of February, 1923, the Z.U.N.R. office received a piece of news it had long been awaiting: an announcement that the Council of Ambassadors of the Allied and Associated Powers, to which the question of the legal status of Eastern Galicia had been referred, was to make its decision in Paris in mid-March. This was to be the moment of reckoning, the end towards which all the efforts of the Z.U.N.R. workers had been directed for more than three years. As it happened, just at the time when the notice arrived, the Z.U.N.R. coffers were empty, for no funds had come in for some time from North America; there was not even enough to send someone from the Vienna office to Paris. Jean wrote immediately to Sheptytsky, who was in Rome, asking him to go to Paris and use whatever means he could to try to influence the decision in the Ukrainians' favour. Gathering up his personal savings, Jean, too, headed for Paris. Several days later, when some funds arrived from Canada from the sales of Z.U.N.R. government bonds, Petrushevych and Levytsky joined them.

The few days that remained before the meeting of the Council of Ambassadors were spent in a flurry of activity. The Z.U.N.R. representatives and the Metropolitan tried to see as many influential people as possible from the countries whose representatives were on the Council -- Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Japan. They met, among others, Poincaré, and the chairman of the Council, Jules Cambon. The two Frenchmen were polite, but non-committal; they assured the Ukrainians that the question would be decided fairly.

The meeting of the Council of Ambassadors took place on March 14. How events unfolded on that day is recounted by Jean himself, in a memoir he later wrote about Sheptytsky:

> Around 11:30 a.m. we three (President Ye. Petrushevych, Dr. K. Levytsky and I) were sitting in the salon of our hotel. Suddenly Dr. Stepan Vytvytsky entered and pronounced two words: "Everything's lost." We asked him what he meant. He began to explain that the Council of Ambassadors had just decided to give Galicia to Poland . . . .
>
> At that, President Petrushevych rose nervously from his chair and said, "The only thing that remains for me is to put a bullet through my head." While Drs. Levytsky and Vytvytsky tried to calm him, I rushed to the telephone and called the Metropolitan. "Please come as soon as possible," I said. "Galicia has been given to the Poles. President Petrushevych wants to do himself in." In about five minutes the Metropolitan arrived. We left him alone with President Petrushevych. After about half an hour the Metropolitan left; Dr. Petrushevych was calmer. [5]

It was certainly distressing for all the Z.U.N.R. representatives to realize that the Galician dream of independence, which they had clung to for over four years and defended on the battlefield and in diplomatic

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[5] "Mytropolyt Andrey Sheptytskyi u moyikh spomynakh," *Velykyi Mytropolyt* (Edmonton Catholic Action Library No 17, 1954), pp 14-15

salons, had to be abandoned; that six million Ukrainian Galicians would have to resign themselves to being incorporated into the Polish state, which, the Z.U.N.R. people believed, would not respect their rights. But the notes of protest the Z.U.N.R. government sent concerning the decision, the angry demonstration held by Ukrainians a few days later in Lviv, the telegrams of outrage sent to Paris by Ukrainians in North America -- none of these had any effect: the decision of the Ambassadors was final. In general, it was agreed that the major factor in the Ambassadors' decision was French interest in Galician oil, to which Poland had promised France access. There was also the fact that, as *The Times* of London had put it two months earlier, the Allied Powers did not want "yet another small state complicating the map of Europe" [6] -- especially a state that had the Soviet Union as its immediate neighbour.

There was nothing more for the Z.U.N.R. representatives to do. They returned to Vienna to wind up their affairs. At the end of April, the Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile ceased to exist. Like all its other faithful employees, Jean received a letter of dismissal, in which he was thanked for "your dedicated work for the liberation of our motherland, in the pursuit of which you spared no effort and endured material privations." [7]

To help his Galician associates, Jean made one more journey to Rome, where he met once again with the Pope. He asked Pius XI to assist the Ukrainians in Vienna who had been associated with the Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile. Poland was making it difficult for them to return to Galicia; in the meanwhile, they had no source of livelihood. The Pope heard out Jean's plea and gave him a donation for the committee organized in Vienna to help the refugees. With that, Jean's work for Galicia was finished.

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[6] "Polish Rule in Eastern Galicia," *The Times*, 4 January 1923.

[7] Kost Levytsky to Jean, 30 April 1923 (Ukrainian original)

Chapter 8

Ministry in Bosnia

At the end of July, 1923, Sheptytsky again visited Vienna, in order to attend the installation of the Rev. Dr. Myron Hornykevych as the administrator of St. Barbara's Church, a ceremony in which Jean took part. Jean's meetings with Sheptytsky during this visit -- halfway through which the Metropolitan fell seriously ill -- were to set the direction of the next phase of his life. Here is how he himself recounts it in his memoir about the Metropolitan:

> When the Metropolitan arrived in Vienna on July 20, he asked me whether I wanted to go to Eastern Ukraine, for . . . . Ernest Breiter . . . . had told him that Rakovsky and Chicherin were inviting our Basilian monks to come to [Soviet] Ukraine and giving the assurance that they would be in no danger there. Given that assurance, our *Protoihumen* Father Kalysh agreed that I might go there. I immediately assented to this tempting proposal and told the Metropolitan that it would fulfill the desire I had been cherishing in my heart for thirteen years to work on the other side of the Zbruch. That same day, I sent my passport to the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, in order to obtain permission to enter the Ukrainian S.S.R. However, when on July 31 I went to visit the Metropolitan in the hospital, I found him bitterly weeping. I had never before seen the Metropolitan cry, and it made me feel very bad. I asked him the reason for his sorrow. The Metropolitan replied, "My Bosnia is perishing," and handed me a letter to read, which stated that the Russian Metropolitan Antoniy Khrapovitsky, who was now being supported by the Serbian government, had ordained a former Basilian brother, Strilchyk, to serve as a priest for Ukrainians in Bosnia. As a result, there was danger that all our people there would go over to schism.
>
> Having read this sad news I said, "If Your Excellency thinks I can do some good there, I am prepared to give up my plan to go to Eastern Ukraine and travel to Bosnia." The Metropolitan replied, "I think we must give priority to those faithful who lie within our jurisdiction. I am glad you are willing to go to Bosnia." [1]

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[1] *Velykyi Mytropolyt*, pp. 17-18.

Thus fell to Jean a new and totally unexpected assignment --to try to save Ukrainian Catholic settlers in Bosnia [2] from abandoning their faith for Orthodoxy. His dream of going to Eastern Ukraine had to be set aside; later, he was to view this change in plans as providential, for within a few short years the political climate in Soviet Ukraine was to alter drastically from the relative liberalism of the early 1920s.

The specific task Sheptytsky entrusted to Jean was to renew the recently-abandoned monastery of the Ukrainian Studite monks in Kamenica, Bosnia. The Studites were an old Eastern monastic order, followers of the rule elaborated in the ninth century by St. Theodore Studite. The order was revived in Galicia at the turn of this century by Sheptytsky, who wanted to establish a purely Eastern religious community, one that would be free in its practices and organization of all Western influences. The Ukrainian Studites led a life of prayer and contemplation; in addition, they practiced agriculture and such manual trades as carpentry, tailoring and shoemaking. The order spread through Galicia and, in 1908, a Studite monastery was established in Bosnia, to minister to the Ukrainian Catholic immigrants from Galicia who had settled there late in the nineteenth century, after Austria had annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina from the Turks. The Ukrainians had gone to northern Bosnia because they were offered free land there by the Austrian government; however, the land turned out to be infertile. When Sheptytsky visited the Bosnian Ukrainians in 1902, he found them to be living in extreme poverty. In an attempt to improve their living standard, he purchased a vineyard at Kamenica; he hoped the vineyard would provide employment for the Ukrainian settlers in the area. He put the vineyard into the hands of Studite monks, who built a monastery at Kamenica. That monastery, with its church, became a pillar of Ukrainian Catholic religious life and a centre of pilgrimage. However, during and after the war, the monastery declined; the church burnt down and was not rebuilt. In 1922, the monastery was abandoned. Now, Jean was being asked to re-establish it as a strong centre of Ukrainian Catholic life in the area.

In order to fulfill his mission of rebuilding a Studite community in Bosnia, Jean would himself have to become a Studite monk. Thus, at the beginning of August, the Metropolitan, who was Archimandrite of the Studite Order, named Jean a Studite and gave him a letter stating: "Father Josaphat Jean acts in the name of the Studite Order in all matters relating to the monastery in Kamenica."

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[2] Bosnia-Hercegovina is now a constitutent republic of Yugoslavia; at that time it was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The name Yugoslavia was not used until 1929.

In preparation for his departure, Jean telegraphed Berlin to have his passport returned. He then took it to the embassy of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in order to obtain a visa for that country. On August 6, as Jean wrote in his memoir about Sheptytsky, "I left for Zagreb, and from there to Bosnia, where for almost two years I underwent all sorts of horrors . . . ." [3]

From Zagreb, Croatia, Jean travelled to Banja Luka, in Bosnia, to see the Rev. Mitred Oleksa Baziuk, who since 1914 had been serving as Administrator Apostolic for Ukrainian Catholics in Bosnia. With Baziuk, he returned to Zagreb, to attend a National Eucharistic Congress organized there by the Croatians, who were Roman Catholics. During the Congress, he met the local Apostolic Nuncio, Mgr. Pellegrinetti, whom he had known in Warsaw as secretary to Nuncio Ratti.

The first problem Jean encountered was obtaining official permission to live in Bosnia. The general mood at that time in Bosnia, and among the Orthodox Serbs who dominated the Kingdom, was quite anti-Catholic. The traditional pro-Orthodox, Russophile attitudes of the Serbian population were reinforced by the large influx a few years earlier of Russian immigrants who were fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution. Thus, such clerics as Metropolitan Khrapovitsky, whom Jean had met at the Buchach monastery, were now in Serbia, and were trying to induce their Galician 'brothers' in neighbouring Bosnia to embrace Orthodoxy. Jean was soon made to understand that a Ukrainian Catholic priest who wished to renew a Catholic monastery was not particularly welcome in Bosnia. It was only by travelling to Belgrade, the Serbian capital of the Kingdom, and meeting personally with the Minister of Religious Affairs, an Orthodox priest named Janic, that he was able to procure verbal permission to stay in Bosnia and revive the Kamenica monastery. He was given no written document confirming that such permission had been granted.

While he waited for his legal status in Bosnia to be resolved, Jean underwent a religious retreat at a monastery of the Trappist Fathers at Maria Stern, not far from Banja Luka. Those Trappist monks, whose Father Superior was German but had a perfect knowledge of French, were to prove very helpful to Jean in the future, providing him with advice, tools and equipment, and even money when required.

On November 1, 1923, Baziuk appointed Jean pastor for Kamenica and the nearby Ukrainian settlements at Stara and Nova Dubrava. Jean

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[3] *Velykyi Mytropolyt*, p. 18.

set to work enthusiastically among his new parishioners. He quickly discovered what difficult conditions faced any pastor working in the area. Not only was the region infertile and the colonists very poor, but the general conditions in Bosnia, which had long been under Turkish rule and where serfdom was not fully abolished until 1918, were extremely primitive. As he travelled from one parish to another, most frequently on foot, Jean often recalled the observation made by the Basilian Brother Yosyf Grodsky after a trip to the region in 1902, that in Bosnia there were three classes of travel: first class -- sitting in a wagon, second class -- walking beside the wagon, and third class -- pushing the wagon. Many children in Jean's parishes were growing up without any education. He established a school for them at Stara Dubrava, where, with the help of an older boy, he taught them to read, write and count and gave them instruction in Catechism and singing. Books were in very short supply, so he wrote to Vienna asking for second-hand books to be sent.

Jean felt his parishioners were responding well to his ministry. But religious life in Bosnia was far from peaceful. Some Ukrainians in the area had been converted to Orthdoxy by Batiushka Strilchyk, the former Basilian brother Jean had read about in Sheptytsky's letter. Conflicts, which often turned to violence, raged between the Catholic and Orthodox factions. It was a situation not dissimilar to that which Jean had witnessed in Canada before the war.

One day, when Jean arrived at the church in Nova Dubrava, he found that Strilchyk's followers had blocked the door with an iron bar. He could get in only by crawling through a window. On another occasion, when returning from the same church, he was attacked with stones by some Orthodox converts; one of the stones wounded him in the face. In April, 1924, while he was ploughing the field beside the church with the help of a local boy, he was met by two of Strilchyk's men armed with an axe and a stout pole; they ordered him to leave the property. The man wielding the pole struck him on the head so hard, Jean fell to the ground. He was obliged to travel to Prnjavor, some thirty kilometers away, to seek medical help.

But Jean was not one to withdraw meekly from a conflict. He lost no time in pressing charges against his attackers for assualt and illegal seizure of church property. The man who struck him was shortly thereafter found guilty of assault; the charge of seizure of church property was to be investigated at the end of May by a judicial commission. The law seemed to be working in Jean's favour; however, as he was later to realize, his spirited defense of his rights and his church did not endear him to the authorities. Events speedily took a turn for the worse. On May 24, Jean was called to appear before the assistant chief of police of

Prnjavor. At the police station, he was read the following document, signed by Minister of Religious Affairs Janic: 'Given that by a decree issued last February 24, I had ordered the Administrator Apostolic of Banja Luka to remove all jurisdiction from Father Josaphat Jean, in accordance with the law of 1885, which forbids foreigners to exercise the ministry in Bosnia without permission of the Government, and that I have had no response from the Administrator, I order that Father Josaphat Jean be expelled from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as quickly as possible.'

This statement from the minister did not make sense, for when the decree he mentioned had been issued, Father Baziuk sent Jean to Belgrade to try to straighten out the matter. Jean had met with an offical in Janic's ministry, who told him he would see to it that the affair was settled. Furthermore, the Nuncio had discussed the matter with Janic himself, and was assured that Jean was in no danger. The most likely explanation for this strange turn of events, Jean believed, as he wrote to Sheptytsky, was that "they finally found a semblance of a reason to get rid of me.... the time had come to judge my legal cases. On Thursday, May 29, a commission of two judges was to come to Dubrava to put me in possession of the land taken from my church. They had to prevent this from happening and get rid of me." [4] Jean was informed, "with all sorts of insults," that he would have to leave the country within twenty-four hours. After sending telegrams explaining what had occurred to the Nuncio, the British Ambassador Sir Alban Young and Father Baziuk, he set out, under escort, to Stara Dubrava, to collect his personal effects. The people in his three parishes heard of his arrest, and by the time he arrived in Stara Dubrava, had gathered in a large crowd. With tears and shouts, they tried to prevent the gendarmes from taking their pastor away. They were calmed only when they were told that he would soon be back. Jean blessed the crowd, then left with his gendarme escort. He was taken back to Prnjavor and then to Zagreb, where he discovered that his deportation order had been stayed, owing to the intervention of Ambassador Young and Catholic officials. Instead of being put on the first train out of the Kingdom, he was thrown into prison, where, he told Sheptytsky, "I was treated like a common criminal, subjected to a complete search of my person and fingerprinting. I was put into a cell with five people accused of theft, fraud and the like; a little later I was given a separate cell." [5]

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[4] 4 June 1924 (French original)

[5] Ibid

Jean spent two days in the Zagreb prison; then, on an order from Minister Janic, he was sent to Belgrade. There he met with the Nuncio and Ambassador Young, and was received by Janic himself, who made light of the whole affair, claiming that it was due to a misunderstanding. However, he refused to allow Jean to return to Bosnia, for, he said, the authorities there were very set against him for 'his failure to comply with the law of 1885.' At the advice of the Nuncio, Jean went to stay for a time in Krizevci, the seat of the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Croatia, Dionysis Niaradi, while church authorities tried to set matters straight with the government. Finally, in mid-June, after much effort on the part of the Nuncio and Bishop Niaradi, Jean was granted permission to return to Kamenica.

Reunited with his parishioners, Jean set to work rebuilding the monastery church at Kamenica, which had burned down just before the war. During the previous winter he had chopped wood for the new building; now he was ready to erect it. All the Ukrainian settlers helped with the labour. The men put up the frame of the church, while the women mixed clay for plastering the walls and floors, then whitewashed the building with lime. It was not a particularly impressive structure, but, under the circumstances, the best that could be managed. On the site still stood the belltower from the previous church, although the bell had been melted down during the war; with contributions from his parishioners, Jean bought a large new bell. At the end of September, everything was ready and the new church and bell were blessed by Bishop Niaradi, under whose jurisdication Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Bosnia had shortly before been placed. The ceremony attracted hundreds of faithful; six priests were required to hear confessions.

In the autumn of 1924, the monastery vineyard produced 3,500 litres of wine. All debts from the church were paid off and some additional building was done: a stable and barn were erected, and construction was begun on a passage linking the church to the monastery. The passage was intended to make it easier for the monks, whom Jean was expecting to arrive shortly, to go to the church for their obligatory midnight service.

Jean did not have to wait long for fellow-Studites to join him at the monastery. Early in November he received a letter from the Metropolitan, informing him that some monks were on their way from Galicia. Shortly afterward they arrived: Father Nikon Chusniak and Brother Yakym, both of whom had been in Bosnia before the war, and a younger brother, who stayed only a short time. As instructed by the Metropolitan in the letter the monks brought with them, Jean underwent another

retreat at the Trappist monastery and, on the eve of the feast of St. Josaphat, pronounced his temporal vows as a Studite monk.

A small Studite community was thus again functioning at Kamenica. The monks set about putting their property into shape. They had almost no equipment to work with, for everything that had been there before had been sent back to Lviv. Fortunately, the Trappists proved willing to give the Studites a cart and two strong Bosnian horses, for which the Ukrainian monks were to pay with the proceeds from their next grape harvest.

The Studites continued to minister to the settlers at Stara and Nova Dubrava. Jean had every reason to be satisfied with his success in reviving the monastery and church. However, his joy proved to be short-lived; already dark clouds were looming on the horizon. The religious strife in the area had not abated, and the monks were the primary target of the hostile Orthodox faction. One day in December, when Jean and Brother Yakym were returning to their monastery after a service in Stara Dubrava, they were set upon by one of their religious opponents, who approached on a horse brandishing a cudgel. The man intended to hit Jean with the weapon, but was stopped just in time by the tall, strongly-built Yakym, who thundered at the attacker, "I didn't save you from death in order for you to lose your soul." It turned out that some years earlier, Yakym had cured the man of a serious illness.

But worse trouble was still to come. At the end of the month, Jean returned from a visit to the Trappists to find a crowd gathered at the monastery, weeping and lamenting. The people explained that during the previous day, Bosnian gendarmes had come and taken the other monks away to Prnjavor. Jean set out for Prnjavor to find out what had happened, but by the time he arrived, the monks had already been moved to Banja Luka. In Banja Luka, Jean went to see Baziuk who, although no longer Administrator Apostolic, was still pastor in the area; Baziuk advised him to go to Bishop Niaradi.

Because of the bishop's intervention, the arrested Studites were soon released; they were, however, ordered to leave the country immediately. The bishop advised that Jean, too, not return to Bosnia, for clearly the authorities did not intend to let the Studite monastery continue. Instead, Niaradi assigned Jean to a parish in Slavonia, north of Bosnia, which had a sizeable number of Ukrainian settlers. The parish church was located near the village of Sibin; the parishioners, about five hundred in all, were scattered in villages all around. Jean began his work there at the start of 1925.

But he was not happy. Frustrated and insecure, he wrote from his new base to the Metropolitan, asking what he should do next. The

answer was not long in coming. On March 1, a telegram came from Bishop Niaradi, asking Jean to come to Zagreb. In Zagreb, he was given a letter from the Metropolitan, who informed him that at the same time as Jean's plea for advice and guidance, he had also received

> . . . a request to send a priest to Canada to arrange some matters concerning Ukrainian emigration. Since your letter was asking what to do and where to go, I think this coincidence is an act of Providence. Here is what it is all about. Certain shipping lines interested in Ukrainian emigration have asked our Ukrainian Emigrants' Aid Society to send a delegate and a priest to Canada. The delegate will be Mr. Volod. Bachynsky . . . . If you agree to go to Canada -- and I approve the idea -- telegraph Bachynsky, "I'm ready" . . . . from the point of view of the Studites and the Church, the aim would be to assure the foundation of a monastery . . . . It is necessary for us to have a monastery abroad, and Canada would be an ideal country for that purpose because of: 1) the ease of finding new recruits -- candidates there; 2) the full freedom that exists there; 3) the presence there of immigrants, who would be for our monks a good field to work in. It would be up to you to choose the province, the solitary location in which to establish the monastery. . . . look for a place that has wood for building . . . water for a bit of industry, fairly good communications, and a healthy environment in which immigrants could settle. I await your decision with impatience. . . . May God guide your steps. Your voyage would be a very important mission. [6]

Jean eagerly responded to the new challege presented him by the Metropolitan. He immediately wrote his assent to Volodymyr Bachynsky, a Galician lawyer and former Austrian parliamentarian who was now secretary of the Ukrainian Emigrants' Aid Society. The Society had been formed in Lviv shortly before, for the purpose of assisting poverty-striken Galicians in emigrating from Poland to Canada. Bachynsky and Jean agreed to meet in Paris, then travel to Liverpool, from where their Cunard Line ship was to sail.

Jean left the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with very little sorrow. He had experienced too much abuse and humiliation in that country to have developed any fondness for it. His failure to re-establish the Kamenica monastery still rankled him badly. But now he had a chance to try again, to fulfill a new mission for the Studites. The monastery that could not be revived in Bosnia could be established instead on more welcoming soil --that of his own native Canada, where he was certain his work would be much easier. With these optimistic thoughts in his mind, Jean sailed from Liverpool on the ship 'Avzonia' near the end of March, 1925.

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[6] 26 February 1925 (French original).

Chapter 9

Return to Canada: Sheptetski Colony

The voyage of the two Ukrainian delegates to Canada was pleasant and uneventful; the 'Avzonia' docked at Halifax on April 3. Jean paid a visit of several days to Saint-Fabien and met with his aged parents, whom he had not seen for more than a decade. He then rejoined Dr. Bachynsky in Montreal, to begin the work with which they had been entrusted on behalf of Ukrainian immigrants.

The situation with regard to immigration had changed markedly since Jean had last lived in Canada. While in the two decades preceding the war, Ukrainians had come into Canada in droves -- about two hundred thousand in all -- with the outbreak of war, all immigration was suspended. When it resumed, a few years after the war's end, it was under rather different ground rules. Immigrants from 'non-preferred' countries -- which included most of Central and Eastern Europe -- were allowed in only on a highly selective basis: only people possessing skills that were in short supply -- farm labourers or farming families and domestic workers -- were welcome.

The prospect, after 1923, of at least some new Ukrainian immigration into Canada caused a flurry of activity among people interested in the immigration issue both in Canada and in Galicia, where conditions of life were very difficult. Agencies dedicated to the recruitment and settlement of immigrants began to be formed. At about the same time as the Ukrainian Emigrants' Aid Society, of which Bachynsky was secretary and Sheptytsky patron, was established in Lviv, Ukrainian Catholics in Canada organized the St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association, under the patronage of Bishop Budka. The St. Raphael's Association established ties with the Lviv Society and made contacts with railway and shipping companies, in particular the C.N.R. and the Cunard Line. It was after this preparatory work that the Lviv Society decided to send two delegates to investigate the situation in Canada and see whether an agreement could be worked out for a planned resettlement, coordinated jointly by the two immigration agencies, of needy Ukrainians. To allay any fears on the part of the Canadian authorities that the Ukrainian migrants might be tainted with Bolshevism, it had been decided that one of the delegates should be a priest.

In Montreal, Jean and Bachynsky were met by Ivan Bobersky, the former representative of the Z.U.N.R. government in Canada, who was now working for the Cunard Shipping Line. Cunard, which hoped to profit from any new inflow of Ukrainian immigrants, had provided the two delegates free passage to Canada. It also lent them the services of one of its employees, Arthur Randles, who was to assist them in their negotiations with Canadian officials. Their travels within Canada were subsidized by the C.N.R. which, like Cunard, expected to profit from the arrival of new immigrants.

During the next three months, the two delegates travelled through Canada, meeting with people interested in promoting Ukrainian immigration; they also held talks with government officials -- the federal Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, W. J. Egan, the federal Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, Ernest Lapointe, whom Jean had last encountered at the League of Nations in Geneva, members of parliament and members of provincial legislatures. Having got an agreement in principle from the federal authorities that a highly selective and controlled Ukrainian immigration, under the auspicies of the St. Raphael's Association, would be allowed, the delegates set out on a tour of Western Canada to set up local branches of the Association, and to encourage farmers in each area to submit affidavits asking for immigrant farm or domestic labour. Twenty-four local committees were formed and applications for labourers began to flow in.

Jean did not forget that he had been entrusted by the Metropolitan with another, separate, mission, that of finding an appropriate site in Canada for a Studite monastery and related colony. During his stay in Edmonton, Jean heard a good deal about a newly-opened district in north-western Alberta that was attracting many settlers -- the Peace River Country. It was suggested to him that this might be an ideal location for his monastery and colony, for at Peace River homesteads were still being granted, whereas in the more settled areas of the West, free lands were no longer available. Jean decided to see the Peace Country for himself. He travelled to Grouard, on Lesser Slave Lake, where he met the famous Oblate missionary, Bishop Emile Grouard, and visited the Ukrainian settlers who had already taken lands in the area. He held services for Ukrainians in High Prairie, Spirit River and Roycroft. Everywhere he went, he was made to feel most welcome; since no other Ukrainian priest had yet visited the area, there were many baptisms for him to perform. From his conversations with the local people and the Grouard Member of Parliament, L. A. Giroux, Jean learned that the Peace

Country was indeed a promising area; in spite of its short growing season, it was exceptionally fertile. Furthermore, Giroux assured Jean that he would have no difficulty obtaining land for his venture. Two thousand families could easily be settled on excellent terrains along the Smoky River; in addition, three sections of land could be granted for the monastery. Roads would be built into the area as soon as fifty familes were settled there. The prospect was certainly tempting; however, as many local people pointed out to Jean, there was one major drawback to settlement at Peace River: the lack of a rail link to the Pacific Ocean, which would enable products from the Peace Country to be transported directly to a port. Without this link, the colonists were obliged to pay high freight charges to send their products to Edmonton. Jean promised the Peace colonists that he would raise the issue of a rail link when he returned to Ottawa to meet with federal officials.

But in Ottawa he was told that there was no hope of such a costly project being undertaken in the near future. This disappointed him deeply, for he had been much taken with the Peace Country. However, Justice Minister Lapointe, his fellow-Rimouskian, proposed an alternate idea: why not establish his monastery and colony in Abitibi, an area in north-western Quebec that was just beginning to be settled and was being highly touted in the colonization circles of the province? Abitibi, Lapointe pointed out, was only a few hundred miles away from the major cities of Central Canada; it was already accessible by rail and the land there was reputed to be good.

Jean lost no time in investigating this new possibility. In mid-June he travelled to Quebec City, where he met with the provincial Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries, J. E. Perrault; from there he went to Amos, the principal town in Abitibi, where he was received by the Member of Parliament, Hector Authier. The report Jean wrote for Metropolitan Sheptytsky upon his return tells us of his impressions of the region:

> I personally visited the area between Lakes Obalski and Castagnier. I found some good lands there . . . . The lakes are full of fish and the forests full of rabbits and moose . . . . In the mountains nearby there are major deposits of gold, copper, etc. . . . I think that Abitibi is at the moment the most promising place in Canada for our Ukrainians . . . .

Jean went on to enumerate the many advantages he felt the region had to offer as a spot for a monastery and colony. Among them were the possibility of having work in the nearby forests and mines or on road-building projects, of grouping many settlers close together, of providing a Catholic education to children of the colonists, and of transporting goods easily either by the Harricana River, or by rail, for the nearest station was only about fifteen miles away. He also mentioned the "salubrious climate, 1,100 feet above sea level."

In subsequent discussions with Quebec officials, it was established that the government was prepared to reserve lands sufficient for 1,500 Ukrainian families: the entire townships of Vassal and Castagnier and half each of Duvernay and Lamorandière. If the project proved successful, more lands could be reserved for up to ten thousand families. Land would also be granted to the Studite monks for a monastery. Fifty families, who, Jean expected, would arrive from Galicia and Bosnia, would be permitted to settle in the colony during the first year; the following year another one hundred could come. Mr. Authier promised that at least five thousand dollars would be spent each year on the construction of roads in the region.

Jean's enthusiasm for Abitibi as a place for settlement is perhaps not surprising. As a native Quebecer, he was naturally drawn to his own, Catholic, province. At that time, the leading force in encouraging colonization of such remote parts of Quebec as Abitibi was the Catholic Church; Jean would thus have no trouble stepping into the ready-made role of missionary-colonizer. Furthermore, great optimism was being expressed in government and colonization circles about the potential of Abitibi, which was viewed as a sort of 'promised land.' Although the region was densely forested and its climate was extremely severe, its land was claimed to be exceptionally fertile, equal in quality to that of Western Canada. A more skeptical observer than Jean, however, might have viewed that claim as one influenced more by wishful thinking and French-Canadian patriotism than by a hard-headed assessment of reality.

The motivation behind Quebec's push to colonize remote regions was nationalism, a desire to populate as much of the province as possible with French settlers, lest those areas be settled by the English or other 'outsiders.' However, the Quebec government was not averse to the idea of a Ukrainian colony in Abitibi. Ukrainians were known to be good farmers; furthermore, the colonists would all be Catholics and they

would be led by a priest of French-Canadian origin. [1]

By the end of June, 1925, Jean and Bachynsky had completed the investigative and organizational mission for which they had been sent to Canada. They submitted a memorandum to federal Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization Egan on the results of their work, and received in reply a letter in which the St. Raphael's Association was granted permission to ". . . bring Ukrainian farmers and domestic servants from Poland and one or two other countries to Canada, in order to place them on farms in Western Canada or other parts of Canada." [2] Mention was also made of families being brought for settlement in Abitibi.

Thus Jean and Bachynsky had achieved their goal of gaining official recognition of the St. Raphael's Association, and by extension, its sister-society in Lviv, as a principal agent for the organization of a controlled in-migration of selected Ukrainian Catholic settlers to Canada. However, the Association was never given the opportunity to exercise the function granted to it. A mere two months after Egan's discussions with Jean and Bachynsky, on September 1, 1925, there came into effect the Railways' Agreement, which altered the way in which immigrants were to be brought into Canada, for the agreement gave to the railroad companies the authority to recruit and place immigrants from 'non-preferred' areas. With its role as active recruiter thus usurped by the railways, the St. Raphael's Association became primarily an information and assistance-granting agency.

In the summer of 1925, Bachynsky returned to Europe; Jean, meanwhile, turned his attention to the establishment of the new monastery and colony in Abitibi. While waiting for Sheptytsky's approval of his chosen site, he paid another visit to his family. As on several other occasions when he had no funds, he had to turn to relatives for money to

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[1] Jean was not the first person to raise the possibility of settling Ukrainians in Abitibi The idea had been discussed with immigration authorities a year earlier, in 1924, by Winnipeg lawyer and promoter Albert Dubuc However, because of Dubuc's rather suspect behaviour -- he claimed to be a representative of Bishop Budka, but in fact was working mainly for his own profit -- the plan came to naught For more information about that effort, see Public Archives Canada, "Colonization Scheme Bishop Budka, 1924-1929," Microfilm Reel C-7382, vol 232, file 135 361, and Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "The Inter-War Ukrainian Immigration to Canada 1919-1939" (M A thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983), pp 99-106

[2] 2 July 1925

enable him to do his work; he repeatedly pointed out that he received not a penny from Galicia to carry out the mission he had been assigned. For the next few years, his family was to prove a great support to him, in particular, his sister Alvine, of Quebec City, who, with her husband Lorenzo Gagné, was always willing to give him food, shelter and, if he needed it, cold, hard cash.

The Metropolitan soon sent his approval of Jean's choice of location for the project, stating that, judging from Jean's report about Abitibi, "it is much better than Peace River, which is much too far . . . ." [3]

In mid-July, Jean was already on his reserved terrain at Abitibi. The land was about fifty kilometers north-east of Amos, just below Lac Castagnier, a beautiful body of clear, northern water that stretches for five kilometers and is dotted with small islands. Jean unofficially renamed the lake Lac Sheptetski, in honour of the Metropolitan; later, when a post office was established at the site, he officially gave it the name Sheptetski. Jean resolved to place the monastery on a lakeside spot that had caught his eye when he first visited the region accompanied by an Indian guide.

The first task Jean was faced with was to provide some means of access to the isolated Sheptetski site, which could be got to only by a narrow Indian track. The nearest road ended at Lamorandière, some thirteen kilometers away; the closest railroad stops were at Barraute and Landrienne, respectively forty and thirty kilometers south. Jean bought a wagon and a pair of oxen, and, with the help of some French-Canadian residents in the area, blazed an ox-trail through the bush from Landrienne to Sheptetski. The men also put up a small log cabin on the monastery site. With a five-hundred-dollar grant from Hector Authier, Jean and his small crew were able to improve the trail and build a bridge over the Castagnier River. The members of the crew, including Jean himself, were paid two dollars a day for their labour.

Although in his letter approving the project, the Metropolitan had told Jean that "fifty families [for the colony] will easily be found," [4] it soon became clear that no settlers would be coming to the site that year.

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[3] 12 July 1925 (French original)

[4] Ibid

Jean had been hoping that someone would organize the recruitment of Bosnian Ukrainians, who, as he knew from personal experience, were living in very poor conditions. However, he was informed in a letter from Bachynsky that "unfortunately in Bosnia there is no-one to work. I don't think people will come this fall, only in the spring." [5] Still, as the winter approached, Jean was not entirely alone. He had acquired a potential novice for his future monastery, a local man named Raymond Lambert. Since it would not be possible for Jean and Lambert to survive the winter in the cabin by the lake, the Ministry of Colonization gave them the use of a house just outside Landrienne; there Jean erected a chapel and said a daily liturgy. With money obtained from his family, he bought a horse and sleigh, which enabled him and Lambert to get around.

Jean was eagerly waiting not only for settlers; he was expecting Studite monks to arrive at any time from Galicia, so that the projected monastery could be established. Much correspondence on the subject took place between him, the Metropolitan, and the *Protoihumen* of the Studite Order, Father Klymentiy Sheptytsky, brother of the Metropolitan. [6]

At the end of the year, Klymentiy sent Jean the good news that three Studite monks would soon be joining him in Canada: Brothers Vasyl and Makariy, both of whom had previously lived in North America, and Julian. Jean was to be ihumen of the new religious community. "Under your direction in the new world," wrote Klymentiy, "I believe that all three [brothers] will be good and you will make, together, a good monastic family." [7]

Jean looked forward with eagerness to the beginning of his new monastic life. However, happy anticipation quickly gave way to deep disappointment; the arrival of his new companions, at the end of February, 1926, proved inauspicious indeed for the future success of the community. The full, sad tale of the brothers' first days in Canada is recounted by Jean in a letter to the Metropolitan:

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[5] 22 August 1925 (Ukrainian original)

[6] For the letters that passed at this time between Jean and the Metropolitan and Klymentiy, see Bohdan Kazymyra, *Uspikhy i trudnoshchi u velykomu zamiri* (Rome Bohoslovia, 1969)

[7] 15 December 1925 (French original)

When he arrived in Halifax, Brother Makariy sent me the following telegram: "Send thirty bucks immediately. Am leaving Halifax on Sunday." As I did not receive the telegram until Sunday afternoon, I was not able to send the money to Halifax. On Monday morning I got a telegram from the Cunard Line telling me that Brother Terlecki [Vasyl] was going to be deported because of illness. I immediately cabled to Halifax . . . saying I would personally take full responsibility for him. That same morning I received another telegram, from Quebec, signed Brother Julian. "Send $10 immediately, cannot leave here without it." I sent the $10 by wire and on Tuesday at noon Brother Julian was at the station at Landrienne . . . . On Friday . . . I got a telegram from Brother Makariy from Quebec: "Send $10 immediately." I . . . sent him the money and on Saturday met him at the station. That same morning I had a telegram from the Cunard Line asking me to send an affidavit concerning Brother Terlecki . . . . I wired an affidavit to Ottawa signed by the pastor of Landrienne and myself . . . . I waited until March 3, sending letter after letter, as well as telegrams, and still Brother Vasyl did not arrive. Finally I decided to go to Ottawa. . . . I arranged to have him released and sent him $10 by wire. . . . I went to meet him and on Sunday morning he was on the train passing through Rimouski, where my train had arrived a few minutes earlier. . . . we stayed at my parents' place in St. Fabien and left on Monday morning. An enormous snow storm struck us along the way . . . . we arrived at Landrienne at noon on March 11. [8]

Jean's difficulty in getting the brothers to Abitibi was bad enough, but it was only the beginning of his problems. He soon discovered that the brothers placed in his charge were sadly lacking in monkish docility. In the same letter to Sheptytsky, he lamented,

> On the train, I immediately perceived that Brother Vasyl was disobedient. During dinner, he knawed at his bread and the other passengers kept staring at him with surprise. I told him gently not to bite off his bread, but to break it. He just ignored me and continued to knaw. Brothers Julian and Makariy have told my candidate, Raymond Lambert, to go back to where he came from. Last night at midnight, when I woke them for our night office, not one of them would obey and I had to say my "Polunotchnytsia" alone.

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[8] 12 March 1926 (French original)

Jean outfitted the brothers in new winter clothes and purchased tools for them, for the monks had employment for the winter and spring cutting wood for a pulp and paper mill. Over the season, they earned a total of sixty dollars in this way. However, the conflicts between the brothers and their superior did not abate. The monks refused to follow the regimen drawn up by their exacting *ihumen*; they complained constantly that it was too severe.

When he heard of the problems within the new community, the Metropolitan wrote to Jean suggesting that, considering the harshness of the climate and the rigours of life at the Abitibi site, "you should perhaps be more moderate in your mortifications. You get up every night; perhaps that is too much. I think the brothers could get up once per week . . . since they work so hard. . . . do not demand too much from yourself or the brothers." [9] Klymentiy, too, exhorted Jean not to drive the brothers too hard, but to give them a chance to become acclimatized to their new environment.

However, relations at the Sheptetski monastery continued to deteriorate. Perhaps Jean, raised in the stern, Jansenist Catholicism of turn-of-the-century French Canada, was incapable of making the concessions to human frailty that were required under the circumstances; perhaps the brothers were unable or unwilling to adjust to a primitive lifestyle in a harsh, virgin territory. In any case, by the middle of May, things had come to such a pass that Jean gave the brothers an ultimatum: they were either to submit fully to his authority, or go back to Galicia. Makariy and Julian elected to stay, while Vasyl wrote to Klymentiy asking for his passage home. A few weeks later, the ticket arrived and Vasyl left. The others passed the summer at the monastery, although Julian spent most of his time in bed, ill with rheumatism.

It was only in the autumn that Jean heard again from his Studite superiors in Galicia. The message he received from Klymentiy came as a rude shock. The *Protoihumen* had discussed the Canadian monastery with Vasyl upon the brother's return, and, he wrote, "Even accounting for all that there is of exaggeration and resentment . . . in what he says, a few facts alone suffice to give an idea of the situation and to come to the conclusion that the monastery at Landrienne has no chance of maintaining itself . . . ."

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[9] 18 April 1926 (French original)

Klymentiy attributed what he judged to be the failure of the Canadian Studite experiment to both external factors -- the severe climate and marshy soil of Abitibi, and internal ones -- "a lack of understanding . . . confidence . . . and . . . charity between the brothers and the superior." The main problem, Klymentiy suggested, lay in Jean's lack of experience of Studite life: "you lacked the knowledge of monastic life as the brothers had practiced it. You knew it rather in theory and in general principles." Since there was no possibility of sending to Canada an experienced Studite monk who would be able to take charge of the monastery, and since, in any case, Abitibi was obviously unsuitable for such a venture, Klymentiy concluded that "the provisional state that now exists cannot continue. Let the brothers go and earn what they need in order to return." [10]

Although there was a good deal of truth in what Klymentiy said -- Jean did indeed lack experience of Studite monastic life -- Jean was stung to the quick by the Protoihumen's blunt statements. A few weeks later he wrote a long letter to the Metropolitan, in which he refuted, point by point, Klymentiy's 'charges' against him. He defended his choice of monastery site in "the region of the moment and the future," and blamed the failure of the venture on the brothers sent by Klymentiy, who "were sick not only mentally, but physically . . . . neither educated nor educable . . . ." Klymentiy's letter, Jean contended, was "filled with lies . . . [and] does a terrible wrong to me, to our Ukraine and to the Catholic Church." [11] Jean never found it in his heart to fully forgive Klymentiy for the insult he felt he suffered from him. In Jean's view, the Abitibi monastery failed mainly because of Klymentiy's ill will towards the project.

As winter descended, Jean found himself alone. Brother Julian returned to Galicia, while Makariy decided to leave the Studite Order entirely and remain in Canada. As Jean travelled quite frequently to the mining towns of north-western Quebec and north-eastern Ontario to hold services for the growing numbers of Ukrainian workers there, he helped Makariy find a job in Kapuskasing, Ontario. Jean also made occasional trips to Montreal, where Bishop Budka had appointed him extraordinary confessor to the Ukrainian Sisters Servants. In October, he travelled to

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[10] 7 October 1926 (French original)

[11] 22 November 1926 (French original)

St. Fabien, to attend the funeral of his mother. Although the Studite monastery had ceased to exist, Jean still had hope that the project would be revived, that some more suitable monks would be sent to the site. In the meantime, he turned his attention to the second part of his original mission -- the establishment of a Ukrainian colony at Sheptetski. In his letter to the Metropolitan of November, 1926, he mentioned that so far there was only one family living at the colony site. He explained, "It is not because I could not take in more, but because no one in Lviv has taken the trouble to direct them to Abitibi, even though seven thousand Greek Catholics from Galicia arrived in Canada in 1926."

Since there seemed little interest in the project in Europe, and the St. Raphael's Association in Canada was no longer recruiting immigrants, Jean was left on his own to try to find settlers for his colony. He wrote advertisements for publication in Ukrainian newspapers, announcing that there were "very suitable lands for settlement by Ukrainian Greek-Catholic farmers . . . [in] the area of Abitibi in Quebec." [12] During his periodic visits to Montreal's St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic parish, he sought out potential colonists. One of his earliest recruits was Pylyp Andrusyshyn (Andrushchyshyn), who had come to Canada from Galicia in March, 1927. Andrusyshyn was having difficulty gaining entry into Canada for his fiancee; Jean promised him that the matter could be easily arranged if he were to move to Abitibi. Thus, recalled Andrusyshyn,

> On March 10, 1928, V. Mokriy, Father Jean and I arrived at Barraute CNR station. . . . We walked eighteen miles . . . and spent the night with a French family. In the morning I went alone, five miles, to the colony at Sheptycky. There I met the first Ukrainian settlers -- Matviy and Yustyna Borshchevsky and their son, Vasyl, who were living in a log cabin." [13]

The new arrivals set to work erecting wooden buildings - - a monastery, a school and some houses for future settlers. The large, two-storey monastery building, constructed as Jean had planned right beside the lake, was an expression of Jean's continued belief that the Studite project would be given another chance. Inside the monastery building, Jean established a 'Prosvita Reading Room,' and set up a small museum

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[12] Advertisement dated 12 June 1928

[2] Jaroslav Rozumnyj, "One Immigrant's Saga The Sheptycky Colony in Quebec," *New Soil - Old Roots* (Winnipeg Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), p 65

displaying artifacts he had brought from Europe, as well as some he had found in the vicinity. About two-and-a- half kilometers to the south, another building was erected. Intended to serve as a future school for the colonists, it housed a small chapel in which a liturgy was celebrated every Sunday and baptisms and marriages were performed.

A few more settlers began to arrive and take lands on the colony site. The lots of land were one hundred acres in size and laid out, according to the Quebec tradition, in long, thin, adjacent strips. In November, 1928, Andrusyshyn's fiancee, Natalka Ostashevska, arrived from Galicia and Jean performed the first marriage at the Sheptetski colony. According to Nykolai Siry, who stayed at the colony for a few months, then went to Quebec City to study for the priesthood, by the summer of 1928, "There were about twelve families in all, mainly older people; there were no youth or small children. . . . most were . . . recent arrivals from the Old Country . . . . There were a few from Transcarpathia." [14]

Thus, the colony had begun; however, it did not grow. Over the next few years, quite a number of people came to the Sheptetski site, but few of them chose to stay. As some of the colonists later put it, people would arrive, take one look around, and leave as quickly as possible. Permanent dwellers at the colony, that is, people who took up lands at Sheptetski and lived on them for some time, never exceeded about thirty families. [15]

The reason the Sheptestki colony attracted so few settlers was simple: in spite of the optimism of the Quebec authorities and the rosy vision of Jean himself, Abitibi was little suited for agricultural settlement. The soil was poor and the growing season very short -- from mid-June to the end of August. The land was covered with dense bush that had to be cleared before anything could be grown. In addition, the

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[14] *Pamiatka zolotoho yuvileyu relihiyno-natsional'noyi pratsi vprep Ottsia Dr Yosafata Zhana Ch S V V* Montreal, 1963

[15] Mrs Natalka Andrusyshyn, one of the first to settle on and last to leave the Sheptetski site (1928-46), made a list of families and individuals whom she remembered as living at the colony ("One Immigrant's Saga," p 69) In that list she had thirty-three names, these included, in addition to long-term Ukrainian settlers, Jean, two Poles and some young men who never settled permanently In my research at the land titles office in Amos, I found thirty lots at the Sheptetski site that had been registered prior to 1935 in the names of Ukrainians, including those registered in the name of the monastery For a list of these registrations, see Appendix I

colony site was extremely isolated and distant indeed from any other Ukrainian settlements. The long winters were exceptionally severe. No schools existed for the children of the settlers and medical help was miles away. If a doctor or a dentist was needed, the patient had to go -- most likely on foot -- to Barraute or Amos to get treatment. The hope that gold or other minerals would be discovered in the immediate area -- an idea Jean had long cherished -- was never fulfilled.

It is thus not surprising that Jean's optimistic plan for an enormous Ukrainian colony at Sheptetski did not work out. Only the onset of the Depression, which severely cut job prospects in the cities, kept a handful of families on the colony, ekeing out an existence as best they could.

Throughout the 1920s, Jean himself remained at the colony, living among the settlers and sharing in their hardships. He worked alongside them, provided spiritual care, and served as the colony's postmaster. An interesting picture of Jean at this time is painted by a journalist from the Montreal daily, *Le Devoir*, who visited the colony site:

> . . . Father Jean lives there under the most difficult conditions. Twenty-five miles from the nearest village, with no means of communication, he must, like his companions, do everything for himself . . . . cut wood for winter, drink the water from lakes or rainwater, eat potatoes grown on the land, fish caught on the spot or the flesh of the moose killed there. Every week or so, the missionary himself goes to Barraute on foot, a bundle slung over his shoulder, his cassock tucked up in his belt, sinking up to his knees in water and mud . . . in order to pick up his mail and do the most urgent errands for his little colony. In winter, as the cold sweeps down from the north, he cannot be sure that his feet or hands will not freeze along the way. In the spring and summer, the brilliant sun roasts him in his black cassock, while the mosquitoes and black flies, which are so terrible in this faraway region, devour him alive. And so it has been for three years, and will be for many years to come, a task so difficult that the mere thought of it would frighten off even the most robust of men.
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> But Father Jean is a small, nervous man, rather frail in appearance, with very mild blue eyes . . . . He cares only about his Ruthenians, for whom he has sacrificed his life . . . . [16]

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[16] Harry Bernard, "De la haute diplomatie à la forêt vierge," *Le Devoir*, 12 September 1928, pp 1-2

In the view of the writer, Jean was very much a part of the great tradition of heroic French-Canadian missionaries.

The settlers who lived at Sheptetski at that time remember 'Father John,' as they called him, as a bearded man in his forties who spoke Ukrainian well, although with a marked French accent. They, like the writer of the article, remarked on his nervousness, which was no doubt exacerbated by the primitive conditions of life in the colony, and the many disappointments he had encountered in his attempts to realize his plans. Perhaps because of the difficulty of their life in Abitibi, some of the colonists harboured suspicions about Jean's motives in bringing people to that 'Siberia.' Rumours went about that he was being paid large sums of money by the government for every settler he recruited to the colony; why else, after all, would he encourage people to come to such a godforsaken place? Some people maintained that he had received substantial funds from Sheptytsky, yet never shared the money with the colonists. A mysterious past was attributed to him; some said he had become a Ukrainian-rite priest because of some long-ago promise made to an unknown person; others that he wore a beard -- a perfectly normal practice for a Studite monk -- in expiation of some dreadful sin.

The truth of the matter was far more prosaic. The Sheptetski colony had suffered from poor planning, which had been based on an optimistic rather than a realistic assessment of the region's possibilities. Another factor contributing to the colony's failure was the onset of the Depression, which, in 1930, closed the door to immigration to Canada and thus prevented the possiblity of additional settlers coming from the Old World. The poor progress of the colony was one source of anxiety for Jean; another was his unresolved status as a Studite monk and *ihumen* of a monastery. He continued to view himself in these terms, although no more Studites came to Abitibi and the whole scheme for establishing a Studite community in Canada was clearly going nowhere. Ukrainian Catholic authorities in Canada felt that something had to be done to clarify the situation. In September, 1929, the new Ukrainian Catholic Bishop for Canada, Jean's former colleague from the Montreal Seminary, Vasyl Ladyka O.S.B.M., wrote to inform Jean that he had had a letter from Metropolitan Sheptytsky, in which Sheptytsky stated that "Father Jean is not a Studite and is in no event under my jurisdiction. His home is his private property. He wanted to have Studites with him, but the plan did not work out." [17]

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[17] Ladyka to Jean, 2 September 1929 (Ukrainian original).

Ladyka instructed Jean to prepare to leave Abitibi and suggested that he attempt to return to the Basilian Order. The Basilians agreed to take him back, provided that he again go through the novitiate. Thus Jean left Abitibi, where he had spent almost six years and, in May, 1931, entered the Basilian novitiate in Mundare, Alberta.

Jean was never again to live at Sheptetski, although he visited the colony a few more times. He left the site with deep regret, for he had invested into it so many hopes and so much sweat and toil. He had dreamed of establishing at Sheptetski a monastery resembling that of the Trappists in Bosnia -- an oasis of peace and tranquillity, surrounded by green fields on which grazed a herd of cows, with a cheese factory operated by perhaps a dozen monks. In spite of his failure to realize that dream, he never lost his faith in the essential viability of the project. Decades later he still remained convinced that, had he had more financial assistance, a better group of monks and more help in selecting appropriate settlers, the monastery and colony would have thrived. When, in 1951, a group of Ukrainian Studites, who had escaped the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, arrived in Canada and settled near Woodstock, Ontario, Jean asserted that Sheptetski, had it been properly developed, would have been a more suitable location for them.

Although a handful of Ukrainian settlers hung on at Sheptetski after Jean's departure, by 1935 it was clear that the colony was not going to flourish. At that time, lands that had been reserved for Ukrainians were distributed to French-Canadian colonists from towns and cities, who were being sent into Abitibi by government officials in an attempt to solve the problem of massive urban unemployment during the Depression. The Sheptetski post office was renamed St. Georges-de-Lac-Castagnier, and a Roman Catholic mission was established by a group of Franciscan Fathers. The Franciscans took over Jean's monastery building for their own use, and built a stone church beside it.

During the spring of 1939, the monastery accidentally caught fire and was burned to the ground with all its contents, including the historical valuables which Jean had left in the building when he had abandoned the colony. Fortunately, one of the most valuable items was saved -- a book of Homilies by John Chrysostomous, which had been printed in 1624. The book eventually found its way to the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg.

Through the 1930s and 40s, the number of Ukrainian settlers at Lac Castagnier continued to dwindle. Colonists abandoned their inhospitable terrains for jobs in nearby mining centres, Val d'Or and Rouen-Noranda, or in larger cities like Montreal and Toronto. Even the French colonists, although provided with more assistance and services than the Ukrainians had been, proved unable to maintain themselves at Castagnier. After the Depression, they abandoned the land and the Franciscan mission was eventually closed.

Sixty years after Sheptetski was founded, only one Ukrainian was still living at the site -- Tony Kurello, who had married a French Canadian. The homesteads at the colony site, which had been cleared with such bitter toil, had almost all grown back to bush. All that remained was a small cemetery near the lake with a few stones bearing Ukrainian names: Mokry, Sup, Andrusyshyn. Perhaps the saddest aspect of the Sheptetski experiment was that so much human effort was expended for so little result. As stated by Vasyl Lesyk, who was born on the colony, then moved to Amos in 1949, where he eventually was elected mayor, "The people who remained at Sheptetski for a long time, like my parents, who stayed for almost twenty years, felt that they wasted their lives there. When they left they couldn't sell their land -- no one wanted to buy it. They had nothing to show for all those years of labour." [18]

[18] Interview, 16-17 July 1983.

Chapter 10

Pastoral Work: Montreal and Ottawa

During the years while Jean was away from Canada, then living in the relative isolation of Abitibi, the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada was undergoing significant changes. When Jean changed rite in 1910, there had been a desperate shortage of Ukrainian Catholic priests; now, in 1931, there were 350 parishes in the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Canada and one hundred priests to serve them. [1]

In terms of manpower, then, the position of the church was markedly better. What had not much improved, however, was the atmosphere surrounding Ukrainian religious life in Canada. Sectarian rivalry and hatred still prevailed. A new factor had come into play since 1918, when the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada was established. The Orthodox congregation was made up largely of former Catholics who had abandoned their traditional church because they were unhappy with its stand on such issues as clerical authority, registration of church property and 'foreign' intrusion into Ukrainian religious life; to them, the new church appeared to be more democratic and more 'truly Ukrainian.' Over the next few years, Ukrainian Orthodox parishes were formed in cities across Canada; in the process, splits and divisions occurred in many existing Catholic parishes, and the ill will that this engendered was to last throughout the period between the two world wars.

It was in these conditions that, on May 24, 1931, Jean, for the second time in his life, entered the novitiate of the Basilian Fathers. He was already forty-six years old, and he found it humiliating to be placed on the same footing as youths still not out of their teens. He believed that in being obliged to redo the novitiate, he was being shabbily treated by his former order, and he attributed this 'mistreatment' to 'anti-French' sentiments on the part of some of the Basilian leadership. Most likely, however, it was not his French origin that was at issue, but the fact that he had already once left the order, a move that put his stability in question.

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[1] Yuzyk, "Religious Life," p. 157.

One concession was, however, made to Jean's age and status -- he was required to spend only three, rather than the usual six, months as a postulant. He received his Basilian habit on August 28, 1931, and on October 14, 1932, pronounced his temporal vows, which he had taken previously in March, 1917, in Krekhiv.

Having passed through his novitiate, Jean was given an assignment as assistant pastor at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Montreal. Jean knew that parish well, for he had frequently visited it during his days at Sheptetski. He had even helped the pastor at that time, Father Mykhailo Hryhoriychuk, obtain for the parish a section of Montreal's large Catholic cemetery, Notre-Dame-des-Neiges on Mount Royal.

Just before Jean's appointment to Montreal, St. Michael's parish had passed into the care of the Basilian Fathers. It was the oldest Ukrainian parish in the city, founded in 1911, after the visit to the Montreal Eucharistic Congress of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. St. Michael's Church was built in 1917, on Iberville Street in east-central Montreal, an area in which many Ukrainian immigrants were settling because of its proximity to factories and other places of employment. From the start of its operations, the parish was mired in financial difficulties, as a result of which the church building remained for many years unfinished; these difficulties were exacerbated by the erection, in 1929, of an expensive church hall. The onset of the Depression plunged the parish into a state of near-bankruptcy: its debt had mounted to thirty-five thousand dollars and its properties stood in danger of being lost through litigation. It was in the hope that the Basilians might be able to extricate the parish from its financial woes that they were asked to take it over during the summer of 1932.

A small Basilian monastery was established next to the church; it had three inhabitants -- Father Josaphat Tymochko, the *ihumen*, Father Andriy Trukh and Father Jean. While Tymochko took care of the parish's mother-church, the other priests had charge of its daughter-congregations and missions in other parts of the city. The largest of these, administered by Trukh, was at Point St. Charles, an industrial district south of the city centre which had a very sizeable Ukrainian population. Because of the Point's distance from the mother-church -- a streetcar ride of forty minutes was required in each direction -- a separate mission had existed there since 1912. Just before the arrival of the Basilians, an independent parish, Holy Spirit, had been established in the Point, but no church had

yet been built and services were held in a Catholic school. Jean assisted Trukh at Point St. Charles and also had charge of the city-centre 'Slovak Mission' -- Ascension Parish, which brought together Ukrainian Catholics from Slovakia. That parish, too, still lacked a church and held its services in a school. Another mission that Jean helped establish was at Lachine, in the south-western part of the Island of Montreal, where the Ukrainian population was rapidly growing. Eventually, this mission was to emerge as the parish of St. Basil the Great.

As the priests were spread very thinly over the wide expanse of the Island of Montreal, they were kept constantly occupied. Apart from celebrating the liturgy at St. Michael's every day and at the mission points every Sunday, they had to attend to funerals and baptisms and take on added workloads at times of major holidays. How hard-pressed Jean was during this period is evident from this recollection of him by one of the early members of the Lachine parish, Osyp Diachyshyn:

> A liturgy is announced for 9 a.m. I hurry to the school hall where it is to take place. I come half an hour early, in order to meet with Father Jean and discuss some matters with him. There is terrible disorder in the hall. Father Jean seems at a loss: here he sweeps; there he arranges chairs; he prepares the altar. He greets me and apologizes that the has no time to talk, for it is Easter Week and somebody may want to come for confession. [2]

Because of the desperate financial state of St. Michael's parish, the Basilians lived very frugally: their diet consisted largely of porridge and milk; the monastery and church were poorly heated, for little money could be spared for fuel. For most of their parishioners, conditions were no better. The great majority of the six thousand or so Ukrainians living in Montreal were unskilled labourers; not surprisingly, during the Depression many found themselves unemployed.

The entries made into the domestic chronicle of the Basilian monastery by Father Tymochko shortly after his arrival in Montreal provide a graphic depiction of the situation. He wrote:

> I found 120 of our families on relief. Each week I was obliged to make out vouchers for them to use in the stores.... In July,

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[2] *Pamiatka zolotoho yuvileyu.*

> we gave out assistance in the sum of $900; in August, $1,033.50, as a few more families had come onto relief; in September, we had 140 families on assistance and $1,500.00 was spent; in December there were 183 families and $2,127.00 was given out. The times were growing ever worse. . . . [3]

The question of relief distribution brought with it added problems for the parish. Until mid-1933, when administration of the relief program was taken over by the city, assistance was administered through individual parishes. Since Catholic parishes paid a lower amount than non-Catholic ones, some members of St. Michael's congregation left for the greener pastures of Orthodox or Protestant churches. In addition, the Basilians' predecessor, Father Bala, had taken a rigid approach to the distribution of assistance, refusing to grant it to anyone who had not paid his parish dues or fulfilled his Easter obligation. This, too, caused some defections from the ranks. To prevent any further losses, the Basilians relaxed Bala's stringent conditions.

In addition to the humiliation of going on relief, unemployed Ukrainian immigrants had to contend with something even worse: the ever-present threat of deportation. Deporting single, unemployed people, rather than supporting them on relief, was a policy favoured in some circles at that time. And the image of Ukrainians in the public eye was not enhanced by the fact that many Ukrainians were taking part in communist-organized marches and protests. When people were threatened with deportation, the priests at St. Michael's were often called upon to intervene. Jean, in particular, was helpful in this regard, for, as a French-Canadian, he had no difficulty in dealing with the authorities. Jean's parishioners remember him as one always ready to help the distressed. Although he himself possessed almost nothing, he never failed to find fifty cents or a dollar to give to those who had even less.

Apart from ministering spiritually to their parishioners and serving as their advocates, the priests were called upon to take an active role in the social and organizational life of the Ukrainian Catholic community. Their efforts were directed largely at preventing any further defections to the Orthodox Church and countering the anti-religious influence of the

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[3] A. Hladylowycz, J. Pryszliak and J. Lewyckyj, eds., *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho yuvileyu khramu sv. arkhystratyha Mykhayila v Montreali* (Montreal, 1966), p. 29.

growing pro-communist organizations. Most of Jean's evenings were taken up with community work. A lover of church singing and of music in general, he established and conducted wind orchestras for youth at the Iberville, Point St. Charles and Ascension parishes; the orchestras put on concerts and sometimes came together to take part in special events, such as the annual Montreal St. Jean Baptiste parade. Jean also helped direct the St. Michael's choir which, in 1934, performed Ukrainian Christmas carols on English-language radio for the first time ever in Montreal. Later, Jean arranged for the choir to sing an annual liturgy in the chapel of the Montreal Grand Seminary. These appearances before French and English audiences helped make Ukrainians better known to the their Canadian fellow-citizens.

To the youngsters who came under Jean's tutelage as members of orchestras or pupils in his catechism classes, he proved a demanding taskmaster. He strove to imbue them with a sense of Ukrainian patriotism and pride; woe befell any child who dared speak English in his presence.

To provide a healthier environment for the children of the city-bound, Depression-ridden Ukrainian Catholics of Montreal, the Basilians conceived the notion of buying land outside the city on which a summer camp could be established. Through Jean's contacts in the French community, an ideal piece of property was found: 640 acres near St. Donat, in the Laurentian Mountains. In spite of the property's high price -- $6,500, a great deal in those days of the Depression -- it was decided to make the purchase in the name of St. Michael's parish. The site, the first such acquired by a Ukrainian community in Canada, was named 'Ukrayina.' Bingoes were organized to raise the money to erect the needed buildings, and, during the summer of 1939, the first parish summer camp was held.

The fact that Jean had taken part in the post-World-War-I liberation struggle in Ukraine gained him a good deal of respect from his adopted community. In spite of complaints by a few that he was a foreigner bent on Latinizing the Ukrainians, most people considered him an ardent Ukrainian patriot -- a view that was confirmed by the fiery sermons he gave during his Sunday services. Because of his past work for the Z.U.N.R., he was singled out on several occasions for special honours. In 1937-38, Danylo Skoropadsky, son of the deposed Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, paid a visit to Canada. His trip was sponsored by the Ukrainian pro-monarchist United Hetman Organization, which had a

considerable membership during the 1930s. When Skoropadsky came to Montreal, he was met at the train station by a guard of honour, one of the members of which was Jean. Although Jean was not a particular suporter of the pro-Hetman movement -- he had always admired Petliura, who had been responsible for deposing the Hetman -- he was prepared to give Skoropadsky a chance, for, as he often stated, any political system was acceptable to him if it could assure Ukrainian independence.

Shortly before Skoropadsky's visit, another eminent Ukrainian, General Mykola Kapustiansky, had come to the city, as a guest of the Ukrainian War Veterns' Association, of which Jean, as a former U.H.A. chaplain, was a member. During his visit, the General gave awards to some former participants of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation; among them was Jean. Osyp Diachyshyn recalled the event: "The audience was very much impressed when [Jean], wearing his black cassock, came onto the stage and stood before General Kapustiansky. After he was given his decoration, the two men embraced warmly. As a mark of respect, the entire audience rose to its feet." [4]

In December, 1938, Jean was named pastor of the Holy Spirit parish in Point St. Charles. The parish still had no church of its own. During Jean's tenure as pastor, the parishioners erected a church hall with funds raised by holding open-air bazaars.

Two years later, in the autumn of 1940, Jean took Tymochko's place as pastor of St. Michael's parish and ihumen of Montreal's Basilian monastery. On that occasion, the French-language paper, *La Patrie*, wrote: "The most extraordinary priest in Montreal [is] the pastor of the Ukrainian parish on Iberville Street . . . . the only person of our nationality to be a member of the order of the Basilians of the Eastern rite of the Roman Catholic Church . . . ." [5]

Jean's assistants at St. Michael's were Fathers Petro Kotovych, Pavlo Hewko, who had charge of the Holy Spirit parish, and Isidore Kohut, who served the Slovak Ascension parish. Another mission now under the Basilians' care was at Ville Emard, a working-class neighbourhood in south-western Montreal. That mission was eventually formed into the separate parish of St. Josaphat.

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[4] *Pamiatka zolotoho yuvileyu.*

[5] 13 October 1940.

Under the careful management of the Basilians, the financial health of St. Michael's parish had taken a definite turn for the better. By the time Jean was appointed pastor, the original parish debt of thirty-five thousand dollars had been reduced to seven thousand. A year later, the last of the mortgage on the church was paid off and the mortgage papers were ceremoniously burned during a banquet celebrating the feast of the parish's patron, St. Michael. Jean invited a number of dignitaries to that celebration, including his cousin, Joseph Jean, Solicitor-General of Canada, and the mayor of Montreal, Adhémar Raynault.

At about the time of Jean's appointment as pastor of St. Michael's parish, conditions of life for Ukrainians in Canada were undergoing a significant change. In September, 1939, world war again broke out. The unemployment that had plagued the community in the pre-war years disappeared almost overnight. However, new problems arose for the Ukrainians. The chief of these was concern about the fate of their homeland and a divided sense of loyalty. With the start of the new war, Ukrainians in Canada experienced both hope, that the conflict might help bring about the independence of their motherland, and fear, in particular after the Soviet takeover of Western Ukraine. Although few Ukrainians wavered in their loyalty to their adopted country, they were aware that Ukraine's interests and those of Canada did not necessarily coincide. This dichotomy became particulary marked after the Soviets' entrance into the conflict on the side of the Allies in 1941. At that point, any criticism of the Soviets -- whom nationalist Ukrainians regarded as their worst enemy -- came to be viewed as unpatriotic. Because of their known anti-Soviet sentiments, Ukrainians were regarded by Canadian authorities with suspicion, a feeling that was reinforced by the constant accusations from pro-Soviet groups in Canada that nationalist Ukrainians were 'pro-German' and 'fascists.' As a result, the Ukrainian community was watched very closely; its press was censored and its members were under constant pressure to play a visible part in the Canadian war effort.

Through the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, formed in 1940 to represent Ukrainian interests during the war, and other community organizations and institutions, Ukrainians were exhorted to give proof of their loyalty by enlisting in the armed forces, raising money for the Red Cross and purchasing Victory Bonds. The Church, too, played a role in encouraging these demonstrations of Canadian patriotism. Jean used whatever influence he had as a 'real' Canadian to promote a favourable view of Ukrainians. Osyp Diachyshyn mentions that on one occasion Jean travelled to Ottawa to help negotiate a reversal of the government's

ban on the American-Ukrainian newspaper, *Svoboda*.

After two years as pastor of St. Michael's, Jean was given a new posting as pastor of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic parish in Ottawa. A factor that was likely considered in this appointment was the usefulness of having in Ottawa a Ukrainian representative who would be able to understand the workings of the government and gain easy acceptance by the authorities as a loyal Canadian.

Before leaving Montreal, Jean arranged for an outdoor Ukrainian liturgy to be celebrated on Mount Royal, as part of the celebrations of the city's tri-centenary. Then he said goodbye to his Montreal parishioners, leaving them as a memento a chasuble he had received from the U.N.R. government when he was staying in Kamianets Podilskyi.

In mid-October, 1942, he took over the Ottawa parish. The parish had been in existence since 1911; the church of St. John the Baptist, at Balsam and Rochester Streets, had been built in 1918. The regular membership of the parish consisted of about thirty-five families, although attendance at services was augmented by Ukrainian civil and military personnel who were stationed in the nation's capital for the period of the war.

Jean found lodgings for himself in the residence of Ottawa Archbishop Alexandre Vachon and set immediately to work. He quickly acquired for his parish a section of the Roman Catholic Notre Dame cemetary. In July, 1943, he organized a celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the blessing of the church; the event was attended by Ukrainians from all around the city, Ukrainian-Canadian soldiers and representatives of the federal government.

If Jean was sent to Ottawa to 'show the flag' on behalf of Ukrainians and to keep an eye on official developments, he did his job as required. "I keep my mouth shut," he wrote to Bishop Ladyka, "and try as much as possible to demonstrate my loyalty to Canada. In our hall we even hold weekly gatherings for Canadian soldiers." [6]

A chronicler of the Ottawa Ukrainian Catholic parish, Ivan Teslia, tells us that

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[6] 23 September 1943 (Ukrainian original).

> While he was pastor in Ottawa, Father Jean . . . gave the Canadian government reliable information about Ukrainian affairs and defended Ukrainians against the attacks of communists . . . . Under his direction, the Ukrainian community carried out collections for the Canadian Red Cross and kept in touch with Ukrainian soldiers in the Canadian army, serving both overseas and within Canada." [7]

It was probably not by chance that a significant number of young men from St. John's parish signed up to serve in the armed forces.

Jean took advantage of his stay in Ottawa to pursue his interest in historical research. As much time as he could spare, he spent in the Public Archives sifting through documents; in particular, he was interested in materials relating to the history of his native county of Rimouski.

The issue that inevitably surfaced in every parish in which Jean served -- his 'foreign' background -- was raised by some in Ottawa as well. Father Volodymyr Shewchuk O.S.B.M., who later had charge of St. John's parish, stated that "Father Jean had a heavy cross to bear in Ottawa. When he arrived, some people said it was part of a plan to have the French take over the church. They said that this priest may speak Ukrainian, but the next one won't. However, Father Jean never complained about his treatment." [8]

But if Jean had his detractors, he had many champions. He was well liked by most people, for he worked on behalf of his parish with unquestionable devotion; he directed a children's choir, organized concerts and prudently husbanded the parish finances. However, he was not able to avoid controversy entirely. A major disagreement arose during his tenure over the issue of the church calendar. Shortly before he had come to Ottawa, the parish had switched from the traditional Ukrainian church calendar, the Julian calendar, to the Gregorian, which is followed in Western churches. The change had been made because many of the parishioners had Polish or French Roman Catholic spouses, and even some who did not wanted to keep in step with other Canadians in the celebration of church holidays. When Jean took over the parish, he maintained the new calendar -- which in any case, he personally

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[7] "Ukrayins'ka hromada v Ottavi," unpublished manuscript.

[8] Interview, 30 August 1983.

favoured -- although he celebrated liturgies on old-calendar holidays for those who preferred to follow the old tradition.

However, not long after Jean's arrival -- perhaps because the new, French pastor was perceived as a Latinizer -- some members of the parish revived discussion about the calendar; they called for a return to the Julian calendar and circulated a petitition to that effect. Jean did not want to heed their demand; he felt, as he explained to Bishop Ladyka, that the traditionalists were a minority, led by "Communists and Bukovynians and even, as I was told, a defrocked priest . . . ." To switch the calendar back, he believed, would only harm the parish, for "the use of the old calendar causes us irreparable losses, especially among our youth . . . ." [10]

However, in spite of Jean's resistance, the parishioners' petition was heeded by the church authorities. Jean was ordered by the new Ukrainian bishop in Toronto, Neil Savaryn, to return immediately to the Julian calendar. He had no choice but to obey, but his stubborn pride would not allow him to eat humble pie without at least demonstrating that he did not like the taste. Thus, on February 6, 1944, Jean announced from the pulpit the return to the old calendar, pointing out to the assembled crowd that "for the sake of peace, God sometimes demands of us great sacrifices . . . ."; he advised his parishioners to "accept the words of your bishop as the voice of God Himself . . . and obey in a manly fashion." [11]

Thus the issue was resolved, although only temporarily. A few years later, the calendar question resurfaced and the parish again went back to the Gregorian calendar. However, it was too late for Jean to feel any satisfaction, for by that time he was no longer in Ottawa.

In his effort to make Ukrainians and their church better known to Roman Catholics, Jean gave two lectures to theology students at the University of Ottawa. In February, 1944, he spoke about Archbishop Langevin and Ukrainian Catholics, and a year later he gave a lecture about the Ukrainian Catholic rite. By this time, the war was drawing to a close and the preoccupations of Canadian Ukrainians were again undergoing a change.

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[10] Jean to Mgr. H. Antoniutti, Apostolic Delegate, 1 February 1944 (French original).

[11] Jean to Ladyka, 11 February 1944 (Ukrainian original).

Chapter 11

Post-World-War-II Europe

As the Second World War drew to a close, Ukrainians in Canada were becoming aware of a massive and very urgent new problem: an enormous number of Ukrainians were turning up as refugees in Western Europe.

The six-year war had displaced more people from their homes than any other conflict in history; millions of people of various nationalities found themselves outside the borders of their motherlands. Among them were over two million Ukrainians. They included people who had voluntarily fled Soviet occupation, those who had been taken to Germany for forced labour, survivors of Nazi concentration camps and Red Army prisoners of war.

Some time before the end of the war, in November, 1943, the Western Powers had created an international agency, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.), in order to deal with the growing numbers of refugees in Western Europe. Mandated to provide Displaced Persons (D.P.s) with food, shelter and other emergency supplies, U.N.R.R.A. was primarily oriented at returning the refugees to their homelands as speedily as possible. This policy of repatriation was applied to Ukrainians as well, in particular as in the Yalta Agreement signed by the Western Allies with the U.S.S.R. in February, 1945, the West agreed to return to the Soviets all Soviet nationals found on its territories.

But difficulties in applying this policy to Ukrainian refugees soon became apparent. First of all, citizens of Western Ukraine, which was now under Soviet domination, did not fit the Yalta Agreement definition of Soviet nationals, for their lands had not formed part of the Soviet Union at the outbreak of war in 1939. Furthermore, very large numbers of Ukrainians -- from both Western and Eastern Ukraine -- were stubbornly resisting returning to their homeland, for they knew what awaited most returnees: arrest and deportation or execution. Their resistance to Allied policy gave rise to the practice of forced repatriation. Draconian measures were applied to compel unwilling people to return to Soviet

territory: they were deprived of food and access to refugee camps and herded at gunpoint onto transports going to the U.S.S.R. Soviet military units were allowed to enter Western refugee camps to conduct manhunts for their nationals. Forced repatriation was applied most vigorously just after the end of the war, but in some cases continued until 1947. Most threatened by this practice were Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine, who fitted the Yalta definition of Soviet nationals, although the Soviets also tried to claim Western Ukrainians. It was only when the British and American authorities realized that many refugees chose to commit suicide rather than return to their Soviet homeland that forced repatriation was suspended. By the time U.N.N.R.A. was replaced by the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.) in mid-1947, the official Allied policy concerning refugees was one of resettlement rather than repatriation. By that time, over one-and-a-half million Ukrainians had returned to the Soviet Union, either voluntarily or by force, and over two hundred thousand remained in D.P. camps, mainly in West Germany and Austria, hoping to be resettled in some Western country.

During these years, Ukrainians in Canada were preoccupied with helping their brethren in Europe. In the first phase of the post-war period, their major concern was to prevent forced repatriation; in the second phase, efforts were made to make possible the resettlement of Ukrainian refugees in Canada. To attain these goals, a great deal of lobbying was required. It was not an easy job, for in post-war Canada any public criticism of the former ally, the U.S.S.R., was still highly risky. To make matters worse, Canadian communist organizations were portraying anti-Soviet Ukrainian refugees as Nazi collaborators and war criminals who deserved to be sent home to face just punishment.

In order to assist Ukrainian refugees, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (U.C.C.) established the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, which worked in tandem with the Canadian Red Cross to provide food, clothing and other forms of relief to the D.P.s. The Ukrainian Catholic Church also created a refugee relief organization, the Ukrainian Catholic Committee to Aid Ukrainian Refugees. Similar committees were established by Ukrainians in the United States, the most notable being the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (U.U.A.R.C.).

The issue of the refugees was of great concern to the Basilian Order, for among the Ukrainian D.P.s in Europe were Basilian monks who had escaped the Soviet invasion of Western Ukraine. News about these monks was beginning to reach the motherhouse of the order at

Mundare. Should their brother-monks be repatriated to the Soviet Union, the Canadian Basilians realized, they would face mortal danger; thus, every effort had to be made to rescue them and bring them to safety. At the end of December, at the request of the *Protoihumen* of the American-Canadian Basilian Province, Father Benjamin Baranyk, Jean personally took a letter to the Director of Immigration in Ottawa, asking permission for two Basilian Fathers known to be in the West to enter the country. However, the request was turned down, for Canada was still closed to immigration. Similar petitions were made, a few months later, on behalf of twelve Basilian brothers who had turned up at a Carmelite Monastery at Bamberg, Germany, but these requests, too, went unheeded.

In March, 1945, Jean took part in a conference in Ottawa of Canadian and American Ukrainian community leaders. During the conference, the pressing problem of the refugees was discussed and a meeting was held with Prime Minister Mackenzie King, although no firm committment of assistance could be wrested from him at that time.

At the same time as the end of the war came the end of Jean's tenure as Ukrainian Catholic pastor in Ottawa. Two years earlier, he had written to Bishop Ladyka that, given the atmosphere engendered by the war, he was maintaining a low profile and keeping his mouth shut. This must have cost him quite an effort, for he was by nature outspoken and easily angered by injustice as he perceived it. By the spring of 1945, he was no longer able to contain himself. Enraged by the 'villainy,' as he put it, of the concessions granted by the West to Stalin at the Teheran and Yalta Conferences, Jean gave a lecture on April 12 at the French-language Canadian Institute in Ottawa, in which he warned of Stalin's treachery and opined that the Soviets should not be allowed to form part of the United Nations Organization, which was just in the process of being established. The lecture created quite a stir; some of those present congratulated Jean for his courage in tackling such a sensitive issue. However, the director of the institute was warned not to allow any more such performances to take place. Rumours began to circulate that Jean was going to be arrested. He was not, but, probably because of the controversy he had aroused, he was relieved of his post in Ottawa and recalled to Mundare.

In Mundare, Jean was given the position of prefect of Basilian scholastics and teacher of French. He was also assigned the ministry of four rural parishes: Krakow, Hilliard, Moskalyky and Warwick. In addition, he assisted *Protoihumen* Baranyk in the extensive correspondence

that was being carried on with government officials and other influential people in an effort to assist the refugee monks in Europe.

During this time, ever more fearful news was arriving at the monastery about the fate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia. Shortly before the end of the war, on November 1, 1944, the long-time spiritual leader of Galicia, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, had died. Not long afterwards, the Soviet authorities launched a campaign to eradicate Catholicism from Ukrainian territory. The remaining Catholic hierarchs -- among them, Nykyta Budka, the former bishop of Canada -- were all arrested. Pressure was put on priests and the local population to renounce Catholicism and accept Russian Orthodoxy. Priests who refused to comply with that demand were placed under arrest; some were killed. Basilian monasteries were closed down; their superiors were arrested. The final step was just about to come: in March, 1946, a government-orchestrated synod would take place in Lviv, at which a handful of Ukrainian Catholic priests would declare the Union of Brest null and void, and, in the name of all Galicians, accept Russian Orthodoxy. Officially, at least, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union was thus about to cease to exist.

It was not known in the West how many priests had managed to escape from Galicia, and little could be done to help them from a distance of thousands of miles. For that reason, Ukrainian Catholic authorities in Canada decided to send to Europe an envoy to glean information about the situation and provide whatever assistance he could. The obvious candidate for such a task was Jean, because of his knowledge of French and English and his extensive past experience in lobbying and diplomatic maneouvering. Thus, on December 25, 1945, when Jean returned to the Mundare monastery from a midnight liturgy at Krakow, he was instructed to pack and go to Winnipeg. There he met with Bishops Ladyka and Savaryn, who asked him to travel, first to London, where the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was about to begin, then to the continent, to look into the matter of refugee priests and Ukrainian refugees in general. For the purposes of his mission, he was designated a special delegate of the Ukrainian Catholic Committee to Aid Ukrainian Refugees.

Jean went to Ottawa, where he was given a memorandum prepared by the Committee on the subject of Ukrainian Displaced Persons in Europe; the memorandum was intended to be presented to the General Assembly. He met with his cousin, Solicitor-General Joseph Jean, who

gave him a letter of recommendation to the members of the Canadian delegation in London, Ministers Louis St. Laurent, Paul Martin and James Gardiner. In Quebec City, he received another letter of introduction to St. Laurent from Cardinal Villeneuve, who showed great sympathy for Jean's mission.

In mid-January, 1946, Jean boarded a plane -- for the first time in his much-travelled life -- to fly from Montreal to London. His mission was to be kept secret, lest any opponents of the Catholic Church try to impede it in any way. However, news about the trip leaked out and was even published in the Canadian-Ukrainian press; any hopes of acting in secret had to be abandoned.

In London, Jean prepared to do the same sort of lobbying he had engaged in during the early 1920s. His first move was to call on the Canadian delegation at its London hotel. He met with St. Laurent and the others on January 17 and handed them a copy of the "Memorandum." St. Laurent promised to distribute the document to all the fifty delegations at the General Assembly, and to do what he could on behalf of the refugees. He informed Jean that Mrs. Roosevelt was going to make a speech against forced repatriation at the United Nations, which, indeed, she did on February 12, and she won support for her resolution from the majority of the delegates.

Jean was not the only person in the British capital at that time concerned with the fate of Ukrainian refugees. In fact, the city was buzzing with activity on their behalf. A few months before Jean's arrival, Canadian and American Ukrainians had jointly established in London the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (C.U.R.B.). C.U.R.B.'s mandate was to gather information, lobby on behalf of Ukrainian refugees and coordinate the relief work done by different aid committees established on the continent and in North and South America. The agency was housed in the former clubhouse of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association and staffed mainly by Canadian Ukrainians who had served overseas with the armed forces. The director of the agency was Flight Lieutenant Bohdan Panchuk, an ex-R.C.A.F. intelligence officer. During his stay in London, Jean met with Captain Stanley Frolick, who was secretary-general of C.U.R.B. at that time. He learned that C.U.R.B. was also making a submission to the U.N. General Assembly, asking for a recognition of the right of asylum for Ukrainian refugees.

Before leaving London, Jean paid visits to the highest-ranking British Catholic officials, the Apostolic Delegate, William Godfrey, and Cardinal Griffin, to explain his mission and ask for their support. He then crossed the Channel and made his way to Paris, from where he was to begin his rescue work in Europe.

Jean quickly discovered that housing in post-war Paris was extremely hard to find; he was fortunate to obtain lodgings at the monastery of the Fraternité Sacerdotale, a religious order founded by a Canadian, Father Prevost, whom he had known in Quebec many years earlier. In a letter to *Protoihumen* Baranyk, Jean described his initial activities in the French capital:

> I have been in Paris for four days. I am running everywhere, to various ministries and to see different people, and thank God, things are going well. . . . I also tried to arrange for our Fathers to live in France until they are able to get passage on ships, and I succeeded . . . the priests with whom I am living . . . have a few homes outside of Paris and our Fathers will live there . . . . In London everyone advised me to get our priests and people out of Germany as quickly as possible, for it is dangerous for them to be there -- Russia can do whatever she wants. [1]

In subsequent letters to Canada, Jean asked that food parcels be sent, for in Paris there were great shortages of meat, cheese and butter. He also asked for second-hand Basilian habits and even Gillette Blue Blades, which, he noted, were unobtainable. He soon discovered that the best way to get anything done in Paris was to slip along with any request one of the commodities that held a high currency at the time -- cigarettes or soap. He had been given a carton of cigarettes for that purpose by the Canadian ambassador in Paris, Georges Vanier, and found them most useful in his dealings with French officials. However, as he was to discover, bribery was not advisable in interactions with Americans. When he tried to slip an official at the American Embassy a five-dollar bill along with a request for permission for a Ukrainian priest to enter the United States, he was severely reprimanded.

Jean quickly found one Ukrainian Basilian monk in Paris, Father Josaphat Markevych, and took him in to live at the monastery. At the

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[1] 27 January 1946 (Ukrainian original).

same time, he attempted to make contact with the Basilians in Germany and gain information about Ukrainian priests and nuns who were known to be in Poland. He also tried to assist Ukrainian lay refugees in Europe. On one occasion, for example, he wrote about them to the French Minister of Population Prigent, pointing out that some of the manpower France had lost as a result of the war could be replaced by Ukrainians D.P.s from Germany and Austria, who, he said, come from "a strong and healthy race" and "adapt easily to the climate and culture of their country of adoption." [2]

Jean wanted to travel to Germany, to meet personally with the Basilians there, but they were all in the American zone of occupation, which, he was told, only military personnel were allowed to enter. However, he was able to obtain permission to go to the French zone, and from there, had no difficulty slipping into the American. He found a handful of Basilians in Frankfurt. Among them was Father Marko Dyrda, a former chaplain of the Ukrainian resistance force, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.); he had only recently escaped from Galicia and come on foot through the Carpathian Mountains. Jean asked that all the Basilians in the American zone be gathered together in Frankfurt so that a week later he could take them to Paris; in the meantime, he intended to visit some of the camps in which Ukrainian refugees were staying. He did so, and in one of the camps met Andriy Livytsky, former Minister of External Affairs and now President-in-Exile of the U.N.R. Although the two had not seen eye-to-eye politically in the past, especially after the U.N.R.'s conclusion of a treaty with Poland, they embraced and kissed like long-lost friends. Upon his return to Frankfurt, Jean found that a week had not been sufficient time for the Basilians to get their affairs in order, so he left for Paris with only Father Dyrda. The others were to follow shortly.

Jean's next destination was Rome. There he met with members of the small local Ukrainian emigre community, including the widow of the pre-war Ukrainian nationalist leader in Galicia, Colonel Yevhen Konovalets. He also paid several visits to Bishop Ivan Buchko, the sole Ukrainian bishop living in Western Europe. Bishop Buchko had evaded the fate that had met most Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs at the hands of the Soviets, for he had spent the war years outside of Galicia, in Rome. After the war, Buchko was named Visitor Apostolic for Ukrainian Catholics

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[2] 7 February 1946 (French original).

in Western Europe. He was deeply concerned about the fate of Ukrainian refugees and had established a Ukrainian Relief Committee at St. Josaphat's College in Rome.

Jean had brought letters to Rome for Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, and he asked for an audience with the Cardinal, which he was granted for March 21. Jean did not have a high regard for the French-born Tisserant, for he viewed him -- some would say unjustifiably -- as a Russifier and Ukrainophobe. In the long-simmering dispute between 'traditionalists' and 'reformers' within the Ukrainian church, Tisserant supported the 'traditionalist' position, favouring emphasis on the 'pure Eastern' elements of Ukrainian liturgy and rite. A particular sore point for Jean was the project, begun a few years earlier by a commission headed by Tisserant, to reform and standardize the liturgy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The commission had ordered a cleansing of the rite of Latin influences, and had issued a new missal that Ukrainian priests were to use for celebrating the liturgy. To the western-minded Basilians, the reforms of the commission appeared as Russification, and their initial refusal to accept the new missal was causing the order much trouble with the Vatican. Jean, with the passion he applied to any cause he took on, fervently opposed the new missal, as well as any elements of church rite or practice that he viewed as 'Muscophile' or 'schismatic': the three-armed cross, the ikonstasis, the Julian calendar and married clergy.

Although Jean's audience with Tisserant was intended to give the Cardinal a report about Ukrainian Catholic refugee clergy and to ask the Cardinal to assist them, the conversation soon turned to the subject of the new missal. As Jean later reported to *Protoihumen* Baranyk, Tisserant accused the Basilians of disobedience because of their resistance to the missal. His ire roused by this attack on the honour of his order, Jean replied with his own accusation: by his 'pro-Russian,' Eastern orientation, the Cardinal had helped set the stage for the repudiation of the Union in Western Ukraine. "You laid the egg and Father Kostelnyk [3] sat on it until it hatched," Jean told the Cardinal, ". . . your hands are red from the blood of our martyrs and your soul is stained with the apostasy of millions of our Greek Catholics . . . ." [4] The discussion lasted for more

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[3] Havryil Kostelnyk, former professor at the Lviv Seminary and a leading proponent of the 'Eastern' tendency within the Ukrainian Catholic Church, spearheaded the 1946 synod in Lviv that repudiated the Union of Brest and 'reunited' Galicia with the Russian Orthodox Church.

[4] 26 March 1946 (Ukrainian original).

than half an hour and, needless to say, did not endear Jean to the Cardinal.

During his stay in Rome, Jean learned from Bishop Buchko about another group of Ukrainians who were facing the danger of repatriation to the Soviet Union -- some nine thousand Ukrainian soldiers, members of the Ukrainian Division 'Galicia' (Division 'Galizien'), who were being held in an internment camp near Rimini, Italy. The division had been formed in German-occupied Western Ukraine during the spring of 1943. Although it had been part of the German army, it had maintained a separate identity, and, at the demand of the Ukrainians, had been used exclusively in operations against the Soviets. The Ukrainians who had joined the Division had viewed it as an opportunity to fight the Soviets, whom they regarded as their greatest enemy, and hoped the formation would become the nucleus of a future independent Ukrainian army. In fact, at war's end, just before the Division surrendered to the Western Allies at Radstadt, Austria, its members reformed themselves into the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army. The men were accorded the status of Surrendered Enemy Personnel and interned in Italy while their war record was being investigated. In the meantime, the Soviets, depicting them as war criminals and Nazi collaborators, were demanding their repatriation. Bishop Buchko and various Ukrainian relief agencies were making representations on behalf of the Division with the Vatican and the Western Powers. It was considered vital to get the men out of Italy, for Britain was about to withdraw from that country and then, it was believed, the Italians might prove unable to resist Soviet pressure to hand over the Division members. Ukrainians hoped the Division would be moved to Britian, and that, eventually, the men might be allowed to emigrate to Canada and other countries. Jean wanted to visit the Division's camp in Rimini, but was not permitted to do so.

When he returned to France, Jean travelled with Father Dyrda to Lourdes. He celebrated a liturgy in the grotto to thank the Virgin Mary for the protection she had thus far afforded the refugee Basilians and to ask for her future blessing. On the way back to Paris, he visited some of his ancestral lands. He stopped at the town of Dax, where some of his mothers forebears had been born, and travelled to La Rochelle, the native city of Pierre, the first Jean to come to New France. He saw the church of St. Nicholas in which Pierre Jean had been baptized in 1643; he was saddened to learn that at the time of the French Revolution it had been desanctified and was now being used as a warehouse by a flour co-operative.

In Paris, Jean often visited Ambassador Vanier in the hope of securing permission to send the refugee Basilians to Canada. However, because of fears of the economic ramifications of an influx of refugees into Canada, the doors to immigration remained firmly shut. It was only in 1947 that the first trickle of D.P.s would be allowed to enter the country. Eventually, about thirty thousand Ukrainian refugees would make their home in Canada. In the meanwhile, the Basilians would have to look for refuge for their monks in lands which were already allowing at least some immigration -- the United States and certain countries in South America.

By now, Jean had three Basilian Fathers staying with him at the Fraternité Sacerdotale in Paris: Marko Dyrda, Ireney Nazarko and Josaphat Markevych. He had affidavits from American Basilians that would give the refugees entry into the United States; the main difficulty was to find passage for them across the ocean, for all passenger ships had been requisitioned for troops returning home from Europe. Finally, on June 6, the three monks were able to leave for New York on a small ship. Over the next nine months, Jean arranged for eight more transports of Basilian monks and some Basilian Sisters to the United States, Brazil and Argentina. All in all, nineteen monks, three students and five sisters were brought out of Europe with Jean's assistance. He was also able to help a group of fourteen Sisters Servants by finding them a home in Paris. He lodged them in an apartment on Taine Street that had been leased by the U.U.A.R.C., of which he had been named general manager and secretary in the French capital.

During his stay in Paris, Jean encountered someone he had not seen for twenty-eight years -- the Russian Orthodox Archbishop Evlogiy Georgievsky, who had been a 'guest' at the Buchach monastery in 1918. Evlogiy greeted him cordially and was happy to reminisce about their days in Buchach. A little later, Jean heard that Evlogiy had fallen ill, and, having been told that the Russian showed an interest in converting to Catholicism, went to visit him at his sickbed. He found that he had been misinformed, however, for Evlogiy remained staunchly Orthodox and a firm Russian patriot; to Jean's dismay, he even showed himself prepared to recognize the Russian Orthodox Patriarch in the U.S.S.R. for the sake of preserving Russian unity. Evlogiy died shortly after Jean's visit and was buried with much pomp at the Alexander Nevsky Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Paris.

In the autumn of 1946, the Paris post-war peace conference opened. The U.C.C. sent Jean a memorandum for presentation to the conference, which he personally carried to the Luxembourg Palace and handed to the Conference Secretariat. The memorandum stated that the Soviet Ukrainian delegation at the conference was not representative of the Ukrainian population and requested that the issue of the establishment of a free Ukrainian state be discussed at the meeting.

By the beginning of 1947, Jean's mission in Paris was accomplished. All the Basilians had either already been sent abroad, or were waiting for ships to take them across the ocean. Jean was ready for his next posting. He expected to be told to return to Canada; however, that was not what was about to happen.

Chapter 12

Mission and Church in Great Britain

At the end of February, 1947, Jean received a new assignment from the General Curia of the Basilian Order in Rome: he was to go to London, to take on the postition of pastor for the growing Ukrainian immigrant population in the British capital. It was an appropriate posting for a priest who was Canadian and possessed a good knowledge of English; it was also, Jean was informed, a mission that would require much prudence and tact. "While carrying out your duties as pastor," he was warned, "be sure to keep in mind two things: a) you must try to establish the best possible relations with Roman Catholic circles and b) you must absolutely avoid involvement with any political matters." [1] It was an honour for the Basilians to have one of their order named first Ukrainian pastor of the capital of the British Empire; should he succeed in his work, Jean was told, a Basilian monastery might be established there. However, should he cause any trouble, over the question of the reform of the rite or any other matter, the parish could be lost forever to the Basilian Order.

With these weighty warnings in his mind, Jean left Paris for London at the beginning of March. Upon his arrival in the British capital, he headed straight for the Westminster Roman Catholic Cathedral, where he celebrated a liturgy and had an audience with Cardinal Griffin. Griffin proved very hospitable and sympathetic and found Jean temporary lodgings at the London Oratory.

The Ukrainian community in Britain, which at the time of Jean's arrival numbered several thousand, had been established only a short time earlier. When Jean was first on English soil, in 1912, he saw no trace of any Ukrainians. The first Ukrainian community in the British Isles took root in Manchester, where a few Ukrainian families turned up during the early years of this century. The community did not grow, and no Ukrainian church was established. The Ukrainian faithful were visited

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[1] Pavlo Myskiv O.S.B.M. to Jean, 20 February 1947 (Ukrainian original).

occasionally by the French Vicar General for Greek Catholics in Western Europe, Mgr. Jacques Perridon, and Redemptorist priests from Belgium. Before the First World War, they had a visit from Metropolitan Sheptytsky. During the Second World War, Ukrainian-Canadian servicemen arriving on British shores found in Manchester "fifteen to twenty families living a very insular social and cultural life centered around their Ukrainian Social Club." [2] A very small Ukrainian emigre community had also grown up in London; among its members were Danylo Skoropadsky and his aide, Vladimir de Kostorovetz. During the 1930s, there had been a Ukrainian Bureau in London, headed by V. Kyselevsky (Kaye), who during wartime went to work for the Canadian government in Ottawa.

During the war, the Ukrainian population in Britain was swelled by the presence of Ukrainian-Canadian troops, who organized themselves into the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (U.C.S.A.). Regular church services were held at the U.C.S.A. premises on Sussex Gardens by the Ukrainian chaplains who had come overseas with the troops. However, the servicemen's stay in Britian was only temporary. The first large group of Ukrainians to take up long-term residence in Britain consisted of Ukrainian former members of the free Polish forces, which had fought in the war on the Allied side. A significant number of these men arrived in Britain at the end of the war with the Polish army of General Wladyslaw Anders. Anders' army had been formed in 1941 at the initiative of the British, who persuaded Stalin to allow members of the Polish army, whom the Soviets had taken prisoner after their invasion of Galicia in 1939, to be recruited by the Allies to help fight the Nazis. Among the volunteers for that force were several thousand Ukrainians. The Ukrainians in the Polish army had their own military chaplains, Fathers A. Hodys and S. Koliankivsky, who came to Britain with them. After the departure of the Canadian forces, at the end of 1945, those two chaplains were the only Ukrainian Catholic priests on British territory. They were not in a position, however, to provide spiritual care to the civilian population. Once they attained civilian status, the former soldiers of the Polish army began to organize their community. Shortly before Jean's arrival, they had formed the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (A.U.G.B.) and had purchased a building at Linden Gardens. The task that awaited Jean was to organize a religious life for these people, most of whom were Catholics, and to establish what would be

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[2] Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, ed. *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk* (Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983), p. 47.

the first Ukrainian Catholic parish in Britain.

Very quickly after his arrival in London, Jean made contact with the C.U.R.B. headquarters, around which the Ukrainian life of the city was centered. He was granted official status as part of the relief mission, and even given a room to live in on the C.U.R.B. premises. At this time, the C.U.R.B. was humming with activity, working in every possible way to help Ukrainian D.P.s on the continent, and Jean, as one who spoke English and French, had contacts with the Roman Catholic hierarchy and was a Canadian of unquestionable loyalty, proved to be a valuable helper. He wrote letters on behalf of refugees, signed the memoranda prepared by C.U.R.B. director Panchuk and assisted in the efforts to reunite families separated by the war. He also had his religious duties to attend to, visiting the sick, performing marriages, baptisms and funerals and holding weekly services at the temporary chapel erected in a large drawing room of the A.U.G.B. building.

Jean gave his Ukrainian Catholic mission in London the name of St. Theodore of Canterbury, after whom he also hoped to name a future Basilian monastery. He was attracted to this saint, for he perceived many similarities between Theodore's life and his own. Theodore was a Basilian monk who lived in Asia Minor during the seventh century. When he was sixty-six -- four years older than Jean was at this time -- he travelled to Britain to take up the post of Archbishop of Canterbury. "And now," Jean wrote in explanation to Cardinal Griffin, "after twelve-and-a-half centuries, a Basilian Father, a British Subject by birth, comes to London, not to be a British Metropolitan, but to take care of the thousands of Ukrainian-Catholics dispersed by the persecution of the Bolsheviks, and now Refugees in England." [3]

Shortly after Jean's arrival in London, the Ukrainian population in Britain saw another increase in its numbers; during the spring of 1947 began an influx into the country of E.V.W.s -- European Voluntary Workers. These were people recruited in European D.P. camps by the British Ministry of Labour in order to do the work that had been carried out during wartime by German prisoners-of-war. The P.O.W.s were now being sent back to Germany, but Britain still suffered a critical shortage

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[3] "Memorandum presented to his Eminence Cardinal Griffin of London for the foundation of a Basilian Monastery in London under the Protection of St. Theodore of Canterbury, H.E. Predecessor, by Reverend Father Josaphat Jean, of the same Basilian Order," 2 March 1947.

of manpower, particularly in the agricultural sector; for that reason, a fresh supply of labour was required. Among the incoming E.V.W.s were many Ukrainians, most of them people who had been taken to Germany during the war for forced labour.

The first transport of E.V.W.s, which included a group of Ukrainian women, arrived at the end of April; over the next few months, several thousand Ukrainians entered Britain in this way. The E.V.W.s were housed in camps and hostels all around the country and employed wherever labourers were needed. They were obliged to work for three years; after fulfilling that contract, they were to be be granted the same rights and freedom of movement as all other residents of Britain. As each group of new Ukrainian E.V.W.s arrived, it was met by representatives of the A.U.G.B., and, in most cases, by Jean. In order to be able to hold services for them in their camps and hostels, Jean applied to Bishop Buchko for an extension of his jurisdiction beyond the city of London; he also obtained permission from the British authorities to travel around the country. Thus he began a new routine: holding services in London on Sundays and spending weekdays visiting the camps of the E.V.W.s. It was a heavy work load for a man already in his sixties, but he fulfilled his duties with unflagging devotion. And he jealously guarded his preserve from the advances of any Protestant or Orthodox rivals who, he felt, might try to divert his faithful from the Catholic fold.

Bohdan Panhcuk, the director of the C.U.R.B., recalled Jean at this time as follows:

> He was tireless. Where he got his strength and where he found his resources was a mystery to us. Nothing was too difficult to tackle. No distance was too far to travel. No problem was beyond his interest. . . . he was always at the beck and call of each and everyone. . . . He organized the first visits to camps established in Britain, ministering to the sick and the needy and spreading moral and spiritual aid wherever he went. . . . Quiet, modest, deeply sincere and entirely devoted to the mission of aid, he was a father, a mother, a brother, a sister, and protector and guide, all in one. [4]

In May, 1947, the Ukrainian Catholic Parish of St. Theodore of Canterbury was formed and a church council elected. To collect funds

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[4] "Very Rev. Father Josaphat Jean, O.S.B.M., As I Knew Him," *Pamiatka zolotoho yuvileyu.*

for operating the parish, the council set dues for its members of one shilling per month. At about the same time, Jean heard from Bishop Buchko that the efforts to have the Ukrainian Division moved from Italy had proved successful; the men were about to be transferred to Britain. With them would come their chaplains, eight priests, who would eventually be able to help Jean in his work in Britain. In anticipation of the new priests' arrival, Buchko named Jean dean of the Ukrainian Catholic mission in Britain.

Jean was overjoyed to hear that the Division had been saved from the danger of repatriation, for he deeply admired its members, viewing them as courageous fighters for Ukraine; in his mind, the men of the Division were almost as brave as had been the troops of his own Galician Army. At the end of May, the transfer of the Division began. The men entered Britain as P.O.W.s and underwent screening at Sheffield; they were then placed in some twenty camps around England and Scotland, where they were put to work. Their entry into Britain aroused some opposition, in particular from leftist quarters. The issue was debated in the British parliament, where it was pointed out that thorough screening had revealed no evidence that the Division had been involved in any war crimes. Furthermore, since most of the men came from Western Ukraine, and were not Soviet citizens at the outbreak of war, there was no reason to send them to the U.S.S.R.

Jean received permission from the British Ministry of War to visit the camps of the Ukrainian P.O.W.s. He hoped that very soon at least some of their chaplains would be released and allowed to assist him, for the constant travelling he was obliged to do was taking its toll. He complained of rheumatism in his left shoulder, and, on at least one occasion, had to stop during a liturgy because he found himself on the verge of fainting. In addition, he feared that if there were not enough Catholic priests to care for the mushrooming Ukrainian Catholic population, missionaries of other denominations might lure the faithful away. Ideally, he would have liked a Canadian priest to assist him, someone who was able to speak English, but no Canadian Ukrainian could be spared. Fortunately, shortly after the Division's arrival, two chaplains, Fathers P. Diachyshyn and V. Dzioba were set free and placed at his disposal.

The C.U.R.B. and other Ukrainian agencies were striving to obtain permission for the Division P.O.W.s to emigrate to Canada or the United States once they were granted civilian status. However, it would not be

until 1950 that they would be allowed to enter Canada. In the meantime, efforts were made to enable those men who had interrupted their studies to resume them. No places could be found for them in British universities, however, for those institutions were already overcrowded with men returning from the war. In the hope of finding something in Ireland, Bishop Buchko sent Jean with letters to the Apostolic Nuncio in Dublin and the Primate of Northern Ireland in Armagh. And indeed, as a result of those interventions, four places with scholarships were granted to Ukrainians at University College in Galway, Republic of Ireland.

At the end of 1947, Bishop Buchko paid a visit to Britain. He travelled to the camps of the E.V.W.s and the P.O.W.s, and held a council in London with the nine Ukrainian Catholic priests who were by then working on British territory. The priests discussed the difficulties involved in providing adequate spiritual care to Ukrainians in Britain, who numbered over thirty thousand souls, most of them Catholic. There were now Ukrainian priests stationed on a full-time basis not only in London, but in Manchester, Edinburgh and Nottingham.

The need was becoming apparent for Ukrainian Catholics in London to have a church of their own. A special collection was launched to make possible the purchase of a building; within a short time, a thousand pounds came in. A large portion of the contribution came from the interned Division members, who wished to demonstrate their gratitude for the interventions that had been made on their behalf by the Vatican and other church authorities. Cardinal Griffin, who had been helping Jean materially ever since his arrival in Britain, also made a generous contribution to the fund.

Jean already had in mind a building for his Ukrainian church. He had begun his search for appropriate premises shortly after his arrival in London. The quest was not an easy one, for the city was very short of churches: many had been destroyed in wartime and had still not been rebuilt. Jean pored through advertisements in newspapers and travelled all over the city in search of a possible location. Finally, in the heart of the City of London, on a small, run-down street called Saffron Hill, he found an old stone church that appeared to be unused. Upon inquiring, he learned that the building had once been a Catholic church, but some fifty years earlier had been turned into a school. It had been very badly damaged during the war and would require extensive repairs. Since the building still belonged to the Catholic Church, Cardinal Griffin agreed to sell it to the Ukrainian parish for five thousand pounds and extended very favourable terms for the mortgage.

The first liturgy at the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Theodore of Canterbury [5] was celebrated on July 4, 1948. However, much repair work still remained to be done before the building could be considered truly fit for use. With the aid of his assistant priests and parishioners, Jean worked night and day to whip it into shape. The main floor of the church was restored and rooms were built on the second floor to provide lodgings for the priests and house the parish office. Lighting was installed. As there were no pews, Jean brought in a set of old chairs he had purchased at a theatre. Finally, in December, the church was ready for consecration by Bishop Buchko. Here is how the parish bulletin, "Nasha Tserkva," described that solemn event:

> December 5 was a great, happy and unforgettable day, the day of the consecration of the first Ukrainian Catholic Church on British soil. . . long before the start of the Episcopal Liturgy, Ukrainians from London and near and far environs packed the narrow streets beside the church building. Gradually, the little church fills up; it is too small to contain the whole crowd. Many invited guests arrive -- English, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Catholic and Orthodox. . . . Through prayers and songs, the humble little church comes alive; the hearts of the faithful meld into one . . . . After the liturgy, the Ukrainian community of London hosted a banquet . . . attended by Ukrainian and foreign invited guests . . . . [6]

Although the consecration was a happy event, Jean was unable truly to enjoy this fruit of his own labour. Storm clouds were hovering over his head, and they were of his own making. Although he had been warned explicitly by his Basilian superiors to avoid controversy, he had proved unable to do so. The affair of the missal still rankled him deeply, as did the leading role played by the Jesuit Order in the liturgical reform. At the beginning of November, 1948, the feisty Jean took a step that was to seal his fate in Britain: he wrote a letter to the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus in Rome. In that missive, he accused the Jesuits of having tried to "Polonize and Latinize us" in the past and of now Russifying the Ukrainian Catholic Church by introducing the new missal, which "gives us a dozen Russian saints . . . makes us pray for the Tsar . . . call our people . . . '*pravoslavni*' [Orthodox] . . . [and] puts on the first page of the liturgy the schismatic three-armed cross . . . ." He was compelled to

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[5] The name of the church was later changed to St. Mary the Protectress.

[6] March 1949, pp. 4-5.

write, he said, for these matters "cry to heaven for vengeance . . . I am sure that when you know about them, you will not allow your Jesuit Fathers to continue dipping their hands in the blood of our true martyrs for the Union with the Catholic Church." [7]

Incredibly, Jean seemed to expect that the Jesuit Superior-General would thank him for drawing attention to the faults of his order. Needless to say, however, the Jesuits were not amused by Jean's remarks and lost no time in launching a complaint with his Basilian superiors. A response to Jean's letter swiftly arrived from Rome, not from the Jesuits, but from the Basilian General Curia. Jean was reprimanded for continuing "to resist and to criticize the liturgical orders of the Apostolic See"; he was threatened with expulsion from the Basilian Order, and instructed to send an immediate retraction and apology to the Jesuit Superior-General; furthermore, he was told to prepare to give up his post as pastor of the London parish. [8]

In sending that provocative letter to the Jesuits, Jean had clearly overstepped his mark: the Basilians had had enough difficulties with the Vatican over liturgical reform; they were not prepared to brook any new trouble. Jean had no choice but to pen the required apology. He stayed in London for a few more months, until a formal transfer of the parish and the organization of a Ukrainian Catholic General Vicariate in Britain could be effected. As there was now a significant number of diocesan priests in Britain, the London parish passed out of the hands of the Basilians; the monastery project, too, had to be put aside.

After more than two years of tireless work in Britain, Jean was obliged to face the fact that he had, at least in part, failed in the mission that had been entrusted to him. It was not a pleasant realization, especially for a man of his proud and stubborn temperament. Sadly, Jean packed as many as he could of the books and other objects he had collected during his sojourns in Paris and London. On August 3, 1949, he set sail from Southampton for Canada on the ship 'Aquitania.'

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[7] 2 November 1948 (French original).

[8] Fathers Kinakh and Myskiv O.S.B.M. to Jean, 16 November 1948 (Ukrainian original).

Chapter 13

The Final Years

When Jean returned to Canada, he was sixty-four years old, an age at which many who have led far quieter lives think longingly of retirement. A descendant of hardy French-Canadian farmers, Jean was not yet ready to give up all activity, but the pace of his life did abate somewhat. For the next nine years, he divided his time between Mundare and Edmonton, serving as assistant pastor at St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Edmonton and the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Mundare, and as prefect of discipline for students at the Basilians' Mundare monastery. He never resigned himself to Cardinal Tisserant's reform of the rite, which was implemented in Ukrainian Catholic churches across Canada during the 1950s, but, while he continued to grumble about it, there was little he could do to stop it.

A writer who met Jean in Edmonton during this period characterized him in glowing terms:

> Although he is not as physically active now, Father Jean's days are still crowded as in the times of his travels. He still hears confessions, gives solace to the ill and the bereaved. . . . He is beloved by his parishioners, for his character and personality are such that few leave his presence without a lift of the heart. [1]

Jean's pastoral duties kept him in close touch with the Ukrainian community of Alberta. It fell to him to administer the last rites to two men who had played pivotal roles in the development of Ukrainian life in Canada: Vasyl Eleniak, one of the first two Ukrainians known to have settled in Canada, who died in Chipman, Alberta, in January, 1956, at the age of ninety-seven, and Antin Hlynka, M.P., a leading defender of post-war Ukrainian refugees. Hlynka died in Edmonton in April, 1957. Unwavering in his Ukrainian patriotism, Jean actively supported Ukrainian nationalist organizations, in particular Plast, the Ukrainian Scout movement, which brought him into contact with children and youth.

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[1] Iris Allan, "Father Jean's Treasure House," *Family Herald*, 1 January 1959.

On at least one occasion, he still proved useful to the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy as an envoy. In 1954, when the Canadian government was considering the appointment of a senator of Ukrainian origin, it requested advice on the matter from Ukrainian Catholic circles. Jean was asked to travel to Ottawa, to discuss the possible candidates with Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, whom he had known personally since his post-war travels to London. The final decision of the government proved to be one pleasing to Ukrainian Catholic authorities -- the candidate selected for the post was the Catholic activist, William Wall.

With more time on his hands than ever before, Jean was able to devote himself to the historical research he had always wanted to do. He spent much time sifting through archives in Edmonton, St. Albert and other places, searching for materials relating to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada and Ukrainian settlement in Canada. He delivered a number of lectures and wrote articles on such topics as the contributions made to the Ukrainian Catholic Church by Archbishop Langevin and by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the history of the Basilian Fathers in Canada and his own experiences in serving the cause of Ukrainian independence. Some of his articles, written in collaboration with Dr. Bohdan Kazymyra, were published as individual booklets of the Catholic Action Library in Edmonton. Jean also pursued his life-long interest in music, and even wrote some songs himself. In his correspondence of this period, he mentioned that he had begun work on his memoirs, something many people urged him to do, for, given the rich and varied life he had led, such a document was bound to be of historical value.

A significant event for Jean was the establishment of a museum alongside the monastery in Mundare. The museum project, begun in 1953, was directed by Father Orest Kupranec O.S.B.M., who wanted to see the rich store of historical valuables held by the Basilians organized, documented and made accessible to the public. A campaign was launched to raise money for the facilities needed to house the collection. A two-storey building, which had formerly served as the Basilian print shop, was restored for the purpose and fitted with display cases. Artifacts were brought to Mundare from monasteries across the country; many individuals also made donations. The collection soon grew to include thousands of items, which were organized into some twenty different categories: ancient manuscripts, ikons, documents, old currency, photographs, traditional Ukrainian handicrafts and others. Some of the most valuable objects donated to the new museum came from Jean, who had been collecting avidly since the time of his first sojourn in Galicia

before the First World War. Although many of his acquisitions had been lost because of his constant moves and travels, and others had found a place at the Basilian motherhouse in Rome, he was still able to contribute to the Mundare museum such valuable objects as a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Gospels, a fifteenth-century manuscript Triod of Brightweek, the Epistle printed in Lviv in 1574 by Ivan Fedoriv, the Ostrih Bible from 1580 and a twelfth-century ikon of St. Nicholas. The official blessing and opening of the Ukrainian Museum and Archives of the Basilian Fathers in Mundare took place on July 28, 1957. After the celebration of a liturgy and a ribbon-cutting ceremony, the museum building was blessed by Jean, who was named the museum's Honourary Director.

In this last stage of his very eventful life, Jean was finally able to rest a little on his laurels and collect tributes for the many services he had rendered the Ukrainian people. In March, 1955, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, celebrations were staged in his honour by the Ukrainian communities of Mundare and Edmonton. In each case, the festivities began with a solemn liturgy and concluded with a banquet and a concert. Large numbers of people took part in both celebrations and many dignitaries sent personal greetings to mark the event: Prime Minister St. Laurent, the Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, the Apostolic Delegate in Canada, Bishop Ivan Buchko, Archbishop Vasyl Ladyka and other Canadian hierarchs, Prince Danylo Skoropadsky, Stepan Vytvytsky, who now held the post of President-in-Exile of the U.N.R., and elected officials of both the federal and Alberta governments. While many of the speakers at the banquets and concerts stressed the sacrifices Jean had made for the sake of his adopted people, Jean himself dismissed the notion of sacrifice. In the speech he gave at the Mundare celebration, he declared, 'In truth, I do not deserve this, for in my seventy years I did not make any difficult sacrifice for Ukrainians. I have been working for Ukrainians for forty-six years and I have always experienced satisfaction, I have always known happiness. And to be happy is no sacrifice.'

Another honour was bestowed on Jean a few years later: in September, 1958, he was granted an honourary doctorate by the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, West Germany. Cited as the reason for the award was the dedication with which he had served the Ukrainian community in many different parts of the world.

In October, 1958, Jean went to live at the Basilian monastery in Vancouver; there he served as assistant pastor of the Basilian-run St. Mary's

parish. He had occasion at this time to revive an interest he had developed many years earlier. The rail link from the Peace Country to the Pacific Ocean, for which the settlers of the Peace had clamoured back in the 1920s, was finally being completed; the first train to travel from Vancouver to Peace River made its journey in November, 1958. Given this development, Jean again began to think of the possibility of settling hard-pressed Ukrainian farmers from Yugoslavia in the Peace Country. In December, 1958, he even wrote to the Ukrainian bishop in Krizevci, Havryil Bukatko, suggesting that such a transfer of population be organized. The project was never realized, however, for Bishop Bukatko replied that no significant emigration from Yugoslavia would be allowed by the government at that time.

However, if he could not bring Ukrainian settlers to the Peace Country, Jean was at least in a position to fulfill the promise he had made long before to return to the area by rail from the West coast. In the summer of 1959, he boarded a train in Vancouver and headed for the Peace Country. He had a relative in the region, his cousin, Father Joseph Jean, an Oblate missionary who was ministering to the Metis population around Paddle Prairie. Accompanied by Joseph, Jean travelled through the whole Peace region, visiting the French settlements at Falher and Marie-Reine and the Ukrainian mission at High Prairie. He went to look again at the site on the Smoky River where he had once considered erecting his Studite monastery. He found it a very moving experience to be there once again.

In August, 1960, Jean was feted once more, this time in his native parish of Saint-Fabien, Quebec, on the occasion of the golden anniversary of his ordination. Present at the event were his brother, Father Georges-David Jean, pastor of Saint-Eloi, two of his sisters and many other relatives and family friends. As he advanced in age, Jean's sight began to fail him. Early in 1961, he underwent an operation to remove cataracts from his eyes. Shortly after that, he went into retirement at Grimsby, in the fruit-growing region of the Niagara Peninsula, where the Basilians have a monastery and farm.

Upon his return to Eastern Canada, Jean was honoured once more by the Ukrainian community. In November, 1963, a celebration was staged for him in Montreal, where the Ukrainian Catholic population had always regarded him with particular affection. The event, intended to mark the golden jubilee of Jean's work for Ukrainians, drew an enthusiastic crowd of over nine hundred. The banquet was organized by the Ukrainian

Catholic Young Men's Association of Montreal, many members of which had been taught by Jean during the 1930s. The tribute paid to Jean was not limited to one evening of celebration; shortly after that event, the Association established in Jean's name a program of scholarships for deserving Ukrainian Catholic youth in Montreal. Every year since 1964, the Father Jean Foundation has been giving monetary awards to students of outstanding achievement at the high school, college and university levels. The first chairman of the Foundation's scholarship committee, Dr. S. E. Klemchuk, explained the motivation behind the project:

> The Ukrainian Catholic Young Men's Association includes several members who knew Father Jean, who lived and worked with him, and who have benefitted from his ceaseless devotion. These people did not want Father Jean to be one day forgotten; that would be a crime and an injustice. Thus, at their instigation, the Association instituted the Father Jean Foundation, to write his name indelibly in the history of Ukrainians in Canada. [2]

Every year after its awards ceremony, the Foundation publishes a souvenir booklet of that year's event. Although, because of his advanced age, Jean was unable to attend any of the award nights, each year until his death he contributed to the booklet a letter or article with which he included some historical photographs or documents.

In the final years of his retirement in Grimsby, Jean lived in relative seclusion. He maintained a voluminous correspondence with family members and those of his old friends who were still alive. He also continued to work on his memoirs. Even in his eighties he remained quite fit and strong, as he reported to his brother, Georges-David: "although I do not skip about like a young colt, neither do I drag my feet; and, with my cane, I still walk some good distances to see the picking of the apples, pears and grapes." [3]

In August, 1970, Jean quietly celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his ordination; he received only a few greetings from his closest relatives. In September, 1971, he marked, equally quietly, the sixtieth anniversary of his change of rite. He wrote on that occasion to Georges-David, "I am

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[2] Dr. S.E. Klemchuk, "L'oeuvre du Père Jean," *Pamiatka udilennia stypendiy Fundatsiyi im. vprep. o. Yo. Zhana, Ch.S.V.V.*, 1965.

[3] 3 October 1970 (French original).

happy that this date passed 'without fanfare,' although that change of rite was the culminating point of my life." [4]

Not long afterward, in October, 1971, Jean received the sad news that Georges-David had died. And he himself was not much longer for the world. On June 8, 1972, at the ripe age of eighty-seven, Jean died in Grimsby. His body was transported to Mundare for the funeral rites. During the service, which was attended by many people who had known and loved him, his coffin was draped with the blue-and-yellow flag of independent Ukraine; beside the coffin stood a guard of honour from Plast. The many medals and awards he had garnered over the years were laid out on display. After the service, his body was interred alongside those of his departed Basilian brothers.

Perhaps the most fitting epitaph for Father Jean can be found in the words spoken by the Rev. Mitred Vasyl Laba at the liturgy celebrated in Edmonton to mark Jean's seventieth birthday. Laba emphasized Jean's ceaseless devotion to his adopted Ukrainian people by citing the Old Testament Book of Ruth (16:1):

> "I will not abandon you. Wherever you go, there will I go too; wherever you settle, there will I settle too; your God will be my God and your people will be my people." . . . As he trod along the tortured path travelled by the Ukrainian people, a path mired with failure, suffering and humiliation, Father Josaphat Jean never lost heart. In all the sorrows and sufferings experienced by the Ukrainian people and their Church, Father Josaphat Jean remained faithful to his decision: "I will not abandon you; wherever you go, there will I go too . . . ." [5]

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[4] 7 September 1971 (French original).

[5] Text published in *Ukrayins'ki visti*, 21 March 1955.

Appendix: Settlers at Sheptetski

According to the records at the provincial government offices in Amos, Quebec, lots were registered at the Sheptetski colony site between 1926 and 1935 in the following names:

Sylvestre Lukaszuck	17/5/32 - 22/1/36
Sylvestre Lukaszuk	26/11/29 - 16/1/36
Joseph Bojko	7/11/30 - 12/6/36
Peter Turok	17/2/32 - 18/7/35
Fedor Boyko	26/11/29 - 18/7/35
John Danyluk	22/9/30 - 4/11/35
Sister St. Joseph	18/11/29 - 6/12/35
Fedor Antoniuk	18/11/29 - 16/12/35
Clement Korpacz	20/7/31 - 25/5/35
Fedor Antoniuk	26/11/29 - 14/3/35
Wasyl Ostaszewsky	30/8/28 - 2/7/36
Philippe Andruszczyszyn	12/7/38 - 27/10/42 11/1/43
Philippe Andruszczyszyn	30/8/28
William Borchevoski	13/9/26 - 20/12/32
Mathevo Borchevoski	13/9/26 - 15/9/28 (15/9/28 - 15/1/38 owned by Jean)
Soeur St. Basile	18/11/29 - 29/12/37
Fedor Boyko	19/4/32 - 18/10/34
Myroslav Kurylo	5/9/35
Theodore Kurylo	11/9/35
Tony Kurello	30/9/35
Wasyl Mokriy	20/10/29

Nicholas Lesyk	18/8/30
Isidore Sup	22/10/29
Lazare Sup	25/10/29 (later owned by Pavlo Sup and Pierre Sup)
Harry Sup	22/10/29 - 18/7/35
Dimitri Sup	25/10/29 - 21/5/34 (later owned by (2 lots) Harry Storosuk)
Stanislas Sup	25/10/29 - 18/7/35
Pierre Sup	25/10/29 - 18/7/35
Monastère de St. Théodore le Studite en Abitibi (3 lots)	18/12/26 - 25/10/35
Steve Holub	

In her list of the people she remembered living in the colony, [1] Mrs. Natalia Andrusyshyn had a few additional names. Perhaps these families and individuals did not remain at the site for long enough to register land in their names. The additional names in Mrs. Andrusyshyn's list are: Denys Leschuk and wife, Antin Kochan, Mykhailo Gonta and family, Pavlo Kosar and family, Petro Mychka and family, Mykhailo Hilchuk and family, Teodor Storozhko and family, Ivan Novosad, Andriy Kushnir, Ivan Dlugopolsky, Nykola Haleta, Stefan Ciopa, two Polish families -- Olender (surname unknown) and Jakowski (first name unknown), and Fathers Fyk and Siry.

[1] See Jaroslav Rozumnyj, "One Immigrant's Saga," pp 69-70.

Chronology of Jean's Life

19 March 1885	Born in Saint-Fabien, Quebec.
Fall 1901	Enters Minor Seminary in Rimouski.
17 November 1901	Hears Bishop Légal speak about Ukrainians in Rimouski Cathedral.
Fall 1907	Enters Grand Seminary in Rimouski.
11 November 1908	Receives pamphlet by Father Achille Delaere C.ss.R., "Attempts at Schism and Heresy."
13 November 1908	Writes to Archbishop Langevin in St. Boniface, Manitoba, declaring desire to become a 'Ruthenian missionary.'
Fall 1909	Enters Grand Seminary in Montreal.
14 August 1910	Ordained priest in Rimouski Cathedral by Bishop Blais.
September 1910	Meets Galician Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky during Montreal Eucharistic Congress.
23 September 1910	Leaves Canada for Galicia with Fathers Joseph Gagnon and Arthur Desmarais.
6 September 1911	Changes to Ukrainian rite at Basilian monastery in Krekhiv.
November 1911	Goes to stay at Lavriv Basilian monastery. Under the influence of Sheptytsky, develops interest in collecting historical artifacts.
June 1912	Leaves Galicia for Canada.
Fall 1912	Directs Missionary School at Sifton, Manitoba.
December 1912	New Ukrainian Catholic Bishop for Canada, Nykyta Budka, arrives.
October 1913	Jean goes to Galicia for the second time.
12 November 1913	Enters Basilian novitiate in Krekhiv.
Summer 1914	World War I breaks out.
August 1914	Jean moves to Lavriv. Pastor of eight parishes.
4 March 1917	Makes temporal vows as Basilian at Krekhiv.
March 1917	Assistant pastor in Zhovkva.
March 1917	'February' Revolution breaks out in Russia. Ukrainians in Eastern Ukraine take steps towards independence, eventually leading to proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic (U.N.R.).
1 September 1918	Jean temporary director of Basilian boarding school for boys in Buchach.

Fall 1918	World War I draws to a close. Preparations for declaration of Western Ukrainian independence. Establishment of Western Ukrainian National Republic (Z.U.N.R.).
1 November 1918	Ukrainian takeover of Lviv. Immediate conflicts with Poles. War between the Z.U.N.R. and Poland until early summer 1919.
December 1918	Jean librarian in Buchach monastery.
December 1918	Russian bishops under house arrest at Buchach monastery.
30 May 1919	Jean asked to do translation for the Z.U.N.R. government. Beginning of career as secretary and translator for the Z.U.N.R.
16 July 1919	Crosses the Zbruch River into Eastern Ukraine. Works in Kamianets Podilskyi for the Z.U.N.R. and the U.N.R.
end August 1919	Goes to Warsaw with U.N.R.-Z.U.N.R. diplomatic mission.
2 December 1919	Treaty between the U.N.R. and Poland. Z.U.N.R. delegates leave Warsaw. Jean stays behind.
August 1920	Soviet advance on Warsaw. U.N.R. mission evacuated to Tarnow.
end August 1920	Jean goes to Vienna to work for the Z.U.N.R. government-in-exile.
September 1920	Travels to Riga, Latvia for Polish-Soviet peace talks.
November 1920	Attends first session of the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. Also attends sessions of 1921 and 1922.
February 1921	Travels to London to lobby for the Z.U.N.R.
October 1921	Provides reliquary for relics of St. Josaphat in St. Barbara's Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Vienna.
February 1922	Travels to Paris and London to lobby.
April 1922	Travels to Genoa for international economic conference. Goes to Rome for an audience with Pope Pius XI.
14 March 1923	Decision of Council of Ambassadors in Paris to give Eastern Galicia to Poland. Shortly afterward Jean's work for the Z.U.N.R. ends.
6 August 1923	Goes to Bosnia as Studite monk.
November 1923	Named pastor of Kamenica, Nova and Stara Dubrava.

May 1924	Arrested by Bosnian authorities. Released and returns to Kamenica.
September 1924	Blessing of new church Jean builds at Kamenica monastery.
November 1924	Studites arrive from Galicia to Kamenica monastery.
end December 1924	Studites arrested and expelled from Bosnia. Jean named pastor in Slavonia.
March 1925	Leaves Bosnia for Canada.
July 1925	Goes to live in Abitibi, Quebec, where he intends to build a Studite monastery and start a Ukrainian colony.
February 1926	Three Studite brothers from Galicia join him.
Fall 1926	Monastery project fails.
1928	Settlers begin to come to Sheptetski colony.
May 1931	Jean re-enters Basilian novitiate, at Mundare, Alberta.
October 1932	Professes temporal vows for the second time.
Fall 1932	Posted to Basilian monastery at St. Michael's parish in Montreal. Assists at various parishes and missions -- Point St. Charles, Slovak Ascension parish, Lachine, Ville Emard.
1935	Quebec government sends French settlers to the Sheptetski site. Name of post office changed to St-Georges-de-Lac-Castagnier.
December 1938	Jean appointed pastor of Holy Spirit parish in Point St. Charles.
September 1939	World War II breaks out.
October 1940	Appointed pastor of St. Michael's parish, ihumen of Montreal Basilian monastery.
October 1942	Appointed pastor of St. John the Baptist parish in Ottawa. beginning 1944 Conflicts in the parish over calendar.
April 1945	Jean gives anti-Soviet lecture in Ottawa. Transferred to Mundare.
January 1946	Sent to Europe to investigate situation of refugee Basilian monks. In London, meets with Canadian delegation to first session of General Assembly of the United Nations.
end January 1946	Goes to live in Paris.
March 1946	Travels to Germany. Meets with monks and visits refugee camps.

March 1946	Travels to Rome Meets with Cardinal Tisserant.
June 1946	Sends first transport of monks to North America. Eight other transports of monks and nuns go to North and South America over next few months.
February 1947	Jean sent to London to found first Ukrainian Catholic parish there
April 1947	Meets first transport of Ukrainian European Voluntary Workers coming to Britain from refugee camps in Europe
May 1947	Ukrainian Catholic parish of St Theodore of Canterbury formed in London
June 1947	Jean visits newly-arrived Ukrainian Division 'Galicia' in Sheffield
4 July 1948	First liturgy held in Church of St Theodore of Canterbury, Saffron Hill, London
November 1948	Jean writes critical letter to Superior-General of the Society of Jesus
December 1948	Blessing of Church of St Theodore of Canterbury by Bishop Ivan Buchko
August 1949	Jean leaves Britain for Canada
1950-58	Assistant pastor at Edmonton, Mundare, Prefect of Discipline at Mundare monastery
March 1955	Celebrations in Edmonton, Mundare, of Jean's 70th birthday.
July 1957	Blessing of the Ukrainian Museum and Archives of the Basilian Fathers in Mundare, of which Jean named Honourary Director
September 1958	Receives honourary doctorate from Ukrainian Free University in Munich
October 1958	Transferred to Basilian monastery in Vancouver; assistant pastor at St Mary's Church
July 1959	Travels to Peace River Country
1961	Retires at Basilian monastery in Grimsby, Ontario
November 1963	Celebration in Jean's honour in Montreal As a result, Father Jean Foundation established to give scholarships to Ukrainian Catholic students.
8 June 1972	Jean dies in Grimsby His body is taken for burial to Mundare

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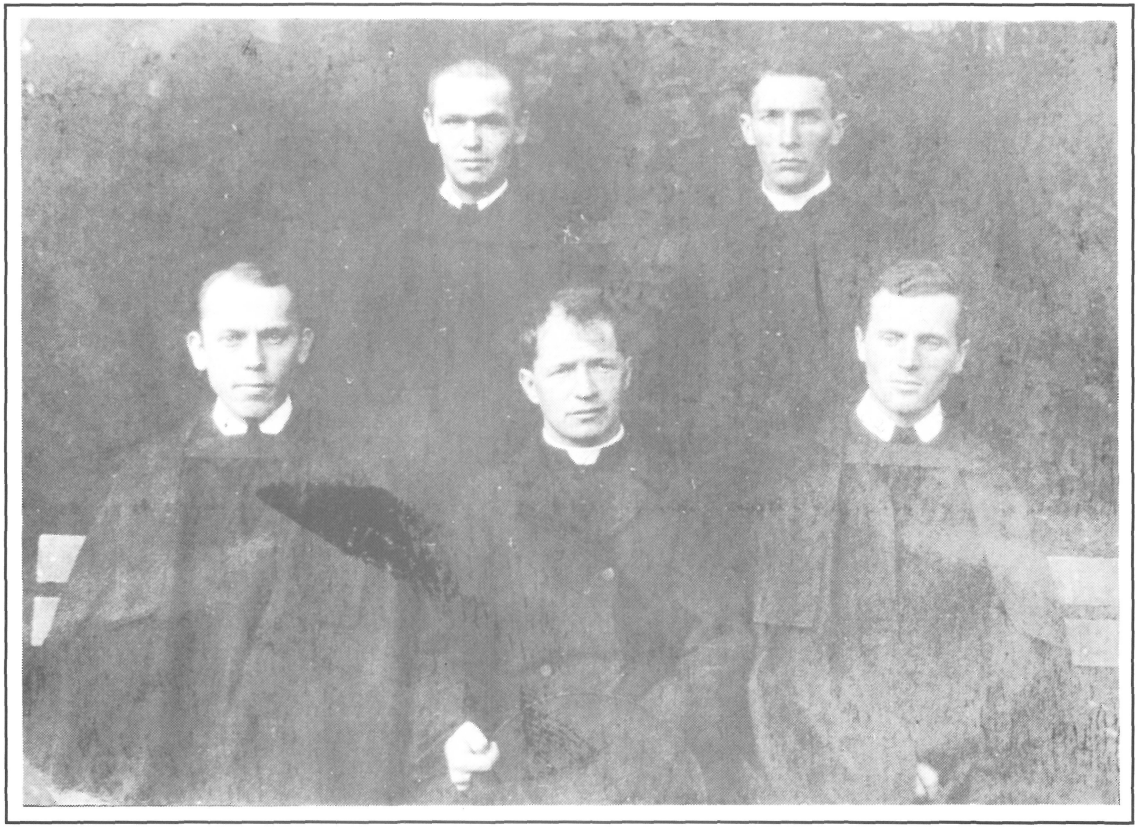


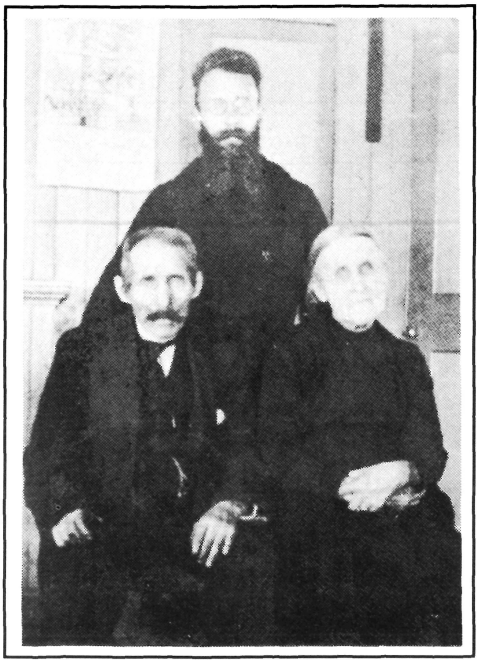
Grand Seminary, Montreal, 1910: Jean (back, right); Claveloux (front, centre); Ladyka (front, right).

All that remains of the Sheptetski colony -- cemetery with Ukrainian names on gravestones. Photo by Martin Coles.

Jean (second from right) with Ukrainian community leaders, Montreal, 1940.

↑
Roman Slobodian,
Treasurer, Ukrainian
National Ass'n, Inc.
Jersey City, N.J.

↑
Dr. Luke Myshuha,
Editor, "Svoboda"
Ukrainian Daily,
Jersey City, N.J.



(left)

Jean with his parents, St. Fabien, Quebec, 1925.

(bottom)

Colonists building a house at Sheptetski, ca. 1929.

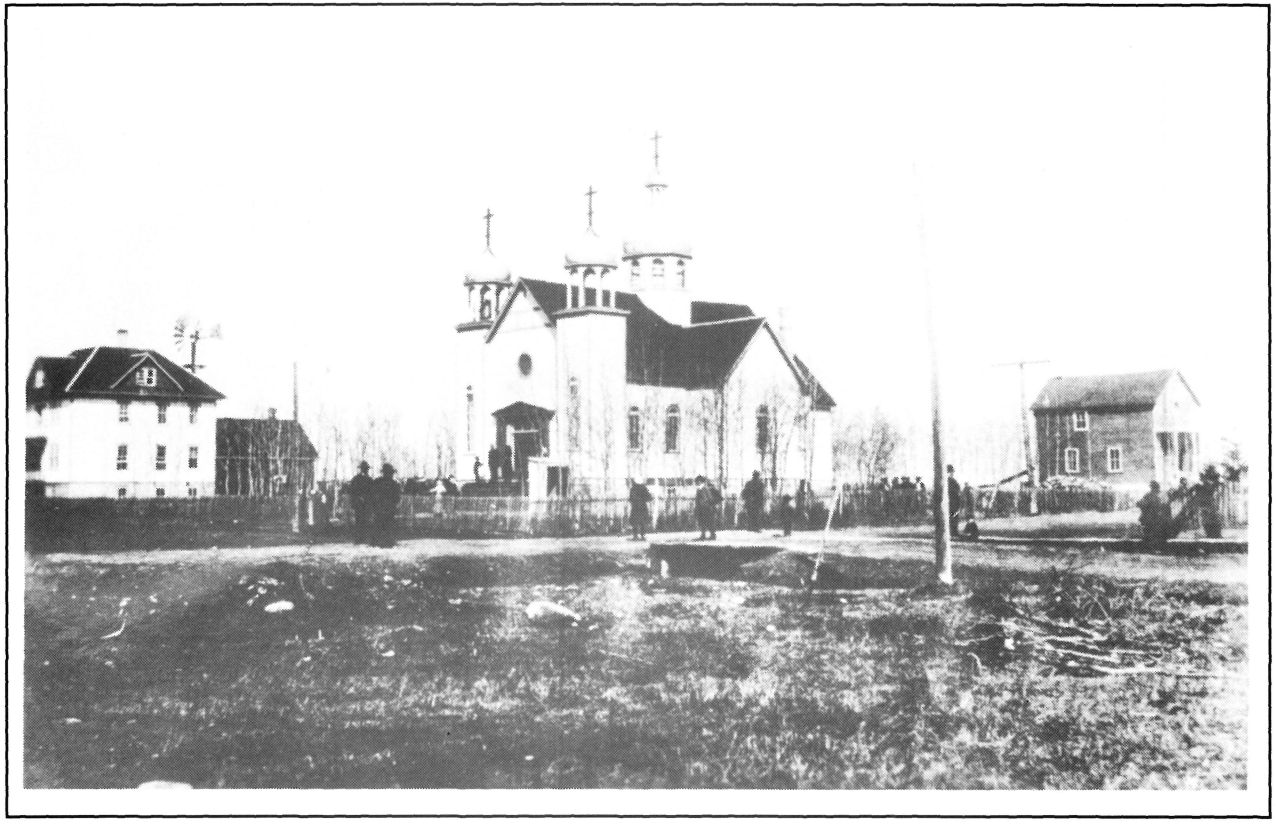
Jean (left) and settlers in front of monastery building, Sheptetski, 1935.

Russian bishops, "guests" at Buchach Basilian monastery, December, 1918. Front row: Evlogiy Georgievsky (centre left); Antoniy Khrapovitsky (centre); Nikodim (centre right); back row: Jean (third from left).

U.N.R.-Z.U.N.R. Extraordinary Mission in Warsaw, Poland, December, 1919. Front row: Head of mission, Antin Horbachevsky (centre), Jean (centre left), Stepan Vytvytsky, Z.U.N.R. Minister of External Affairs (centre right).

Jean in his room at Sifton school residence, 1912.

Bishop Nykyta Budka (seated, centre) with priests and seminarians, 1913.

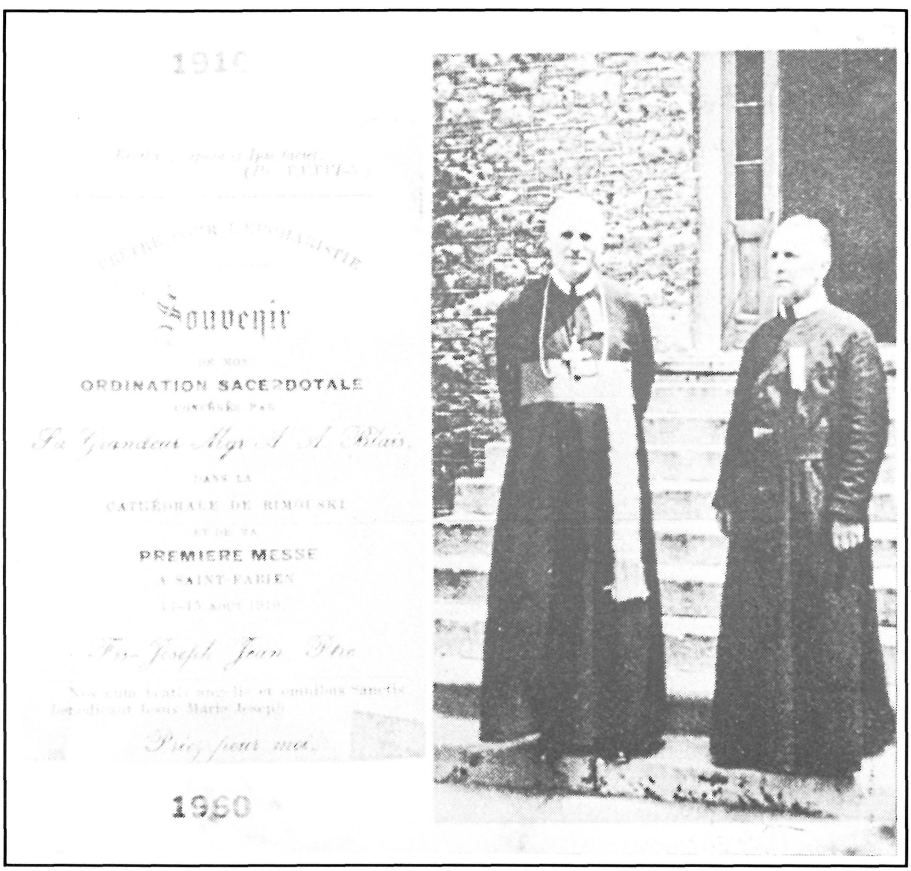


Sifton, 1912-13: Missionary School (left); church (centre); Sisters' convent (right).

Students at Sifton school with Jean (left) and Sabourin (right), November, 1912.

Jean (back, centre) at "Sich" concert in honour of Markian Shashkevych, Lavriv, 1911.

Religious procession in Zhovkva, Galicia, 1912.



50th anniversary of Jean's ordination, 1960: Bishop Ladyka (left) and Jean (right).

a turbulent life

ZONIA KEYWAN