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Bytom

THE CONCERN OF ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY, THE METROPOLITAN BISHOP, ABOUT UKRAINIAN EMIGRANTS IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

1. The history of Ruthenian emigration to North and South America

In the last three decades before the outbreak of World War I, a fair number of Galician Ruthenians emigrated to North America, namely the USA and Canada, for economic reasons¹. It was earlier, however, that the Ruthenians from the Podkarpacie region, who around 1879-1880 reached the USA, went overseas². According to the statistical data published by the Eastern Congregation, there were 553,100 Ruthenians in the USA in 1932, served by 231 priests. They had 228 churches or chapels at their disposal. In the following years, the Ruthenian population in the United States was growing systematically³. However, the first settlers began to arrive in Canada in the years 1888-1890. In 1910, the indicated group consisted of about 120-150 thousand people⁴.

South America attracted the Ruthenians as well. It was because entire areas of land in Brazil and Argentina were unpopulated, covered with virgin forests⁵. The first settlers arrived in Brazil in 1891⁶, however, it was inhabited by only a few families until 1895. In September 1895, on the other hand, larger groups arrived, followed by even larger ones in 1896-1897⁷. The aforementioned people came there in the hope of buying cheap land that they intended to cultivate. Although the first newcomers lived in very difficult conditions, others were not discouraged to look for a better life overseas⁸.

¹ С. Баран, *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Життя і Діяльність*, München 1947, p. 40.

² С. Korolevskij, *Metropolitane Andre Szeptyckij 1865-1944*, Rome 1964, p. 85.

³ Ibidem, p. 99.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 110.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 113.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 110.

⁸ *Звіт митр. Андрея Шептицького до Конгрегації Східних Церков про канонічну візитацію українських поселень Бразилії та Аргентини*, 24 IV 1923, in: *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький, Життя і Діяльність. Документи і матеріали 1899-1944*, vol. 2: *Церква і суспільне питання*, к. 2: *Листування*, ред. А. Кравчук, Львів 1999, p. 733.

The first group of settlers arrived in Argentina in 1897⁹. The emigrants were accompanied by a small group of Greek Catholic priests¹⁰.

At the end of 1884, the Russian colony from Pennsylvania asked Sylvester Sembratovych, the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Bishop of Lviv, to send over a Greek Catholic priest. Consequently, in 1885, Fr Ivan Wolanski arrived, who was the first Greek Catholic priest in the USA and generally in the Americas. However, he was married, so the Latin hierarchy was against him. Nevertheless, he was not discouraged and celebrated religious ceremonies in the rented hall. In 1886, he bought a small church under the invocation of St. Michael. Unfortunately, due to an unsuccessful economic venture, he had to leave the US after less than a year of work¹¹.

The first Greek Catholic priest working in Canada was Slovak D. Poliwka who came from the USA¹². The first Greek Catholic priest working in South America was Fr. Sylwester Kizyma, who came to Brazil in 1897. However, the Bishop of Curitiba, José de Camargo Barros, did not want to accept him because the Polish priests had told him that the Ruthenians did not need priests of their rite. He demanded that Fr. Kizyma leave Brazil immediately. Only after the intervention of the nuncio did he receive permission for pastoral activities¹³. Moreover, in 1909, a priest started his pastoral ministry among the Ruthenians living in Argentina¹⁴. The aforementioned work was undertaken by a Basilian monk Fr Klemens Brzuchowski¹⁵.

The clergy were then under the jurisdiction of the local Latin bishops. In the USA they were mainly of Irish origin, in Canada they came from France, in Brazil from Portugal whereas in Argentina and other South American countries, their origin was Spanish. The indicated hierarchs, however, were acquainted neither with the history nor the needs and customs of the Greek Catholic Church, thus they took umbrage at married priests. Against this background, there were conflicts between the Greek Catholic clergy and the Latin bishops, which in some cases resulted in the conversion of some of the faithful of the Greek Catholic Church to Eastern Orthodoxy. Thus, an urgent need arose to establish an own Greco-Catholic hierarchical and Orthodox Church organisation. However, the task was not easy and called for a lot of time and work¹⁶.

Guided by pastoral care for the spiritual well-being of the first emigrants, the Metropolitan, Andrey Sheptytsky, came to North America in 1910. With his arrival he not only strengthened the faith of the emigrants and their pastors, who worked with great dedication, overcoming many obstacles, but also raised the prestige of the Greek Catholic Church¹⁷. The second visit paid by the Metropolitan to the faithful overseas took place between 1921 and 1922 when he made a pastoral visit to both Americas¹⁸.

⁹ C. Korolevskij, op.cit., p. 115.

¹⁰ C. Баран, op.cit. pp. 40-41.

¹¹ C. Korolevskij, op.cit., pp. 85-87.

¹² Ibidem, p. 99.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 110.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 115.

¹⁵ *Звіт*, p. 740.

¹⁶ C. Баран, op.cit., pp. 40-41.

¹⁷ М. Хом'як, *Історична постать*, in: *Про великого митрополита Андрія*, Yorkton, Sask 1961, p. 31.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

2. The socio-religious problems of Greek Catholic communities in North America at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries

As early as 1900, Sheptytsky intended to visit the Greek Catholic communities in Canada but because of his many duties he could not do so. He also found it difficult to meet the emigrants' request to send over the priests, as there were not enough unmarried clergy in the Lviv metropolis.

To learn about the religious situation of the Ukrainians in Canada, he sent his secretary there, Father Vasily Zoldak. It was through him that he sent a pastoral letter¹⁹, in which he asked the faithful living in Canada not to lose the faith of their ancestors because without it they would not achieve eternal salvation. He exhorted them not to let it be ripped from their hearts. At the same time he asked them to welcome Fr. Vasily with an open heart and to listen to his teachings. Recognising the fact that within the faithful communities living in Canada, it was rare to find a priest, he called on the faithful to gather for common prayers and pious reading. At the same time, he warned them to beware of the sin that denoted death to the soul. He also warned against false prophets²⁰.

One of the most urgent tasks that awaited Andrey Sheptytsky overseas was the establishment of the structures of the Greek Catholic Church in America: separate apostolic vicariates and then bishoprics. The first step towards the indicated objective was the institution of special visitors responsible for all matters concerning the Greek Catholic Church in Canada and the USA. As a result of an agreement between the Holy See and the Austrian government, a priest from the Province of Lviv was appointed as a visitor for Canada, and a clergyman from one of the Hungarian dioceses was appointed for the US. Sheptytsky preferred to have a priest from the Lviv metropolis as a visitor to the USA but it was impossible because 12 priests working in the USA were from Galicia and 37 from Hungary. He reassured some believers that although the visitor was a Hungarian Ukrainian, there was no reason to suspect him of the tendency to Latinise the Orthodox Church. On the other hand, the tendencies to 'go Magyar', of which he could possibly be suspected, did not pose any danger because the Hungarian Ukrainians in the USA quickly recovered from Magyar influences and turned into Slavs.

The Metropolitan hoped that the visitor, like all priests, would be an advocate of the Orthodox Church in America. However, it happened differently. A handful of priests raised the question at a rally convened illegally of whether Greek Catholics in America were obliged to follow the dogmas of the Catholic faith concerning the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope. During the discussion they expressed their views on the Holy See in an extremely offensive manner, demonstrating a tendency to heresy, schism and Protestant spirit in this way. The Metropolitan indicated that all the participants exposed themselves to the penalty of excommunication 'ipso facto' by the aforementioned way of conduct²¹. The vladika of Lviv did not exclude that this rally was only a political maneuver aimed at forcing the Holy See to establish a diocese for Greek Catholics in the USA. He regretted that with their irresponsible conduct the priests not only failed to support the issue of creating an independent diocese but

¹⁹ *Русинам осілим у Канаді*, 25 VIII 1901, in: *Твори Слуги Божого Митрополита Андрія Шептицького – пастирські листи (2 VIII 1899 р. – 7 IX 1901 р.)*, ed. А. Базилевич, Toronto 1965, pp. 259-260.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 260-264.

²¹ *Пастирське послання митрополита Андрія до духовенства у справі візитаторів для українців греко-католиків у Канаді і Сполучених Штатах*, 20 VIII 1902, in: *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Документи і матеріали 1899-1944*, vol. I: *Пастирські Послання 1899-1914*, ред. М. Гринчишин, Львів 2007, pp. 434-435.

discredited it as well. Given the indicated circumstances, the question of creating a diocese for Greek Catholics could easily have been presented as the idea of a few uncertain and unscrupulous priests. At the same time, the Metropolitan feared that even if the Holy See agreed to establish a diocese, some Ukrainians would not want to submit to the bishop²². That was why Sheptytsky understood the urgent need to send zealous priests overseas ready for all hardships and inconveniences and even for the sacrifice of their lives because only such priests could confirm the faithful in faith and love²³.

Although the financial situation of the Ruthenians in the USA was much better than in Eastern Lesser Poland, they often suffered a spiritual decline. Some of them renounced their nation and even the Greek Catholic Church and converted to Eastern Orthodoxy. Several priests even departed from the faith²⁴. The situation of Greek Catholics in Canada was as complicated as in the USA. The Metropolitan was mostly worried by the lack of children and young people in Orthodox churches. Thousands of Russian children did not learn catechism and thus did not know the holy faith²⁵.

However, the biggest problem for Greek Catholics in Canada was the lack of their own bishop. The Church's enemies, the Presbyterians, decided to take advantage of it. They invited to cooperation pope Seraphim, excommunicated by the Russian Orthodox Church, claiming to be the bishop when he came to Canada in 1902²⁶. Sheptytsky regretted that this unworthy behaviour of Seraphim led many Ruthenians to depart from the Catholic faith. The excommunicated Orthodox pope not only pretended to be the bishop, but also started to establish a new, independent Russian Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan wondered why the Presbyterians had not hired a real bishop and how Seraphim had managed to convince people that his church was Christian and apostolic²⁷. Even the best ones let themselves be wooed and believed the false bishop. This was probably due to the urgent need to establish a bishop for Greek Catholics in Canada. After 'taking office', Seraphim zealously began his deceitful mission. He immediately proceeded to administer the 'sacrament of priesthood'. However, he did not value the personal qualities of a candidate but the money he was willing to pay. The one who possessed enough money became a priest. Seraphim even built a 'cathedral' in Winnipeg. He used old boxes and pieces of used sheet metal as a building material.

The 'successes' of Seraphim did not last long, though. Soon he was banished by 'the clergy ordained' by him, who did not want to lose the income derived from the Presbyterians. The indicated decision was made at a specially convened 'consistory'. The clergy found Seraphim to be a false bishop. However, they themselves continued their 'priestly' activity. They did not cease to fool and cheat people just because they were profiting from it²⁸. Sheptytsky was troubled by their undignified behaviour. Initially, they might have regarded Seraphim as

²² Ibidem, p. 436.

²³ Ibidem, p. 438.

²⁴ Центральний Державний Історичний Архів України, у Львові (the State Central Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, hereinafter referred to as the: ЦДАЛ), Фонд 358, Опис 2, Справа 369, арк. 11-26, *Лист до митр. Андрея Шептицького*, 1911.

²⁵ *Канадійським Русинам (Пастирське послання митрополита Андрея)*, February 1911, in: *Митрополит, Львів 2007*, p. 732.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 728.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 728.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 728-730.

a true bishop. However, they should abandon exercising their ‘office’ when they discovered him to be a mere fraud²⁹.

The Metropolitan asked the faithful neither attend ‘independent churches’ nor participate in the liturgy held there because it was not a liturgy at all, but rather a terrible sacrilege imitating the liturgy of the Orthodox Church. At the same time he called on those who joined the ‘independent’ churches to return to the holy faith and to convert to God³⁰.

Moreover, the vladika asked the Canadian Ruthenians not to participate in the liturgy held by the Orthodox Church. He explained that although the clergy of the indicated Church had important priestly ordinations, it was however the Orthodox Church that broke away from the unity with the universal Church and did not observe the authority of the governor of Christ, the successor of St. Peter. Thus, it did not have a full deposit of faith. Its priests preached heresy instead of God’s truth. The Metropolitan warned, ‘Greek Catholics are not allowed to listen to the teachings preached in Orthodox churches under the penalty of heavy sin. Simultaneously, he reminded that the Orthodox Church also disallowed to invite Orthodox believers to be godfathers or witnesses at the wedding³¹.

The Metropolitan Sheptytsky explained to the Canadian Ruthenians that a good school was also needed because where there was no good school children grew as if in the forest, wild. Without any education, they definitely couldn’t cope in life. He pointed out to the fact that parents should take care of good teachers because the value of the knowledge passed on depended on it. It would be best if the teachers were of the Greek Catholic rite. The vladika asked for avoiding teachers from another religious community because then the child could be spoilt by school instead of taking benefit from attending it³².

In Canada, the Metropolitan greatly appreciated the schools run by the Sisters Servants. He regretted that Ruthenians spend their hard-earned money on unnecessary and even harmful and stupid games or plays, instead of spending it on their children’s education³³.

The vladika taught that it was a sacred duty of parents towards God to work on the good upbringing of their children. However, he pointed out that the most important thing was the religious upbringing thereof. If parents, when they are old, want to be respected by their offsprings, they should make sure in advance that children know God’s commandments and truths of the holy faith well³⁴.

A great concern of Andrey Sheptytsky was drinking, accompanying fights and hooliganism, which were quite common among the Ruthenians in North America. The Metropolitan had to be ashamed of his people many times. He was once told by a judge that the Ruthenians provided the judiciary with a lot of work. Other nations living in the USA and Canada were quite unanimous in their opinion about the Ruthenians. They believed that if they were sober, they would be the most decent of people and would soon conquer half of

²⁹ Ibidem.

³⁰ Ibidem, pp. 731-732.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 736.

³² Ibidem, pp. 746-747.

³³ Ibidem, p. 748.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 743-745.

Canada. So the vladika asked his countrymen to break with their pernicious addiction and earn a better opinion from the people among whom they lived³⁵.

3. The arrival of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky in North America in 1910

a) The visitations carried out by Greek Catholic communities in Canada

In August 1910, the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky commenced visitations of the Greek-Catholic parishes in the USA and Canada. He wanted to reach as many believers as possible to preach the Word of God and administer the Holy Sacraments³⁶. He was the first Russian priest to come to Vancouver. That is why he did not know where to look for Ruthenians. After three days of searching, he met socialists who decided to interfere with the Metropolitan's mission. They did not inform the Ruthenians living in Vancouver about the Metropolitan's arrival even though they had promised to do so. That is why no one of the faithful took the opportunity to meet a distinguished guest. The only ones who came were the socialists³⁷, who physically abused him³⁸ by throwing eggs and flinging all possible insults³⁹.

In order to cope with the dramatic religious situation in Canada, upon his return to Lviv, Sheptytsky sent several priests there to work on the spiritual growth of emigrants from Galicia⁴⁰. The most urgent issue, however, was the establishment of a bishopric for the Greek Catholics in Canada. Therefore, in 1911, Sheptytsky wrote a memo about the need for a Greek Catholic bishopric for the Canadian Ruthenians. He then went to Rome in this matter⁴¹. On July 15, 1912, the Apostolic Letter 'Officium supremi apostolatu' was published, which appointed a Ruthenian bishop with territorial and personal jurisdiction over the entire Canada, dependent exclusively on the Apostolic Delegate in Winnipeg⁴².

The Metropolitan wanted Father Vanya, the parish priest of Zalanów, to become the bishop in Canada. However, he refused to go to Canada. Therefore, when Rome decided to appoint a bishop for the Russians living in Canada, Sheptytsky proposed Father Nykyta Budka, the then prefect of the Lviv Seminary, to the indicated position⁴³. In July 1912, Pope Pius X appointed him the first bishop for Ukrainians in Canada. On October 19 of the same year, Budka was consecrated a bishop⁴⁴.

The election of a bishop for Greco-Catholics in Canada was opposed by the Latin bishops from France who worked there. Thus, great problems awaited Bishop Budka⁴⁵. In 1927, at the

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 749;

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 723;

³⁷ Ibidem, pp. 750-751;

³⁸ М. Гринчишин, *Введення*, in: *Митрополит*, Львів 2007, p. VIII;

³⁹ Канадійським Русинам, pp. 750-751;

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 722;

⁴¹ A. Zięba, *Chronologia życia metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego*, in: *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały*, ed. A. Zięba, Kraków 1994, p. 256;

⁴² С. Korolevskij, op.cit., p. 107;

⁴³ ЦДІАУ, Ф. 408, Оп. 1, Спр. 1117, арк. 1-36, *Стаття священника Тродського Йосифа, „Відвідини Америки митрополитом Андреем в 1910”*, Львів 19 IX 1918.

⁴⁴ *Нові українські мученики ХХ ст.*, Рим 2002, ed. А. Баб'як, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁵ *Стаття священника Тродського.*

request of influential people, he was recalled to Rome by the Holy See. In 1928, he returned to Lviv and became Vicar General⁴⁶. His successor was a Basilian monk, Fr. Wasyl Ładyka⁴⁷.

The reason for the recall of Budka from Canada was fact that the Latin bishops staying there were afraid that he would start bringing married priests from Galicia, which he was really going to do⁴⁸. Strong, unmarried priests, free of any family ties that were difficult to meet in Galicia were needed to work in Canada. Archbishop Adélard Langevin, the shepherd of the Archdiocese of Saint Boniface, to which Winnipeg, the residence of the Greek Catholic Bishop in Canada belonged, proposed to allow some Latin priests in Canada to temporarily convert to the Eastern rite and hold office in the Russian colonies. The Holy See accepted the indicated idea. However, Bishop Budka defeated the efforts of Archbishop Adélard. Due to his unfavourable attitude, the priests gave up their work for the benefit of Greek Catholics⁴⁹. He accused them of poor knowledge of the rite and language, no ability to sing, etc.⁵⁰.

b) Ministration in the USA

The first bishopric for Greek Catholics in the USA was established in 1907⁵¹. Its legal situation was determined by the apostolic letter 'Ea semper' issued on 14 June 1907. Under this letter, the Russian bishop was completely subordinated to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington and the Latin bishops with Ruthenians in their dioceses. He was not a bishop with full jurisdiction but an ordinary ritual bishop. He enjoyed only the power that the American bishops wanted to vest in him. Philadelphia was chosen to be his residence⁵². This difficult situation was changed by the Metropolitan Sheptytsky. At his request, The Holy See modified the Apostolic Letter 'Ea Semper' on August 17, 1914. New rules were applied, which had already been followed when a bishop for the Ruthenians in Canada was established. Consequently, the Greek Catholic bishop in the USA became a fully-fledged bishop, subject only to the apostolic delegate⁵³.

On March 26, 1907, Father Soter Ortyński, a Basilian monk, was elected the bishop of the diocese⁵⁴. His successor – after a break of a dozen or so years, during which the diocese was administered by Fr. Poniatyszyn – was Fr. Konstanty Bogaczewski. In 1924, Fr. Wasyl Tkacz, who was appointed bishop for Greek Catholics from the Zakarpattya Ukraine, came to the USA together with Bogaczewski. The diocese, which had been common until then, was divided into two⁵⁵.

From the very beginning of his bishopric ministry, Soter Ortyński faced a number of difficulties which, despite his great dedication, he was unable to cope with. Therefore, the

⁴⁶ *Нові українські мученики*, p. 128.

⁴⁷ *Стаття священика Тродського*.

⁴⁸ ЦДІАУ, Ф 358 Оп. 2, Спр. 104, арк. 5-6, *Лист єпископа Будки Микити до митрополита Андрія Шептицького*, 3 V 1913.

⁴⁹ С. Korolevskij, op.cit., pp. 99-100, 107.

⁵⁰ *Лист єпископа Будки*.

⁵¹ С. Баран, op.cit., p. 41.

⁵² С. Korolevskij, op.cit., p. 89.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

⁵⁵ С. Баран, op.cit., p. 41.

arrival of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky was demanded as it was believed that he would resolve the growing problems. Only socialists who were afraid of its impact on the Ruthenian community opposed his arrival. They claimed in their magazines that Szeptycki, as a Polish count, wanted to come to America to sell the Ukrainian nation to American bishops⁵⁶.

Bishop Soter was often helpless in the face of the problems he encountered because his power was illusory and the Latin American bishops, coming most often from Ireland, were against him. Since he was not a diocesan bishop, he had power only over those who wanted it. When a priest did not like Bishop Soter's ordinances, he went to one of the Latin bishops and complained about Bishop Soter, claiming that the truth was on his side. In such cases the Latin bishop usually took the side of the Greek Catholic priest seeking help from him. He was released from suspense, accepted into his jurisdiction and considered to be a good priest⁵⁷.

When one of disgruntled priests met a conscientious bishop who did not want to interfere in the affairs of Bishop Soter and did not accept him into his diocese, he slandered both Bishop Soter and Latin Bishop before his parishioners. He claimed that the bishops decided to destroy him because he did not match their intentions. He told people that Ortyński wanted to take their Orthodox Church and give it to the Irish. Under the indicated circumstances, the parishioners usually took the side of their parish priest, considering that it was they who paid for his maintenance and would not allow his transfer. So the priest stayed in his seat and started referring to himself as 'independent'⁵⁸.

As a result, it often happened that Bishop Soter could not use his already limited power. He was afraid that the next priest would not state his 'independence' or switch to Eastern Orthodoxy. Although he knew about the wickedness that was happening, he pretended not to know anything and did not make any decisions.

A classic example of Bishop Soter's helplessness was the story of Fr. Struminski. He organised a new parish, which after two years of hard work began to function well, resulting in both spiritual benefits and material support for the pastor. Fr. Zakłynski decided to take over the aforementioned parish. Therefore, he sent a fake telegram to the bishop on behalf of Fr. Struminski asking for the exchange of the parish with Zakłynski. Therefore, Bishop transferred Fr. Struminski to a very neglected parish where Fr. Zakłynski was the hitherto pastor. After some time Fr. Struminski met with Bishop Sotero and the fraud was revealed. Despite such a scandalous deed Ortyński did not punish the deceiver in any way. He was afraid that another 'independent' or Orthodox man would arrive⁵⁹.

The main reason why Soter Ortyński asked Andrey Sheptytsky to come to the USA, however, was the disastrous relationship between priests coming from Galicia and the ones coming from the Zakarpattia Ruthenia. It often happened that Soter did not know what to do because when some people supported him, others were against him. So he expected that Sheptytsky would lead to an agreement between the feuding priests. However, Ortyński's hopes did not come true because everyone recognised only his/her side of the story⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ *Стаття священика Тродського Йосифа.*

⁵⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁰ *Ibidem.*

Uzhhorod priests, who opposed Bishop Sotero, asked Metropolitan Sheptytsky to support their request in Rome regarding the appointment of a bishop for Greek Catholics of the Zakarpattia Ruthenia. The main representative of the aforementioned group was Father Lavrishyn. Sheptytsky was not against their wish. However, he did not believe that their efforts in Rome would bring any effect. Since they treated the first bishop so badly, it was hard to expect Rome to agree to the second one. The priests from Zakarpattia Ruthenia said many bad words about Bishop Ortyński. In their aversion to him they were almost dazed by hatred⁶¹.

In connection with all the indicated problems, Sheptytsky believed that, despite the not so bad economic conditions, Canada and the USA were not a very good place for emigrants from Galicia. There was a shortage of priests, and those who worked there were, according to the Metropolitan, not very zealous pastors. The vladika feared that in the prevailing chaos of nations and religions, the Ruthenians would be heavily de-nationalised. According to him, there was no future for emigration in North America. He believed that in 50-100 years' time there would not be a single Ukrainian there since there were no good schools, teachers and intelligence⁶².

When the Metropolitan returned from America to Lviv, he was warmly welcomed by the clergy. They thanked him for the fact that foreign societies learned about the existence of the Ruthenian nation owing to him. They expressed their gratitude for the fact that due to his educational activities undertaken overseas he contributed to the return to the Orthodox Church of many believers, who had departed from it⁶³. He defended his brothers and sisters from enemies who wanted to lead them astray⁶⁴. Those who attacked the Metropolitan during his travels in the USA and Canada were considered to be renegades and traitors of the nation⁶⁵.

In order to address pastoral problems in North America, the Metropolitan wanted to organise a theological school educating and bringing up missionaries for Russian emigrants. He stressed, however, that only those who were ready for all the difficulties and inconveniences of apostolic life could be admitted to the indicated school⁶⁶.

For many years the clergy in the USA and Canada were supplemented by priests from the Lviv metropolis. After some time, the first candidates for the priesthood among those born abroad appeared. They were sent to study theology in Rome or Lviv. The Metropolitan, in an effort to facilitate their studies, offered them a number of places in the Lviv Seminary. However, due to the occupation of Eastern Lesser Poland by the USSR and the subsequent deletion of the Greek Catholic Church, it was impossible to continue education in Lviv⁶⁷.

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² *Лист митр. Андрія Шептицького до о. Тита Войнаровського про становище української еміграції в Канаді*, 13 XI 1922, in: *Митрополит*, Львів 1999, p. 713.

⁶³ ЦДІАУ, Ф. 358, Оп. 2, Спр. 369, арк. 102-103, *Лист до митр. Андрія Шептицького*, 1911.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, арк. 30-31, *Лист до митр. Андрія Шептицького*, 1911.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, Спр. 367, арк. 44, *Лист до митр. Андрія Шептицького*, 1911 г.

⁶⁶ *Пастирське послання Зближаються часи про працю для з'єдинення Східних Церков*, 26 XI 1907, in: *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький, Життя і Діяльність. Церква і церковна єдність. Документи і матеріали 1899-1944*, vol. 1, ред. А. Кравчук. Львів 1995, p. 35.

⁶⁷ С. Баран, op.cit., p. 41.

4. Sheptytsky's activities in North and South America from 1921-1923

a) The stay of Andrey Sheptytsky in Canada and in the USA

The Metropolitan Sheptytsky came back to Canada on board the ship "Corsican" of the "Canadian Pacific" line on August 1, 1921⁶⁸. He landed in Quebec, where he stayed with Cardinal Begin⁶⁹. Whenever possible, he visited Ukrainian parishes, preached, confessed, conducted retreats. On November 17, after spending two and a half months in Canada, he left for the USA to support the local communities⁷⁰.

b) The activity of the Metropolitan in Brazil

By letter dated 4 February 1921, the Sacred Congregation of the Eastern Orthodox Church instructed the Metropolitan Sheptytsky to visit the Ruthenian colonies in Brazil and Argentina. At the same time he was obliged to present a report on the state of the Greek Catholic parishes existing there. Therefore, in April 1922, he came to Brazil⁷¹. In order to reach some communities, he had to swim in a dugout canoe across the river. During one of such trips the canoe lurched over and the passengers fell into the water. It was then that Sheptytsky lost his bishop's ring⁷².

The largest and most numerous Ruthenian settlements in Brazil were located in the state of Paraná. The Latin bishop of the diocese of Curitiba, the State of Paraná, João Francisco Braga, asked the Holy Congregation that a representative of the Greek Catholic Church visited settlements inhabited by Ruthenians. Bishop Braga, who was a diligent shepherd, had long felt the difficulties that were self-evident for the Roman Catholic bishop, unfamiliar with the customs of Eastern Catholics. Being aware of the fact that the Code of Canon Law did not apply to Greek Catholics, he didn't really know what he could require from the Greek Catholic priests under his jurisdiction. Only when it was absolutely necessary did he get involved in their affairs with fear. He let them decide about rites, customs and discipline⁷³. The Greek-Catholic missionaries working in Argentina and Brazil therefore acted practically at their own discretion, independently of the Orthodox Church. The local Latin bishop, to whom they were subordinate, had no control over them in principle⁷⁴.

Taking as a basis the instructions of the Sacred Congregation issued between June 6 and September 1, 1899, the clergy of Brazil, favoring the Latinisation of Eastern Catholics, used to baptise all children of mixed marriages in the Latin rite. Ruthenian priests were not allowed to bless the indicated marriages. It raised strong objection among the Greek Catholic clergy, which may have given the impression that those priests were unruly and disobedient. However, a decree of the Congregation of 17 March 1916 made it clear to the Bishop of Curitiba that the protests of the Greek Catholic priests did not have to be a proof of their iniquity. He understood

⁶⁸ M. Klachko, *Podróż metropolity Szeptyckiego do Zachodniej Europy i Ameryki w latach 1920-1923*, in: *Metropolita*, ed. A. Zięba, pp. 161-162.

⁶⁹ AAN, Amb. RP Londyn, sig. 903, pp. 10-13, *Konsulat Generalny dla Kanady do MSZ w Warszawie. W sprawie przyjazdu metropolity A. Szeptyckiego*, 9 VIII 1921.

⁷⁰ M. Klachko, op.cit., pp. 161-162.

⁷¹ *Зем*, p. 731.

⁷² М. Гринчишин, op.cit., p. VIII.

⁷³ *Зем*, pp. 731-732.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 744.

that they could have legitimate grounds for complaints. Therefore, he demanded a canonical visitation. However, he did not expect the Eastern rite bishop to arrive. He thought that the visit would be conducted by one of the priests working in Brazil. He feared that the arrival of the Greek Catholic hierarchy would make it difficult for him to exercise his jurisdiction. That's why Sheptytsky sent a letter to Curitiba's ordinary, in which he reassured that his only aim was to empower the faithful spiritually. When Sheptytsky came to Curitiba, he was warmly welcomed by the local bishop and was allowed to work in his diocese. He reached many Russian settlements, he wanted to see and know everything in person. Wherever he could, he led missions, preached and administered the Holy Sacraments⁷⁵.

The Bishop of Curitiba, asking for a visit, pointed out the existence of a conflict between the Basilian monks and diocesan clergy (the so-called White clergy). After examining the case, Sheptytsky did not share the aforementioned opinion. He believed that there were only discrepancies between them concerning the methods of pastoral ministry⁷⁶.

The Lviv vladika was full of appreciation for the priests working there, especially for the Basilian monks who began their work in Brazil in 1897. During his visit, 5 Basilians worked there, including Father January Kocyłowski, brother of the then Bishop of Przemyśl. They had their own monastery in the state of Paraná. The indicated 5 priests served 22 Orthodox Churches and 45 settlements. Sheptytsky claimed that it was mainly thanks to them that the Ruthenians living in Brazil did not lose their faith⁷⁷.

The Metropolitan Sheptytsky considered the state of catechisation to be the weaker side of ministry in Brazil and Argentina. Due to a severe lack of priests, many children and youth could not participate in regular catechesis. The participation of the faithful in Sunday Mass was also a serious problem. Despite the enormous dedication of the clergy, a large part of the settlers very rarely participated in the Eucharist⁷⁸.

c) The stay of Sheptytsky in Argentina

The Ruthenian emigrants from Galicia, who came to Argentina between 1898 and 1905, lived in the province of Misiones and belonged to the diocese of Corrientes, which had been separated from the diocese of Paraná in Argentina several years earlier. There were 950 families living there at that time, which amounted to around 5000-6000 people. According to Sheptytsky, the Ruthenians were faithful to the faith, church and tradition of their ancestors. The vast majority of them celebrated Easter. The Easter celebrations were not attended only by those who could not get to the Church⁷⁹.

Emigrants who came from Galicia after 1905 repeatedly asked for a priest of their rite. However, the Polish missionaries working there, 'as Sheptytsky claimed', persuaded the local bishop, then still the ordinary of the diocese of Paraná, not to fulfill their request and to do their best to polonise the Ruthenians⁸⁰.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, pp. 731-732.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 734.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, pp. 734-736.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, pp. 738-739.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 740.

⁸⁰ Ibidem.

In the report on his visitation carried out in Argentina and Brazil, Andrey Sheptytsky proposed that the Congregation for Eastern Orthodox Churches should assign a bishop of their rite to the Ruthenians living there. As Sheptytsky argued, it was the only way to protect the emigrants from Galicia against schismatic and rationalist propaganda. The vladika of Lviv believed that the best candidate for the bishop of Greek Catholics in South America would be Father Ananewycz⁸¹.

Even though the matter of creating a bishopric in South America was on its way to success, Sheptytsky did not manage to bring it to a conclusion. What made it impossible was the outbreak of World War I⁸².

What proved Sheptytsky's interest in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in South America was the fact that between 1939 and 1940, at his command, the auxiliary bishop of the Lviv metropolis, Ivan Buczko, stayed there as an apostolic visitor⁸³.

Although the official purpose of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's visit overseas was a tour of Greek Catholic parishes, his stay in North and South America was not always purely religious. Although he stipulated that his trip was not of a political nature on every occasion, he did carry out very harmful activities for Poland⁸⁴. He supported all possible steps aimed at separating Eastern Lesser Poland from Poland⁸⁵. He claimed that the Ukrainian people living there were starving to death. Meanwhile, only newcomers from outside of Zbruch and some groups of urban population suffered from the famine, while the rural population, which included mostly Ruthenians, did not have to cope with a lack of food⁸⁶.

On November 23rd 1921, he submitted a memorandum to the State Secretariat in Washington, D.C., claiming that as a result of the decisions of the Supreme Council, Eastern Galicia was under the military occupation of Poland. He accused the Polish government of attempting to denationalise the Ukrainian population by means of forced Latinising and destroying Greek Catholic churches⁸⁷.

However, Sheptytsky's action ended in a fiasco. This was greatly influenced by the efforts of the employees of the Polish Deputation in Washington. They aimed at preventing the Washington authorities from taking the Ukrainian side. On January 12, 1922, Cardinal Gasparri sent a message to the nuncio Giovanni Bonanzo in Washington D.C. to prevent Sheptytsky from speaking on the Polish-Ukrainian issues⁸⁸.

Similarly, during his visit to Argentina and Brazil, the Metropolitan tried to interest the local governmental and parliamentary spheres in the matter of Eastern Lesser Poland⁸⁹. However, he faced a disappointment at that point as well. He was not granted an audience

⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 744.

⁸² С. Баран, op.cit., p. 41.

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 42.

⁸⁴ AAN, Amb. RP Londyn, sig. 903, pp. 26-27, *Konsulat Rzeczypospolitej w Kanadzie do MSZ w Warszawie w sprawie Szeptyckiego*, wrzesień 1921 r.

⁸⁵ A. Kubasik, *Arcybiskupa Andrzeja Szeptyckiego wizja ukraińskiego narodu, państwa i Cerkwi*, Lwów-Kraków 1999, pp. 96, 98-100.

⁸⁶ AAN, Amb. RP Londyn, sig. 879, pp. 108-109, *Poselstwo Polskie w Waszyngtonie do MSZ (Samodzielny Referat Amerykański). W sprawie metropolity Szeptyckiego*, 23 II 1922 r.

⁸⁷ M. Klaczko, op.cit., pp. 162-164.

⁸⁸ A. Kubasik, op.cit., p. 106.

⁸⁹ AAN, Amb. RP Londyn, sig. 879, pp. 150-151, *Posel RP w Rio de Janeiro Pruszyński do Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych w Warszawie. W sprawie pobytu metropolity Szeptyckiego*, 16 VII 1922 r.

with the President of Brazil, and the Brazilian Primate Cardinal Cavalcanti did not support Sheptytsky's political efforts⁹⁰.

**The concern of Andrey Sheptytsky, the Metropolitan bishop, about Ukrainian
Emigrants in North and South America
Summary**

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century a large group of Galician Ruthenians emigrated to North America and the United States and Canada, South America – mainly to Argentina and Brazil. Sheptytsky visited North America in 1910. He met with Ukrainian Greek Catholic immigrant communities in the United States and Canada. In 1921, he visited the USA and Canada again. In 1922 he arrived to Argentina and Brazil. He did not conduct open political agitation. However, some of his speeches have an anti-Polish character.

Keywords: Sheptytsky, metropolitan, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, South America, North America, USA, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, the emigrants, Greek Catholics, Greek Catholic church, Bishop Soter Ortyński

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⁹⁰ A. Kubasik, *op.cit.*, p. 106.