

THE WAY TO CONVERT THE EASTERN CHURCH
CONFESSIONAL, MISSIONARY AND EDUCATIONAL AGENDAS OF THE EASTERN
RITE REDEMPTORIST FATHERS (1913-1939)

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the Eastern Rite Redemptorists' Mission in Ukraine from their arrival in 1913 until the beginning of the World War II. The Eastern Rite was used as an instrument to approach local people and set the mission toward the East. This study analyses the role of the Redemptorists in the ecumenical plan of Andrei Sheptytskyi and a project to reunite the Eastern and Western Church.

The objectives of this research are to represent the educational and missionary activities of Redemptorists in the context of ethno-confessional situation in Western Ukraine and their role in political discourse of the population.

This research draws mostly upon primary sources: the chronicles, visitations of the monasteries, the letters written by Belgian Redemptorists about the Mission, the memoirs and public statements. Analysis of these materials shows that the Redemptorists were successfully integrated into the Uniate church and Galician Ukrainian society, but their mission in the Orthodox Volhynia was much more problematic.

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Introduction

Every monastic order or congregation has its key goals. It can be youth work, medical help, work with ill people, etc. For Redemptorists it is the work for the redemption, in other words, activities aimed at evangelizing and conversion. Being a vivid part of the Catholic Church from 1732, Redemptorist missionaries actively worked in Europe and overseas, where Western Christianity was not practiced or officially accepted. The Redemptorists started their missionary work in the Eastern part of the Habsburg province of Galicia, which nowadays constitutes Western part of Ukraine, in 1913. As Redemptorists are the focus of the thesis the central place is given to the analysis of their reasons and motivations to establish the “Ukrainian Mission” in 1913. “The way to convert the Eastern Church” was the Redemptorists’ program of a spiritual crusade aimed to convert the Eastern Church and reunite it with the Vatican, but, as it seems, was not limited to religious activities only.

This work is intended to provide a short but multipartite review of the Mission implemented by Redemptorists in Western Ukraine. The creation of the Lviv vice-Province¹ of the Eastern-rite Redemptorists was a peculiar case of extending missionary work that would react to various challenges of secularisation and mass politics. After a hundred years of missionary activities, from the arrival in 1913, the Eastern-rite Redemptorists became an integral part of religious life in Western Ukraine. The activity of the Congregation in Ukraine during Soviet time was very limited and performed secretly in the Catacomb Church conditions until 1990. The congregation became a powerful force for the Church and society in the interwar period, its educational institutions formed a cohort of priests who were a strong support of the underground Greek Catholic Church during the post-war Soviet era. But, as history shows, the beginnings are always the most thrilling and at the same time challenging. This

¹ I refer to the word “Province” as a Redemptorists’ administrative unit used to denote a separate region usually in one country. The Ukrainian Mission was called “vice-Province” until 1938 and stayed under the supervision of the Belgian mother-Province.

research aims to uncover the first part of the Redemptorists' story in Ukraine and reconstruct the events which enabled their existence as well as those which hindered their Mission.²

This work also attempts to take a comprehensive view on the various agendas of the Redemptorists' project. To enable a long-term and powerful missionary program they took care of educating local missionaries, and established a high school and seminary. The first actual missions took place in 1920 and became very popular among the population.

The study of the particular case of the Redemptorists sheds a light on a wider religious process in Eastern Europe between the two World Wars. Their missionary work was an outcome of numerous tendencies of the Catholic Church to establish a Catholic congregation in Eastern rite and spread its power further east. This thesis also contributes to a better understanding of national and political challenges of the interwar period in Eastern Europe. In order to get a full picture of the situation in Western Ukraine, this study examines the social engagement of the Greek-Catholic clergy and the religious congregations in the political life during the interwar period. The Greek-Catholic Church³ in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of 20th century was of particular importance for Ukrainians (Ruthenians)⁴ as a factor of self-differentiating and national belonging. But this Church was also treated as unique and useful for Redemptorists because of its Eastern rite traditions combined with the unity with Rome. The existence of such ecclesiastical community proved that it is possible to belong to

²To avoid the confusion between Redemptorists' general Mission and short-term missions conducted in the area, I use the upper case "M" for the former meaning and the lower case "m" in the latter case.

³Greek-Catholic church shares the same rite with the Orthodox Church while being in communion with Catholics and the Vatican. This name was given to the Uniate Church, existing on the Ukrainian lands from the Berest Union in 1596, in 1774 by the Empress Maria Teresa. As R. P. Magosci notes, the new name was to emphasize the equality with the Roman Catholic Church in Austria-Hungary which also resulted in the growth of the role the clergy played in the national movement.

⁴As my study is focused on the 20th-century processes, when modern Ukrainian national identity became dominant among the Greek Catholic population of the region of Galicia, I will mostly use the modern ethnic name "Ukrainian" when referring to the group of people who adhered to the Eastern Christian church tradition and spoke Eastern Slavic vernacular dialects in Galicia, although till the end of the 19th century they were usually designated by the traditional ethnic name "Ruthenian" (*ruskyi*). In Yakovenko Natalia, *Narys Istorii Ukrainy z naidavnishykh chasiv do kincia XVIII stolittia (Sketch of the History of Ukraine from the ancient times till the end of the 18th century)*, Kyiv, 1997.

the Catholic Church while keeping the Eastern rite and inspired Redemptorists to use this Church as a “bridge” to reach out to Orthodox, who, in their opinion, were misled and needed conversion.

The scope of my research is limited geographically to those former Austrian and Russian imperial provinces that after the First World War were incorporated into the Polish State and that were predominantly inhabited by the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic and Orthodox believers, namely Eastern Galicia, Bukovina, Pidliashia, Kholm and Volhynia. The Redemptorists established on these territories six houses viz. in Zboiska, Holosko, Ternopil, Stanislawiw, Kovel and Lviv (the latter from 1937). The goal, Redemptorists set for themselves at the coming to Galicia, was to move further north and approach Orthodox Volhynia and Pidlasha, territories taken by Poland according to the Peace of Riga.⁵ The ethno-confessional relations in Volhynia were complicated with the clash of religious politics of Polish and Russian authorities and attempts to propagate Orthodoxy or Catholicism, displacing the Uniate Church.

Chronologically my study covers the period from the foundation of the Redemptorists' Mission in 1913 till the beginning of the World War II in 1939. For the Mission it was a period of testing the waters and formation as further actions and expansion of the Congregation toward the East depended on the success and dealing with local challenges. The researched period can be also described as the time of very intense confessional and national conflicts, foremost in the former Habsburg province of Galicia and Volhynia. National and religious identities were often mixed and contested; sometimes they involved conflicts and led to a strong counterweight, opposition and hatred. I will look at the interrelations between Ukrainians and Poles as the main actors of the national confrontation and relations of the Catholics and Orthodox towards Greek-Catholics as religious antagonists.

⁵ Peace of Riga (Treaty of Riga) was signed on the 18th of March 1921 between Poland and Soviet Russia and signified the end of Polish-Soviet War.

Tracing the history of the Ukrainian Mission, as Redemptorists have called their missionary trip to Western Ukraine, from the beginning as part of Sheptytskyi's project to renew monastic life in the Metropolitanate and include religious congregations into active social life will show how successfully this project was implemented. This thesis is aimed to give an answer to a question: "what was the exact place and role of Redemptorists' Mission in Western Ukraine and how adapted was it to the ethnic and religious conflicts in Eastern Europe". Research hypothesis of this work is that Redemptorists were actively supporting the project of Andrei Sheptytskyi and combined their missionary agendas along with the engagement in political and national conflicts. Also it seems that the planned Mission to convert the Eastern Church was compromised by a work with locals in Western Ukraine.

Redemptorists had many links to the social and national problems of the population as they conducted missions, retreats and other religious rituals, served parishes and even taught in a boarding school for boys. Therefore in my research I will also observe and analyse how Redemptorists approached local people, especially the Orthodox and Roman Catholics, how they identified themselves in Ukraine, how they "pictured" and presented Ukrainians and how they adjusted to the problematic ethno-confessional and political situation.

The research consists of an Introduction, five chapters and the Conclusions. Through this content I intend to show different aspects of the Redemptorists' Mission in Ukraine, the varieties of activities they conducted with missionary goals and their involvement in social life. The first chapter provides a theoretical framework and the overview of historiography.

The second chapter gives a historical background and contextualises the situation which the Redemptorists faced when they arrived in Galicia. Going through the nation building processes in Ukraine, the key importance of the Eastern rite, the role the Greek-Catholic clergy played in this

process and the social project of Andrei Sheptytskyi this chapter explains the context of Redemptorist arrival in Ukraine.

The third chapter sheds light on the role played by Redemptorists in the political discourse in Western Ukraine and represents the political situation in the area and the principal obstacles for the Redemptorists' mission in the period of 1913-1919.

The history of Redemptorists in Ukraine is inalienably connected to the educational institutions they founded and completely maintained in the first half of the 20th century. Among those institutions were the Juvenate and a theological institute called Seminary. The Juvenate was a boarding school in Zboiska, near Lviv, where for 23 years they taught, trained and brought up teenage-boys. This institution is in the focus of the forth chapter.

The final chapter is devoted to the Redemptorists' missionary work with local people, the retreats and missions they led in the interwar period. The chapter shows how the big plan to convert Russia and reunite the Orthodox Church with the Vatican was the top priority of the missionary station. This part is also devoted to the Redemptorists' attitude towards the local population and the impression Ukrainians had on the missionaries and its expression in short reports or letters to Belgium.

The sources used in the research consist of the Redemptorists' correspondence, their internal documents and the documents on the public discourse. Most of them were found in the Redemptorist archives in Lviv and Belgium, which have recently been classified and renewed. The Flemish Belgian Archive is deposited in KADOC in Leuven and cataloged on the file level. The archive in Lviv holds the collection of documents, photographs, correspondence, memoirs and digital interviews. Also it contains some copies from the General Archive of the Redemptorists in Rome. Most of the sources are handwritten in French, Dutch or Latin, sometimes in Ukrainian and occasionally in English. Only a small part of these documents have been prepared for publishing later this year in the anniversary

anthology and translated into Ukrainian. The anthology will include the collection of letters about the foundation of the Congregation in Ukraine, translated by Ivan Levytskyi, CSsR. In this work I refer to the electronic version of this collection.

There are two chronicles available about the Redemptorist houses in Zboiska, Holosko, and Kovel. These chronicles were written by Redemptorists themselves, filled with the notes on the main events, mostly about visitors, missions and biographies. There were no regulations on recording, so usually chroniclers were making decisions what and how often to write it.

Another source of information is the reports of visiting a specific house or the whole vice-Province written by Redemptorists assigned for this task by the Belgian Province. Usually this practice of making visits occurred once in two years. They contain personal characteristics of priests and a critical overview of the situation in the Province. Visitations provide a rich source of information about the details of life in the Ukrainian vice-Province. Usually they consist of three main chapters – personnel and characteristics of priests’ functions, financial situation, remarks and comments. From the analysis of eight available texts – the reports of 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1931, 1932-1933, 1936 and 1938 common features will be presented in this study. Often recurring topics are the lack of space and money, general poverty, search for a new placement, positive feedback on missionary work, but with a stress on impossibility of the vice-province to be separated from the mother-province in Belgium.

The third group of sources which I use in my thesis is the correspondence between the superiors and missionaries from the Lviv Province and the confreres abroad. I include both the official and private letters. *Letters sur L’Ukraine* collected by Bohdan Kurylas are valuable and exclusive sources as they were written for publication in Belgian magazines and journals about missionary work of

Redemptorists abroad. The collection sheds light upon many problems Redemptorists faced in their daily work and life, their involvement in social life and politics.

The memoir presented to Pope Benedict XV by Father Bonne on 30th of March 1920 is a valuable source for the second chapter as it sheds light upon many important and actively discussed topics, Polish and Russian persecutions of Ukrainian Catholics, and the clergy, metropolitane Sheptytskyi during and after the War. Bonne's argument was that the mission of the Catholic Church in the East of Europe will do better with the creation of the Ukrainian state.

Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework and historiography overview

The analysis of the Mission of Eastern rite Redemptorists in Ukraine sets the task of this research and poses multiple questions about the reason of this Mission, supporting and impeding agencies, and the strategy admitted by the Redemptorists in order to complete the Mission. This chapter consists of a theoretical framework of the paper and the overview of the historiography on the topic. Also it outlines the approaches used to understand and analyze the problems stated in the introduction.

1.1. Catholic modernism and national awakening of Ukrainians

The analysis of the history of the Church in modern times shows the changes that this institution had experienced on the edge of the new epoch – the 20th century. As a religious congregation, Redemptorists belong to the Roman-Catholic Church. Conservative in its essence institution, the Church in the 20th century was going through a rapid period of changes and adjustment to such challenges of modernity as liberalism, secularism and a dozen of other “isms”. The spiritual leadership of the Church was called into question and there were many debates among modernists and anti-modernists regarding the new guidelines in modern society. Various challenges of the Church authority endangered its status, although a Spanish scholar Jose Casanova doubts that modernization of society and secularization is equal to the decline of religious practices. He claims that public religions did not lose their position and stayed quite central in European countries.⁶ This statement articulates that in the transition from traditional to secular, a society does not lose its religious adherence, even more, it means that missionary religious congregations also play an active role in modern society.

The history of missionary work in Europe has many different aspects and actors. Redemptorists are the religious congregation founded in 1732 by Alphonsus Liguori, who put missionary work at the center of their activities. As most missionary congregations, Redemptorists are devoted to active missionary work. Missionary methods and Doctrine of St. Alphonsus were at the heart of

⁶ Jose Casanova, *Public religions in the modern world*, (Chicago, 1994).

Redemptorists' charisma. As it is stated in the Constitution of the Congregation, everyone has to "follow Christ by preaching the Word of God to the poor in a form of missions and retreats".⁷

In 1913 Redemptorists joined the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church⁸, which was also going through a huge process of evolution including the improvement of the education for the priests, by taking part in socio-political events, creating new brotherhoods and congregations. The question of the relation between the Ukrainian national movement and the Greek-Catholic Church on the eve of the 20th century has been researched by many scholars. For this research I used the works of outstanding researchers of Ukrainian nationalism studies and Ukrainian socio-political thought John-Paul Himka, Ivan Lysyak – Rudnytsky, Yaroslav Hrycak, Natalia Yakovenko, etc.

Liliana Hentosh analyzes the activities of the metropolitan of the Halych Metropolitanate, Andrei Sheptytskyi, in the field of modernization and concludes that the decision to reform the Church by strengthening it in administrative, intellectual and spiritual terms was made in order to set an example of Eastern rite Catholic Church for other Churches⁹. Andrei Sheptytskyi had a peculiar strategy, which included the Church's engagement in social and political issues. His personality has been often discussed and his activities were deeply analyzed by historians Andrii Kravchuk, Paul Robert. Magosci, Bohachevska-Homiak, Uliana Koshetar, etc, but all of them agree that Sheptytskyi was very keen to combine religious and social life of the both white and black clergy. His position and understanding of the Greek-Catholic Church's mission and task will be analyzed based on Magosci's substantial research.¹⁰ Sheptytskyi was a strong adherent of keeping the Eastern rite traditions in Greek-Catholic Church and did not tolerate latinization of the ritual.¹¹ The purity of the rite was very

⁷ Statutes of the Lviv-Province of the Redemptorists, 002.

⁸Ukrainian Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Church – is the Eastern Rite Catholic Church in a full communion with the Holy See. It was founded at the Brest Union in 1596. The name "Greek-Catholic" was acquired in 1774 by Maria Theresia to emphasize the equal rights with the Roman-Catholic Church in Galicia.

⁹Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti (The Vatican and the challenges of the modernity)*, (Lviv, 2006), 189-190.

¹⁰ Paul Robert Magosci, ed., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989).

¹¹ Zaycev, Oleksandr, ed. *Natsionalism i religia ("Nationalism and religion")*, (Lviv, 2011), 124.

important for the Greek-Catholics in general, as it was an evidence of the Unity between the Catholic and Orthodox Church. Stanislaw Stępień confirms that there was no tendency of further latinization of the Greek-Catholic Church in the interwar period. Sheptytskyi represented a universal conception of the identity of the Greek-Catholic Church and believed in a possible conversion of Russian Orthodox Church and union with Rome through the Greek Catholics.¹²

Redemptorists' mission in this regard was an ideal project: the missionaries took the Eastern-rite and strived to convert the Orthodox with its help. Apostolic missions were a significant factor in the process of social engagement as they offered direct contact with people. The word "mission" comes from Latin *missio* and means "the act of sending" and is used in the Latin translation of the Bible in the passage when Jesus sends his disciples to preach in his name. The modern sense of the term "mission" appeared in the 16th century commenced by the founder of The Society of Jesus Ignatius Loyola. The term labeled an evangelization project among non-Christians and was linked to the colonialisation process. Paul Kollman indicates that the meaning of the term "mission" evolved through time and added into its meaning "preaching tours in Europe's countryside parishes and attempts by Catholics to recapture parts of Europe lost to Protestantism"¹³ (Orthodoxy in this case). This shift of meaning to the evangelization abroad became rather dominant and prevailed in the Church teaching on missionary work from the 18th century.

Having a great and farsighted plan of missionary work, the Redemptorists faced in Ukraine a big challenge of national identification of the local population which consisted of Ukrainians, Poles and Jews. Lian Greenfelf specifies that national identity is always a contested phenomenon, as it is one among many coexisting identities: occupational, religious, linguistic, territorial etc¹⁴. In the Ukrainian

¹² Stanislaw Stępień, Between Occidentalization and Byzantinization: the Issue of Ritual Identity of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland in the Interwar period. *Kovchek. A Scholarly Journal of Church History* Gydziak B., Skochylas I., Turij O., eds, VOI 4. (Lviv, 2003), 352.

¹³ Paul Kollman, "At the Origins of Mission and Missiology", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (June 2011): 425–458; 431.

¹⁴ Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: five roads to modernity* (Cambridge, 1992), 581.

case the contest of identities is presented through the rivalry between the Churches and national severance. According to the last Austrian census (1910), Roman Catholics made 47%, Greek-Catholics - 42%, and Jews - 11% of the population of Galicia; 59% of the population spoke Polish, 40% - Ruthenian, and 1,12% - German.¹⁵ Both the religious belonging and languages were determinative factors and served as a criterion for national identification.

According to Rogers Brubaker, there are four possible approaches to the question of religion and nationalism. The first is to treat religion and nationalism, along with ethnicity and race, as analogous phenomena. The second is to specify ways in which religion helps explain things about nationalism - its origin, its power, or its distinctive character in particular cases. The third is to treat religion as part of nationalism, and to specify modes of interpenetration and intertwining. Finally the fourth approach is to posit a distinctively religious form of nationalism.¹⁶ The Christian understanding of nationalism and religious perception of nationalism constitutes another problem which needs a theoretical assessment. The clash between nationalism and Christianity as well as the attitude of the clergy to nationalism in Ukraine is not yet studied fully. Catholic Churches of different nationalities had different approaches to the operation in Eastern Europe. Therefore Hentosh points to the compromissary politics of the Vatican noting that Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) expressed his views against war and militant nationalism and supported the right of nations for self-identification.¹⁷

1.2. Redemptorists' historiography overview

Redemptorists have been working in Ukraine for one hundred years already. Although researching their history is a particularly challenging project as there is not much historiography on the history of the Redemptorists in Ukraine. The contemporary generation of the Redemptorists carries out a new wave of studies on the topic. Among the existing publications there are more studies of

¹⁵ Krzysztof Zamorski, *Informator statystyczny do dziejow społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji: ludność Galicji w latach 1857 – 1910*, [The statistical informer to the social and economic history of Galicia: population in Galicia in 1857-1910] (Krakow, 1989), 92.

¹⁶ Rogers Brubaker, *Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches in Nations and Nationalism*, 2011.

¹⁷ Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti* (The Vatican and the challenges of the modernity, 15 - 18.

Redemptorists' survival during the Underground Church period¹⁸, written by the Redemptorists themselves, who pointed out topics of apostolic work and explored biographies of some Redemptorists in Ukraine. The interwar period remains a less researched topic although the work of Mykhailo Bubniy on the Eastern-rite Redemptorists in the years 1913-1939 on the Ukrainian lands has to be mentioned in this regard. In his dissertation Bubniy illuminates the growth and development of the Congregation in the interwar period and provides many-sided view on the Province. But the author left aside most of the political issues as well as national and confessional discourse of the interwar period.

While the Ukrainian branch of Eastern-rite Redemptorists in Galicia is less investigated, there are more studies on the Redemptorists' mission in Canada. The book of Paul Laverdure "Rite and Ritual" is a thorough research of the mission of Eastern-rite Redemptorists in Canada. Paul Laverdure is a historian and an archivist of Redemptorists Province in Canada. His research is a significant work about the Eastern Catholicism and Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in particular. The author provides the readers with the detailed information about the foundation and growth of the Canadian Province of Eastern-Rite Redemptorists emphasizing the issues of conversion to the Eastern rite. At the same time he gives a good description of Ukrainian emigrants' life and the tensions between the Redemptorists and local Latin-rite bishops.

McConvery's study on the Redemptorists in Ireland presents a full picture of the Irish Redemptorists from the newcomers until modern flourishing of the Province. Besides that he focuses on missionary and apostolic work of Redemptorists using the mission chronicles. He often refers to the political issues and points out the part Redemptorists played in them. The Irish case is important here because of the similarity of the national confrontation and fighting for state independence between two national groups.

¹⁸ Period from 1946 till 1991.

Maciej Sadowski is a Polish Redemptorist, who contributed a solid research on the history of the origins and the beginnings of the Polish Province and a study of the missionary activities entitled “Przyczynek do historii misij ludowych redemptorystow w Polsce”.

These studies provide a thorough substratum for the research of the Ukrainian branch of Eastern rite Redemptorists and give an exemplary for the sources used for analysis. All of them include the stories of the foreign missionaries coming to a new territory and the methods used in order to expand their foundation. The main feature of these studies is the emphasis on the missionary work and the Redemptorists’ methods to convert people. The existing researches also provide information on the social status of the population and present social conflicts. These books also become some sort of “handbooks” for Redemptorists themselves as they shed a light on past generations of Redemptorists.

Chapter 2 The Eastern rite in national awakening and religious belonging of Ukrainians

The unique case of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church shows how the Eastern rite was used as an instrument of national self-determination and a tool in missionary activities of the Roman Catholic congregation of Redemptorists. This chapter shows the function of the Eastern rite in the correlation between religious and national identification of people living on the territory of Western Ukraine along with the new tendencies in monastic life of the Greek-Catholic Church in the beginning of the 20th century.

2.1. Religious and national identities of the population in Galicia. Precedence of the Rite

The Greek Catholic Church in Galicia played a significant role in the process of nation building and separating from others. Himka points out that “it [the Church] did contribute to both the exacerbation and the resolution of the identity crisis of the nineteenth century”¹⁹. This proves that religious distinction was stronger than ethnical and often created the most visible division line and marked the national difference. The reason was in the boundary between the two rites. Church rite served as a powerful traditional marker of an ethnic identity, but it was also used later for the construction of modern national identity.

Himka notes that “in Galicia division by rite eventually became the line of demarcation between Ukrainians and Poles”²⁰. Although both of the Churches were Catholic, difference of the rite divided the two nationalities. A very visible factor in differentiating Ukrainians from the Poles was simply through belonging to the Greek-Catholic Church. The power of religious rite seems to be determinant and was, as Ostap Sereda claims, “the primary source of ethno-confessional identification”. Also he states that “Ruthenian language seemed less important as a marker of national identity than church

¹⁹John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine* (Montreal, Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

²⁰John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, 28.

ritual”.²¹ It is very true, as a certain person might be bilingual but cannot belong to two religious groups at the same time.

John-Paul Himka, an outstanding researcher of the relations between religion and nationalism in Ukraine, assures that religion played an important role in this process because of the identification of the Eastern rite practitioners with Ukrainians. Both Ukrainians and Poles were Catholics distinguished by the rite (Latin and Eastern). The rite also marks the “border” of Eastern and Western Christianity. Yaroslav Hrytsak states that the confessional identification in Austrian Galicia became a very complicated issue as in this region we have a direct contact of Eastern and Western Christianity.²² Most of Ukrainian population practiced the Eastern rite in the Greek-Catholic Church and the Polish population consisted of Roman-Catholic believers of Latin rite. Thus this division was often overlapping with the national identification and resulted in the fact that both religious identities according to the rite-practicing were contested and intersected.

Chris Hann also notes that the differences between Western and Eastern Christianity are much deeper than, for example, the contrast between Protestantism and Catholicism.²³ In the research he concentrates on the Western Ukrainian lands and states that this territory is a “special fragment of both the Orthodox and Catholic world”²⁴, he calls these lands a “frontier zone between Eastern and Western Christianity”, a “border between Eastern and Western ideological systems”.

The statement that practicing a certain rite defined a person’s national belonging leads us to the question of the correlation between confession and ethnicity. Barbara Skinner studied the Uniate-Orthodox conflict in four Eastern-European countries. Calling the Greek-Catholic Church “Eastern in

²¹Ostap Sereda, Emerging Cult of Taras Shevchenko in Austrian Eastern Galicia in the 1860s, “*Canadian - American Slavic Studies*”, 40, No.1 (Spring 2006): 24.

²²Yaroslav Hrytsak, “How Sissi Became a Ruthenian Queen: Some Peculiarities of the Peasant Worldview” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 33/34 Issue 1/2, (2008/2009), 233.

²³Chris Hann, Christianity’s Internal Frontier, *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Jun., 1988): 9.

²⁴ Chris Hann, Christianity’s Internal Frontier, 9.

rite but Catholic in doctrine”²⁵ Skinner claims that the Uniate identity became quite distinct from the Orthodox in the 18th century under the influence of the Western Christianity. Also she thinks that distinctive confessional identities on the territory were resulted from the Uniate/Orthodox conflict and Polish partitions.²⁶

Oleh Turiy, the historian of the Church in Ukraine also claims, that difference in the rite in the period when the national identities were not formed yet, was a formal borderline that separated a Ukrainian – Greek - Catholic from a Roman – Catholic Pole. In everyday life the differences in rites played the most important role. Usually people were closely attached to the rite and traditions of their local church. Little details such as church decorations or the form of a religious service became the essence of their religious and national adherence. What kept this barrier even stronger was a frequent discrimination of the believers and hierarchy of the Uniate Church from their “faith brother” – the Roman Catholics.²⁷

Himka notes the difference between the role religion played for Ukrainians in the Russian Empire and those under Austria. In the latter case the Greek-Catholic Church was in opposition to Polonisation and thus differentiated Ukrainians from the Roman Catholic Polish population²⁸. Also the uniqueness of the Ukrainian situation is that in Galicia the intelligentsia was formed nearly exclusively by the clergy as the nobility had already been polonised since the 17th century, and there were no human resources except for the clerical circles. That is why it is important to define the role of priests in the nation-building process because the only group of educated Ukrainians who actually formed the intelligentsia in the 19th century were practically exclusively Greek-Catholic priests.

²⁵ Skinner, Barbara, *The Western front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox conflict in eighteenth-century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia*, DeKaalb, 2009, 295p

²⁶ Skinner, Barbara, *The Western front of the Eastern Church*, 226.

²⁷ Oleh Turiy, *Greko-Catolytska Cerkva ta ukrainska natsionalna identychnist* (“The Greek-Catholic Church and Ukrainian national identity”) *“Kovcheh. A Scholarly Journal of Church History. Volume 4: The Ecclesial and National Identity of the Greek Catholics of Central-Eastern Europe”* (2003): 69.

²⁸ John-Paul Himka, “Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900”, *Canadian Slavonic Papers, Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 1979): 3.

2.2. The role of the Greek-Catholic clergy

The reforms of the Austrian rulers were a step towards the renewal of the Ukrainian Church in Ukraine. Himka observes that the condition of the Uniate Church in the 18th century was very poor: there was no seminary for the clergy, and the priests were not educated enough. The Habsburg emperors Maria Theresa and Joseph II introduced radical improvement in the affairs of the Uniate church. Among them was the establishing of the seminary for Greek-Catholics in Lviv and Vienna (the so-called Barbareum). Another important change was the reestablishment, in 1808, of the Galician metropolitan see. Generally, the Habsburgs supported the national initiatives of Ukrainians as they treated them as an obstacle for the separatist movement of the Poles. Usually the Greek Catholic priests and seminarians were hostile to the Polish national movement, especially after the 1848 revolution. The Greek Catholic higher clergy intensified the political significance of the religious distinction by its devotion to the Habsburgs and opposition to the revolutionary Polish national movement.²⁹ Understandably, for the rest of the nineteenth century, the leadership of the Greek Catholic Church stayed absolutely loyal to the Austrian Empire and had antipathy to the period of the Polish rule.

Oleh Turiy claims that the enlightened politics of the Austrian government was one of the most important preconditions which enabled the change of the social role of the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia. Firstly, as it was mentioned already, the Church was formally equalized with the Roman - Catholics, secondly, the education of the clergy became accessible and was done in the native language. Also through some administrative changes in the structure of the church a new type of Greek-Catholic priest was found. These reforms caused a stronger involvement of the clergy in the cultural and national activities of the province. Magosci also points out that Austrian Enlightenment had a strong influence on Ukrainians as in particular, it formed the intelligentsia. Although it consisted almost exclusively of the clergy, they accepted the ideas of romantic nationalism and “inaugurated a

²⁹John-Paul Himka, “The Greek Catholic Church and National Building in Galicia 1772-1918”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3/4 (December 1984).

national awakening in Galicia.”³⁰ But it is important to note that the idea that the clergy plays a part in the nation building process is generally accepted for Eastern Europe. A Czech historian and political theorist Miroslav Hroch argues that one of the features of the “small” nations is that the clergy there has played a significant role in the “national awakening”. The Ukrainian case only proves this theory. The exact role of the clergy in establishing Ukrainian identity and the national movement in Ukraine is particularly important for this research. Step by step the clergy accepted the idea that their duties are more than religious and also include national and educational activism. Besides serving in the church, the priests had direct contact with people, they were also counselors, teachers and advisers. It will be not an exaggeration to say that people absolutely relied on their priests as those who will help, give advice or read some letters or documents. Himka indicates that this process had its roots in the cities, where the Prosvita’s³¹ intelligentsia worked on the publication of books and new ideas and sent them to the priests “to deliver” the information for the villagers. He brings an example of two priests-enlighteners Ivan Naumovych and Stepan Kachala who wrote for the peasantry and established many reading clubs and cooperatives in the villages. Talking about education, the priests’ task was to organize the reading clubs, find the books and lead the meeting where people could learn to read. This popular education became an essential component of the pastoral activity of priests in the second half of the 19th century.

It is important to note that the clergy accepted the idea that their duties are more than religious and actively started the process of national awakening. The priests were very close to the Ukrainian population, mostly present in villages rather than cities. Even the political activists had a disadvantage in this regard as they usually were gathering in the cities and their ideas could not reach the rural areas. So the clergy was that “chain” in between that connected the intelligentsia and the masses of

³⁰Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989), 15.

³¹“Prosvita” is a cultural Ukrainian organization founded in 1868 in Galicia as a counterbalance of anti-Ukrainian politics of Russophiles and Austrian rulers, which promoted Ukrainian literature and language learning.

population, spreading the information in the villages. Himka states that the intelligentsia “deeply depended” on the clergy. Therefore he concludes: “The priesthood, then, was the natural bridge from the intelligentsia to the peasantry”³². Truly, the special mission of being a connecting link between the village and city brought some consequences. For example, Church brotherhoods founded in this period with the educational aim had a very positive effect on the society: instead of drinking in local taverns people were gathering in the reading clubs. Himka concludes that “by joining reading clubs, peasants joined the nation”³³. I think this statement depicts accurately the picture of the 19th century situation.

Although this initiative was good it did not end well for the priests. Himka sees a bit of irony in this process. He emphasizes that the priests were important only on the first step of the national awakening. He defines it as “the priest's historical mission in the village” - to put this in grand nineteenth-century terms - was to replace itself with proper institutions.³⁴ What happened after was that the peasants turned against their teachers. The result of the priests’ educational activism was completely unexpected: the acquisition of secular knowledge by the peasantry generally involved some limitation on the authority of the priest. Intellectually familiarized peasants began to think independently and question the previously unquestioned moral and intellectual authority of their pastor. Even more, the reading clubs often became the forum for peasant interests and evolved into an anti-clerical institution. The radical intellectuals encouraged confrontation in the villages between pastors and reading clubs and published anti-clerical brochures and periodicals for peasant consumption.³⁵ Trying to answer the question why it happened, Himka declares the economic and intellectual antagonism which appeared between the priests and their parishioners. He states that the radicals had to wait until the priests “prepare” people and only then could they work with them.

³² John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, 6.

³³ Ibid, 9.

³⁴ Ibid, 10.

³⁵ Ibid, 13.

Rudnytsky also notes that the interrelations between the Ukrainian national movement and the Greek-Catholic Church did not have a “happy ending” as the clergy supported more conservative and old Ruthenian views rather than radical ideas. He states that the newly formed secular intelligentsia was offended by the clerical tutorship over the masses and promoted anti-clerical ideas³⁶. The leading role of the Greek-Catholic clergy was limited in time: there was no way for it to keep the top position, scholars agree. Turiy finds a paradox in this story: through the titanic work among the masses the clergy “with one's own hand” broke the position and authority of the church.

2.3. The reformation of monastic communities

A similar story was happening with the religious congregations at the turn of the 20th century. Looking closer at what was going on with these institutions in the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century one may notice the radical changes for the Halych Metropolitane monasticism. Ruthenian monastic life experienced a completely new epoqe, some of the orders were successfully renewed while a few new ones were founded. Following the directives of *Rerum Novarum*, an encyclical issued by the Pope Leo XIII in 1891, most of monastic congregations became more involved in the social life. The 20th century monasteries have changed their essence, they were not on the outskirts of the cities anymore, on the contrary they were included in their structure. Even more, they ran an intensive round of parish life activities and became more important than other church communities because they have a monastery just near the parish and provided more services around. This change had tremendous consequences for religious life in Ukrainian society.

Himka brings an example of the attempt of Resurrectionists, a Polish religious order founded in 1842, to counterbalance the situation in Western Ukraine at the end of the 19th century. The Resurrectionists were engaged in missionary work and schooling. Some of the members were of “Greek

³⁶Ivan L. Rudnytsky, *Essays in modern Ukrainian history* (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1987), 436.

rite.”³⁷ They also wanted to work with Galicia’s population and requested the permission of the emperor. The aim was to “establish a boarding school for Ruthenian youth”.³⁸ This idea was negatively perceived by Ruthenian bishops who claimed they have their own clergy and seminary. Sembratovych, the metropolitan of Lviv, noted that because the order consists exclusively of Poles “it will produce more friction between the rites than harmony”.³⁹ Despite these comments, the Resurrectionists were permitted to work in Galicia in 1880. Such a negative attitude towards Latin Congregations in the end of the 19th century will be changed very soon when more religious orders started active missionary activities in the area. But firstly, the existing congregations were to face a long process of reforms.

One of the biggest monastic Greek-Catholic orders in Galicia was the Basilian Order. It is named after st. Basil and takes its roots from Kievan Rus monastic life. The need to reform the Basilian order was very urgent in the second half of the 19th century as it was signaled by various petitions concerning the problems of discipline and shortage of vocations. There were many complaints and reports concerning the low level of the discipline, the problem with drinking etc. In other words, the order was in a deep decline and stood in need of some reforms. The question was how and where to provide the reforms. Usually for this business the help of other monastic congregations could be the solution. The Roman-Catholic Order of Jesuits seemed to be the only option although this decision was not accepted by the Ukrainians, who saw a danger of “Latinizing innovations” through this process. Even some of the bishops were against this action, for example, the bishop of Przemyśl protested to implement the reform in Dobromyl. But the metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych, who was famous for his pro-Polish views, did not have any objections. In the Apostolic Constitution “Singularare Preasidium” (1882) Pope Leo XIII declared that the reform of the Basilian order has to be led by the Jesuits. This project was completed though highly criticized by the Ruthenian national activists and clergy who in this reform saw the process of latinization and polonisation of the order as the Jesuits, invited for this

³⁷ As a result of participating in Bulgarian mission.

³⁸ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, 67.

³⁹ Ibid, 68.

action, were Polish themselves. Truly, Magosci reports, that the reform was carried under an intense anti-Ukrainian dimension. The fact that the Polish Jesuits destroyed a huge library of Ukrainian periodicals in the Dobromyl monastery suggests that the monks were protagonists of national opposition.⁴⁰ The reform of the female Basilian Order was led by the metropolitan Sembratovych and taken over by Basilian monks.

Despite the suspicious views, the newly reformed Basilians actively joined in the process of national awakening. For instance, Himka brings to our attention the magazine “Misionar” published by the reformed Basilian Order. This paper was an example of the religious booklets in a simple format for the peasantry, which included some issues of Ruthenian national movement. Another form of the activism was organized through popular piety – the Basilians promoted the Latin tradition of devotions in order to unite the polonised population under Ukrainian prayers⁴¹. At the same time a young count, Andrei Sheptytskyi, joined the congregation of St. Basil. Very shortly after the change from Latin to the Eastern rite, he became the bishop of the Greek-Catholic Church.

2.4. Andrei Sheptytskyi and the Redemptorists’ mission

A new era started in 1901 when Andrei Sheptytskyi was assigned as Metropolitan of the Halych Metropolitanate. His personality has often been discussed and his activities deeply analyzed by historians, but all of them agree that Sheptytskyi was very keen to combine religious and social life of the clergy. Turiy notes that Andrei Sheptytskyi took the task to turn the church back to its duties as a spiritual institution but at the same time involved in social processes. His view and activities shaped the new identity of the Greek-Catholic Church as a Catholic, but also a Ukrainian National institution. Suppressing the Russophile movement and keeping the purity of the Eastern rite were the instruments of this tactics. This mission became a new program and made the essence of his apostolic service for more than thirty years. He worked simultaneously with the educational, cultural development, defense

⁴⁰Paul Robert Magosci, ed., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989): 31.

⁴¹John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*.

of national and social rights, and soon he personalized the leadership of the national movement in Western Ukraine. Sheptytskyi was concerned with the relations between the clergy and secular intelligentsia. His reflections and suggestions on this topic are found in one of his pastoral letters. He declared that lay people should take over the the chief position in social affairs and stated that “the clergy would not try to regain the lost territory”⁴² but at the same time he emphasized that Christianity “...could play a unifying role in a society threatened by the loss of ethical principles and divided in terms of social ideals”.⁴³

Sheptytskyi was taking part in the nouvelle for that time process – dialog of Eastern and Western Churches. He was convinced that reunification of the Orthodox Church with Rome is possible while keeping the Eastern rite.⁴⁴ That is why he was very keen about the conversion of Russia. Giving suggestions to those who wished to join the Catholic Church the metropolitane advised to keep the Eastern rite. Sheptytskyi concentrated a lot of this effort on the priests and monks, “who he wished to prepare for ecumenical work both at home and if the opportunity presented itself, directly among the Orthodox.”⁴⁵ This policy inspired him to renew some forgotten traditions of Eastern church –the monastic order of Theodor Studite.⁴⁶

The new order was supposed to accept boys despite their financial status⁴⁷ to be the imitators of the true traditional Eastern monastic life taking the roots from the studites’ monasteries on the mountain Athos and times of St. Anthony. Also popular now national patriotism facilitated the revival

⁴² Andrew Sorokowski, “The Lay and Clerical Intelligentsia in Greek Catholic Galicia” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1/4 (2002-2003):264.

⁴³ Andrew Sorokowski, “The Lay and Clerical Intelligentsia in Greek Catholic Galicia”, 264.

⁴⁴ One of the first national and religious activists of 1850s, father Volodymyr Terletsky, was pioneering the idea of a special mission given for Ukrainians which, according to him, was to unite the Eastern Church (meaning - Orthodox) with Rome. Also he was particularly interested in keeping a pure Eastern rite in the Greek-Catholic tradition and defended it against all sorts of borrowings. In order to unite the Orthodox Church with Rome, he claimed, the Greek-Catholics had to “cleanse” the rite from all Latin “admixture”. Ostap Sereda, “Aenigma Ambulans: o. Volodymyr (Ippolyt) Terletsky I “Ruska Narodna idea” v Halychyni”, *Ukraina Moderna* 4/5 (2000): 87-88.

⁴⁵ Liubomyr Husar, “Sheptytskyi and ecumenism” in *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts’kyi*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi, (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989), 189.

⁴⁶ Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti (The Vatican and the challenges of the modernity)*, 186-189.

⁴⁷ There were many candidates, who would like to live the monastic life but they were not accepted to the existing orders because of their poverty.

of interest in the historical monastic tradition. The Studites were living a simple, self-managing life full of prayer. Sheptytskyi provided them with the land in Sknyliv and built a monastery, where they led workshops and served as an educational centre for the local people.⁴⁸

The pluralism of monastic life is a typical feature of the Roman-Catholic Church. As Sheptytskyi wanted to develop the practices of both Eastern and Western church he simultaneously with the foundation of the Studites was initiating the emergence of some Latin congregations in Galicia.⁴⁹ Sheptytskyi had a vision of reuniting the Eastern Church with the Holy See. To enable this he needed a strong missionary team. Neither Basilians nor Studites were that numerous or aimed to do missionary work, they were rather contemplative congregations. His other project of the renewal of monastic life was implemented a few years later, when he visited the Congress in Canada and was introduced to the Redemptorist priests from Belgium who worked for Ukrainian emigrants.⁵⁰

The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) was founded in 1732 in Skala (Italy) by St. Alfonsus Liguori with a purpose to carry out missionary activity among the poorest and the most outcast people. The name “redemptorist” was acquired to emphasise the missionary accent of the congregation as it comes from the Latin “Redemptor” and means “Saviour”⁵¹. Thus Redemptorists were aiming to conduct missions and convert people to the Catholic Church. Originally a Roman Catholic Congregation, Redemptorists were also interested in spreading to the all of Europe and

⁴⁸ Ann Slusarczyk – Sirka, “Sheptytskyi in Education and Philanthropy” in *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi, (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989), 272.

⁴⁹ Stanisław Stępień, “Between Occidentalization and Byzantinization: the Issue of Ritual Identity of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland in the Interwar period” *Kovchek. A Scholarly Journal of Church History. Volume 4: The Ecclesial and National Identity of the Greek Catholics of Central-Eastern Europe* (2003): 95.

⁵⁰ After inviting the Redemptorists Sheptytskyi also gave his blessing and permission for the foundation of Eastern-rite Jesuits and Salesians. The Jesuits’s project started in 1923, in Albertyn, in the Polish state. The main charisma of the Jesuits was to widen the Uniate church and uproot any innovations in the Eastern rite. The Salesians mission was initiated in 1930 by the Apostolic Nuntio of Poland rev. Francesco Marmagi who requested the Pope and the General Prefect of the Salesians to establish their work in Ukraine with permission to maintain the rite and traditions of the Greek-Catholic Church. Boys from the Eparchy of Peremyshl were sent to Ivrea, northern Italy, to study with the Salesians in order to organize a Ukrainian branch of the Salesians in Halychyna.

⁵¹ “Redemptorists” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII, (1967): 161-164; Boland, *A dictionary of the Redemptorists*, Romae, (1987).

Eastern Europe in particular. The first monasteries appeared in the Habsburg monarchy in the second half of the 18th century.

A new “branch” of Eastern-rite Redemptorists emerged before the First World War in Canada. This story is of importance and has to be shortly retold. Archbishop Langevin of Winnipeg was visiting Brussels in 1898 and asked Belgian Redemptorists as missionaries to work among immigrants in his archdiocese. As the Redemptorists had an interest in the work with emigrants, in 1899 Father Achille Delaere, who volunteered for this project, went on a mission to minister to the Galician emigrants in Canada⁵². Very soon he realised that the mission was possible only with a transition to the Eastern rite. There was a problem with the widespread conversion of Ukrainian Greek - Catholics into Orthodox in Canada. The Russian scholar Mikhail Dmitriev studies this problem and states that in the circumstances of the new settlement Galician emigrants were not pressured by anyone, therefore their choice of Church designates their personal preference. “The decisive argument for immigrants was a conviction that Greek-Catholics are Orthodox, as it followed the Eastern rite. Therefore they believed that joining the Orthodox church is not change of confession.”⁵³ Dmitriev concludes that religious self-identification of immigrants was based upon three factors: they considered themselves opposed to Roman –Catholics, did not see a contradiction in being an Orthodox Greek-Catholic” and this was also connected to being a Ruthenian. Confessional component in this case dominates over the ethnical. They were Orthodox- therefore Ruthenians, while Roman Catholics were identified with the Poles⁵⁴. Ivan Patarak adds that working in rivalry with Orthodox priests was not easy for Redemptorists, as the former ones were native speakers and could easily approach people. He determines a few reasons for the problems with

⁵² Paul Laverdure, *Redemption and ritual: the Eastern-rite Redemptorists of North America, 1906 – 2006*, Yorkton, 2007.

⁵³For his study Dmitriev uses the materials of sittings of the court in town Star, Alberta about a church building claimed to be owned by both Orthodox and Uniates. He claims that Orthodox self-consciousness was identical to the Greek-Catholic one and did not constitute a problem for the immigrants to join Orthodox church when they clearly opposed themselves to Catholics – a result of the Eastern rite shared in Uniates with Orthodox. Identical equation of the rites was determinant in their actions. Mikhail Dmitriev, “Brestskaja Unia: 300 let spustia (religioznyi opyt galicyiskyh pereselencev v Kanadu, rubezh XIX -XX vv.)” *Confraternitas Festschrift in honor of Iaroslav Isaievych Krykun M, O.Sereda eds*, (Lviv 2006-2007): 578.

⁵⁴Mikhail Dmitriev, “Brestskaja Unia: 300 let spustia ... 585.

the perception of Redemptorists by Ukrainians: belonging to the Latin rite, Belgian citizenship and poor knowledge of Ukrainian.⁵⁵

Taking this into consideration Delaere petitioned for a transfer to the Ukrainian rite and was approved on 9th March 1906 by Pius X.⁵⁶ Thus they successfully changed their rite and started a mission for Ukrainian immigrants⁵⁷. In discussions with Sheptytskyi about a nomination of a Ukrainian bishop for Canada Delaere claimed that Ukrainians do not trust Roman-Catholic bishops, as they have prejudices against Roman – Catholic church in result of the continuous fight with Catholics at home for protecting their rite, culture and national self-identification.⁵⁸

The idea to invite Belgian Redemptorists to Galicia came to metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi during the Congress in Montreal (Canada) in 1910. In three years the contract according to which Redemptorists had to found a missionary placement in Galicia for Eastern rite Ukrainians, was ready and signed.⁵⁹ Father Akhil Delaere was one more person interested in the foundation of the monastery in Galicia. He did everything possible to enable the project to become real, as after a while he could invite more missionaries to work with Ukrainian emigrants. Ukrainians by origin would be native speakers and well acquainted with the Eastern rite. For this reason he even travelled with father Provincial Van de Steene to Lviv in July 1912 to meet Andrei Sheptytskyi. In May 1913 he went for a meeting with provincials of many provinces where the Ukrainian Mission was particularly discussed.

⁵⁵ Ivan Paratak, "Chyn Otciv Redemptorystiv u hromadsko-relihiynomu zhytti ukrainciv v Kanadi" ("The Order of the Redemptorists in social and religious life of Ukrainians in Canada") *Naukovi zapysky Natsionalnoho universytetu "Ostrozka akademiia": Istorychni nauky*, Vol. 11, (Ostrog, 2008): 120.

⁵⁶ Bohdan Kazymyra, "Sheptytskyi and Ukrainians in Canada" in *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi, (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989), 338.

⁵⁷ The initiative to found a monastery in Canada came out in 1898 from the archbishop Adelarde Lanvergain. According to his project, Redemptorists were supposed to work with the emigrants, who were living in very poor conditions. The first priest who implemented this project was Father Achilleus Delaere. Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. Redemptoryści obrządku wschodniego w Metropolii Lwowskiej (grekokatolickiej) w latach 1913 – 1939. (Redemptorists of the Eastern rite in the Lviv Greek-Catholic Metropolitanate in 1913-1939"), (Tuchów, 1998), 20-26.

⁵⁸ Ivan Paratak, "Chyn Otciv Redemptorystiv u hromadsko-relihiynomu zhytti ukrainciv v Kanadi" ("The Order of the Redemptorists in social and religious life of Ukrainians in Canada") *Naukovi zapysky Natsionalnoho universytetu "Ostrozka akademiia": Istorychni nauky*, Vol. 11, (Ostrog, 2008): 121-122.

⁵⁹ Bubnii, Mykhailo, *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropolii v 1913-1939 rokakh. (Redemptorists of the Eastern rite in the Lviv Greek-Catholic Metropolitanate in 1913-1939")*, (Lviv, 2003), 28.

Also he believed that through Ukrainians the Church Union will be restored.⁶⁰ So, he was convincing others that the Ukrainian Mission was necessary even for the sake of the Canadian Mission.

Following that, on the eve on the World War I, 21st August 1913, eight Belgian monks arrived to Western Ukraine and settled in Univ, a small village in the Lviv Region, where Andrei Sheptytskyi provided them with a first house for living. He acted as their protector and helped them to settle in. In order to work with the local people and do the missionary work they also had to change their rite and learn Ukrainian. From that time Eastern-rite Redemptorists became an integral part of the religious life of Western Ukraine.

The reason why the Belgian province was chosen to give the start of a Ruthenian mission is that this province was one of the biggest and richest communities of Redemptorists in the world. Delaere claimed that in his opinion Belgian province is the best candidate for this as it is possible to take away a few people of the province without weakening it. Answering the question why rather Polish Province was not implementing the project to expand Redemptorists mission to Ukrainian lands, Delaere responds that it is due to two reasons. Firstly, this province is not strong enough, does not have suitable candidates. Secondly, it is because of a strong antipathy between Poles and Ukrainians. During the discussion the provincials came to a conclusion that missionaries from Belgium – foreigners for both Ukrainian and Polish nations will prevent concerns and suspicions from both sides. One of the Ukrainian Redemptorists, Roman Bakhtalovskyi, later shares his opinion in the memoir stating that it was a deep catholic worldview of Belgians that resulted in a huge growth of monastic vocations and monasteries of various religious orders and “enabled the possibility to send plenty of missionaries to pagan countries and countries with poor spirituality”.⁶¹

⁶¹ Roman Bakhtalovs’kyi, *Apostol ziednannia nashykh chasiv ; spohady*, (“*The modern Apostle of unity, memoirs*”), (Lviv, 2001), 65.

Father Emil Vanderstraeten was assigned to be a superior of the community but after unsuccessful attempts to learn the language he had to give up and return back to Belgium. Father Joseph Schrijvers was younger and more skilled in learning languages and became the next superior. The war was a huge and unexpected obstacle in the Ukrainian mission. First of all, the monks were citizens of Belgium – which was hostile to the Habsburgs country. Because of the military actions between Antante and Triple Alliance there was no communication with the monastery in Belgium and no help could be granted to the missionaries. Secondly, the war caused various losses and damages in economic sphere. The local people were very poor, big pecuniary losses were putting the whole mission of Redemptorists in danger. Father Schrijvers in his letters notes that the war has influenced the value of money and has ruined the economics of local people. He stresses the absolute poverty and brings an example, that when some people want to go to a confession or visit a church sometimes they have to borrow the clothes from their neighbors as they might not have it.⁶² But then he concludes the letter, saying : “nous sommes reduits a la meme misere que le peuple auquel nous nous devouons, mais vive Dieu!”⁶³ This statement shows the enthusiasm and a strong belief that the Mission will be completed.

Despite these problems Redemptorists managed to continue the mission and stayed in Ukraine.⁶⁴ They conducted many missions and retreats for the local population caring about the people and renewing their spiritual life. In a few years Andrei Sheptytskyi granted the Redemptorists the new house in Zboiska, a village in the suburbs of Lviv. They moved to the new and spacious building on the 1st of September 1919 and started reconstruction works to adjust the building to the needs of the monastery. It was the first official monastery of the future Lviv Province of Eastern rite Redemptorists.

⁶²A letter written by J. Schrijvers, 2 decembre 1920. Stanislawow, KADOC, Leuven. 3.3.2.17.5.4.

⁶³“these days we have the same misery that the people to whom we are committed, but glory beto God”A letter written by J. Schrijvers, 2 decembre 1920, Stanislawow, KADOC, Leuven. 3.3.2.17.5.4.

⁶⁴Mykhailo Bubnii, CSsR. Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu... 35-37.

It was named after the icon of the Our Lady of Perpetual help⁶⁵ as the whole mission was devoted to it too. Notably, this icon is worshipped in both Eastern and Western Christianity.

To conclude, when thinking about the national identity of Ukrainians in the second half of the 19th century one cannot forget to observe the issues with the religious identification. In the Ukrainian case, the Greek – Catholic Church played a tremendous role in the process of the national building. The Church was going through a huge process of evolution including the improvement of the education for the priests, by taking part in socio-political events, creating new brotherhoods and congregations. Nobody may doubt that the Ukrainian national awakening was accelerated by the activism of the clergy before it was taken over by lay activists. Organizing the reading clubs and taking part in the national movement was a typical feature of the village priest's life in the second half of the 19th century. The clergy truly played a significant role as promoters of secular enlightenment in Galicia. Also we may say that both processes were interconnected: the confessional structure often influenced the construction of peoples' nationality and the development of their national movement as well as their nationality and national movement influenced their religious life. The activism of Andrei Sheptytskyi was the culmination of the national and religious movement. He demonstrated a readiness to connect the traditions of the Greek-Catholic Church with the challenges of the new national aspirations of Ukrainians in Galicia. One of his projects was to found a new religious congregation of the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists), which would work with the local population and “bridge” Eastern rite with the Catholic Church in Galicia. By changing their rite Redemptorists planned to use the Greek-Catholic Church as an instrument for missionary work among the Orthodox Ukrainians and Russians, but unintentionally became involved into the national conflict between Ukrainians and Poles in Western Ukraine.

⁶⁵This is a fourteen century icon which came into possession of the Redemptorists in 1866 in Rome. Since that the icon was regarded as a patron of the Congregation. The copies were sent and worshipped in each monastery. In McConvery, Brendan, *Redemptorists in Ireland*, Chapter 2, section “Furnishing the church”.

Chapter3 Redemptorists in political discourse of Interwar Ukraine.

The Ukrainian-Polish conflict

3.1. Redemptorists facing political challenges

The breakdown of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918 caused huge impediments in the political situation on the territory of former Austrian province of Galicia, populated by Ukrainians, Poles and Jews. Ukrainian-Polish conflict over the control of the eastern part of the province produced different interpretations of the Wilson's statement about the right of nations for self-determination and independence, proclaimed in January 1918. Poles demanded the territories of Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna, while Ukrainians proclaimed the Western Ukrainian People's Republic on these lands on the 1st of November 1918⁶⁶.



Map 1. Western Ukrainian People's Republic⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Yaroslav Hrycak, *Narysy z istorii Ukrainy, Formuvannia modernoi Ukrainskoi natsii XIX-XX stolittia. (Sketch of the History of Ukraine. Formation of the Modern Ukrainian Nation, 19th-20th century)*, (Kyiv, 1996). 95.

⁶⁷ Map from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Ukrainian_People's_Republic

Polish political leaders of Galicia, as Zashkilniak claims, consisted mostly of adherents of national-democrats who negatively treated Ukrainian national movement, so Polish activists opposed the act of independence and the Polish-Ukrainian War commenced in November 1918.⁶⁸ Liliana Hentosh believes that the war was a culmination of the Ukrainian – Polish conflict and showed the fullness of the intercrossed national conceptions in the region.⁶⁹ Roman Dmowski, a leader of Polish National-Democratic Party, was a protagonist of assimilatory politics and a delegate to the Peace Conference in Paris on the 18th of January 1919. He prepared a memorial to the leaders of European countries in which he requested including Galicia and Volhynia to the Polish state referring back to the traditions of the former Rzecz Pospolita. As a result, the committee decided to agree on his arguments and include Eastern Galicia into the Polish state.⁷⁰ Another point is that the two sides of the war were represented by two branches of the Catholic Church: Greek-Catholics were standing against Roman Catholics. This factor increased the confrontation of the clergy and complicated the missionary project for Redemptorists.

The situation after the defeat of Ukrainians did not bring any alternatives but further assimilation policies. One can differentiate between two approaches of the Polish interwar state regarding national minorities. Bohdan Budurowycz defines them as (i) program of incorporation and (ii) federalist program. The first was more radical and meant complete assimilation, while the second was rather built on the idea of compromise between the nations. The Polish government headed by Józef Piłsudski followed the radical scheme. Even religious policies served nationalistic aims. Himka notes that as the Greek-Catholic Church became “firmly identified with the Ukrainian national movement” it was treated negatively by the government. To weaken the Ukrainian national aspect in

⁶⁸ Andrii Zashkilniak, Mykola Krykun, *Istoria Polshchi: vid naidavnishykh chasiv do nashykh dniv (History of Poland: from the earliest times until nowadays)*, (Lviv, 2002), 442.

⁶⁹ Hentosh, Liliana, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti...*, 438.

⁷⁰ Andrii Zashkilniak, *Istoria Polshchi*, 451.

the churches the Poles supported the Russophile movement or implemented the process of revindication – conversion of Orthodox/Greek-Catholic churches into Catholic ones.⁷¹

For this reason the mission of Redemptorists was not easy to accomplish. Recalling the memoirs of the early years, Father Boer in a 1922 letter describes realities of the previous situation. He remembers that when the War started, Austrians were suspicious of the monks, because of their Belgian citizenship. During the occupation of Galicia, Russians would like to get rid of them, Poles hated and despised them. Left without money, having no contact with the Belgian Province, he remembers, they faced real poverty. Austrians set limits for their work, Russians threatened them with deportation, and Poles made their existence unbearable, he reports and concludes “Everywhere Redemptorists found opposition, hatred and enmity”.⁷² It does seem that facing this negative treatment, Redemptorists were thinking of leaving or finding an extra support. In Ukraine Redemptorists did not have any options or supporters, besides the Metropolitane. But in this situation he could not change anything. One of the ways to bring a solution into the conflict was to appeal to the Vatican, as it “was seriously preoccupied with the conflict which could create additional obstacles in the realization of the great plan of the Roman curia in Orthodox Russia.”⁷³ It is exactly this factor that motivated Redemptorists, subjects to the Pope, to inform the Apostolic See about the current political situation in the area, although the Constitution and Statutes of the Congregation did not allow them to get involved in political discourses.⁷⁴ The main agent of this project was father Franc-Xavier Bonne.

3.2. Franc Xavier Bonne and the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission

Usually Redemptorists refer to their confrere Bonne as “the Belgian who fell in love with Ukraine”. He is a bright example of a foreigner missionary who got involved in the conflict between Ukraine and Poland in the beginning of the 20th century and served as a representative of the Ukrainian

⁷¹ Jon-Paul Himka, *Western Ukraine between the Wars*, 400.

⁷² “A nous l’Ukraine”, Lettre written by Father Boer, 1922 in *Lettres sur l’Ukraine* Vol.1. 4-5.

⁷³ Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti...*, 455-456.

⁷⁴ Constitutions of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

<http://www.cssr.com/english/whoarewe/constitutions.shtml>

People's Republic's mission to the Vatican. He was born in 1882 in Bruges, Belgium and joined the Congregation of Redemptorists in 1908. Three years later he volunteered to go to Galicia and work for the Ukrainian mission. He was among the first priests to learn the language and get acquainted with the rite. The war hampered his planned beforehand movement to Canada so he stayed working as a parish priest in Ternopil.⁷⁵ During that time he established contact with the Archduke Wilhelm, known in Ukraine as Vasyl Vyshyvanyy, and the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement Viacheslav Lypynskyi and Dmytro Doroshenko. Bonne was introduced to Wilhelm von Habsburg by the Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and became his "chaperone" and "Catholic companion in Ukraine".⁷⁶ It might have been planned by Sheptytskyi to make this acquaintance and place a Redemptorist priest so close to Wilhelm von Habsburg. In the photo below the Archduke (in the center) is visiting father Bonne (on the right of the Archduke) in Ternopil in February 1918.⁷⁷ This visit proves that the acquaintance with Bonne was of special importance and suggests that they were adherents in political views.

In the memoirs of Doroshenko, there are passages about Father Bonne. He describes the priest as "an energetic man, devoted to his vocation"⁷⁸. In his sermons Father Bonne, Doroshenko remembers, always rose in defense of Ukrainians in Ternopil and "too bravely scourged Russians". He adds that Father Bonne could say things which Ukrainian priests would not dare to say aloud.⁷⁹ After Ternopil, Bonne took the obligations of Ukrainian Halych army⁸⁰ chaplain and after that he served as an interpreter during the peace negotiations in Khodoriv⁸¹. Also he worked as an assistant to the foreign

⁷⁵ The parish priest of the church in Ternopil, where Father Bonne was settled, Father Gromnytsky, was deported to Syberia.

⁷⁶ Timothy Snyder, *The Red Prince*, (New York, 2008), 105, 127. Describing father Bonne, Snyder refers to him as to the one, who "like several other Redemptorists, had accepted the Greek Catholic rite and a Ukrainian national identity".

⁷⁷ Beshley Bohdan, *Podvyzhnyky Chynu Naisviatvyatishogo Izvavytelya v Ukraini*, Ternopil, 2004, 53.

⁷⁸ Dmytro Doroshenko, *Moi spomyny pro nedavnie mylule 1914-1920 My memoirs of the recent past 1914-1920*, (Munich, 1969), 544.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ UHA –Ukrainska Halytska Armia (Ukrainian Galician Army) was the Ukrainian military force of the West Ukrainian People's Republic during and after the Polish-Ukrainian War.

⁸¹ It was the Entente's mission under the lead of general Bartelmi.

affairs minister. None of these affairs can be qualified as missionary work and shows that besides religious activities Redemptorists were able to dedicate themselves in a political sphere.



Pic. 1. The Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg (in the center) visiting father Bonne (on the right of the Archduke) in Ternopil. February 1918

His next “challenging mission” was to serve as a delegate of the Ukrainian mission to the Apostolic See.⁸² It was the second mission organized by UNR and consisted of Father Bonne and his secretary Petro Karmanskyi. The first private audience with the Pope took place on 22nd of February

⁸²In October 1918 The pope’s Nuntio arrived to Kyiv and organized the first Ukrainian apostolic mission to the Pope. Due to some problems the mission was implemented only in November 1919. Mykhaylo Tyshkevych was assigned to lead the mission. He transferred his obligations to Father Bonne on 14th of February 1920.

Another example of a devoted to diplomatic affairs priest is Father Yosafat Jan. He was a French Canadian, who being inspired by some Basilians and Redemptorists working with immigrants in Canada, decided to become a priest and go to Galicia, to learn Ukrainian and work with Ukrainians in Canada. In 1910 he went to Univ and in 1911 received a permission to change the rite from Rome. After returning to Canada fr Jan decided to join the Congregation of St. Basil the Great (Eastern rite) and had to go back to Galicia for his novitiate. Meanwhile the war started and he found himself in the centre of military events. In 1919 he was asked to join the Diplomatic mission of UNR to Apostolic See. His personality and involvement in social affairs of the society he dedicated himself gives another example of a politically involved priest-patriot. More in Shkarabiuk, Petro. *Monashyi Chyn Otsiv Vasylian u natsionalnomy zhytti Ukrainy (Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine)* (Lviv: Misioner, 2005).

1920, when Bonne presented the political and religious situation in Ukraine. On 30th of March during the second audience the “Memoire” was handed to the Pope.⁸³

The key aim for Bonne in this mission was to demand a diplomatic representative of Ukraine at the Apostolic See to have constant diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Vatican. Also he insisted on rendering of medical help from the Red Cross Association for the needs of Ukrainian army. The Memoire written and delivered to the Pope by Father Bonne in 1920 encloses many important details, incorporated in this chapter.

Focusing on the main statements of the document gives a better insight into the political situation on Western Ukrainian lands after the First World War. As it is stated at the beginning of the document, the memoir is given to the Pope as the last refuge for Ukrainian people. Bonne gives thanks for the helping hand the Pope already extended to Ukrainians. He refers to the event of the 16th of February 1920, when the Pope appointed Giovanni Genokki to be an Apostolic visitor for Ukraine and father Schrijvers to be his secretary and allocated significant material funding.⁸⁴

Introducing the problem, Bonne refers to the times of King Danylo, who reigned in Galicia in the 13th century and received a crown from the Pope Innocent IV in 1263 as a sign of recognition and a blessing to defend Europe from the Ottomans. Bonne continues to itemize other historical events which affirm the close relations between Kyiv metropolitans and the Vatican, and the Pope’s constant hope for a unique mission of Ukrainians, worded by the Pope himself: “*Per vos, mei Rutheni, totum Orientem convertendum spero*”.⁸⁵ This phrase, as Bonne stresses, was never as urgent as now. By this he means the missionary attempts of Redemptorists to reach out to Russia and convert it with the help of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, but suddenly stopped by the political conflicts.

⁸³ Solovyova V, *Dyplomatychna dialnist Ukrainskoi narodnoi respubliky v Italii ta Vatykani 1918-1920*. (Diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People’s Republic in Italy and the Vatican 1918-1920) *Ucrainica Polonica* vol.1 (2007), 170.

⁸⁴ Hentosh, Liliana, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti*, 308, 311. Unfortunately, this diplomatic mission’s initiative did not last long as due to the complaints and protest from the Polish government, he did not go to Ukraine. The Polish authorities objected visitor’s interference in Eastern Galicia.

⁸⁵ Bonne, *Memoire presente a Sa Saintete le Pape Benoit XV* KADOC in Leuven, 4.10.1.1.

Bonne gives the list of false Russian accusations of the clergy during the occupation, the plan to destroy the Greek-Catholic Church and forcing people to Orthodoxy, the exile of Andrei Sheptytskyi etc. The latter is pictured in the memoir with great reverence, as a true hero who is leading “his sheep” towards the union with the Catholic Church⁸⁶. Sheptytskyi’s plan, according to Bonne, was to raise the number of priests in Galicia and send missionaries to convert more people into Catholicism.

Bonne continues with the persecutions from the Polish side. Unfortunately, he states, Poles let themselves be “blinded” and ruled by national selfishness. He brings many examples of the acts of Polonisation, imprisonment of the Greek-Catholic clergy. The priests were seen as an obstacle for Poles as the whole Greek-Catholic Church with its Eastern rite, as they were aware of the fact that it is the most efficient protection from assimilation. “Polish imperialism”, as Bonne defines the politics of Poles, forced them to imprison and deport Ukrainian intelligentsia and clergy to concentration camps, where people were dying every day. The Polish army had no limits and would not stop burning villages and killing women with children. Father Bonne brings examples from the newspapers which protest against Polish chauvinism, but notes that those were just minority opinions. The aim of the Polish government was, according to him, to destroy Ukrainian culture, humiliate and persecute those who refuse to accept Latin rite.⁸⁷ The wording of the documents shows Bonne’s personal negative attitude toward Polish state and sharp criticism of their actions. The rudeness of the army and the wish to humiliate the Ukrainian population are so brightly and in detail described that they can convince a neutral person to fully believe in it. I cannot judge how objective the the document is and whether any exaggerations take place there, but the character of the Memoire shows a detailed account of opposition toward Polish army, politicians and clerics.

Although Bonne never mentions the Redemptorist mission in Ukraine, he informs about the rudeness and hatred of the Poles who destroyed the Basilians’ printing house in Zhovkva and

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

confiscated the printing machines, made a sports gym in the seminary building and turned a chapel into a cinema.⁸⁸ Surely the fact of ruining the sacred places puts the Poles in a very bad perspective and is supposed to provoke a reaction of the Pope.

Concluding the appeal, Father Bonne explains that the diplomatic Mission, as a representative of the Ukrainian People's Republic, is very concerned about the future of Ukraine and an unavoidable catastrophe for the Ukrainian nation. He adds that the Republic recognizes the Apostolic See as the best help and supporting place, hoping that, like in the past, the Pope will stop "Polish imperialism", which ruins the Ukrainian nation.

The solution of the Ukrainian question was truly relevant to the politics of the Vatican regarding the spread of Catholicism in the East. In fact, Pope Benedict XV was very interested in the course of events, as evidenced in his letters to the metropolitane Sheptytskyi and Józef Bilczewski, the Latin archbishop in Lviv, asking for a peaceful solution of the conflict. Unfortunately, Hentosh notes, the letters had no result; the religious leaders "vindicated the interests of their side"⁸⁹. Sheptytskyi was sending words to the Pope claiming that Polish elites implemented a plan of polonisation of the minorities and did not tolerate Uniate missionaries in the Kholm region and Volhynia alluding to the influence of Greek Catholic traditions on the national belonging of Ukrainians.⁹⁰

On the other side, the Ukrainian People's Republic had its interest in the Diplomatic mission too. The closer relationships with the Vatican promised to strengthen the position of the Republic on the international scene and could change the attitude of the Entente toward the new Ukrainian state. Besides both sides of the conflict in Eastern Galicia belonged to the Catholic Church, therefore the appeal to the Head of the Church seemed very reasonable. A Ukrainian scholar Yaroslav Popenko

⁸⁸ Bonne, Memoire presente a Sa Saintete le Pape Benoit .

⁸⁹ Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti (The Vatican and the challenges of the modernity)*, 240.

⁹⁰ Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti (The Vatican and the challenges of the modernity)*, 237.

rightly believes that the Vatican could affect the politics of the Polish pro-Catholic government.⁹¹ Therefore the mission served quite a few diplomatic tasks.

Father Bonne officially stopped his diplomatic functions on 1st of November 1921, as there were no finances for the diplomatic mission and stopped its functioning with the exile of Ukrainian People's Republic.⁹² He did not come back to Galicia, but requested permission to leave the Congregation and emigrate to the States. Doroshenko interprets this act as a result of the Polish campaign against Bonne. He says that "the enemies of Ukraine" informed the General of Redemptorists about Bonne's political involvement claiming that missionaries became politicized, which should not be allowed in the Congregation. Bonne's reaction to this was straightforward, he did not justify himself but immediately asked for his release from the Congregation. For the rest of his life he worked as a parish priest for Ukrainian immigrants in the States, having little contact with Redemptorists. There are a few letters from the General sent to Redemptorist monasteries in America, asking whether they know something about Father Bonne. He died on 21st of November 1941 in South Deerfield (MA).

3.3. Redemptorists' documents on trial

Father Jansens is an author of another complaint sent to the Pope in 1919.⁹³ It is his first chance after the six years of missionary work in Galicia to present his arguments to the Apostolic nuntio monsignor Ratti and give a copy to the Pope.

After stating the goal of the Redemptorist mission, Father Jansens informs the Pope that Polish Catholics unfortunately do not understand the idea and impede the whole project. "Instead of giving us some help, they call us into question, instead of seeing us as coworkers of a great project, they see us as

⁹¹ Yaroslav Popenko, Mykhailo Tyshkevych – holova dyplomatychnoi misii UNR u Vatykani *Ucrainica Polonica* vol.1 (2007):150.

⁹² Liliana Hentosh, *Vatykan i vyklyky modernosti (The Vatican and the challenges of the modernity)*, 327

⁹³ Lettre written by Father Jansens on 24th of October 1919. Zbirka documentiv ed. by Ivan Levytskyi (Collection of documents edited by Ivan Levytskyi) Vol.2, 54-61.

the enemies of their fatherland”⁹⁴, he complains. Then he brings a list of the evidence, including the refusal of Roman-Catholic archbishop of Lviv to agree on Eastern-rite Redemptorists’ settling in Lviv. The Polish clergy attacks fathers and advises them to leave “this dirty rite” and convinces local people, especially outstanding public figures, to join the Latin rite. Also Jansens notes that Ukrainians are forbidden to have a profitable job as forest guards or tram controllers. The Redemptorists’ house in Zboiska was often attacked by the Polish government. They “worked with their hands and feet to ruin it”, he reports.

Continuing the letter, Jansens presents more evidence and facts of Polish persecutions and oppressions of the Ukrainian population. He indicates how many people were killed or injured, the Ukrainian trade system was destroyed, money from Ukrainian banks had been stolen and Ukrainians were forced to join the Polish army. He also draws attention to the arrest and oppression of Father Kinzinger, who was the first living in Zboiska with the aim to prepare the building for his confreres in Univ. Jansens adds that the father was treated as a killer and criminal.

In the conclusion Jansens clears himself saying that he is not an enemy of Poles, on the contrary, he is happy to see the Polish state’s “resurrection”. But, he continues, saying “I demand equal rights for our poor Ukraine too”⁹⁵. The problem according to him is that Ukrainians are very kind and pious, so others do with them whatever they want, but this has to be stopped. This personal statement gives an impression of a person’s clear political position and shows his desire to constitute equal life conditions and freedom for Ukrainians. It is important to note that this patriotism is coming from a Belgian citizen whose main task in Ukraine it to evangelize people, but turns out to be more passionate about the country’s future.

Father Van de Male in his memoir “My experience in Ukraine” narrates how sometimes work of Redemptorists in Ukraine was paralyzed by Polish government, police and even Latin clergy, which

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

rather followed Warsaw decrees than Vatican's. For example, Van de Male, says that Polish government disregarded Vatican's assign of Charnetskyi to be Apostolic administrator for all the Greek-Catholics living in Poland beyond Galicia, i.e. in Volhynia.⁹⁶ This event certainly deserves more attention. From the Ukrainian newspaper *Nyva* it is clear that the appointment of the Redemptorist Bishop Charnetskyi to be an Apostolic administrator for all the Greek-Catholics living in Poland beyond Galicia was negatively perceived by the Polish side. Ukrainians on the contrary were happy to see a bishop who with his thorough religious-missionary work will restore spiritual and moral life in the area. But the reporter also notes that "the circumstances the bishop will work in are very complicated".⁹⁷ Another article gives a review of press reactions to the appointment and states that the press was giving the alarm dissent on that occasion.⁹⁸ In reaction to these quite scandalous writings Sheptytskyi prepared a pastoral letter where he refuted the arguments and presumptions from the Polish side and declared that bishop Charnetskyi and other Redemptorists who work with him outside of Galicia keep the purity of the Eastern rite but work for the unity of Catholic Church.⁹⁹

This conflict signifies all the complexity of the situation, shows that Poles and Ukrainians were going through a period of serious misunderstanding and intolerance. As a result Redemptorists faced unexpected obstacles and troubles in their mission. So, unexpectedly their role was slightly changed: from missionaries, who came to convert the East, some of them turned straight into active political actors and defenders of Ukrainian national interests. The appointment of Charnetskyi was so actively opposed because he was seen as Sheptytskyi's secret agent and a promoter of Ukrainian separatism.

Moving from personal declarations to the politically related records in visitations and the monastery chronicles, one may notice similar claims among those documents. From the visitation of the Ukrainian Vice-province in Galicia, done by Father Provincial of Belgian Province Van De Steene

⁹⁶ Mavrykiy Van de Male, *Moi perezhyvannia v Ukraini* ("My experience in Ukraine") in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers, 1906 – 1956* (Yorkton, 1956), 297.

⁹⁷ Section "Various" *Nyva* Vol 1, 1931, 34

⁹⁸ *Nyva* vol. 2, 1931, 75-76; *Nyva* vol.3, 116-120.

⁹⁹ Pastoral letter of Andrei Sheptytskyi, Section "Various" *Nyva* Vol 4, 1931, 154-156.

during a month in 1922 information about the political conflicts becomes quite explicit. When it comes to difficulties which Ukrainian Redemptorists face in Galicia the visitor gives a detailed description of the problems and trials from the Polish side. According to him, the Poles “treat us [Eastern rite Redemptorists] as enemies” because of evangelizing Ukrainians who are against the Polish rule. So, he continues, the Poles write about us in papers, create obstacles for our work, but we have to stay away from political concerns, as soon we might possibly become enemies of Ukrainians too, especially the clergy, who envies us and provokes nationalistic thinking among people claiming that we tend to Latinize people. Therefore the visitor suggests buying or building a house outside of Poland just in case they “drive us out”.¹⁰⁰ This statement reveals that the situation was on the edge of suspending the Ukrainian mission. Being unrecognized by Polish confreres and treated negatively by both the Orthodox and Catholic clergy must have been unpleasant and worrying, therefore Redemptorists always had to think of an alternative placement and program.

Also the visitor warns that Ukrainian Redemptorists should never support or develop things Ukrainian people dislike, because, he says, we will automatically become suspicious looking for them. For example, biritualism promoted by Poles should not “blind our mission”; Redemptorists have to show how connected we are to the Byzantine rite, of course in places where it is practiced. This suggestion adds more color to the overall picture and explains why keeping the purity of the Eastern rite was a priority task for the mission.

The note from 2nd of October 1923 informs us that some Polish people came to the new house of Redemptorists¹⁰¹ in Holosko and made the sign “Polish land in the hands of Ruthenians” on the entrance gate. Following that Polish police came to search whether we have documents for the building, the chronicler continues.¹⁰² In February 1924 another record concerning the Ukrainian-Polish conflict: “Again, last month in Pustomyty, in a village of the Lviv diocese, Polish police tried to

¹⁰⁰ General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Visitation 1922, Fond 1, Inventory 6, File 1.

¹⁰¹ This house was granted to Redemptorists by Sheptytskyi in 1923.

¹⁰² Chronicle Zboiska 1923-30, KADOC, 4.10.3.1.

prevent the mission announcing that Belgian priests were not allowed to preach in Galicia. When Father Kinzinger replied that Catholic mission could spread the word of God in the whole world, they left and the mission ended successfully.”¹⁰³

Another problem with the government appeared when Ukrainian Redemptorist students were denied passports needed to go abroad. The notes from the chronicle of 1925 informs that four students who applied to go for studying in Belgium were refused the usual reduced student price, while other Ukrainian students were not. For this reason they had to stay in Galicia and wait for a better disposition from Poland. The next month Father Charnetskyy went to Warsaw to ask for the reduced prize but returned without getting it.¹⁰⁴ The problems with passports continued from 1931, when students could not get a permission to leave the country and had to stay in Galicia. Eventually these circumstances hastened the foundation of the seminary in Ukraine.¹⁰⁵

Summing up these documentaries it is clear, that the Ukrainian-Polish conflict designated a problem for the Redemptorists’ mission and even put its existence into question. As a result of this some of the members of the community decided to bring their voice and rise against the violence and injustice. Father Bonne headed a Ukrainian Diplomatic mission to the Apostolic See where he presented a thorough document which stated various cases of Polish and Russian oppressions of Ukrainians and expressed a request of help. Father Jansens submitted a long statement about a complicated situation created by the Poles. Also the presence of political disturbing is noted in the monastery chronicles and visitation reports. This gives us evidence that Redemptorists were experiencing quite a few obstacles in their missionary project.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Chronicle Zboiska 1923-30, KADOC, 4.10.3.1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Chapter 4 Educational engagement of Redemptorists in Western Ukraine

As the previous chapter shows, Redemptorists' mission in Galicia was successfully established and required further actions. Leading missions was the top priority task for the Redemptorists, but as a big project requires a big team, the question how to get new vocations became a central issue for the missionaries very soon after settling in Galicia in August 1913. For this chapter I used the memoirs of the three former students of Juvenate: Ivan Shukh, Volodymyr Stashchyn, known as brother Ilarion, and father Ivan Kozovyk. From their memoirs and the interviews with other Redemptorists I drew exclusive information about the daily routine in Juvenate, the timetable, the order of prayers and the staff of teachers. In this chapter I will resume the chronology of the functioning of these institutions and analyze the historical context of these educational structures.

4.1. The Juvenate project

In the 1922 letter to the Begian confreres Father Kintsinger described the situation with the number of missionary workers and cited the Holy Bible to state that “the harvest is plentiful, but the laborers are few” (Luke 10, 2)¹⁰⁶. The missionaries could not rely on the availability of the newcomers from the Belgian province due to the wartime and the complicated political situation, problems with learning the language and adjusting to the local life. Therefore the fathers needed to recruit local candidates. A step toward this project was to get in contact with young boys through establishing their own boarding school, where they could educate and train boys and introduce them to monastic life. It is important to note that the boys were not obliged to become monks; anybody whose parents were able to pay a fee could attend the school and leave after graduation. The key aim of that school, the Redemptorists called “Juvenate”, was to educate and bring up a new generation of Redemptorists – future missionaries.¹⁰⁷ Clearly, one has to take care of a vocation to develop it. In this situation students

¹⁰⁶ Letter written in 1922, by Kinsinger, *Lettres sur l'Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 4.

¹⁰⁷ Ludovic Van Ganzenwinkel, The Junior seminary-juvenate of Redemptorist fathers in Western Ukraine in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers*, 1906 – 1956 (Yorkton, 1956), 262.

who wished to join the congregation had a perfect opportunity to get used to the monastic way of life, they could see the daily work and prayer. Therefore sometimes Redemptorists call Juvenate a missionary school¹⁰⁸.

The first boarding school was founded by Redemptorists in French and Swiss Provinces, by Father Francois Masson in 1858. Teenage boys lived in separate houses and gathered for lectures led by Redemptorists. Starting from 1868 candidates lived in the same house with their tutors, where they also had classes¹⁰⁹. Similar projects were accomplished in other Redemptorist missionary stations. A resembling school institution was founded in Yorkton – a center of the Canadian Province of Eastern-Rite Redemptorists. Teaching in this school was done exclusively by Redemptorists. To enter this school, boys had to belong to the Eastern rite, be healthy and be willing to join the congregation of Redemptorists in the future.¹¹⁰

Being aware of these institutions, knowing the principles of their functioning and planning to improve the situation with local vocations Belgian priests decided to establish such a school in their Missionary station in Western Ukraine. In the letter to Belgian fathers father Provincial Joseph Schrijvers explains their decision reasoning that the school was needed to improve the poor educational situation and would help to gather young people for the future missionary work:

Dans cette desolation universelle je voudrais parvenir a fonder au moins un college entirement catholique une espece de juvenat ou les jeunes gens non encore pervertis pourraient trouver un asile pour leur vertu et leur Foi et devenir un jour les missionnaires de leurs freres.¹¹¹

Certainly the Redemptorists had a lot of expectations of the graduates; they wanted to raise them in a spirit of work for the “conversion of this poor country”.¹¹² The students, usually called juvenists, were supposed to become missionaries, preachers and the bearers of religious life in Galicia

¹⁰⁸ H. Novak, Juvenate – a missionary high school of Redemptorist fathers in Canada, in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers, 1906 – 1956* (Yorkton, 1956), 268.

¹⁰⁹ Mykhailo Bubnii, CSsR, *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli...*

¹¹⁰ “To the missionary school” *Le voix de Redempteur* No.2, Vol.6 (1921), 176.

¹¹¹ Letter written by J. Schrijvers, 15 decembre 1920, Stanislawow, KADOC, Leuven. 3.3.2.17.5.4.

¹¹² Letter written in 1922, by Kinzinger, *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 7.

and further abroad. In their plans Redemptorists hoped to spread the missionary work on Soviet Ukraine, the population of which they considered to be religious but deprived of the freedom of religious views. “Antireligious government does not constitute the society” claimed Father De Boer and called for new missions and active preparation of more missionaries. “Each missionary has to have at least one hundred followers in order to ensure the conversion of Ukraine.”¹¹³

4.2. Implementation of the project

The juvenate was planned to be suited in Zboiska, as there were no more houses available. But there was not enough place for the students, therefore priests had decided to build up the top floor and adapt the basement for a kitchen.¹¹⁴ Also the loft was used, after adding a few extra layers of bricks and a new roof the second floor became a living area. Kinzinger notes that even though the building looked as a one-floor block, it had two full floors and a ground floor.¹¹⁵ The funds to complete the construction works were collected by Father Schrijvers in Belgium. Father Van Ganzenvinkel notes that the fundraising project of Schrijvers was very successful and many benefactors in Belgium had made generous donations.¹¹⁶ The information about the Juvenate was also published in the Redemptorists’ Daily Calendar, suggesting support for the Ukrainian Project. (*See attachment on the page 82*).

The inauguration of the school was planned to be celebrated in September 1922.¹¹⁷ The Redemptorists had managed to finish the construction works by that time and on the 1st of September they welcomed the first group of students, 20 teenage boys from peasants’ and petty officials’ families in their house.. In the letter to the confreres father Boer describes how the boys were coming on the carts with their parents on the narrow road surrounded by the whitethorn trees. Everybody was admired

¹¹³ Ibid, 7 – 8.

¹¹⁴ Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli...*, 42.

¹¹⁵ Letter written in 1922, by Kinzinger, *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 6.

¹¹⁶ Ludovic Van Ganzenwinkel, The Junior seminary-juvenate of Redemptorist fathers in Western Ukraine in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers*, 1906 – 1956 (Yorkton, 1956), 262.

¹¹⁷ Letter written in 1922, by Kinzinger, *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 4.

by the view, he says: “The house was just behind the turning; it had a Redemptorists’ coat of arms sign on the façade saying “With Him is plentiful redemption”¹¹⁸.

The note on this event is left in the Ukrainian newspaper “Nyva” [“A Cornfield”] titled “The Redemptorists’ appeal to the Ukrainian clergy and youth”. In the note the supervisor informs about the inauguration of the Juvenate and encourages young people (boys) and priests to think of joining “under the flag of the Congregation”. It will be a valuable experience for youngsters as they will get education, get a taste of monastic life, get acquainted with missions and become able to “cross Galicia and launch their departments to Great Ukraine and endless space of the East to work for the salvation of the lost brothers”.¹¹⁹ It is important to add that the newspaper was Church-sponsored and represented a view of the clergy formed by Andrei Sheptytskyi. Probably this explains the content of the note. Redemptorists could use the support of Sheptytskyi to advertise their school in the newspaper.

To enter the juvenate one was obliged to pass the examinations. They consisted of the questions about religion, Ukrainian and Math.¹²⁰ From 1941 there is no mentioning of the exams but of an interview.¹²¹ Also everybody had to have two changes of clothes, four sheets, two pairs of shoes, socks and two blankets. The tuition fee was 30 zloty¹²² Often instead of payment parents brought to the juvenate the equivalent in goods.¹²³

4.3. Academic program and the daily schedule

The director of the juvenate, father Ludovic Van Ganzenwinkel, mentions the difficulties they faced in the organization of the school functioning because the Ukrainian boarding school where the

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 6.

¹¹⁹ Nyva, Vol 4-5, (May, Year 17, 122-1923), 197.

¹²⁰ Shukh, Ivan, Mij Pobut u himnazii-yuvenati oo. Redemptorystiv u Zboiskah u 1925-1931, General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 5, Inv. 1 File 2., 2.

¹²¹ Memoires of Ivan Kozovyk in *Podvyzhnyky Chynu Naisviatvyatishogo Izvavytelya v Ukraini* (“The Ascetics of the Order of the Most Holy Redeemer”), ed. Beshley, Bohdan (Ternopil, 2004), 257.

¹²² Zloty – Polish currency.

¹²³ Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli ...*, 69.

future missionaries of Ukraine would be formed was a “thorn in the eyes of Polish people”.¹²⁴ As the Polish government was leading assimilation policies, relations were not easy. Although the Juvenile was led under the care of Belgian priests, it was a Ukrainian educational institution.

One feature of the assimilatory politics was to replace a Ukrainian school system with a bilingual system with a dominance of Polish language. The reform happened in 1924, due to Lex Grabski¹²⁵, a law, according to which Ukrainian school had to be switched to a bilingual system. As a result, the number of Ukrainian schools was sharply shortened. As presented in Magocsi’s study, the number was decreased a few times: from 2,426 in 1922 to 352 Ukrainian schools in Galicia, but at the same time the number of bilingual schools was getting much bigger, speaking in numbers: from 1635 in 1928 to 2485 in 1938.¹²⁶ Surely for Ukrainians it was a clear sign of Polonisation, therefore they were concerned about the national assimilation of their children.

An attempt of Polish administration to take over the juvenile is mentioned in the visitation report of 1938. It basically meant that the language of teaching would be changed to Polish and the school system would be adjusted according to the Polish model. To solve this problem, the priests had designed the program in the way it was the most resembling the model of teaching in other schools and gymnasiums. It was particularly good for those students who for some reasons had to leave the juvenile because then they could join any other school. Besides the standard program Redemptorists kept intensive Greek and Latin courses to enable the continuation of the theology studies for those who wished to join the congregation.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Ludovic Van Ganzenwinkel, The Junior seminary-juvenile of Redemptorist fathers in Western Ukraine in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers, 1906 – 1956* (Yorkton, 1956), 264.

¹²⁵ The law was issued by Stanislaw Grabski, a Polish minister of education in Wolf, Larry, *The idea of Galicia: history and phantasy in Habsburg political culture*, (Stanford, 2010), 384.

¹²⁶ The number from the table No. 46.2 in Magocsi, *A history of Ukraine: the land and its people*, 637.

¹²⁷ General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 1, Inv. 6, file 12. Canonic visitation in Galicia 18.10 – 14.11 1938.

The school program was organized according to the Educational plan of other schools or gymnasiums although it was run completely by the Redemptorists.¹²⁸ The program included teaching religion, natural sciences, Math and History. Besides, students were obliged to learn six languages: Latin, ancient Greek, Ukrainian, Polish, which was a state language at the time, French, German and Church-Slavonic. All language skills were used in practice: theological topics were read in Latin, French was needed for the further studies in Belgium, and German was used during the occupation in 1939. Church-Slavonic was the language of evening prayers.¹²⁹

Belgian teachers used a 25-point assessment system.¹³⁰ An interesting observation of Shukh is that Belgians usually were stricter with the grading and discipline, while he characterised Ukrainian professors as more lenient.¹³¹ For example one of the students, Fylymon, particularly liked a Ukrainian father Roman Bakhtalovskyy, because he could accessibly explain everything and was happy to give advice. He describes this father as being friendly and open for students.¹³² Also he mentions Father Mykhaylp Lemishka in the interview, saying that this priest and teacher was kind and liked to tell jokes. He shared with students everything he had.¹³³ Describing some Belgian professors former students sometimes add that they were a little bit afraid of them and surprised by their habits.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Stepan Bakhtalovskyi, *Zhyttya Vasylia Vsevoloda Velychkovskogo* ("The life of Vasylii-Vsevolod Velychkovskyi"), (Yorkton, 1975), 4.

¹²⁹ Roman Bakhtalovskyi, *Otets Joseph Schrijvers iz Solodkoi Dolyny* ("Father Schrijvers from the Sweet Valley"), 05. 1979, 18.

¹³⁰ Shukh, Ivan, *Mij Pobut u himnazii-yuvenati oo. Redemptorystiv u Zboiskah u 1925-1931* ("My life in the Redemptorists' gymnasium-juvenile in Zboiska"), 9.

¹³¹ Ibid, 10.

¹³² Interview with Fylymon Kurchaba 15.01 1993 Velykosilky II – 1 – 1 - 142.6, 2. General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 7.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Memoires of Ivan Kozovyyk in Beshley, Bohdan, *Podvyzhnyky Chynu Naisviatvyatishogo Izvavytelya v Ukraini*, Ternopil, 2004, 255.



Pic. 2. Zboiska. The visitation of the Juvenile in 1926. The professors and the visitor are sitting from the left to the right: Vasyl Velychkovskyi, Josef Deweerdt, Louis Van Ganzenvinkel, father-visitor, Josef Schrijvers, Mykolai Charnetskyi, Achille Boels, Albien Van Biesen.

An academic year began on the 1st of September and consisted of 2 semesters. The first semester lasted till 18th of December and the second started on 20th of January and lasted until the end of May. Hereby students had one full month of winter holidays and two months in summertime, when they were going home to their families.¹³⁵

The daily schedule of the Juvenile was quite intensive. There were lessons six days a week, the only day off was Sunday. There were three lessons in the morning and 2 lessons in the afternoon, making five lessons daily. Also there was a daily Mass and supplication.¹³⁶ Describing the timetable, former students note that the alarm usually went off at 6am, following the prayer in the chapel which consisted of a 15minutes long spiritual lesson and a Mass.¹³⁷ After that they had breakfast. Next half an hour were intended for the preparation for a 45 minutes long lesson. The same sequence was repeated twice. After lunch there was a longer break. If the weather was fair, the students could take a walk

¹³⁵ Stashchyshyn, Volodymyr, Pro Yuvenat i monastyr oo Redemptorystiv u Zboiskah ("About the Redemptorists' Juvenile and the monastery in Zboiska"), General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 6, Inv.8, File 16.

¹³⁶ Supplication is a form of prayer, when a person asks God to provide something.

¹³⁷ Shukh, Ivan, Mij Pobut u himnazii-yuvenati oo. Redemptorystiv u Zboiskah u 1925-1931, 3.

outside.¹³⁸ After two afternoon lessons and preparatory breaks students had supper following the homework time in a big hall¹³⁹. A supervising Redemptorist was always present there and kept the discipline.¹⁴⁰ Ivan Kozovyk notes that priests never forced anybody to study; it was enough to sit still and be quiet. Also he remembers evening visits of fr Provincial Joseph de Vocht saying that it was always unexpected. The provincial greeted students and told some some captivating stories. Another important visitor was Andrei Sheptytskyi. His visit is documented in the picture from 1932.



Pic. 3.Zboiska. The visit of the Juvenile by the Metropolitan Sheptytskyi (sitting in the center) in 1932

Then students had dinner, a short walk and time to play games. After the night prayers in the chapel all were going to bed. Every Thursday students were going on a three-hour hike or played football. One of the former students, Volodymyr Stashchyschyn remembers the walks to the forest in Briukhovychi near Lviv and playing volley-ball in the monastery yard. But he notes that the absence of the sport lessons had a negative effect on students' health.¹⁴¹ He regrets students did not have any morning exercises and were not allowed to do any physical work.

¹³⁸ Memoires of Ivan Kozovyk in Beshley, Podvyzhnyky Chynu Naisviatvyatishogo Izvavtelya v Ukraini ("The Ascetics of the Order of the Most Holy Redeemer") ed. Bohdan Beshley (Ternopil, 2004), 259.

¹³⁹ Shukh, Ivan, Mij Pobut u himnazii-yuvenati oo. Redemptorystiv u Zboiskah u 1925-1931 ("My life in the Redemptorists' gymnasium-juvenile in Zboiska"), 4 – 5.

¹⁴⁰ 75th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Rite Redemptorists 1906 - 1981 ed. Lukie Don (Jorkton, 1982), 146 – 147.

¹⁴¹ Stashchyschyn, Volodymyr, Pro Yuvenat i monastyr oo Redemptorystiv u Zboiskah, 4.

The director of the juvenate was a Belgian monk Father VanGanzenwinkel. Staying until 1939, he was the director of the juvenate for 17 years. He was well acquainted with the structures of Catholic schools in Europe¹⁴². During the 1936 visitation he was described as judicious, perfect in discipline and objective towards his subordinates. Also the visitor made a note suggesting that father should stay in this position as long as possible.¹⁴³ In other visitation there is a note saying that students respect, love and fear the director.¹⁴⁴ Besides that a visitor states that father VanGanzenwinkel had a positive influence on the students. Besides being director, he taught German and Latin and from 1927 till 1939 while performing functions of a superior of the monastery in Zboiska.¹⁴⁵

The first graduation took place in 1928. Seven juvenists joined the Congregation.¹⁴⁶ In the report of the canonical visitation of 1934 the visitor constitutes the fact of new vocations from the juvenate and confirming that every year some of the students decide to stay for the novitiate.¹⁴⁷

When the next year the number of students doubled, which was great news, a problem arose how to manage the next year, as there were not enough professors. To solve this, the director recruited a few monks who lived in Zboiska and were able to teach¹⁴⁸. For example, deacon¹⁴⁹ Vasylii Velychkovskyy taught Religion, Ukrainian, History and Geography. Father Mykola Kopyakivskyy taught after his ordination. The Belgian province also helped and sent five monks with teaching qualifications: Father De Weerdt for Math and Physics, Father De Zitter for Latin and Apologetics, Father Bilcke to teach Music and Arts, Father Delforge to be a spiritual father and Father Coupe, who

¹⁴²Bakhtalovs'kyi, Roman, *Apostol ziednannia nashykh chasiv ; spohady*, (Lviv, 2001), 73 – 74.

¹⁴³ General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 1, Inv. 6, File 11, Canonic visitation in Galicia 20th June – 8th July 1936.

¹⁴⁴ General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 1, Inv. 6, File 10, Canonic visitation in Galicia 5th-9th June 1934.

¹⁴⁵ Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli...*, 82.

¹⁴⁶ Van Ganzenwinkel, Ludovic, *The Junior seminary-juvenate...*, 265 - 266.

¹⁴⁷ General Archive of the Lviv Province of CSsR, Lviv, Fond 1, Inv. 6, File 10, Canonic visitation in Galicia 5th-9th June 1934.

¹⁴⁸ Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli...*, 84.

¹⁴⁹ Deacon is an assistant of the priest at the altar during the religious service. From The Blackwell dictionary of Eastern Christianity.

became a socius of students.¹⁵⁰ Gradually the teaching staff was supplemented by Ukrainian Redemptorists who had been studying in seminary in Beauplateau (Belgium). So, having this education they could join the teaching staff of the Juvenate¹⁵¹. In 1931 of the ten teachers five were Ukrainian Redemptorists: Roman Bakhtalovskyi, Mykhaylo Lemishka, Volodymyr Kraevskyi (1929- 1936) Vasyl Kuz and Volodymyr Malanchuk¹⁵².

In an article with a clever title “U.S.S.R. versus C.Ss.R.”¹⁵³ An author informs about the situation of Redemptorists in the Soviet Union who “have to come to know the “liberty and democracy” of the Soviet. It states that when the Red Army had invaded Western Ukraine in 1939 most of the students were sent to Polish Redemptorists House of Studies in Tuchow, some others flew to Canada. During the war and by the end of 40s all 6 Redemptorists houses were confiscated and the monks had to escape.¹⁵⁴ The Juvenate partially functioned through World War II and was completely closed in 1945 when Redemptorists were forced by soldiers to leave the building. Unlike the other places, this institution was not renewed after the Underground period¹⁵⁵ in 1990s.

To sum up these facts, the juvenate had played an important role in the development of the Congregation as this educational institution was a place to form many young people and a source of new vocations. Namely the congregation grew every year with the arrival of the new graduates. It is necessary to add that the Redemptorists managed to create good learning conditions in the school and supplied it with qualified staff and provided a full academic program. This is proved through reading of the visitations and memoirs of former students. For the Redemptorists this school was a “pool” of new vocations, for the students themselves it was rather a quite prestigious and high quality education, while for Ukrianian public it was a national achievement – a Ukrianian school in the Polish state.

¹⁵⁰ Shukh, Ivan, *Mij Pobut u himnazii-juvenati...*, 7, 11.

¹⁵¹ Bakhtalovskyi, Roman, *Otets Josephp Schrijvers iz Solodkoi Dolyny*, 05. 1979, 18.

¹⁵² Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli...*, 83 - 84.

¹⁵³ C.Ss.R. is an acronym for Latin *Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris* – Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

¹⁵⁴ USSR vs. C.SsR Perpetual Help July 1949, 283-285, KADOC Leuven.

¹⁵⁵ The Greek-Catholic Church existed only in underground conditions through the Soviet times after the Psevdo Sobor of 1946 until the breakdown of USSR.

4.4. The Seminary

The making of a missionary was a long-term process, but a central aim of the Redemptorist formation system. Often it started in the Juvenate but mainly from the novitiate and seminary. McConvery informs that this process usually lasted seven or eight years. The spiritual familiarization was pursued in novitiate, a year of extra intensive spiritual life and strict regime which ended with the first vows, an obituary to live in chastity, poverty and obedience in order to imitate Jesus Christ and work for the salvation of the souls.¹⁵⁶

As there was no place for a Seminary in Ukraine, Redemptorists were sending the students to Beauplateau (Belgium). Bishop Fylymon Kurchaba gives some reminiscences about studying there in his interview. He notes that the studies were held in Latin and did not constitute a problem for Ukrainians. According to him Ukrainian students knew Latin even better than the Belgians. But, he remembers, it was difficult to read and make notes in French. Regarding this the professors were kind and allowed them to pass their exams in Latin, “until their French gets better”¹⁵⁷. He also tells that the house in Beauplateau was large; around sixty people lived there.¹⁵⁸

The program consisted of dogmatic studies, moral theology, Bible studies, canonical law, history and sociology. Those subjects were important for a future missionary, he states, as he was supposed to be a very intelligent, well-prepared and more educated than the local parish priests.¹⁵⁹ The emphasis in studies was laid to moral theology, the key discipline and main instrument for a confessor and training for preaching. The emphasis on elocution and voice-production was needed for future missionary work. McConvery explores the practice of mission academies, when students had to deliver

¹⁵⁶ Mc Convery Chapter XIII, Section “The Making of a missionary”

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Fylymon Kurchaba 15.01 1993.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

a sermon in presence of the whole community, the comments of “veteran missionaries” followed afterwards.¹⁶⁰ Also there were workshops on hearing of confessions and voice trainings.

The Redemptorists’ style of writing a sermon is described in detail by Father Mykhaylo Shchudlo. He explains that a good sermon is like a building, it consists of the introduction, thesis and the conclusion in order to evoke thoughts about conversion in people’s minds. Every statement must have its confirmation from the Bible and citations from holy Fathers. A future missionary was asked to write his own sermons, give it to his professor to check and then rewrite them including the corrections.¹⁶¹ Having this training and being at least thirty years old was the precondition of missionary activities which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁰ Mc Convery Chapter XIII, Section “The Making of a missionary”.

¹⁶¹ Mykhailo Shchudlo, *Misionerskyi vyshkil otsiv Redemptorystiv* (Redemptorists Missionary training) in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers, 1906 - 1956*, (Yorkton, 1956), 289-290.

Chapter 5 Redemptorists in missionary work

The so called *missio Dei*, the religious mission aimed to evangelize or convert non-believers by sharing the faith of the Church, is a permanent task of Redemptorists¹⁶². The understanding of this task by the founder, Alphonsus Liguori, actually prompted him to start a religious order. First Redemptorists concentrated their work on short-term missions in Italy while also spreading their missionary stations all over the world. So, as missionary work is at the heart of a Redemptorist's vocation, this chapter will present the form and structure of some missions in Ukrainian vice-Province; evaluate the attitude to the local population and the general results for the religious life in the area using the materials of Ukrainians newspapers and Redemptorists' reports. Also this chapter deals with subjective impressions of Belgian Redemptorists on the Ukrainian society and its backwardness based on their correspondence and letters to Belgium.

5.1. The order of missions and processions with the Cross

Sociologists have come to a decision that collective experiences play as important a role in religious life as individual commitments. Short-term missions have a particularly working effect on population according to the American scholars Jenny Trinitapoli and Stephen Vaisey. Although the authors analyze the modern practice of missions, the data they collect shows that a short-term mission “is a transformative experience” which deepens religious beliefs and practices of the participants.¹⁶³ This study aims to get a better understanding of the scheme Redemptorist missionaries used in their work and its structure.

Using the definition of a Ukrainian Redemptorist, Father Roman Bakhtalovskyy, mission is a round (cycle) of homilies delivered by a few preachers in a certain place with the aim of full conversion of people to a true Christian life. Retreats are also popular in Redemptorists' practice but differ from

¹⁶² Neil Ormerod, Identity and mission in Catholic organisations, *The Australian Catholic Record*, Vol. 87 Issue 4 (2010): 435.

¹⁶³ Jenny Trinitapoli, Stephen Vaisey, The Transformative Role of Religious Experience: The Case of Short-Term Missions *Social Forces* 88(1) (2009): 121 – 146.

missions, because the former are performed by one priest and are aimed for a certain audience such as nuns, young people, priests etc., while missions are aimed for a mixed and larger audience.¹⁶⁴

Usually missions lasted ten days starting on Saturday evening and ending on the next Sunday. The missionaries usually went in groups of two preachers. When they came to a church entrance a parish priest gave them a key to the church. This is a rather symbolic act of giving all power of preaching to the missionaries. Then the first homily started. Every day there were three homilies: in the morning, afternoon and in the evening, but they must have different content as the same people often came more than once a day. There was a special homily for men and women, delivered separately, as well as preparation for the first Communion. Also there was a special service of posting an icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, which stayed on the central place decorated with flowers for the whole mission.

The final day – Sunday as usual – was assigned for the cross procession, which was a walk with a huge wooden cross, carried by men with fixing the cross near the church or on a city square.¹⁶⁵ Belgian priests note that this procession was usually very lively and majestic, maybe because it was a new practice for Ukrainians. The manifestation consisted of the masses of people, some of them holding flags and icons, people were marching without any order, singing religious songs.¹⁶⁶ Father Hubert Collet notes that for the reason of novelty in the region, the processions around a city/town or village became quite central in Ukrainian missions.¹⁶⁷ Collet guesses that people liked manifestation because for that time they could forget their difficult life and be happy by filling churches and singing on the streets. He explains the problem of maintaining the order with a large number of people and the fact that “the notion of respect is absolutely absent in this area”.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Bakhtalovskyi, Roman, *Otets Joseph Schrijvers iz Solodkoi Dolyny*, 05. 1979. , 352.

¹⁶⁵ *Analecta* (1925), 19-20.

¹⁶⁶ “Cebliw”, 1920 a letter written by Kinzinger. P.86-88.

¹⁶⁷ “Stanislawiw”, 1927, Holosko. a letter written by fr Collet. P.115-119.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*



Pic. 4. A photo of a procession led by the Redemptorists¹⁶⁹

In the letter from 1920 Father Kinzinger explains that the missions were planned in the same way as in Belgium, keeping the same timetable and services: public repentance, akaphistus, a form of prayer with singing short hymns during which all people stand, in honour of the Theotokos¹⁷⁰, the Stations of the Cross¹⁷¹ and praying for the dead.¹⁷² There was also a practice of renewing a mission, carried out some time after the actual mission. Also people who participate in a mission are not limited to those from that particular village or town, but the whole neighborhood including other villages in the area were coming to listen.

In a report about the whole Ukrainian Mission, written in 1938 Father Schrijvers states that every year Redemptorists conducted approximately 35- 40 missions and the same number of retreats.¹⁷³ Most of them Redemptorists considered as successful. Reporting on the success of Ukrainian Catholic

¹⁶⁹ The venue and the year is not specified. From the photo-archive of the Lviv Province.

¹⁷⁰ *The Blackwell dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, ed. Ken Parry, (1999), 10.

¹⁷¹ The Stations of the Cross, also known as the Way of the Cross, is normally prayed each Friday during Lent. In this prayer, fourteen traditional events in the passion of Jesus are recalled and meditated upon.
<http://www.scborromeo.org/prayers/soc.pdf>

¹⁷² "Cebliw", 1920, Letter written by Kinzinger. *Lettres sur l'Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, Belgique), 86-88.

¹⁷³ "Aperçu historique", Report writtren by Father Schrijvers *Lettres sur l'Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, Belgique), 45-52.

mission Schrijvers defines three key tasks which were given to the first Belgian delegation: to strengthen, improve and renew the Ukrainian Catholic Church; to work for the conversion and “return” of 100,000 souls excommunicated from the Church and to help in the realization of the Popes’ Leo XIII and Clemens VIII dream - to unite East with West with the help of Ukrainians. Thus missionary work was a top priority task for the congregation.

Schrijvers’ report ends with a global statement formed as a question “Where are we needed?” the author informs us on plenty of initiatives and requests. He counts in the missionary station in Canada, priests in Czecho-Slovakia, also Orthodox people from Volhynia, who used to be in Union but were neglected. As well as priests who work with Ukrainians in Brasil and Argentina he notes, are sending their requests about missionaries. Then the author expresses the hope that soon they will be invited to Russia, where “millions of people are waiting for the apostles”.¹⁷⁴ This hope indicates a big plan of the Ukrainian mission to convert the Orthodox population and bring the Eastern Churches to unity with Rome. The slogan of his position can be narrowed to a phrase: “From Ukrainians to start and through Ukrainians to reach out to the East”. This idea was formulated by Pope Leo XIII, who stressed the importance of Ukrainians as a chain link in the process of reunion with the Orthodox Church and actively used in the Sheptytskyi project of ecumenical policy.¹⁷⁵

The key idea of these missionary activities seems to serve educational functions; Redemptorists were coming to groups of uneducated village people and were enlightening them, teaching the main Christian values and encouraging to unite with Rome (if among Orthodox). The procession with a cross was to a certain extent an act of mobilizing people, bringing them together not only for religious devotion, but for a possible national propaganda. United in a coherent group people felt themselves like one unity – a religious community and a political one too. Probably Redemptorists were not pursuing

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Pope Leo XIII also formulated the Social doctrine of the Catholic Church and the Vatican’s position on the poverty, economics, social organization and the role in the state in 1891 in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*¹⁷⁵. This document envisages Church’s active position in public sphere and involvement in the social life.¹⁷⁵ These directives were taken by Andrei Sheptytskyi and followed by Redemptorists in their approach of Church’s Mission in the world.

national objectives in these exercises, but it seems that their methods were encouraging the future political manifestations and step by step transferred the traditional rural society into a conscious group of citizens.

A very inquisitive phrase from the 1929 letter about the mission in Stanislawiw gives an idea that Redemptorists saw the procession as both religious and national building process. On 19-29th of September 1927 the mission took place in Stanyslawiw. Father Jansens shares that the people from neighboring villages also came so very soon it was clear that the church was too small, therefore the priests were preaching outside on the church territory.

Thousands of Ukrainians gathered in this area. Wearing colorful national clothes women, men in sheepskin jackets, they all looked very impressive under the sun. Even more impressive was the religiosity of people. More than 20 thousand Ukrainians who prayed and sang with the priests, 500 kilos wooden cross, carried by 30 men, were walking on the streets for three hours. Father Jansens concludes that 20 thousand Ukrainians were unanimously praying for their nation and acknowledging Catholic faith.¹⁷⁶

Father Jansens does not hide his excitement that Ukrainians were “unanimously praying for their nation and acknowledging Catholic faith”.¹⁷⁷ He obviously interprets it as a success of the whole mission, but drawing attention to this passage one may also notice that he puts the two notions of faith and nation together. This connection suggests that the national manifestation was positively viewed by the Redemptorists as much as the success in converting people to the Catholic Church.

¹⁷⁶ “A Stanislawiw”, Letter written by father Jansens in 1929, *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, Belgique), 27-30.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.



Pic. 5. Father Kovalyk (on the left) leading a mission in Mykhashiv in 1937.

By organizing these manifestations Redemptorists were giving an example of mass mobilization, in this way there were “teaching” people how things should be done. By preaching particular doctrines and affirming public processions they were giving an example of a modern type of mass mobilization. Himka studies how Church activities were used for national mobilization, bringing attention to plenty examples of reading groups or theatrical plays organized by parish priests.¹⁷⁸ Redemptorists in this regard went much further by offering a new form of mobilization – a mission.

5.2. Missionary reports in newspapers and letters

The notes about missionary activities in the local newspapers shed a light on the Redemptorists’ work from another perspective. It is important to note that often a paper portrayed a mission according to its political “orientation”, therefore the reliability of these sources can be questioned as they quite differ depending on their overall position. For example the Ukrainian paper “Dilo” [“A Deed”] was publishing rather neutral or even negative feedback on the propaganda of celibacy and foreign

¹⁷⁸ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*.

missionaries. At the same time another Ukrainian monthly paper dedicated to the religious and social life in Ukraine, called “Nyva” [“A Cornfield”] contains mainly positive notes on missions led by Redemptorists. “Nova Zorya” [“A New Star”], a Ukrainian paper on religious topics published in Stanislaviw, usually includes short notes on the success of the missionaries and their acceptance in the villages without mentioning any negative experiences.

In a short report in “Nyva” titled “A mission in Tsinev” a parish priest Father Loshynskyy states that the mission of 14-24 November 1925, led by Redemptorists, was very successful. He adds about a public walk with a cross saying that “nobody has seen before such a religious manifestation in our area”.¹⁷⁹ The same walk is mentioned in a report from 1929 when for ten days from 30th of October to 10th of November Redemptorists from Stanyslavov led missions in Pykulovychi- Borshchovychi. “A walk with a cross turned into a huge religious manifestation” remembers the author, pointing to the cross procession as the most vivid memory of the event.¹⁸⁰

Another mission, led in Pobuzhany, is documented in a report from 1931. Two Redemptorists – De Bour and Gavryluyk – conducted a 10-day mission, preaching three homilies daily to masses of people. He counts around eight thousand people participating in a final cross walk.¹⁸¹ This number of people for a village truly is very impressive and affirms the success of the mission.

A mission in Lviv conducted in 1935 is of particular importance as it was led in three churches simultaneously¹⁸². The mission took place from 21st April in St. George’s cathedral it was headed by Fathers Porodko and Korba, church of st. Apostles Peter and Paul by Fathers Van Den Bosch and Sterniuk and in the Transfiguration church by Velychkovskyi and Kovalyk. It is worth to note that Ukrainian Redemptorists were already allowed to lead the mission, as previously a Ukrainian priest

¹⁷⁹ *Nyva*, Vol 11-12 (1925), 401-403.

¹⁸⁰ *Nyva*, Vol 12, (1929), 180.

¹⁸¹ Yuriy Vanchytskyi “Misii” (“Missions”) *Nyva* Vol. 7-8 (1931), 302.

¹⁸² A previous mission in Lviv took place 4-14 of October 1924 in the main Greek-Catholic cathedral – St. George’s Church.

was always accompanied with a Belgian missionary. According to the newspaper reporter the churches were completely filled – “crammed full”, as the note says. The last day was dedicated to the cross procession.¹⁸³ The mission in the city was particularly important as it was populated with mixed groups of people and characterized with a less religiosity. The results were satisfactory; therefore two years after this mission the Redemptorists got from the Metropolitane the house in the city, which means that Andrei Sheptytskyi was interested in the continuation of this missionary project in Lviv.¹⁸⁴

In “Nova Zorya” there are also short reports on missions and gratitude to the missionaries. A short note on a mission in Hleshchava contains a description of the welcoming missionaries to the village. According to the reporter, the whole village was waiting for them: 150 men riding horses greeted the missionaries at the village entrance. Also they were greeted there by the village representative, by the head librarian near the library and in front of the church by a parish priest.¹⁸⁵ Very likely, this welcoming was aimed to show that all the social strata are happy to meet the missionaries.

Some reports on missionary work of Ukrainian station are given to the Redemptorists’ periodical “Analecta”. The issue of 1925 gave an insight of some results on the missionary field. The author, Father De Vocht, brings to readers’ attention some missionary experiences. In 1922 Redemptorists visited Ukrainian populated village Pidmonastyr. The situation “was not good” as a parish priest had converted to Orthodoxy after the war and “infected” people. Therefore firstly many people resisted coming to the mission, but after a while all were converted “back” and received the Communion.¹⁸⁶ In this case the first impression on the missionaries played a decisive role and the Redemptorists presumably were aware of that.

¹⁸³ Section “Various” *Nyva* Vol. 4-5 (1935).

¹⁸⁴ Redemptorists were granted the one-floor house and a small church in Lviv on 30 Zyblykevycha street in 1937, where they combined their missionary and parish work.

¹⁸⁵ *Nova Zoria* 04.06, Year VIII, Vol. 40, (1933), 7.

¹⁸⁶ *Analecta* (1925), 20.

In Mykulyni, a town with an equal number of Ukrainians, Polish and Jewish people, the missionaries had to preach outside of the church as Poles also wanted to listen to them but did not want to come inside of the Greek-Catholic Church. The author adds that some of the Jews were standing behind the fence. He also states that some Jews were also thinking of a conversion; for example, there was an accident with a young man who was beaten by fellow Jews after he joined the cross procession. This passage gives an insight that paying attention to the Jewish attitude, the Redemptorists were probably thinking of converting them too.

Redemptorists shared traditional Catholic antisemitism, every time there is a mention of Jews in their reports or memoirs, the tone of writing shows rather negative attitude. Redemptorists treated Jews as a backward social group, with an interest in money instead of religious devotion. However Redemptorists still considered their conversion, saying that it would be a prolonged project. Father Bakhtalovskyy remembers a case when a Jew, Joseph Kumer, came to the monastery in Zboiska and expressed his wish to convert from Judaism and become a Christian.¹⁸⁷ The priests took into account this request and he was admitted to live in the monastery for a while until his baptism. Father Charnetsky was responsible for his Christian learning and approached this process with a great enthusiasm, Bakhtalovsky remarks. Unfortunately, the Jew disappeared one day and left the community in complete confusion.¹⁸⁸

A passage from Father Kinzinger's letter from 1921 deserves particular attention in this regard. He states that the mission was so popular, that even Jews were coming to listen and, he adds, that people joked about the wolves, which were coming out from a forest because of hunger – as if interested in the mission too.¹⁸⁹ Except for the unsensitive comparison of Jews with wolves, this phrase gives a very striking image of the mission as some type of a show that nobody wanted to miss. Surely

¹⁸⁷ Roman Bakhtalovskyy, *Otets Josef Schrijvers iz Solodkoi Dolyny* ("Father Schrijvers from the Sweet Valley"), 05. 1979. Fond.6.Inv.1d File 2.t.3.a

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ "Lubinci". 1921 a letter written by Kinzinger *Lettres sur l'Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, Belgique), 89-95.

people were intrigued by the visitors and some of them could be coming to the church just out of curiosity.

The mission in Borshchiv, a town with an equal number of Ukrainians and Poles was very successful and attended by both national groups despite the fact that Poles had a separate mission just two months before.¹⁹⁰ The fact of the Polish participation in the mission, notwithstanding Ukrainian-Polish conflict, suggests that the Poles treated the Redemptorists as neutral side in this conflict and did not protest the mission.

The Orthodox as a task force were often at the center of the reports. Father De Boer reflects on how to impress and convert “schismatics”¹⁹¹. He thinks that in order to bring them to the union with Rome, one must make advances to them. And if they are still not converted, he says, that means nobody bothered to make enough efforts because one has to be directed by a simple principle of St. Paul: to be a Greek among Greeks, a Jew among Jews and a schismatic among schismatics. But, he clarifies, to be a schismatic not in a full sense of the word, only to look like one in exterior religiosity that they do not notice contradictions, or some reminders of Latin rite. Therefore he suggests, all rituals practiced by Uniates which were adapted from the Latin rite must be withdrawn from usage. For example, the cult of the Sacred Heart, everyday communion, commemoration of Latin saints has to be temporarily removed. When we do it, they will be “ours” immediately, he concludes.¹⁹² The question of the purity of the Eastern rite was crucially important for the Redemptorists who used it as an example of being a Catholic without practicing a Latin rite. For this reason any Latin “borrowings” were permitted.

One of the missions was held in the village Vasyliv, next to the border with Russia north of Galicia. It was the easternmost territory Redemptorists managed to visit before the War. According to

¹⁹⁰ *Analecta* (1925), 22.

¹⁹¹ “Schismatics” are Orthodox Christians. Giving this name, Catholics referred to the Schism of 1054, a split of the Eastern and Western Churches.

¹⁹² “Rêve et réalité”, 1930 by Boer, *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 77-81.

the numbers given by the missionaries, the village numbered 862 Uniates, 315 Catholics and a few Jewish families.¹⁹³ Father Kinzinger reports of such large masses of faithful and says that they had to preach in the church and school buildings because of the lack of space. He puts peculiar attention on the description of the cross procession. He says that Uniates, Catholics and Orthodox were taking part. A memorable moment for him was when everybody was crying out: “Glory to Jesus Christ”. He observes the uniqueness of this situation as it was the bordering land, the land wanted by many nations where different confessions and rites coexist. Finally he suggests that one day, divided brothers will be reunited.¹⁹⁴ Pointing out the peaceful joint walk of the three confessions under the lead of the Redemptorists expresses the main desire of the missionaries to reunite the Orthodox with the Catholic Church.

Father Kinzinger recollects that sometimes during the missions they encountered Orthodox people, who visited the missionary homilies and wanted to confess. He regrets that they were not able to give them Communion, unless they denied their faith. But another problem was that individual conversion was not practiced as it often turned the converted into apostates. Therefore Father suggested the procedure of giving communion should be simplified by the Apostolic See. A curious note is added that during the Russian occupation they were allowed to give absolution to the true [sic!] Orthodox.¹⁹⁵

Some of the missions were initiated by Sheptytskyi, like a mission in Lviv or in Kyivci, where some protestant heresies were spread. Often they faced a problem with a mixed Orthodox and Greek-Catholic population in one village or town. Volhynia was the most difficult place as it consisted of a mainly Orthodox population. Father Kinzinger reports on the conversion of two parishes Dubno and Kraska after the mission led by Father Zhyzhkovych. The reporter states that the main problem was actually a result of a misunderstanding, as people did not understand some key religious notions. So, the first task of a missionary was to give a talk and clarify the terms. The priest notes that people did

¹⁹³ “Wasyliw”. 1920 Kinzinger. *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 82-85.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ “Cebliw”, 1920 a letter written by Kinzinger. *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 86-88.

not distinguish between being a Catholic and a Latin-rite practitioner. They believed that in order to become a Uniate they had to get a second baptism, drop their national identity and change the rite to Latin. This confusion, according to Kinzinger, was maintained by the Orthodox clergy. But when the Redemptorist gave the explanations he automatically gained overall favor.¹⁹⁶

The method of St. Alphonsus was novelty for Ukraine and quickly gained its popularity. Father Schudlo states that the missions were admired equally by intelligentsia, middle class and village people because the preaching's grappled both heart and mind and therefore promoted conversions"¹⁹⁷. The numbers given in study on Religion and nationalism in Interwar Ukraine shows the growth of Greek-catholic population and the diminution of Latin rite practitioners.¹⁹⁸ This shift of confessional belonging from Latin to Eastern rite is a result of pastoral work of Greek-Catholic bishops, clergy and presumably missionaries too.

However the missions were not welcomed everywhere so much. In the issue of 17th February 1925 the newspaper "Dilo" publishes a claim that priests leave their parishes in Holmshchyna, Polissa and Pillashya and "give them up as a prey for French and Belgian missionaries, as if it is some African or Asian country".¹⁹⁹ "Dilo" was a secular paper and presented the view of lay intelligentsia, therefore their reaction to the missionary activities can be explained with their anti-clerical position. Also there were some villages who built barricades and did not let Redemptorists come in. In some other cases people refused to attend the sermons and forbade children, who were always curious to see what was going on. If the situation was not changing in a couple of days, missionaries had no other choice but to "shake off the dust from their shoes" and leave a place.²⁰⁰ This information contests the general reliability of the success stories in the Redemptorist sources and the reports in religious newspapers.

¹⁹⁶ "En Volhynie". 16.06.1927 Kostenoble *Lettres sur l'Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 109-112.

¹⁹⁷ Mykhailo Schudlo, Misionerskyi vyshkil ottsiv Redemptorystiv (Missionary training of the Redemptorists) in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers, 1906 - 1956*, (Yorkton, 1956), 295.

¹⁹⁸ Oleksandr Zaycev, ed. *Natsionalizm i religia* ("Nationalism and religion"), (Lviv, 2011), 102-107.

¹⁹⁹ *Dilo*, 17.02 Vol. 35 (1925).

²⁰⁰ Bubnii, Mykhailo, CSsR. *Redemptorysty Shidnoho obriadu u Lvivskii Hreko-Katolytskii Mytropoli...* 135-136.

Negative assessment of the missionary activities by lay activists suggests that local intelligentsia did not support the idea of the global conversion of Ukrainians and was rather anti-clerical. The lack of support from their side slowed down the Mission and rendered it impossible.

5.3. Ukrainians through the missionaries' eyes.

Such close everyday contact with the local population facilitated a better familiarization of Redemptorists with Ukrainians. Sometimes they shared their impressions in letters and reports to Belgium. It is reasonable that as Westerners, Redemptorists came to Galicia with their perspectives of the East. But some of their statements surprise with orientalist thinking. A few examples of orientalist stereotypes in the Congregation will give a better display of this phenomenon.

A capturing note inserted to the main text of the canonic visitation from 1922 informs that in Kolomya the locals have primitive Christian traditions but are very abandoned.²⁰¹ This position gives an insight to the patronizing attitude towards the population. Redemptorists partly treated the local population as the one, which lacks a good lead and a basic knowledge. Another striking example from the visitation of 1926 states that the supervisors should be stricter and better check candidates to the Congregation because “staunchness, as it seems, is not typical for this [Ukrainian] nation”.²⁰² This phrase shows that Redemptorists treated Ukrainians as less advanced and incapable of dealing with their problems.

It is known that the missionaries always went in a pair of a Ukrainian and a Belgian priest. One other little observation in this regard is from the report and states that the population prefers Ukrainian missionaries to the Belgian priests. The visitor explains it with the language issues but adds that this is true only if Ukrainians are prepared for a sermon, implying that it does not always take place. This proves that the distinction between the Belgian and Ukrainian Redemptorists was still quite strong. More experienced and older Belgians felt superior toward the young Ukrainian generation. In the report

²⁰¹ Visitation of 1922, Fond 1, Inventory 6, File 1.

²⁰² Visitation of 1926, Fond 1, Inventory 6, File 3.

from 1930, the visitator expresses his expectations and declares that “many years still have to pass, until Ukrainians can manage the mission by themselves” explaining it with a difficult financial situation and character of Ukrainians, who are “unsteady and slow adopting mentality of our Latin institutions”²⁰³ and besides that, there is antipathy coming from the Polish clergy side. A conclusion of another visitation gives similar directives: the reporter warns that the spirit of Catholic Church is endangered in these [Ukrainian] mixed conditions, therefore it is important to keep a few Belgians in the vice-Province to supervise the mission, the Juvenate and the Student’s House. He also suggests that it would be good to send some young Redemptorists to study in Rome – “to sink to the Roman [Latin] and Alphonsian spirit”.²⁰⁴ This phrase shows that it was not enough for a good missionary to belong to the Eastern rite, but required getting to know Latin and Alphonsian traditions.

Father Schrijvers often focuses his attention on the topic of locals. When describing Ukrainians he often emphasizes the extreme poverty of these people, with some sympathy he points out bad conditions of life, absence of food, inability to use natural resources. He notes that Ukraine is a very rich country, but in his opinion it is mismanaged. In a letter titled “Poor Galicia” he emphasizes the financial misery of Ukrainians, informing that people never eat meat and do not have any proper food, except rice and cabbage. The reason being that after the war, nothing was planted on fields and there was no harvest to collect. Besides that, he notes, many suffer from various diseases, like typhus and fever²⁰⁵. Therefore, he concludes, Redemptorists have an additional task to help these people to get out of their poverty and primitiveness.

Father Bohdan Kurylas, the editor of “Letters from Ukraine” and *Le viox du Redemptrteur*” reflects on the apostolic work of Eastern rite Redemptorists in Western Ukraine and Europe and decides that the type of missions designed by St.Alphonsus perfectly fits to Ukrainian environment.

²⁰³ Visitation of 1930, Fond 1, Inventory 6, File 5.

²⁰⁴ Visitation of 1936, Fond 1, Inventory 6, File 11.

²⁰⁵ Letter written by Schrijvers on 19th of May 1914. *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Volume 2, 7-9.

Although it sounds quite surprising to unfamiliar reader, his argument is that the spirituality, developed by St. Alphonsus, suits to psychological mechanisms of Slavic people:

Ukrainian spirituality is a harmonic combination of two different worlds: European West and Asian East, as Ukraine is situated on the edge of the continent. The Redemptorists insert in the western tendencies such as discipline and order and eliminates defects as over emotionality and the lack of discipline.²⁰⁶

This strong statement accusing Ukrainians in being uncivilized is not supported by any examples in the text, so might be just a stereotype. But the quote also shows that in spite of Ukrainian “emotionality and lack of discipline”, which was probably a common opinion among the Redemptorists, he still praises the “Ukrainian spirituality” as combining “European” and “Asian” values and joining two continents.

In the letter written by the superior of the Ukrainian mission, Joseph Schrijvers describes the situation in Galicia after the war. He states that the war has influenced the value of money and has ruined the economics of local people. He stresses the absolute poverty and brings an example, that when some people want to go to a confession or visit a church sometimes they have to borrow clothes from their neighbors as they might not have them. Also people live in huts, their children run barefoot in winter. But what is also extremely important for him is that the churches also suffer from this severe poverty. In many parishes, he adds, ornaments and chalices are taken out of use. He does not explain how they disappeared: were stolen or sold by priests – remained unanswered. But concluding his letter, he states that he is grateful to God for these people and the misery the missionaries have to share with them.²⁰⁷

“The Angel of Ukraine” is the title of a memoir written by Father Joseph Schreijvers, filled with metaphors about Ukrainians. In his reflections during the walk around the monastery building in Univ,

²⁰⁶ Kurylas, Bohdan, Misiina pratsia otsiv Redemptorystiv v Ukraini ta na skytalshchyni (A missionary work of Redemptorists in Ukraine and abroad) in *Jubilee Book of the Eastern Rite Redemptorist Fathers, 1906 - 1956*, (Yorkton, 1956), 194.

²⁰⁷ Letter written by Josef Schrijvers, 2 decembre 1920, Stanislawow, KADOC 3.3.2.17.5.4.

he gives a very specific comparison. Impressed by the gigantic building constructed for centuries in constant resistance to bad weather he finds it somehow similar to Ukraine:

You, Ukraine, are a great nation, like this sacred and irrefrangible building which resists time changes. Even though like the stones of this building are not very delicate or refined, your people, oh Ukraine, are not acquainted with the niceties of the culture, but they are golden-hearted!²⁰⁸

His observations on Ukrainians are very sentimental and dramatic, he was truly concerned about the future of Ukraine and passionate about its past.

Animated by the Ukrainian national costumes, Belgians sent pictures of Ukrainians to their “mother-province” and posted them on pages of a Calendar with short descriptions and reports on missionary work. Alongside the pictures of the Juvenate, other monasteries, Ukrainian icons and Ukrainians themselves appear of the cover pages: village girls and boys in embroidered shirts, old couples or mountain house in Carpathians (See appendix B on the page 81). These pictures show the desire of the missionaries to present the curious nature of foreigners and a particular interest in local traditions.

It seems that Redemptorists came to a full understanding of the role of the Eastern rite to Ukrainians. They realized that it is not enough to satisfy one’s religious needs by celebrating a Latin rite Mass, because “a Ukrainian lives by his Liturgy, it is part of his life”²⁰⁹. Therefore they kept all traditions and songs in pure Byzantine rite. From the noted discussion on some liturgical questions, it is clear how much Redemptorists valued the Eastern legacy. For example, a particularly inquisitive case is left in the protocol of the Statute of Lviv vice-Province Redemptorists. A question raised is concerning a separate service to the Icon of Our Lady of Perpetual help. The resolution shows that it

²⁰⁸ “L’ange de l’Ukraine” *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 65-74.

²⁰⁹ “Une vocation schismatique”, Letter written by Father Boer in 1928. *Lettres sur l’Ukraine*, Vol. I. ed. Bohdan Kurylas, (Mons, 1998), 10-16.

was decided to use already existing prayer to the Suffering Theotokos, as this icon is worshipped in the Eastern rite and Orthodox Russia²¹⁰.

The overview of the missionary work of Redemptorists shows that the Congregation was slowly but confidently covering the territory of Western Ukraine with short-term, mostly successful, missions. The reports prove that as usual they were welcomed by local people and became quite popular in their method of preaching. The procession with the Cross was the highlight of a mission and often turned into a religious and national manifestation. At the same time, Redemptorists' feedback on the local population is well-observed, their delight with Ukrainian costumes and traditions were among the first things they shared with the confreres in Belgium. But also they often point to the poor conditions of life and hint at the backward culture of locals. Redemptorists treat them with a somewhat patronizing attitude; their curiosity in the Ukrainian traditions reminds one of the Westerners' interest in primitive societies. This "orientalism" can be seen in the letters and reports, every time referring to Ukraine as a poor and mismanaged country with undisciplined people.

²¹⁰ Statutes of Redemptorists 1934, KADOC, 4.10.2.10.1.

Conclusions

The missionary project of the Redemptorist Fathers in Ukraine seems to have been successful but more complicated than originally expected. As noted in the research hypothesis, the plan to convert the Orthodox was slowed down by political and religious confrontations in Western Ukraine. Looking at the Mission from different perspectives enabled me to observe the obstacles and supporting the Mission elements and actors.

In the researched area we deal with the “border” of Christianity and observe a crucial difference of Christian rites. Religious belonging was often a measure of the national identification in Western Ukraine caused by the difference of the rite. The Eastern rite practiced in the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Churches was a key factor in determining one’s belonging to the Ukrainian nation. But as every stick has two ends, the Eastern rite was used from another perspective too. If on the one hand, it was an instrument for national distinction, on the other hand the rite became also a strong tool of Western missionaries who saw it as a potential for converting the East of Europe. The Greek-Catholic Church, which consisted mostly of Ukrainians, was also of peculiar interest for Catholic missionaries, who saw this Church as a bridge towards the conversion of the Orthodox people.

Shedding light on the role of the clergy in the national identification of Ukrainians gives this thesis a better view on the process of merging the social and religious engagement of the clerics. While the white clergy was leading the process of national construction in the 19th century, the 20th century was led by rather different agents: the same roles were taken by lay people and religious congregations, and Redemptorist missionaries in particular. Invited by Metropolitane Sheptytskyi, who propagandized the Church’s involvement in social life, the Redemptorist missionaries came to Ukraine and settled in Univ, near Lviv in 1913.

The Redemptorists’ plan to improve the religiosity among the locals and to convert those who were “separated from the “flock” by the Orthodoxy required major human resources. After the First

World War, when they received a new house in Zboiska near Lviv, they started working on the project of a high school. The school, called the Juvenate and established in 1922, welcomed teenage boys and offered a solid education plus adjustment to the monastic life. Those school-leavers who wished to join the Congregation, were continuing studies and trainings how to become a missionary. The training of a missionary continued for six or seven years in the Seminary and included an intensive study of moral theology with a continuous practice of sermon writing and delivery.

The first missions took place in 1920 when a few Ukrainian priests joined the Congregation and enabled confident outreaches with missionary programs. Short-term missions were strictly planned and filled with homilies and confessions. The most memorable part of the mission-scheme was a procession with a wooden cross. This event, usually held on the final day of the mission, served many functions: it promoted religious devotion among the people and set an example of a joint public manifestation. The growing number of participants gives an impression of a complete success of the missions although the greater plan “to reach and convert Russia” was not fulfilled.

The conflict between Ukrainians and Poles grew into a victory for Poles the war of 1918-1919 and strong opposition afterwards. Surely Redemptorists themselves did not have any national agenda but were involved in the social life and could not avoid national issues in their missionary work. Everyday contact and active relations in the social sphere defined and influenced their own position toward the population. Living the common life with local people, serving the parishes, conducting missions and retreats and teaching in the Juvenate enabled Redemptorists to become fully aware and take part in the political and ethno-national discourse of interwar period and resulted in their engagement into political initiatives. The mission favored by father Bonne is a vivid example of his patriotism and an attempt to get the Pope involved in the conflict and to improve matters of Ukrainians with his authority.

The presence of the Redemptorists in Galicia was clearly counter-productive to the Polish government. This counter-position passed on the relations with the Roman-Catholic confreres, but did not stop Belgian patriots of Ukraine. Making complaints and reporting to the Pope was their way to affect the situation. Answering the question why their initiatives failed ultimately, one may allude to the Polish protest or the lack of support from the Ukrainian clergy and the Vatican.

I hope that by viewing the Mission of Redemptorists in the context of religious and socio-political contradictions in Western Ukraine, this thesis enriches the knowledge of the tactics of religious congregations in modern times. The case of Redemptorists demonstrates that their approach found the right niche and became exceptionally successful and encouraging on the eve of World War II. As noted throughout this research, this group of Redemptorists in Ukraine formed a robust cohort of missionaries who survived the Catacomb Church period and were able to rise a new generation of confreres in Independent Ukraine.

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Appendix A

Chronology

- 1732 The Redemptorists were founded by Alphonsus Liguori in the small town of Scala, Italy.
- 1785 Father Clement Hofbauer extended the Congregation north of the Alps, established the House of Redemptorists in Vienna.
- 1787 Clement moved northward to Warsaw, Poland (He was exiled from Warsaw in 1808 due to the uncertain political situation).
- 1898 In response to the request of the archbishop of San Bonifas Adelard Langevin Father Achille Delaere was assigned to go to Canada and work with Slavic immigrants (mostly Ukrainians).
- 1901 Bishop Andrei Sheptytskyi became the Metropolitane of the Lviv Metropolitanate.
- 1906 Father Achille Delaere received the permission to read the Mass in the Eastern rite.
- 1910 Andrei Sheptytskyi visited Ukrainians in Canada and got acquainted with the Eastern rite Redemptorist missionaries.
- 1913 (January) Sheptytskyi visited Father General Superior of Redemptorists in Rome and offered to give a placement for the Eastern rite Redemptorists in his summer residence in Univ, near Lviv.
- 1913 (21st of August) the first group of Belgian Redemptorists arrived in Ukraine. Among them Fathers Emile Vanderstraeten, Josef Schrijvers, Hector Kinzinger, Franc-Xavier Bonne, Jacobus Janssens, Francis VandenBosshe, and Brother Alphonsus-Modest Smets.
- 1914 (28th of June) the First World War began.
- 1918 The Second Polish State was announced. It lasted till 1939.
- 1918 (October) Father Kinzinger settled in a new house in Zboiska, near Lviv.
- 1918 (18th of October) Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed, consisting of Ukrainian populated territories of Halychyna, Bukovyna and Zakarpattia.
- 1918-1919 Polish-Ukrainian War
- 1919 (1st of September) the whole community moved to Zboiska.
- 1920 The first mission took place in Zboiska
- 1920 (28th of January) the new house in Stanislawow becomes redemptorists' property
- 1920 (30th of March) Father Bonne presented the "Memoir" to Pope Benedict XV.
- 1921 three first Ukrainian students Father Roman Bakhtalovskyi, Father Ivan Bala and Volodymyr Porodko went to study in Beauplateau, Belgium.
- 1922 1st of September the inauguration of the Juvenate
- 1923 (November) Redemptorists received from the Metropolitane their forth house in Holosko Velyke, near Lviv.
- 1927 (September) Redemptorists settled in Kovel (Volyn)
- 1931 Bishop Mykolai Charnetskyi is appointed as Apostolic visitator for the Uniates in Volyn, Lemko and Polissia region.
- 1934 The Redemptorists' Seminary is opened in Zboiska.
- 1937 The first house in Lviv on 30 Zyblykevychastr is granted to Redemptorists by Andrei Sheptytskyi.
- 1939 (1st of September) the Second World War started.
- 1939 The Juvenate is temporarily closed. From 1942 to 1945 it was partly functioning until the final liquidation.

Appendix B Fragments of the Redemptorists' Calendar with pictures from the Ukrainian Mission (published in Belgium, in French and Dutch)



Photo 1 (above): Three Ukrainian girls in national costumes. Vira, Nadia I Liubov. (Hope, Faith and Love)

Photo 2 (below): A Ukrainian girl.



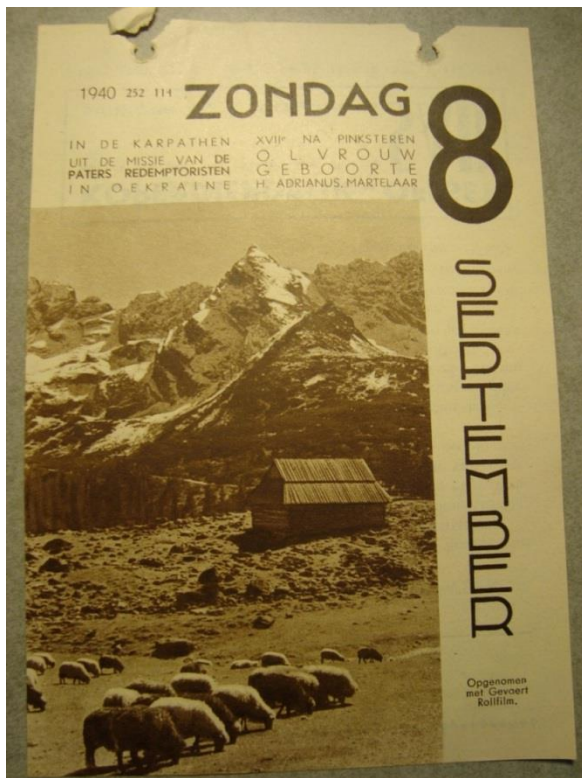


Photo 3: In Carpathians.

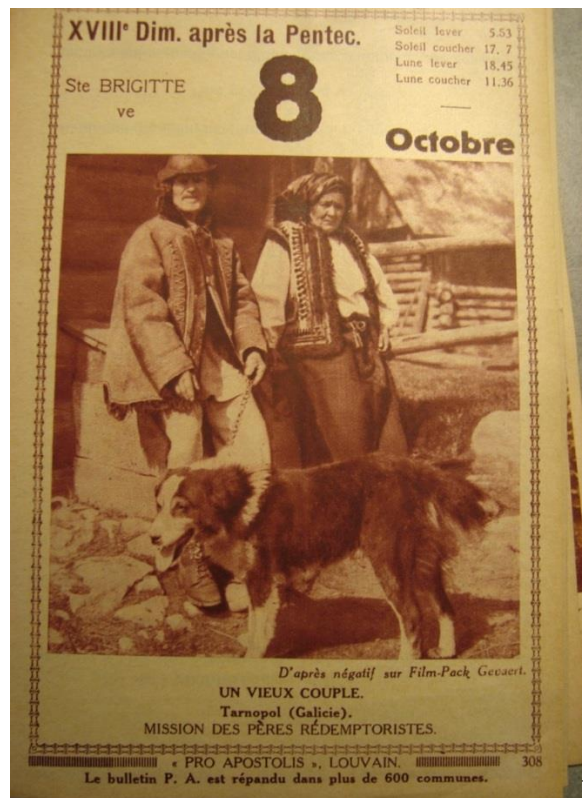


Photo 4: An old couple.

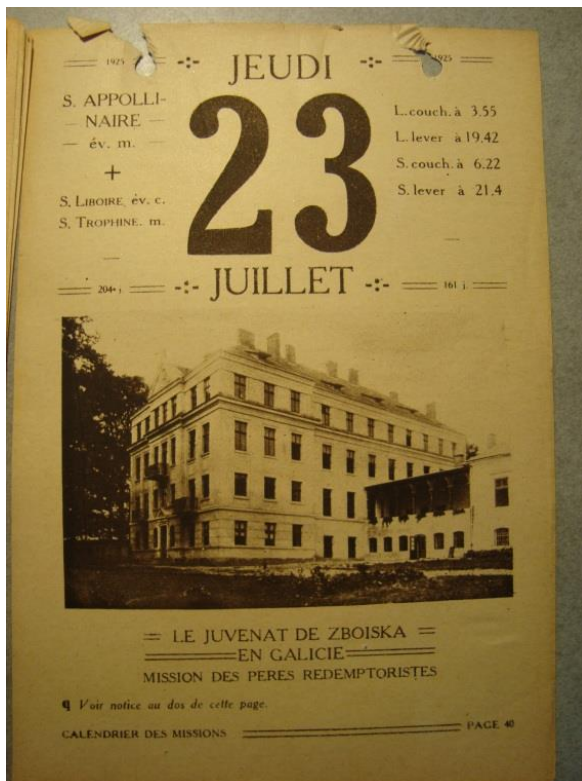


Photo 5: The Juvenate in Zboiska



Photo 6: A Ukrainian boy in the national costume and a traditional village house.