

“Render unto Caesar”: The Greek-Catholic Church’s Reaction to the Internment of Ukrainians in Canada During the First World War¹

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*Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s,
and unto God the things that are God’s.*²

Introduction

In modern societies, where Church and State are quasi or entirely separated, dilemmas often arise when people attempt to fulfil a civic duty which conflicts with a religious obligation, or a religious duty which goes against a civic precept. Ostensibly, such a conundrum presented itself to the Greek-Catholic Church in Canada during the First World War, when large numbers of Ukrainians were interned on orders of the Federal Government. Ukrainian Bishop Nykyta Budka and his priests strove to fulfil their religious duties without neglecting the civic precepts.³ They rendered civil obedience to the state and taught their flocks to do likewise; at the same time, churchmen sought to support the interned members of their flock. Fulfilling the precepts of both orders required a delicate

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² Matthew 22:21, Mark 12:17, Luke 20:25.

³ “And this you should do without neglecting [to do] the other”: Matthew 23:23; Luke 11:42.

balancing act hallmarked by a policy of public discretion. The Church's initiatives for the interned focused on: providing them pastoral ministry; providing information about them and their needs to the public and to civil authorities; and organizing schooling and aid campaigns to provide them moral and material support.

Even into the twenty-first century, Canada's First World War internment operations have been the object of only a few historical studies.⁴ These works did not examine in depth the Greek-Catholic Church's role in the crisis or its initiatives for the interned.⁵ Even extant church files contain very little documentation pertaining to the internment, as if, like certain government files,⁶ these records had been purged.⁷ Nevertheless, by consulting correspondence contained in Canadian and Vatican church archives, we have been able to discover details hitherto unknown concerning the role played by the Church during the internment.

⁴ Bohdan S. Kordan, *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada during the Great War*, (McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), xxv.

⁵ Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians, 1914–1920* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2001). Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," in *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War*, ed. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983). The Church's efforts are also mentioned in Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991), especially 323–341.

⁶ Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," 23–24, n104.

⁷ Two letters relating to the visitation of the internment camps were placed in the Budka papers (henceforth: *NB*). Mykhailo Kuzmak's file is entirely empty except two documents from the 1920s during his service in the USA. A single piece of correspondence from the federal Justice Ministry to the chaplain at Spirit Lake is in the *NB* files. No official chancery correspondence to camp or federal authorities has been found nor a record of pastoral visits to the camps by the bishop or his chancellor: Archives of the Archeparchy of Winnipeg (henceforth *AAW*).

The Budka Controversy

*Not a tittle of evidence was produced against the Bishop to warrant such charges having been made.*⁸

The highly cautious wartime public policy adopted by the Greek-Catholic Church was determined, to some great degree, by an incident which occurred at the onset of the First World War. With the clarity of hindsight, historians observed that “the Budka Controversy,” as the incident has since been christened,⁹ has been given much more attention than it deserves.¹⁰ Bishop Budka’s actions at the onset of the First World War were given an importance and a significance which, in reality, they did not possess. Nevertheless, it has also been observed that historians have not paid sufficient attention to the figure of Nykyta Budka, nor given his actions and work a proper hearing in the court of historical judgement.¹¹

Two years before the outbreak of war, Nykyta Budka became the spiritual leader of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Canada. On 15 July 1912, the Apostolic See of Rome, after twenty-one years of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, finally sanctioned the appointment of a missionary bishop to serve a flock consisting of more than 100,000. On 6 December 1912, Bishop Budka arrived on Canadian soil to take up this daunting charge. Despite his youth, the thirty-five-years-old’s qualifications were impressive. Like the majority of his flock, he was of peasant stock but was highly educated and could also identify with the aspiring intelligentsia. Although devoutly Catholic he was not a doctrinaire and had sympa-

⁸ “Judgement of His Honour, Judge Paterson, the Law Courts, Winnipeg, November 26th 1919” in “Vindication of Bishop Budka: Full Record of Investigation,” *Northwest Review* 35 (6 December 1919): 1–2.

⁹ The phrase was coined by Stella Hryniuk, “The Bishop Budka Controversy: a New Perspective,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 23 (1981): 154–58.

¹⁰ John Herd Thompson, “The Enemy Alien and the Canadian Election of 1917,” in *Loyalties in Conflict*, 26–27; Frances Swyripa, “The Ukrainian Image: Loyal Citizen or Disloyal Alien,” in *ibid.*, 49.

¹¹ Stella Hryniuk, foreword to Athanasius D. McVay, *God’s Martyr, History’s Witness: Blessed Nykyta Budka, the First Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Canada* (Edmonton, 2014), ix–x; 537–544.

thized with some of the socialists' grievances in Austrian Galicia. Budka held Ukrainophile political sympathies and democratic views while at the same time being deeply respectful of the Habsburg monarchy. He had studied the problems connected with the migration of Ukrainians and had pastorally served Ukrainian itinerant labourers in Prussia and Bosnia. His youth and energy would be key assets for missionary and organizational work in the vast, young Dominion of Canada. Taken together, all these qualities made Budka an ideal choice for leader of the young Ukrainian-Canadian community, eighty percent of which belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church.¹²

Nykyta Budka envisioned his church's role in Canada as a bridge between old and new realities, hallmarked by adaption, not assimilation. Following the advice of Ukrainian bard Taras Shevchenko,¹³ the prelate advised his flock to learn English, to adapt, and to take an equal place alongside other Canadians, while maintaining the best of their traditions.¹⁴ A key duty of Budka's mission was to organize and stabilize a structureless and resourceless Church, which had recently been transplanted into an unfamiliar social and political context.¹⁵ In attempting to realize this project, he was fiercely opposed by Russian Orthodox and Protestant proselytizers, by Canadian assimilationist leaders, and by Ukrainian nationalist and socialist radicals, who sought to mould the community along secularist and sometimes anti-Catholic lines. The capable young bishop represented a serious obstacle to their plans and, in the press, they mercilessly attacked his person and his program.¹⁶

¹² Nykyta Budka (1877–1949): priest 1905; titular bishop of Patara 1912; ordinary (exarch) for Greek-Catholics in Canada 1912–1928; vicar general of the Archeparchy of Lviv 1929; arrested and imprisoned by the Soviets 1945; beatified 2001: all biographical details from *ibid.*

¹³ "My Friendly Epistle," in *The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko, the Kobzar*, trans. Constantine H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964).

¹⁴ Archives of the Eparchy of Edmonton [henceforth AEE], fasc. T36–A–01, Budka pastoral letter 'О потребі організації,' 20 April 1913. "Bishop Budka Presents Views": Appendix, doc. 4.

¹⁵ Budka pastoral letter 'О потребі організації,' 20 April 1913; cfr. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 93–96.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 176–77, 247–249, 254–256, 280–283.

The “Budka controversy” was less about the bishop and more about the debate over what should constitute Canadian identity. The Liberal Party of Manitoba and its principal mouthpiece, the *Manitoba Free Press*, were promoting Anglo-Canadian assimilationism.¹⁷ On the federal level, the Borden government had returned to an imperialist model of identity based on “subjecthood” to the British sovereign, rather than upon Canadian “citizenship,” a model promoted by the previous Laurier administration.¹⁸ The Manitoba Conservatives and Catholic leaders were opposed to Borden’s model. Both, moreover, sought to preserve bilingual public education, as had been guaranteed in 1870 with a legal settlement which brought Manitoba into the Dominion of Canada.¹⁹ The battle-lines were further drawn along Anglo-Protestant versus non-English-Catholic lines, between politicians who had welcomed European immigration and those who sought to preserve British ethnic and cultural hegemony.²⁰

In June 1914, the Manitoba Liberal Party blamed their narrow defeat in the provincial elections on the support that Catholics and non-Anglos had shown toward the incumbent provincial Conservatives. The Liberal mouthpiece, the *Manitoba Free Press*, particularly targeted the Catholic episcopate, including Bishop Budka. The paper’s editor bitterly complained that the Conservatives were less than patriotic because

¹⁷ Articles from *Manitoba Free Press*: “The Menace of Anti-Canadian Nationalism” (29 July 1914) [Appendix to this article, doc. 1], “The Anti-Canadian Nationalism of Canadian Ukraine” (5 August 1914), “Bishop Budka, Austrian Mobilizer in this Country” (7 August 1914) [Appendix, doc. 2], “Must Become Canadians” (10 August 1914), “Manitoba’s Greatest Need” (12 August 1914). cfr. Swyripa, *The Ukrainian Image*, 48.

¹⁸ James Farney and Bohdan S. Kordan, “The Predicament of Belonging: the Status of Enemy Aliens in Canada,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39 (2005).

¹⁹ “An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, chapter 3; and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba,” in *Statutes of Canada 1870*, chapter 3, 20–27.

²⁰ Marilyn Barber, “Canadianization through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces before World War I: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-speaking Majority,” *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, ed. Martin Louis Kovacs (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978), 281–294. Cornelius J. Jaenen, “The Manitoba School Question: An Ethnic Interpretation,” *Ibid.*, 317–331. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 167, 357–366.

they did not ensure that newcomers were sufficiently “Canadianized.”²¹ The outbreak of the First World War, only a month later, brought this simmering conflict to a boil.

Bishop Budka was not alone in sensing that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, which occurred on 28 June 1914, represented a turning point of history. The Slavs of Austria-Hungary, Ukrainians included, had placed great political hopes upon Franz Ferdinand, who had been about to succeed the elderly Franz Josef as emperor-king. His death led to war with Serbia and its ally Russia. Most Galician Ukrainians believed that a Russian invasion of their native land would mean the end of their national and political aspirations and the suppression of their distinctive Greek-Catholic Church.²²

Bishop Budka had begun his Canadian mission by issuing ground-breaking pastoral letters, by which he couched a traditional moral message in the form of practical advice for everyday problems.²³ On 27 July 1914 he issued such a message to those among his flock who were Austrian subjects. After expressing regret for the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the bishop advised those who had been called-up by Austria to enlist, especially to defend their kinfolk against a likely Russian invasion.²⁴ Budka was even more concerned that those who had intended to return to their homeland earning some

²¹ Appendix, doc. 1, 3.

²² Nadia O.M. Kazymyra, “Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion in Manitoba During World War I,” in *Ethnic Canadians*, 122–123.

²³ AEE, fasc. T36–A–01, *Дороговказ для Русинів, що ідуть до Канади. Лист пастирський Микити Будки*, 5 April 1913: English translation in *Pioneer Bishop: The Story of Bishop Nicetas Budka's Fifteen Years in Canada*, ed. Michael Shykula, Bernard Korchinski (Regina: Bishop Budka Council 5914 Knights of Columbus, 1990), 95–101. cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 92–96, 184.

²⁴ AAW, NB 2, f. 1031–1032; AEE, fasc. T36–A–02; copy in Archivio Segreto Vaticano (henceforth ASV), *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17; Budka to faithful “Мобілізації в Австрії,” 27 July 1914: English translations in Library and Archives of Canada (henceforth LAC), RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P–1–75; *Loyalties in Conflict*, Appendix I, 161–163; *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, 28–30. cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 246ff.

money did not become destitute and disappointed in Canada due to a period of debilitating unemployment.²⁵

The bishop was not alone in informing Ukrainians about the summons. His rival, the nationalist newspaper *Ukrainskyi Holos*, also published the notice of mobilization that had been issued by the Austro-Hungarian consulate.²⁶ At this juncture, even the *Manitoba Free Press* casually reported news of what was still just another Balkan war (two others had occurred in 1908 and 1912). Regarding Austrian reservists who were leaving Canada to heed the imperial summons, the paper remarked that these conscripts would have to make their own way, as no special trains were being provided for them.²⁷

One of the characteristics of the First World War was the role played by modern technology. Rapid developments in communication systems and armouredments meant that events leading to the war’s outbreak occurred more rapidly than in previous conflicts. The quarrel between Austria and Serbia quickly escalated and, in the end, against all expectations, even Great Britain abandoned its “splendid isolation” and entered into the fray. Within a single week, the third Balkan war had become a world war and, thus, by 4 August, 1914 the advice that Budka had offered his compatriots on 27 July was no longer appropriate.²⁸

²⁵ Appendix, doc. 3, 4. 22. Cf. Kazymyra, “Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion,” 121; Thompson, “The Enemy Alien,” 29 and McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 253.

²⁶ *Український голос* (30 July 1914). “The official proclamation of the partial mobilization order issued by the Government of Austria-Hungary was published in Winnipeg yesterday in “The Ukrainian Voice” and other papers of the nationalities concerned.” “Call to Austrians in Winnipeg,” in *Manitoba Free Press* (31 July 1914).

²⁷ “There will not be special rates or anything of that kind. Any Austrians or Servians [sic] who want to fight will have to pay their own fares unless they are reservists; in the latter case, their respective Governments will foot the bill, if the practice followed in the Balkan war be repeated”: “British Fleet Sails Under Sealed Orders,” *Manitoba Free Press* (30 July 1914).

²⁸ On the rapid escalation of the Austro-Serbian crisis into a general war, see the latest histories: Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2012); Hew Strachan, *The First World War: Volume I To Arms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); especially Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013) and Thomas G. Otte, *July Crisis: The World’s Descent into War, Summer 1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

The outbreak of war between the British and Austrian empires gave Canadian assimilationists a chance to make war on Bishop Budka and those Ukrainian-Canadians who were striving to maintain bilingual public education. Among others, Free Press editor John Dafoe gave the bishop's statements a political, anti-Canadian interpretation. For example, after Britain went to war against Germany, the fact that Budka celebrated a memorial service for the late Austrian heir-to-the-throne was interpreted as a pro-Austrian (and therefore anti-British) gesture. Advising Austrian subjects to return home was interpreted in the same vein. Budka's critics ignored the fact that, following the assassination, their own sovereign, King George V had ordered court mourning and he, together with The Queen and the Cabinet of ministers, attended a Catholic requiem Mass for the repose of the archduke at Westminster Cathedral.²⁹ Critics have also overlooked the fact that Budka's hope for Austrian subjects to return home, in order to avoid destitution amid high unemployment, was in complete accord with the plans of Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden.³⁰

When Britain and Canada entered the war against Germany, Bishop Budka quickly retracted his 27 July letter (which had still not been read in churches)³¹ and issued a new pastoral letter on 6 August 1914, expressing undivided loyalty and full-hearted support for the British Empire and its war effort.³² But this second letter was largely ignored, belittled as being oppor-

²⁹ Austrian State Archives [HHStA], Karton 4, Nachlass Mensdorff, Mensdorff diary 2 and 5 July 1914: cited in Otte, *July Crisis*, 40.

³⁰ Public Records Office [United Kingdom], *Colonial Office*, class 42, piece 981, f. 25; class 616, piece 12, f. 481–483: cited in David Saunders, "Aliens in Britain and the Empire During the First World War," chapter 6 of *Loyalties in Conflict*, 110. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 253.

³¹ "Pastoral Letter 1914 ... Two days – was not read – another read." AAW, NB 3, f. 1998–2005, Budka notes, circa 1919. Dubuque to Perry, 1 March 1916: Appendix, doc. 28.

³² AAW, NB 3, f. 1885–1887; AEE, fasc. T36–A–02, Budka pastoral letter, 6 August 1914; published in *Канадійський русин* (8 August 1914); English translations in: ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17; LAC, RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P–1–75; *Pioneer Bishop*, 118–120; *A Delicate and Difficult Question*, 30–31. (Also see Appendix, doc. 2–4.)

tunistic,³³ or representing a change in policy.³⁴ And yet, whatever nostalgia Budka and his fellow Galicians held for the Danubian monarchy³⁵ had, since his arrival in Canada, given way to consistently expressed pro-British views. This was evident from his previous declarations³⁶ and was confirmed by a police investigation in 1915.³⁷

A more accurate interpretation of Bishop Budka's intentions can be gleaned by approaching the pastoral letters of 27 July and 6 August 1914 as two sides of the same coin. The first letter contained advice to Austrian subjects about a Balkan war with a likely invasion by Russia.³⁸ At that moment there was no question of any disloyalty to Canada, as Prime Minister Borden himself subsequently noted to the Governor General.³⁹ When the unforeseen conflict between Britain and Austria

³³ “Must Become Canadians,” in *Manitoba Free Press* (10 August 1914), 9; copy in AAW, NB 3, f. 1899: Reproduced in *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 31–32. *Робочий народ* (12, 24 August 1914). Dubuque to Perry, 1 March 1916: Appendix, doc. 28. Cf. Kazymyra, “Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion,” 124.

³⁴ Kazymyra, “Aspects,” 124, 132. Thompson, “The Enemy Alien,” 27. *Sed contra*: “Bishop Budka's attitude towards the land of his and his people's adoption has undergone no change since he arrived here some twenty months ago.” “Bishop Budka Presents Views,” in *Manitoba Free Press* (12 September 1914), 16; typewritten copy in AAW, NB 3, f. 1905–1907.

³⁵ Loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy did not spare even prominent Greek-Catholic clergy from internment in Austrian Galicia. For instance, Izydor Dolnytsky (1830–1924) who was a prisoner at Talerhoff: ACO, *Ruteni* 24, pos. 3746/28, Sheptytsky to Tacci, 25 March 1924.

³⁶ Ibid. Budka pastoral letter *О потребі організації*, 20 April 1913. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 94, 254–255.

³⁷ Dubuque to Perry, 1 March 1916: Appendix, doc. 28.

³⁸ “As the bishop of the Ruthenians in Canada I represent here Canadian citizens but I also am responsible for those who are not Canadian citizens and who do not want to be.” Appendix, doc. 3, 4.

³⁹ “Persons of German or Austro-Hungarian origin born in Canada regard themselves as Canadian citizens and take the same pride and interest in the welfare of this country as citizens of British descent.” LAC, RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P–1–75, Borden to The Duke of Connaught, undated August 1914. “The patriotic and wise standpoint taken by Bishop Budka in his letter to the Ruthenians from Aug. 6. guarantees him the appreciation and sympathy of the Government and the Canadian people.” AAW, NB 3, f. 1970 *et seq.*, Budka notes, citation from Borden to Redkevych, 15 August 1914.

loomed, Bishop Budka and other Ukrainian-Canadian leaders manifested unswerving loyalty to the British crown.⁴⁰

The controversy over Budka's recalled letter had no effect on government policy toward Ukrainians in Canada or even toward the bishop himself.⁴¹ But the scandal in the press, fanned by politicians and by the bishop's opponents within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, helped confirm in their prejudices those who were suspicious of Ukrainians.⁴² The smearing of Budka was mean and messy, and it left behind a lingering odour of suspicion for years to come, casting a long shadow over the bishop's reputation⁴³ and giving rise to a negative popular myth about him, which has endured to the present day.⁴⁴

The Church's Wartime Policy

Canadian authorities had made concerted efforts to court Bishop Budka, as Ukrainian spiritual leader, upon his arrival in Canada.⁴⁵ Contrary to the aforementioned myth, the federal government accepted Budka's clarifications regarding his first pastoral as sufficient, and viewed his second pastoral letter as a true statement of his pro-Canadian sympathies and a declaration of loyalty to king and country in wartime⁴⁶ (a fact

⁴⁰ ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17, Redkevych to Stagni, Winnipeg, 12 August 1914. I enclose also copy of communication from the Chancellor of Bishop Budka of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada which explains itself." LAC, RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P-1-75, Borden to Perley, Ottawa, 15 August 1914. Ibidem, Perley to Borden, 1 September 1914. "Loyalty of Ruthenians: Lieutenant-Governor Gives Our Address Submitted on Behalf of Residents of Canada," in *Winnipeg Telegram* (13 August 1914). Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 251.

⁴¹ Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 20. Thompson, "The Enemy Alien," 26-27.

⁴² Melycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada," 3. Swyrypa, "The Ukrainian Image," 47.

⁴³ Kazymyra, "Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion," 124-25.

⁴⁴ Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 114-15; Kostash, *All of Baba's Children*, 46-47; cf. Thompson, "The Enemy Alien," 26-27.

⁴⁵ On 16 December 1912, Budka was feted by the prime minister, the chief justice and two cabinet ministers, following which he was received by the governor general: McVay, *God's Martyr*, 75.

⁴⁶ "The Ministry are [is] now satisfied": ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17, (prot. 11587), Burke to Stagni, Toronto, 12 August 1914. "I enclose

admitted even by Budka’s staunchest opponents).⁴⁷ Budka’s 6 August pastoral was sent to Prime Minister Borden with an explanatory letter from the bishop’s chancellor.⁴⁸ Borden replied to Chancellor Redkevych stating that: “The patriotic and wise standpoint taken by Bishop Budka in his letter to the Ruthenians from Aug. 6 guarantees him the appreciation and sympathy of the Government and the Canadian people.”⁴⁹

Nevertheless, Canadian Catholic leaders were anxious to avoid negative repercussions upon Budka and his flock. In addition to Father Burke’s liaising with the government, the papal envoy (apostolic delegate), Archbishop Stagni,⁵⁰ summoned Budka to Ottawa at the end of August 1914.⁵¹ It is likely that, at that meeting, Stagni counselled Budka on how to behave during the war or,⁵² as the archbishop later wrote: as “persons coming from the countries at war with the British Empire” the Ukrainian clergy were “to exercise the greatest caution.”⁵³ This meant avoiding any words or actions which

also copy of communication from the Chancellor of Bishop Budka of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada which explains itself.” LAC, RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P-1-75, Borden to Perley, Ottawa, 15 August 1914.

⁴⁷ If, as the Government organ asserts, that pastoral was justifiable when it was written, it is equally justifiable now”: “Manitoba’s Greatest Need,” *Manitoba Free Press* (12 August 1914): copy in AAW, NB 3, f. 1902v.

⁴⁸ LAC, RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P-1-75; ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17, Redkevych to Borden, (annex 2 to prot. 11595), 11 August 1914. cfr. McVay, 250.

⁴⁹ AAW, NB 3, f. 1970ff, quotation from Borden to Redkevych, 15 August 1914. The text was presented as evidence by the defence at Budka’s trial in October 1919.

⁵⁰ Pellegrino Francesco Stagni (1859–1918): priest 1881; archbishop of Aquila 1907; apostolic delegate to Canada 1910: *Dictionnaire biographique des évêques catholiques du Canada. Les diocèses catholiques canadiens des églises latine et orientales et leurs évêques repères chronologiques et biographiques (1658–2002)*, ed. Jean LeBlanc (Ottawa: Wilson et Lafleur, 2002), 257–259.

⁵¹ AAW, NB 2, f. 1045, Stagni to Budka, telegram 1181, Ottawa, 30 August 1914. cfr. McVay, 256.

⁵² ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17, Burke to Stagni, Toronto, 8 August 1914. AAW, NB 3, f. 1892, telegram no. 1779, Burke to Budka, Toronto, 9 August 1914.

⁵³ ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 23; AAW, NB 2, f. 1120–1121, Stagni to Budka, 29 September 1915. Cf. McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 259.

could be construed as being pro-Austrian or anti-British, including criticism of government policies. Bishop Budka issued a further patriotic instruction at the end of the year and continued to issue such circulars throughout the war.⁵⁴

Having been reassured by federal authorities, Catholic notables wrongly assumed that the storm over Budka's letter had passed over without repercussions.⁵⁵ But assurances given by federal ministers were not always noted, especially by provincial⁵⁶ and local authorities, to whose judgement were left the implementation of restrictive measures.⁵⁷ Three Greek-Catholic priests were arrested, one was interrogated, and another interned for a year.⁵⁸ Canadian police refused Budka permission to travel to the United States, to attend a funeral and, in July 1918, the bishop was himself arrested upon a charge of treason.⁵⁹ Although he was immediately exonerated, even after the armistice, Budka was threatened with internment and deportation from various "patriotic" quarters.⁶⁰

Throughout the duration of the war, Bishop Budka followed the advice of Canadian church leaders by attempting to keep a low profile, not discussing political matters,⁶¹ and not

⁵⁴ AAW NB 2, f. 1112; AEE, fasc. T36-A-02, Budka to Clergy and Faithful, 24 December 1914. Ibidem, June 1917. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 262–263.

⁵⁵ AAW, NB 3, f. 1912, Burke to Budka, Toronto, 15 August 1914. ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17, Burke to Stagni, circa 15 August 1914. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 252.

⁵⁶ ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 23, Doherty to Stagni, Ottawa, 17 and 25 September 1915. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 259.

⁵⁷ *Extra Canada Gazette*, Ottawa, 2 September 1914: Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 6.

⁵⁸ Шумський, "Подяка": Appendix, doc. 14. *Хроніка Мондерського Манастиря*, vol. 2, 34 (8 April 1915). "Арештованне о. Филипова і увільнення": Appendix, doc. 31.

⁵⁹ Budka to Sheptytsky, 22 November 1918: Appendix, doc. 32. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 258–268.

⁶⁰ *Канадійський українець* (29 April 1919). Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 269–272.

⁶¹ "I do not dare to say something, even not that what the Canadian papers are writing. ... In the church I do not touch that matter and I can prove by many, how I am agitating for Canadian orientation." ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 23, Budka to Stagni, Winnipeg, 12 September 1915. "It appears that Budka had been badly frightened and he had very little to say re. the war.": Appendix, document 28.

allowing them to be discussed in his newspaper.⁶² To be sure, the fear of additional restrictions upon himself, his clergy and his faithful, represented an additional motive for maintaining caution, as his newspaper noted: “Ruthenian-Ukrainians in Canada must now keep quiet and are afraid of one another.”⁶³

Yet Nykyta Budka was not alone in adopting a cautious public policy. The same approach was used by most factions within the Ukrainian Canadian community. Neither Catholic, Protestant, nor nationalist newspapers dared to challenge the government. Instead, they encouraged their readership to demonstrate Canadian patriotism, to concentrate on education, and even to comply with the restriction of movement and later with conscription.⁶⁴ The single exception were the socialists, who objected to government policy, to the poor treatment of internees, and to the war in principal.⁶⁵

On the single issue of bilingual public education, Ukrainian community leaders, including Budka, did not maintain silence. As bilingual education had been guaranteed in law and was supported by several provincial governments, Ukrainian leaders felt empowered to lobby for the maintenance of these legal provisions. Both the Catholic newspaper *Kanadyyskyi Rusyn* (Canadian Ruthenian) and the nationalist *Ukrainskyi Holos* (Ukrainian voice) waged vigorous campaigns in favour of bilingual schooling.⁶⁶

But according to the ascendant imperialist model, full membership in Canada was to be achieved by loyalty to the British crown as demonstrated by assimilation to Anglo-Can-

⁶² “For the sake of Canada ... I am opposed to the public discussion of these questions.” AAW, *Громадські справи*; LAC, *Robert Borden papers*, MG 26H, vol. 221, reel C-4404, f. 124288-124289, Budka to Borden, Winnipeg, 19 June 1917.

⁶³ “Росія в Канаді при роботі: Протест проти чернення нашого учительства і народу,” in *Канадійський русин* (27 December 1915), 4.

⁶⁴ Kazymyra, “Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion,” 125. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 423. McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 263. Thompson, “The Enemy Alien,” 33.

⁶⁵ *Робочий народ* (4 December 1912, 8 January 1913, 28 August 1915). Kazymyra, 124-126. Kordan and Melnycky, “The Internment,” 20.

⁶⁶ Dubuque to Perry, 1 March 1916: Appendix, doc. 28. Kazymyra, 120, 128. Martynowych, 342-380.

dian culture, and by the rejection of bi-cultural status.⁶⁷ As a result, especially in wartime, many Anglo-Canadians saw the maintenance of “alien languages” as a threat to the strength of national solidarity.⁶⁸ The English-language press depicted the defence of bilingualism as a sign of religious particularity and disloyalty to Canada and to the war effort.⁶⁹ Insistence upon maintaining their own language appeared to some as proof of conspiracy and, therefore, as a threat by Ukrainians to national security.⁷⁰

In their battle for bilingual public education at the beginning of the war, Bishop Budka, together with other “Ukrainian leaders miscalculated the limits of compromise.” Thus they were unable to remove the stigma of “dual loyalty” in the eyes of the governing Canadian elite.⁷¹ At least in one instance, as a result of public lobbying for bilingualism, influential Canadians, who were otherwise well-disposed, abandoned a project to have a large number of Ukrainians released from the internment camps.⁷²

1. *Pastoral Ministry*

*Being together with their spiritual shepherd, it seemed as if the entire group had been granted their freedom.*⁷³

Pastoral care of prisoners is one of the sacred duties of Christian clergy and was recognized by the international com-

⁶⁷ Farney and Kordan, 79.

⁶⁸ Kazymyra, “Aspects,” 126–27.

⁶⁹ Swyrypa, “The Ukrainian Image,” 50. Kazymyra, “Aspects,” 120.

⁷⁰ Western Canadian Press Censor, Fredrick Livesay, interpreted the “alliance” between *Kanadiyskyi Rusyn* and *Ukrainskyi Holos* on language rights as part of a Germanic conspiracy to disrupt the war effort: LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, vol. 27, file 144–A–1, Chambers to Livesay, 3 January 1916. cfr. Donald H. Avery, “Ethnic and Class Tensions 1918–20: Anglo-Canadians and the Alien Worker,” chapter 5 of *Loyalties in Conflict*. 90. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 333. Melnycky, “The Internment,” 7.

⁷¹ Kazymyra, “Aspects,” 119.

⁷² LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, file 144–C, Livesay to Chambers, Winnipeg, 10 February 1916.

⁷³ Бакун, “Як обходили різдво пліники на сході”: Appendix, doc. 24.

munity as a right of war prisoners at the Hague Conventions.⁷⁴ Thus, pastoral ministration represented the first and foremost duty and concern of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church to the imprisoned members of her flock. Bishop Budka encouraged and mandated his priests to carry out such ministry, and personally attended to it himself.⁷⁵

The first internment camp in Canada was established on 13 August 1914 and temporary and permanent camps were subsequently across the country.⁷⁶ Ukrainians represented the largest ethnic component of the 7,762 “enemy aliens” interned in Canada. During and after the war, a total of 5,954 Austro-Hungarian subjects were interned at twenty-four camps and stations.⁷⁷ At first, the largest concentrations of Ukrainian internees were found in Brandon, Manitoba, Lethbridge, Alberta, and Spirit Lake, Quebec, and from 1915 in Petawawa and Kapuskasing, Ontario; Banff-Castle Rock, Alberta; and Vernon and other camps in the interior of British Columbia.⁷⁸

News that members of their flocks were being interned likely came to the ears of the Ukrainian clergy from families and friends, some of whom were receiving letters directly from the internees.⁷⁹ Once permanent detention camps were established, the nearest parish priest to each camp began visiting. Camp authorities welcomed such visits, provided they did not interfere with the daily schedule.⁸⁰ The priests who ministered to the Ukrainian internees included Ivan Perepelytsia of Montreal, Apolynarii Kaluzhniatsky of Brandon, and Mykhailo Kuzmak as full-time camp chaplains; vicars general Amvrosii Redkevych, Emilian Krasitsky of Sydney; and Bishop Budka himself. Fathers Mykhailo Olenchuk of Winnipeg and Matey

⁷⁴ Otter Report 11: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 135. Although, strictly speaking, the Hague Convention’s rules did not apply to civilian prisoners of war: Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 17, 126–127.

⁷⁵ ААВ: Книга Ординаріату, Шпитали і Вязні.

⁷⁶ Otter Report, 4–5: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 126–127.

⁷⁷ Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 5. Melnycky, 2–3.

⁷⁸ Melnycky, “The Internment,” 8. Luciuk, *In Fear*, 14.

⁷⁹ Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, 22 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 11. “Просьба наших інтернованих”: Appendix, doc. 16.

⁸⁰ Otter report, 11. Jean Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention au Québec durant la première guerre mondiale* (Montréal, 1973), 27.

Hura of Edmonton also helped with the collection of Christmas gifts for the interned. Perepelytsia, Redkevych and Budka, were seminary professors with doctoral degrees and the first two had been recruited by Budka specifically for the purpose of teaching.⁸¹ Despite this fact, all three proved to be extremely zealous in ministering to Ukrainian prisoners of war.⁸²

Spirit Lake, Quebec

The Spirit Lake camp was located near Abitibi, where the Canadian government, in conjunction with church leaders, had been planning to settle two hundred Ukrainian immigrant families.⁸³ The permanent camp was established 13 January 1915.⁸⁴ The initial internees were all Ukrainians from Montreal, the first group consisting in 150 men,⁸⁵ and the second of twenty married couples and their children – ninety-two people in all – who arrived by train on 19 April. Virtually all of them were Ukrainian Catholics.⁸⁶ At any given time the camp held around 1200 prisoners.⁸⁷

Spirit Lake was located in the overwhelmingly Catholic Province of Quebec. Perhaps due to this fact, unlike most of the other camps, officials at Spirit Lake fully facilitated Catholic religious worship, in both Latin and Byzantine rites.⁸⁸ The

⁸¹ AAW, *Secular Priests* 10, fasc. JP, f. 5, Chekovych to Budka, Пе́ремишль, 23 August 1913.

⁸² In 1915 there were only 24 Greek-Catholic priests serving over 100,000 Ukrainian Catholics in Canada. Each priest served between 8 and 17 churches or chapels: McVay, *God's Martyr*, 297, 352–353.

⁸³ AAW, NB 1, fasc. 'handwritten letters', Budka to Dubuque, 26 January 1915. cfr. McVay, 245.

⁸⁴ Otter Report, 5: Luciuk, *In Fear*, 127.

⁸⁵ Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 3. Мервицький, 21.

⁸⁶ [United States] National Archives and Records Administration (henceforth NARA,) 763.72115/636. Pradley to the Secretary of State "Situation of prisoners of war, at the camps in Canada," 20 April 1915: cited in Peter Melnycky, "Badly Treated in every Way: The Internment of Ukrainians in Quebec During the First World War," in *The Ukrainian Experience in Quebec*, ed., A. Biega and M. Diakowsky (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1994).

⁸⁷ Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 3.

⁸⁸ NARA, 763.72115/1246, American Consulate General, Ottawa to The Secretary of State, Washington, 14 October 1915. LAC, RG 6, D 1, vol. 2,

Quebec government even promised to remunerate the clergy for each visit, and cover travelling costs.⁸⁹

The first mention of pastoral ministration to the interned, in Ukrainian church sources, occurred on 12 February 1915. In the ledger of official diocesan⁹⁰ documents, Bishop Budka recorded the contents of one such document: “Permission [is granted] to Father Perepelytsia to visit the war prisoners at the Camp in Quebec in order to bring them spiritual care.”⁹¹ The Reverend Doctor Ivan Perepelytsia had arrived in Canada from his native Przemyśl (Peremyshl) in October 1913, and was assigned to the Ukrainian congregation in Montreal on 10 November of the same year.⁹²

Although the Hague Convention recognized the right of war prisoners to attend places of public worship, Canadian authorities did not grant internees such right, ostensibly due to a shortage of troops to monitor their excursions to nearby churches.⁹³ Instead, officials at Spirit Lake permitted the prisoners to build their own places of worship. Probably during one of his initial visits to the camp, Father Perepelytsia encouraged his flock to construct a small chapel.⁹⁴ When the first group of Ukrainian families were sent to the camp in April, American Consul-General William H. Pradley arranged for Perepelytsia

file 3155, Rodden to Otter, 2 May 1916: cited in Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 29 fn52.

⁸⁹ LAC, RG 6, D 1, vol. 2, file 3155, McPherson to Rodden, 1 May 1916: cited in Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 28 fn46.

⁹⁰ Although the Greek derivative “diocese” is typically used to refer to Latin bishoprics, I use it here as a generic term for the following reason: Until 1930, Eastern-Rite apostolic exarchs were described as *ordinarii*, titular bishops with a fixed residence enjoying personal jurisdiction over the faithful of their rite in a particular territory. “Brevi cenni sull’esarchia e l’esarca,” in *Servizio Informazioni Chiesa Orientale*, no. 154, vol. VIII, no. 4 (25 March 1953), 14–16.

⁹¹ AAW, *Книга Ординаріату* (12 February 1915): Appendix, doc. 5.

⁹² AAW, *Secular Priests* 10, fasc. JP. cfr. McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 156–57, 265.

⁹³ Otter Report, 11: Luciuk, *In Fear*, 135.

⁹⁴ К.І. Мервицький, “Спогади піонера,” in *Пропам’ятна книга з нагоди золотого ювілею храму св. Архистратига Михаїла в Монреалі*, eds. Адольф Гладинович, Ярослав Пришляк, Юрій Левицький (Торонто, 1966), 21. Cf. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 11.

to accompany them and procured a modest religious image to adorn their "little log chapel."⁹⁵

The Ukrainian Catholic newspaper *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* noted that "Rev. Dr. Perepelytsia of Montreal ... often visits our countrymen at the detention camp."⁹⁶ Despite his goodwill, fellow clergy observed that prisoners complained about Perepelytsia, perhaps because that he limited himself to pastoral care and did not become directly involved with matters outside of this prevue.⁹⁷ After five months of zealous ministration to the Spirit Lake internees, to his regret,⁹⁸ Father Perepelytsia was appointed diocesan chancellor and transferred from Montreal to Winnipeg.⁹⁹

In 1915 the zenith of anti-alien reaction in Canada reached its apex.¹⁰⁰ The stress from a gruelling missionary work together with the controversy over his pastoral letters caused Bishop Budka to undergo mental and physical collapse. During the time of his convalescence in California, his chancellor Redkevych, was left to administer the diocese. Upon the bishop's return, a stressed and exhausted Redkevych asked to be relieved of his position. The bishop reassigned Redkevych to Montreal and appointed Father Perepelytsia as the replacement chancellor, and the two priests exchanged places in June 1915.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ "I also arranged, as they desired, for a Ruthenian Priest to go with them and on request from the Camp, hunted up a lithographic picture of the Byzantine type of the Madonna, which went with them, for their little log chapel." NARA, 763.72115/636. Pradley to the Secretary of State, 20 April 1915: cited in Melnycky, "Badly Treated."

An undated photo of the finished chapel, taken from the private collection of Yuriy and Zorianna Luhovy of Montreal, Centre d'interprétation du Camp Spirit Lake. The photo in Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 53, shows the camp's Roman Catholic chapel.

⁹⁶ Appendix, doc. 6. cfr. Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," 10. Мервицький, 21.

⁹⁷ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

⁹⁸ Perepelytsia to Budka, 18 June 1915: Appendix, doc. 7.

⁹⁹ AAW, *Secular Priests* 10, fasc. JP, f. 11, Budka to Perepelytsia, Winnipeg, 12 June 1915.

¹⁰⁰ Kazymyra, "Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion," 126.

¹⁰¹ AAW, *Книга Ординаріату*, 16, no. 98; *Secular Priests* 11, fasc. AR, f. 70, Budka to Redkevych, Winnipeg, 12 June 1915. cfr. McVay, 159–160, 250–252. Perepelytsia was not well-suited for administrative duties and thus,

Redkevych went first to Ottawa to present himself to General Otter,¹⁰² who was in charge of the internment camps.¹⁰³ Shortly after his arrival in Quebec in June 1915, he visited the camps in Montreal and Spirit Lake, where he blessed the chapel and cemetery.¹⁰⁴ Like Perepelytsia before him, Redkevych also limited his ministrations to the spiritual realm, carefully avoiding anything that could be construed as criticism of the military authorities.¹⁰⁵

Being in the Province of Quebec, Spirit Lake camp was regularly visited by Roman and Ukrainian Catholic clergy.¹⁰⁶ During its two year of operation, fifteen children were baptized there¹⁰⁷ and twenty people buried at the camp cemetery.¹⁰⁸ In October 1915, after his visit to the camp the American consul general reported that the large cross at the cemetery was “consecrated by a Ruthenian bishop.”¹⁰⁹

In allocating Spirit Lake to the military for internment, the Quebec government saw an opportunity to develop the isolated area for future settlement.¹¹⁰ In 1925, nine years after the camp closed, the plan to bring Ukrainian immigrant settlers to the area was realized by Father Josaphat Jean, who established

just over one year as chancellor, on 21 December 1916 Bishop Budka granted him leave to transfer to the Ukrainian Exarchate in the United States: Idem, 96.

¹⁰² William Dillon Otter (1843–1929). Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 6, 66 n8.

¹⁰³ Perepelytsia to Budka, 18 June 1915: Appendix, doc. 7.

¹⁰⁴ To the dismay of Perepelytsia: Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ *Канадійський русин* (23 June 1915). cfr. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 10.

¹⁰⁶ LAC, RG 6 H1, vol. 752, file 3155, “Spirit Lake religious services 1916.”

¹⁰⁷ Baptismal Register of St. Therese Parish, Amos, Quebec (13 May 1915–10 June 1916): cited in Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 29–30.

¹⁰⁸ Located south of the main camp, the cemetery was enclosed by a rail fence and marked by a large concrete cross: Kordan and Melnycky, 102 fn128. The cause of death was mainly tuberculosis, especially among the infants: Ibid, 27.

¹⁰⁹ NARA, 763.72115/1246, American Consulate General, Ottawa to Secretary of State, Washington, “Investigation of charges of Hermann Grunewald re treatment of Prisoners of War,” 14 October 1915. Laflamme, 29–31. Cf. Melnycky, “Badly Treated.”

¹¹⁰ Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 92.

Sheptytsky colony near Abitibi.¹¹¹ Ukrainian Catholic pastoral ministration to the area resumed in 1952, when Father Lev Chayka established Protection of Mother of God Parish in nearby Val d'Or.¹¹²

Ontario and Quebec

The impetus and official mandate for making pastoral visits to the internees had come from Bishop Budka himself, only days before beginning his convalescence at the end of February 1915.¹¹³ During the bishop's absence, his interim administrator, Father Redkevych entered into contact with Canadian authorities and obtained their permission to visit the detention camps.¹¹⁴ In Brandon, Kapuskasing, and Spirit Lake, Redkevych celebrated the holy services, preached sermons, and heard confessions of over a thousand internees.¹¹⁵ By December 1915, *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* reported that he had discovered the number of Ukrainians at each location.¹¹⁶

Redkevych's relations with officials had laid the groundwork for a full-time, chaplain. On 7 July 1915 Bishop Budka appointed Father Mykhailo Kuzmak¹¹⁷ as chaplain of the Ukrainians Catholics in the internment camps in Ontario and

¹¹¹ Josaphat François-Joseph-Victorien Jean (1885–1972): Zonia Keywan, *A Turbulent Life: Father Josaphat Jean, OSBM* (Verdun, Québec, 1990), especially 97–112. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, "One Immigrant Saga: The Sheptytsky Colony in Quebec," in *New Soil – Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada*, ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyj et al. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), 58–70. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 383.

¹¹² Monsignor Lev Chayka (1923–); vicar general of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Toronto for the Province of Quebec: *Альманах Торонтоноської Єпархії: У Христовим Винограднику*, ed. Юліян Бескид (Торонто, 1964), 107–12, 575.

¹¹³ AAW, *Книга Ординаріату*, 5, no. 20 (12 February 1915).

¹¹⁴ Perepelytsia to Budka, 18 June 1915: Appendix, doc. 7.

¹¹⁵ "Badly Treated in Every Way."

¹¹⁶ "Very Reverend Doctor Redkevych, parish priest in Montreal ... knows the number of our people at each location." Appendix, doc. 19.

¹¹⁷ Mykhailo Kuzmak (1862–1957): priest 1891; served in Winnipeg 1914, Hafford 1915, Ottawa 1916–1919, New Jersey 1921, Calgary 1923, Pennsylvania 1924, retired 1949: McVay, *God's Martyr*, 156, 265.

Quebec.¹¹⁸ On behalf of the Greek-Catholic bishop’s chancery, Father Perepelytsia informed the federal Ministry of Justice of the appointment on 5 August, and asked the minister to facilitate Father Kuzmak’s pastoral work with the internees.¹¹⁹ Kuzmak subsequently wrote to inform the minister himself.¹²⁰ The Federal Government duly provided a railway pass but, unfortunately, it was not valid for the entire journey.¹²¹

From the prairies via Ottawa, Mykhailo Kuzmak arrived at Spirit Lake around 14 August 1915.¹²² After having spent a week there, he began to send reports to the bishop’s chancellor, Father Perepelytsia, who had been chaplain before him. Kuzmak wrote that, although his task was to provide pastoral care, this was being hampered by the prisoners’ anger over conditions at the camp, and resulted in a negative attitude toward the clergy.¹²³ The inmates’ hostility appears to have been caused by two things: firstly, by rumours that the pastor in Montreal, Father Redkevych, had been saying that the conditions of their detention were ideal;¹²⁴ and secondly, by frustration that the chaplain not only refused to deliver correspondence to avoid camp censures, but that he otherwise refused to directly intervene to secure their release.¹²⁵ Father Kuzmak’s letter to the chancery hints at the possibility that that camp or federal officials had reminded the chaplains to restrict their involvement to pastoral ministry.¹²⁶

After visiting Kapuskasing, in the second-half of August 1915, Kuzmak observed that the conditions at that camp were better than those at Spirit Lake. He returned to Spirit Lake on 2 September¹²⁷ and, later that month, travelled to Petawawa and

¹¹⁸ Appendix, doc. 9.

¹¹⁹ Doherty to Perepelytsia, 10 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 10.

¹²⁰ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

¹²¹ Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, 22 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 11.

¹²² Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, 22 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 11.

¹²³ Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, 22 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 11.

¹²⁴ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

¹²⁵ “By appointing me they obviously had in mind the pastoral assistance that I was to render people.” Appendix, doc. 13.

¹²⁶ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

the other camps.¹²⁸ Sometime after visiting the Ontario camps, Father Kuzmak was taken ill and was later hospitalized in Montreal.¹²⁹ He was still in hospital at Christmas (7 January in the Julian calendar) and was unable to celebrate the holy days for the internees at any of the camps. The other pastors in eastern Canada were too busy with their own churches to visit any of the camps.¹³⁰

Something had occurred that might have contributed to Kuzmak's collapse. On 29 February 1916 Father Redkevych wrote to the Bishop Budka about "difficult situation" at the camps and that "I can't send anyone else because, after the Father Kuzmak affair, they won't accept anyone." At some point between January and February Kuzmak went to Chicago and Bishop Budka sent him a letter promptly recalling him to Canada.¹³¹ We do not know exactly the issue nor if Kuzmak returned to ministry immediately. Finally, on 23 August, the bishop assigned Mykhailo Kuzmak to Ottawa.¹³²

Bishop Budka and Father Redkevych discussed how to resume pastoral care at the camps. Redkevych's 29 February letter was likely a response to a communication from Budka, in which the bishop had suggested that he himself take up the task. Redkevych admitted that "As to the camps, [someone] definitely needs to go, but I would definitely not advise Your Lordship to go alone, not on account of the hard work but because of the [special] circumstances." Instead, he proposed that the bishop "come to Montreal and I would go to the camps." Budka made a notation at the top of this letter, indicating that he replied to Redkevych on 6 March. The notation reads "Camps N."¹³³ We cannot be certain of this notation's

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ "Для наших дорогих интернованих": Appendix, doc. 15.

¹³⁰ "But, as they wrote to me in their letters, they missed one thing very much: a priest who could have celebrated the holy services for them. But this was not to be. Father Kuzmak, their chaplain, has been sick for several months and other priests had to be in their parishes. Everything possible was done." Appendix, doc. 25.

¹³¹ *Книга Ординаріату*, 9, no. 118 (19 February 1916).

¹³² *Книга Ординаріату*, 9, no. 134 (23 August 1916).

¹³³ Redkevych to Budka, 29 February 1916: Appendix, doc. 27.

meaning and do not know whether or not the bishop visited the Ontario and Quebec camps.

Deprived of pastoral comfort, tension among the internees increased. In May 1916, arrivals from Petawawa¹³⁴ had initiated a riot at Kapuskasing, eventually involving 1200 prisoners and 300 guards, in protest of the fact that camp authorities had sought to force them to work on their religious holidays (perhaps Julian-calendar Easter). Casualties resulted and some were hospitalized.¹³⁵

Sydney, Nova Scotia

By 1916 most of the young workers in Sydney, Nova Scotia, had gone to war. From February to June, 600 Ukrainian internees from Amherst, Nova Scotia,¹³⁶ Spirit Lake, Quebec, and finally Kapuskasing, Ontario, were brought in to work in the steel mill, mines and quarries. The young men from Kapuskasing began a labour and hunger strike, demanding that they be repatriated to Austria. Most were likely Austrian reservists who were reluctant to sign parole release forms for fear of the consequences upon return to Austria,¹³⁷ and because of a “scrupulous interpretation of their oaths to the Emperor.”¹³⁸

The Ukrainian parish priest in Sydney, Father Emilian Krasitsky,¹³⁹ came to visit and plead with them, at first in vain, to end their strike. Initially, they were angry and insulting toward him, but eventually he convinced them with moral reasoning. Krasitsky argued that, since they had left Austria and did not intend to return, then it had ceased to be a home-

¹³⁴ Petawawa camp was closed on 8 May 1916: Otter Report, 4: Luciuk, *In Fear*, 126.

¹³⁵ *Канадійський русин* (31 May 1916) cfr. Luciuk, *In Fear*, 87–88 n37. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 9.

¹³⁶ The camp at Amherst was opened on 17 April 1915 and closed on 29 September 1919: Otter Report, 4: Luciuk, *In Fear*, 127.

¹³⁷ LAC, *Internment Operation files*, 3326(1), Coleman to Otter, 29 June 1916. Cf. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 9, 14.

¹³⁸ “To His Majesty Emperor Franz Josef we swore an oath to defend our fatherland until death.” Appendix, doc. 29.

¹³⁹ Emilian Krasitsky (1857–1929): came to North America 1907, served in Detroit, Winnipeg, Sydney, Cooks Creek: McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 151.

land for them. Canada, he told them, was their new home and they were bound to obey the laws of their new country.¹⁴⁰

Brandon, Manitoba

The camps at Lethbridge and Brandon had been established on September 22 and 30 September 1914 respectively. They acted as assembly points for internees that were later transferred to others across the prairies. Internees at the Brandon camp, where Ukrainians were in the majority,¹⁴¹ were fortunate to receive regular visitations¹⁴² from the local Ukrainian priest, Father Apolynarii Kaluzhniatsky,¹⁴³ and from the local Polish priest, Father Grochowski.¹⁴⁴

In October 1915 Bishop Budka visited the camp, having stopped there on his way from Regina to Winnipeg. He arrived on the evening of 25 October and, the following afternoon, he gave a talk to the prisoners, during which he attempted to cheer their spirits. He promised to assist them in various ways and that he would arrange for books and a teacher to be sent. That evening, he and the two local priests heard the prisoners' confessions. Although it had been arranged for him to celebrate the Divine Liturgy on in the morning of 27 October, due to a mix-up, the prison guards did not let him and the liturgy had to be cancelled.¹⁴⁵

Unlike the other camps, Brandon internees received pastoral care during Julian-calendar Christmas holidays. *Kanadyi-skyi Rusyn* subsequently published a letter from inmate Ivan

¹⁴⁰ "Поворот інтернованих з таборів": Appendix, doc. 29.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Melnycky, *A Political History of the Ukrainian Community in Manitoba 1899–1922*, 205.

¹⁴² "The Brandon internees, who have a priest ": Appendix, doc. 21.

¹⁴³ Apolynarii (Omelian) Kaluzhniatsky (1852–1933): priest 1881; served in Kosmyryn, Buchach district (Austrian Galicia), Brandon, Sandy Lake, Komarno and Fisher Branch, Manitoba: McVay, 156.

¹⁴⁴ "Восенні пліники в Брандоні": Appendix, doc. 17.

¹⁴⁵ "Восенні пліники в Брандоні": Appendix, doc. 17. cfr. Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," 10–11.

Bakun.¹⁴⁶ As regards the liturgical-pastoral side, Bakun gave the following account:

Already on Thursday morning, Christmas Eve, one could sense a completely different attitude among the Ukrainian internees. With impatience and great expectation we welcomed the local parish priest, Father Kaluzhniatsky. Although he had much work to do (as many as 6 settlements and Brandon under his pastoral care) and also being elderly – already at 9 o’clock in the morning he came to visit to fortify our souls with the Word of God. He celebrated the Holy Liturgy during which he said a few very sincere words, wished us a better future, and moved everyone to tears. During the Divine Liturgy we sang some religious songs and carols. Then, for the first time, we could see that the hearts of all present were filled with a kind of extraordinary joy and they forgot all their earthly troubles. Being with their spiritual shepherd, it seemed as if the entire group had been granted their freedom. After the Divine Liturgy, Father Kaluzhniatsky said a few more encouraging words to the prisoners and assured everyone that he would return again that evening, in order to share the joy at the important moment of Christmas Eve supper, and distribute gifts donated by unforgettable benefactors. ... At the moment when our spiritual pastor stood among us and intoned “Thy Nativity, O Christ our God,”¹⁴⁷ it seems to all present as if they were standing in the church of their native village. Afterwards everyone recited a prayer together.¹⁴⁸

Bakun concluded his letter with an effusive thanks to the clergy for their pastoral care:

¹⁴⁶ Bakun’s name is not listed in Lubomyr Luciuk, *Roll Call: Lest We Forget* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 1999) nor in the 2009 additions.

¹⁴⁷ The troparion for Christmas.

¹⁴⁸ Бакун, “Як обходили різдво пліники на сході”: Appendix, doc. 24.

In the name of all the imprisoned I render most sincere and heartfelt thanks, together with best wishes for the new year to all our benefactors, especially His Excellency Kyr Nykyta, Bishop of Canadian Ruthenians. May the Lord preserve Him for many years in health for the benefit of all Ruthenian Ukrainian Catholics, for the spread of the Catholic Church. And God grant that His good labour in the holy field would bring forth much fruit. May His voice not [merely] be crying out in the wilderness,¹⁴⁹ but that it would be heard all throughout all of Canada. Further I render sincere thanks to our benefactor Father Kaluzhniatsky, parish priest in Brandon who despite all his work still remembered us, abandoned and deprived of our freedom. On Christmas Eve he came to visit us two times, in order to lead us in prayer together. May the Lord still strengthen him for many years to pray together with us. May the Lord give him strength in his old age and help him in his labours for our Catholic Church.¹⁵⁰

Alberta and British Columbia

To date, there is no indication that any pastoral visitations by Ukrainian Catholic priests were made to the camps in Alberta and British Columbia. While *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* directed benefactors to send Christmas gifts care of the parish priest in Edmonton, Basilian Father Matey Hura,¹⁵¹ we have no confirmation that he himself delivered them.¹⁵² Indeed, Father Redkevych had been unable to deliver the hampers personally, due to pastoral duties in Montreal. The camp at Castle Moun-

¹⁴⁹ An allusion to the biblical description of John the Baptist (Mark 1:3, John 1:23) taken from the prophecy of Isaiah 40:3.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix, doc. 24.

¹⁵¹ Matey Myron Hura (1873–1925): entered the Basilians 1892; priest 1897; pioneer missionary to Canada 1903; served in Manitoba and Alberta. parish priest of St. Josaphat, Edmonton 1907–1922.

¹⁵² “Fellow Countrymen [Ukrainians] from Alberta and western Canada are asked to send their gifts to Reverend Father Hura, parish priest in Edmonton, 9648 108 Avenue, for the detention camp in Castle [Rock], Alberta.” Appendix, doc. 18.

tain in Banff National Park was regularly visited on Sundays by Anglican chaplains,¹⁵³ but there is no record in the camp diary of any visits from Ukrainian priest.¹⁵⁴ Prisoners were supposed to have been freed from forced labour on “days of worship,”¹⁵⁵ but this was not always the case.¹⁵⁶ Showing little respect for their beliefs and religious obligations, camp officials arbitrarily determined what were to be “days of worship.”¹⁵⁷ And when a Ukrainian religious holiday was granted,¹⁵⁸ prisoners were sometimes expected to make up the work on another day.¹⁵⁹

Priest Prisoner

*Reverend Father Kamenetsky, himself a
Prisoner of war in this camp.*¹⁶⁰

A single Ukrainian Catholic priest was interned two months before the armistice that effectively ended war hostilities. Petro Kamenetsky, parish priest in Saskatoon,¹⁶¹ was

¹⁵³ Bohdan Kordan and Peter Melnycky eds., *In the Shadow of the Rockies: Diary of the Castle Mountain Internment Camp 1915–1917* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991), 29, 31, 85.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 102 fn128 alludes indirectly to this fact.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁵⁶ Entry of Sunday 8 August: “Work continued as usual.” Kordan and Melnycky, “The Internment,” 33.

¹⁵⁷ No holiday was granted on or near 7 January 1916: Ibid., 50.

¹⁵⁸ The camp diary records the following: 28 August 1915 [Dormition] “Half holiday for prisoners;” 25 December; 8 January 1917 [Synaxis] which the diary designated as “Greek Catholic Xmas Day;” 15 January 1917 “New Years Day for prisoners of war;” 8 April 1917 “Easter Sunday – no work;” Ibid., 35, 48, 113, 114, 124.

¹⁵⁹ “Prisoners worked all day due to Monday being Ruthenian New Year’s Day” Ibid., 114.

¹⁶⁰ ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 130, fasc. 5, Prisoners’ Committee to Di Maria, Vernon, 3 May 1919.

¹⁶¹ Petro Kamenetsky (1891–1973): arrived in Canada 1913; priest 1914; served in Ethelbert, Sifton, Saskatoon, Canora, Fort William, Arran, Rosethorn, Hafford, Vita, Portage la Prairie, Transcona, Sudbury, Toronto, Scarborough: McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 122, 163.

arrested between August and September 1918.¹⁶² He was subsequently sent to the internment camp at Vernon, British Columbia, where he became prisoner number 980,¹⁶³ one among 1100 civilians still interned in Canada.¹⁶⁴ While church files appear to have been purged of any documents directly pertaining to the priest's arrest,¹⁶⁵ recent research¹⁶⁶ has revealed that it occurred as the result of a denunciation to Canadian authorities from the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI accused Kamenetsky of suspicious activities while performing missionary work in Cuba.

It seems unlikely that Kamenetsky could have travelled to Cuba in the short time since his immigration to Canada. The accusations might have been made in the context of "red scare" fears of Communist conspiracies since¹⁶⁷ Kamenetsky had become embroiled in the Catholic-Orthodox conflict in Saskatoon.¹⁶⁸ But further research is required to determine if the FBI's informants invented the accusations (as they had done in the case of Bishop Budka) to implicate and eliminate the priest from ministry in Saskatoon.

Although some interned clergy had been allowed to minister publicly to their fellow inmates,¹⁶⁹ we do not know for certain if Kamenetsky was permitted to do so. Evidence in favour of this possibility may be found in the fact that, on 13 February 1919, Bishop Budka sent to the camp a diploma attesting to the fact that Kamenetsky was a Ukrainian Catholic priest, one of the first three ordained in Canada on 23 March

¹⁶² ААВ, *Книга Ординаріату*, 11, no. 15 (undated between 24 August 25 September 1918).

¹⁶³ Luciuk, *Roll Call*, 30.

¹⁶⁴ Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 131.

¹⁶⁵ ААВ, NB 1-3; *Secular priests* 7, fasc. PK.

¹⁶⁶ Bohdan Kordan, *No Free Man: Canada, the Great War and the Enemy Alien Experience* (unpublished manuscript), 361. Kordan found the relevant files in LAC, RG 13 A2, vol. 239, file 2497.

¹⁶⁷ Kazymyra, 126. Those still interned in Amherst, Kapuskasing, or Vernon were considered to be either undesirables or, in some way, hostile to Canadian authority: Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 131.

¹⁶⁸ ААВ, NB 1, f. 150, Budka to Sheptytsky, Winnipeg, 22 November 1918. Cf. McVay, *God's Martyr*, 268.

¹⁶⁹ A Roman Catholic priest was permitted to minister during his brief internment at Spirit Lake: Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 28.

1914.¹⁷⁰ Even if camp officials did not allow Kamenetsky to offer public worship, they could not have stopped him from ministering privately, hearing their confessions and offering spiritual comfort to his fellow prisoners, if they had so desired.

Kamenetsky's father, Yosyf, sent numerous petitions to General Otter for the release of Father Petro and his other son Ivan. Petro Kamenetsky was discharged on upon the intervention of Bishop Budka's liaison with the government, Father Redkevych,¹⁷¹ on 1 November 1919.¹⁷² From the 1940s until his death in 1973 he acted as one of the most prominent Ukrainian church and community leaders in Canada.¹⁷³

2. Information

*You did not forget about us and each of you
gave as you were able. May the Lord reward you
for this a hundred fold!*¹⁷⁴

The Hague Convention permitted war prisoners to correspond with the outside world and this right was granted to the internees by officials in Canada,¹⁷⁵ although their letters were censored and some were never delivered. Even though they refused to smuggle letters out of the camps,¹⁷⁶ the Greek-Catholic clergy found other ways of conveying information and messages to the general public, to church aid organizations, and to civil authorities.

¹⁷⁰ AAW, *Книга Ординаріату*, 12, no. 11 (13 February 1919).

¹⁷¹ LAC, RG 13 A2, vol. 239, file 2497: Kordan, *No Free Man: Canada*, 361.

¹⁷² LAC, *Custodian of Enemy Property and Internment Operations*, R174-59, 6-E (formerly RG 6-H-1), Kamenetsky certificate of release, 1 November 1919.

¹⁷³ Kamenetsky was named honorary canon in 1940, honorary president of the Toronto branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee 1941, first consultant of the newly-established Toronto Exarchate 1948, domestic prelate of His Holiness in 1959, mitred archpriest and protonotary apostolic 1969. See my upcoming article: “Petro Kamenetsky: Priest, Patriot, Prisoner of War.”

¹⁷⁴ Бакун, “Як обходили різдво пліники на сході”: Appendix, doc. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Otter Report, 11: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 135.

¹⁷⁶ “People think that I can help them in some matters...” Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

To the General Public

Ukrainian Catholic clergy contacted Canadian media to run stories depicting the interned in a good light. *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* reported that an article had appeared in the 1 May 1915 edition of the *Montreal Star*, which sympathetically described a typical Ukrainian prisoner at Spirit Lake and Doctor Perepe-lytsia, their chaplain.¹⁷⁷ *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* also appealed to the Ukrainian public to send letters and parcels to the internees:

We believe that it would make internees very happy if, from time to time, we let them know that we have not forgotten them and that we care about their situation. When possible, we should send them gifts such as fruit, tobacco, and the like. Other nationalities are taking good care of their internees and the camp administrators see this as positive.¹⁷⁸

The same paper also informed the Ukrainian public about wartime legislation and provided a simplified explanation of the government's reasons for the internment. Such information would have been of great value to those could not read English and would otherwise have been ignorant of and even in danger of transgressing the restrictive new laws, perhaps unintentionally.¹⁷⁹

The paper informed its readership that there were "at least 5 detention camps with one thousand Ukrainians in Brandon alone."¹⁸⁰ The location and type of camp facilities and the daily schedule at Brandon were explained. Of all the camps where the Ukrainians were being held, Brandon had the best living and working conditions.¹⁸¹ And yet, despite the relative comfort of the Brandon facility, at least two Ukrainians were shot and killed attempting to escape. Although *Kanadyiskyi*

¹⁷⁷ "Canadian Ukrainians in Captivity": Appendix, doc. 6.

¹⁷⁸ "Для наших дорогих інтернованих": Appendix, doc. 15.

¹⁷⁹ "Воєнні пліники в Брандоні": Appendix, doc. 17.

¹⁸⁰ "На коляду для інтернованих земляків в Канаді": Appendix, doc. 18.

¹⁸¹ "Воєнні пліники в Брандоні": Appendix, doc. 17.

Rusyn maintained that relations between the prisoners and camp authorities were generally good in Brandon, the paper cautiously alluded to conflicts and mistreatment by the staff,¹⁸² and also reported the killings.¹⁸³

The Ukrainian Catholic newspaper further published encouraging news of the possibility of release from the camps. On 26 January 1916 it reported that Winnipeg resident Ivan Tymchuk had been released from Brandon after eight months internment, “due to the efforts of his lawyer J.T. Beaubien.” In the short article Tymchuk’s family expressed their “thanks to the authorities and to the lawyer.”¹⁸⁴

To Church Officials and Charitable Organizations

Priests who visited the internment camps sent reports to the bishop or his chancellor and other clergy regarding internment conditions and the challenges involved in ministering to the inmates. In his first letter to the chancery, the appointed chaplain, Father Kuzmak, expressed scepticism about complaints from Spirit Lake:

The food that they so much complain about, is, in my view, completely nourishing.¹⁸⁵ At first I listened to these complaints but afterward I caught on because I know that it is not so. In letters sent to Montreal, they write that they receive enough to eat and are do not go hungry, and I am completely convinced of this.¹⁸⁶

He was even more certain after spending several weeks there:

¹⁸² “The commanders behave benevolently toward the inmates but some others do not immediately understand them, causing difficulties to arise. Yet these are quickly resolved.” “Воєнні пліники в Брандоні”: Appendix, doc. 17.

¹⁸³ Appendix, doc. 8.

¹⁸⁴ “Увільнений з Детеншин Кемпу”: Appendix, doc. 26. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 18.

¹⁸⁵ The internees at Spirit Lake were given the same food as the military personnel. Cooks were recruited from among the inmates: Otter Report, 7. Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 23.

¹⁸⁶ Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, 22 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 11.

This storm of complaints with which the people regaled me on my first visit are almost completely without foundation. And slowly but surely, they begin to admit that it is not all bad for them here and, in this vein, Kapuskasing is even better.¹⁸⁷

Under the social conditions prevailing in Canada at the time, Kuzmak's relatively positive opinion of camp conditions are somewhat understandable. In particular, unemployment and destitution had lead some Ukrainians to commit suicide.¹⁸⁸ And others, in desperation, asked to be interned with family members, so as to avoid starvation.¹⁸⁹ Sometimes, therefore, internment was justified as a form of benevolence.¹⁹⁰

Nonetheless, despite any private doubts, Mykhailo Kuzmak cautioned Montreal pastor Amvrozii Redkevych not to make public laudatory statements concerning the conditions at the camps:

A rumour is circulating among the people here that the Rev. Doctor [you] said from the pulpit that people here live in Paradise and have whatever their heart desires. I know that this has been completely exaggerated, but when [you] the Rev. Doctor speaks, you shouldn't tell people about this.¹⁹¹

Kuzmak also noted that the mere fact of being confined in a detention camp made the inmates' situation unenviable.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

¹⁸⁸ "Is possible that the story of eight years ago may repeat itself where extreme poverty drove it [our people] to theft, brigandry, and suicide by drowning in the river. Furthermore, everyone knows about this in Montreal." Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

¹⁸⁹ LAC, RG 76, vol. 603, f. 884886, Scott to Côté, 23 September 1914: reproduced in Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 9. Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," 4–5.

¹⁹⁰ William A. Waiser, *Park Prisoners: the Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915–1946* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1995), 9.

¹⁹¹ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

¹⁹² Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, 22 August 1915: Appendix, doc. 11.

Whatever remarks he had made before his flock, Redkevych was making great efforts, behind the scenes, not merely for the interned. He submitted a proposal to Bishop Budka to petition federal authorities for the release of harmless Ukrainians from the camp.¹⁹³ And this proposal was taken-up by an all-Ukrainian committee of which the bishop was a member.¹⁹⁴

In Vernon, Father Kamenetsky helped his fellow prisoner Ivan Tomich¹⁹⁵ to obtain information about the latter’s children, who had been in the care of the Catholic Children’s Aid Society of Vancouver. In response to several letters, Tomich finally received a reply from one of the Society’s officials, a certain J.S. Foran, full of crass prejudice toward Ukrainians.

I trust that our government will deport you to the country from which you came as an undesirable and in this way rid ourselves of undesirable company. Your wife has the children ... but I will do what I can to have the whole lot deported out of this country to where you came from and to the only place that fits people of your makeup.¹⁹⁶

Kamenetsky notarized copies of the correspondence, including Foran’s angry letter and a reply to it by the prisoners’ committee,¹⁹⁷ and all of it was forwarded to the Roman Catholic archbishop of Vancouver, the papal representative [apostolic delegate] in Ottawa, and the federal justice minister.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Redkevych to Budka, 1 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 12.

¹⁹⁴ LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, file 144–C. Livesay to Chambers, Winnipeg, 29 December 1915; Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 12, 22 n56.

¹⁹⁵ Originally interned at Mara Lake: Listed in the 2009 additions to Luciuk, *Roll Call*. Tomich was of Croatian origin.

¹⁹⁶ Foran to Tomich, 14 April 1919: Appendix, doc. 33. Similar prejudice, expressed in the Canadian press, may be found in Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 105–108, n58–59.

¹⁹⁷ Prisoners’ Committee to Foran, 3 May 1919: Appendix, doc. 34.

¹⁹⁸ Prisoners’ Committee to Di Maria, 3 May 1919: Appendix, doc. 35. Curiously, there is no file on Father Kamenetsky’s internment in the Apostolic Delegation’s papers.

To Civil Authorities

As diocesan chancellor, Father Redkevych had acted as trouble-shooter during the controversy over Bishop Budka's July 1914 pastoral letter. From this crisis Redkevych had gained experience in understanding Canadian fears and in dealing with the press and civil authorities.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps this led him thereafter to always demonstrate public loyalty to Canada on behalf of the Greek-Catholic Church. Redkevych had played down complaints from internees and later he submitted the following report to American Consul Bradley:

[I] express[,] in the name of these interned Aliens, the [*sic*] cordial thanks for the care which is [being] bestowed on them by the Government and by the Military Authorities generally. Their food is nutritive and wholesome and the camps are spacious and well-ventilated. I am particularly thankful to the officers in charge of the Detention Camps for the way in which the prisoners are treated[.] It is my intention to express our thanks for this treatment in our Ruthenian papers in Canada.²⁰⁰

Redkevych was also keen to have letters from internment camp commanders published, in which they thanked the Ukrainian community for sending gifts to the internees during the Christmas holidays and encouraging the priest to continue visiting.²⁰¹

Despite his public remarks, Redkevych worked assiduously behind the scenes, submitting numerous requests and appeals to federal justice minister on the internees behalf.²⁰² He also served on various committees which lobbied to improve

¹⁹⁹ AAW, NB 3. ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17. LAC, RG 25, series A2, vol. 252, file P-1-75.

²⁰⁰ NARA, 763.72115/2204, extract from report of "Dr. Redkovitz [Redkevych], Priest of Ruthenian Catholic Church to W. Harrison Bradley, United States Consul-General, Montreal:" cited in Melnycky, "Badly Treated."

²⁰¹ Редкевич, "Як обходили різдво пліники на сході": Appendix, doc. 25.

²⁰² Redkevych to Budka, 1 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 12. Cf. Мєрвицький, 12.

the treatment of Canadian Ukrainians and met government officials to discuss internment, citizenship rights, and changes to the naturalization act.²⁰³

In September 1915, Redkevych proposed that a committee representing all Ukrainians in Canada should write to the government, asking that no one be arrested unless they had actually broken the law, and not simply for failing to report to the authorities out of fear or ignorance.²⁰⁴ His proposal might have led such a committee, consisting of Bishop Budka and four prominent Ukrainian community leaders, to pass a resolution urging the government to release all Ukrainians who did not constitute a real danger to society.²⁰⁵

In January 1916 the committee presented their petition to the press censor for western Canada, Fredrick Livesay,²⁰⁶ who initially recommended the cause to his superior, chief press censor E.J. Chambers. In reply, Chambers told Livesay to “explain the favour attitude of mind [whose?] to the Ruthenian leaders in the west and suggest to them that they take definite steps to bring as many clear cases as possible to the attention of Sir William Otter.”²⁰⁷ Despite his initial enthusiasm, a month later Livesay abandoned the cause, due to a conflict with Ukrainian leaders over bilingual public education.²⁰⁸ And promises of intervention from federal authorities came to nothing.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 331. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 13.

²⁰⁴ Redkevych to Budka, 1 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 12.

²⁰⁵ LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, file 144–C, Livesay to Chambers, Winnipeg, 29 December 1915; Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 12, 22 n56. The resolution’s wording follows the general lines of Redkevych’s proposal.

²⁰⁶ LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, file 144–C, Livesay to Chambers, Winnipeg, 6 January 1916; Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 12, 22 n57.

²⁰⁷ LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, file 144–C, Chambers to Livesay, Ottawa, 14 January 1916; Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 13, 22 n59.

²⁰⁸ LAC, *Chief Press Censor*, file 144–C, Livesay to Chambers, Winnipeg, 10 February 1916; Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 13, 22 n60.

²⁰⁹ *Український голос* (5 July 1916). Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 13, 22 n61.

Father Redkevych was also determined to combat Russophile propaganda²¹⁰ which questioned Ukrainians' loyalty.²¹¹ *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* ran an article on 9 June 1915, lamenting that Ukrainians in Canada could no longer endure being "terrorized" by those spreading such propaganda and "casting upon us a veil of disloyalty." Another article on 27 December protested "against the blackening of our people and their teachers."²¹²

The bishop also wrote to Justice Minister Doherty, to ensure that internment camp officials would allow their charges to receive Christmas hampers.²¹³ And on several occasions, during and after the war, federal authorities granted clemency to Ukrainians upon the interventions of Bishop Budka. Some were released from prison and others, condemned to death, had their sentences mitigated.²¹⁴

3. *Aid Initiatives*

*Each person rejoiced not so much in the gift as in the fact that good people had not forgotten about their unfortunate situation, that they had being deprived of their freedom.*²¹⁵

Book Collection

Internment authorities at the larger facilities allowed prisoners to setup small libraries for books and magazines donated

²¹⁰ Russophile reports against Budka and the Greek-Catholic Church being submitted to the Dominion Police: LAC, RG 18, vol. 1789, file RCMP 1914, Russo to Lee, Strathcona, 24 December 1915. Dubuque to Perry, 1 March 1916: Appendix, doc. 28.

²¹¹ ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 19, Redkevych to Stagni, (prot. 11853), 31 October 1914. Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, (Winnipeg, 1970), 211.

²¹² *Канадійський русин* (9 June 1915). "Росія в Канаді при роботі: Протест проти чернення нашого учительства і народу," in *Ibidem* (27 December 1915), 4.

²¹³ "На коляду для інтернованих земляків в Канаді": Appendix, doc. 18.

²¹⁴ AAW, *Шпиталі і Вязні*: Murray to Perepelytsia, Winnipeg, 3 August 1916; Clarke to Budka, no. 963–20, Ottawa, 16 July 1920; Pelletier to Budka, no. 19860, Ottawa, 17 June 1921.

²¹⁵ Бакун, "Як обходили різдво пліники на сході": Appendix, doc. 24.

by Ukrainian benevolent organizations, provided that these passed the approval of camp censors. Paid subscriptions to certain newspapers were also permitted.²¹⁶ It is likely that copies of the Catholic weekly, *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, were found in the libraries of camps where Ukrainian Catholics were interned.²¹⁷

The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy's primary concern was the spiritual welfare of the internees, which was essence of their pastoral ministry. Concretely, besides sacramental-liturgical ministry and spiritual counselling, camp chaplains were keen to ensure spiritual and moral support by providing books, magazines, and newspapers of religious content. Soon after taking up his post of chaplain to the internees in eastern Canada, at the beginning of September 1915, Father Kuzmak reported to the diocesan chancery that some books had arrived from the United States, but more were urgently needed.²¹⁸ It is likely that he or one of his predecessors, Fathers Perepelytsia or Redkevych, had previously ordered the books.

Acting on this request, in “an attempt to improve this situation” Bishop Budka ordered *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* to act urgently.²¹⁹ On 13 October 1915, the paper printed the following appeal:

Thousands of our people now find themselves in detention camps and are bored, not having anything to read. They need books. With this notice, our paper appeals to kind hearts and generally to everyone: whoever has some good books which they can part with in order to give them to the interned, please send them to our Offices at 619 McDermott Avenue, Winnipeg. From there, after coming to an understanding with the camp administrators, these books will be sent to them.

²¹⁶ Otter Report, 10: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 134.

²¹⁷ Appendix, doc. 24. Numerous letters were written to the paper by Ukrainian internees and several articles appeared connected with the camps, including published letters of thanks from internees and camp officials. Ibidem (x), x ...

²¹⁸ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

²¹⁹ “*Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*’s appeal, on the orders of the Most Reverend Bishop, represents an attempt to improve this situation.” Appendix, doc. 17.

And after the end of the war these books will be sent to hospitals for the sick.²²⁰

The public was informed that a reading room had been set up in Brandon. However, even though Father Kuzmak, had obtained some reading materials, prisoners at Spirit Lake, Kapuskasing, and Petawawa were requesting that more be sent.²²¹

The paper appealed to the generosity of the readership to donate religious reading, singling out the simply and edifying magazines and devotionals printed by the Basilian Press in Galicia.²²² The appeal also warned of the particular moral and psychological dangers at the camps which it was attempting to remedy:

Often our interned countrymen get a hold of books of the lowest character which terribly discourage them. There [in the camps] they certainly need healthy, religious comfort from good books. To such a mixed group of people in the camps, who naturally feel misfortune and sadness, we need to provide reading which will lift their spirits and provide authentic freedom, and not material that adds to their displeasure and emptiness of heart.²²³

Further requests for books and a poor response to the previous request led *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* to make an even stronger appeal on 27 October:

We are receiving more and more letters from the detention camps in which our internees complain of the lack of books of religious content, especially *molytvo-slov* prayer books. We have already appealed to every-

²²⁰ “Для наших дорогих интернованих”: Appendix, doc. 15.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² “We especially ask our Reverend Pastors to make a fitting donation of any religious books published by the Zhovkva Press. They would even like to get individual issues of *Missionar* magazine and the *Molytvoslov* prayer book, devotionals, or lives of the saints”: Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

one with a similar request. Unfortunately, only certain individuals responded to our appeal. The response was absolutely insufficient. Our Reverend Fathers, teachers, and generally everyone who possesses any books of this kind should remember that those poor souls, deprived of all moral support, are begging us, their fellow countrymen – in the name of Christ, for a very small favour. We ask that you send books of this type, and also financial assistance for this purpose, to our Editorial Office, 619 McDermott Avenue, Winnipeg. God reward all donors.²²⁴

In the new year 1916, the results of the appeal to-date were reported by Bishop Budka to his American counterpart, Bishop Ortynsky:

The Brandon internees, who have a priest, already received five packages of books and gifts at Christmas. Comparatively, their situation is the best. In other camps it is worse, although we sent three packages of donated books to all of them. Only *molytvoslov* prayer books ran out. Since everybody wants them they are completely sold out.²²⁵

Ortynsky had also received a request from two thousand Ukrainians interned on the Isle of Man.²²⁶ He forwarded it to Budka, who advised him to ask permission of the British Consul to send some religious books. Apologizing that “Canada cannot help them because we have too many of them [internees] here” he promised that, subsequently “if we are able, we too will not forget about them.”²²⁷ About two weeks later, Budka had *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* print a tear-jerking appeal on

²²⁴ “Просьба наших інтернованих до українського загалу в Канаді і Америці”: Appendix, doc. 16.

²²⁵ Budka to Ortynsky, 3 January 1916: Appendix, doc. 21.

²²⁶ Ortynsky to Budka, 27 December 1915: Appendix, doc. 20.

²²⁷ Budka to Ortynsky, 3 January 1916: Appendix, doc. 21.

their behalf complete with the forwarding address of the camp.²²⁸

Education

At some of the camps prisoners requested schools be set-up.²²⁹ On a smaller scale, Ukrainian Catholic clergy arranged for classes to be taught. At the beginning of his chaplaincy, Father Kuzmak revealed his intention to establish schools in eastern Canada after the appropriate books were received and after school buildings were completed.²³⁰ On 3 November 1915, *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* gave the following account of the progress being made in Brandon:

The reading hall can hold up to 100 people, but due to the lack of books the numbers of those who use the hall does not increase. ... The course for the illiterate is progressing quite well. The prisoners are teaching one another. They wanted to introduce an English-language course but had neither teachers nor books, nor money to pay, and so the matter was dropped. Some of them are studying German.

Given the relatively good conditions at the Brandon camp,²³¹ the internees felt confident and happy enough to organize various recreational and artistic activities including dances, plays, war games, mock weddings, and woodcarving.²³² During the Christmas celebrations, the inmates were permitted to perform two plays for the others prisoners, and students from Brandon.²³³

²²⁸ "Воєнні пліники Українці в Англії": Appendix, doc. 22.

²²⁹ Otter Report, 10: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 135.

²³⁰ Kuzmak to Redkevych, 3 September 1915: Appendix, doc. 13.

²³¹ *Канадійський русин* (15 December 1915)

²³² "Воєнні пліники в Брандоні": Appendix, doc. 17. Cf. Melnycky, "The Internment," 9.

²³³ Бакун, "Як обходили різдво пліники на сході": Appendix, doc. 24.

Christmas Collection

Besides receiving correspondence, Canadian internees were also permitted to receive parcels, although, like the letters, these too were checked by authorities, which involved not a little difficulty.²³⁴ A Christmas relief collection was “energetically taken up” by Bishop Budka²³⁵ as part of a larger relief effort, which included an appeal for the donation of reading materials. Already during 1914, when Canada began to experience high rates of unemployment, the bishop had called for relief committees to be established.²³⁶

Budka immediately appointed Father Olenchuk of Winnipeg to head the committee for western Canada, and Father Redkevych of Montreal, to set one up for the eastern provinces. Their task was to organize the collection of funds to purchase gifts and food hampers for the interned.²³⁷ *Kanadyi-skyi Rusyn* first announced the plan to send Christmas gifts on 13 October 1915. On 15 December it ran a heart-rending appeal reminding the readers that, while Ukrainians everywhere would be celebrating Christmas in the comforts of freedom, in Church and around the hearth, their interned countrymen would be deprived of all human comfort, and would have to make due with a miserable “military supper.” Strong moral pressure was exerted upon the readership to help the internees, as the following paragraph from the 15 December issue demonstrates:

Do we, their fellow countrymen, not care enough to make sure that these unfortunates have at least a token

²³⁴ Otter Report, 11: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 135.

²³⁵ Our Very Reverend Bishop ... has very energetically taken up this cause.” Appendix, doc. 18.

²³⁶ “Just as he did during last year’s period of general unemployment and misfortune, our Bishop, Kyr Nykyta, raised his voice and called us to set up relief committees which saved thousands of families from hunger.” Appendix, doc. 23. cfr. AAW, NB 3, f. 1972, Budka notes listing 1914 of *Kanadyi-skyi Rusyn*, no. 22, 34, 36, in which he appealed for donations for hunger relief.

²³⁷ Ibidem. “Для наших дорогих інтернованих”: Appendix, doc. 15. Бакун, “Як обходили різдво пліники на сході”: Appendix, doc. 24.

of the Christmas Eve supper, knowing that, somewhere in the detention camp, our brothers swallow small tears and have sad, unpleasant dreams?

It was inferred that other ethnic groups represented in the camps, such as the Germans, were doing much more to ensure Christmas comforts for their people. Everyone one was encouraged to make “at least a small donation,” and to ensure that each prisoner received a little tobacco and fruit. Even the women were asked to “donate some food out of their Christmas hampers.”

The following 22 December issue of the paper kept up the moral pressure, arguing that it was the “sacred duty of every true Ukrainian to make a one-time donation, as much as they are able, toward Christmas presents for our imprisoned brothers in Canada!” Readers were informed that Bishop Budka had intervened with the Federal Justice Minister, who had written to the bishop on 10 November, informing him that the military authorities had been instructed to accept the special Christmas hampers and donations of Christmas food. Readers in the east were asked to their send donations to Father Redkevych in Montreal, in western Canada to Father Hura of Edmonton, and everyone else to the chancery in Winnipeg. Food hampers for Brandon were to be sent directly to the local pastor, Father Kaluzhniatsky. *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* revealed that, to date, only a tiny amount collected from five people: the bishop, three priests, and two prominent laymen.²³⁸ The encouragement of the bishop, Father Olenchuk, Kaluzhniatsky and other clergy succeeded in “rallying the benefactors” to contribute.²³⁹

The most elaborate Christmas celebration, which included the largest quantity of collected gifts, occurred at the Brandon camp. \$186.48 collected in Winnipeg were sent by money-order from Father Olenchuk in Winnipeg to Father Kaluzhniatsky in Brandon. To these were added another nine dollars received by Kaluzhniatsky directly from donors in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. His committee undertook to purchase ten

²³⁸ “На коляду для полонених земляків в Канаді”: Appendix, doc. 19.

²³⁹ Бакун, “Як обходили різдво пліники на сході”: Appendix, doc. 24.

crates of apples, ten packs of oranges, three sacks of nuts, cookies, tobacco, and cigarettes, and to individually wrap them.²⁴⁰

In addition to celebrating the religious rites, Father Kaluzhniatsky returned in the afternoon of Christmas Eve (6 January) from his sacred duties to personally deliver the hampers. He also brought the members of the aid committee, three men and one woman, to share in the joy and satisfaction of the recipients of their charitable efforts. After he and the committee had left, the internees took charge of distributing the each individual gift parcel in an orderly fashion. Each parcel contained apples, oranges, nuts, and cigarettes. Since the Ukrainian prisoners each received a parcel, they decided to share the extra packages with the other prisoners, Poles, Germans, and Romanians. In addition to fruits and gifts, women from Brandon area farms had prepared traditional Ukrainian Christmas foods, including “*kutia*, *holubtsi*, and some cookies,” which were served at dinner time to the internees.²⁴¹

On the day after Christmas (8 January) camp authorities permitted a visit from Ukrainians students of the Brandon Normal School and the local Ukrainian Reading Society, including “a few ladies to cheer us up.” After the Christmas celebrations had taken place, financial statements with a list of individual donors were published in *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*. The first statement was that of the Winnipeg committee which gave the figure of \$186.48. This was made-up of donations from *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, St. Nicholas Mutual Benefit, Zankovetska and Kotliarevsky Associations of Winnipeg, a collection taken by Father Olenchuk at Sts. Vladimir and Olga Pro-Cathedral, and donations from several laypeople including seven individual women donors.²⁴²

On 14 January 1916, Father Redkevych sent the Montreal committee’s statement to *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, which it published in its 26 January edition. The committee had collected

²⁴⁰ Калужняцький, “Звіт”: Appendix, doc. 30. Оленьчук, “Виказ жертв: на св'яточні дарунки для Українців”: Appendix, doc. 23.

²⁴¹ Бакун, “Як обходили різдво пліники на сході”: Appendix, doc. 24.

²⁴² Оленьчук, “Виказ жертв: на св'яточні дарунки для Українців”: Appendix, doc. 23.

\$245.19 from individuals and organizations in Montreal. These included the Taras Shevchenko Reading and Education Association, Shashkevych Reading Association, Ukrainian Amateur Performance Club, Women's League of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Austro-Hungarian Relief Association. The collection from the parishes in Toronto and Ottawa were sent to Montreal by their pastors, respectively Fathers Yosyf Boyarchuk and Yosyf Fylyma.

With those funds the committee purchased fruit and baking and sent them to the internees via military commanders at Spirit Lake, Kapuskasing, Petawawa and also delivered them to internees that were hospitalized in Montreal.²⁴³ Each shipment of gifts was accompanied by a letter from Redkevych and his committee to which each commander replied thanking them for the gifts which had "added much to their Christmas celebrations and was received by them with great joy." Commander Clarke of Kapuskasing informed Redkevych that he had received a rather large parcel of tobacco from Chicago which had allowed them to distribute to "each one of your internees a package of nuts, oranges, apples, two packs of tobacco, grapes, and sweets." On the second day of Christmas they were served a special meal with sweets. Clarke reflected that "for a long time, many of the internees had not had such a happy Christmas as they had this year." And no wonder, after the considerable results of the committees set up at the behest of Bishop Budka, justly described as "the most ambitious scheme of Christmas relief." among Ukrainians organizations in Canada.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Редкевич, "Як обходили різдво пліники на сході": Appendix, doc. 25.

²⁴⁴ Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," 11.

Release and Closure

*Both priests and lay members of the Ruthenian Catholic Church care about their people, not only when things are going well, but also when the people are in need.*²⁴⁵

Despite Redkevych's official public reserve, he and other members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Eastern Canada helped achieve the release of interned Ukrainians at Spirit Lake, in the summer of 1916.²⁴⁶ The same year, however, Bishop Budka and Ukrainian community leaders in Manitoba failed to achieve the same results. Since their countrymen were not all freed at end of the war, Ukrainian organizations continued to lobby for their release. Together with the Ukrainian Citizens' Committee, the Catholic inspired Ukrainian National Council sent several delegations to Prime Minister Borden. Among the issues discussed was the continued internment of Ukrainians.²⁴⁷

Beginning in 1916, the internment camps where Ukrainians were being held began to be closed down. Some inmates were released, others were paroled to work in various industries, and still others were transferred to existing camps.²⁴⁸ The Brandon camp closed on 29 July 1916, Petawawa on 8 May 1916, Spirit Lake on 20 January 1917, and Castle Mountain on 15 July 1917.²⁴⁹ Two continued on after the war, Vernon and Kapuskasing, which closed on 20 and 24 February 1920

²⁴⁵ Оленьчук, “Виказ жертв: на съвятчні дарунки для Українців”: Appendix, doc. 23.

²⁴⁶ Jurij Myroslav Lewycky, “The Parish of St. Michael the Archangel in Montreal,” trans. Wolodymyr Lewycky.

²⁴⁷ Marunchak, 331–337. Cf. Melnycky, “The Internment of Ukrainians,” 13, 15.

²⁴⁸ For example, the bulk of the remaining prisoners from Castle Mountain (47 in number) were transferred to Kapuskasing on 5 July 1917. A few remained behind to help dismantle the camp. Kordan and Melnycky, “The Internment,” 136, 138.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 136. Otter Report, 4–5; Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 126–127.

respectively.²⁵⁰ Internment operations were officially concluded on 2 June 1920.²⁵¹

Conclusion

During the First World War the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Canada found itself in an awkward position. Recently transplanted from Austria-Hungary, both its clergy and laity were still struggling to find their bearings in a new context – the religious, social, and political milieu of the British Dominion of Canada.

At the very onset of the war, the Church leadership became involved in a controversy over the loyalty of Ukrainian immigrants which, in turn, had roots in a wider controversy over the nature of Canadian identity itself.²⁵² The public debate over Bishop Budka's loyalty, the questioning and arrest of some priests, and the cautionary advice of Canadian Catholic leaders led the Greek-Catholic Church to adopt a wartime policy characterized by maximum discretion in public words and deeds. Rather than paralyzing the Church's ministry, this policy facilitated direct care for the internees.

In such circumstances, the Church was able to take action by providing pastoral care, by disseminating information about the internees to the public and to government officials, by assisting with education at the camps and organizing book collections, and by carrying out aid campaigns on behalf of Ukrainian war prisoners. Finally, leading clergy joined various Ukrainian-Canadian organizations to lobby for civil rights and the release of their compatriots from the camps. Bishop Budka and a number of his priests were successful in providing pastoral-spiritual ministry in at least four of the main camps where Ukrainians were interned. The cordial, confidential relations

²⁵⁰ Otter Report, 4: Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 127.

²⁵¹ Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians," 15.

²⁵² Farney and Kordan, 74–88. David Saunders, "Aliens in Britain and the Empire During the First World War," chapter 6 of *Loyalties in Conflict, Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War*, Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), 99–124.

that the bishop and his chancellor maintained with government officials facilitated visits, the appointment of a government-approved chaplain, and assistance to the imprisoned members of their flock.

Nevertheless, despite such efforts, assistance to the interned was hindered by a host of factors: the limited number of Ukrainian Catholic priests in Canada; the location of many camps far from the nearest Ukrainian priest; illness among the clergy, including the bishop and the appointed chaplain; and the resentment of prisoners for their imprisonment, which was sometimes directed to the clergy. In the volatile wartime atmosphere, internal conflicts within the Ukrainian community led to the arrest of the bishop and three of his clergy, and to the year-long internment of Father Kamenetsky. The brief arrest of Father Shumsky of Calgary,²⁵³ and possibly a lack of interest by camp officials, might also have hindered ministry in Alberta and western Canada.

Through its newspaper *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn*, the Church provided limited information to the public about the interned. But the paper encouraged its readership to sustain the prisoners' morale by sending personal letters, books, and hampers. The paper solicited contributions for aid initiatives from Ukrainian organizations across Canada. Behind the scenes, together with other Ukrainian organizations, Church officials lobbied more forcefully before government officials, on behalf of the interned.

With a view to wartime constraints, the Greek-Catholic Church in Canada chose to engage in discreet action rather than public protest, with a view to achieving concrete results for all the members of its flock, whether captive or at liberty. Such choices are easily criticized in hindsight, in times of wider civic freedom.²⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the ultimate reason be-

²⁵³ Mykola Shumsky, “Thank you”: Appendix, doc. 14.

²⁵⁴ “The Holy See was nevertheless fragile, and that informed its self-understanding of what was feasible..., leaving it to make use of more subtle diplomatic, media, and religious means, in order to help. ... The Vatican was forced to manoeuvre, attempting to aid the victims while strenuously avoiding even the appearance of giving preference to either camp. This was an unenviable position, easily criticized in retrospect, but far less easily managed in its day.” Laura Pettinaroli, “Afterword,” *The Holy See and the Ho-*

hind such a policy of quiet intervention may be found at the core of the Catholic Church's view of pain and suffering. Christian belief understands bodily and psychological suffering of human individuals in a wider context of ultimate and absolute realities.²⁵⁵ Pain borne in sacrifice is understood as possessing meaning and value not only to current but also to future generations. And suffering is further placed in relation to the lives of others²⁵⁶ and, ultimately, in relation (as we say in the Nicene Creed) to "the life of the age to come." Such contextualization is the Christian way of rendering "to God what is God's."²⁵⁷

Iodomor: Documents from the Vatican Secret Archives on the Great Famine of 1932–1933 in Soviet Ukraine, 86.

²⁵⁵ "A church historian ... has to tell the story against the background of ultimate meanings." George H. Williams, "Church History: From Historical Theology to the Theology of History," in *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century: Whence and Whither?*, ed. Arnold A. Nash (New York, 1951), 173.

²⁵⁶ Colossians 1:24.

²⁵⁷ "Земле знуживши, прійми ѿ тебе созданного рукою божією прежде, паки же возвращишася къ тебѣ рождшей: сже во по образу, создатель пріять, ты же прійми тѣло твое." Funeral prayer in *Малый Требникъ* (Рим 1952), 255.

1.
“The Menace of Anti-Canadian Nationalism”
Manitoba Free Press, 29 July 1914
 (transcription in AAW, NB 3, f. 1917–1918)¹

A general feeling of disquietude over the conditions prevailing in those districts of the Province in which the non-English sections of the electorate chiefly resided had much to do with the heavy vote for the Liberal candidates in the older parts of Manitoba. If all the facts had been known, the feeling of disquietude would have been deeper, and the Liberal vote heavier. The situation is full of peril, to the national future, not of Manitoba alone, but of all Canada. Fortunately the vote in Manitoba on July 10th shows that the people at large are awakening to a sense of the danger.

The ideal of homogeneous English-speaking Canada is not easily realizable. There is, however, a real danger that Canada may become, not a bilingual, but a multi-lingual country, inhabited by different peoples, speaking different tongues, and cherishing divergent national ideals. The most notable developments of this national spirit has been among the Ruthenians; it is also at work among the Poles; and attempts are even being made to arouse this feeling among the Germans, although there is little probability that any measure of success will attend these efforts.

Their movement among the Slavs is, however, serious and the English-speaking people and the three Western Provinces all ought to be awakened to the imminence of the danger. The nationalist-clerical movement among the Ruthenians aims at nothing less than an establishment in Western Canada of a distinct Ruthenian nationality, which, with its languages, institutions, customs and ideals shall persist for ever as a nation within a nation. They have imported into this propaganda the language, the ideas, the catch-cries and the appeals to racial prejudices which do duty in Europe where the Ruthenians seek

¹ *Editor's note:* As this tranche of documents consists of transcriptions of published historical originals, *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* has departed from its usual style-sheet (the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th ed.) to leave spelling and stylistic matters as they were in the originals.

to keep alive their racial characteristics against the restrictive policy of their masters. In Europe they dream of the re-establishing of the ancient, mythical Ukraine in which the oppressed Ukrainians of Galicia, Poland and southern Russia will again be united under a common Government.

These aspirations are legitimate – in Europe. The Ruthenian – or Ukrainian, to give him his more accurate title, is there upon his native heath. In the country which his forefathers have held since the dawn of time he is justified in clinging to his racial characteristics, and dreaming his dreams of a national revival. But these things have nothing to do with Western Canada in the 20th century.

Canada, in giving a home to the immigrant and opening before him opportunities not available in his own country, has the right to impose conditions of citizenship. The first and most imperative condition is that he shall give this country his first allegiance. This is an obligation which rests upon every new settler who comes to Canada – no matter from what country he comes. Englishmen, Scotchmen, German, American, Ruthenian, Russian, – it matters not; unless he is prepared to be a Canadian first, to decide every question that may arise by the test, “What is best for Canada?” He is in this country under false pretences. He should pack his trunk and go back home where he belongs. He is not wanted here. Canada does not ask the newcomer to forget his old home. He can retain his sentimental associations with the land of his birth, and transmit them to his children; but in matters of practical statecraft his duty is to the country which is his home.

The movement for building up a separate Ukrainian nationality in Western Canada has already reached dangerous proportions. In addition to its native strength, it has been encouraged and subsidized by two powerful agencies – the Roblin Government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, under the direction of Archbishop Langevin. The Roblin Government idea has been to get votes. If he could betray the whole future of these Provinces, as English-speaking communities, for ten years more, all autocratic rule, Sir Rodmond Roblin would make the bargain without a qualm. “After me, the deluge!”

Archbishop Langevin’s encouragement of the Ruthenian national movement is in keeping with his well-defined religio-political programme. His idea is to create conditions in the Western Provinces which will enable him to bring the various Governments to their knees and compel them to yield him concessions upon demand. A compact Ruthenian organization, animated by race feeling, and subject, in large measure, to clerical control, would be a weapon which he could use with advantage in bludgeoning reluctant Governments. The Manitoba Liberal party in the late Provincial election encountered the full hostility of this Roblin-Langevin-Nationalist-Ruthenian combination. The Liberal policy conceded fully the right of the Ruthenians to bilingual schools under the provisions of the school law of 1897. But this did not mitigate in the least the ferocity of the attack made upon them. If they had been advocating the total elimination of the teaching of the Ruthenian language, they could not have been more savagely attacked. It was, therefore, evident that there were other features of the Liberal educational policy which were highly objectionable to the directors of this nationalist-clerical propaganda. Nor was it difficult to locate the offending provisions. The Liberal policy called for an increase in the number of schools, sufficient to supply school accommodation for the whole population of school age; for compulsory education, compel the attendance of children of school age; and for the adequate teaching of English to the children in every school.

This was the programme which had to be blocked if the conspiracy was to be successful. To give the children a thorough education in English was to put an effective extinguisher upon this wild dream of transplanting to this new land the age-long feuds of Central Europe. To give the Ruthenian children an English education would be to make them Canadians who, while retaining a sentimental attachment to the land and language of their Fathers, would give their first devotion to the land of their birth. Hence they must strive to retain the existing school system, by which a mere pretence is made of teaching English. As things are, there are not schools enough; the schools are taught by teachers who are incapable of teaching English except as a text-book subject; the schools are

inspected by Ruthenian inspectors whose chief concern is certainly not to see that English is properly taught. Under these conditions children are growing up ignorant of English, unable to mix in the life of the community. They thus become easy victims of the nationalist and clericalist agitators.

The elections of July 10th constituted a victory of very slender proportions indeed for the Roblin-Langevin-Ruthenian reaction. If Sir Rodmond, despite a popular majority against him, has a bare majority in the Legislature, he owes it to his concessions and promises to the influence in this Province [...] ... which are fighting the teaching of English to the non-English children. He has at present a majority of four in the Legislature. His following includes five French Catholics, every one of them elected by a race and creed crusade. In at least eleven constituencies – Gilbert Plains, Lakeside, Rockwood, Elmwood, Emerson, Dufferin, Manitou, and Brandon – a Liberal majority in English votes was set aside by heavy majorities for Roblin candidates in non-English polls. There is, thus, no doubt where Sir Rodmond got his majority, much as it is. The vote against Roblin by the English-speaking electors was overwhelming.

What of the victory? The fight against the reactionaries must, of course, go forward without cessation, and with renewed vigour. We owe this not only to ourselves and to the future of the country, but to the French and Ruthenian minorities which stood out against clerical intimidation and racial appeals, and showed themselves able to take a broad national view of their obligations and voters. It would be a great mistake to assume that there was a solid French and Ruthenian vote against the Liberals. The Liberals polled everywhere a respectable minority of those voters, and in places even secured a majority. Those electors knew, despite the lies told them and the frantic appeals made to them, that the Liberal programme did not involve any prescription of their language, nor any restrictions of their just rights. By their votes they showed a willingness to co-operate with the other elements of the electorate to advance the common good of the Province. Their courage and public spirit, coupled with the determination of the English-speaking electors, have revealed by the voting

on July 10th ground for hopes that the reactionary policies of educational inefficiency and nationalist propaganda have been checked and are facing early and complete defeat.

2.

“Bishop Budka, Austrian Mobilizer in this Country”
Manitoba Free Press (7 August 1914), 11
(copy in ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17)

The Free Press has received the following letter:

To the Editor of the Free Press.

Dear Sir, —

In addition to the pastoral letter by Rt. Reverend Bishop Nicetas Budka, a partial translation of which you were so kind to insert in your valuable paper, and in response to your article in today’s morning edition “The Anti-Canadian Nationalism of the Canadian Ukraine” I beg to submit that the Ruthenian Ukrainians of Canada who have settled in this new country, are sincerely attached to our new Fatherland, for which we are always ready, in case of necessity, to give up our property and blood.

This, our deep feeling of faithfulness and loyalty regarding our new fatherland, I had an opportunity to express in an Editorial in the Canadian Ruthenian No 31, August 1, 1914, under the title “An Insincere Agitation”.

Please accept words of faithful sincere with which

I remain, Sir,
Faithfully yours,
Prof. Dr. Alex. Sushko,
Editor of “Canadian Ruthenian”
Winnipeg, August 5

On Tuesday The Free Press published a faithful translation of the main portion of the pastoral letter addressed by Bishop

Budka “to all the clergy and all the faithful of the Canadian Ukraine.” That translation, which occupied the greater part of a column, was followed by this paragraph:

The pastoral letter ends with an appeal to the clergy and faithful for their prayers to Almighty God to bring the war to a speedy end and with as little bloodshed as possible.

The concluding portion of Bishop Budka’s episcopal proclamation, thus summarized in a sentence, is concerned with religious observances and ceremonies, and with exhortations to piety and directions to the priests and people under Bishop Budka’s jurisdiction to offer up the prayer, “O Lord, save the Emperor, and hear us on the day of our supplication.” The document closes with an injunction ordering that it be read in all the churches under Bishop Budka’s jurisdiction.

The episcopal proclamation by Bishop Budka in this city, the Ruthenian Bishop of Western Canada, calling upon the men of “the Canadian Ukraine” to be mindful of their “duty” to Austria, sets it forth as the “duty” of all who would have to serve in the Austrian army if they had not come to Canada to return to Austria and “join the colours”; all deserters, Bishop Budka adds, having a gracious offer of pardon extended to them by the Emperor if they will immediately report their readiness to go over and fight.

Thus does Bishop Budka use his ecclesiastical authority in this country to shepherd the men of his flock into the army of Austria to fight in cooperation with Germany against the allied nations, headed by Great Britain, which have been forced by the most infamously unjustifiable aggression to fight in defence of human liberty and progress against grinding the militarism of “blood and iron” Thus this Bishop, exercising episcopal jurisdiction in Canada, is using his crozier as a shepherd’s crook to shepherd the men of his flock into the Austrian army to fight against the British Empire, which Canada is preparing to send her best manhood to fight for the Empire and the alliance of free nations against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The astounding thing about this episcopal proclamation of Bishop Budka is its entirely unconscious revelation of the complete lack of realization that the first duty, the first obligation, of Bishop Budka himself and of all those to whom his proclamation is addressed is to this country and to the Empire of which this country forms part.

It is all very well for the editor of the Canadian Ruthenian, who is also a close adviser of Bishop Budka, to make the protestations which he makes in the letter above. Mere lip-service to Canada means nothing, when it is belied by the deliberate crusade which is in progress in this Province to establish “the Canadian Ukraine” by the resistance to compulsory education and to the effective teaching of English, which played so important a part in the recent Provincial elections, in which Bishop Budka was a main reliance of the Roblin Government, and by the absolute disregard shown in this mobilizing episcopal proclamation, of the allegiance due to Canada.

It has actually been said, in attempted defence of Bishop Budka, that he is an Austrian, not a British subject: in reply to which it might be asked, what right, then, has he to make himself a force in the Provincial elections? The Minority Government continues in power solely because of the majorities of foreign votes in twelve constituencies – majorities which Bishop Budka, with astounding unconsciousness of any violation of right and duty, is now exhorting to go over and fight against the British Empire and its allies, against the armies of which Canadian regiments will form part.

3.

“An Unworthy Attitude”

Northwest Review, vol. 28, no. 47 (8 August 1914), 8
(copy in ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17)

On another page will be found a pastoral letter addressed to the Ukrainians in Canada by His Lordship Bishop Budka. It must be remembered that this letter was written on July 27th and published in the Canadian Ruthenian on August 1st. At the time Great Britain was not at war with the Triple Alliance and it was hoped that she would be able to maintain a neutral

attitude. Under the circumstances the appeal of His Lordship to Ukrainians in Canada to assist their parents and relatives at home against the threatened invasion by Russia was quite neutral and highly commendable. The declaration of war by Great Britain has altered altogether the situation and this is reflected in the loyal stand taken this week by Bishop Budka's newspaper, the Canadian Ruthenian, an excerpt from which is published elsewhere.

The attitude of our contemporary The Free Press at this particular juncture and in this connection is scarcely intelligible. Under the caption "The Anti-Canadian Nationalism of the Canadian Ukraine" in the issue of August 5th, after making reference to the pastoral The Free Press adds by way of comment:

This episcopal proclamation by Bishop Budka is a striking manifestation of the danger that this country may become a land inhabited by different peoples, speaking foreign tongues and cherishing divergent national ideals, instead of a land peopled only by Canadians cherishing a Canadian national ideal. Canada does not ask the newcomer to forget his old home, from where he came to this country to improve his condition and give his family a better chance in the world. But Canada has the right to insist that he shall become a Canadian and recognize that his first duty is to the country which is his home. This is a matter of vital importance to our country. People of foreign origin who have come to Canada and to the Empire of which Canada forms part had better be got out of Canada and kept out.

For shame, brother! Such trifling with the affections of a people and under such serious circumstances is unworthy of the intelligence or even the most profound jingoist. Many a man has, indeed, mighty small reason for feeling big. ...

The manoeuvring of small-bore politicians and the unworthy reflections cast upon Canadian of foreign birth or parentage by party newspapers are positively disgusting at this juncture.

ture. They bespeak a narrowness of outlook and a dwarfed conception of national ideal which cannot be made to harmonize with the Canada of either the present or the future. A German, Polish or Ruthenian regiment should be regarded as valuable additions to our defence forces and, to real Canadians, would be welcome allies. Let not those whose test of loyalty would seem to be one of language, scatter seeds of distrust and discord amongst our Canadian people. Such “patriots” are, to a very great extent, the cause of the growing pains which afflict our young and rapidly developing nation.

3.

**ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 150/2, fasc. 17
Budka to Stagni, Mundare, 12 August 1914**

Through Calvary to Resurrection

In the newspapers of the Liberals of Manitoba I was publicly accused as a traitor to Canada for having organized the Ruthenians of Canada, in a pastoral letter, to fight against Great Britain.

I wish to inform Your Excellency regarding the facts:

Recently there were elections in Manitoba. The Ruthenians, as they have always done, cast their votes for the government, that is, for the Conservatives. I myself exercised no influence in the elections as, at the time, I was visiting settlements in Saskatchewan. And in Winnipeg, where all Catholics wanted to elect a Catholic delegate [MLA], I commended parish priests to take care to elect him. Others were free to give their vote to whomever they wanted.

In the Ruthenian Catholic newspaper the editor posted a brief notice before the elections containing information about the candidates of Manitoba with this argument:

It is best for us Ruthenians to stay always on the side of the government and not against it. The leaders of the Manitoba Government are not against our Church

and schools, indeed they favour these our vital elements. We are persuaded that we must help this government in order that they will help us.

The elections resulted in the defeat of the Liberals. The Liberals thought that Most Reverend Archbishop Langevin and the Ruthenians had been the cause of their defeat. Therefore they began to write strongly against the Archbishop and against Ruthenians in general. Against me personally they had nothing, because they could not find anything. But then they found something.

On 27 July, after the war between Austria and Serbia had begun, I wrote a pastoral letter to Ruthenians who were Austrian subjects, to return home to defend their families and homeland, because there is a crisis and the fatherland was calling. But we who hold Canada as our country, pray for peace, that the war would end as soon as possible, and we do good works to this purpose.

Considering all things, I thought this to be commendable:

1. As the bishop of the Ruthenians in Canada I represent here Canadian citizens but I also am responsible for those who are not Canadian citizens and who do not want to be. They are rather Austrian subjects. To these I had to write to inform them of what had happened and what to do.
2. I could not have offended anyone by telling them to love their country and to defend their families.
3. Ruthenians in Canada who are Austrian subjects, who are only here for a time, and who do not want to become farmers had not work these last two years. They are a burden to every Ruthenian parish because, being unstable, they do not associate with the parishioners and are prey for Socialists. And many, because they are deserters, cannot ever return home. They want their wives to come to Canada and so they live in illegal marriages. As many of them will become lapsed Catholics and the majority of them are unhappy, I had to admonish all of them to return to defend

their homeland and after this it would be easier for others, who are Canadian citizens, to find work. I thought I was acting correctly in accord with the intentions of Canadian citizens and the government.

4. I myself as an official voice had to do this, because several agitators and newspapers, at this time, especially disturbed the people and caused scandal.

5. England was in favour of peace and for keeping the conflict regional.

6. In the end, what can I say? With the foreign element gone, we Canadians pray for a rapid end to the war!

In support of what I wrote, I should be noted: I wrote the letter on 27 July and England declared war against Germany much later, and did not declare war against Austria until 10 August. Austrian consulates remained in Canada – so where and how could a betrayal of the country have been avoided?

It was not the Manitoba Liberals who betrayed me but the Ruthenians who, in league with the Liberals, had as their motto: The Ruthenian bishop must be removed, and especially all those must be removed who hold with the bishop, the editor of his newspaper and his parishioners and all his institutions.

In Winnipeg there are six Ruthenian newspapers against me. Their editors and collaborators “want to eat” and make a living. They are men bought by party and sectarian money, people without principals, who daily invent fables and calumnies against me and my mission and discourage the people and are always in contact with deceivers. For newspapers and pamphlets they have money and agents – against this I am alone with my editor. An odd battle.

As soon as I begin to do anything they destroy or make it impossible, always diabolically inventing some reason to contradict me and they persevere in doing so. Because of this, people in Winnipeg are led astray. There are thousands of Ruthenians but they have been alienated from the Church by a Protestant attitude. I questioned one agent as to why they cause trouble and he responded openly: “because I need to eat.” And so he serves whoever gives him money. Unbelievable things

happen in Winnipeg, and I often lacking the strength to endure them as they are more than my strength can bear....

The Free Press only published an excerpt from the pastoral letter together with the affirmation that the bishop is against the Liberals – thence the clamour. But afterwards I went to the Lieutenant Governor, I published a second pastoral letter to the Ruthenian citizens of Canada and a gathering on that last Sunday of the month, convoked at my request, the Free Press retracted, rejoicing that it had taught the Bishop a lesson in patriotism....

4.

“Bishop Budka Presents Views”

Manitoba Free Press, 12 September 1914, 16

(typewritten copy in AAW, NB 3, f. 1905–1907)

Bishop Budka, of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church, when interviewed today concerning the charges of disloyalty which have recently been made against him, stated positively that neither in thought, in word or in action had he ever been in the slightest degree disloyal either to Canada or the British Empire, and he further stated that nothing that he had ever said or done could reasonably be construed as of a disloyal nature. Referring to the letter addressed by him to his people on the 28th August [27 July], the Bishop stated that it was issued at a time when only Austria and Servia were at war and when the indications did not point to the likelihood of Britain being drawn into the conflict. This letter was not intended for those of the Ruthenian people who had attained Canadian citizenship, but rather for the more recent arrivals many of whom had left their families in the old land, some of whom were deserters from the Army, and not a few among whom had been unable to find employment in Canada, and to those whose problem the Canadian authorities at that time were giving considerable thought. The letter was a reminder to such of these men as had received the final call to return, that their duty required them to obey the call, and the Bishop considered it one of his responsibilities to remind these men of their duty.

Immediately after Britain had become involved in the War Bishop Budka addressed a further letter to his people nullifying the instructions contained in his first communication, and calling upon all his people to prove themselves the loyal citizens of Canada and of the Empire.

Bishop Budka’s attitude towards the land of his and his people’s adoption has undergone no change since he arrived here some twenty months ago. At that time he addressed to his people a pastoral letter reading in part as follows:

Be good citizens. Be grateful to the Country which gave you shelter, and chance of better and happier existence. Do not forget your own language which has been bequeathed to you by your Ancestors. Neither your own language nor religion interfere with true love and citizenship of Canada. Living under the British King, let us be loyal and good subjects. Living under the free and wise federal and provincial governments, let us respect Canadian administration and government. Enjoy the rights and privileges of free citizenship taking part in the public and political life. By prudence, concord, perseverance and faith we will gain welfare and respect.

But again three months later, the Bishop in addressing his people urged them to be faithful to their Church and to educate their children, adding, “Only through education can we become good citizens. We will learn English with pleasure but cannot give up our own language because our Services are held in Ruthenian.”

The Bishop states the meaning of the term “Canadian Ukraine” has been altogether misunderstood. Ukrainian is a term used to designate the Ruthenian people of Austria as distinguished from the Ruthenians in Russia, and the words “Ukraine” and “Ukrainians” are synonymous. “Canadian Ukraine” therefore means all those Ruthenian people formerly residing in Austria, but now in Canada, and the term does not suggest any territorial significance. The Bishop adds that he has absolutely abstained from taking part in the political life

either in Canada or any of the Provinces. He has striven faithfully to do his duty as a Churchman in providing for the spiritual welfare of his people. He is a zealous advocate of the teaching of English to all Ruthenian children, and he is very anxious that all of his people should have the opportunity of education. There is not either in the mind of Bishop Budka or in any of his people even a suggestion of a national organization, or any organization that would separate the Ruthenians from the other peoples in Canada or not to be Canadian citizens.

5.

**AAW, Книга Ординаріату, р.5, по. 20
12 February 1915**

Permission [is granted] to Father Perepelytsia to visit the war prisoners at the Camp in Quebec in order to bring them spiritual care.

6.

**“Канадійські Українці в полоні”
Канадійський русин (12 May 1915), 1**

Canadian Ukrainians in Captivity

The Montreal Daily Star of 1 May ran a simple article on those interned at Spirit Lake, Quebec, which speaks sympathetically about our brothers. The article is an excellent illustration, in the interest of good relations, which describes “Mike,” a typical Ukrainian prisoner, and Rev. Dr. Perepelytsia of Montreal, who often visits our countrymen at the detention camp.

7.

**AAW, *Secular Priests* 9, fasc. JP, f. 12–13
Perepelytsia to Budka, Montreal, 18 June 1915**

On the 15th of this month I received the decree [naming me] Secretary and Chancellor and an attached letter from Rev. Dr. R. in which he claims that he cannot live in the [same] house as I, and that he will not keep the same maidservant as I. Without [further] explanations, the letter is very mysterious. He also writes about some transfers even under the seal, and the certificate bears Rev. R[edkevych]’s signature as Chancellor.

Regarding the certificate, I cannot accept it because it does not reflect the facts and it is unusual in form. Regarding its contents, I must declare: I have high respect for the office, honour, and work of secretary or chancellor, [but] under the present circumstances, I cannot accept it. As far as I can see, I do not possess the abilities to replace Rev. Dr. R.[edkevych] [as chancellor]. Instead, I greatly regret that, for [the past] two years, he has been allowed to attempt to drive me out of Montreal.

Seeing that Rev. Dr. R.[edkevych] has been governing in my jurisdiction as the Bishop’s Dep.[uty] without proper documentation, and to officials in Ottawa (to General Otter) he introduces himself as Vicar General (there is documentation for this),² it is understood that I tolerate him in my abode because I have not forgotten to respect him as a Superior. Nevertheless, I cannot allow anyone to drive me out after 19 months of washing dirty laundry.

Finally allow me to protest his trips secretly in July to the Spirit Lake Camp without my knowledge and against my will. I cannot expect this to have been a decision of the Episcopal Chancery that usually enquires its subordinate office about reports and good opinion.

² See doc. 12. Although Budka appointed Redkevych as vicar general and interim administrator, he does not appear to have confirmed this with a written document. His sudden departure to the United States, to recuperate, might have been the cause: McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 159.

Furthermore, I cannot accept a heavy and responsible office unless it is turned over to me by the predecessor in good order.

Finally, allow me to protest his trips secretly in July to the Spirit River Camp without my knowledge and against my will. I cannot expect this to have been a decision of the Episcopal Chancery that usually enquires its subordinate office about reports and good opinion.

Having written the above, I haven't the least intention to offend Your Excellency, on the contrary, I want to defend your rights and guard against their abuse through non-existing titles....

8.

“Вісти з Канади”

***Канадійський русин* (23 June 1915), p.4**

News from Canada

Brandon, 19 June. – Tonight Andrei Grapko, native of Austria, died from bullet wounds received during an attempt to escape from the “prisoners of war” camp.³

9.

AAW, *Книга Ординариату*, p.8, no. 104

7 July 1915

Father Kuzmak is named chaplain to the detention camps.

10.

AAW, *NB* 1, f. 72,

Doherty to Perepelytsia, Ottawa, 10 August 1915

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, informing me that His Lordship Monsignor Nicetas Bud-

³ Melnycky, “The Internment o Ukrainians,” 9. Ivan Hryhoryschuk of Spirit Lake was also shot on 7 June 1915: Otter report, 12. Cf. Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 41; Lubomyr Luciuk, *In Fear of the Barbed Wire Fence*, 25.

ka has nominated Father Kuzmak for the position of Chaplain to the interned Ruthenians in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. I am giving instructions to have the appointment made at once and trust that the Chaplain will be ready to report for duty without delay.

11.

AAW, NB 1, f. 73–74

Kuzmak to Perepelytsia, Spirit Lake, 22 August 1915

I’ve been here already for a week. During the journey I had a lot of trouble with the railway pass. It is only valid to Cochrane [Ontario] and from there I had to pay the full fare. Obviously the money ran out and, for a time, I had to travel to Ottawa for free. In Ottawa I borrowed money from Father Fylma. As [you] The Rev. Doctor knows, life in the camps is not very agreeable, and above all the inmates are hostile to priests, although I am convinced that there is no reason for this. Even the food that they so much complain about is, in my view, completely nourishing. At first I listened to these complaints but afterward I caught on because I know that it is not so. In letters sent to Montreal, they write that they receive enough to eat and do not go hungry, and I am completely convinced of this.

I am up to my ears in problems, but I have to slowly get used to this.

Thank you for the pass. I gave money to Father Redkevych to send to you.

Besides all of this I have other personal problems which would be futile to mention, because I am becoming convinced that if I do not completely lose my head, I will ruin at least a part of it. ...

12.

**AAW, *Secular Priests* 9, fasc. AR, f. 71–74
Redkevych to Budka, Montreal, 1 September 1915**

Please permit me to give a brief account in point form:

1 the *general condition* of the parish is worn-out. Three quarters of the parishioners are gone, having left town in search of work. I tried everywhere, sent some 700 to those harvesting and another 190 to those working in the nearby forests. Many of them received money for the journey. The parish has become greatly impoverished and there is virtually no incoming revenue. ...

72 ... V. Father Kuzmak complained about his position:

73 he has not yet received his certificate [of appointment], people are not satisfied, etc. I immediately wrote to Minister Doherty and expect that all will be well.

... I heard that there is a “[Ukrainian] National Council” with its headquarters in Winnipeg, and a Ruthenian representative [to the government].⁴ Perhaps they could write, in the name of all Ruthenians, especially those of Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba, asking [the authorities] not to arrest those Ruthenians who had not broken [the law] or failed to report more out of stupidity, or poverty (which is eating them up and making them indifferent) than from any real negligence.

For Montreal, as “Vicar General” I addressed the appropriate authorities *concerning these matters*, and have already sent Doherty a separate judge to the camps to investigate these events, approximately 90 of which I have submitted. Please look over the attached documents.

74 In my opinion, however, it would be good submit such a request on behalf of the community, together with Your Lordship.

⁴ Like the commissioner for Ruthenian affairs, Ivan Petrushevych (1875–1950), appointed by the federal government on Bishop Budka’s recommendation on 15 June 1914. The commission had already been discontinued on 29 January 1915: McVay, *God’s Martyr*, 244.

13.

AAW, NB 1, f. 75–78

Kuzmak to Redkevych, Spirit Lake, 3 September 1915

Having returned from Kapuskasing yesterday, I was immediately given the letter from [you] Very Reverend Doctor, which I was expecting. That which I had written in my first letter was the result of my first impressions, but now, having delved more deeply into all affairs in the camps, I am becoming [more] serene about everything. The deluge of complaints with which the people have engulfed me during my first visit are almost baseless; More and more, they are slowly realizing that they are not so badly off. In this respect, things are even better in Kapuskasing.

The Colonel from Ottawa was both here and there to inspect overall conditions, to free several people, especially those from the States. As to the latter, it seems that everything will be done to release them. As for the others, things are quite bad for them.

76 The governing circles are fairly aware that our people today take away earnings of the indigenous, and also that is possible that the story of eight years ago may repeat itself where extreme poverty drove it [our people] to theft, brigandry, and suicide, by drowning in the river. Furthermore, everyone knows about this in Montreal. Thank you for writing to Minister Doherty regarding my official appointment as Chaplain. I would only want that this be known by all to whom it may concern.

There is nothing to write about the people [in the camps], except that a rumour is circulating among the people here that the Rev. Doctor [you] said from the pulpit that people here live in Paradise and have whatever their heart desires. I know that this has been completely exaggerated, but when the Rev. Doctor [you] speak [about this], you shouldn't tell people about this lest their *odium* falls upon priests [in general]. The Rev. Doctor [you] are aware of how much Rev. Dr. Perepelytsia has done for them and, in spite of that, there is not a single person who will say a kind word about him. Please do not advise them to do whatever they want.

77 There is another important matter, namely that people think that I can help them in some matters. People are bombarding me with letters quite needlessly because I can't help anyone. By appointing me they obviously had in mind the pastoral assistance that I was to render people. After a few weeks here I fully understand my position, and I don't meddle in any matters that are not pastoral. [You] Rev. Fr. Doctor also understand this very well. Often people bring all kinds of requests through me, and I simply pass them to the Colonel. Helping anyone to be released from here is not within my power. By the way, we'll discuss this when I come to Montreal.

Thank you for sending the suitcase, and for all you have done for me. Also please send me all bills that [you] Rev. Fr. Doctor have expended on me, and I shall endeavour to repay everything.

Soon, I'll be going to Petawawa and other camps. Please inform me of other localities where our people are interned.

They sent some books with spiritual content from Philadelphia, four primers and umpteen booklets for devotion. Would [you] Rev. Fr. Doctor indicate where, with the assistance of a few tens of dollars quota, one could import a few school books with religious content. I have already ordered some books but I have no money for them. Soon I'll be starting a school when appropriate buildings are completed.

I have sent [Justice] Minister Doherty [a copy of] my appointment by the bishop, and informed him that I have taken up my position.

I will write all interesting news in my next letter. Kissing your hand,

M. Kuzmak

14.

**Mykola Shumsky, “Подяка”
*Канадійський русин (6 October 1915), p.4***

Thank You

Calgary, 28 September 1915.

To all who have shown sympathy toward me in any way due to my arrest and during my week-long imprisonment, by this means I render my sincere and heartfelt thanks.

A render special thanks to our Dear Most Reverend Bishop who, despite being forced to carry some unenviable crosses, was able to comfort this as-yet un-exonerated, imprisoned priest. I also render sincere thanks to Very Rev. [Bishop] John McNally and his secretary, Father Hetherington, and to the Catholic organization, the Knights of Columbus ... which constantly helped me during my time of imprisonment.

Father Mykola Shumsky,
Pastor of Calgary, Alberta

15.

**“Для наших дорогих интернованих”
*Канадійський русин (13 October 1915), p.4***

For Our Dear Internees

Thousands of our people now find themselves in detention camps and are bored, not having anything to read. They need books. With this notice, our paper appeals to kind hearts and generally to everyone: whoever has some good books which they can part with in order to give them to the interned, please send them to our Offices at 619 McDermott Avenue, Winnipeg. From there, after coming to an understanding with the camp administrators, these books will be sent to them. And after the end of the war these books will be sent to hospitals for the sick.

We especially ask our Reverend Pastors to make a fitting donation of any religious books published by the Zhovkva (Basilian) Press. They [prisoners] would even like to get individual issues of *Missionar* magazine and the *Molytvoslov* prayer book, devotionals, or lives of the saints.

Often our interned countrymen get a hold of books of the lowest character which terribly discourage them. There [in the camps] they certainly need healthy, religious comfort from good books. To such a mixed group of people in the camps, who naturally feel misfortune and sadness, we need to provide reading which will lift their spirits and provide authentic freedom, and not material that adds to their displeasure and emptiness of heart.

In Brandon a reading room was made for the internees. In other camps in the east, the government chaplain and Father Kuzmak visited (but now, unfortunately, he is in hospital in Montreal). In Spirit Lake, Kapuskasing, and Petawawa, the internees also need books and are asking for them. We should give them what they ask and provide even more than what they ask.

Given the situation, we believe that it would make internees very happy if, from time to time, we let them know that we have not forgotten them and that we care about their situation. When possible, we should send them gifts such as fruit, tobacco, and the like. Other nationalities are taking good care of their internees and the camp administrators see this is as positive. We plan to send them presents as tokens of good cheer, especially for the Christmas holidays, at New Years, and Easter, if the war continues.

For this purpose, we plan to send offerings "for internees" for the Christmas holiday – with this matter and its material, we hope to improve the situation of our interned brothers in the camps. In order to carry out this project, we are asking benefactors from the Winnipeg relief committee, and in the east Dr. Redkevych from Montreal, who has been to the camps and knows where and what is needed.

16.

**“Просьба наших інтернованих до українського
загалу в Канаді і Америці”**

Канадійський русин (27 October 1915), p.8

Request from our Internees
to All Ukrainians in Canada and America

We are receiving more and more letters from the detention camps in which our internees complain of the lack of books of religious content, especially *molytvoslov* prayer books. We have already appealed to everyone with a similar request. Unfortunately, only certain individuals responded to our appeal. The response was absolutely insufficient. Our Reverend Fathers, teachers, and generally everyone who possesses any books of this kind, should remember that those poor souls, deprived of all moral support, are begging us, their fellow countrymen – in the name of Christ, for a very small favour.

We ask that you send books of this type, and also financial assistance for this purpose, to our Editorial Office, 619 McDermott Avenue, Winnipeg. God reward all donors.

17.

“Воєнні плітники в Брандоні”

Канадійський русин (3 November 1915), p.4

War Prisoners in Brandon

According to wartime legislation, the military authorities have detained as war internees in so-called detention camps: everyone who has broken this law in any way, and anyone could be harmful to army volunteers. And this for the entire duration of the war. In all camps in Canada there are thousands of internees of various nationalities. Everywhere the majority of them are Ruthenians-Ukrainians. Among them are some who have really transgressed the law, especially those who do not speak English, and some who were unemployed and were loitering around unoccupied. And there are also some who landed up there by chance.

In Brandon, Manitoba, the detention camp is located in a large sporting hall (arena). There are around a thousand internees: over 800 Ruthenians, up to 100 Germans, about 50 Poles, together with Romanians, Serbs, Czechs and others.

What do they do there?

The daily regimen of the internees is as follows: They rise at 6 in the morning, make their beds and, with each one assigned a number, they take roll call to determine if all are present or if someone fled during the night. Next they breakfast in the common hall. Breakfast consists of pork and beans, and bread with butter and coffee. Next they go for a walk. [...] In groups of four and under soldiers' watch they may go to the city for an hour and then return to the camp. And then a visit to the doctor and to the captain and that is all until lunch. For lunch they are given a piece of meat or sausage with potatoes and cabbage, bread and butter, and tea.

After lunch they go for a walk again or have free time, then at 5 in the evening they have the same [food] as at lunch, but with cheese added. After supper they have free time until 9:30. After roll-call all go to sleep.

If we add that some, in groups of ten, help the cooks to prepare lunch, to wash the dishes and the floors, and to clean up – then this represents all their “official” work time.

In the camp there is a canteen where tobacco, paper, and milk can be purchased. Each prisoner is given tickets for purchasing essential items, and those who have deposited money in the office may use five dollars a month. Whoever is in need is given boots or clothing. Anyone who is sick is sent to the hospital at the camp or to the one in the city. For disobedience the person is confined to the cellar with bread and water, and for inciting escape to the city jail.

It is difficult to write briefly about what the prisoners do other than taking meals, walking, and visits. Mostly they are bored and play cards. A few take advantage of their free time by performing constructive tasks such as volunteer labour and reading. The young and fit organize all sorts of games and exercises. Sometimes they yell like children on the playground, words such as “goulash” and “supper,” thus calling everyone to meals.

The reading hall can hold up to 100 people, but due to the lack of books the numbers of those who use the hall does not increase. *Kanadiyskyi Rusyn*’s appeal, on the orders of the Most Reverend Bishop [Budka], represents an attempt to improve this situation. We certainly hope that these poor men will receive a sufficient number of books to read.

The course for the illiterate is progressing quite well. The prisoners are teaching one another. They wanted to introduce an English-language course but had neither teachers nor books, nor money to pay, and so the matter was dropped. Some of them are studying German.

Often the prisoners organize military exercises. They construct war props, with costumes and tambourines, and they clatter during the rehearsals.

Often on Sundays they organize dances, weddings, and special parties. Some dress as girls, some as officials, some as Jews, as barmen, and they act-out weddings. They dance the *kozacha*, *kolomeyka*, and even attract many curious people from Brandon.

Among these prisoners there are some artisans who, with simple little knives, make beautiful things, like fiddles, devotionals, frames, etc. They use old boxes for material.

Generally speaking the prisoners are bored and waste time as much as they can, and they pine for the end of the war.

On the evening of the 25th October, the Most Reverend Bishop [Budka] visited the prisoners, having stopped there on his way from Regina to Winnipeg. In the afternoon of the 26th, the Most Reverend Bishop gave a talk to the prisoners. In the evening, together with Father Kaluzhniatsky and the Polish priest, Father Grochowski, he heard their confessions. A Divine Liturgy was planned for 6:30 in the morning of 27th October, but it had to be cancelled because the guards did not want to let the bishop in, because they had not received clear instructions.

The Most Reverend Bishop raised the prisoners’ spirits. He promised them books, an English-language teacher, and every possible assistance.

The commanders behave benevolently toward the inmates but some others do not immediately understand them, causing difficulties to arise. Yet these are quickly resolved.

18.

**“На коляду для інтернованих земляків в Канаді”
*Канадійський русин (15 December 1915), p.4***

Christmas Collection for
our Interned Countrymen in Canada

The yearly celebration of the Birth of Christ is fast approaching. In every countries where our [Ukrainian] people live, the majestic song rings out, “God Eternal is born to us.” They will also sing it in the motherland, amid fires and ash. It will be brought to open fields, in soldiers’ trenches, and our countrymen in Canada will also sing it.... And there are many of them in all the detention camps – they are the largest group among all the nationalities.

The evening star will descend, and we will all sit down to the holy supper in the company of family or friends. We will partake of God’s gifts in whatever way we are able.

And the carols will be accompanied by soft and pleasant conversation and nostalgia – we will also remember our unfortunate homeland....

And our interned countrymen?

On that same Christmas Eve, they will sit down to eat their poor “military” supper. They will be counted to ensure that no one is missing, and then they will go to bed.

Do we, their fellow countrymen, not care enough to make sure that these unfortunates have at least a token of the Christmas Eve supper, knowing that, somewhere in the detention camp, our brothers swallow small tears and have sad, unpleasant dreams?

No! We must do something! We must follow the example of other nationalities, for example the Germans, who are collecting sufficient funds for Christmas gifts for their imprisoned countrymen.

We ask for monetary donations to be sent to our Very Reverend Bishop [Budka]. Despite being burdened with many troubles, he has not forgotten about our imprisoned countrymen and, from his part, has very energetically taken up this cause.

Let everyone give at least a small donation because, in Canada, we have at least 5 detention camps, with 1000 Ukrainians in Brandon alone.

The number of our interned is so large that we need thousands in order to distribute at least a small Christmas gift to each of them.

Each prisoner should receive at least a packet of tobacco and some fruit. It would be a very Christian gesture for our good ladies to donate some food out of their Christmas hampers and send it in special packages to Reverend Father A. Kaluzhniatsky in Brandon, Manitoba.

However, every Ukrainian without exception should feel obligated to donate a monetary sum for the imprisoned. And they should do so quickly, as Christmas is just around the corner.

We ask that you send donations for this purpose to the following address:

Ruthenian Bishop's Chancery
511 Dominion St.
Winnipeg, Manitoba

19.

**“На коляду для полонених земляків в Канаді”
Канадійський русин (22 December 1915), p.1**

For a Christmas Collection for
our Interned Countrymen in Canada

COUNTRYMEN! – Remember that the feast of Christ's Birth is approaching. It is a sacred duty of every true Ukrainian to make a one-time donation, as much as they are able, toward Christmas presents for our imprisoned brothers in Canada!

According to the letter of Hon. Minister of Justice in Ottawa to the Most Reverend Bishop [Budka] of 10 November 1915, the military authorities in the detention camps have been instructed to permit fruit, lard, and tobacco to be sent at Christmas and Easter.

It is permitted, therefore, to collect monetary offerings and food stuff for this purpose, and to send them to the prisoners.

Wherefore committees in eastern Canada are asked to send their gifts to: Very Reverend Doctor Redkevych, parish priest in Montreal, 184 A. Beaudry Street. Father will distribute the gifts according to the needs of all, because he knows the number of our people at each location.

Countrymen from Alberta and western Canada are asked to send their gifts to Reverend Father Hura, parish priest in Edmonton, 9648 108 Avenue, for the detention camp in Castle [Rock], Alberta.

All others should send their donations to the Bishop's Chancery, 511 Dominion St. Winnipeg, Manitoba. The committee charged with this task in Winnipeg will arrange for the purchase and distribution of the appropriate gifts.

Donations in goods for the prisoners in Brandon are to be sent through Rev. A. Kaluzhniatsky, Ruthenian Parish Priest, Brandon, Manitoba.

Hurry with your donations – because time is very short.

The Christmas Collection (*Koliada*) for our Imprisoned Countrymen in Canada has thus far collected:

1. His Excellency Bishop Nykyta	\$20.00
2. Very Reverend Doctor Perepelytsia	\$5.00
3. Reverend Father Olenchuk	\$5.00
4. Mr. A. Saramatiuk	\$5.00
5. Mr. I. Sliuzar	\$1.00
6. Mr. T.U. Martsyniv	\$1.00

20.

AAW, SSO, f. 40

**Ortynsky to Budka, no. 1782, Philadelphia,
27 December 1915**

I am forwarding the request of interned Ruthenians [in England] to the Most Reverend Ordinariate [in the USA] for your consideration as to how much assistance is required and in what way it could be provided.

21.

AAW, SSO, f. 41

**Budka to Ortynsky, (to no. 1782), Winnipeg,
3 January 1916**

As to the matter of war prisoners in England, we in Canada cannot help them because we have too many of them here. It would be very good if, after asking permission from the British Consul, the Most Reverend Ordinariate [in the USA] could send them a few religious books. If we are able [subsequently], we too will not forget about them.

Thank you for the address. We will send the letter to that address.

The Brandon internees, who have a priest, already received five packages of books and gifts at Christmas. Comparatively, their situation is the best. In other camps it is worse, although we sent three packages of donated books to all of them. Only *molytvoslov* prayer books ran out. Since everybody wants them they are completely sold out. ...

22.

**“Воєнні плінники Українці в Англії”
Канадійський русин (19 January 1916), p.5**

Ukrainian War Prisoners in England

At Knockaloe Camp I. Compound I.5.B. Peel Isle of Man, England there are about 2000 Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovyna. Nykolai Velychuk prisoner of War no. 111, writes

that they are very poor and sad, and are asking for help so that they could at least feel that it is Christmas.

23.

**Михайло Оленьчук, “Виказ жертв: на свѣточні дарунки для Українців полонених в Брендон”
*Канадійський русин (19 January 1916), p.5***

List of Donations to Christmas Gifts
for Interned Ukrainians in Brandon

Central <i>Kanadyiskyi Rusyn</i> Finance	
Committee in Winnipeg	\$25.00
St. Nicholas Mutual Brotherhood in Winnipeg	10.00
Ukrainian Catholic Club in Winnipeg	5.00
Zankovetska Association	5.00
Kotliarevsky Association	5.00
Collection during vespers at the Little Church ⁵	10.00
At the parish meeting at the Little Church hall	5.67
Anastasia Khmil	1.00
Mrs. Kuryk collected	2.67
Mrs. Hladkova	23.15
Miss Demchukivna	16.45
Mrs. Masliak and Feschyn	16.33
Miss Andruschak	5.30
Mrs. Zhrebko and Ziuretska	18.15
Mr. B. Ilnytsky	1.00
Sarmatiuk, Sliuzar, Martsiniv	7.00
Father Kaluzhniatsky	2.50
For a crate	0.15
Previously announced in <i>Kanadyiskyi Rusyn</i>	27.00
Dutkevych and Dobrovsky	0.60
All together collected	\$186.48

Father M. Olenchuk sent these funds by money order, in the amount of 186 dollars, to Father Kaluzhniatsky in Bran-

⁵ Saints Vladimir and Olga.

don, for the purchase Christmas gifts for the interned Ukrainians.

18 cents was used to send the money, to which they added another ten-odd cents.

The local committee in Brandon, under the direction of Father Kaluzhniatsky, purchased Christmas gifts with the money, and distributed them among the internees. Our esteemed readers can find, in today’s issue, a reply from Mr. Ivan Bakun of the detention camp in Brandon.

From this reply it is clear that both priests and lay members of the Ruthenian Catholic Church care about their people, not only when things are going well, but also when the people are in need.

Just as he did during last year’s period of general unemployment and misfortune, our Bishop, Kyr Nykyta, raised his voice and called us to set up relief committees which saved thousands of families from hunger. And again this year, that same Prince of the Ruthenian Catholic Church did not forget about the internees. He visited them personally, sent them many good reading materials and, with the coming of the Christmas holidays, he arranged for them to receive a little joy, to gladden their time of sorrow.

24.

**Іван Бакун, “Як обходили різдвяні свята
українці – воєнні п’яніки в Брендоні”
Канадійський русин (19 January 1916), p.7**

How Ukrainian War Prisoners in Brandon
Celebrated the Christmas Festivities

Brandon, Manitoba, 13 January

Christ is Born!

Dear Editor,

Kindly include these few words in your paper, *Kanadyi-skyi Rusyn*, which is so dear to us. I am writing them with emotion, on behalf of all Ukrainian Catholic internees, under

the heading: Christmas Eve, or Christmas Celebrations of the Ukrainian war prisoners in Brandon.

Dear Brother Ukrainians and readers of Kanadyiskyi Rusyn!

Though our hearts are full of woe, enduring memories lighten our souls from their depths when we pause for a moment to think of how Christmas was for each one of us in previous years. And unintentionally, at the same time, a second memory awakens of each distant great joy which we experienced in the past with our families. This is an emotional joy for, at this point, we remember when Christ our Saviour came into the world and brought us good fortune and eternal joy. Already on Thursday morning, Christmas Eve, one could sense a completely different attitude among the Ukrainian internees. With impatience and great expectation we welcomed the local parish priest, Father Kaluzhniatsky. Although he had much work to do (as many as 6 settlements and Brandon under his pastoral care) and also being elderly – already at 9 o'clock in the morning he came to visit to fortify our souls with the Word of God. He celebrated the Holy Liturgy during which he said a few very sincere words, wished us a better future, and moved everyone to tears. During the Divine Liturgy we sang some religious songs and carols. Then, for the first time, we could see that the hearts of all present were filled with a kind of extraordinary joy and they forgot all their earthly troubles. Being with their spiritual shepherd, it seemed as if the entire group had been granted their freedom. After the Divine Liturgy, Father Kaluzhniatsky said a few more encouraging words to the prisoners and assured everyone that he would return again that evening, in order to share the joy at the important moment of Christmas Eve supper, and distribute gifts donated by unforgettable benefactors. ... After our local pastor left, all assembled departed to their places from the barracks peacefully, with a happier expression. When evening approached, everyone began to gather just like children who are impatiently awaiting the moment when their father finally allows them to sit together at table. At about 4:00 in the afternoon a large door suddenly opened and brought boxes of apples, oranges, nuts,

tobacco, and other Christmas gifts, straight to the appointed place. Everyone became happy and cheerful, all the more when Father Kaluzhniatsky appeared with the members of the committee who had worked hard to obtain these gifts for us. Our [unfortunate] fate only increased our joy, because, soon after, at the moment when our spiritual pastor stood among us and intoned “Thy Nativity, O Christ our God.” [Troparion of Christmas], it seems to all present as if they were standing in their the church of their native village. Afterwards everyone recited a prayer together. In conclusion Father Kaluzhniatsky offered another farewell and left the barracks with the committee members, three men and one lady. Each person was again overcome with sorrow and anguish and, with arms by their sides, they all stood like dead men. After a short period of silence they asked one another why did the priest have to leave so quickly? – Then, leaving these thoughts aside, it was necessary to get to work as the boxes, filled with all kinds of holiday gifts were waiting. After a short pause for thinking, a few people took charge and distributed to each person a package. Despite these difficult times, the Merciful Lord had deigned for us to receive these gifts through the efforts of good people. Next one after the other each person came forward to receive their gift. There were enough packages to satisfy everyone. In order to show our kindness, the remaining gifts were distributed to a handful of Poles, Germans and Romanians, who also came forward to receive. Each person rejoiced not so much in the gift as in the fact that good people had not forgotten about their unfortunate lot, deprived of their liberty. But this was not the end of the gifts. Once again everyone gathered together in the upper part of the building, where the dining hall is located. Having sat down at table to eat, each was served our old Ukrainian dishes: *kutia*, *holubtsi*, and some cookies that our Brandon hosts and our benefactors had obtained for us.

The *kutia* and *holubtsi* were fantastic! ... After supper some went in one direction or another. Carols were being sung in each building, by which we knew that everyone felt contented... Celebration continued to eleven o'clock, when it was time to go to the dormitory.

The next day, Christmas for us Ruthenian-Ukrainians, was a great holy day, and so we did not even go for a walk as on other days. We once again gathered in a small group and sang some carols and the rest of the people gladly listened. In the evening the same singers celebrated “vespers” and thus, gradually, we came to the end of the first day of the Christmas celebrations.

On the second day, the Synaxis of the Blessed Virgin Theotokos, each person was again filled with hope and quickly ate their supper. At the appointed time the students from the Brandon Normal School came to visit us together with members of the Brandon Ukrainian Reading Society. And to complete our celebration a few young ladies came to cheer us up. In addition, to demonstrate the progress that we had made in our education, we arranged, ahead of time, to put on a play in two acts, the first entitled “Unfulfilled love” and the second called “My uncle, the miller.”

The amateurs played their roles very well. Many people of other nationalities came to sit on the benches, such as Germans, Romanians, and English, and all of them responded with enthusiastic applause. In conclusion, in order to give thanks, our choir came out and, sung *mnohaya lita* [God grant them many years] three times, for the amateurs sincere efforts. They also sang it for the administrators who did not spare any efforts and materials. At the end *mnohaya lita* was sung for all present, after which each went his own way edified. On the third day of Christmas, Saint Stephen, our untiring amateur performers once again had prepared a show for individual strangers, but really more for their own amusement. They played “On Bethlehem Night” for which a few Ukrainian students from Brandon came to attend.

And thus ended our small celebrations in Brandon.

In the name of all the imprisoned I render most sincere and heartfelt thanks, together with best wishes for the new year to all our benefactors, especially His Excellency Kyr Nykyta, Bishop of Canadian Ruthenians. May the Lord preserve Him for many years in health for the benefit of all Ruthenian Ukrainian Catholics, for the spread of the Catholic Church. And God grant that His good labour in the holy field would bring forth

much fruit. May His voice not [merely] be crying out in the wilderness, but that it would be heard all throughout all of Canada, a voice which encouraged all Canadian benefactors to donate Christmas gifts for us. At the same time I render heartfelt thanks to our benefactor Father Olenchuk, parish priest in Winnipeg. His kindness and sincere toil greatly contributed in his parish to the collection of Christmas gifts which were so beneficial to the unfortunate prisoners. Further I render sincere thanks to our benefactor Father Kaluzhniatsky, parish priest in Brandon who despite all his work, still remembered us, abandoned and deprived of our freedom. On Christmas Eve he came to visit us two times, in order to lead us in prayer together. May the Lord still strengthen him for many years to pray together with us. May the Lord give him strength in his old age and help him in his labours for our Catholic Church. Further, I send sincere thanks to all parish priests and benefactors in the rural settlements who also, with their voices, rallied all benefactors to this good deed.

I would like to give particular thanks to those farmers in Brandon who made us *kutia* and *holubtsi*, which reminded us of our own homes, our families, and especially of Christmas Eve. May the Lord never abandon you and your children, just as you did not abandon us, but remembered us in our imprisonment.

Further, we send great thanks to all donors for their holy deed. You did not forget about us and each of you gave as you were able. May the Lord reward you for this a hundred fold!

A sincere thanks also goes to the generous members of the committee, for their work and efforts to purchase the gifts.

And finally, I offer sincere and generous thanks to the local Ukrainian amateur performers and those young ladies, who surely sacrificed enjoyment and celebrations during these Christmas holidays. You did not begrudge us your time but came to visit us and performed your play for the enjoyment and pleasure of everyone.

Honour and glory to the young pioneers and performers for this! I wish them from the heart the greatest success in the field of education, and may the Lord help assist them in their continued educational work.

I wish a happy New Year And to everyone and *mnohaya i blahaya lita!*

25.

**Амврозій Редкевич, “Як обходили різдво
пліники на сході”
Канадійський русин (26 January 1916), p.4**

How the Prisoners in Eastern Canada
Celebrated Christmas

Montreal, 14 January.

When His Lordship Bishop Nykyta Budka announced in *Kanadyiskyi Rusyn* the collection of donations to prepare Christmas Eve supper and Christmas Day for the Ukrainian war prisoners in the various camps in Canada, he entrusted Rev. Dr. Redkevych, parish priest in Montreal, with organizing this task on behalf of the internees in Eastern Canada. Redkevych then promptly organized a separate committee in Montreal which was responsible for collecting offerings for this purpose. Due to the untiring work of this committee, it was possible to collect \$186.19 in Montreal, for this cause.

While these funds were obtained with a specific collection, nevertheless, other Ukrainian associations in Montreal quickly came forward with generous offerings. Those were the following: Taras Shevchenko Reading and Education Association donated from their own funds and from a Christmas carolling collection \$34.00; Shashkevych Reading Association and the Ukrainian Amateur Performance Club donated from their funds and the carolling collection \$20.00; The Women's League of the Blessed Sacrament \$10.00; Austro-Hungarian Relief Association \$25.00; the collection from individuals brought in \$92.19.

In Montreal there are other associations that call themselves progressive. Yet they did not care about the lot of the interned men because we did not receive any donations from them, neither from their own funds nor from collections, nor anything else. Perhaps only now will the Montreal community

open their eyes to what kind of birds [people] these “progressives” are.

Besides the money collected in Montreal for this project, the committee received \$36.00 from Rev. Father Boyarchuk from the Toronto Ukrainian congregation, and \$23.00 from Father Fylyma from the Ottawa Ukrainian congregation.

The committee received in total donations of \$245.19. For this amount, sorts of fruit and baking were purchased and were sent to the internees via the Commander at Spirit Lake, Quebec, Kapuskasing, Ontario, Petawawa, Ontario, and to internees in hospital in Montreal.

Everything was distributed according to the number of internees, since I am fully aware of the number of internees and their relations. Thus, I believe that, no injustice was done to anyone in dividing the food. Specifically the cost of the items together with delivery were as follows: Spirit Lake: \$102.09; to Kapuskasing: \$7.10; to Petawawa: \$ 41.00; to the hospital in Montreal: \$5.00. The great joy that the donors provided their imprisoned brothers is shown by their letters. But, for the present, let us see the letters sent to me the commanders of the camps.

Letter of the commander of the Spirit Lake Camp of 7 January:

“In response to your letter of the 4th of this month: Truly the fruits etc. which your community sent for the Ruthenian Catholic war prisoners in this camp, demonstrated that this gift added much to their Christmas celebrations and was received by them with great joy, and this they themselves will certainly write to you.

Gratefully etc. Commander Rodden⁶

Letter of the commander of the Petawawa Camp of 6 January:

⁶ Following his appointment as commander at Kapuskasing, Lieutenant-Colonel J.W. Rodden was replaced as commander at Spirit Lake by Colonel Rinfret on 15 July 1916: Laflamme, *Les Camps de Détention*, 15–16.

“... With this I inform you that, according to your request, we divided fruit etc. among the internees. And I express, in their name, heartfelt thanks for this and for your good wishes. It also gave us great pleasure that, in the name of your community, we were able to give them gifts. Yours etc.

Commander Delalande

Letter of the commander of the Kapuskasing Camp:

“... We received your parcel of apples etc. Besides this, we also received from the Hungarian Association of Chicago a rather large parcel of tobacco and \$233.00 for the purpose of making a celebration for the internees.

On Thursday we have each one of your internees a package of nuts, oranges, apples, two packs of tobacco, grapes, and sweets. On Friday, the internees had a large lunch consisting of soup, baking, dried comfiture and herbs. Many decorated their buildings with fir trees and the entire camp presented a nice and happy appearance.

I think that, many of the internees, for a long time, had not had such a happy Christmas as they had this year. In my opinion, each internee (and there are about 1000 Ukrainians) received gifts valuing at 50 cents. They will express their thanks and when you come again to visit them, they will tell you about it themselves.

Yours... Commander Clarke.

All of us benefactors will certainly be happy to hear that our brothers in captivity were able to celebrate the feast of Our Lord's Birth.

But, as they wrote to me in their letters, they missed one thing very much: a priest who could have celebrated the holy

services for them. But this was not to be. Father Kuzmak, their chaplain, has been sick for several months and other priests had to be in their parishes. Everything possible was done.

26.

**“Увільнений з Детеншин Кемпу”
Канадійський русин (26 January 1916), p.4**

Released from the Detention Camp

Ivan Tymchuk, a Ukrainian resident of Winnipeg, had been interned eight months ago and was living as a war prisoner in the Detention Camp in Brandon. Due to the efforts of his lawyer J.T. Boubien, 8087 MacArthur Building, Winnipeg, he was released by the authorities and is now living freely. The freed man, his wife and friends, hereby give thanks to the authorities and to the lawyer J.T. Boubien, for their kind efforts on his behalf.

27.

**AAW, *Secular Priests* 9, fasc. AR, f. 82–84
Redkevych to Budka, Montreal, 29 February 1916⁷**

Please excuse the following response. I have caught something and am sick in bed. ... As to the camps, [someone] definitely needs to go, but I would definitely not advise Your Lordship to go alone, not on account of the hard work but because of the circumstances. Although it is difficult for me at present, I am ready to go there for a time. And thus I propose that Your Excellency would kindly agree to come to Montreal for a time, and I then would go to the camps. I unable to send *anyone* else because, after the Father Kuzmak affair, they won't accept anyone. ...

⁷ A notation at the top in Budka's handwriting reads: "6/III from Kraik.[ivsky] N. Camps N." Redkevych asked for Atanazii Nestor Kraikivsky (1892–c.1932) to be released from seminary and sent to assist in Montreal, to continue his education under the tutelage of Redkevych.

28.

LAC, RG 18, vol. 1789, file RCMP 1914, no. 170 part 1795
(*Chief Press Censor*, vol. 43, file 196–1)
Dubuque to Perry, Regina, 1 March 1916

Royal North West Mounted Police
Regina, Sask[atchewan]

Sir: —

Referring to Bishop Budka, Winnipeg, Man.
Re. "Ukrajina" or Ruthenian Club, Regina, Sask[atchewan].

Following your instructions of the 14th January last, when you showed me the Commissioner's letter referring to Bishop Budka. I have the honour to report that I have made exhaustive enquiries in this city and district, as well as on all my patrols to various parts of the Regina District. I have not been able to find very much in Regina – except what was going on before the war started, and the Bishop's attitude towards Russia etc. – but in the Yorkton district, I was more successful and obtained much valuable information:

Bishop Budka is a Ruthenian or from the Ukrainian part of Austria. He was born near Czernovicz⁸ in Eastern Galicia ...

From the time he came here, Budka has been interested in carrying on a regular immigration scheme, in collecting monies and forwarding same to the various committees in the Austrian Empire, Russia etc., to get Ruthenians to come out to Canada where the conditions were so much better than where they could get free, or next to free, education. It appears that he has been responsible for a large number of Russian Ruthenians to come out to Canada. Being very anti-Russian, I presume that he [Budka] devoted much of the funds to get Ruthenians out of Russia.

Budka is credited with having been responsible for the arrangements with the Sask. Gov't. to have Ruthenian youths ad-

⁸ Present-day "Chernivtsi." Until 1918 it was in the Austrian Duchy of Bukovina, not the Austrian Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Budka's native village of Dobromirka, in the Zbarazh district, is nowhere near Chernivtsi.

mitted in the Normal Schools and given free education, or receiving education at the Gov’t’s expenses and paying for it by instalments in so many years without interest, that he has been instrumental in having Ruthenian books etc. in the said Schools and have German taught etc.

It is alleged that he has fought bitterly in the Province of Manitoba against [for] bilingualism, advising the foreigners in both provinces, Sask. and Man., to fight for their rights so that bilingualism would not be abolished. It appears that all the Ruthenians-Bukovinians, Austrians generally, as well as all German-speaking races have backed the bishop in his fight. In fact he had been taking active part in politics and let politics interfere with his church.

Budka has collected monies for the purpose of building churches in the various Ruthenian settlements in the west. He had a system of collecting since he came to Canada. He is credited with having banded the Ruthenians, Galicians, and Russians together under one faith. He has received financial assistance from the R.C. Church.

He is alleged to have undermined the Russian Orthodox Church to such an extent that nearly all members of latter church have joined the Ruthenian church. But this appears to have been due to the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church was not properly organized and that the Russians were scattered so that they joined with the Ruthenians of Budka’s Churches. ...

He also organized the “Ukrajina” or Ruthenian political club, with branches in all principal cities and towns. ...

Then the war broke out. Immediately after that he wrote a pastoral letter, had it published in his organ “The Ruthenian Voice” urging “all Ruthenians and Austrians to take up arms and fight for their country. That the time had come to fight to free the slaves of Russia etc.” The letter was written in very strong language. It was published in the issue of the paper following the declaration of the war between Austria and Russia.

Such pastoral letters were received in Yorkton, Man. [Sask.], but they were not read to the congregations, as it appears that Father Delair [Delaere] et al. considered that the letter was a little too strong and that they should wait for fur-

ther developments. But the newspapers went around and that caused much comments. Also much feeling against the bishop for being too bitter in his views. I was not able to secure a copy of the pastoral letter nor the newspaper that contained such letter, but got it from good authorities.

As war was declared between Austria and Servia and Russia on the 4th August 1914 and the letter came out right after that, the Bishop is excused by his countrymen, who says that "Great Britain was not then in the war and the Bishop did not commit any hostile act."

War was declared by Great Britain on Austria etc. on the 12th August 1914. Bishop Budka is exonerated again, as he followed the declaration of war by a pastoral letter cancelling his former letter, saying that "the conditions had changed as now Canada was at war with Austria and that all Austrians, Ruthenians etc. were to act accordingly and not do anything that would bring disaster on them and their families etc., that they were not to leave Canada etc."

The Ruthenian Voice⁹ came out with a copy of this letter and a long editorial and advised by the bishop cancelling his first letter, "making things right for himself" as several Ruthenians have told me.

Only one week elapsed between the two letters of the Bishop, and the second letter was published in the next issue of the "Ruthenian Voice" being a weekly newspaper.

It appears that Budka had been badly frightened and he had very little to say re. the war, but that he was collecting "to relieve distress in Galicia" as it will be remembered that Russia invaded most of Galicia or the Austrian Ukraine in the early stages of the war and had been alleged to have laid the county in ruins. ...

Bishop Budka's idea is to push the Ruthenians to the fore, in Church matters and in politics. He has great ideas and believes that the Ruthenians are the only race of peoples in Europe. I give further extracts of letters and papers in possession of Ruthenian students etc. showing what their propaganda is.

⁹ Canadian Ruthenian (*Канадийський русин*).

One extract, letter sent to Necitas Roumaniuk, now interned, reads as follows,

“We must organize, in organization there is strength.
Look at the Germans ? See how they organize. ...

At any rate Budka went back to Winnipeg and has been mixed up in politics since then and is alleged to have said that “The Manitoba Gov’t. was not treating them as well as the Sask. Gov’t, that they did not have the liberties there to organize and educate themselves as in Sask.[atchewan]” He said at Yorkton that “he deplored the death of Archbishop Langevin that he had lost the best friend he ever had, that after the war this country would be a regular Galicia and that they would colonize northern Sask. and Manitoba with Austrian-Ruthenians” ...

The following are extracts of lectures, papers etc., from Bishop Budka’s residence sent to the Ruthenian students, etc. and which show what the Bishop is, what he believes in and what is drilled into the Ruthenians.

Printed etc. in 1913–14. (Feb. 1914)

German expansion is much less probable than Russian expansion. A day may come when we shall all recognize that. Failing the British German expansion may mean salvation to European Civilization. ... As much as Russian expansion would endanger it. ...

Should Russia expand ... God help Austria, England and the rest of the world. ...

The UKRAINE, once the largest kingdom in Europe has been divided between her enemies. ... They are all preparing and making money for the countries they live in. They are making money for the Ukrainian cause and preparing for their country’s independence. ...

The one thorn in ambitious Russia is the ever-threatening war with Austria-Hungary, Russia is afraid of Austria and her allies. That is why Russia has secured the support of and the services of England and France. ...

It is necessary that the story of the struggle of the Ukrainian race should be known in England and her colonies, and in other countries, ... *as it is to England that the Ukrainians will turn for sympathy when the need arise, as every nation struggling for its liberty ever does.* ...

The aged Emperor of Austria has openly recognized the right of the Ukrainians and has allowed them to use the name of their own race, to have their books, he is going to allow them to have a University at Lemberg. ...

The progress of the Galician oil fields, mines, etc. has attracted many an Englishmen to Austrian Ukraine, in the past few years.

In Austrians [Austria] the Ukrainians are recognized as forming a separate nation, [and] they have been guaranteed citizens freedom. They have been given their political and national organization. The revival which is very marked among the Ukrainians of Russia has been opposed by the Russian Gov't. ...

Austrian Gov't. wants autonomy for the Ukraine with Kiev as the capital city. ...

Politically speaking, the Ukrainians in Austria are well treated still there is very much to be desired yet. The Ukrainian language is one of the eight languages officially recognized in Austria. ...

England has understood and condemned Russian treatment of the Jews and the Georgians and the Finns. She has never appreciated to the full extent, or any at all, to what extent the Ukrainians have been persecuted and oppressed. ...

One moment of weakness on the part of Russia or the part of Austria would probably mean a lot to the Ukrainians so there, Ukrainians, be on the lookout. ...

From a geographical point of view, commercial, strategic point of view as well, the future of Ukraina is a problem of great importance to Europe generally, to the future of Russia, of Turkey, and therefore ever so much to the British Empire, the future of persecuted Armenia, and the free passage of the Dardanelles to the British. Armenia and the Dardanelles? What is that to England? a glance at any map will show that it is the

two and the only matters of importance to Great Britain, that shows how important Ukraine is in Europe. etc. ...

The above shows what Ukrainians are educated to, what they believe in, no wonder that two prominent men, teachers in the Normal Schools or Collegiates who have the training of the Ruthenians, have told me in confidence that “German should not be tolerated in the schools” and that “the Ruthenians in general, especially the students, are rank with socialistic ideas, are anarchists at heart, are deceitful and underhanded.

I have endeavoured to give you all facts that I have gathered in my investigation. I am afraid though that I have not succeeded as I had a mass of notes and translations etc. And I have found it very difficult to connect the several points. But I have done the best I could and trust this will meet your approval.

29.

“Return of the Internees from the Camps” Commemorative Book on the Occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Settlement of the Ukrainian People in Canada 1891–1941¹⁰

In 1916 almost all the young workers from the steel mill in Sydney, Nova Scotia, went to war. Due to the lack of labourers, the proprietors allowed internees to be used as labour in the steel mill and the coal and ore mines. The company brought in 600 such internees. The first group came from Amherst, Nova Scotia, in February 1916, one hundred Ukrainians from Bukovyna, which the government had freed and sent to work in the coal mines in the Glesby and Dominion districts. These men all began work willingly. A second group of 200 came from Spirit Lake, Quebec in March 1916. These were Ukrainians from both Galicia and Bukovyna who identified themselves as “Austrians.” They were sent to work in the rock quarries of Marble Mountain. Some older men were sent to the steel mill in Sydney and the company built barracks, a

¹⁰ “Поворот інтернованих з таборів,” *Пропам'ятна Книга з нагоди золотого ювілею поселення українського народу в Канаді 1891–1941* (Йорктон: Голос Спасителя, 1941), 109.

kitchen, and a mess hall for living quarters. At the time it was very difficult to find a place to live as the city was overcrowded, but people were friendly and gladly helped one another.

In June 1916 a third group of internees arrived from Kapuskasing, Ontario. These were all young and of a different temperament from the previous groups. They were lodged in the barracks, they were all Ukrainians from Galicia and a few Poles. These began a hunger strike. For two days they did not come to the mess hall. "We will neither eat nor work. Send us back where we came from or to Austria." The Ukrainian parish priest in Sydney, Father Emilian Krasitsky, came to see them but nothing helped, neither the plea of the priest nor the attempts of the sergeants. They considered all the other Ukrainians to be traitors or Moscovophiles. Yet all these difficulties arose due to the scrupulous interpretation of their oath. Although Father Krasitsky left them offended, having been called various offensive names, he returned the following day. Meeting with some he recognized from the previous day he asked them, "Why are you so agitated What is the problem?"

"How is that that you do not know, Father?! For we swore an oath to His Majesty Emperor Franz Josef that, until death, we would defend our fatherland. And you, Reverend Father, do you not consider it a sin to break this oath? Behold, God's punishment awaits us."

Father Krasitsky said, "This is true. To break an oath is a great and mortal sin. But, as I understand it, brother, you have long ago broken the oath which you swore for the Fatherland."

How is that? they began to ask. Did you remain in the old country as your Fatherland? Are you going to return there?

This is true. I left the master's horses at the manor house, so why should I return to them? one asked.

Your fatherland is here in Canada. Go to work, which gives you life. In the new country you have to obey the laws of the new fatherland.

This is true, everyone exclaimed and everyone began to leave. They went immediately to the mess hall for lunch and after to work. They were paid the same wages as the other workers.

Carelessness with Documents:

All who were interned received a document from the camp “release from imprisonment.” Whoever retained this piece of paper, after two weeks, was paid for their work in the camps. There were those who received several tens of dollars and there were those who received even more, for they were in the camp for more than a week. But many destroyed or immediately discarded their proof and had not what with to prove. These received nothing for their work in the camp.

30.

**Apolynarii Kaluzhniatsky, “Звіт”
Канадійський русин (22 March 1916), p.4**

An account of monies donated for the Christmas collection for internees in Brandon, Manitoba, was sent for publication by Father A Kaluzhniatsky, parish priest in Brandon:

Father Olenchuk from the Winnipeg Committee	\$186.00
Father Kaluzhniatsky	\$4.14
Vasyl Lupkey from Glasnevin, Saskatchewan	\$1.00
Mahdalyna Bandzur	0.50
Pavlo Parfeniuk	1.00
Melania Podgurska	1.00
Onufryy Nazar	1.00
Stefan Fedyshyn	0.50
	\$195.14
Receipts totalled:	
10 crates of apples	50.00
10 packs of oranges	64.00
3 sacks of nuts	15.00
Cookies, tobacco, cigarettes	66.14
	\$195.14

I give sincere thanks to all generous donors in the name of the cheered internees.

31.

**“Арештованнє о. Филипова і увільненнє”
*Канадійський русин (12 April 1916), p.8***

Arrest and Release of Father Fylypiv

On the day before the terrible news from America of the death of His Excellency Bishop Soter, 30 March, Father Fylypiv, the superior of the Winnipeg monastery of the Basilian Fathers, parish priest of the church of St. Nicholas was arrested.

The arrest was the result of complaints that Father Fylypiv had advised an Austrian to go to fight against Russia. Friends of Father Fylypiv secured his release on bail, with a large sum given by two Catholic benefactors, Messer's Langford and Carmichael, and due to their persistence and clarification of the matter by good friends of our people, lawyers Mr. Foley and Mr. Murray. The authorities so completely accepted their testimony that they completely exonerated Father Fylypiv from any further judgement or penalties.

Reverend Father Fylypiv has been a citizen of Canada for over seven years, and has never incited anyone against anyone else. His loyalty is beyond all doubt.

Certain newspapers offered various reasons for the arrest and spread fantasies about the disloyalty of our people in Canada and our clergy. Once and for all, they must understand that our missionary Fathers in Canada can, in no way, be accused of disloyalty to Canada. They should realize that, anyone who understands the situation would know that it is clearly impossible to release anyone from Canada in order to join the Austrian army. This could only be done by intriguers or half-wits, but not by Catholic missionaries who know the law, who honour it, and teach their parishioners to honour it as they do themselves. We have already endured such accusations, and we will further endure a lack of trust toward us in Canada.

32.

AAW, NB 1, f. 150

**Excerpt from Budka to Sheptytsky, Winnipeg, 22
November 1918**

... This last year the student Swystun founded a new Orthodox faith in Saskatoon for Presbyterians and atheists and is making terrible trouble. On the back of the Presbyterians he had me and two priests arrested, of whom, Father Kamenetsky, is still interned until this day. ...

33.

ASV, Arch. Nunz. Canada 130, fasc. 5

**Typewritten copy of Foran to Tomich,
Vancouver, 14 April 1919¹¹**

John Tomich
Internment Camp
Vernon, B.C.

Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 30th, ultimo, I beg to state that the children referred to are not in my care, they were removed by their mother some time back.

You mention having written to me about two months ago, but non answer came from it. Well I will tell you why.

We have protected and cared for your children since October 1916 and I answered all letters of inquiry from you until you undertook to force your opinion and your desires on me, by an attempt to compel me to furnish you with a photo of your children without furnishing means to secure the pictures.

I know enough of the care and attention given to the prisoners taken by your people in the late war and there has not any of them ever will forget the brutal customs practiced on our men whilst under the care of Germany and Austria, whilst

¹¹ *Editor's Note:* Rather than pock-mark this text with “[sic],” the transcriber has left all the errors as is and notes that the above copy is true and correct and compares in every detail with the original.

we were striving to feed and care for their children and yours, giving to all, like treatment.

I trust that our government will deport you to the country from which you came as an undesirable and in this way rid ourselves of undesirable company.

When the Official in charge of Austrian affairs in Montreal wrote pressing your demand that I furnish you with the photo of your children, I informed him of the class of man you were, a wife beater, an attempt at murder of her, an all round no good, undesirable. I have not heard from him since.

I trust you will understand this letter and that in the future I won't be bothered with your appeals so nicely worded and your underhanded disturbing dictation on the other hand.

Your wife has the children, she has a better right than you to them, she has at least staid with them when you ran away, but I will do what I can to have the whole lot deported out of this country to where you came from and to the only place that fits people of your makeup.

Yours very sincerely
sgnd. J.S. Foran Secy.
The Children's Aid Society of the
Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver

Rev. Father P. Kamenetzky
Ruth. Catholic Priest

34.

**ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 130, fasc. 5
Typewritten copy Prisoners' Committee to Foran,
Vernon, 3 May 1919**

Sir, Our co-prisoner-of-war, Mr. John Tomich, has turned over to us the correspondence he had with you in connection with his request to furnish him with a photograph of his children and has asked us to reply to your letter dated April 14th.

We feel that it would be undignified on our part to use the intemperate language employed in your letter or to indulge in

as voluptuous an abandonment to our emotions as you see fit to do.

We think it appropriate to quote to you, as the representative of a Christian organization, from St. Luke, Chapter 18, Verse 11 as follows: “The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: God I thank Thee that I am not as other men are,” although we are not sure if your overbearance does not go so far as to claim that the God who judges your actions is a better one than our God.

We trust that you will not mind our pointing out to you that it is men of your type, who have caused the thousands of us who have settled in this country upon the invitation of your Government, an endless amount of worry, persecution and unhappiness during the long and painful years of war, through their hysterical attitude towards us and through their ignorance of our peaceful aims and aspirations. It is men of your type, who make us yearn impatiently for the moment when we may turn our backs to a country that has broken faith with us in such a flagrant manner. It is men of your type, who prevent those in authority to permit the few amongst us, who have their families and properties in this country, to return to them, and who have made them long in vain since months for the moment when they will be reunited with their dear ones. It is men of your type, who will not permit ill-feeling and hatred to abate and who are presenting mankind with a gift far deadlier than war itself.

We ask you, is it British justice and fair play to cast into Tomich’ teeth his wrongdoings after he has atoned them and to boast to him of the manner in which you have attached to him the stigma of shame in the eyes of the official in charge of Austrian affairs at Montreal? We ask you, is it British justice and fair play to withhold from a father the photograph of his children at the moment he is being forced to leave a country that has induced him by all possible means to make it his home?

We ask you, is it British decency and gentlemanliness and chivalry to compare the treatment of children placed in the care of your Aid Society with the treatment of prisoners of your nationality by countries whose own citizens died by the

thousands as a result of the Allied hunger blockade? Do you not claim the monopoly for decency and gentlemanliness and chivalry, and are we not only barbarians devoid of the spirit of justice and human understanding in your eyes?

The awakening of people of your type will only come with the news of a wholesale emigration of North- and Central-Europeans from your country and with the inflated tax-notices.

In juxtaposition to your attention to Mr. Tomich' request for a photo of his children we beg to attach hereto a copy of a letter written by a genuine human being who is not a representative of a religious society to a fellow human being in distress.

We are forwarding copies of this correspondence to His Eminence Cardinal Peter di Maria, Apostolic Delegate at Ottawa, to His Grace, the Archbishop of Vancouver, to the Minister of Justice, to the Consul of Switzerland at Vancouver and to the Consul General of Sweden at Montreal.

Very truly yours
Prisoners of War Camp Committee
Chairm. P Holetiche Secy.

35.

ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 130, fasc. 5

**Typewritten copy of Prisoners' Committee to Di Maria,
Vernon, 3 May 1919**

Orderly room
Internment Camp
May 6 1919
Vernon B.C.

Your Eminence

The undersigned committee representing German and Austrian prisoners of war, has the honour of submitting to your Eminence the enclosed copies of correspondence between Mr. J.S. Foran, Vancouver, and P.o.W. John Tomich interned in

this camp, one of which has been attested to by the Rev. Father Kamenetzky, himself a prisoner of war in this camp.

We bring this correspondence to the attention of Your Eminence as well feel that Your Eminence must be interested in this kind of letters which are sent out by the Children’s Aid Society of the Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver.

We would be thankful for acknowledgement of receipt of this correspondence to this committee.

We have the honour to be, Your Eminence,
Most respectfully
R.R. T... Pres.
... Secy

Encls. 4 copies

36.

**ASV, *Arch. Nunz. Canada* 130, fasc. 5, prot. 15477
Di Maria to Prisoners’ Committee, Ottawa, 20 May 1919**

Gentlemen,

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst., and beg to assure your that I have carefully taken cognizance of the documents enclosed therewith.

With best wishes,
I am,
Yours very sincerely in Christ