

POLISH AND HUNGARIAN REACTIONS TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY NORTHERN INDIANA

From the beginning of their immigration to St. Joseph County there was an alienation between South Bend's Polish population and its Irish dominated Roman Catholic Church. Father Adolph Bakanowski, C.R., a Polish missionary priest attending the Polish families during the earliest years of their settlement (1871) wrote: "... Not long ago I was in the City of South Bend, Indiana, where I attended some seventy-five Polish families newly immigrated from Europe – who do not even want to go to church for the lack of a Polish priest." He concluded that with such a love of Polish tradition there need be no fear of the loss of Polish identity.¹

Father Bakanowski's observation proved to be correct. A love for things Polish would survive and would aid in the construction of Polish-speaking Roman Catholic parishes; but, in the interim, the tradition of Catholicism would supersede that of nationalism and the Poles would attend non-Polish Roman Catholic churches in the area to worship. These were: St. Joseph's on Hill Street and LaSalle Avenue, and St. Patrick's near Western Avenue. As the St. Patrick Church was located near the chief industries of South Bend (the Singer Sewing Machine Company, the Oliver Chilled Plow Works and the Studebaker Brothers Wagon Works), it was at this church that the majority of Poles would fulfill their religious obligations.

Almost immediately hostilities broke out between the Irish and Polish parishioners at St. Patrick's. The Poles were dissatisfied. During church services they only heard of the glories of St. Patrick, St. Brendan or the Emerald Isle, instead of St. Hedwig, St. Stanislaus, and *Jasna Gora*. The glories of Irish Catholicism had little meaning for them, while the language in which the truths of Catholicism were presented seemed an insurmountable barrier. They longed for sermons and pastoral consolation in their native tongue. Most directly, the language for the confession of their sins was in English, causing awkward and embarrassing experiences.

In addition to this religious tension, an economic tension existed between the two groups. The Irish, themselves not far removed from the plight of the Poles, looked upon the latter as competitors in the job market. Soon, gangs of Irish Catholic boys bullied their Polish counterparts and, aided by the Anglo-Saxon community's prejudice, intimidated them in other ways. For example, Polish children attending the parish schools were made sport of by students and teachers making school life unbearable. Even more insulting, the adult population suggested that they were against holding funeral services for the Polish dead because the bodies "...stank so."²

The Polish reaction to all this was most interesting. As help seemed unavailable to them from the community, the Poles turned inward and began forming mutual benefit societies with strong nationalistic tendencies. The first of these was established on August 27, 1874, when thirteen Poles gathered to form the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society, a religious and patriotic brotherhood. Its beginning was difficult because of the high death rate in the Polish community and because the society paid a death benefit. In 1878, of these thirteen charter members, four had already died. Soon, an association was made between their deaths and the work in the grinding department at Oliver's, and, in 1880, membership was not allowed to men who were working there. It was not until 1912 that this society became financially viable.³

The same year that the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society was organized, another mutual benefit union was established and was called by the name of the canonized king, St. Casimir.

The St. Casimir the King Society was dedicated to the following three principles: First and foremost, the awakening of the religious and national spirit of the Polish community; then, brotherly care in times of sickness; and finally, death benefits.

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Let us note that these societies were much more than mutual aid organizations. They attempted to reconstruct the communal solidarity that the Polish peasant had been accustomed to in Europe. With this as their ultimate goal, they began directing themselves toward establishing the center of village solidarity in eastern Europe, the village parish. Although three years were to pass before a Polish church became a reality, sacrifices were already being made toward that goal.⁴

With the initiation of the St. Stanislaus Kostka and the St. Casimir the King Societies, agitation for a Polish parish began in earnest; and in 1875 these organizations bought property on West Monroe Street. There seems to have been some controversy over the purchase of this lot and one a half-mile west on Laurel Street. The basis of the disagreement revolved about the fact that the two areas were the sites of two separate Polish neighborhoods, and each neighborhood hoped for the church in its own locale. Each side thought that it had a good argument and remained intransigent. Soon they began bickering publicly. The issue was finally decided when a Polish missionary priest from Milwaukee acted as mediator and got the disagreeing parties to accept the Monroe Street site. Though his name has been lost to posterity, it was by his efforts that construction on the first Polish church began in the spring of 1876. The building was completed in 1877.⁵

The name of another Polish missionary priest serving this area is, however, known, and his role as an early spiritual leader in the Polish community was appreciated. He was the Rev. Hyacinthus Gulski. A supporter of reform movements in Prussian Poland, Father Gulski was wanted by the state police for revolutionary activities; and, rather than face the police, immigrated to the United States. Settling in Wisconsin in 1875, he began serving Polish communities in the Midwest, including South Bend, and it seemed that he might have become pastor of that city's first Polish Catholic parish. According to tradition, Father Gulski had hoped to remain in South Bend among those early Polish settlers; he even suggested taking no stipend for his services and sharing in the community's hardships.⁶ Fate had other plans for him, and in 1877, he was assigned to the St. Stanislaus parish in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he eventually became pastor.⁷

The staffing of the first Polish parish in South Bend would be left to the University of Notre Dame and the Congregation of the Holy Cross. They in turn, were already preparing for this by educating a local Polish boy for the priesthood in their seminary. His name was Valentine Czyzewski. Czyzewski would not only become pastor of the next Polish parish but also a leader in the Polish community for the next thirty-five years.⁸

Father Czyzewski was born on February 15, 1846, in the area of Russian occupied Poland which is Lithuania today, and received his early education at the Marianist Fathers' abbey school in Miroslaw. As a young man he continued his religious education in the Franciscan seminary at Lagiewnik, only to have it interrupted when the Russian government closed it and sent its students home. Leaving Poland for fear of conscription into the Russian army, he arrived in New York on February 6, 1869. Gravitating to the Polish communities in the Midwest, he began working as a farm laborer in La Porte County, Indiana, and in the factories in the City of South Bend. Some time in the year 1871, he became acquainted with the Rev. Daniel Spillard, C.S.C., who was then the pastor of St. Patrick's Church. With Father Spillard's help, he entered

the Notre Dame Seminary in 1873 as a candidate for the priesthood. On December 28, 1876, he was ordained a priest in the Fort Wayne Diocese by Bishop Joseph Dwenger. Two days later, on January 1, 1877, he began his thirty-five years of service to South Bend's Polish community at what would be its first Polish Catholic Church—St. Hedwig's.

Father Czyzewski's pastorship was immediately beset with troubles. In addition to religious failings, the economic situation of the Poles was deplorable. The major factories in the area were still developing and such work as existed paid subsistence wages. Poverty was the one commodity which the Poles had in abundance; yet, despite this, they were intent on having their church.

Little is really known of early Polish church affairs during this period. The *South Bend Tribune* was concerned with greater issues and the Polish language *Goniec Polski* (Polish Messenger) would not appear until 1896. Furthermore, the parish's Silver Anniversary was not celebrated and the ensuing memorial yearbook, which would have been full of information, was not published. There is, however, one record which sheds some light on the Polish religious community during this time, the parish bulletin. Initiated on the festival of the Holy Trinity in 1877, it gives a rough idea of the poverty of those times.

Its early comments described a parish too impoverished to buy an altar, a missal, or even a chasuble for its priest. Necessary equipment was received as a gift from the bishop; but albs, chalices, surplices, altar lamps and a container for the Blessed Sacrament were still missing.⁹ Slowly the parish began to be outfitted. The needed church vestments, a few pictures and other such paraphernalia trickled in as a result of donations by parishioners and friends. The church itself was a humble wooden structure eighty-three feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty-four feet high; the landscape was to be completed by the parish.; The entire Polish community in the county worked to complete it. Polish farmers from the Terre Coupe settlement and from town came with their wagons to haul dirt to underpin the foundation, to plant grass, shrubs and trees and to erect fences. In those early days Poles mortgaged their homes to help build their church. Their financial sacrifice was enormous. On July 1, 1877, the church was ready for consecration. At 9:30 a.m. a great procession, starting from St. Patrick's and led by Father Sorin, the founder of the University of Notre Dame, proceeded to the completed St. Hedwig Church and it was formally dedicated.¹⁰

With the church completed, the Polish community directed its attention to the building of a parish school. The reason for this were twofold: First, to insure for their children a Catholic education, and, second, to preserve their Polish heritage and national identity. By the end of that year, a modest but adequate schoolhouse was built next to the Monroe Street parish. The total cost of the church was \$3,600. The school cost an additional \$600, bringing the total expended for construction to \$4,200. This was a sizable amount of money for 1877.¹¹

the official position of the American Catholic hierarchy regarding the construction of parochial schools should be noted here as it is of great importance to this paper. The last five decades of the nineteenth century brought marked changes in the religious, social and educational aspects of American life. A most significant change was the discrediting of the traditional doctrine of supernaturalism by new developments in the biological and physical sciences. With the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species* the Catholic Church felt that the foundations of its spiritual life were being attacked and it sought defense by the establishment of Catholic schools. Another reason was the resurgence of anti-Catholicism in the United States. Hence, a number of synods and councils were called as the church sought a course of action. The most important of these were the Plenary Councils of Baltimore held in 1852, 1866 and 1884.

The movement toward establishing parish schools began with the Council of 1852 when the Catholic bishops, fearing the Catholic children were in great danger in schools not directed by religious motives, ordered the establishment of parochial schools in each diocese wherever possible. The council held in 1866 reenacted the legislation of 1852, but the council of 1884 put some teeth into it by stating that parochial schools had to be built near every church by 1886; and that Catholic parents were bound to send their children to them under pain of sin. With

these conciliar decrees in mind, the hierarchy of the Fort Wayne Diocese was greatly pleased by the incentive of the Poles to build a school before 1884, and after that date, encouraged separate education vigorously. This encouragement was to have an interesting side effect and would manifest itself later as confusion over the ownership and the control of the parish.¹²

The years 1879-1881 were devoted to the spiritual organization of St. Hedwig Parish under the leadership of Father Czyzewski. The St. Stanislaus Kostka and St. Casimir the King Societies were admitted to the parish; and the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, the St. Cecilia Society, and the Society of the Children of Mary were organized for the women and the youngsters. Father Czyzewski organized a pilgrimage for plenary indulgences to the University of Notre Dame, held church services regularly, and was supposed never to have missed either vespers or catechism instructions. Apparently the young priest's energy knew no bounds; for, in addition to fulfilling his obligations to his parishioners in South Bend, he found time to minister the needs of Poles in the surrounding area. He regularly traveled to dispense the sacraments in Bremen, Rolling Prairie, La Porte, Otis, Terre Coupe, Chesterton and Kendallville.¹³

Just as St. Hedwig Parish was being physically and religiously organized by its pastor, a great disaster befell it. In the middle of November, 1879, a strong gale overturned the church and the school destroying both completely.¹⁴ This was a most heartbreaking event for those impoverished families who had already given their last pennies toward its initial construction. Father Czyzewski called them together to cheer them and urge them not to despair. Stoically, they began the process of rebuilding, and to insure that no other gale would ruin their labor, they decided to build with brick.

Again, the community was asked to sacrifice and after much hard work built another church. This did not happen overnight and in the interim, members of the St. Hedwig parish returned to worship at St. Patrick's. It was then decided that as the raising of the new church would take some time, and as animosity existed between the Irish and Polish parishioners, a temporary property should be purchased for use as a Polish school and church. Such property (a private home) was available in the locality and was purchased. On January 19, 1880, school was again in session for the youngsters of that Polish community, with the same building serving as the church six days later.¹⁵

As plans for a new church progressed its parishioners became disenchanted with the old Monroe Street location and decided to move. New property was bought on Scott and Napier Streets. This was to serve as the site of their new brick church. Construction began on August 12, 1881, twenty-one months after the old church had been destroyed. Father Czyzewski became the chief catalyst for financing the new edifice and pressured his parishioners into raising the monies necessary in a variety of ways. He organized picnics, bazaars, congratulated individual donors from the pulpit; and, with the permission of the bishop, included an extra collection each month. As money was not abundant people donated in kind, with gifts of cattle, watches and other valuables given to help defray the expense. To lower the cost of construction, Father Czyzewski asked the parishioners to help with the manual labor. They readily responded, clearing the property of trees and bushes, digging the foundation and basement, landscaping the property and helping in any way they could. Finally, on April 8, 1883, after three years of great sacrifice and constant work, the Most Reverend Joseph Dwenger, Bishop of the Fort Wayne Diocese, consecrated the new church.¹⁶ It was quite impressive. Built in the Romanesque style, it was 149 feet long, 62 feet wide, 33 feet high with a steeple rising 156 feet into the sky. This church, which could hold a thousand parishioners, was built at a cost of \$34,300.¹⁷

The interior of the church was humble and was not completely decorated until 1898. Nonetheless, certain necessities were donated for internal adornment by the various societies of the parish. The main altar was donated by the St. Hedwig Society; the two side altars and a 3,500 pound bell were given by the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society; the church organ was the

project of the ST. Casimir the King Society; while lesser organizations such as the Apostleship of Prayer donated a picture of the Virgin, a chasuble and other minor items. Finally, the interior decoration was completed with new pews, stained glass windows and two rows of pilasters constructed to strengthen the ceiling.¹⁸

As soon as the new church building was completed, Father Czyzewski announced the necessity of constructing a new school. The old wooden building, which had served as both school and church after the disaster of 1880, was moved next to the new parish, but proved inadequate. The growth of the Polish community and the reluctance of the Poles to send their children to public schools crowded the meager facility and, in 1886, the parish began organizing its finances for a new school. Spearheaded by Father Czyzewski, donations were again solicited and extra collections taken. On January 15, 1888, a \$1,500 brick school building was completed. Eight years later this was obsolete and a three-story brick building was constructed at an additional cost of \$28,000.¹⁹

At the same time that the St. Hedwig Parish was establishing itself, it acted as a catalyst for the founding of other Polish-Catholic parishes in Northern Indiana and in the State of Illinois. The first of these was in nearby Terre Coupe which was serviced by a missionary priest, Father Ludwik Machdzicki, pastor of the small St. Mary's Church in Otis. With the establishment of the South Bend parish, the Polish immigrants in both Terre Coupe and Rolling Prairie came under the jurisdiction of Father Czyzewski, who began regular visits to administer the sacraments. In 1884, again under Father Czyzewski's direction, a wooden church costing \$1,800 was built at Terre Coupe and dedicated to St. Stanislaus Kostka. This church was at first served by Father Czyzewski; however, in 1888, as the congregation had grown large enough to support its own pastor, Rev. Wladyslaw Zborowski was appointed and took the Rolling Prairie mission under his care. Additionally, as the Rolling Prairie area began to grow Father Zborowski moved to build a church there but died before its completion. Father Czyzewski again stepped in and brought that construction to a conclusion when in 1891 the church of St. John Cantius was erected.²⁰

The energy of Father Czyzewski knew no bounds. Because he was from that part of Poland which bordered on Lithuania, he spoke that language and had a great feeling for the Lithuanian people. Some Lithuanians attended the Polish Holy Trinity Parish in Chicago. It was from there that their wishes were made known for a priest who spoke their own language. Hence, when the Lithuanian Catholics needed a priest, Father Czyzewski was ready to help. With his aid, a society was organized to effect the establishment of a Lithuanian Catholic parish; and in 1891, St. George's Church, ministering to the Lithuanian Catholics in their own language, was consecrated.²¹

Meanwhile, the South Bend community of Polish Catholics was growing in direct relation to the growth of South Bend's industries and Polish Catholic parishes. This combination of growing jobs, and churches satisfied the temporal and spiritual needs of the Polish immigrants attracting them like a magnet. The Chicago settlement especially flocked to South Bend. These newer Polish immigrants settled in areas somewhat removed from St. Hedwig's parish and soon began clamoring for a parish of their own. Father Czyzewski acted. During the Sunday services at St. Hedwig's on March 13, 1893, he made the following announcement: "At 3:00 p.m. the Poles who live on the south side of the Grand Trunk railroad tracks, but only those who own their property, will meet to deliberate the choosing of a location to build a church in their area."²² In 1896, property was bought on Dunham, Webster and Fisher Streets and building began. This new parish took as its patron St. Casimir the King, and on June 11, 1898, the church was completed and services held. Father Anthony Zubowicz, who was born in Poland and ordained by the Congregation of the Holy.....

As the St. Casimir Parish was being finished, the Polish immigrants who lived on the northwest side of town also began arguing for a parish of their own. To this end, Father Czyzewski began to organize a third Polish Catholic parish in the City of South Bend. This

church, completed in May of 1900 at a cost of \$23,000, was named after St. Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr.²⁴

One last Polish Roman Catholic parish was to be built. It would be on the southwest side of town and would serve the Polish community growing there. In 1902, there were several Polish families who lived on Kosciuszko, Pulaski and Jackson Streets and a few still farther west. These families wanted a church and school nearer to their homes, and a committee was appointed to call on Father Czyzewski for advice. With his help, they organized the St. Adalbert Bishop and Martyr Fraternal Aid Society and began formal direction toward the formation of a parish. Next, a committee was appointed to make house-to-house collections for the church-school building. The members were assigned in pairs to cover two streets every other week. The offerings usually amounted from five to twenty-five cents per family. When a total of \$402.10 was collected, land on Olive Street was purchased for the new building. Again with Father Czyzewski's help, picnics, socials and bazaars were held to raise the money for the church's construction. By April of 1910, the building fund was still short \$8,000. With one last great effort, Father Czyzewski took a census of the parish and made personal house-to-house collections. The needed money was received; on September 4, 1910, the church cornerstone was laid. A year later, the church was completed, a pastor appointed, and on Monday, September 4, 1911, the last Polish Roman Catholic parish to be built in South Bend was dedicated.²⁵ This new church was named in honor of St. Adalbert. It was built of brick and stone and could seat nine hundred. It cost the Poles \$40,000.²⁶

With the completion of the St. Adalbert Parish, the era of Polish Catholic construction in the City of South Bend came to a close. It lasted 33 years and cost approximately \$164,000.²⁷

Even though these churches were built at great financial sacrifice and personal hardship, it was a hardship into which the Polish immigrants entered voluntarily. This is explained by the fact that their churches were much more than religious associations for common worship. They were to be bits of Poland transplanted to resist the economic exploitation, nativism and discrimination of a hostile America. They were bastions against the inroads of Americanization. The parish was the old Polish community, reorganized and reconstructed in the American milieu. This explains the refusal of the Poles to join the already established Irish American churches. Objectively, membership at St. Patrick's or St. Joseph's had much more to offer the Poles than the construction of their own churches. Outside of financial sacrifice these churches were better established, higher in social class, and had a clergy better able to handle nativism. If Catholic religious ceremony were all that the Pole longed for, it could have been satisfied by attendance at any Roman Catholic church. But it was much more than religious ceremony that the Polish Catholics demanded. They wanted a Polish community. With this in mind, the Irish American church could never become more for them than a questionable religious institution. Its framework could not satisfy Polish needs. They did not feel at home in the established parishes whose prevalent language and traditions were different. St. Patrick's Church was not their product. In this Irish American church they could not satisfy their desire for Polish culture; but by building a church of their own something which bore their own mark, they hoped to better control their own destiny and protect their traditions.²⁸

The Poles were not the only immigrant group seeking to control their destiny and protect their traditions by building a church in the City of South Bend. In 1882, Bishop Dwenger appointed Rev. Peter Johannes to serve Catholics of German heritage. with his help, they purchased property and in 1883 constructed the first German Catholic parish in the city. At the same time, attracted by the factories of South Bend and Mishawaka, a Belgian community began to form. When their numbers increased to fifty families, the Rev. Henry Paanakker was directed to organize them into a separate parish. In 1896, the Church of the Sacred Heart was constructed.²⁹ One other ethnic group was to build a Catholic church in this area. They were the Hungarians. They began to move into South Bend about the year 1882. Their numbers

steadily increased and, in 1893, they began organizing a parish of their own. In 1900, the Bishop of the Fort Wayne Diocese, Herman J. Alerding, appointed the Rev. Michael Biro the first pastor of the Hungarian people. This priest purchased an old Methodist church located in the center of the Polish community on Thomas and McPherson Streets, which, after the necessary alterations, was dedicated to St. Stephen of Hungary. The same year a four-classroom school was erected and put in the hands of lay teachers. By this time the congregation had grown to 400 families. When Father Biro retired in 1907, the Congregation of the Holy Cross surrendered the church to secular priests.³⁰ The first such priest was the Rev. John Froehlich, who enhanced the diocese by building a \$30,000 church in 1910. The very next year this church, led by a Rev. Victor Kubinyi, broke with Roman Catholicism and joined the independent Catholic movement.

The construction of these Polish, German, Belgian and Hungarian Catholic churches in South Bend was a concession made to the national demands of those immigrants. The American-Catholic hierarchy found it most difficult to deal with the religious needs of an ethnic population incapable of receiving religious instruction in English. In an era when schism was inflamed by national sentiment, poor economic conditions, and antagonistic nationalities, this was a prudent policy. The Roman Catholic Church did not want to lose its ethnic flock and as willing to compromise. But compromise did not mean that the church would relinquish the governance of parish life where it affected diocesan organization and unity.³¹ This position was just defined by the Baltimore Provincial and Plenary Councils, which met intermittently until the end of the nineteenth century. The catalyst for these councils was a movement among Catholic laymen to control the administration of their parishes beyond that permitted by ecclesiastical law. This movement, known as Trusteeism, was based on state laws by which the parishioners were recognized as the official administrators of a parish once it was incorporated. In its extreme form, Trusteeism included efforts on the part of the laity to obtain the power of choosing and dismissing their clergy.³² Instances of such difficulties in the American Catholic Church are numerous. By 1829, the first Provincial Council of Baltimore devised measures against the problem of Trusteeism by urging bishops to demand the property deed before dedicating churches; denying the parishioners the right to patronage; and imposing canonical penalty on disobedient clerics and laymen. This legislation, amplified in the Third (1837), Fourth (1840), Fifth (1843) and Seventh (1849) Provincial Councils of Baltimore, was extended to the entire United States by the First Plenary Council of Baltimore (1852).³³ It remained, however, for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) to end all discussion on Trusteeism. Here, the bishops in attendance agreed to the New York State Act of March 25, 1863, which permitted Catholic parishes to have a corporate structure acceptable to Canon Law. This corporation was made up of the bishop, his vicar general, the pastor and two lay trustees. On July 29, 1911, the Sacred Congregation of the Council at Rome issued a decree stating its official preference for this form of incorporation.³⁴

As the Polish parishes of America were being built their builders began to define them as their property. They were far from understanding the most recent developments in Baltimore and the precedent of patronage had been set in their homeland where the holding of an individual church were often kept in the name of the pastor for the benefit of the congregation. This notion was further enhanced by the suffering the Poles endured in building their own parishes. Financial aid from the bishop was nonexistent, as was help from the other parishes in the deanery. If the Poles wanted a parish of their own, it was understood that they, and not the bishop, must build it. With this exertion, the Poles felt, came the right of decision making. This was not to be the case. The Poles might have had their churches but the Catholic hierarchy, dominated by Irish-American clergy, held power. This power would be used in an attempt to Americanize them.³⁵

As previously noted, trouble between the Polish immigrants and the Roman Catholic hierarchy had already begun when the Poles attended the Catholic parishes in South Bend and

were faced with Irish Catholic prejudice. They hoped to build their churches as havens from these and other hostilities that they faced, and by doing so, to better control their destiny. This they would do to a degree, but problems began to arise when a second generation Polish clergy, educated by the Congregation of the Holy Cross, seemed to the immigrants to be Polish in name only.³⁶

Conflicts with their own clergy began with the venerable Father Czyzewski. He held a strict policy toward the Polish community's greatest weakness—excessive drinking. This caused grumbling among the people not only because it flew in the face of their tradition, but because it reflected the criticisms of the power structure.³⁷

In addition, Father Czyzewski's role in the Oliver Chilled Plow Works strike of January 1885 was provocative. When the Poles surrounded the main gate in a desperate bid for justice, Father Czyzewski mounted the steps of the administration building and persuaded the men of his parish to go home. Shortly thereafter, on Sexagesima Sunday, Bishop Joseph Dwenger's pastoral letter appeared condemning materialism and the concept of obtaining labor at the lowest possible rate. More importantly, the bishop emphatically stated that the workers were also materialistic; that rioting was inexcusable, and that when it came to a choice between the dignity of man and the inviolability of property, property rights prevailed. This letter did much to weaken the position of the strikers. Their own bishop did not support them and their local clerics seemed to favor the old order.³⁸ The action which caused the greatest comment, however, was one by Father Czyzewski. Hoping to ameliorate the strike, he stood at the Oliver Chilled Plow Works assuring Joseph Oliver that his people were responsible, when a snowball thrown from the crowd hit Oliver on the face. Father Czyzewski apologized to that minor robber baron and apprehended the man who threw it and beat his hand.³⁹ The strike was settled, but the seed of discontent, planted by the harsh socio-economic conditions, was being watered by the actions of the Catholic clergy.

In retrospect, one cannot blame Father Czyzewski for following his conscience. Still one can see how anticlerical feelings might have been fostered by his actions and especially by those of Bishop Dwenger. Father Czyzewski, for whatever his indiscretions, was highly respected. He was the founder of the Polish Catholic community's religious life and the unselfish, indefatigable builder of churches. As an immigrant himself, he knew the hardships his people suffered, and his pride in his Polish heritage and his humanitarianism were enough to offset any imprudence. If he had lived, the schism occurring in Polish Catholicism in South Bend in 1914 might not have taken place; but on the evening of June 30, 1913, under a scorching sun, 10,000 people marched from St. Hedwig's Parish to the Community Cemetery of the Congregation of the Holy Cross and laid the old patron of the Polish Catholics to rest. His protégé, the Reverend Casimir Sztuczko, gave the eulogy, while the Most Reverend Paul P. Rhode, D.D., of Green Bay, Wisconsin, the first Polish Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, spoke at his graveside. The grand old man of the Polish community was gone.⁴⁰

The tempo of life accelerated in South Bend in 1900. This was due to its industrial growth which attracted more labor to the city. The newer labor continued to be foreign-born with the ranks of the Poles and Hungarians being especially enlarged. During this period, the Polish community grew to be the second largest ethnic group after that of the "Native-Americans".⁴¹

The growth of industry did little to change the poor economic situation of the Poles. They were still discriminated against in hiring and promotion; their housing was still poor and evidence suggests that even though they began to become householders, they did so at the expense of the necessities of life. Living quarters were still cramped, wages still low, and the Poles as a group had little status in the community. The average wages paid the Poles in comparison to other groups were lower. They received an average annual wage of \$445 as compared to \$606 for Germans and \$704 for "Native-Americans". The only immigrant group lower than the Poles were the Hungarians. Their annual salary was just above \$370.⁴²

To offset these poor wages, the Poles and Hungarians supplemented their earnings with boarders and placed their children on the job market at a very early age. According to the reports of the Immigration Commission, forty percent of the Polish families in America supplemented their incomes by this means.⁴³

This process of putting their children into American industry at relatively tender ages caused much criticism of the Polish community by the American elements in South Bend society. They were not only unhappy over the social implications of child-labor, but felt that the parents encouraged law-breaking by falsifying their children's ages for work permits. Indiana State Law at this time required school attendance to the age of fourteen. This law seems to have been universally broken by the Polish immigrants, adding a poor education to the other barriers that Polish children would face.⁴⁴

The area of education was a critical one in the relations between the Americans and the Polish immigrants. As already noted, education was accepted by the Polish immigrants in the United States so long as it was Polish and Catholic; hence the proliferation of the Polish parish school. The public schools and teachers, with their emphasis on Americanization, secularism, and thinly disguised Protestantism, were viewed as *bezbozniki* (impious; literally "without God") and reprehensible to the Polish community. Furthermore, participation in public education caused a disintegration of family solidarity by introducing practices and values which separated the children from their parents and which served as a rival source of authority. The Polish family, patriarchal in structure and insecure in its new environment, was challenged by the public school teacher, who introduced a new code of behavior based on the traditions of America. These conflicted with Polish values and would lead to a day when the Polish child came home to criticize the ways of his parents. Also, the public schools were a source of embarrassment to Polish students; the poverty of their clothing, their disabilities in English, and the unintelligible drone of classroom recitations in a foreign language were too much to bear. Embarrassment came with mispronounced words, and inability to express concepts in English, and instruction which implied the inferiority of the Polish home. The teachers and students in the public schools seemed empty of understanding and fostered a bitterness in Polish children which prevented achievement. As a result, the Polish community had an extremely high drop-out rate. This rate prevented the acquisition of skills and confirmed American views of Polish inferiority.

The labor scene at the turn of the century left much to be desired, and the old issues of low wages and poor working conditions seen in the Oliver Chilled Plow Works strike of 1885 again appeared. This time at the Singer Sewing Machine Company located in the Polish district on the west side of South Bend. Trouble began in the spring of 1898 when employees faced with subsistence wages walked off their jobs. The action spread quickly and the entire plant employing 1200 men shut down. Unhappy with the excuses and inaction of management, the strikers met to form a union and picketed the main gate, not allowing entrance to anyone. Their demands were simple: an increase in wages, an end to harassment by middle management, and recognition of the newly formed union as their bargaining agent. The company's reaction was one of opposition; and Leighton Pine, the local manager, hinted if freedom of enterprise could not be practiced in South Bend there was a good chance that the local plant would close its doors and move to a more favorable location. Simply put, Singer would not increase the wages of its workers.

As the community discussed the merits of the strike and the degree of reform to be initiated, the Indiana State Labor Commission entered the picture and brought the strikers and the company to the mediation table. By now the whole community feared the economic disaster that a relocation of the plant would cause, and the striking employees voted to return to work. The company had won.⁴⁵ The strike of 1898 may have been settled peacefully, but this was just the prelude. The passions caused by actual or imagined injustices were still smoldering, and in 1902 they broke out into a major conflagration which shocked the community.⁴⁶

The second part of the trouble at Singer's began when the traditional grievances of low wages and poor working conditions were amplified by a work speed-up. The speed-up was introduced by a new assistant superintendent, Mr. F. A. Parks. Parks, in reevaluating Singer's production, concluded that it as well as the workers' wage could be increased by the adoption of the piece-work system -- a policy of paying the worker on the basis of his daily unit production. He failed, however, to include in his calculations the fact that procedures at the Singer plant lacked coordination and that occasionally the production of a unit met with uncontrolled work stoppage. Because of this "down time" and the confusion created by the introduction of a new system without first clearing up old discrepancies, the workload actually increased while earnings actually decreased. The men walked off in protest and immediately set about organizing a union. This completed, they called for a wage increase of two and one-half cents an hour, an abandonment of the speed-up, the firing of its initiator, and recognition of the union as the bargaining agent for the strikers. These demands met with the usual reply: a repetition of the already enunciated (1898) philosophy of free enterprise veiled with the threat of relocation. This threat once again caused a stir within South Bend's power structure and the *South Bend Tribune*, a strong exponent of business, emphasized the virtues of American freedom and American abundance and somehow associated them with Singer's management. The strikers were viewed with suspicion, and, in the pages of that newspaper, they became half-educated rowdies who bit the hand that fed them.⁴⁷ The key to avoiding such problems in the future, the *Tribune* concluded, was the restriction of immigration.

Blows like these from the media left the strikers reeling. But the *coup de grace* came from their Roman Catholic clergy. Led by Father Czyzewski and Father Biro, the clergy spoke against the strike, urging the resumption of work. With the churches against them, the workers' will began to collapse and on April 19, 1902, they returned to work.⁴⁸

As the intensity of feeling against the workers at Singer began to subside, another incident raised the ire of the community against them. It concerned another strike action caused by trouble over wages at the South Bend Motorcar Company. After a month's stalemate, the strikers, impatient with the company's inactivity, attempted to blow up the company's powerhouse. The attempt was unsuccessful, but, in the *mellée* that followed, 49 men, (some of whom were Poles) were arrested and charged with rioting. The union, hurt by this action, initiated an investigatory board which concluded that the action was company-instigated to break the union; and that professional strike breakers used ignorant foreigners to destroy private property.⁴⁹ Seeking to define its position on the newer immigrants once and for all, the union issued a statement published in the *Tribune* blaming the community's labor problems on the use of foreign labor and calling for immigration restriction.⁵⁰

With that statement, nativism reached its apex in South Bend. A shudder ran through all recent immigrant groups. Even the unions stood against them. The Poles, who reacted by seeking greater refuge in their church, were especially affected. With the depression of 1907, their misery was complete and whatever financial gains they had made were neutralized. Conditions during this depression became so severe among the Poles and Hungarians that hundreds were without food until given a dole from the city. At the same time, to add to the immigrants' growing paranoia, Congress was moving to restrict "undesirable immigrants" from entering the United States, principal among which were the Poles.⁵¹

The conditions occurring in the South Bend community during this period seemed to occur wherever the Polish immigrant settled, but especially in the states of Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania. There a phenomenon existed which would affect the South Bend community -- the establishment of Polish Independent Catholic Churches. In the 1890's, a number of Polish Roman Catholics in Chicago became dissatisfied with the controls exercised over them and their church property by the bishop. They approached Father Anthony Kozlowski, an assistant at St. Hedwig's Church, for aid. With his help they organized the independent Polish parish of All

Saints. That same year, in an effort to break the tie with Rome completely, Father Kozlowski was elected Bishop by the All Saints congregation and was consecrated in 1897 in the Old Catholic Church at Berne, Switzerland.⁵²

Bishop Kozlowski's movement was known as the Polish Old Catholic Church. During his ten-year episcopate, he claimed to have organized twenty-three parishes in the Midwest, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.⁵³ After his death in 1907, his clergy united with the movement led by Father Francis Hodur who had been elected bishop by a synod of his followers in 1904. Hodur was consecrated September 1907 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. His movement came to be known as the Polish National Catholic Church.⁵⁴

Another independent Polish Catholic movement arose in Buffalo, New York. There, members of St. Adalbert's Parish were disputing their pastor and hierarchy for control of church property. Riots ensued followed by a schism and the establishment of a new parish, Holy Mother of the Rosary. This congregation grew rapidly, and Rev. Stephen Kaminski was called to be its pastor. After 1898, because of a controversy engendered by the consecration of Kaminski by one Joseph Vilatte, several parishes under his jurisdiction left and attached themselves to the Polish National Catholic Church. After Bishop Kaminski's death, the remainder of his followers joined the Polish National Catholic Church as well.⁵⁵

Thus, although the Polish National Catholic Church was the last of the three independent movements it was the most vigorous. It had its beginnings in south Scranton, Pennsylvania, mainly among anthracite coal miners and factory workers who, in the summer of 1896, revolted against their pastor, Father Richard A. Aust of Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Parish.⁵⁶ The Diocesan Ordinary, Bishop William O'Hara, remained noncommittal about their demands that Father Aust turn over the parish's management to a congregationally elected committee, they proceeded to build a new church a very short distance away from Sacred Heart.⁵⁷

Bishop O'Hara refused to bless the site of the new edifice unless those who were to be its parishioners would agree to make the title for the property in his name. The dissidents then invited Father Hodur, rector of Holy Trinity Parish in nearby Nanticoke (a former assistant at Sacred Hearts) to be their spiritual leader. In March 1897 he accepted the call of the people. The new church, named in honor of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr, was hailed by its members as "the first free Polish national parish in the world".⁵⁸ They pledged themselves with Father Hodur to three principles:

1. That Polish people shall control all the churches that they build and maintain.
2. That Polish people shall have the right to administer their own church property through elected committees.
3. That the Poles shall have the right to elect their own pastor.

On July 4, 1897, Father Hodur consecrated the completed church. In the next few years several other congregations in the anthracite region joined the Scranton group in an informal federation using the constitution of St. Stanislaus parish as their model. Attempts to reach an understanding with the American hierarchy and Rome proved futile. St. Stanislaus Parish decided on a final break at a meeting held December 16, 1900, and was followed by the other parishes.⁶⁰ During the ensuing years, the movement continued to gain popularity not only because of its principles, but also because it was to use the Polish vernacular in all its services. The consecration of Bishop Hodur insured Petrine succession for the Polish dissenters and ushered in a period of further growth which would shortly affect the Poles and the Hungarians in Indiana.⁶¹

Religious dissent by the Poles in South Bend began in the late nineteenth century when Polish nationalism burst into flames through competition between two benevolent organizations. The first of these, the *Związek Narodowy Polski* (Polish National Alliance) was organized in September, 1880, to promote the general well being of the Polish immigrants in America. The

catalyst for its organization was an article appearing in the Polish-American press by Agaton Giller, Polish exile and former member of the Polish National Government during the Insurrection of 1863 in Russian Poland.⁶² Entitled *O Organizacji Polakow w Ameryce*, it called for Polish American immigrants to unite into one powerful organization dedicated to the liberation of partitioned Poland. The article caught the imagination of American Polonia and in February, 1880, a group of Polish American leaders met in Philadelphia to form such a *Zwiqzek*, and patterned it after Mazzinni's "Young Italy".⁶³ On September 20, 1880, the *Zwiqzek*'s first national convention was held in Chicago to draft a constitution and outline a program. In the debate that followed, it was agreed to adopt a non-denominational religious policy in order to remain consistent with the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, and the Constitution of the United States.⁶⁴

This secular position, deemed anti-clerical by Polish American churchmen, caused them to revive the *Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce* (Polish Roman Catholic Union of America), an organization founded in 1873 by Father Vincent Brzynski of Chicago to: 1) Uphold the Polish national character; 2) Preserve the traditional faith; 3) Maintain a respect for things Polish in succeeding generations; and, 4) Aid Polish parochial education.⁶⁵ Difficulties between the *Zjednoczenie* and the *Zwiqzek* were aggravated by the former's policy of not officially supporting the bid for Poland's reconstruction. The philosophy of the *Zjednoczenie* grew out of the Polish immigrants' aspiration to reconstruct the peasant village culture in the United States as a buffer against American Catholicism.⁶⁶ Initially, the *Zjednoczenie* stood for Polish ethnocentrism and conservative Catholicism, while the *Zwiqzek* held for some semblance of accommodation to the American environment for the sake of liberating Poland. However, as the founders of the *Zjednoczenie* (Roman Catholic priests educated in Poland began to be replaced by Roman Catholic priests educated in America) that organization's nationalism was blunted; and the *Zwiqzek* became more nationalistic. By the turn of the century these organizations reversed their positions and came into sharper conflict. The *Zwiqzek* became a rallying point for Poles who sought to preserve contact with the Old Country and were influenced by the traditions of militant nationalism. In Poland it was recognized as the "Fourth Province" and had close contacts with the Polish Democracy Party. It was looked upon as a viable institution for the proposed reconstruction of Poland. The *Zjednoczenie* became an instrument of ethnic preservation through the Polish parish controlled by the Catholic clergy. But the first generation Polish clergy in South Bend, born in Poland and educated in an Irish-American seminary, were forced to compromise their nationalism for the good of the church. While the second generation Polish clergy, born in the United States, began to lose sight of the aspirations of their people completely.⁶⁷

The structure of the Polish Catholic parish in South Bend was largely determined by its founder, Father Walenty Czyzewski, through his self-sacrifice, tireless energy and strong personality. His love for his parishioners and Poland was never questioned. Aside from a few rumblings cause by his scolding of the community for dancing and drinking; his congregation was submissive, docile and content with his leadership. His "law and order" position was questioned in the strikes at Oliver's and Singer's, and animosity was engendered when he punished the offender who struck Oliver, and when he read the bishop's letter, critical of labor's role in the Singer strike. But the good he did in the community offset these criticisms and his intentions were always acknowledged as irreproachable. When the *Zwiqzek* began organizing in South Bend in the early 1900's and started criticizing the "Old Pastor", they made little headway. Once they displayed a toleration of him they g grew. By the turn of the century he had become a legend. Elements among the Polish Americans, however, were disgruntled with the American Roman Catholic hierarchy and many of the criticisms leveled at the church nationally began to be expressed in South Bend. These deserve elaboration to clarify succeeding events.

The major complaints of the Poles were the failure of the hierarchy to promote a Polish priest to the rank of bishop, or give recognition of Polish contributions to that religion's growth. Many Polish priests (Father Czyzewski is a case in point) were great organizers and church builders with managerial talents – yet they went relatively unnoticed in the ranks of the American Catholic Church. It was not until 1908 that a bishop was appointed from the ranks of the Polish clergy; and then, he had a non-Polish name (Paul F. Rhode). These complaints were answered in 1914 by the consecration of Father Edward Kozlowski of Milwaukee, as the second Roman Catholic bishop in America of Polish descent. This time there was no mistaking of the Polish family name.

Before the episcopates of Rhode and Kozlowski, Polish Catholics were infuriated by the fact that not a single bishop had been selected from the ranks of their clergy. They argued that the Poles, who composed twelve percent of America's Catholic population, should have at least two archbishops and eleven bishops. Their indignation was further pronounced when they compared their 900 parishes to 456 German parishes and their lack of high church officials with the German Catholics' three archbishops and fourteen bishops. When the Poles added their institutions, they felt that their representation in the hierarchy was even more unjust. They resented the implication that there were none among them who were worthy to become bishops.⁶⁸

The Poles were also disturbed by their dire economic condition, and the fact that their church seemed to act more as an impediment than as an aid in their quest for social justice. As they struggled for better pay and working conditions, they were arrested by Irish police, tried by Irish or German magistrates and often condemned by Irish and German priests in the very churches they had built. The more outspoken of the Poles accused the American Catholic hierarchy of prejudice; and, in a few instances, unable to obtain a change at home or a hearing in Rome, broke with their church. To this group the hierarchy had become more American than the Americans in trying to force them to conform to "American" Catholic traditions. In the darkness of the prejudice against them, their church, they felt, had abandoned them.⁶⁹

The second generation of Polish clergy were criticized as well. Saddled with the vow of obedience to non-Polish superiors, they could give but superficial acquiescence to the wishes of the people they served. Indeed, at times their allegiance to the church was so complete that their natural sympathies were mollified. The good of the church, it was argued, must supersede the good of the individual. As a result, schizophrenia developed among many of these Polish clerics. They were Polish, but they were American Catholics first. Upon discovering that nationalism in their congregations was unacceptable to their non-Polish hierarchy, they swallowed hard and kept the party line. Such was the tragedy of the Polish prelate in Catholic America at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Locally, criticisms of Roman Catholicism were compounded by the University of Notre Dame's staffing of the Polish churches. The original Polish clergy who served the South Bend parishes were Polish nationalists. Although most of them were educated at Notre Dame, they were born and raised in Poland and looked upon this experience as being most formative. As the second generation of Polish priests, born and educated in the United States, began to man the churches, a gap in their feelings and those of their predecessors became evident. This new generation of priests had become more Americanized and introduced that philosophy into parishes which did not want it.

This modification of traditional Polish values by the city's second generation of Polish pastors was a far cry from the first, who, in the twilight of their careers, participated in the Polish Roman Catholic Congresses in Buffalo and in Pittsburgh. Here, in the face of the pressure for Americanization, they emphasized their right to things Polish in the American Catholic Church. At these conventions, the South Bend delegation held that it was their prerogative to use the

Polish language for praying, preaching, and administering the sacraments. Their Polish traditions were dearer to them than those of American Catholicism.⁷⁰

To say that the Polish community in South Bend was jealous of its language is not to mean that it did not appreciate the value of learning English. Father Czyzewski and his countrymen saw that without fluency in English the Polish community had little hope of progress. To offset this he initiated English language classes at the Laurel Street School near his church. But there was a great difference in the philosophy of these two attempts to acculturate the Poles through language. One emphasized English as an adjunct to Polish culture, whereas the other emphasized English to destroy Polish culture.⁷¹

Another incident which caused much dissatisfaction in South Bend's Polish community, was the battle to establish a Polish cemetery independent of the bishop's control. Agitation for such an institution began in November of 1903, when a group headed by C. V. Korpral, was formed to look into its feasibility. The reason for this activity lay in the fact that the only other Catholic cemetery in South Bend, Cedar Grove, was located on ground owned by the University of Notre Dame and that alone was reason enough to cause consternation among some Polish Catholics. Other factors voiced as concurrent reasons were: that the Brothers of the Congregation were sloppy in groundskeeping; that the cemetery was too far away from the Polish community; and that the Pole found his final resting place among non-Poles distasteful. With the bishop's approval, the new cemetery became a reality. However, when it came time to consecrate the ground, the bishop demanded that the title to the cemetery be placed in the hands of the diocese. In late March, 1906, the demand for incorporation of the Polish cemetery under the bishop was refused by the vote of its lay investors, and the Fort Wayne Diocese had its first confrontation with Polish Trusteeship. This issue was resolved with that vote. The cemetery would never be given to the diocese. It would eventually go over to a Polish lay corporation. The bishop, realizing that the temper of the Poles precluded further deliberation, held to his position of not consecrating the cemetery as a whole without the deed; but to everyone's satisfaction, allowed each burial plot to be consecrated separately. This compromise came about only after the Polish community became aroused when the first person to be interred there, an infant girl, was refused church services and consecrated ground for her burial.

The bishop did well to compromise, for the Polish Independent Catholic movement was growing. In effect, the bishop's action toward compromise may have delayed the institution's entrance into South Bend for a few years, for Polish attitudes hardened over this cause more than any other. It became a focal point of concern since it was a cause all Poles could easily understand. An interesting sidelight regarding this affair should be mentioned here. That is, while the cemetery controversy was raging, the shareholders met and voted against giving priests stipends for burial services. They felt that the priests' salaries were large enough. This incident was a good example of the feeling the Polish layman held toward the bishop of their diocese and the non-Polish control of their churches. When given a chance to restrict priestly privilege, they leaped at it. This incident is all the more significant when one realizes that the organization which initiated and completed the quest for a Polish cemetery was the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society, and that the votes, negating incorporation under the bishop and stipends for the clergy, came about with near unanimity from a lay board of nearly 300. The Poles were no longer being blindly led by their church.⁷² Rebellion was in the air.

During the next five years religious tensions continued to grow in South Bend. This was evidenced in disputes over the election of parish officers,⁷³ the position of the Polish Falcons during religious ceremony,⁷⁴ and the indexing by the bishop of certain Polish periodicals and papers.⁷⁵ These incidents, minor as they seem today, were important symptoms of a disease that had been gnawing at the sinews of the Polish community for over forty years – the insensitivity of the American Catholic Church to needs of its ethnic parishioners. A new spirit prevailed among the Poles and they were ready to act. Their movement to break with their

bishop was, however, preceded by that of the Hungarians. They were the first to establish an independent Catholic church in Northern Indiana.

The Hungarians emigrated to South Bend in 1882 because of the promise of work made by agents of the Cunard Steamship Line. Predominantly Roman Catholic, they set about organizing a parish of their own. In 1900, the bishop of the Fort Wayne Diocese appointed the Reverend Mihaly (Michael) Biro, C.S.C., as their first pastor. This priest purchased an old Methodist church on the corner of Thomas and McPherson Streets, modified it and that same year dedicated it to St. Stephen of Hungary. Shortly thereafter, a small school was erected to educate the children of the 400 families who made up the congregation.⁷⁶ These Hungarian immigrants faced the same plight and hostilities as did the Poles. They were accused by the native American population of being clannish and out of touch with American ideals while at the same time being economically exploited by the Oliver Chilled Plow Works, the Singer Sewing Machine Company, and the Studebaker Brothers Corporation. When they sought comfort in their church, they encountered only misunderstanding from an unsympathetic American Catholic hierarchy.

Father Biro retired in 1907 and was replaced, through diocesan choice, by the Father John (Janos) Froehlich. He completed a beautiful \$30,000 church which was dedicated to the memory of St. Stephen. After the completion of the new church, the Hungarians already chafing from their social-economic problems, were grievously offended by Froehlich's alleged homosexuality and demanded his immediate dismissal. The bishop was reluctant to credit the charge as he was greatly impressed by that priest's organizational ability and high degree of education. The parishioners could not be dissuaded and took matters into their own hands. In early 1912 they contacted one Victor von Kubinyi, then a resident of Newark, New Jersey, and asked him to minister to them.⁷⁷

Von Kubinyi was a well-educated, handsome man who sold himself completely to the South Bend Hungarian community on the basis of his charm and appearance alone. Bishop Alerding, who could not obtain a good record on him, moved cautiously and refused to accept him as a replacement for Father Froehlich.⁷⁸

This was too much for the Hungarians to bear. In June of 1912, they broke with the St. Stephen's Parish and with Father von Kubinyi as their head, they began organizing a parish of their own on the south west side of town.⁷⁹

This break with St. Stephen's prompted the bishop to act. He excommunicated the schismatics and moved to replace Father Froehlich with a Hungarian Catholic priest from Detroit, the Reverend Lajos Kovac. Father Kovac's arrival created greater problems, for although a bona-fide Roman Catholic priest, he was said to be of Jewish ancestry, had a dark complexion, and upon his arrival, sported a dark and heavy beard. The reaction of the parishioners was predictable. Their discontent fed by their low socio-economic status and the insensitivity of the American Catholic hierarchy, was advanced by their European tradition of anti-Semitism. The bishop had answered their cries for a new pastor with a priest who was a "Jew". they demanded his removal. The exodus from the Roman Catholic Church continued and Father Kovac left the parish in despair.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, the Reverend Victor von Kubinyi had begun to ingratiate himself with South Bend's Hungarian population by a vigorous program of parish social action. He allowed Hungarian nationalism to develop by forming a Hungarian Mounted Guard, and dressing them in splendid uniforms. He developed a variety of religious societies, a Hungarian brass band, and even a Hungarian baseball team. His parish became the reincarnation of what parish life had been to the Hungarian in the Old World -- the hub of social activity, a focal point of national self-expression and, above all, a comfort in times of tribulation. More importantly Father von Kubinyi sought some semblance of legality for his position and a diocese to which to attach his congregation. This he found when the now named Sacred Heart Independent Hungarian

Catholic Church attached itself to the movement of Bishop Francis Hodur. His act would allow the dissident Pole in South Bend to find a refuge from Irish American Catholicism.⁸¹

Four months after the Hungarian schism at St. Stephen's, South Bend had its first ethnic Independent Catholic Church. On Sunday, September 8, 1912, an elaborate ceremony to consecrate the newly completed building took place with Bishop Francis Hodur celebrating its first Mass. To attest to this Hungarian-Polish entente, Bishop Hodur was assisted by the Fathers Bogdanowicz, Zawadzki and Plaga in his celebration of the Mass of consecration, while the Father von Kubinyi acted as master of ceremonies. Addresses to the congregation were made in both Hungarian and Polish. The Hungarian Mounted Guard led a parade which included the Hungarian brass band, the Hungarian infantry, the board of trustees of the new church, its various religious societies, Torock's Hungarian baseball team, the Polish brass band, Gergacz's Polish baseball team, and finally, Bishop Hodur's carriage. A crowd gathered of some 3,000 onlookers watched the vent, and the festivities ended with a picnic in the church yard that afternoon. It is important to note that this new edifice, completed in just four months at a cost of \$6,000, was free from debt at its consecration. Such was the support that Father von Kubinyi was able to elicit from the dissatisfied Hungarian community⁸²

A single Hungarian Independent Catholic parish under the diocesan supervision of Bishop Hodur was not enough to satisfy von Kubinyi. His success at Sacred Heart fanned the flame of his ambition. His next move was to attempt a Hungarian national diocese, with his church in South Bend acting as its focal point, and he scoured the Hungarian American colonies throughout the Midwest to form such an institution. He would not triumph – the Hungarian Roman Catholics seemed suspicious of his intentions. Thus this Hungarian Independent Catholic movement was to remain limited to South Bend alone⁸³

As Father von Kubinyi was achieving his place in the sun, Bishop Alerding finally pacified South Bend's Hungarian Catholic community by appointing a priest at St. Stephen's who was acceptable. He was the Reverend Sandor Varlaky. Father Varlaky, with the help of the Poor Handmaids, a teaching order of Roman Catholic nuns of Hungarian extraction, not only stabilized the parish but began to reclaim some of the less fervent schismatics.⁸⁴

Father von Kubinyi had reached his zenith, and his victories began to sour. Unsuccessful in his attempt to form an independent Hungarian diocese, he was accused by some members of his parish of being too loose with parish funds. As a result, he bolted to the Episcopal Church. On December 7, 1911, at St. James' Church in South Bend, Victor von Kubinyi was accepted into that rite by John H. White, Bishop of Michigan City, Indiana, and was given the charge of establishing a new parish on the northwest side of South Bend. Before the close of the year, some 86 men and women left the Sacred Heart Independent Catholic Church to join the new Episcopal congregation⁸⁵

Father von Kubinyi's defection to the Episcopal Church could have neutralized Bishop Hodur's penetration into the City of South Bend. But, as luck would have it, Hodur had at his disposal a young Polish priest who spoke Hungarian, Basil Sychta, who was immediately dispatched to the Sacred Heart Church.⁸⁶

Father Sychta's great potential lay in his bilingual ability. Speaking both Hungarian and Polish, he not only served the Hungarian Independent Catholics, but attracted those of his own nationality, who were dissatisfied with their local parishes. This fact is readily seen in that parish's census books; for with the departure of von Kubinyi and the staffing of that parish with Sychta, Polish names increase in frequency of recording. With the initiation of this parish in 1912 some Polish names were already found in its record books; but with the departure of von Kubinyi's faithful to the Holy Trinity Parish, family names like Nowakowski, Grzeszkowiak, Wroblewski, Otolski and Przybylski became prominent.⁸⁷

As Father Sychta began to stabilize the Hungarian Independent Catholic Church in South Bend, the Polish Catholic community began to give voice to its discontent through action. This

occurred at St. Adalbert's Parish, the last of the Polish Roman Catholic churches to be built in South Bend.⁸⁸

As has already been discussed, at the turn of the century the Polish community in South Bend was at the height of its expansion and had overflowed to the southwest. As vacant lots were subdivided and new houses built its settlers began agitating for a parish of their own. In 1905, a society was formed to purchase land and initiate church construction. In 1910, with the church under construction, the soon-to-be parishioners asked the bishop to appoint a pastor. The bishop responded that he would be happy to comply as soon as a home for a pastor was available. Through the charity of a Mr. Joseph Werwinski, who offered a recently built home rent free to the new pastor, this condition was met. The bishop was notified; and, on Saturday, July 2, 1910, the Reverend John Kubacki, first pastor of St. Adalbert's arrived in South Bend.⁸⁹

(text missing)

the parish, the motorcade was met by a large delegation of parishioners, who escorted him to the rectory. At the rectory, which was decorated with garlands of flowers, Reverend Matthew T. Szalewski, C.S.C., a professor at the University of Notre Dame and assistant pastor of St. Hedwig's Parish, introduced the new priest and asked his parishioners to give him their fullest cooperation. Father Kubacki then spoke, and, visibly touched, thanked the audience for their fine reception, concluding with a sentence that seems now almost an omen for his pastorship, "May you not do to me as was done to St. Adalbert." Hence, with much joy the pastor of South Bend's newest Polish church was installed.⁹⁰

Father John Kubacki was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1868. He prepared for the priesthood at Mount St. Mary's Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, and was ordained in 1894. After his ordination, he served as pastor of Saints Cyril and Methodius Church, North Judson, Indiana; pastor in Reynolds, Indiana; organizer of St. John Cantius in Hammond, Indiana; and came to South Bend from the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he served as an assistant. An impressive looking and stern man, Father Kubacki immediately began the completion of his new responsibility. His initial energy knew no bounds: Using St. Hedwig's Hall as the base of operations, he organized church societies, stepped-up the door-to-door collection for construction, and began to minister his people's needs. On Monday, September 4, 1911, the completed church was dedicated, with Bishop Paul Rhode, officiating and preaching the sermon.⁹¹

That Bishop Rhode's movement had impressed the American Catholic Church was evident from Bishop Rhode's dedication speech. In it he warned of the dangers of so-called "free-thinkers" in Catholicism. He stated that those who would not conform to his definition of Catholicism were robbers, and that they "destroy the truths and the doctrines of the church giving nothing in return. They are as bad as those who rob the blind." Hundreds of guests from out of the city attended the dedication, and well over 10,000 people were said to have been on the grounds during the ceremony.⁹²

This honeymoon was soon over. Trouble began to brew in Father Kubacki's parish because of his idiosyncrasies. They became more pronounced as he became more secure in his new position. The first of these was his hatred of alcohol. A man who never did anything in halves, Father Kubacki was active in the temperance movement. He held temperance meetings in his church, organized temperance parades, made placards denouncing alcohol as a poison, and adroitly maneuvered women and children into demonstrations against this "poison that tears us apart."⁹³ Once, while attending a parish picnic where the heat of the day was being combatted with alcohol, he rushed to the table that was used by the parishioners as a bar, overturned it, and proceeded to denounce those in attendance as pawns of Satan. The parishioners of St. Adalbert's soon realized that in this new pastor they got more than they had bargained for. In a community whose tradition called for a nip now and then, his attitude could be most unpopular.

Father Kubacki's feelings against alcohol were such that, at his own expense, he had thousands of prohibitionist pamphlets published. It's no wonder that he is credited with being one of the forces that brought prohibition to Indiana⁹⁴

His strong feeling against alcohol was matched by one against tobacco. To Father Kubacki the use of tobacco was a dirty, filthy habit, injurious to health, and sinful before God. He publicly condemned tobacco and lectured against its use. He did not allow smoking in his rectory, and if anyone sought entrance to this building while smoking, the bell would not be answered. Lipstick was also a taboo. Father Kubacki refused the sacrament of communion to women who wore painted lips. Even chewing gum came under his scrutiny. If a child chewing gum at the parish school was discovered by Father Kubacki, and if he was slow in throwing it away, he would paste it in his hair as a remainder of his transgression.⁹⁵

Father Kubacki's idiosyncrasies might have been overlooked had he not taken a more sinister position regarding parish life. In the spring of 1913, he began using his pulpit as a means of social control. It not only became a sounding board for his programs, but through it he began to chastise individuals who transgressed them. This brought parish pressure to bear on the transgressor forcing him to conform. One of the celebrated cases of this priest's outspokenness revolved about a confrontation with Mrs. Frances Rzeszewski. According to Mrs. Rzeszewski and in the presence of other women of the parish, Father Kubacki, angry with her, said, "I have known you from a little child and you are black at heart and color as is your whole family. You have stolen a good many things from my parsonage. You are a thief." In the theocracy that he had managed to establish in this parish, these words were tantamount to damnation. Mrs. Rzeszewski's character had been injured. Her priest's words were of such influence that she lost the respect and confidence of her neighbors and was shunned by them. Mrs. Rzeszewski, however, was strong-willed herself. She labeled the priest's comments as slanderous and brought that parish notoriety by suing its pastor for \$25,000 in damages.⁹⁶ According to another source, when a member of his parish who had led a wild life despite Kubacki's admonitions lay dying and called for him to hear his confession, Father Kubacki was said to have replied, "he followed the devil when he lived, let him go to the devil now that he is dying."⁹⁷

Father Kubacki's harshness had a predictable effect on his congregation. Letters of protest began to appear, and in protest of his arbitrary actions and self-righteousness almost a thousand parishioners fulfilled their 1913 Easter duty in neighboring parishes.⁹⁸ Finding very little sympathy from the other parish priests, and none from the Congregation of the Holy Cross, the parishioners formed a committee to petition Bishop Alerding for Father Kubacki's removal. The bishop was predictable. The dismissal of Father Kubacki was not permitted.⁹⁹

In despair, those who felt more offended began to attend services at the Sacred Heart Independent Hungarian Church. Moreover, with the help of Father Sychta, they made a painful decision. In June of 1913, unable either to mollify Father Kubacki's attitudes, nor remove him, they decided to form a parish of their own under the Polish National Catholic Church.¹⁰⁰ The first serious meeting to this end took place on November 27, 1913, in the Hungarian Hall on Chapin Street. Father Basil Sychta of the Sacred Heart Parish called it to order, and the group's very first act was to elect an organizational committee. The following members were chosen: Joseph Jaskiewicz, Joseph Zierzynski, Michael Przybylski, John Wawrzyniak, Edward Nowakowski and Father Sychta. After obtaining a charter from the State of Indiana for their new church, they began to raise money for its construction. Shortly thereafter, a lot with a small house on the corner of West Sample and Kosciuszko Streets was purchased for \$1,600. While this house served as a temporary church, the new congregation of about three hundred petitioned for formal membership in the Polish National Catholic Church.¹⁰¹

On November 1, 1914, almost a year after the Poles began their action, Bishop Hodur sent Father Michael Pulit to guide them. In the following year the first official pastor of St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church was installed. He was Father Francis Klos.¹⁰²

Although the city of South Bend now had two Independent Catholic parishes for dissident immigrants, problems continued to plague that community. These reached their peak shortly after the organization of the St. Mary's Parish with severe rioting and disturbances at South Bend's second oldest Polish Catholic parish, St. Casimir's. This rioting and the legal action that ensued did not affect the initiation of St. Mary's Parish for its course of action had already been charted.¹⁰³ As interesting as they may be, they must be left for another scholar to investigate.

The Sacred Heart Hungarian Independent Catholic Church was to fall on bad times. To counter Hungarian nationalism, the diocese allowed the construction of the beautiful Our Lady of Hungary Church.¹⁰⁴ This did much to dampen the Hungarian Independent Catholic movement in South Bend; and in 1923, the departure of Father Sychta from Sacred Heart for reassignment was its death knell. The last entry in its ledgers was a baptism dated 1924.¹⁰⁵ Shortly thereafter that parish was dissolved and its property purchased by the Indiana Methodist Mission Society.¹⁰⁶ Those of its former parishioners who could not return to Roman Catholicism joined the Hungarian Presbyterian Church, the Hungarian Episcopal Church, St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church, or continued to worship at their old parish as Methodists.

Father von Kubinyi left South Bend for California where he allegedly reconverted to Catholicism. His Episcopal parish has become a mission church for Black Americans. The Polish Roman Catholic parishes are declining. St. Hedwig's was forced to end its parochial education program years ago and the old school, erected at great sacrifice by its founders, has been torn down. St. Casimir's is in a blighted area nearing its end, and St. Stanislaus is but a shadow of its past glory. Ironically, the most vibrant parish among those that remain is St. Adalbert's.

The generations who have succeeded their grandparents and who still live in the locality are ignorant of their past and some seem ashamed of their heritage. Most tragically, in an attempt to protect what status they have from an encroaching black minority, they are treating them as the Anglo-Saxon community treated their grandparents. Those who have prospered have changed their names, moved to the suburbs and attend Catholic churches which have more status than the old parishes. St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church still exists in its original quarters on West Sample Street. Those who participated in its founding have long since passed away.

Thus, our story comes to a close. The issues so important in the past have all but been forgotten. It is difficult to understand how such a disregard for the needs of the people could have taken place in a church dedicated to a philosophy of love, peace and understanding. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that, like the Roman Catholic Church in America at the turn of the century, institutions can be grievously un-Christian if they promote themselves at the expense of the individuals they are dedicated to serve.

NOTES

1. W. Kruszka, *Historia Polska w Ameryce, Rozdzial II* (History of the Poles in America, Part II, (Ripon, Wis.: n.n., 1908), p.7; Brat Maksymus, C.S.C. and Franciszek K. Czyzewski. *Album Zlotego Jubileuszu Parafii Sw. Jadwigi, South Bend, Indiana 1877-1927* (Golden Jubilee Album of St. Hedwig Parish, South Bend, Indiana 1877-1927) (Chicago: Dziennik Zjednoczenia, 1927), p.119.

2. Anthony S. Kuharich, "Population Movements of South Bend, 1820-1830" (Unpublished Master's thesis, department of History, University of Notre Dame), p. 84; Interview with Francis K. Czyzewski, December 26, 1967; Maksymus and Czyzewski. op. cit., pp. 21, 101.
3. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., pp.21,101.
4. Ibid., p. 104
5. John F. Noll, D.D., The Diocese of Fort Wayne: Fragments of History (n.p., n.n., 19441), I,pp.294-295; Kruszk, op.cit., p. 7; Maksymus and Czyzewski, op.cit., p. 21; Rt. Rev. H. J. Alerding. The Diocese of Fort Wayne: 1857-1907 (Fort Wayne: Archer Printing Company, 1907), p. 3351.
6. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., p. 25. It is interesting to conjecture why Father Gulski or one of the other Polish immigrant priests whose credentials were impeccable were not chosen as pastor for this fast developing Polish Parish. The answer seems twofold: First, the Congregation of the Holy Cross and the University of Notre Dame were already established in South Bend and had by tradition staffed the parishes in its vicinity; second, the nationalism of the Polish immigrant priest must have been a factor to contend with for it was unequivocally pointed toward Poland. This was bound to cause suspicion in a religious community determined to "Americanize" the immigrant.
7. One Hundred Years: St. Stanislaus B.M. Parish Milwaukee, Wisconsin 1866-1966 (South Hackensack, N.J.: Custom Books, Inc., 1966), p. 19.
8. Interview with Francis K. Czyzewski, December 226, 1967: Noll, oop. Cit., pl 295; Kruszk, op. cit., p.9; Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., p. 27, Alerding, op. cit., p. 93.
9. Oglaoszenia parafjalne Sw. Jadwigi 17-go Czerwca, 1887; and Ogloszenia Parafjalne Sw. Jadwigi; 8 Lipca, 1877 (Announcements of St. Hedwig Parish June 17, 1887 and Announcements of St. Hedwig Parish July 8, 1877); also Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., p.29.
10. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., (ed.), Roman CAtholicism and the American WAY of Life (Notre Dame: University Press, 1960), pp. 179-187; Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., pp. 29 and 228.
11. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., p. 33; Alerding, op cit., p. 352. For a deeper explanation of the effects of the parish school on the Polish immigrant see Oscar Handlin, The uprooted (New York: Grosset the Dunlap, 1951), pp. 244-254; W. J. Thomas and F. Znanieci, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927), II, pp. 1532-1533.
12. For the decrees of the Plenary Council of 1852 regarding this point see: Concilium Plenarium Totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae, Baltimori Habitum Anno 1852 (The Plenary Council of the United States of North America, Taking Place in Baltimore in 1852) (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1853), pp. 43-52; for the Council of 1866 see: M. J. Spalding, D.D. (et. al.) Pastoral Letter of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1866), pp. 25-32. There is a wealth of information on the Council of 1884, chief of which would be the following: Acta et Decreta Concilii plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii (Acts and Decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore) (Baltimore: John Murphy,

1884), pp. 99-111, 279-282; James Gibbons, "Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States Assembled in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore", in *Acta Et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii* (Acts and Decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore) (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1886), pp. lxxxii-lxxxvi; interestingly, the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore were translated into Polish in 1911 for American Polonia. This was done, no doubt, to inform the Polish immigrant of his duties to Roman Catholicism in a time of troubles. It bears the title, *Akta i Dekreta Trzeciego Koncylium Baltimorskiego*. (Acts and Decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore) (Milwaukee: Kuryer Polski, 1911), pp. 1-92. This pamphlet especially emphasizes the right of appointment of pastors (pp. 17-34), and the rights of church property (pp. 79-92). The position of the parish school is described on pp. 51-61. See also James Gibbons, D.D., *The Memorial Volume: A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore November 9-December 7, 1884*. (Baltimore: Baltimore Publishing Co., 1885) pp. 29,59; John Daniel Mary Barrett, *A Comparative Study of the Councils of Baltimore and the Code of Canon Law* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1932), pp. 179-183; Francis P. Cassidy, "Catholic Education in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore", *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXIV (April-January, 1948-1949), pp. 257-305. For a survey of all these Councils, see Peter Guilday, *The History of the Councils of Baltimore* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932), pp. 81-166. For discussion of Trusteeism in the United States see Robert F. McNamara, "Trusteeism in the Atlantic States, 1785-1863", *Catholic Historical Review*, XXX (April-January, 1944-1945), pp. 135-1154; Alfred G. Stritch, "Trusteeism in the Old Northwest, 1800-1850", *Catholic Historical Review*, XXX (April-January, 1944-1945), pp. 155-164.

13. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., p. 38.

14. Ibid., p. 39; South Bend Tribune, November 7, 1897.

15. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit. p. 39.

16. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit. p. 43.

17. Kruszka, op. cit., p. 7.

18. Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit. p. 49.

19. Ibid., p. 51; Kruszka, op. cit., p. 8; Alerding, op. cit., p. 353.

20. *Album 75ta Rocznica Zalozenia Parafii Najsw. Maryi Panny, Otis, Indiana* (Album of the 75th Anniversary of the Founding of St. Mary's Parish, Otis, Indiana) n.p., Bodine Printing Co., 1948), p. 11; Noll, op. cit., pp. 328-333; Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit. p. 53; Kruszka, op. cit., pp 18-19; *Diamond Jubilee St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish, Terre Coupe, Indiana, 1884-1959* (n.p., n.n., 1959), pp. 2-3; South Bend Tribune, October 24, 1910; Alerding, op. cit., pp. 335-336, 369-370, 421; Omer Englebert (translated by Christopher and Anne Fremantle). A brief sketch on St. George may be found in *Lives of the Saints* New York: David Mc Kay Company, Inc., 1951), p. 314.

21. *Fifty Golden Years in Christ's Vineyard: Golden Jubilee of Priesthood, Reverend Boleslaus J. Sztuczko, C.S.C., 1910-1960*, (n.p., n.n., 1960), pp. 16-18; Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit. p. 54.

22. Książka Jubileuszowa Parafii Sw. Kazimierza z Okazji Piecdziesiątej Rocznicy Poswiecenia Pierwszego Kościoła (Jubilee Album of St. Casimir's Parish on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary) South Bend: n.n., 1949), p. 27.
23. Książka Jubileuszowa Parafii Sw. Kazimierza..., p. 28; Kruszką, op. cit., pp. 10-12; Alerding, op. cit., pp. 198, 353, 395-396.
24. Franciszek K. Czyzewski, *Bóg i Ojczyzna: 25 Lecie Sw. Stanisława 1900-1925 (God and Fatherland: 25 Years of St. Stanislaus 1900-1925)* (Chicago: Dziennik Zwyczajowy, 1925), pp. 13-21.
25. *Piecdziesiąt lat na Wojciechowie, South Bend, Indiana 1910-1960 (Fifty Years at St. Adalbert's South Bend, Indiana 1910-1960)* (Berwyn, Ill. : Norman King Co., 1960), pp. 24-29.
26. Interview with Mr. Anthony Zudzinski, June 11, 1970. Mr. Zmudzinski, who was niety-six at the time of this interview, was a charter member of St. Adalbert's Society which organized the St. Adalbert Church, for a discussion of St. Adalbert, see: W. F. Reddaway (et. al.), *The Cambridge History of Poland to 1696* New York: The Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 22; and *Piecdziesiąt lat na Wojciechowie...*, p. 31.
27. The estimated cost of the initial four churches and the extrapolated total cost of church construction was based on the following sources: Maksymus and Czyzewski, op. cit., pp. 29,30, 39, 43, 47, 53-56; Książka Jubileuszowa Parafii Sw. Kazimierza..., p. 33; F. K. Czyzewski, op. cit., pp. 15, 23, 27, 29, 33, 35, 41, 43, 47, 49; *Piecdziesiąt lat na Wojciechowie...*, pp. 21, 23-25; Kruszką, op. cit., pp. 7, 11, 18.
28. For a discussion of the relationship between the Polish immigrant and his parish, see Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., pp. 1523-1547.
29. Noll, op. cit., pp. 295-297; Alerding, op. cit., pp 366-369, 386-387.
30. Noll, op. cit., pp. 298-300. The word secular, when applied to the Roman Catholic priesthood, connotes that part of the priesthood that does not assent to a canon or a rule of community life. Another difference is that the secular or cosmopolitan priest vows chastity and obedience to the Roman hierarchy, but does not take the vow of poverty.
31. N. A. Weber, "The Rise of the National Catholic Churches in the United States", *Catholic Historical Review*, I, (April-January, 1915-1916), pp. 422-434.
- 32.
- 33.
34. David Jacquet, "Bishop Gilmour and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore", *St. Meinrad Essays on United States Church History*, XII, No. 1 (May, 1959), pp. 50-52; Dignan, op. cit., pp. 209-213; Guilday, op. cit., pp. 221-249, 267-270; *Acta et Decreta...*, pp. 149-166.
35. Interview with Francis K. Czyzewski, January 19, 1968.
36. Ibid.

37. South Bend Tribune, October 21, 1876; November 6, 1882; September 14, 1876; South Bend Register, November 6, 7, 9, 1882.
38. Joseph Dwenger, Bishop of Fort Wayne Pastoral Letter Sexagesima Sunday, 1885 (Fort Wayne: n.n., 1885); South Bend Times, January 14 and February 24, 1885.
39. South Bend Tribune, January 20 and 30, 1885.
40. Maksymus and Czyzewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79; *Goniec Polski* (Polish Messenger), July 2, 5 and 12, 1913; South Bend Tribune, July 1 and 4, 1913.
41. U.S. Senate, Reports of the Immigration Commission, 61st Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington, D.C. : 1911), XIV, pp. 46,55,399,545,551,553,571; Jack Detzler, *South Bend 1900-1910: the Awakening of a Small Town* (South Bend: Northern Indiana Historical Society, 1959), pp. 27-30; Jack Detzler, *South Bend 1910-1920: A Decade Dedicated to Reform* (South Bend: Northern Indiana Historical Society, 1960), pp. 23-35.
42. U.S. Senate, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-601 and 574.
43. *Ibid.*
44. South Bend Tribune, October 20, 1898; February 17 and March 1, 1902; Jack Detzler, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73. South Bend Tribune, April 6, 1898; October 17, 1900; February 17, 1902-May 7, 1902; March 24, 1903; W.J. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 164-203.
45. When the State Labor Commission approached him, Pine remained immovable. He called for the workers' return to work before he would even consider a settlement. Then, and only then, would he investigate the problem of wages and make a recommendation upward if justified. Furthermore, he issued an ultimatum stating that if a conclusion were not reached by June 11, the cabinets then being built in South Bend would be contracted to other factories. This would then have closed the South Bend plant.
46. For accounts of the Singer strike of 1898, see the South Bend Tribune, May 31-June 11, 1898, *ad passim*; October 24 and 25, 1898; *Goniec Polski*, June 1 and 11, 1898.