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POLISH IMMIGRANT RELATIONS WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN URBAN ONTARIO 1896 - 1923

by

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B.A. Wilfrid Laurier University 1983

THESIS

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Introduction

The treatment of ethnic and immigration history in Canada has changed dramatically in the last decade. It has grown considerably beyond a simplistic "filiopietic", "problems and contributions" approach.[1] Although this sort of approach is still essentially a part of the story, it fails to place the role and the participation of a particular ethnic group into a broader Canadian historical context. The focus of the discussion concerning any ethnic group has moved away from endeavoring to create a definitive narrative describing every aspect of immigrants lives from their arrival to the present. Instead ethnic history in Ontario is now focusing increasingly on a specific area, dealing with a definite theme, in a specific timeframe. Obviously, this approach facilitates a more detailed historical examination and demonstrates that ethnic history is a pertinent and vital part of the broader Canadian setting.[2]

Until very recently, the historical examination of the Polish ethnic group has been limited to the relatively outmoded narrative approach. The earliest efforts contributed little to Canadian historical scholarship, but did provide a foundation for a great deal of further study. Initial efforts, such as those of William Makowski and Victor Turek, were sketchy narratives of the "problems and contributions" idiom that examined the entire Polish ethnic experience in Canada.[3] Later works by Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydenkorn for example, placed greater emphasis on specific aspects of the

Polish experience- the emergence of ethnic institutions, relationships with the host society, the Polish role in the workplace- in broad monographs. But by virtue of the breadth of their subject, they could not do full justice to any of their themes. [4] Finally and more recently, in journals such as Polyphony and Canadian Ethnic Studies, better defined examinations of themes such as religious, social and urban history within the ethnic groups are being dealt with on a more practical level. Still, Polyphony, though extremely useful, is relatively new and has not yet achieved a strong academic footing, catering instead to a more general audience. Many of the articles persist in a narrative form, neglecting to develop much useful and fascinating data. [5]

The Poles came to Canada in three waves. The first occurred at a time when the Canadian government was trying to populate the west. Canada was undergoing an agricultural and industrial boom that would change the complexion of the nation. It needed an endless supply of unskilled or, at best, semiskilled labour to work the virgin land of the west and to provide cheap and accessible workers for the new factories. During the years between 1896 and the outbreak of World War One over two million newcomers arrived in Canada and the Poles constituted approximately one hundred thousand of them. A second, smaller Polish immigration occurred between the world wars and the last large influx took place following World War Two. [6]

The study of the immigrant Poles in an urban setting is quite new. Until 1929, the Canadian government channelled all central and eastern European immigrants to the prairies,

ostensibly to develop the vast spaces opened by the transcontinental railway. Perhaps this explains the greater focus of research on the west. [7] Nevertheless, by 1911, there were nearly 20,000 Poles in Ontario, the majority establishing themselves in Toronto and other urban centers. Polish newcomers to Ontario were generally seeking employment outside agriculture. They gradually gravitated from the west to southern Ontario working as transients in mines, lumber camps, and railroad gangs. These workers often were only trying to save enough money to return to Poland; they had no aspirations to begin homesteading in the western provinces of Canada.

This paper will examine the experiences of the Polish newcomers during the first great wave of immigration in urban Ontario. Specifically, three cities: Toronto, Hamilton, and Kitchener (Berlin), will serve as the focus. Although other cities- Windsor, Brantford, Oshawa, and St. Catherines, for example- possessed a substantial number of Polish immigrants, the cities to be studied had the largest and the earliest concentrations. As such, these communities represent the best examples of the arrival, adaptation and creation of the Polish ethnic community. Central to the emergence of the community is the emergence of institutions. This paper will observe the relationship of the Polish newcomers and the Roman Catholic Church- their most vital institution.

One of the most commonly held theses concerning immigration studies involves the re-establishment of the sense of community in a new setting by immigrants. It has been argued, reasonably, particularly by early sociologists

and ethnic historians, that ethnic organizations and institutions arose through the transition from an established community left in the homeland to a new one derived from the voluntary and active participation of the immigrants in the new world. By examining the transition of the Polish urban newcomers from a traditional, stable, often static society to a voluntaristic one, it shall be seen how the Polish Roman Catholic parish structure appeared. Yet the voluntaristic thesis is too confining as it gives an impression of a simple change from one from of organization to another. The emergence of the Polish parish in urban Ontario was a reflection of the evolution of the Polish immigrants within Ontarian society. This paper will chart the evolving pattern and changing cultural behavior of the Polish immigrants within their most important institution in Canada. Indeed, this relationship was not a rigid and formal association as has often been characterized in the past, but one that was a popular and living phenomenon.

The Polish newcomers initially endeavoured to recreate their parishes as they had been known in the homeland. But because of the circumstances within the new society, the nature of organized religion in Ontario, and the resulting changes in attitudes and orientations of the Poles, the Polish Roman Catholic parish evolved into a distinct and unique institution. It was a hybrid that was neither Polish as defined by the church in the Fatherland nor exactly like any other national parish structure in Ontario.

The evolution and character of the Polish Roman Catholic parish was as much influenced by outside forces as it was by immigrant voluntarism. Essentially, the character of the Polish ethnic parish was shaped by the environment of Ontario's urban society. Although Canadian society desired to develop the west and wished to perpetuate the growth of industry, it was not anxious to change its makeup and often was hostile to the newcomers. The immigrants not only met an unwelcoming host society but also faced the challenge of somehow fitting into a dynamic, fastpaced, urban and industrial environment. Before there could be any consideration of creating a new institution or organization, it was necessary to first find food, shelter and work.

As the Poles became better acquainted with their new environment they found a spiritual and social void that had previously been filled by their church. But, the Church was not as it had been known in Poland. Whereas the Roman Catholic Church was dominant in Poland, it was only one of many forms of worship in Ontario. By 1920, there were about 600,000 Roman Catholics in the province, representing a minority of approximately 13 per cent of the population.[8] The Polish immigrants did not even amount to one per cent of the Catholic population. Furthermore, the Roman Catholic Church was dominated in Ontario by an Irish influenced brand of Catholicism in which the vast majority of clergy and hierarchy was Irish. Compounding this change in religious setting was the large and active participation among the immigrants by the Protestant denominations. The Poles, used to their own

unique form of worship, could not fully accept the Irish influence but were unwilling to abandon their church (at least initially). They went in search of their religious expression with Polish clerics as their spiritual leaders.

The evolution of the Polish ethnic parishes did not occur in a vacuum. Many characters participated in and influenced their final complexion. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, Polish clerics, religious orders, as well as the Polish laity, all left their marks on the parishes.

The hierarchy, both in the Archdiocese of Toronto and the Diocese of Hamilton, played a neccessary and important role. Initially they recognized the needs of the ethnic laity and provided missions and other facilities for the newcomers. Later, they approved of the construction of parishes, diligently recruited clergy and were largely sympathetic to the desires of the Catholic minorities. But, the hierarchy's innate conservatism and own Irish heritage condemned the ethnic parishes to secondary positions within the greater structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Consequently, the task of serving immigrant groups was ultimately relegated to religious orders.

The activities of these orders- the Resurrectionists, the Redemptorists and the Oblates- among the Poles and other ethnic groups has been largely neglected. Their leadership and ability to provide capable clergy created a stabilizing influence within the ethnic parishes in urban Ontario. In particular, the leadership of the Resurrectionists in both Hamilton and Kitchener was essential for the relatively tranquil evolution

of the local Polish parishes. The continuous presence of the Polish pastors they provided was perhaps the greatest reason for the success of these two parishes. But even the religious orders could not always provide sufficient numbers of priests.

The lack of capable Polish priests was a problem throughout North America. When an able priest was found, he, like the Resurrectionist clerics, did much to alleviate the problems of the Polish laity by providing guidance and services beyond the spiritual realm. But, this situation, especially in Toronto, did not appear often. Throughout the period under consideration the Toronto Poles frequently were without any priests or, equally as burdensome, with mediocre ones. As such the Toronto Poles evolved into a far more demanding and belligerent group than was found in the Diocese of Hamilton. This belligerence in Toronto was strongly influenced and parallelled by what occurred in the United States.

In the years from the 1880's until the Great Depression, the North American Polish newcomers had only a limited sense of the significance of the American-Canadian border. Many Polish immigrants first arrived in the American points of entry and simply followed a long chain of employment possibilities. This chain cut through the western Pennsylvania coalfields, continued through New York State to Buffalo and then cut across southern Ontario to the cities of the American mid -west. As there was little consideration for national boundaries, there was a constant interplay between the Poles on both sides of the border. For the Poles in Ontario, the

activities in American Polonia were vital to their own lives. The Ontario Poles received much of their news, organization, and religious leadership from south of the border. But, the American Poles in their own struggle for their own form of religious expression had created a schism in their ethnic parishes and disrupted the entire structure of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. Although the situation in Ontario did not deteriorate to the degree it had in America, by the end of World War One many of the issues were identical and the results were often similar.

Like their American cousins, the voluntaristic activities of the Poles in urban Ontario in creating their own parishes were instrumental as an expression of the ethnic group. The Roman Catholic Church just as importantly shaped the national character of the Poles. The ethnic parish was fundamental in forming the Poles' ethnicity by aiding their awareness of nationality. For centuries there was a strong correlation between being Polish and being Roman Catholic. Yet, in North America, this correlation created a conflict in identity. The Roman Catholic Church, by the tenets of Vatican I, declared itself to be a universal church without consideration for national differences. With the Poles increasingly emerging as a distinct national group, a contradiction was evident. Joseph Parot, an American ethnic and religious historian, questioned exactly the same contradiction.

> How is it possible to retain the ethnocentric character of Polish nationality while at the same time giving way to the centrifugal force of Catholic universality? 9

This question was fundamental to all of the ethnic parishes that emerged at this time and was, to a degree, reflected in the divisiveness within the minority parishes. What emerged was a compromise. The nature of the Roman Catholic Church relegated the ethnic parishes to a secondary role in the Church. The Irish hierarchy would not relinquish its hard won position in the church to the newcomers. Conversely, the ethnic groups would not be denied their own approach to religious practice. The universality of the Church would be recognized as the English speaking hierarchy would continue to rule in the established way. The ethnocentricity of the minority parish would continue in a generally independent form away from the mainstream. The experience in the minority parish was an intraethnic one, therefore.

The experiences of the various ethnic parishes were comparable to the broader Canadian setting. The Polish immigrants, generally shunned by the Anglo majority, were assimilated not so much into the broader Canadian society, but, into their own"melting pot". So too, the Polish ethnic parish remained central to the Polish ethnic community, but on the periphery of the structure of the Roman Catholic Church. The Polish ethnic parishes in urban Ontario at this time reflected in microcosm the broader immigrant, Catholic, racial minority experience. The number of Poles was comparable to other ethnic groups. The experiences, themselves, were similar as several parallels between the Polish group and that of the Italians, Ukrainians and Macedonians, for example, will show.

End Notes

1. For a greater criticism of the "problems and contributions" approach, see Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," Canadian Historical Review, LXIV, no. 4, (1983), pp.441-67.

2. For a detailed discussion of current historiography in the area of ethnic and immigration studies see: Ibid.;Howard Palmer, "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970's and 1980's," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol.17, no.1, (spring 1982), pp.35-50.

3. William Makowski, History and Integration of Poles in Canada, (Niagara Peninsula: Canadian Polish Congress, 1967); Victor Turek, Poles in Manitoba, (Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1967).

4. Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydenkorn, A Member of a Distinguished Family: The Polish Group in Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

5. For example, the Poles in Ontario were dealt with variously in Polyphony, vol.6, no.2, (fall/winter 1984); the immigrants in Toronto were discussed in Polyphony, vol.6, no.1, (summer 1984).

6. For example, Victor Hubicz, Polish Churches in Manitoba, (London: Veritas Foundation, 1960).

7. For a thumbnail description of the Polish immigrations see Donald Avery and J.K. Fedorowicz, The Poles in Canada, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982).

8. Michael Piva, The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979), p.10.

9. Joseph Parot, Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920, (Dekalb, Ill.: North Illinios University Press, 1981), p.xii.

Chapter 1

From Poland to Canada

> They were young fellows, handsome and supple like pine trees, slim waisted, broadshouldered, great dancers all, loud mouthed, unyielding brawlers,- the choicest peasant stock.
>
> Wladyslaw Reymont-
> The Peasants

The Polish immigrants who came to urban Ontario faced a society that was radically foreign to what they had known. They had left a society that was stable, traditional, and deeply rooted in the soil. It was also a society that was beginning to collapse at the outset of the twentieth century; a society that could no longer support millions of peasants as it had in the previous centuries. To understand the anxiety and bewilderment experienced by the Polish immigrants upon their arrival in Canada, it is neccessary to view Polish society briefly- its class structure, the institutions, and the changes that were occurring- as it existed at the turn of the century. Furthermore, in this light, it will enable one to comprehend why the Polish peasants chose to immigrate to North America.

Poland did not exist as an autonomous state prior to World War One. It had been collectively partitioned in three phases by her stronger neighbors- Russia, Prussia and Austria- in 1772, 1793 and 1795. Although, in an effort to recreate the Polish state, there were numerous rebellions and uprisings in the succeeding years, the results more often saw a greater

repression of the Polish language and culture. Russia imposed a program of Russification in her Polish territories after the failed rebellion of 1863-4, whereby the Polish language was suppressed. For example, it could no longer be taught in schools and its usage was not permitted at any level of government. Under Bismarck's policy of Kulturkampf, Prussia similarly tried to Germanize its Polish possessions, attempting either to assimilate the Poles or at least to drive them off the land. [1] These efforts failed to eliminate the Polish nation but they caused severe dislocations and ethnic unrest.

As there was no Polish state, social, political and economic development generally was slow to evolve. In an era of increasing industrialization, Poland was becoming a backwater in Europe. Only the area of Silesia with its coalfields was well developed by Prussia. Poland continued as a largely agrarian society. This orientation was augmented by the land magnates, the smallest and most influential class in Poland. This powerful group could still introduce, to some degree, social and economic reforms and improvements but was inclined towards antiquated ideals of class privilege and was generally conservative and even reactionary toward any change that could jeopardize its position. The middle class on the other hand was too small and preoccupied with issues of preserving Polish national identity and simultaneously reconstituting the Polish state to force economic and social change. Furthermore, much of the trade and commerce in Poland was held by national minorities such as the Germans and the Jews. [2]

Overwhelmingly, Poland consisted of a peasant class. More often poor and illiterate, the majority of the peasants lived away from the mainstream of national life.[3] Many were only vaguely aware of their national identity or of their social or political rights. Frequently the peasants saw themseves as subjects of one of the three emperors or of the local authorities- soldiers, police or bureaucrats. Alternately, others saw themselves as members from any one of the provinces: Galicia or Małopolska (Austrian Poland), Śląsk or Poznán (Prussian Poland), Kongresówa or Poleście (Russian Poland).[4] They saw themselves most clearly, however, as members of a small community or village. An early sociologist noted; "each little village was a tiny world in itself, with its traditions and ways, its own dress, perhaps even its own dialect. The neighbor from the next town... [was] an outsider." [5]

This parochial outlook was to be expected in a static, rural community. A sheltered society, accentuated by bad roads, virtually non-existent communications in a trisected nation, was sufficent for peasants who had not seen drastic change in centuries. "The community, family and church traditionally... satisfied the needs for fellowship, security, and explanation of and influence on the forces controlling their social world."[6]

At the center of Polish society stood the Roman Catholic Church. There was a clear historical link between the Polish state and the Roman Catholic Church. Poland officially became Christian in 966 and this date also became synonomous with the birth of the Polish state. Throughout the Reformation and

various religious wars, Poland remained preponderantly Roman Catholic. During the era of the partitions, the Roman Catholic Church, alone, was the only active, intact institution that spanned all parts of the country. It served as a spiritual foundation as well as a vital element in the preservation of the Polish language, traditions and culture. Beseiged by Protestant Prussia and Orthodox Russia, the Roman Catholic Church in Poland became even more deeply entrenched in the fibre of Polish nationality.

The Church particularly played an integral part in the peasant community. For the peasants, the church and religion had a strong impact on everyday life and religious practice was a vital part of everyday activity. Through the church, festivals, christenings, weddings and funerals added colour and richness to an otherwise dull existence. The Polish brand of Roman Catholicism was unique. Long forgotten pagan customs and beliefs were incorporated into common Catholic practices. Polish Catholicism was especially noted for being more ritualistic and resplendent with icons and symbolism, than the Roman Catholic practices of other nations.[7] Still, most importantly, the church provided a meaning and explanation for the very existence of man, his failures, trials, and tribulations.

Beyond satisfying the spiritual and emotional needs of the peasants, the church also played an important social role. The religious service provided a reminder of social standing in the community: one's position in society was reflected by where one stood or sat during the Mass. After the service, there

was an opportunity to converse, gossip and exchange news which tended to reinforce community unity and identity.[8] The parish priest held an important place in this social order. Not only was he the link between God and man, but he also frequently served the peasants on a secular level. Acting as an arbiter, advisor and confidante, the parish priest was often the only educated man to whom the peasants could turn.

But, because of its numerical size and special position in Polish society, the Roman Catholic Church was not usually dependent upon its peasant laity. The peasants, for centuries, were born, lived and died within the Catholic faith, but they were never required to actively or voluntarily participate in or question their function within the Church. Constructed, furnished and supported by the wealthy landowners, gentry and hierarchy, the Polish Roman Catholic Church was financially self sufficient. Because it did not rely economically upon the peasants, the church was on a similar footing with the land magnates and as such was largely conservative and autocratic.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Polish society was slowly beginning to change. Poland was feeling some of the effects of urbanization and industrailization that was sweeping across the western world. The rural countryside was quickly becoming overcrowded because of the improvements in science and technology. Since the majority of farm holdingsdid not exceed five hectares, not sufficient for a family to be self-sustaining, some peasants increasingly sought seasonal employment. Increasingly, they were becoming a rural proletariat. By 1900, the parochial setti was opening as some peasants from Galicia moved as far as the

Ruhr and Saar industrial areas in search of work.[9] Within the village, there was also some change. During the last years of the nineteenth century, agricultural output was increasing with improved technology and methods. But even with greater production the prices for grain kept falling all across Europe as there was a glut of American grain.[10] Clearly, under these circumstances, the impetus to move, be it in Europe or to America, was growing.

In response to the changing social and economic trends across Poland, political activity largely at a grassroots level, began to emerge. The National Democrats- a politically and socially conservative, predominantly professional and middle class organization- appeared in 1893 as a patriotic vehicle that rejected the romantic and insurrectionist traditions of previous national movements. Instead, it stressed economic growth and social reform for Polish lands without violence and within the existing structure of the partitioning states.[11] This approach became popular among the middle class.

Similarly, a socialist movement emerged among the small, but growing, working class in Poland. The Polish Socialist Party had a uniquely Polish outlook. Although, tending to be regional and factious, the socialists soon recognized an irrevocable connection between social revolution and national independence.[12] This nationalist perspective ran contrary to the internationalist outlook held by the majority of the leading socialist movements in the world of the day.

Finally, Populist activities focused almost exclusively on the peasants appeared first in the poor overcrowded countryside in Galicia. Appearing in 1893, the Polish Populist Party exper-

ienced much difficulty. It preached the ideals of political democratization, justice for peasants and land reform. The peasants, uneducated, poor and traditionally controlled by the gentry and clergy, had first to gain self-assurance. Ultimately, the Populist Party was instrumental in raising the political and especially the national awareness of the peasantry.[13] Indeed all of the political movements were important in alerting the populace to the problems in Polish society and as such were influential in forcing the people in looking to alternatives such as immigration.

Clearly, Polish society at the turn of the century was still predominantly rural and parochial with the gentry and the Roman Catholic Church at the head of social and political life. But the peasant society was, as has been demonstrated, increasingly strained by this time.[14] New mobility, political activity and social changes had started to alter peasant life and perceptions. Because of these new perceptions, severe problems in agrarian society and the gradual breaking away from the past, immigration erupted into a trans-Atlantic experience.

Simultaneously, first the United States and then Canada increasingly discovered that they needed many new settlers for their new western lands and cheap labour for the rising factory system. To encourage immigration, both governments employed shipping agents. By 1900, the agent's offices were located in virtually every port and the agents often in every small town and village in north and central Europe.Yet, these agents worked on a commision basis and as such their methods were at times unscrupulous. Wishing to fullfil their quotas, they were not

particularly selective as to who would travel to America. At times, the agents even paid for the passage for the peasants that could not afford to pay.[15] With the active recruitment of of immigrants, thousands of cotters, non-inherited farmers, farm labourers and farmers sons left the overcrowded European countryside and poured into America. This mass immigration was predominantly economically motivated; few intellectuals, professionals or even white collar workers left. Most of the newcomers were peasants: poor, undereducated and unprepared for the life that awaited them.

Although Canadian officials desired immigrants who were culturally acceptable and would quickly conform to the norms of Anglo-Canadian life, priorities forced a change in outlook. Canada was experiencing an agricultural and industrial boom at the beginning of the century and there was a tremendous need to meet the demand for many more workers. What Canada needed was a ready available supply of cheap, unskilled labour and this was to be found in eastern and southern Europe.[16]

The requirements, therefore, for entry into Canada at this time were nominal. There was no real immigration policy and as long as the immigrant was not physically or mentally deficient or diseased, not a criminal and was not considered morally or socially undesirable, there was little problem in entering Canada. Unofficially Canada favoured certain types of immigrants and this was reflected in the varying levels of financial aid and the varying number of recruiting officers in each differht nation. The "preferred" category of immigrant included people from the British Isles, white American farmers and north-western Europeans. "Non-preferred" immigrants consisted of other Euro-

peans, including Poles. Lastly, the "undesirable" group was made up of non-European, visable minorities such as blacks and Orientals. To 1915, when the Canadian borders were sealed to all immigration because of the Great War, the immigrants from Poland required twenty-five dollars per family, good health and no criminal record to be admitted into Canada.[17]

The voyage to Canada was frequently more difficult than the actual entry into the country. The experience was similar for all immigrants coming to North America. Going across the Atlantic in the steerage decks on old, filthy, overcrowded ships, with poor food, and storms, was a nightmare. For example, one Polish newcomer recounted his trans-Atlantic journey:

> ... [T]he sea was tossing us about; it seemed that we would all drown, we had to stay inside...; they would not let us out into the fresh air.... There were altogether 500 people on board, including the crew. The ship, itself, was very dirty and unwholesome; people were sick all the time; they gave us only herrings to eat. Two people died during the journey. We all got lice on this ship...; there were too many of us to a cabin- about 20 people. It took 17 days to cross the Atlantic.... [18]

Upon their arrival in North America, the immigrants, particularly those in an urban environment, immediately sought work. Previously the peasants had migrated around Europe in search of seasonal work and in Ontario this notion was simply extended. Many immigrants frequently aspired only to earn enough money to return to the homeland to purchase land or at least to help insure the well being of their families in the Old Country. There was throughout this time, a constant affinityfor the home village. But this affinity for the home land was largely nostalgic.

Polish society at the beginning of the twentieth century was under duress. Ethno- religious tension, economic and social

stagnation arising out of the negative influences on Polish life by the partitioning powers led the Polish citizenry to seek alternatives. Reflected in increasing mobility, political activity and new life perceptions, the idea of emigrating to North America became a possiblity. Once the United States and Canada actively sought immigrants, the first mass immigration to North America became a reality.

End Notes

1. For an excellent discussion of Poland after the partitions see Piotr Wandycz, The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974).

2. Henry Radecki, Ethnic Organizational Dynamics: The Polish Group in Canada, (Waterloo: Wilfrid University Press,1979), p.26.

3. The Austrian Census of 1900 found over half of the Galicians (the south-east corner of Poland was populated by both Poles and Ukrainians) over the age of ten were illiterate. The percentage was even higher in Russian Poland where the teaching of Polish was illegal and the Poles often boycotted the Russian schools. Turek, Poles in Manitoba, p.31.

4. Radecki, Ethnic Organizational Dynamics, p.43.

5. Emily Balch, Our Fellow Slavic Citizen, (New Yory, 1910), p.34; cited in Ibid., p.43.

6. Ibid., p.44.

7. Radecki and Heydenkorn, Member of a Distinghed Family, pp.142-3.

8. Ibid., pp.142-3

9. Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp.43-4.

10. Hryniuk, "Peasant Agriculture in East Galicia in the Late Nineteenth Century," The Slavonic and Eastern European Review, Vol.63, No.2, (London, 1985), pp.228-43.

11. Wandycz,pp.288-90.

12. Ibid., pp.295-303.

13. Ibid., pp.294-5.

14. See Robert Harney, "The Commerce of Immigration," Canadian Ethnic Studies,IX, (1977),pp. 42-53, for a perspective of these same types of changes among Italian peasants.

15. Ibid., for a thorough discussion regarding the role and activities of shipping agents.

16. Avery, Dangerous Foreigners, pp.40-4.

17. Radecki, Ethnic Organizational Dynamics, p.30.

18. Pamietniki Emigratów, diary, Kanada, no. 14, (Warsaw,1971), p.398; cited in Anna Reczynska, "Immigration From the Polish Territories to Canada up Until World War Two," Polyphony, vol.6, no.2 (Toronto,1984), p.13.

Chapter 2

Adaptation

> In the new country, all [that had been known was] gone; that was hard enough. Harder still was the fact that nothing replaced [the loss] . In America, the peasant was a transient without meaningful connections in time and space. He lived now with inanimate objects, cut off from his surroundings. His dwelling and his place of work had no relationship to him as a man. The scores of established routines that went with a life of the soil had disappeared and with them the sense of being one of a company. Therefore the peasant felt isolated and isolation added to his loneliness.
>
> Oscar Handlin-
> The Uprooted

While demographic upheaval, the lack of available arable land, and ethno-religious unrest provided a push factor for immigration, the pull factor was to be found in available employment and the prospects for a better life for the masses of immigrants who flocked to Canada. Yet, reality was harsher at the time of the newcomers arrival than they could possibly have expected. The Polish immigrants, like their cousins from across Europe, were faced with two very broad and immediate problems: the attitude of the receiving society, and adapting to the new urban, industrial communities.

The Anglo-Canadian response to the influx of "non-preferred" immigrants was anxious at best and frequently hostile. Virtually every element of Canadian society was wary as to how these newcomers would affect the complexion of their society. At the worst, some feared that the Slavs would dilute the purity of Canada's Anglo-Saxon heritage. For example, Hugh John

MacDonald, Sir John A. MacDonald's son, called the Galicians a "mongrel race".[1] Similarly, Sir MacKenzie Bowell, once the Prime Minister of Canada wrote in 1904 of the perceived subhuman nature of the Slavs in his newspaper, the Belleville Intelligencer:

> [T]he Galicians, they of the sheepskin coats, the filth and vermin do not make splendid material for the building of a great nation. One look at the disgusting creatures after they pass through over the C.P.R. on their way West has caused many to marvel that beings bearing the human form could have sunk to such a bestial level.[2]

The Slavs in particular were seen by many as possessing criminal natures, being brutal and susceptible to alcoholism, and as such unwelcome in Canada. Frank Oliver, the Immigration Minister following Clifford Sifton, expressed precisely these views, labelling Galicians as a "servile, shiftless people, ... the scum of other lands,... not a people who are wanted in this country at any price."[3]

Nonetheless, until the outbreak of World War One, the immigrants kept coming for they were needed in the rapidly burgeoning nation. As a consequence, some, namely the leading adherents of the Social Gospel movement, felt that immigrants had to be assimilated into the Anglo-Canadian society as rapidly as possible. J.W. Sparling, one of Canada's leading Methodist churchmen, wrote alarmingly of this ideal in the introduction of J.S. Woodsworth's book, Strangers Within Our Gates:

> For there is a danger and it is national! Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level. We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern Europe are not transplanted to and perpetuated on our virgin soil.[4]

The Hamilton Times more optimistically thought that the

assimilation of the non-Anglo immigrants was possible stating in 1898, "they may never develop into such perfect Canadians as the Scotch [sic] or the Irish but chances are they will turn out alright."[5] Indeed, a small minority of observers even rationalized that the Poles and other Slavs were no worse than the masses of English paupers that Canada had already accepted.[6]

Frank Oliver and presumably many Canadians disagreed. He argued that the Galicians, for example, could not be assimilated:

> They have withstood assimilation in the country from whence they came for many generations. What reason have we to expect their assimilation here? [7]

These nativist and at times racist statements were not unique in Canada. They were prevalent in much of the western world in an era of extreme nationalism and imperialism. Many of the negative statements were in part tied to ulterior motives. The comments from the government members were often politically motivated. For example, MacKenzie Bowell was the Conservative leader in the Senate at the time when the Liberals formed the government. Likewise, Frank Oliver, though a Liberal, was critical of the Liberal immigration policy for he desired (and ultimately received) the immigration portfolio. Similarly, the Social Gospel leaders response was as much anti-Catholic and filled with missionary fervor as it was anti-immigrant. Still, these attitudes would affect the manner in which the newcomers would adapt and socialize into the urban Ontario setting.

It was extremely difficult for the Polish immigrants to fit into Ontario society. The average Ontarian was not anxious to establish relationships with the newcomers. Obvious factors

of illiteracy, different customs and traditions, and unfamiliarity with the language created effective barriers between the host society and the immigrants. In particular, the Polish language had absolutely no affinity with either English or French.[8] The newcomers were further handicapped by the unfamiliarity with the new factory discipline and rapid pace of a dynamic, industrial society virtually unknown in Poland. Clearly, there was no common denominator to link the Pole with his new environment.

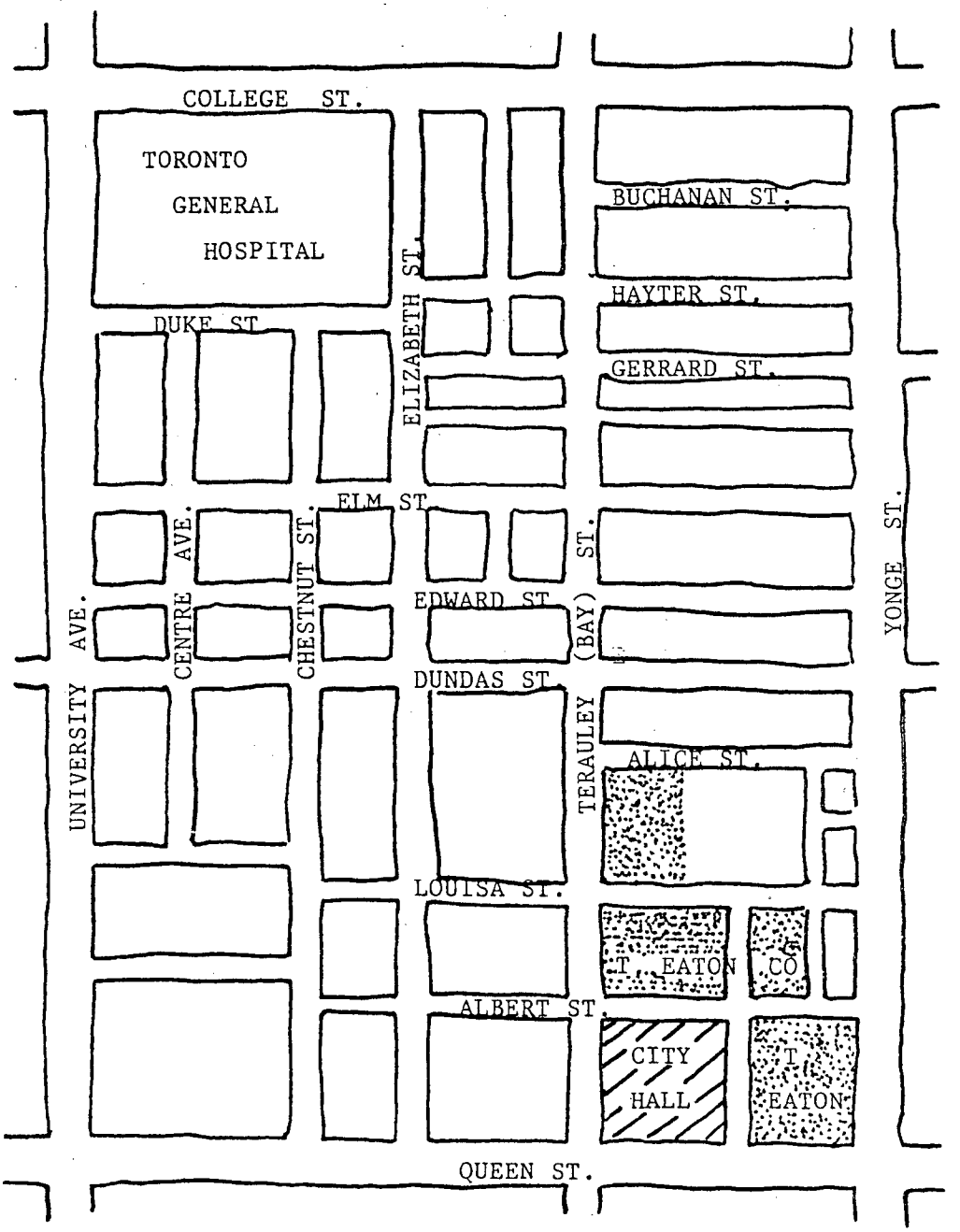
Without the ability to speak English and lacking the knowledge of Canadian ways, the Polish newcomers remained isolated from the mainstream of Canadian life. Without benefit of consular aid (Poland did not exist as a state at the time), the Poles were left to their own means. Out of neccessity, the Poles had to discover others of their own kind and independently recreate some elements of the life they had known.

But first, there were more immediate needs to be filled. Upon their arrival in the first decade of the century, housing and employment was the foremost requirement for the newcomers. In both Toronto and Hamilton, the Poles, like other immigrants, found shelter in the cheap, rundown areas in the heart of the cities. In Toronto, the area known as St. James Ward or simply the "Ward", was the initial home for many of the newcomers (see map 1). The Ward, bordered by College, University, Front and Yonge Streets, was a conglomeration of assorted residential dwellings and businesses.[9] Although it did not possess tenements so synonomous with the ghettoes of the American cities, in many ways it was as stark and decrepid. The Ward was similar in

appearance to the shanty towns found around the logging sites and mining camps of hinterland Ontario.[10] Comprised of assorted one and two story houses and tumbledown one room shacks, the Ward was the cheapest place to live in Toronto.

The central location put the Ward in close proximity to many places of employment. Specifically, the T. Eaton Company was the largest employer in the area. Along Yonge and Terauley (Bay) Streets, extending north from Queen, the Eaton Company manufactured many of the goods it later sold in itsown stores. The mass produced garments or furniture it produced, for example, did not require skilled labour and therefore the immigrants living in the area were ideal employees.

Similarly, with its central location, the Ward was a jumping off point. It was the closest residential area to the railway stations. Both the Great Western Railroad Station at the foot of Yonge Street at Union, and Union Station at the Esplanade and Simcoe Street which received the Grand Trunk, Northern, and Toronto and Nipissing trains were within easy walking distance of the Ward. [11] The link to the railways was critical in light of the employment patterns of the immigrants. They worked in any variety of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and seasonal unemployment was not uncommon. To compensate for the erratic working patterns, the Polish immigrants frequently were forced to take various jobs in the wilderness such as in logging camps, mines or railway construction sites.[12] The railroads were, therefore, of prime importance.

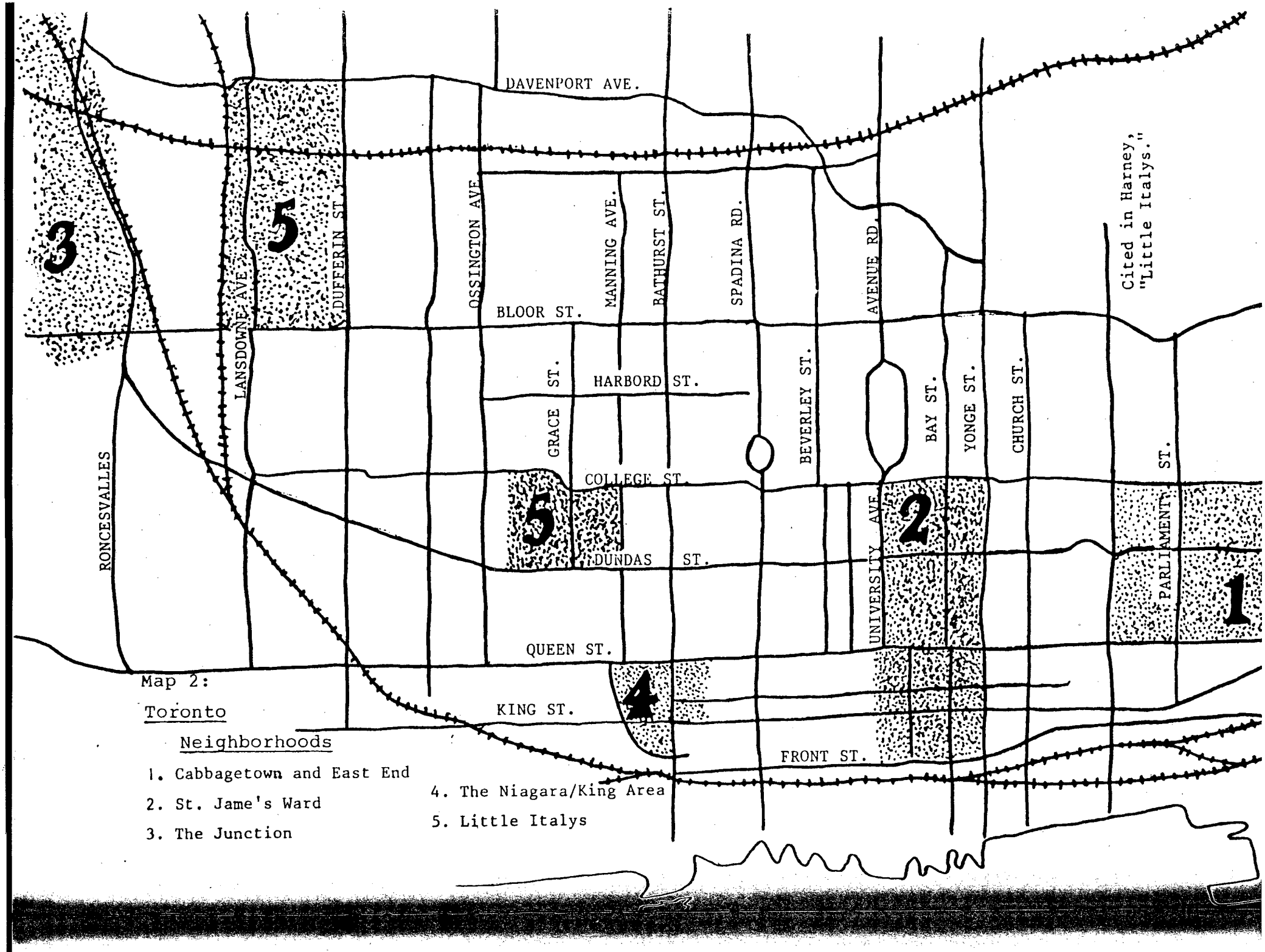


Map 1: The Ward

Cited in: Zucchi, Italian Immigrants of St. Jame's Ward.

This transience was also reflected in the housing patterns of the immigrants in the cities. Boarding houses were common among immigrant groups. Noted for being overcrowded, barren and cell-like, the boarding house was for many transient bachelors at least a cheap place to live that provided comaraderie, fellow feeling and the bonds of a common language to alleviate isolation, squalor and instability in the new Canadian society.[13] The immigrant workers could easily stay in these boarding houses when they were employed in the cities; but when they were required to go in search of work, there were no constraints such as homes to prevent them from going.

In Toronto, the Poles were interspersed among other immigrant groups and increasingly spread around the city. Alfonse Staniewski, a socialist leader who fled Russian Poland because of his activities there during the 1905 Revolution and one of the few well educated Polish immigrants, commented that the largest concentration of Poles was to be found within the Ward, in the block constituted by Elizabeth, Centre, Dundas and Duke Streets. Smaller groups were found around Bathurst and Richmond Streets. Finally, a number of Poles lived in the growing immigrant neighborhood known as the "Junction", near Dundas and Bloor Streets in the west end of the city (see map 2).[14] The Junction was the site of numerous foundries and railway related enterprises which provided employment for most of the unskilled newcomers in the west end. Indeed, the Polish immigrants were largely unskilled. Staniewski observed that in 1910:



Map 2:

Toronto

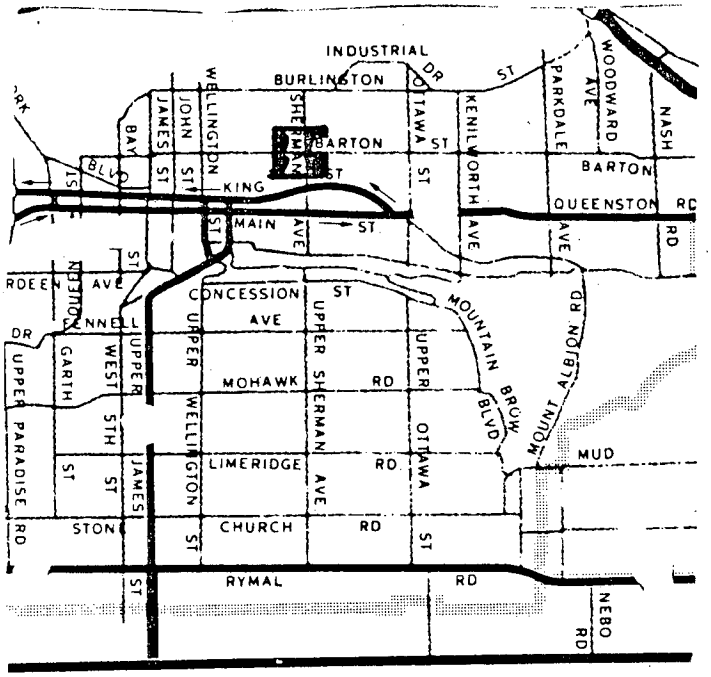
Neighborhoods

1. Cabbagetown and East End
2. St. Jame's Ward
3. The Junction
4. The Niagara/King Area
5. Little Italys

> [T]he Polish colony was small, no more than 500 people, the majority of them single men, or men with families left behind. The emigrants in Toronto constituted one class of people, they came to work. Many of them were from the small villages and small towns, from the regions of Kielce, Radom, eastern and southern Poland, from the areas of Kraków, Skala, Boryslaw, Sanok. They were either peasants or sons of peasants from small holdings, they came here hoping to improve their living conditions back home. Very few among them were skilled workers from big cities like Kraków, Warsaw or Łódź. There were not at all any professional people [among the Poles] in the whole city of Toronto. There were no people with any organizational experience either. [15]

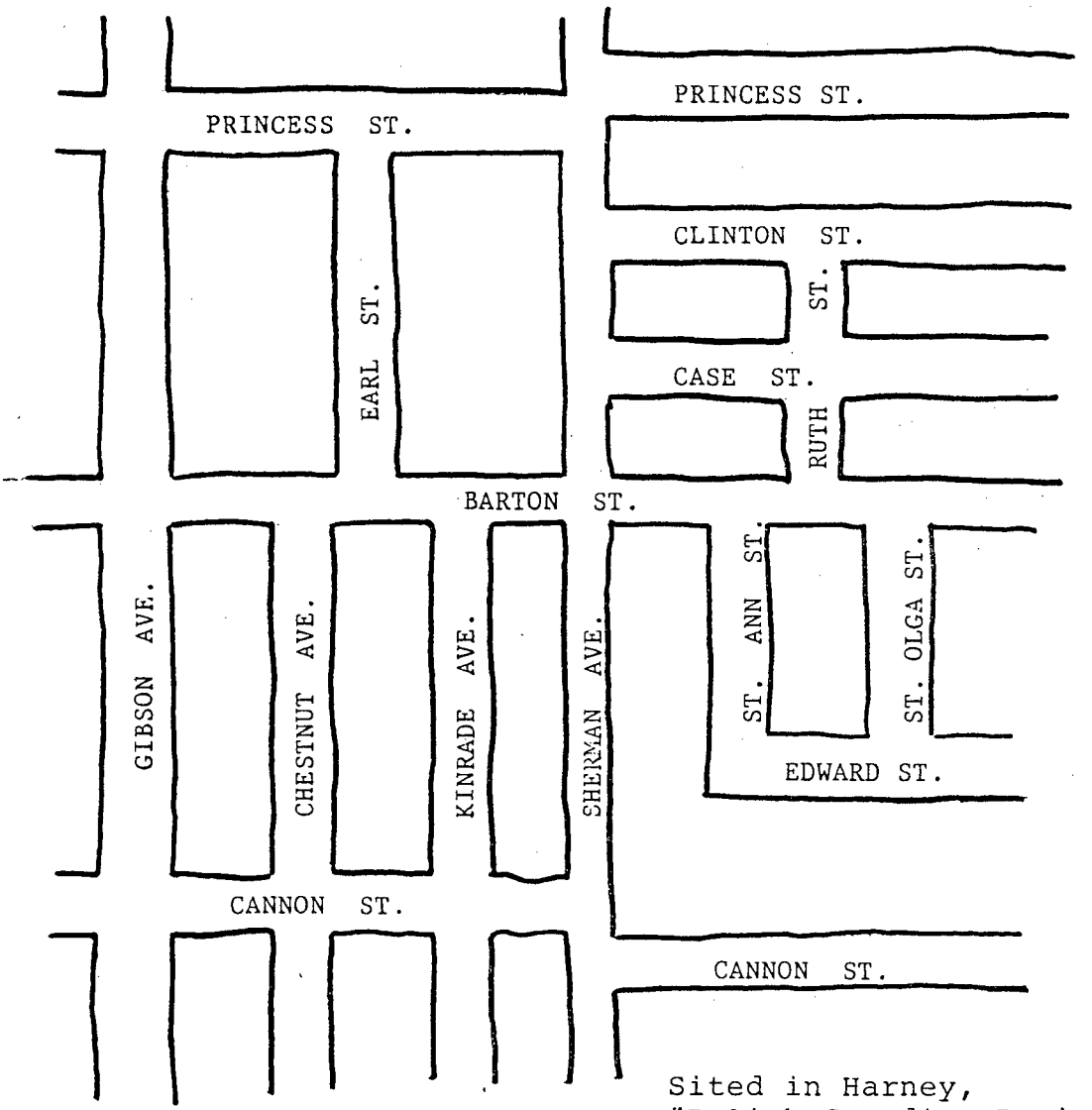
In Hamilton, the Polish immigrants went through a similar experience. They began to arrive in Hamilton in larger numbers when several American branch plants- namely International Harvester in 1903, the Steel Company of Canada in 1910, and National Steel Car Company in 1913- opened operations in the city.[16] These plants offered reasonably good wages that facilitated an opportunity for quick savings which, as has been seen, was a large motivation for coming to Canada. As such, a "foreign district" rapidly emerged in the north-east section of the city, north of Barton Street. The foreign district, like St. Jame's Ward, was in close proximity to the factories and railways. The main concentration of Polish newcomers was to be found down Sherman Avenue, in the area of Princess, Gibson, Case and Barton Streets (see map 3).

The immigrant area was a hodgepodge of rundown residential dwellings interspersed with assorted small businesses, with at least a dozen different nationalities living there. As in Toronto, the boarding house was the primary form of habitation



Map 3:

Hamilton's Foreign District and the Polish Neighborhood



Sited in Harney, "Polish-Canadian Parish".

for the immigrants. In the 1912 Hamilton Tax Assessment, for example, one Polish tenant (the owners of these properties were often absentee landlords) was running a boarding house with twenty-five boarders; another possessed twenty boarders.[17] A reporter for the Hamilton Herald observing the foreign district, commented on the conditions found in a typical boarding house.

> One of the worst features of the foreign section is the housing. Every foreign house is a boarding house, and, like the street car, there is always room for another boarder. The number of residents in each house runs from 14 to 60. There are as many beds in a room as space will permit, and as many sleep in a bed as the temperature and the temperment of the bedmates will allow.... They sleep in shifts, and as soon as one man is out, in crawls another, while the former chap is dressing. The bed is never cold and there are poor chances of a change of bed clothing. Every room in the house, excepting the one where they eat, will probably have six beds in it. The cellar will also have sleeping accomodation.... [18]

Clearly, the boarding house was little more than a place to sleep. Still in the oppressive urban and industrial setting of Hamilton and Toronto, the boarding house was also a sanctuary that provided a common language and fellowship.

The circumstances in Berlin (Kitchener after 1916) were slightly different. Berlin was substantially smaller than both Toronto and Hamilton, and the makeup of the population in this city, even in the early decades of this century, was markedly German.[19] By 1921, seventy per cent of the population was still of German descent. Unlike other burgeoning cities across Ontario, there was no great influx of immigrants from across Europe to Berlin, although a small, steady stream of

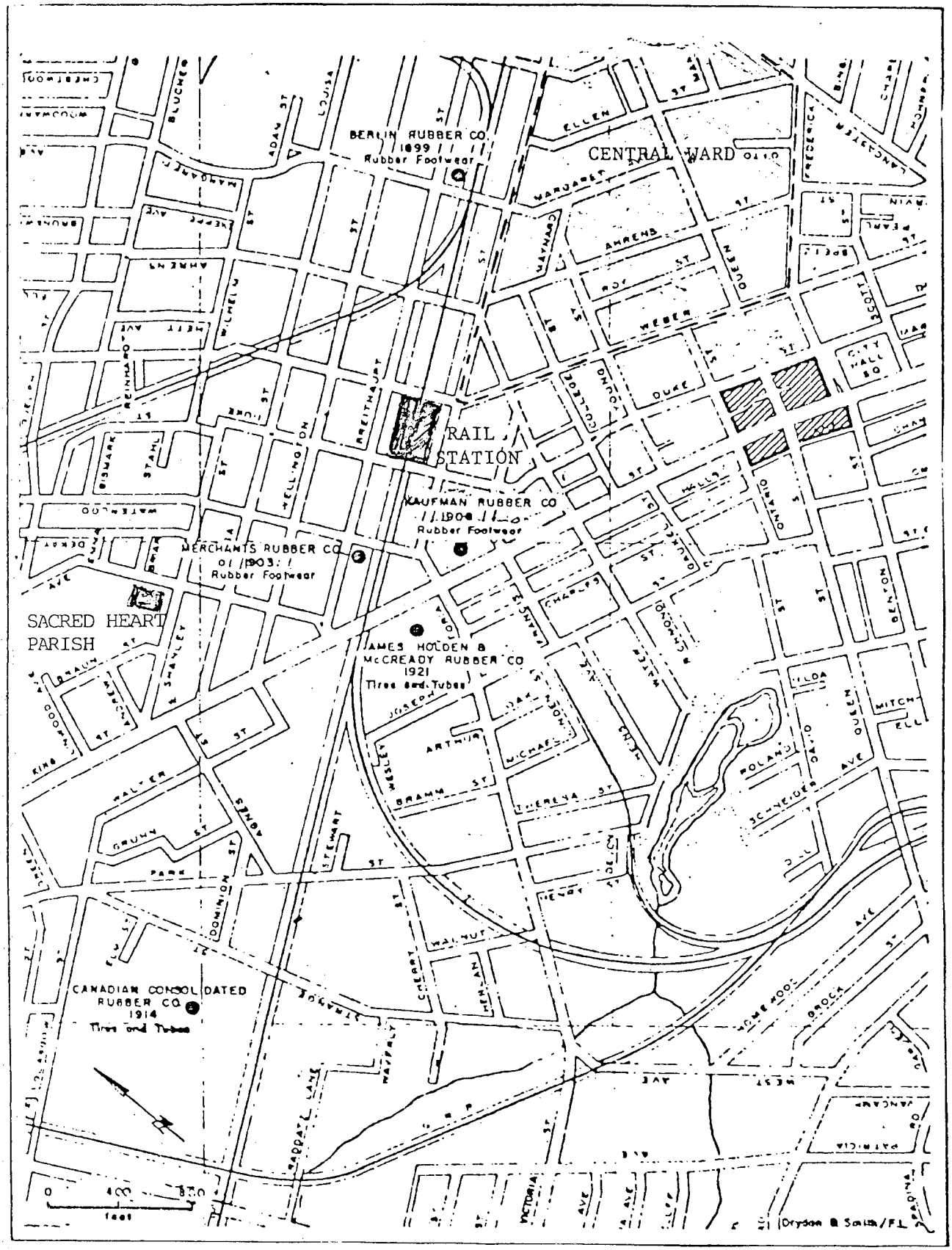
German immigrants continued to arrive. These German newcomers, on the whole, were not dispossessed peasants, as seen elsewhere, but craftsmen, industrial labourers and artisans who were easily incorporated into industrial Berlin.[20]

Although Berlin was smaller and demographically distinctive from Hamilton and Toronto, it was also a rapidly growing urban, industrial centre. Prior to 1900, Berlin was already a renowned leather, button, furniture and felt producing area. Yet these enterprises required precision work from highly skilled craftsmen. Berlin entered the industrial age through the rubber industry. By 1912, three large rubber factories: Dominion Tire, Kaufman, and Merchants, were the largest employers in the city.[21] The rubber plants came to dominate the industrial area near the Grand Trunk Railway line. But, the other factories were dispersed throughout every part of the city. Augustus Bridle, a journalist from Ottawa, commented in 1906 that Berlin was "a town of smokestacks.... In most big towns and cities, factories congest in the extremities, usually in the east end. Berlin's are everywhere." He noted the smoke from the factories floated over the residential areas "no matter where the wind is." [22] Though those who touted the city saw this as a sign of prosperity, the factories also represented a typical, dirty and poorly organized industrial city of the day.

Because of the dispersion of the factories in Berlin, no specific working class or ethnic district evolved. There was a new residential section in the central ward that housed

many of the more prominent families of the city bounded by Weber, Frederick, Lancaster and Victoria Streets (see map 4). But economic and class distinctions were less apparent in Berlin than in other cities as there were no natural boundaries between the wards nor were the wards based on economic or social distinctions.[23] Similarly, the residential distinctions were less acute because of the smaller size of the city. In 1912, over ninety per cent of the people lived in a one mile radius of the centre of the city.[24] As such, there was little opportunity for segregated residential neighborhoods to emerge. Still, problems with housing did appear. With the growth of Berlin, there was a shortage of housing in the city that did create overcrowding. Some homes held as many as six families causing conditions that were described by one observer as "scandalous", "unsanitory", and "repulsive".[25]

The Polish immigrants to Berlin held a unique position. Outside of the citizens of German and British extraction, the largest group was Polish. By 1921, there were officially almost one thousand Polish newcomers in the city.[26] Rather than coming from Galicia or other areas that provided many of the Polish immigrants, these earliest newcomers had come from Prussian Poland precisely when the policies of Kulturkampf were imposed. The Canadian authorities directed the Poles to Berlin since they were at least acquainted with the German language and culture. However, as they had just left a repressive setting and arrived in a new,alien setting both being dominated by Germans and as there was no other large



MAP 4 CENTRAL KITCHENER AND PERTINENT SITES

English, Kitchener.

concentration of other immigrants to the city, the Polish newcomers felt an innate need to organize themselves.

The transition and adaptation to an urban and industrial society was for the Polish immigrants in all three cities a difficult experience. Small in numbers, predominantly male and single, generally uneducated, without organizational support, they faced a rough existence. Inextricably linked to a labour intensive factory system, frequently toiling at the heaviest and most noxious work, and at times dead or debilitated in a matter of a few short years, the Poles needed something to relieve themselves from the constant stress of trying to acquire money. One Polish immigrant reflected, simultaneously, the need for work and the feeling of isolation in a letter to his father in Poland:

> My life is to get up early in the morning, go to the factory and work until dusk. This of course is good and thank God for that, because I am paid for my labour. But it is difficult in the evenings; there is nobody to talk with nor can I even read a newspaper. [27]

The first efforts to provide services and organization emanated from the Poles themselves. For example, in Berlin, the Mutual Benefit Society of St. Joseph was founded in 1886 and has been since recognized as the first Polish organization in Canada. As the name suggested the provision of sickness and death benefits were the main concern of this group and were a direct response to the new urban and industrial setting. But, the maintenance of the Polish language and culture was also important.[28] The Sons of Poland, organized in Toronto in 1907, had comparable goals. Concerned mostly with the economic

and moral well being of their members, the founders expressed a national and ideological concern. According to their constitution, the Sons of Poland wished to

> ...celebrate important anniversaries of historical events in Poland...; uphold the Catholic religion and establish Polish parishes; ...and because the Commonwealth of Poland was comprised of many nationalities, the association will accept in its ranks the Lithuanians and Ruthenians for the good of our Fatherland... [29]

Clearly, the founding members of the Sons of Poland had a strong sense of nationality and a deeply romantic view of Poland, recognizing the age old relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Polish state as well as the deep historical past of the Polish Commonwealth.[30] Considering the general poverty, the disparate places of origin and the lack of education among most of the Polish newcomers to Toronto, the strength of the national awareness and devotion to the church was quite remarkable.

The Poles were inspired by Stefan Adalia Satalecki who had come to the city in 1906 via Chicago where he had been similarly active in the Polish community.[31] Interestingly, by accepting other nationalities into their organization from the old commonwealth, the founders of the Sons of Poland who were presumably from the lower and peasant classes, were expressing a very upper class attitude. At its height, the Commonwealth extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Polish gentry freely accepted Ukrainian, Lithuanian and White Russian nobility as their peers. Similarly, the non-Polish gentry frequently became as Polish as the masses of

native Polish peasants within the Commonwealth. The Sons of Poland were not confusing their national loyalties or identities as Robert Harney has suggested.[32] Instead, they were expressing an attitude that was consistent with Polish history although one that could be called very romantic and inconsistent with the Polish immigrants' social and economic status in Ontario. More significantly, this attitude reflected the desire among the Poles to recreate some affinity with the world that they had left behind. This desire was seen more urgently in the Sons of Poland's wish to create Polish parishes as the Roman Catholic Church had always been central in Polish society.

Before 1910, the provision for the spiritual and religious needs of the immigrants was sadly defficient. However, by the end of the first decade, there was a semblance of a Polish group emerging in all three cities. Each group closely resembled an extended work gang and could not yet be truly described as an ethnic community. Scattered throughout the urban centers, no more than small enclaves, the Poles were initially content with the very basics: any job, a roof over their heads and the chance to make and save some money. Lacking financial resources, time or facilities, the Poles at this time could do little on their own.

End Notes

1. Manitoba Free Press, 1 February 1904; cited in Pierre Berton, The Promised Land, Settling the West, 1896-1914, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984), p.55.

2. Belleville Intelligencer, 1 February 1904; cited in Ibid., p.50.

3. Brandon Independant, 23 June 1898; cited in Ibid., p.54.

4. J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, reprinted 1972), p.8.

5. Hamilton Times, 15 July 1898; cited in Berton, p.60.

6. Radecki and Heydenkorn, Member of a Distinguished Family, p.45.

7. Berton, p.59.

8. Radecki, Ethnic Organizational Dynamics, p.43.

9. John Zucchi, The Italian Immigrants of St. Jame's Ward, 1875-1915: Patterns of Settlement and Neighborhood Formation. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981),p.3.

10. Robert Harney and Harold Troper, Immigrants, A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930, (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975), p.23. Also see this book for an exceptional visual impression of the immigrant experience in urban Toronto and surrounding regions.

11. Zucchi, Italian Immigrants, p.3.

12. For a discussion of transient labour practices among the Italians see: Robert Harney, "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885-1945," Little Italys in North America, (Toronto: Ontario Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), p.43; Harney, "Commerce of Immigration."

13. Harney and Troper, Immigrants, p.34.

14. Zofia Gagat, "St. Stanislaus' Parish: The Heart of Toronto Polonia," Polyphony, vol.6, no.1, (1984),p.50.

15. Ibid., p.50.

16. Zofia Shahrodi, "Early Polish Settlement in Hamilton," Polyphony, vol.6, no.2, (Toronto), p.33.

17. Ibid., p.35.

18. Hamilton Herald, 31 August 1912; cited in Ibid., p.36.

19. Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol.1, p.220. Officially the population was: Toronto 521,763, Hamilton 114,151, Kitchener 21,763.

20. John English and Kenneth McLaughlin, Kitchener an Illustrated History, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983), p.77.

21. Ibid., pp.67-8. In 1912, Dominion Tire employed 604; Merchants, 526; Kaufman, 466.

22. Ibid., p.53.

23. Ibid., p.85.

24. Ibid., p.90.

25. Ibid., p.73.

26. Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol 1, Table 26.

27. Makowski, p.73.

28. Radecki, Ethnic Organizational Dynamics, pp.45-6.

29. Makowski, p.74.

30. The Polish Commonwealth emerged in 1386, when Poland and Lithuania was united under the Jagiellonian dynasty and thrived until the mid-1600's. Many minorities such as Ukrainians and White Russians, were incorporated into the Commonwealth, with the upper classes of all the nationalities sharing in the control of power. Although the union collapsed, many Polish contemporaries at the turn of this century still aspired to recreate a commonwealth or federation of east-central European states with Poland at the head. For a discussion of Poland as a Commonwealth see, for example, W.F. Reddaway et. al., eds., The Cambridge History of Poland, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941).

31. Gagat, p.50.

32. Harney and Troper, Immigrants, p.148.

Chapter 3

Missionary Zeal

> It is on Sunday that I suffer the most. In the nearby church which I attend, I cannot understand what the priest says and it is difficult to get used to so many different things.
>
> A letter from a Polish immigrant in Toronto to his father in Poland.

Organized religion in Canada was substantially different fromthat in Poland. As previously discussed, Poland was devoutly and overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Yet there was nothing resembling a national religion in Canada. The majority of Ontarians, in the first decades of this century, were Protestant, with no single preponderant denomination. The Roman Catholic Church represented a small, stable minority of approximately thirteen percent of the population. [1] As a minority church, the Roman Catholics had fought an uphill battle to establish and perpetuate their church in Protestant Ontario.

Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church began to grow in earnest with the arrival of thousands of Irish fleeing their homeland in the wake of the infamous potato famines. Like the other Europeans who followed at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Irish were largely poor and uneducated. Experiencing much prejudice and anti-Catholic backlash and unable to adjust to the Canadian agricultural methods, the Irish gravitated to the urbanized areas where in the next fifty years, they succeeded in creating a thriving church

based extensively on a distinctly Irish Catholic perspective directed by a predominantly Irish clergy and hierarchy. [2]

With the influx of the mostly Roman Catholic immigrants, the Roman Catholic Church, lacking in initiative, was slow to respond. It simply took for granted that the immigrants would continue to practice their faith, but the church initially did little to encourage the practice. For the newcomers from all across the European continent, the lack of encouragement was most disconcerting. Although Masses worldwide were said in Latin, all else was alien. Remembering the uniqueness of the church in Poland, the Irish influenced Canadian churches seemed bare to the Poles. During the service, the immigrant would stand or kneel at the wrong time. The hymns, sermons, advice and even admonitions were foreign and incomprehensible being delivered in an unfamiliar language.[3] The impact was compounded by the fact that the function of the church as a social institution was minimized specifically because of the language barriers.

In broader terms, the immigrant often found it easier to equate Canada with Protestantism. Leaving the rural setting of the homeland for a modern urban environment required a great psychological adjustment. Crossing over to a "modern" Protestant denomination seemed to have been one way to complete this adjustment. Indeed, the Protestant denominations were highly visible among the various immigrant groups. Almost from the outset of the arrival of the first southern and eastern European immigrants to Ontario, the major Protestant denominations

provided their services. Unquestionably, these sects hoped to convert as many of the ethnic newcomers as possible to the Protestant faith. But they were also instrumental in easing the adjustment of the newcomers to the new dynamic, fast paced, urban setting by providing material aid and an introduction to the Canadian language and lifestyle.

The Protestant denominations, in the best imperial style of the day, divided up the newcomers on national lines. The Methodists concentrated their efforts on the Italians and the Chinese. In turn, the Presbyterians focused their attentions on the Jews and the Baptists, on the Slavs. Among all of the organized religions , the Church of England possessed the first aparatus directed at the immigrants. In November 1899, the Church of England opened its Mission to the Italians on Edward Street in the heart of the Italian neighborhood in the Ward in Toronto. Run by an ex-Roman Catholic priest from Calabria, the mission was open for only a short time.[5] Upon deliberation, the Church of England soon developed an uncompromising and uncomplicated position concerning non-Anglo immigration into Canada as the Church's Council for Social Service resolved,

> That this Council expresses its very strong conviction that decided preference should be given to immigration from the British Isles. [6]

The Church of England would not alter this view until the 1950's.

Instead, the Methodist Church stepped in to tend to the

needs of the Italian immigrants. Although the Methodist Church had been active abroad, the Home Department was officially created in 1906 with responsibility for " the missions proper, work among European foreigners, and city missions".[7] The needs of the European foreigners were clearly and accurately seen by the Methodist Missionary Society:

> ...The Roman Catholics of other nationalities and the Greek Catholics are not adequately cared for by any Church....
>
> Our objective on behalf of European foreigners should be to assist in making them English-speaking Christian citizens who are clean, educated and loyal to this Dominion and to Great Britain.
>
> There should be three broad general lines on which work should proceed:
>
> 1) Sanitation
> 2) Education
> 3) Evangelistic and social work. [8]

Clearly, the Methodist workers and clergy saw that the Roman Catholic Church was experiencing a shortage of qualified priests. Yet their priority was to integrate the immigrants into Canadian society as quickly as possible; evangelistic activites were third of their list.

The Methodists opened their first mission in Toronto in October 1905 under Reverend Guissepi Merlino. Soon this mission moved to the old Anglican Italian site and ultimately possessed 45 regular members. By 1912, the Methodists had established missions in three areas of heavier Italian concentration.[9] Still, proportionately fewer Italians actually joined these missions; there were officially 62 in Toronto and another 44 in Hamilton in 1917.[10]

The Baptists ministered to the Slavs in a similar way. As with

the Methodists, the Baptists also endeavoured to Canadianize the immigrants. In 1908 Reverend John Kolesnikoff came to Toronto to survey the Slavic populace of the city and urged the Baptist Home Mission Board to commence missionary work among the Slavs. The Baptists quickly responded by opening three missions: on King Street to serve the southern Slavic community in the east end, on Elizabeth Street to serve the Ward and on Dundas Street West to serve the Junction area.[11]

The missions soon were centres of civic as well as religious activity. Immigrant education was a high priority. A night school was organized at the King Street Mission where young volunteer instructors taught English language classes to the regular members of the mission. Yet the classes were frankly religious in character, including prayer and scripture reading sessions. The immigrants were taught the language, the laws and the customs of Canada only after they had been, according to one Baptist missionary, " taught the laws of 'Upper Canada'-Heaven ".[12]

Although the missionaries themselves claimed to have had great success among the Slavic immigrants, contending to have helped as many as 75 per cent of all Bulgarians and Macedonians at the King Street Mission in the east end for example, their estimates were often exaggerated. The missionaries' inflated numbers grew from the need to demonstrate success to their superiors so that the projects would continue to be financed. In reality, the Baptist missionaries had only limited

success. The Elizabeth Street Mission, in 1915, for instance, consisted of 53 members, predominantly Ukrainians and Russians.[13] Interestingly, few Poles joined the mission suggesting that the Poles were as strongly Roman Catholic as previously indicated.

Despite the zeal of the missionaries, reality demonstrated that the Protestant denominations had neither the resources nor the inclination to minister to all of the numerous immigrants. One Baptist source persisted, even as late as 1912, in claiming that the Slav "fails in sustained effort, shrinks from overwhelming obstacles.... He is slow of intellect, sometimes economizes the truth, and is apt to be intemperate." 16 In gentler tones, the Methodist Missionary Society stated:

> Our first care is for the English speaking people, and upon missions among them more than 62 per cent of the Home Mission appropriations are spent. 17

In reality, the Methodist Home Mission only claimed a total of 36 non-English missions across the entire country, five in the Toronto Conference that stretched out to Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie and six in the Hamilton Conference that included the Niagara Peninsula and Guelph. [18] Instead, the brunt of the responsibility for ministering to the immigrants fell on the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church "whose adherents are counted by the hundreds of thousands amongst the foreign element now seeking our shores," was slow to notice "the great activity of non-Catholics among the immigrants."[14] The Catholic Church Extension Society feared that the Roman Catholic and Uniate immigrants were being lured away from the Church by an aggressive and clever

campaign by the Protestant denominations. The Catholic Church Extension Society displayed exactly this concern among the Ruthenians (south-western Ukrainians of both Uniate and Orthodox Rites):

> Let them give us a Ruthenian bishop, some priests, be they English or French, Basilians or Redemptorists, some priests who will pass over to the Ruthenian Rite until they have priests of their own, and let me add, a paper and some pecuniary assistance and 95% of these people will be saved. What a formidable force against the Protestant Invasion. [15]

Although the Extension Society was correct in predicting that the vast majority of the Ruthenians could be brought back to the Church, it failed to recognize that a particular type of priest was required. What the Ruthenians, like all of the European immigrants, desired were priests that could minister to them in their own tongue, in the Rite and in the unique form that had been known in the homeland. Basilians or Redemptorists missionaries simply could not provide any of this.

In the first decade of the century, the Roman Catholic Church in Ontario lagged behind its Protestant counterparts. The first Catholic non-English language mission appeared at St. Patrick's Church in 1902 and catered to the Italians.[19] But in light of the rapid increase in the numbers of immigrants, the Catholic church was easily three years behind the Protestant churches. The hierarchy was cognizant of the needs of the Catholic ethnic minority, however. Bishop Thomas Dowling of the Hamilton Diocese stated that there was a need to provide religious services "for foreigners who are coming to us in large numbers."[20] In Toronto, Archbishop

Denis O'Connor permitted Polish masses in St. Mary's Chapel within St. Michael's Cathedral that sat immediately east of St. Jame's Ward. However, there was a lack of Polish speaking (and all other ethnic language) priests. The Toronto Poles were serviced infrequently. In the first report of a Polish priest to Archbishop O'Connor it became clear that regular Polish services were necessary. The Polish priest, Reverend Paul Sobczak, stated that in three days he had given the sacrements to an excess of one hundred and fifty people, including several Slovaks and Macedonians. As there were only an estimated 500 Poles in the city at this time, this represented a rather substantial number.[21] O'Connor's successor, Archbishop Fergus McEvay, expressed a similar interest in a missionary approach. When dealing with the Italian populace, he stated, for example, that the Italian clerics should be "less priests than missionaries:... men of zeal who visit the homes of these people not merely in one parish but adjoining parishes...."[22] Clearly, this attitude reflected, in part, the influence of the Protestant activities among the immigrants, but more significantly, illustrated that there were severe shortages of qualified, ethnic language priests to work with the newcomers.

This shortage of ethnic priests was acute throughout southern Ontario. Bishop Dowling in Hamilton also obtained the services of Reverend Sobczak to administer to the Hamilton Poles, setting up a mission at St. Anne's Parish Hall on the

edge of the foreign district.[23] Reverend Sobczak in reality was the only capable Polish priest in the area during this time and also worked in Berlin and as far away as London, and Cobalt in the north.[24] The Polish priest could come to a mission only once a week at best, and often less frequently to attend to the spiritual needs of the immigrants. Between visits, the Poles used regular churches and patiently waited for the next circular announcing an upcoming Polish mass.[25]

The bishops were constantly attempting to recruit Polish priests for their diocese. In their search, the prelates, namely Archbishop McEvay, only had sincere, best wishes for the Poles. For example a Polish priest in New York offered his services to McEvay but the Archbishop first wrote to Archbishop Farley of New York to ratify the priest's competence.

> I do not want to take any chances with these good people and will be grateful if you tell me in confidence whether this priest is one you can recommend for such work [missionary]. [26]

The shortage of Polish priests also existed in the United States however, and Archbishop Farley would not part with the priest's services.[27]

The desperate need for Polish priests was more clearly demonstrated in another letter from Michael J. Gallagher, the Bishop of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Gallagher had previously requested advice from Archbishop Neil McNeil, McEvay's successor, as to how to deal with an ambitious, inflexible and disruptive Polish priest. The priest's mission had

rebelled against him, closing the mission and the mission school for six weeks. The laity had grown impatient " with his old country, autocratic methods ".[28] Despite the priest's activities, McNeil offered to bring the priest to the Archdiocese of Toronto explaining diplomatically or perhaps compassionately that " a discontent man [the Polish priest] is not an efficient worker ".[29] Again, even with his problems, Bishop Gallagher refused the offer as he had no one to take the priest's place. The shortage of Polish priests would be a problem for most parishes and missions throughout this period.

The archbishops in Toronto had equal problems in obtaining Italian priests. Until 1909 Archbishop McEvay used Father Pietro Pisani, an immigration specialist, with a good sense for locating priests, to help solve this dilemma. However, like the Polish priest in Grand Rapids, the quality of these priests was questionable and there was a high turnover rate within the Italian missions.[30] Instead, McEvay turned to religious orders in an effort to provide Italian clergy for the archdiocese. Much like the division of the immigrants among the Protestant denominations, various religious orders attempted to assert their influence over the different ethnic groups. Archbishop McEvay contacted the Redemptionist Order's superior in Baltimore in 1907 to provide Italian priests. McEvay, in a somewhat condescending manner, requested that two clerics who spoke "both English and Italian be set apart to save their people." [31] The Redemptorist Order had at the

beginning of the century embarked on an expansionist campaign among the Italian communities in North America. The Provincial of the Redemptorists responded to McEvay's request in an equally belittling fashion:

> While we know that the spiritual betterment of these Southern Italians is an almost impossible task, partly on account of the inborn indifference of this people: still we would gladly do all in our power to second your efforts if satisfactory arrangements could be made. [32]

The Redemptorist Order and it seems many of the Italian clerics were centered in Northern Italy. This fact would explain their disdain for southern Italians as the populace was generally poorer and less educated than that of the north. But, because of their own shortage of Italian priests, the Redemptorists could not come to the Archbishop's aid.[33] McEvay would have to continue to use the arduous and time consuming approach of recruiting priests individually.

The situation in Berlin, again, was quite different from that of Toronto and Hamilton. From the beginning of the arrival of Polish immigrants to the city, Polish speaking priests were virtually always available. The Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (hereafter referred to as the Resurrectionist Order) had sent Father Eugene Funcken and Brother Edward Glowacki to Berlin in 1857, predominantly to minister to the German Roman Catholics. But the Resurrectionist Order was a Polish order created in Paris in 1842 and, as such, in years to come there were always Polish speaking priests or senior students available from St. Jerome's College, the school created by the Funcken brothers.[34] The Resurrectionist

priests were vital to the development of the Polish community in Berlin and indeed in the entire Hamilton Diocese. In 1885, the Resurrectionist Order created a Polish Mission in the Our Lady of Seven Doleurs Church (a German parish) under the auspices of Thomas Tarasiewicz, a senior student at St. Jerome's College. Tarasiewicz went on to create the St. Joseph's Fraternal Aid Society during his brief stay. It would become the foundation of the Polish parish organization that would later be developed by the already mentioned Reverend Sobchak.[35]

The Polish Catholics' lives in North America were inextricably linked to the Resurrectionist Order. As mentioned, the Resurrectionist Order was created in 1842 in Paris by three Polish priests- Reverends Bogdan Janski, Peter Semenenko and Jerome Kajsiewicz. These men were soldier priests having participated in the failed 1831 insurrections in Poland. Upon the collapse of the rebellion they fled to Paris where they created the Resurrectionist Order. The Order was created to uphold the Roman Catholic faith in Poland and, perhaps from the military background, was strongly militant not unlike the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) in an earlier time.[36] With the tremendous growth of the Polish immigration to America, the Resurectionists followed to help maintain the faith of the Catholic immigrants, particularly the Polish immigrants.

The endeavours of the Resurrectionists met with mixed results. The greatest incursion of the Resurrectionist Order occurred in Chicago, and their experience there greatly influenced their behavior and attitudes toward the Ontario

Poles. On their arrival in the 1870's, there were more than twenty Polish parishes already established in the Archdiocese of Chicago.[37] In 1871, a pact made between the Resurrectionists and Archbishop Foley gave the Order the right to administer all non-diocesan, Polish parishes in the Archdiocese for the next 99 years.[38] Although, externally, this alliance between the American Irish Catholic hierarchy and the Polish order seemed beneficial as the Poles would be well looked after and the hierarchy would not have to deal with a minority parish structure, such was not the case. The Resurrectionists took over established parishes and generally placed their own clerics there. The displaced, non-Resurrectionist priests were shunted aside and excluded from running their own parishes.[39] This led to a schism. An extremely bitter conflict ensued and the non-Resurrectionist, non-diocesan Polish priests mutinied against the established Roman Catholic Church, creating their own parishes separate from the Vatican and away from the control of the Irish American hierarchy. Ultimately, the independent Chicago parishes would join other renegade parishes in Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Scranton Pennsylvania, that had similarly bolted from overly autocratic administrations to form the Polish National Catholic Church (P.N.C.C.). Ironically, the Resurrectionist Order which came to America to maintain the ties between the Polish immigrants and the Roman Catholic Church had driven a large part of the Polish clergy and parishioners away. Thus, the Resurrectionist's strong Polish sentiments were overcome by another, stronger nationalism that was unwilling to accept the dictates of an Irish heirarchy or

of an upstart religious order.

The rising conflict and national awareness demonstrated in the United States by the Poles was also reflected in Canada. In Winnipeg, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate(the Oblates) were a major force among the Slavic minority groups. Established in the Poznań region of German Poland, there was a strong Germanic slant to the Oblates that led to nationalistic and linguistic tensions between these clerics and the Slavic immigrants. The Poles on the prairies were largely from Russian and Austrian Poland and frequently labelled the Oblates as Krzyżacy- Teutonic Knights.[40] Again nationalistic differences, only this time with the Germanic Oblate Order, led to the creation of a separatist Polish parish in Winnipeg in 1904.[41]

The rising tide of national awareness among the Poles was also evident in Ontario as early as the mid-1880's. But because the Polish presence in Ontario was miniscule at the time, the Ressurrectionists in Berlin were more concerned with the American situation. Following the schism of the Polish clergy in Chicago, the senior members of the Resurrectionist Order had doubts about the Order's role in America. Two factions appeared as one group concluded that they should concern themselves only with church affairs in Poland and that the Order should withdraw from North America. One Resurrectionist cleric bluntly stated:

> The fact is we have a sacred duty towards Poland and if we renounce it, it would be suicide on our part because the needs of Poland are for today the principle reason for the existence of the congregation.[42]

The other group maintained that the Resurrectionist Order

should preserve its' "internationalist" outlook. Reverend Louis Funcken, one of the staunchest internationalists, believed that the greatest role for the Order was to promulgate the Roman Catholic faith in America specifically to the Polish immigrants. He wrote in 1885:

> Perhaps it is said that the Congregation should be cosmopolitan[not exclusively Polish]. However I will put forth an exclusively Polish point of view, because we are hardly necessary as a Congregation [for the German Catholics already established in Berlin], but we are of incalcuable benefit for the Poles.... No one can stop the emigration. The fact of the matter is clear. The Church must help the immigrants without destroying nationality if possible. The best way is to form an American-Polish clergy, some of whom possibly belonging to us [St. Jerome's]... [43]

Reverend Funcken was obviously aware that the Resurrectionists had assumed the role of guardians of Polish Catholicism. A nationalistic Polish presence to keep the Poles in the Roman Catholic Church was, therefore, necessary. Yet, he had a vested interest in the internationalist side. St. Jerome's College was at that time quickly growing: the number of students had doubled in 1884 from 30 to 60 of which 16 were Poles.[44] He certainly did not wish to abandon his work just as dividends were beginning to emerge.

Unlike the situation in Chicago, the Resurrectionist Order was very beneficial to the Poles in Ontario, as Funcken had suggested. As it was entering virgin territory in regard to the ministration of the Polish newcomers, the Order did provide many of the Polish priests, particularly in the Hamilton Diocese and did not disrupt any existing parish

organization as it had in Chicago. Yet, as the Polish presence in Ontario grew, the influnce of the Resurrectionist Order also increased. Because of the adverse experience encountered south of the border, the Resurrectionists would in the future be a conservative, cautious and stable front in urban Ontario in the face of secular and other disruptive forces.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy also did its best to keep the immigrants from straying from the Church. John Zucchi, one of the chroniclers of the Italian experience is critical of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Italian clergy for treating the Italian newcomers in a condescending fashion, seeing them as an underdeveloped people during the period of missionary work in the cities. Granted, the Roman Catholic Church was slow to respond and frequently was unable to provide the immigrants with all they needed. Similarly, the hierarchy and the religious orders did appear more disparaging toward the Italian newcomers than toward the Poles. But, under the circumstances, how else would the Church react? The Italians, like the Poles, were poor, undereducated and quite simple. They came from diverse villages and small towns, each with its own religious traditions and peculiarities. The Roman Catholic Church, by nature, was conservative, prevalently Irish in Ontario and responded in a consistent and predictable way. Faced with a large influx of diverse ethnic groups, some, like the Uniates, not Roman Catholic in the traditional sense, and unable to find sufficient numbers of capable priests, the hierarchy did its best. Archbishop McEvay, hired an immigration expert to deal with the Italian needs and after

a study of the Italian population in Toronto decided that an ethnic parish was viable.[45] This approach was comparable to how the Baptist Home Mission with the aid of Reverend Kolisnikoff formed their three missions for the Slavs. Still, by the end of the first decade of this century, the various ethnic groups had grown and were beyond the need for missions. They needed their own parishes.

End Notes

1. Piva, pp.10-11.

2. For a broader discusion of the Irish Roman Catholic Church in Ontario, see for example: Murray Nicholson, "The Other Toronto: Irish Catholics in a Victorian City, 1850-1900," Polyphony, vol.6, no.1, (Toronto).

3. Radecki and Heydenkorn, Member of a Distinguished Family, p.144.

4. Harney and Troper, Immigrants, p.147.

5. John Zucchi, "Church and Clergy, and the Religious Life of Toronto's Italian Immigrants, 1900-1940," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, (1983), p.537.

6. Joint Committee on Education of the Church of England in Canada, The Church and the Newcomer, (Toronto, n.d.), p.32; cited in the Anglican Church Archives, Toronto (A.C.A.T.).

7. Methodist Missionary Society, The 82nd Report for the Year Ending in 1906, (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, p.32; cited in the United Church Archives, Toronto (U.C.A.T.).

8. Ibid., for 1910, pp.32-34, U.C.A.T..

9. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.537.

10. Methodist Missionary Society, for 1917, p.XXVI, U.C.A.T..

11. L.Petroff, "Macedonians: From Village to City," Canadian Ethnic Studies, (1983), pp.30-31.

12. Ibid., p.31.

13. Zorianna Sokolsky, "The Beginning of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1903-1914," Polyphony, vol.6, no.1, (1984), p.55.

14. C.J. Cameron, Foreigners or Canadians?, (Toronto, 1913), p.36: cited in Petroff, p.29.

15. Methodist Missionary Society, for 1922, p.X.

16. Ibid., p.XI.

17. Harney and Troper, Immigrants, p.146.

18. The President of the Catholic Church Extension Society to Archbishop McEvay, 23 October 1909, Archbishop Fergus McEvay Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto (A.A.T.).

These particular Ruthenians were probably Uniate, an Ukrainian offshoot of the Roman Catholic Church. Created in 1569, at the Union of Lublin when the Polish Commonwealth was formed, the Uniate Church was formally recognized by the Vatican, although the Rite more closely resembled the Orthodox Church, complete with priests who married.

19. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.537.

20. Bishop Thomas Dowling to Monsignor Cronin, 11 March 1912, Bishop Thomas Dowling Papers, Archives of the Diocese of Hamilton (A.D.H.).

21. Rev. J.P. Schwietzer, St. Jerome's College, Berlin to Archbishop Denis O'Connor, 12 April 1907, St. Stanislaus' Church Files, A.A.T..

22. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.535.

23. Kenneth Foyster, Anniversary Reflections: 1856-1981, A History of the Hamilton Diocese, (Hamilton, 1981), p.78.

24. Edward Janas, C.R., Dictionary of American Resurrectionists, 1865-1965, (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1967), p.56.

25. A circular to the clergy of the Archdiocese asking to announce the forthcoming Mass in Polish, 25 January 1911, Archbishop McEvay Papers, Manuscript Number ME-AA05.16, A.A.T..

26. Archbishop McEvay to Archbishop Farley, 30 March 1909, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF04.25, A.A.T..

27. Archbishop Farley to Archbishop McEvay, 4 April 1909, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-Af04.26, A.A.T..

28. Bishop Gallagher to Archbishop Neil McNeil, 28 January 1916, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

29. Ibid.

30. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.538.

31. Archbishop McEvay to Rev. Brick, 3 August 1908; and the Provincial of the Redemptorists in Balimore, Licking to Archbishop McEvay, 12 August 1908, Archbishop McEvay Papers, A.A.T.; cited in Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.536.

32. Licking to Archbishop McEvay, 12 August 1908, Archbishop McEvay Papers, A.A.T.; cited in Ibid., p.536.

33. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.539.

34. Janas, Dictionary of American Resurrectionists. In order, the Resurrectionist clerics responsible for the Poles in Berlin were: Rev. Thomas Tarasiewicz 1885-1886, Rev. John Steffan 1887-1892, Rev. Joseph Halter 1892-1895, Rev. Stanislaw Rogalski 1896-1901, Francais Pieczynski 1901-1904, Rev. Paul Sobchak 1904-1913, Rev. Charles Fellinski 1913-1915, Rev. Stanislaw Rogalski 1915-1933.

35. Makowski, p.92.

36. Parot, p.47.

37. Ibid., p.84.

38. Ibid., p.49.

39. Ibid., p.231.

40. Turek, Poles in Manitoba, p.98. The Teutonic Knights were the historical enemies of the Polish state and the epitome of Germanic expansionism. The Knights expanded along the Baltic to bring Catholicism to the "barbaric" tribes of Poland and Lithuania which were already Christian, completely exterminating the original Prussian race. Several wars culminating at the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenburg) in 1410 led to the downfall of the Teutonic Knights against a united Polish-Lithuanian front.

41. Ibid., p.100.

42. Rev. Julain Felinski to Rev. Louis Funcken, 1 December 1884, cited in Paul Smolikowski, Excerpts from the History of The Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, vol.2, trans. by Rev. James Wahl, (Waterloo: private printing, 1980), p. 36.

43. Rev. Louis Funcken to Rev. Peter Semenenko, 22 April 1885, cited in Ibid., p.68.

44. Rev. Eugene Funcken to Rev. Semenenko, March or April 1885, cited in Ibid., p.68.

45. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," pp.533-35.

Chapter 4

The Rise of the Ethnic Parish

> The work advances on St. Stanislaus' Church which is now the property of the Polish congregation under Father Hinzmann. The generous benefactor who put up the money to purchase the church is now refitting it for Catholic service.... Meanwhile the Poles are increasing everyday in Toronto.
>
> The Catholic Register,
> 29 June 1911.

By 1910, both the Protestant and Catholic missions were, to a degree, able to provide support for the immigrants' spiritual needs. Still, as the Polish newcomers became more aware of their national identity and became better established in the setting within the industrial cities, more than missions was required. The rapid influx of the Polish immigrants necessitated the creation of Polish ethnic parishes. From 1911 to the end of World War One, the Toronto Poles officially tripled in number from 622 to 1901. Similarly, in the same period of time, the Hamilton Poles increased from 555 to 1077, and in Berlin, they officially rose from 342 to 852.[1] In reality, because of the transience of the Poles, their numbers were substantially higher. The census figures are useful, however, to illustrate the quick growth of the Polish immigrant population.

The construction of the Catholic minority parish was not particularly surprising itself. The Roman Catholic Church was undergoing a period of expansion. For example, seven new Irish parishes were created in Toronto between 1892 and 1914.[2]

Similarly, Bishop Dowling was known as a building bishop, greatly expanding the number of churches and schools throughout his Hamilton Diocese.[3] But it was largely the voluntaristic efforts on the part of the immigrants that brought about the ethnic parish structure. If they had not pleaded with and pressured the hierarchy to act and had not actively participated in the financing and actual construction of their churches, chances are that their aspirations could not have been realized immediately.

The hierarchy was honestly concerned about the ethnic laity straying from the church, but it was not always easy to meet all of the requests of the immigrant groups. As was the case with the missions, it was difficult to find capable priests to fill any postions in an ethnic setting. Without a parish already in existence, few priests were willing to come to urban Ontario.

In Toronto, the Polish community had never possessed a permanent Polish priest. In 1910, Reverend Sobczak was no longer available as Bishop Dowling had recruited him to organize a Polish parish in Hamilton. He was temporarily replaced by Reverend Bartholemew Jasiak who was obtained by Archbishop McEvay from Pittsburgh. Jasiak began to organize the Poles who attended St. Micheal's Cathedral. Upon his arrival in January 1909, he assembled registration books which listed the practising Polish Catholics by their original place of birth and residence, their religion, as a few were Orthodox, and their occupation.[4]

Yet, friction immediately ensued. Jasiak was assigned to the Berlin area organization for two months to master his

English. The Polish parish organizations throughout the Diocese of Hamilton, it will be recalled, were dominated by the Resurrectionist Order. Similarly, the great schism between the non-diocesan priests and the Resurrectionists in Chicago had made the Order distrustful of any ambitious, non-Resurrectionist Polish priests. Jasiak clearly fit this category. Sobczak, who was responsible for both the Hamilton and Berlin Poles, levelled several severe charges against Jasiak to Archbishop McEvay. Sobczak claimed that Jasiak was trying to usurp his authority by trying to encourage Sobczak, because of his mediocre health, to take a long vacation. Jasiak, reportedly, also spread rumours among the Poles in Berlin, Hamilton, Toronto, and Haileybury that Sobczak demanded a "great deal" of money from the Poles on his visits and even asked for money in the confessional. Finally, Sobczak claimed that Jasiak "spreads too nationalistic opinions in his sermons and he advocates independance from Irish Bishops and priests in consequence of which we may experience that an independent Polish church will arise in Hamilton and Toronto."[5] This claim was not possible if Sobczak's report was true as he also declared that the Poles did not trust Jasiak.

The truth became no more evident when Archbishop McEvay asked for a response to the charges from Jasiak. Jasiak, evasively, only thanked McEvay "for the kind sanctions" he provided in allowing the Polish priests to minister to the Polish immigrants.[6] Before the accusations directed at Jasiak could be resolved, Jasiak was implicated in a sexual scandal.[7]

Jasiak was sent back to Pittsburgh before any charges were laid since his reputation was ruined whether he was innocent or guilty and there was no sense in leaving him in Ontario.[8]

The circumstances behind this incident are cloudy at best. Jasiak was not the first priest to be involved in a scandal in this region. An Italian priest in Toronto, Carlo Doglio, was ordered to leave the Archdiocese after having "a questionable relationship with a least one of the women who ostensibly served as his housekeeper."[9] But, Reverend Theobald Spetz, one of Sobczak's Resurrectionist contemporaries, claimed that Sobczak "nipped several serious attempts to establish independent Polish churches in the bud," implying, perhaps, that Sobczak could have had something to do with the scandal.[10] With Sobczak's leading role among Polish Catholics, and his hostilities with Jasiak, it seems that he was sufficiently influential to have done so.

Clearly, the Polish Resurrectionist clergy was somewhat wary in Ontario. The influence was unquestionably rooted in the problems south of the border. By 1910, the Polish National Catholic Church in the United States was already well organized and had consecrated its first bishop in 1907. But in fact, such caution in Ontario only hindered the aspirations of the Polish laity which needed leadership. For example, in Hamilton, the pastor of St. Anne's parish, where the Polish mission was located, complained to Bishop Dowling that the Poles there contributed little to the parish. The priest, Joseph Englert, related his four year experience with the Poles:

> During that time the revenue of St. Anne's parish has been $14,000. The Polish people, counting money received from them from allsources, paid much

> less than $2,000, while they numbered as many men and more than the other men in the parish. So in four years, they have paid comparatively very little towards the support of St. Anne's Church and its pastor. [11]

He further went on to reason:

> I think it but just that if the Polish people belonged to St. Anne's parish they should have supported St. Anne's Church. If they did not belong to St. Anne's Church then they should be charged for the use of St. Anne's Church whenever they had special services in it for themselves.
>
> Personally I am convinced that we owe nothing to the Polish people for three reasons, ie. (a) They never paid their share towards the support of St. Anne's Church. (b) Many of those who paid in my time are now away from here. (c) They expect nothing in justice from us. [12]

Quite obviously, the Poles of Hamilton had little inclination to support a parish that was not truly their own. Consistent with his concern for the immigrants, Bishop Dowling, apparently, permitted a preferential status for the Poles by not charging them for the use of the parish. Still, as a result of lacking their own church, even Reverend Englert noticed that many of the Poles no longer attended St. Anne's. Although it cannot be known if they left the city or only the parish, the Polish population was growing and this situation was evidently unsatisfactory to both Englert and the Poles. Despite the lack of their own church, Englert pointed out that at least half of the parishioners consisted of Poles indicating that they were at least practising their faith.

In Hamilton, a committee of only fifty Poles with the aid of Reverend Sobczak petitioned Bishop Dowling to grant permission to construct a Polish church. In the spring of 1911,

Dowling, being aware of and sympathetic with the immigrant needs, approved and allocated a lot at the corner of Barton and St. Ann Streets for the parish. To supervise the construction of the church and because of Sobczak's poor health, Dowling also appointed another Resurrectionist, Reverend Thomas Tarasiuk, as the pastor of the new St. Stanislaus Kostka Church in May 1911.[13] The financing, however, fell to the Poles. Reverend Tarasiuk wisely sought Vicar General J.M. Mahoney to act as treasurer of the building fund with the power to pay all debts, thus minimizing the risk of mismanagement of finances.[14]

The money would somehow have to come from the parishioners. Remembering the economic and social situation that the Polish newcomers were in, this was an onerous task. Most of the Poles would not have earned more than fifty dollars a month. Yet, they pledged to contribute one day's earnings each month to pay for the construction of the church. The results were rather astounding. In the last half of 1911, the Poles accumulated $4,161. In 1912 approximately one thousand donors contributed $4,090 in monthly collections, $1,100 in regular offeratory collections, and another $1,050 in straight donations- a total income of $11,096,including the amount collected in 1911. Obviously, by comparing the financial contributions for St. Stanislaus' Church against those for St. Anne's, the Poles of Hamilton truly desired their own parish. The expenses, in contrast, came to $33,783, of which the construction of the church and rectory consumed $27,892. Other necessary expenses included: the altar, the pews, the chalice, et cetera.[15] By

the end of 1913, the parish had raised another $7,255, reducing the church's debt by $3,187 to $19,500.[16] With Reverend Tarasiuk as a "thrifty administrator", the construction debt was completely liquidated by 1918.[17]

The construction of St. Stanislaus' Church was piecemeal. Tarasiuk and the parishioners recognized that they could not finance the entire project at once. Instead, the construction began on 5 July 1911 and the first Mass was held on 11 February 1912, a half of a year later, in the basement of the structure The exterior of the building was not completed until 1919, and in the meantime the Poles were content to practise their faith, in their own language in the basement. The interior of the church was not finished until 1927.[18] The church structure was large and architecturally beautiful so this construction process was the only way, without outside financial assistance, that the Poles could construct such a building. The patient, although slow, way in which the St. Stanislaus Kostka Church was built was reflective of the growing organization and stability of the Poles in Hamilton. This stability was perpetuated and enhanced by Reverend Tarasiuk who remained as the pastor of St. Stanislaus' until 1935.[19]

In 1910, with the abrupt departure of Reverend Jasiak to Pittsburgh and Reverend Sobczak to Hamilton, the Poles of Toronto were without a priest. However, in the space of one year the Toronto Poles obtained a reliable priest and their own church. Archbishop McEvay was instrumental in aiding the Poles, with whom, for some reason, he had a warm affinity. This

sentiment was seen in correspondence to New York in one of McEvay's searches for a Polish priest. "Father Brick [the pastor of St. Patricks' parish in Toronto] informs me of the warm interest the Most Rev. Archbishop takes in behalf of the Poles..."[20] The search for a Polish priest was easily resolved when Reverend Joseph Hinzmann from Pittsburgh offered his services:

> Je suis Polonais, je parle d'allemaande, le francais et un peu d'anglais. Mais mon desir est d'etre employe dans une paroisse Polenaise. [21]

Simultaneously, Eugene O'Keefe provided the Poles with a church. O'Keefe, the patriarch of the brewing family, was an extremely pious man who attended Mass daily and regularly donated money to various Roman Catholic causes. Archbishop McEvay cited in a letter to the Vatican that O'Keefe had previously paid to build and furnish a church in a poor area of Toronto at a cost of 30,000 dollars. He had also contributed 5,ooo dollars to repair the cathedral residence and was preparing to pay for the construction of a priest's residence.[22] For his charitable activities, O'Keefe was honoured with the title of Vatican Chamberlain.

O'Keefe first learned of the Polish situation while at Mass at St. Micheal's. Hearing of the Poles plight and greatly impressed with their religousity, he bought an unused Presbyterian church, and gave it for the Poles' use. His daughter, Mrs. French provided all the furnishings so there were no initial expenditures. This church, also named St. Stanislaus Kostka, which was described as " a fine large, spacious

building and easily seating eight hundred people" celebrated its first Polish Mass on 3 September 1911.[23] Although the figure for the seating capacity was exaggerated, the Mass was performed in Polish by Archbishop Weber with more than a capacity audience.[24] Being the first of the Polish parishes to be completed, it was attended that day by the leading clerics of the area. Unfortunately, Archbishop McEvay, the catalyst behind the creation of St. Stanislaus', had died on 10 May 1911 and did not witness the opening of the parish.

From the outset, St. Stanislaus' Church was a success. With no expenses incurred from constructing a church and a stable leader in Reverend Hinzmann, the parish prospered. By January 1914, the parish possessed 200 families and a total of 1500 parishioners and was completely solvent.[25]

The Poles of Berlin were the best organized group among the Polish communities of urban Ontario firstly because they had been in Canada the longest and secondly because the Resurrectionist Order provided them with stability and continuity. After their mission had been shuffled from various locations[26], a Polish committee led by Reverend Sobczak reached an agreement with Reverend Kloepfer, a German Resurrectionist and pastor of St. Mary's Church, that the Poles would receive a regular Polish pastor, a chapel in the basement of St. Mary's Church, and ultimately the church itself once a new one had been constructed. In return, the Poles would pay two hundred dollars annually for the maintenance of their priest, another one hundred dollars a year for the rent of the chapel, and

a promise to make donations for the purpose of building the new church.[27] The Poles' new basement chapel held only sixty people, although the local Polish populace was at least six times as large. But, even though they were still officially a part of St. Mary's parish, they had a place of their own.

Like St. Anne's parish in Hamilton, the situation was not satisfactory for long. Rather than waiting for the possession of the old church, the Poles under Reverend Sobczak proceeded to plan for their own church. In 1904, Sobczak "arranged a systematic method of administration and re-organization of the Poles" into a parish organization.[28] Patiently, the Poles accumulated money and planned for the day they would have their own church. By 1912, Reverend Spetz, the head of St. Jerome's and Bishop Dowling approved a self-supporting and separate parish for the Poles of Berlin. However, it was not until 1916 that the Poles were sufficiently prepared to move on their own. As in Hamilton, Reverend Sobczak, after doing so much of the preliminary work, resigned because of poor health in 1915. But, he "already collected and laid aside a considerable building fund."[29] Similarly, during Sobczak's stay, the Poles basement chapel thrived: from 1912, the Polish parish was sufficiently large to warrant two Masses each Sunday.[30]

The supervision of the actual construction of the Sacred Heart Polish Church in Kitchener would fall to Reverend Stanislaw Rogalski. Rogalski, likewise a Resurrectionist, was a fine replacement, as he had previously been with the Kitchener

Poles from 1896 to 1901 and had gained further valuable experience in the Chicago Polish parishes.[31] Like his predecessor, Rogalski would have a positive influence on the Poles in his care, maintaining their faith and preventing them from straying too far from the church.

In mid-June 1916, Rogalski sent a letter to Bishop Dowling requesting permission to build a Polish parish in Kitchener. In the letter Rogalski clearly demonstrated both the well conceived plans to finance the construction and the dedication of the Poles in the city.

> The proposed church will cost approximately 40,000 dollars. I have on hand 14,000 dollars. I have taken subscriptions, amounting to the sum of 4,500 dollars among the Poles and have the express promise of obtaining help from the people of St. Mary's congregation (the subscriptions from the Poles will annually be about 2,500 dollars; until the church is finished). According to this I would have this year something like 20,000 dollars. Our intention is to put the church under roof by next year. To do so will cost 22,000 dollars; and this amount will, I hope, be on hand as the building progresses. We will hold services in the basement of the Church until funds are on hand to finish the building. [32]

Obviously, Rogalski proposed to construct the Sacred Heart Church on exactly the same lines as St. Stanislaus in Hamilton. Yet, with the advanced savings, the Poles of Kitchener were even in better standing and Bishop Dowling quickly approved the proposal.[33]

The Poles purchased a lot from the Separate School Board of the City of Berlin at the corner of Moore and Shanley Streets, a very short distance from the Grand Trunk Station for $1,500. Paid for with three post-dated cheques the property

belonged to the Poles outright by the end of 1916.[34] The construction of the church commenced in July 1916 and after two long years was dedicated on 29 September 1918. As in Hamilton, Sacred Heart Church was not completed until a later date: the exterior, complete with tower bells, was finished in 1923 and the interior was decorated five years after that in 1928. The large and attractive structure was financed, as in Hamilton, entirely by the local Poles.[35]

The situation for the second Polish parish in Toronto, The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (hereafter referred to as St. Mary's) was quite different from the first three parishes formed in urban Ontario. As the size of the Polish population increased there developed a need for another Polish church in the west end of Toronto. As it was too far to travel to the core of the city to attend St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, a lot was purchased on Davenport Road in the Junction and in 1914 construction began. It was completed a year later, but the cost was high. Lacking the adminstrative talents of Tarasiuk or Rogalski, the advanced savings of Sacred Heart, or the philanthropy of Eugene O'Keefe, the rather small, stone structure was mortgaged to the utmost and a debt of approximately 20,000 dollars was incurred.[36] Although this debt was not any larger than the ones at St. Stanislaus' in Hamilton or at Sacred Heart in Kitchener, there were some very discernible differences at St. Mary's. The parish was comparatively small, consisting of only 245 parishioners and as such the financial resource base was proportionately

smaller than any of the other parishes.[37] With little experience in voluntary activities and the hurried construction of the church, the immigrants lacked the ability to repay the debt. The parish priest was forced to make house to house collections in an effort to try to accumulate the funds.[38] Indeed, the creditors were constantly hounding them. St. Mary's was unable to make four consecutive payments on their mortgage through 1916, and the company holding the mortgage on the church was forced to send direct appeals to the archbishop for payment. Similarly, various creditors demanded payments of different sizes for outstanding debts on church furniture and fixtures.[39]

But, the biggest problem was leadership. Whereas the other pastors in the Polish parishes were popular and remained for extended periods, the first pastor at St. Mary's, Reverend Marian Wachowiak, neither stayed nor was popular. Wachowiak had arrived from Pittsburgh with excellent references. The pastor of the parish that he had served stated Wachowiak's "conduct was exemplary: his character is good and decent and I recommend him to every Bishop as an able and pious priest who will do much good in the Church of Christ."[40] Similarly, his Archbishop claimed "he is a very able man and I am confident that he will fulfill all your expectations."[41] Though the accumulated debts were probably a sufficient reason to leave, there is evidence that Wachowiak was unpopular with his parishioners. Soon after his departure, one of Wachowiak's successors, Reverend Joseph Chodkiewicz described the "possible and impossible stories" his parishioners had told to him regarding Wachowiak

in a letter to Archbishop McNeil. Furthermore, Chodkiewicz had nothing but praise, in the letter, for Reverend Hinzmann at St. Stanislaus' in Toronto further reflecting the unpopularity of Wachowiak.[42] The situation at St. Mary's did not improve as there were three different priests in the first four years. On two occasions, one for a period of four months and another for two, the parish remained without a priest at all.[43]

Clearly, St. Mary's Parish was in trouble. But it was not alone as Archbishop McNeil declared:

> New parishes are exempted from the collections in the first three years. At the present time the following are not to be included in the assessments: ...St. Agnes (Italian),... Italian Church, Dufferin St.,... Welland (Italian),... Polish Church (St.... sic ... [44]

The vast majority of the churches that he listed were ethnic parishes that were also in difficulty. Although the construction of ethnic parishes was prevalent at this time, it is clear that McNeil, like McEvay, was sympathetic to the condition and needs of the minority parishes in Toronto by allowing them to forego the payment of the Cathedracticum.

As suggested from the outset, the creation of the Polish parishes in urban Ontario truly was the result of the voluntaristic endeavours of the Polish immigrants. But, at both St. Stanislaus' Parishes in Toronto and Hamilton, and Sacred Heart Parish in Kitchener, the assistance of the Catholic hierarchy and the Polish clerics also greatly contributed to the successful completion of the churches. The relevance of their roles was brought into even greater focus when the efforts of the Poles at St. Mary's were observed. Without the equivalent of the

substantive aid received by the other parishes, St. Mary's floundered from its inception.

End Notes

1. Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, vol.2, table 67, p.251; Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, vol.1, table 26, p.371.
2. Nicholson, p.21.
3. Foyster, p.29.
4. Gagat, p.50.
5. Rev. Sobczak to Archbishop McEvay, 12 May 1909, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF04.36, A.A.T..
6. Rev. Jasiak to Archbishop McEvay, 14 May 1909, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF04.37, A.A.T..
7. Rev. Whelan to Rev John Kidd (McEvay's secretary), 3 September 1910, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF05.52, A.A.T..
8. Unknown author in Newport, Rhode Island to Rev. Whelan, 5 september 1910, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF05.54, A.A.T..
9. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.538.
10. Theobald Spetz, Diamond Jubillee History of the Diocese of Hamilton, (The Catholic Register and Extension, 1916), p.226.
11. Rev. Joseph Englert to Bishop Dowling, 28 July 1911, Bishop Dowling Papers, File no.4, A.D.H..
12. Ibid.
13. Foyster, p.78.
14. Canadian Register, (December 1956), A.D.H..
15. Robert Harney, "The Polish Canadian Parish as a Social Entity: A Hamilton Example," Polyphony, vol.6, no. 2, (1984), p.37.
16. Ibid., p.37.
17. Canadian Register, (December 1956), A.D.H.
18. Ibid.
19. Makowski, p.95.

20. Rev. Grochowski to Rev. Kidd, 16 December 1910, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF05.62, A.A.T..

21. Rev. Hinzmann to Archbishop McEvay, 21 January 1911, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF05.67, A.A.T..

22. Archbishop McEvay to an unknown bishop, 4 September 1908, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF03.19, A.A.T..

23. Catholic Register Files, 7 September 1911, St. Stanislaus' Parish Files, A.A.T..

24. Archbishop Weber was the only Polish bishop to ever have resided in Canada. Joining the Resurectionist Order at an advanced age, Joseph Weber was the Novitate Master at St. Jerome's College and for most intent was retired.

25. Gagat, p.51.

26. The Berlin Poles place of worship moved from the old St. Mary's School to the second floor of the new St. Mary's School and finally in the basement chapel in the old St. Mary's Church. General Information, Sacred Heart Parish File, A.D.H..

27. Makowski, p.92.

28. Canadian Register,(n.d.), Sacred Heart Parish File, A.D.H..

29. Ibid.

30. Centennial, 1857-1957, St. Mary's Church, Kitchener, (Kitchener, 1957),pp.24-5.

31. Janas, p.48.

32. Rev. Rogalski to Bishop Dowling, 14 July 1916, Bishop Dowling Papers, file no.5, A.D.H..

33. J.M. Mahoney, Vicar General to Rev. Rogalski, 19 June 1916, Bishop Dowling Papers, file no.5, A.D.H..

34. Copy of Agreement of Sale from a meeting of the Separate School Board of the City of Berlin, 25 May 1916, Sacred Heart Parish Files, A.D.H..

35. Spetz, p.122.

36. St Mary's Parish Income Statement for 1916, St. Mary's Parish Files, A.A.T..

37. Ibid.

38. Rev. Joseph Chodkiewicz to Archbishop McNeil, 19 May 1919, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

39. Toronto Realty Co. to Archbishop McNeil, 8 November 1916, St. Mary's Parish Files, A.A.T.; also, Rev. Marian Wachowiak to Adam's Furniture Co., 7 February 1916, and Batts Ltd. to Archbishop McNeil, 16 May 1916, both in St. Mary's Parish Files, A.A.T..

40. Rev. A. Smetsz to Archbishop McNeil, 25 August 1914, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

41. Archbishop of Allegheny, Pa. to Archbishop McNeil, 25 August 1914, St. Stanislaus' Parish Files, A.A.T..

42. Rev. Chodkiewicz to Archbishop McNeil, 19 May 1919, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

43. General in St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

44. Circular issued by Archbishop McNeil, no date, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

Chapter 5

Growth During the Wartime

> Our parish is the Mother of Polish Life in this City.
>
> An anonymous parishioner
> in Toronto.

By World War One, the Polish communities in urban Ontario possessed their own parish structures. The church greatly aided the Polish immigrant by providing spiritual stability, national pride and a better orientation to the new way of life. There can be little wonder when one immigrant declared, "our parish is the Mother of Polish Life in this City."[1] The organizations that arose within the parishes varied from mutual aid groups to help the members who became ill or were unemployed, to assorted choirs and drama groups to help broaden the interests of the parishioners. Similarly, libraries and night courses in English were created to help the Poles integrate more easily into Canadian society. For example, Reverend Hinzmann established the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society in Toronto in 1912. It not only provided financial assistance to the sick and unfortunate but also sought to preserve Polish national culture and identity.[2] Such organizations were prevalent throughout all of the Polish, and indeed the other ethnic, parishes.

The war years were both a difficult and an inspired time for the Poles. On one side in response to Canadian society's hostility toward non-English immigrants and on the other to a sudden opportunity to advance the cause of Polish independence, the Polish community came together to form a definite ethnic community. But because the Poles were quickly uniting and developing

a strong awareness of their nationality and gaining in self-confidence, their relationship with their parish priests became increasingly strained. There would be a growing separation of authority in the Polish parishes , separating the religious from the secular.

Although the church was beneficial to the Polish community the arrival in an urban environment was not always without complications. One Methodist source noted, several years after the ethnic parishes were in existence that the immigrants were not at all integrated into the urban Ontario setting.

> Tens of thousands of them live in our cities and industrial centres. Thousands of these are single men lodging in fifth-rate rooming houses, leading a hard and toil filled life, subject to many temptations and without the restraining and elevating of wife and children. Though they may work on crowded city streets, they know no Canadian except the gang foreman. They may be here for years and never see the inside of a real Canadian home. Often they are called disrespectful names. [3]

By being excluded from the mainstream of Canadian society, the Poles in urban Ontario instinctively turned inward to their own organizations and church as a buttress against the dynamic, industrial society to which they did not truly belong.

The success of the parishes was indicative that the Poles in urban Ontario were turning inward for support. In 1918, for example, St. Stanislaus' Parish in Toronto possessed a healthy population of 1,200 people. Financially, the parish was solvent, holding a 2,400 dollar surplus. In fact, Reverend Hinzmann even possessed his own automobile.[4] Comparably, in Kitchener, Reverend Rogalski reported that the Sacred Heart Parish was valued at sixty thousand dollars. It possessed no mortgage, only a loan, taken in

1918, for 14,000 dollars to construct the church structure. In 1920 this loan had been reduced to $9,200: 2,800 dollars had been paid in 1919 and another 2,000 was paid in 1920. Rogalski stated in his financial report that the remaining debt would be paid with contributions and subscriptions.[5] Obviously, this parish was also in good financial standing.

This harmonious co-operation between the clerics and the parishioners was further seen in the emergence of parish committees near the end of the Great War. In such committees, the laity was given the right to make secular decisions concerning the parish. The initial response of the priests in Toronto to the committees was not adversarial. Both Hinzmann at St. Stanislaus and Chodkiewicz at St. Mary's were members of their parish committees indicating that at least in the beginning the priests were willing to compromise and allow the laity some access to parish decisions. However, in the future the committees would become very devisive elements in parish affairs.

Yet, the spiritual well being of the Polish newcomers was also a constant concern. It was necessary to maintain a "healthy code of morality". In Kitchener, the Mutual Benefit Association of St. John Kantius was formed for a dual purpose. Besides providing mutual aid, it also encouraged temperance.[6] Temperance was, of course, a controversial social and political issue at the time, but it also reflected the darker side of Polish immigrant adaptation to urban Canadian society. Taken from the traditional rules and norms of rural society and thrown into alien surroundings, it was easy for immigrants to stray from the church. Presumably, judging from the society's large membership, it had some positve effect, but

the transition by the Poles to the new society was not easy. World War One represented the greatest period of alienation from the Canadian society and the greatest period of consolidation of the Polish immigrants within their parishes and organizations.

The Great War caused a wave of hysteria among the native English speaking Canadians with regard to the non-Anglo immigrants. Many of the newcomers who had arrived in Canada had originated in the lands of the Central Powers. By 1911, 393,320 had come from the German Empire and another 129,100 from Austria-Hungary. To the Canadian public and government, it mattered little that many of these people, in fact, were neither German nor Austrian and had fled their homelands to escape the oppressiveness of these empires. Instead, because of this immigrant presence, there were fears that Canada could be harbouring "up to five hundred thousand potential enemies."[7] The Toronto Globe, for example, sensed the nation's tense and even hostile mood proposed a plan that,

> Every member of a race hostile to us should be forced immediately to register and a passport should be issued to him without which he dare not leave his residence. Our foes should not be permitted to travel without authority and they should report immediately on arrival at their destination; must be indoors at dusk. Anyone disobeying these orders should be courtmarshalled and shot as a spy. [8]

Similarly, the British Imperial Association at a meeting on south Dufferin Street, by this time a large, comparably distrusted, Italian enclave, advocated that all alien enemies of Canada should be interned. Furthermore, they suggested that these aliens should be made to clear land that would be used by the returning

soldiers after the war.[9] Under this magnitude of hostility and pressure, the Canadian government opened registration offices for men of enemy nationalities. In Toronto, the immigrants went to to Office of the Registrar for Alien Enemies on Adelaide Street on the edge of the Ward.[10] The Canadian government also closed the national borders, permitting no further immigration for the duration of the war. But as the war industries gathered momentum, many ethnic newcomers came to the cities where work was plentiful. The cohesiveness of the immigrant groups grew as their numbers burgeoned in the cities. Still, World War One demonstrated the confused status of the immigrant population; they were neither Candian for they were not accepted nor were they any longer just peasants far from the homeland.

The Polish communities were quick to respond to the wartime situation. The united effort of all of the North American Poles to recreate an independent Poland became a large priority. A military base was formed at Niagara-on-the-Lake to provide men fighting in a Polish army in France. The Polish parishes, especially St. Stanislaus' in Toronto became unofficial recruitment offices.[11] In Canadian cities, through the parishes, organizations were formed to help feed the hungry in war torn Poland. The Roman Catholic Church, seeing the efforts of the Poles, similarly created a Polish Relief Fund. The Church's efforts were successful as a letter from Bishop Scollard of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie indicated. A total of 1,655 dollars was collected there and Bishop Scollard was evidently sympathetic to the Polish plight when he stated,"Evidently the poor Poles are in bad shape and the

quicker our aid reaches them the better."[12]

More seriously, during the war, some Poles were interned because, it will be remembered, much of Poland was located in Austria and Germany. Many of the Poles that were interned were members of socialist organizations. A fairly large political immigration had occurred between 1905 and 1907, after the failed Revolution of 1905 in Russia.[13] The Polish provinces in that state had been very active in the revolt and socialism was one of the most popular social and political ideologies in Poland. The Ontario Polish socialists were fragmented into small groups, but there were several of note. The Alliance of Polish Socialists was formed in Toronto in 1905 and had a close contact with the socialist movement in Poland. Its leader, A.J. Staniewski, had been a leading socialist in Poland who was exiled for his activities against the Tsarist government.[14] A second group called the Polish Socialist Party Might (Potęga) was established in 1909.[15] In reality, these groups were inconsequential as political forces in Canada but were appealing to some Poles, many of whom were inexperienced in any form of political activity. The activities of these groups were ground to a halt with the advent of the Great War by the Canadian government for suspect activities and aims. Still, the socialist groups would reappear after the First World War and would cause considerable tension within the Polish parishes as they preached many secular ideals that ran counter to the Roman Catholic Church.

All of the Polish organizations quickly intensified their activities to alert Canadians that they were not enemies of Canada.

Specifically, the Polish Citizen's Committee was formed on 25 November 1917. A union of St. Mary's Parish, St. Stanislaus' Parish, the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society and the Sons of Poland was formed to raise financial contributions to be sent to Poland and to stop the internment of some Poles. Their appeal was largely made with letters to the press and public demonstrations in Toronto.[16] Significantly, these actions, though only partially successful, represented the first time that a larger structure beyond the immediate parish organization had been formed. Also, it was the first instance where the larger Polish community had endeavoured to publicly address the broader Canadian society.

With the conclusion of World War One, the new found unity among the Polish parish organizations continued. They had played an active role in the re-emergence of an independent Polish state. In 1920, the Polish Citizen's Committee was again formed in support of Poland's war with, by then, Soviet Russia. A subgroup, the Polish Bond Committee, was created between June and December 1920 to sell Polish government issued securities to help finance the war and to organize collections and meetings in Toronto.[17] With the successful end to the short 1920 War, these committees were again dissolved but in 1921 a new, permanent collective organization was initiated. The Sons of Poland and the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society joined together to form the Polish Alliance. In 1923, the Polish Progressive Union, a socialist group formed at the conclusion of World War One, also joined the Polish Alliance, giving it a very multi-ideological base.[18] Clearly, the activities of the Poles during and soon after the Great War demonstrated the

growing awareness of their community at large and as significantly, if not more so, an awareness of their Polishness as seen in their efforts in time and money to recreate and perpetuate the new Polish state.

The Poles were not alone in realizing their nationality. With the conclusion of the First World War, east-central Europe was a vast area without governments or national boundaries. The Russian Revolution followed by a civil war, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the gradual withdrawal of German armed forces from the area, created a vacuum. All the nationalities in the region- the Poles, the Ukrainians, the White Russians and the Balts- at once strove to create independent states. Frequently each nationality's aspirations ran counter to the neighbors' desires. This suddenly released national fervor was seen also in Canada among the Poles as well as other European immigrants. Reverend Chodkiewicz reported the problems with Ukrainian immigrants while doing missionary work in Oshawa. The small group of Poles in Oshawa had made arrangements to use the Ukrainian Catholic Church by making donations for its maintenance. But, some Ukrainians had been making the function of the Polish mission there difficult. "One time during my services Ukrainians singed [sic] patriotic hymns in the connecting church hall, Poles are scandalized," declared Chodkiewicz.[19] Undoubtedly, this sort of friction arose over the events in the homelands as the Poles and Ukrainians were virtually at war over Eastern Galicia. But this was a relatively new phenomenon among these national groups in Canada. Before the creation of the Uniate parish structure

with the help of the Roman Catholic Church in 1910 and the construction of the first Uniate parish in Toronto in 1914, the Ukrainians both Uniate and Orthodox, had often harmoniously participated within the Polish missions and parishes as they lacked their own facilities.[20] This co-operation was also reciprocally seen in the Oshawa church as the Uniate bishop, Nicetas Budka, declared the Latin Poles could use the Ukrainian Church in Oshawa or else the Ukrainians of the city would return the Polish donations. Yet because of the problems at the end of the Great War, Chodkiewicz was in a dilemma as to how to proceed. He stated to Archbishop McNeil:

> I see no future for a separate parish for now; there are about ten families and other singles having their wives in the old country. I don't know what will be better, to go to English parish with services for Poles, or stay at Ruthenian Catholic Church,- where all Poles live in vicinity. The Poles now have separate committee; Ruthenian Bishop understands, that Polish and Ruthenian members of the parish have a special agreement. [21]

Inspite of Chodkiewicz' and the Poles' problems in Oshawa, it was clear that rising national awareness was evident among both the Poles and the Ukrainians. Although these instances were not positive manifestations, they indicated that the ethnic groups in urban Ontario were coalescing into definite and distinct ethnic communities.

Like their parishioners, the Polish priests at the various parishes and missions in southern Ontario also became increasingly unified. Reverend Chodkiewicz, in a letter to the Archbishop's office, announced one of these meetings:

> I asked these Polish priests [to visit]: Fr. Pyznar, O.F.M. of Montreal, Stan. Rogalski of Kitchener, Tarasiuk of Hamilton, Dagorski of Brantford, one of St. Stanislaus of Buffalo, Ostaszewski of St. Catherine's, perhaps will come [sic] Krakowski of Bay City, Michigan, Brzoziewski of New York- please ask His Grace for the facilities. 22

Clearly, the Polish Catholic activities in southern Ontario were quickly and widely spreading with missions being formed in St. Catherine's and Brantford, each supporting their own priests. Furthermore, this note demonstrated that the Polish clerics in the area were equally becoming organized.

The reasons for such meetings and rising organization among the Polish clerics came as a direct response to the increasing lay activity within the Polish parishes. As earlier mentioned, parish committees had been formed where both the parishioners and priests participated in secular decisions. However, in light of the growing organization, national awareness and self-confidence of the Polish laity, some severe challenges to the parish priest developed. Issues of lay ownership of church property and control of parish finances by the parish committees, for example, seriously upset the established order of the operation of the parishes. Remembering the traditional conservatism of the Polish clergy, particularly when dealing with the lower classes, these demands were not easy for many of the clerics to accept.

Indeed, the Chodkiewicz meeting probably was called to discuss the same types of concerns. There is no documentation to show definitely why the meeting took place. But the conservative, exclusively clerical nature of the guests and because of the growing problems within the parishes at the time, it would be reasonable to assume, in part, such issues were part of the agenda.

The participants at the meeting represented a rather conservtive group of priests. Both Stanislaw Rogalski and M.A. Dagorski, ordained at St. Jerome's, were Resurrectionists. Thomas Tarasiuk had begun as a Resurrectionist until he was incardinated into the Diocese of Hamilton. As previously described, the Resurrectionist Order was, since the problems began in Chicago, wary of any nationalistic and religious activities that did not conform to its leadership. Like the situation with the Resurrectionists in the Diocese of Hamilton, the Franciscan Order, of which Reverend Pyznar was a member, were dominant among the Poles in Montreal where another group of Poles had settled.[23] The Franciscans had problems that were similar to the Resurrectionists', in Pulaski, Wisconsin where the independent Polish parish movement was also strong.[24] As such the Franciscans held a point of view that was akin to that of the Resurrectionists..

Curiously, Reverend Hinzmann of St. Stanislaus' in Toronto had not been listed in the Chodkiewicz note. Perhaps he had been omitted because he also was a local priest. However, the pastor of St. Stanislaus was quite liberal in his relationship with the parishioners often permitting their input into parish decisions. Whether or not his liberal approach in the face of a group of traditional clerics was the reason Hinzmann was not included cannot be ascertained. But, Hinzmann, as the most liberal of the local Polish clerics, was the first of the afore mentioned priests to leave the area.

The meeting of these clerics in Toronto was not new. There was a strong precedent that occurred in the United States at St. Stanislaus Parish in Buffalo. This was the same parish that was

to be present at the Chodkiewicz meeting and further represented the conservative element of that meeting. An enormous parish of 30,000 parishioners, under the auspices of Reverend Jan Pitass, a rather autocratic sort of pastor, it hosted the first of several congresses of American Polish Roman Catholics. The first congress met in 1896 in an effort to consider a common response to several overriding concerns such as how to attain Polish representation in the American Catholic hierarchy, and how to cope with the large numbers of defections that often led to the formation of independent parishes and to the creation of more Polish National Catholic parishes.[25] The defections usually centered on issues that revolved around lay participation in secular matters in the local parishes.

The first congress consisted of 318 lay and clerical delegates from the Polish communities across the United States.[26] This last minute effort to reconcile the ever growing rift among the various Polish religious factions ended in failure. The delegate selection was based on one representative for every thousand parishioners which meant that the large parishes such as those of Resurrectionist Chicago or Pitass Buffalo were dominant. There was little input from the independent factions.[27] Despite the initial failure to reconcile, the stage was set for further congresses and in 1901 the second Congress of Polish Roman Catholics was held, again, in Buffalo. Obviously, the meeting led by Chodkiewicz in Toronto in 1918 was nothing new.

By the end of World War One with the ethnic parishes at their core the Polish immigrants had well established their communities. Out of neccessity, first because of the oppressiveness of urban society

and later because of the overt antagonism of the Canadian society, the Poles had turned towards their own kind to gain some sense of security and companionship. This inward looking perspective had accelerated the consolidation of the Polish immigrants through various organizations, committees and especially the parishes into a perceptible ethnic community. Similarly, in facing the hostility and working in a concerted effort for the renewal of an independent Polish state, the Poles had developed a strong sense of national awareness. But the evolution of both the community and nationality would create several adverse results. The rising desire among the Polish laity to have input into secular matters within the Polish parishes and an increasing resistance to these desires by the Polish clerics resulted in rising tension between the Polish parishioners and priests.

End Notes

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3. Methodist Missionary Society, Report for 1923, p.20.
4. Financial Report for 1918, St Stanislaus' Parish Reports File, A.A.T..
5. 1920 Financial Statement, Sacred Heart Parish File, A.D.H..
6. Makowski, p.93.
7. Desmond Morton, "Sir Wm. Otter and Internment Operations in Canada During World War One," Canadian Historical Review, LIV, (1974), p.33.
8. Toronto Globe, 7 August 1914.
9. Toronto Star, 27 November 1917.
10. Petroff, p.38.
11. Zofia Shahrodi, "St. Stanislaus Parish: The Heart of Toronto Polonia," Polyphony, vol.6, no.2, (Toronto, 1984), p.29.
12. Bishop Scollard to Archbishop McNeil, 7 February 1916, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..
13. Irena Spustek, "Immigration Perceptions of Life in America," Polish Presence in Canada and America, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982), p.12.
14. Makowski, p.76.
15. Radecki, Ethnic Organizatioal Dynamics, p.57.
16. Gagat, p.51.
17. Shahrodi, "St. Stanislaus Parish," p.29.
18. Ibid., p.30.
19. Rev. Chodkiewicz to Archbishop McNeil, 1 April 1918, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

20. For a more detailed account of the Ukrainian settlement in urban Ontario see: Zorianna Sokolsky, "Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement' and Vladimir Handera, "Russian Orthodox Church in Toronto," Polyphony, vol.6, no.1,(1984).

21. Rev. Chodkiewicz to Archbishop McNeil, 1 April 1918, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

22. Ibid.

23. Makowski, see chapter dealing with the Poles in Quebec.

24. For the Franciscan involvement in Pulaski, Wis. see: Anthony Kuzniewski, "Wenceslus Kruszka and the Origins of Polish Roman Catholic Separatism in the United States," Polish Presence in Canada and America, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982).

25. Ibid., p.102.

26. Ibid., p.102.

27. Parot, pp.127-8.

Chapter 6

Crisis in Leadership

> We realize that Your Grace has had probably as much trouble with the... Polish parishes as the rest of the diocese...
>
> St. Mary's Parish Committee
> to Archbishop McNeil, 2 March 1920.

During world War One, the Polish communities had gained much self-confidence and national pride. The Poles, as has been seen, were increasingly participating in their parishes, making secular decisions, playing a larger role in causes such as Polish independence and the release of interned Polish aliens, for example. These newfound qualities would be severely challenged in the years following the Great War.

Through the early 1920's, the situation, particularly in the Toronto parishes, became increasingly troubled. The main focus of the problem was leadership. The Polish laity had sought a greater role in the administration of secular matters in the parishes through their committees. As long as there was a liberal minded pastor this arrangement worked harmoniously. But, after 1919, the Poles were exposed to a series of traditional, autocratic priests. In combination with poor financing, the continuous shortage of capable priests, assorted secularists and schismatics, the Poles entered a struggle with their clerics and the hierarchy over the jurisdictional control of the parishes. Significantly, the battle was not doctrinal. The Poles had no intention of leaving their church and unquestionably the parish priest was still the spiritual leader. However, that was all he was.

In the United States, the crisis of leadership appeared in the 1890's and encompassed two distinct forms. First, there was an effort by the Polish American clergy to achieve representation in the American Catholic hierarchy. Secondly and more importantly, the Polish laity also demanded a greater role in the leadership in the local parishes. The Polish efforts to obtain _równouprawnienie_- recognition by the American hierarchy that the Polish form of worship was as equally acceptable as the Irish brand, for example, and therefore deserving of equal representation- manifested itself in several directions. By 1920, the Poles in the United States numbered about two million, representing almost 20 per cent off all American Catholics. Yet they had been virtually excluded from the American hierarchy as only Paul Rhode of Green Bay was a bishop by 1920.[1] The main focus of the clergy, then, was to acquire bishops in areas of dense Polish population.

The Roman Catholic Church was not anxious to co-operate. The American hierarchy was, like English Canada, overwhelmingly Irish, along with a strong German representation and not particularly willing to recognize the large number of Polish souls for whom they were responsible. The American hierarchy stated collectively that they opposed the selection of bishops based on nationality.[2]

Indeed, the line that the hierarchy took was consistent with the Vatican's rules. The Roman Catholic Church functioned under the conservative tenets of Vatican I, whereby the Church was seen as a monolithic, universal institution without national consideration and based on the ideals of traditionalism and ultramontanism[3] This being the case, Pope Leo XIII issued the _Testem Benevolentiae_ in 1900 as an admonition and reprimand to the

American Catholic hierarchy and leading churchmen of the perils of pursuing a liberal, "americanist" form of Roman Catholicism.[4] This admonition arose largely from the arguments of some Catholic churchmen such as Cahensly who suggested that the American dioceses should be based on nationality rather than on geography. Although this approach seemed a logical solution to the problem of the diverse influx of immigrants each ethnic group with its own unique form of worship the solution was contrary to the Catholic ideal of universality. In some circles this nationalist approach suggested by Cahensly was even equated with anti-clericalism and connected with exaggerated ideals of socialism, Free Masonry, secular liberalism and athiestic humanism.[5]

The American Polish Catholics, led by their clergy, endeavoured to attain the position of <u>równouprawnienie</u> through three distinct avenues. The majority of the established orders-the Resurrectionists in Chicago, the Franciscans in Wisconsin-and conservative pastors such as John Pitass of Buffalo and Lucjan Bojnowski of Connecticut attempted to act as intermediaries between the hierarchy and the Polish laity. They did not actively aspire to place a Pole in the position of bishop, unless it was one of their own, but were satisfied to maintain control over the Polish national parishes.[6] Although this strategy permitted generally peaceful co-existence with the larger body of the Catholic Church, it also consigned the Polish national parishes to very minor roles. This role was rather submissive in nature and caused tension between the more ambitious elements of the Polish American clergy and society,

and the established orders.

Many of the ambitious clerics, such as Weneclaus Kruszka of Milwaukee or Casimir Sztuczko of Chicago, followed a middle road by actively seeking out the hierarchy and the Vatican in an appeal for Polish bishops. They, like Cahensly, sought to aquire "equality" either by electing Polish bishops or conversely electing "polyglot bishops for polyglot dioceses."[7] To Kruszka, the American Roman Catholic Church would resemble a beautiful forest containing many different types of trees. No one group would dominate the church.[8] The work of this group of clerics ultimately would lead the American hierarchy to select auxillary Polish bishops to oversee the denser concentrations of Poles and finally to elect a select few Polish bishops. Yet, this approach was painfully slow and frustrating and saw only limited results.

By far, the most belligerent approach took the form of independance from the Roman Catholic Church. Tired of being unable to attain <u>równouprawnienie</u> within the established church, the Polish National Roman Catholic Church (P.N.C.C.) emerged out of spontaneous revolts in Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit and Pennsylvania. For the Polish National Catholic Church, the departure from the Roman Catholic Church was jurisdictional and not a doctrinal split; the Independants still professed to believe in the primacy and infallibility of the Pope.[9] The leaders of the P.N.C.C. were frustrated at their inability to promote a Pole to a bishop's seat. But, more immediately, there were problems at the parish level where the unavailablity of able priests, dictatorial pastors, and issues of lay trusteeism

causing religious dissent over the issue of leadership at the parish level even before the appearance of the independent church.

The reasons for declaring independence were similar in all of the cities. The independence movement arose out of the laity's frustration with their clerics and their desire to have a greater say in parish decisions. In Chicago, beginning in 1895, under Reverend Antoni Kozlowski, twenty parishes ultimately left the established Catholic Church. Kozlowski and his followers believed that the church property should belong to the parishioners who had purchased the structures and not the archbishop. Furthermore, they claimed that all church finances should be controlled by parish committees elected by the laity.[10] Once they joined the Polish National Catholic Church, these rules became standard practice.

Similarly, the Buffalo dissidents under Reverend Antony Klawiter began their own parish in 1895. They claimed there was financial mismanagement at St. Alalbert's Polish Parish and denounced the autocratic methods used by Reverend Jan Pitass, who was the newly named Dean of All Polish Roman Catholic Parishes in Buffalo.[11]

In Scranton, Pennsylvania, the parishioners of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Polish Church rebelled against their pastor, demanding lay supervision of the parishes finances. They went on to separate from their parish and construct their own church, recruiting Reverend Franiczek Hodur as their pastor, the man who would become the first leader of the P.N.C.C..[12] Soon after, the dissidents in Scranton formulated four basic <u>desiderata</u> as the conditions for returning to the old church: The laity should own the church properties; the administration of parishes should

be carried out by elected parish committees; the bishop should appoint pastors of whom the laity approved; the priests and laity should select the Polish bishops subject to papal confirmation and not that of the American hierarchy.[13] Clearly, these ambitions ran counter to the normal American Roman Catholic practice where the diocese held the title to all of the church properties and, more significantly, the pastors generally performed their duties without consulting their parishioners.

Instead, Pope Leo XIII responded with a major excommunication of the leading dissident Polish clerics, namely Hodur and Kosłowski, in his Apostolicae Sedis in June 1898.[14] The result was that the Polish National Catholic Church emerged with Bishop Hodur at the head of the movement. By 1901, the P.N.C.C. claimed 50,000 adherents.[15] The independant church, contrary to the existing methods of the Roman Catholic Church, celebrated the entire Mass in Polish, the lay persons participated in all secular decisions and the parish priest could not receive a salary larger than the median earnings of the parish. By the beginning of the twentieth century the schism in Polish American religious life was complete.

The vexatious nature of the Polish immigrant- Catholic Church relations would be paralleled in Ontario. Although the numbers of Poles were proportionately smaller than those south of the border and as such there would be no struggle for representation in the hierarchy, the immediate parish level issues were identical. The criteria for Polish dissatisfaction in

urban Ontario with their clerics appeared in two forms. On one side, there was the problem with a lack of capable priests that caused financial disorder, interference from secularists and schismatics, and an overall decline in parish activity. On the other side, there was the problem with autocratic priests who resisted the participation of the laity in secular matters, the formation if parish committees and to a large degree contributed to further financial confusion.

Whereas the difficulties in the United States occured during the time of the huge influx of immigrants to the country before 1900, the situation in Ontario arose out of an increasingly stable community. After World War One, the Canadian borders would not reopen until March 1923. In fact, it was assumed by many that with the creation of an independent Polish state many Poles would return to Poland. This did not happen. The Polish National Council, a locally elected body in Ontario, representing the Polish government and mostly empowered only to issue passports, described the difficulties in returning to Poland to Archbishop McNeil. In a letter in 1919, the National Council declared there were three obstacles to any Pole wishing to return: the City of Danzig, the only Polish port, was still in German hands; there was high unemployment in the devastated country; and Poland was now at war with the Soviets.[16] The Poles in general were returning via France and Germany but as all of the European nations had been adversely affected by the war, it was a long, sometimes dangerous trip home.[17] Still, the Polish government was willing to take back "Polish subjects rich enough, as not to take earnings from local workers,

and thus would help upbuild [sic] Poland by their savings."[18] Remembering the economic position of the majority of Poles in urban Ontario, this invitation was not particularly applicable. Instead, the St. Mary's Parish Committee reported to Archbishop McNeil that virtually all of the Toronto Poles had remained:

> We are of the opinion that Your Grace has been informed that there is [sic] no people here anymore, that they have all gone to their native country. We wish to state that only about four families have left this Parish to date, two for the old country and two for other cities. The young men are all here and not intending to go to Poland due to the military conscription in Poland. But a lot of them are booking passage from the old country for their wives, sisters and womenfolk in general (no men are allowed to leave Poland at present) and it clearly shows that when these young women come here they will not remain single for long. The only class of people who left this Parish are the married men whose wives are in the old country and have decided to live in Poland for the rest of their lives. That class of people are no good to this country anyway. We, therefore, believe that this Parish should be self-sustaining at the present time and to become as large as any of the English speaking parishes in the city in years to come....[19]

Clearly, the Polish parishes would survive and even prosper, but as momentarily will be seen at times with great difficulty.

With the conclusion of World War One, the Poles possessed a total of four parishes in the Dioceses of Hamilton and Toronto, plus missions in St. Catherines, Oshawa, Brantford, and in the north. The population of the Polish communities was steadily rising. But, there were problems. The nature of urban, industrial living, complete with all of its possible temptations and the lack of positive direction had negatively affected elements of the Polish populace in terms of their devotion to their church.

Even before the Great War, several priests had mentioned the weakness of faith among some Poles and they preceived the possibility of them abandoning the church completely. For example, Reverend Sobczak noted: "The Poles in Canada are even now not too strong in faith and if they lose confidence in their priests they will fall away from the church entirely."[20] After World War One, the Poles definitely lost confidence in their priests.

Curiously, the situation in the Hamilton Diocese and the Archdiocese of Toronto was like day and night. The Diocese of Hamilton was relatively stable. As previously outlined, the Poles in Kitchener and Hamilton were busy completing the construction of their churches. Both the parish priests, Rogalski and Tarasiuk, remained in Kitchener and Hamilton respectively until well into the 1930's maintaining the confidence of the laity and stability in the parishes. Still, in Hamilton, in the 1920's there were some problems with the arrival of a number of Poles from other parts of Canada. It was noted only about half of these newcomers were practicing Catholics and some of "the others were tainted with communism."[21] However, since there was no further documentation and the same note concluded that "many of these later recovered" it shall be assumed that there was general peace in the Diocese of Hamilton.

Conversely, the Polish situation in the Archdiocese of Toronto was, like the American situation, vexacious. A strong, and politically radical element in Toronto initially attempted to take control of the apparatus and duties of the Polish National Council. The radicals attempts must have been

vigorous as Archbishop McNeil became concerned over the struggle for control. His fears were allayed as the National Council responded:

> We are openly professing that the Polish council is built on conservative principles, having among directors even Catholic priests....[A]ttacks of the so called Polish Democratic Council of Toronto is composed chiefly of Radicals [with upper case 'R']. Of course they are angry that the Polish government did not entrust this office to their Party. We are prepared for the attacks from them. [22]

In fact, the attacks did continue. The Polish National Council was sued by five alleged radicals for refusing to issue passports to them. The National Council claimed that these men were unwilling to "sign a declaration of loyalty to the Government of the Republic of Poland."[23] Ultimately realizing their situation and rather than appealing directly to the Polish government, the men signed the oath and the suit was dropped. The hostility between the Polish National Council and the Polish Democratic Council was never completely resolved because soon after an official Polish Consulate was opened in Montreal and it became the only venue for issuing passports to Poland. Still, the activities of various radicals, secularists and schismatics would continue to plague the Poles of Toronto.

The situation within the Polish parishes became equally unravelled. At St. Stanislaus' Church in Toronto, Reverend Hinzmann had created a stable and thriving parish community based on compromise. The rules of the parish placed a financial responsibility on the parishioners. Each member of the parish had to pay ten cents every Sunday and in addition another fifty cents each month. The monthly collection included all children;

those under sixteen were obliged to pay twenty-five cents a month. Furthermore, the parishioners paid one dollar each per year to pay for the coal used by the parish. This arrangement must have been amiable. Under Hinzmann, a parish committee was created and it controlled the parish finances. Therefore, the laity, though it did pay relatively quite a bit, had a controlling interest in their contributions, presumably insuring no financial mismanagement. In turn, the priest received a salary of just over one thousand dollars annually and a one hundred dollar expense account for use in the parish as long as receipts were furnished.[24] This arrangement worked well. Hinzmann was a member of the parish committee and in his final year at St. Stanislaus', the parish carried a surplus of over 2,000 dollars.

At the beginning of 1919, Reverend Hinzmann returned to the United States. Almost immediately trouble began. There was no permanent replacement and Reverend Charles Barron, a priest at St. Cecilia's Irish Parish and minister to the Lithuanian populace in Toronto, was assigned to oversee the Poles at St. Stanislaus'.[25] Although concerned about the Poles, Barron had his own duties and could not devote sufficient time to his new flock. Reverend Hinzmann would not be an easy man to replace.

The problem of finding a suitable priest was accentuated by similar trouble at St. Mary's. Since its inception, St. Mary's never possessed a priest who remained for any long duration. Reverend Marian Wachowiak, the first pastor at St. Mary's, was there from November 1914 to March 1916. He was replaced by Reverend Bolesaw Sperski who remained until December 1917. Both

of these clerics also had been very disliked. Then after three months without a priest, Reverend Joseph Chodkiewicz arrived in February 1918. However, he departed soon after in December of the same year at almost the same time as Hinzmann's departure.[26]

It was Archbishop McNeil's duty to find replacements for both parishes. Like McNeil's predecessor, Archbishop McEvay and his quest for Italian priests, McNeil endeavoured to develop a network in the United States to recruit Polish priests. Yet because of the shortage of priests south of the border and the increasingly belligerent tendancies of the Polish clerics there, this was not a simple matter. Initially, McNeil, aware of the success of the Resurrectionist Order in the Diocese of Hamilton, approached St. Jerome's in Kitchener. St. Jerome's could do little to help; several priests were recommended from Chicago, but none arrived.[27] Reverend Vincent Kloepfer, the head of St. Jerome's could, at one point, only provide a priest for one weekend to hear confession and to perform a short sermon. The proposed priest was not even Polish, "but a sufficent master of the language."[28]

Archbishop McNeil's efforts in the United States were equally fruitless. He attempted to find priests in Pennsylvania where several Polish clerics had already been discovered. But, his contact there declared that there were no suitable priests to be spared in the area and that the Archbishop best try the Polish seminary in Orchard Lake, Michigan.[29]

Similarly, the clerics who volunteered to come to Toronto were inadequate. For example, one priest offered to come to Toronto as his "parish [was] situated in real wilderness, [was]

growing smaller and smaller and was not able to support an independent pastor." In light of the shortage of Polish clerics in the United States, a competent priest would not be permitted to languish in the "wilderness". Surely, this cleric was of questionable competence or ideological orientation. Furthermore, he was over fifty years of age and, although "healthy, willing to work, full of energy and not afraid of any hardships" was too old to provide long term leadership in either Toronto parish.[30]

Archbishop McNeil managed to find one priest to direct two parishes. Reverend Leopold Nicholas Blum arrived in Toronto on 17 February 1919 from Huns Valley, Manitoba. Obviously, this was still insufficient. After half a year, Reverend Blum relinguished his duties at St. Mary's to Reverend Barron. Even though both St. Cecilia's and St. Mary's were in close proximity to each other in the Junction, as suggested, Reverend Barron could not adequately minister to both parishes. Upon Barron's initiative, a second priest was found. In a letter to Archbishop McNeil, Reverend John Joseph Dekowski explained how he had received a note from Barron "pressing me to come as soon as possible out there", and was now offering his services.[31] He arrived from Pennsylvannia on 21 August 1920 to assume the duties at St. Mary's Parish. But, once again , after a year and a half with only one priest in two parishes, the situation would quickly reverse. Reverend Blum left St. Stanislaus Parish at the end of 1921 leaving Dekowski as the only pastor responsible for two parishes for the second time.[32] Unquestionably, the difficulty

to obtain capable Polish priest and to retain them contributed substantially to the difficulties experienced by the Toronto Polish parishes.

The need for a Polish priest was clearly demonstrated by the direct appeal of the St. Mary's Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil:

> While we have not a resident priest for our Parish, we have been doing all in our power to get as much money together as possible, but we find that committee men cannot do much without a Priest to hold the people together.... We believe that the trouble was not with the people altogether, a Priest of zealous disposition could get the people together and keep them together and have the Parish selfsustaining. [33]

The note also showed the acute need for improved finances to irradicate a severe debt.

St. Mary's Parish, from the time of its inception, was always in severe debt. At the end of World War One, St. Mary's owed more than fifteen thousand dollars.[34] This debt would not be alleviated until the mid-1930's and only with the intervention of Archbishop McNeil.

St. Stanislaus Parish did not manage its finances any better. After Reverend Hinzmann departed, the parish committee decided that St. Stanislaus Church required a spire and paid 4,442 dollars for its construction. However, the committee quickly ran into trouble. Although they immediately paid 2,500 dollars from the parish savings, they could not find the balance.[35] The Peerless Stone Company that constructed the spire was forced to go directly to Archbishop McNeil when a debt of 442 dollars could not be met.[36] Even worse, the architects that had

supervised the construction reported to McNeil that the tower was unfinished. The architects still were owed 125 dollars. The contractors, Peerless, also refused to finish the project until the money owed to them was paid. Because the spire was incomplete, the roofing contractor could not be called to do his work.[37]

Reverend Blum was of little help to the financial dilemma at St. Stanislaus'. The lawyers for Peerless Stone Company in their correspondence with McNeil had stated that the parish "instructed me that there is no dispute from the Pastor and the Officials of the Church as to the liability."[38] As such, the Archbishop passed the letter to Blum, instructing the parish to pay its debts. Blum responded with a short balance sheet indicating that the parish possessed $67.29. He further added that the parish bank account held only $9.01 out of the balance.[39] Blum was not getting along with his parishioners and by the tone of his note was implying that there was financial mismanagement on the part of the parish committee.

The problems between Reverend Blum and the parishioners had appeared soon after his arrival at St. Stanislaus'. At an open meeting of the parish committee where six hundred parishioners attended, the committee approached Blum to discuss how the parish was to function. In a report to Archbishop McNeil, the St. Stanislaus' Parish Committee, in the best democratic style, explained:

> The people formed a new committee which consists of twelve persons. The people chose Father Blum for the head of the Committee.... Therefore, when the new Committee was formed, the people of the parish told it what they wished done concerning the interest of the Church and the money collected. They decided to have the Committee

> give the priest a monthly pension, but the collection was to go to the Committee and not be given for the Priest's use, as they need the money for the decorating and repairing of the Church, the Church Hall and the Priest's Residence. The Priest agrees to do as they say, that is to place the money in the bank. [40]

This harmonious setting was only an aberration. Reverend Blum was of the old school and did not wish to be dictated to by the parishioners. In his introduction of the St. Mary's Parish Committee to the Archbishop, Blum demonstrated this attitude when described the members of the committee as "obedient children of Your Grace and Mine [large case 'M']" and was quick to add that he had "presided" over the election of this committee.[41] In light of this autocratic attitude by Blum and his general lack of support concerning the debts related to the spire, an revolt occured at St. Stanislaus' Parish.

In a parish committee meeting held on 11 January 1920, six resolutions were proposed and passed by an increasingly belligerent crowd. They declared;

> (1) Priests in this parish have no right to rule the Committee (All the Committee's resolution, accepted by the mob [sic]).
> (2) Priest has no right to the Church Hall: he has Church; where we acknowledge him as a Priest when standing by the Altar or Pulpit, but at the Hall or wherever he is outside of Church, he is just the same man we are. (Furgalski's resolution, accepted by the mob [sic]).
> (3) The Diocesan Rules and Regulations given out lately for St. Stanislaus' Polish parish by the Church Authority are no good. (Peter Masternak's resolution, accepted by the mob [sic]).
> (4) No pay for Priests in this parish from New Year 1920; Bishops have diocesan funds for it. (Peter Masternak's resolution, accepted by the mob sic in silence).
> (5) No Cathedracticum for Bishop from this parish; the Holy Father has enough millions and should pay this. (Mr. Gardian's- Treasurer resolution, confirmed by Peter Masternak, and with

> the laugh as joke by the mob [sic])
> (6) Get away with the Priest (the present priest) because he is not good patriotic teacher and leader. (Peter Masternak's resolution, accepted by the crazy mob). 42

Clearly, the tension between Blum and the "mob" had come to a head with the parish committee becoming increasingly aggressive and impulsive. Blum, who was present, left the parish hall at this point and in a note to the secretary of the committee, Martin Tomalski, tried to disband the meeting until the following year (this meeting took place in January). But the committee, led by Tomalski, countered that a single individual did not have the right to unilaterally stop the proceedings. In Blum's abscence, the committee elected a further six members and optimistically appealed to the Archbishop in a letter to recognize the church committee " that wishes to rule [the parish with] the Catholic Bishops and Priests."[43] The rebellion against Blum was not surprising and the resolutions to recognize the parish priest only in spiritual matters and to ultimately reject Blum was consistent with the parishioners desire to share secular control of the parish. However, it was startling that the parishioners were willing to attack standard diocesan practice such as paying the priest's wages and paying for the maintenance of the diocese through the cathedraticum. By the end of 1920, Reverend Blum had departed Toronto, but this did not change the situation in the parish to any degree.

Once again, the two Polish parishes of Toronto possessed only one Polish priest. St. Mary's parish, without a priest, continued to flounder. From the first parish committee created by Reverend Chodkiewicz in 1918, all of St. Mary's parish

committee's correspondences to Archbishop McNeil were concerned with finances.[44] The debts regularly spilled over to the archdiocese and to other parishes. Reverend Treacy, the pastor at St. Cecilia's, was sent notices concerning debts incurred by Reverend Blum while at St. Mary's from various creditors.[45] Similarly, the Archbishop received notices for the outstanding debts at St. Mary's from the Toronto Realty Company which held the parish's mortgage and other creditors.[46] Finally, the St. Mary's Parish Committee simply sent their "funds on hand" for McNeil "to dispose of as he saw fit", acknowledging that they could not eradicate their debts on their own.[47] They attributed these debts largely to the lack of a priest. But even in their difficulty, they asked for a priest with an "ability to keep himself aloof from the people and still be their confidante", demonstrating that they still demanded to have some separation between the secular and the purely religious.[48]

The arrival of Reverend Dekowski to St. Stanislaus' Parish did not appease the hostile relationship between the clerics and the parishioners. Dekowski was an intelligent and worldly man: serving in the military as a chaplain during World War One, decorated with both the French Croix de Guerre and the Polish Virtuti Militari, an author of poetry and prose, and fluent in three languages. But, like his predecessor, Dekowski was not willing to capitulate to his parishioners.

St. Stanislaus' Parish was in financial trouble. At the beginning of 1920, the parish was exactly thirty dollars to the good and the construction of the church spire had caused severe restrictions on the parish budget.[49] St. Stanislaus' Church was

in severe need of repairs. Reverend Dekowski, rather than going through the channels of the parish committee, simply had the work done. He then sent the bill to the Archbishop with a note. For example, one such note read: "If you can do anything to pay Mr. Schwartz, I would be very thankful. He is waiting the longest of them all. Besides I have new work to be done on the roof. Some slates fell off lately. We owe him $218."[50] Obviously, as in St. Mary's Parish, Dekowski apparently had no confidence in the ability of the St. Stanislaus' Parish Committee to pay off its debts.

The issue of finances became increasingly complicated and absurd as Polish clerics who were no longer even in Canada became involved. A half a year after Reverend Blum had left Toronto, he sent a letter to Archbishop McNeil from Pittsburgh claiming St. Stanislaus Parish owed him 735 dollars. He listed: the parish owed him five and a half months of pay amounting to 550 dollars, automobile services to hospitals and to outings equalling one hundred dollars, and another 85 dollars for the cost of special services "when the church committee was in charge of finances and I was compelled to cover the costs out of my own pocket..."[51] There is no way to ascertain if these were legitimate charges or if out of bitterness Blum was trying to get a measure of revenge against St. Stanislaus Parish. However, if these claims were accurate, then it showed that the committee at the parish had gone through, at least with regard to the parish priest, with its' six resolutions. Several months later, this time from Plover, Wisconsin, Blum repeated his claims in another letter to the Archbishop.[52] By virtue of Blum arriving in his third destination

in less than a year and his history of problems in Toronto, it seems probable that Blum was disruptive wherever he went.

A second, far more ludicrous, event involved a debt of $121.25 for sacramental wine that was passed off for three years. Initially Reverend Hinzmann had purchased the sacramental wine between 9 December 1918 and 20 March 1920, but had left Toronto before he had paid for it. Ultimately, the sacramental wine dealers, Demairais and Rabitaille of Montreal, sent their first notice on 1 May 1921 to St. Stanislaus' Parish that no one had paid for the wine.[53] Soon after, they sent a second letter on 13 May personally addressed to Reverend Blum who was the pastor at St. Stanislaus' at the time.[54] Blum apparently ignored the letter as Reverend Dekowski received a similar notice on 21 November 1921.[55] Dekowski, in turn, contacted Demairais and Rabitaille that the debt was Reverend Hinzmann's responsibility and not his. With that, the wine dealers contacted Hinzmann's bishop in Nebraska, James Albert Duffy, informing him of the debt and how Reverend Dekowski had told them that Hinzmann was responsible.[56] Reasonably, Duffy alerted Hinzmann who wrote a letter to Archbishop McNeil expressing his alarm:

> I have received this statement from Bishop Duffy and I feel very humiliated. Your Grace, you said when I left, that you will take care of everything. I left $300.00 in the parish account to cover these expenses. Now I hear for the first time since I left that this bill is not paid. How can Father Dekowski say that I am responsible for it? Please see to it.[57]

Obviously, McNeil did not "see to it", for on 11 August 1922, Demairais and Rabitaille wrote directly to the Archbishop stating there still was no word or payment of the illusive $121.25.[58]

Finally, on 20 April 1923, a letter from Demairais and Rabitaille's attorneys to Archbishop McNeil reminded him that the debt was still, three years later, outstanding.[59] Presumably, as there was no further communication, the debt was at last paid. Still, this affair demonstrated the negligent and cavalier attitude of the Polish clerics at St. Stanislaus' as well as the bishop's office. On the whole, this seemed to mark the tone of the entire period following World War One at the Toronto Polish Parishes.

At St. Mary's Parish, the situation was far worse. The lack of a resident priest and the severe debt had a debilitating effect on the whole parish. Reverend Barron in a letter to Archbishop McNeil, clearly and uneqivocably summarized the situation in 1923. The most immediate threat, according to Barron, to St. Mary's came from separatists both within and outside of the parish. In conversation with two of the separatists, a Russian and a Pole, Barron was told that the separatists' "anti-catholic organization intends to buy the Russian Schismatic Church for 3,000.00 dollars which is located on the corner of Royce and Edvice Ave. in the centre of the Polish settlement and which is at present vacant- to be known as the Polish Independant Church of Canada."[60] On a second meeting, two other members of the "anti-catholic organization" attacked the condition of St. Mary's Parish and the work of the Archbishop. The response of the witnesses was the most significant part of this meeting. Barron noticed: "noboby paid any attention to what was said at the meeting, but now they began to repeat things they had heard and some of them began to say the idea of independence is heaven sent."[61] Clearly, the notion of independence from the Roman Catholic Church was gaining in

popularity.

As important, Barron discovered that some of the Poles in the west end of Toronto had embraced Protestantism:

> Some favoured the Salvation Army. Some families are regular attendants of protestant churches on Davenport Road where Dr. Mooney is principal leader. He and his nurses doctoring to their bodies and their souls into the protestant church. He is their charitable physician, their adviser and spiritual leader, because they have no priest to do Dr. Mooney's work, nor work of many others. [62]

As Barron suggested, the Poles only joined the Protestant Churches because they had no alternative when trying to maintain a spiritual faith.

Finally, Barron was concerned for the Polish youth. In a census he took in the Polish neighborhood he found that many of the children were being taught in public schools.[63] Furthermore, he claimed that the Polish children were learning the Polish language and culture from "a Pole under the auspices of some anticatholic organization in a protestant hall where they occasionally hear anticatholic remarks."[64] It seems, there was no Polish education classes at St. Mary's. To many of the immigrants in urban Ontario, the retention of the language and the culture of the homeland was deemed as vital for the preservation of the ethnic community. Indeed, it was as important to the newcomers as teaching English and Canadian ways to the immigrants was to the Canadian groups that wished to assimilate the foreigners. Obviously, the best way for either element to succeed was through the education of the ethnic youth.

Reverend Barron still saw hope for the parishioners of St Mary's. He explained that he had celebrated an unannounced Mass at St. Mary's on one Sunday and about fifty people attended and

he even heard several Confessions. This impromptu Mass indicated that the parish could survive if a regular, capable priest was available. In conclusion Barron warned that "the Polish situation requires immediate attention in order to solve [the problems]."[65]

The Poles were not alone in their abundance of problems. Spiritually, the Lithuanians appeared to be much worse off than the Poles. Reverend Barron, himself a Lithuanian, wrote to Archbishop McNeil:

> The people as a whole are not exactly saints, but there is nothing done for the Poles nor the Lithuanians, except that they can go to Mass or Confession if they wish.... Lithuanians have difficulties. The reason of their difficulties is lack of time, knowledge of history, capital and labour. [66]

As a smaller group, the Lithuanians did not possess their own parish and as Barron suggested, clearly had insufficient resources to obtain one. As with the other Roman Catholic ethnic minorities, the English speaking parishes did not hold much appeal and as such the Lithuanians had a serious deficiency in religious guidance.

The situation in the Italian parishes more closely paralleled the Polish problems in the years following World War I. The new pastor at St. Clement's Parish, Aloysuis Scafuro, in a letter to Archbishop McNeil similarly observed an open aggression by the parishioners to their priest and the difficulty in gaining their support:

> ...The Italians, in the beginning, submit the poor priest to a cruel and shameful examination. No priest can work without a little prestige. The sinners and the open and concealed enemies of the church had not been able to find faults in my life...are continually setting traps for me.... If they succeed to trample the priest under their feet, the mission would be ruined. [67]

Yet in fairness to the Italian laity, the Italian priests continued, as they had when the Italian missions had first opened, to view their parishioners as inferior, even irreligious and under developed. Indeed, Scafuro had stated to Treacy that "our talking must be soft and light to accommodate ourselves to the intelligence of women and children."[68]

Obviously, the Italians were above the intelligence of children and immigrant women. For example, the St. Agnes' Parish Committee in 1923 accused their pastor of misappropriating parish funds. As the issue heated up, several members of the parish resigned from their committee until the Archbishop could intervene.[69] Similarly, the Parish Committee of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish filed a complaint with the Archbishop and demanded a new pastor.[70] The Italian situation would continue to fester as did the Polish situation.

The Polish parishes in urban Ontario by 1923 could easily be divided on the lines of success and failure. In the Diocese of Hamilton, the Poles were at peace. The Resurrectionist Order, through its leadership, had provided capable priests and therefore stability and contentment. However, in the Archdiocese of Toronto chaos reigned. The Archbishop's failure to provide suitable, or at least sufficient numbers of priests had left the Toronto Poles without leadership or guidance. Without either, the Polish laity incurred tremendous debt and without proper finances, the parishes physically and spiritually rapidly deteriorated. This deterioration was compounded by the struggle for secular control between the Polish clerics and parishioners.

The priests' stubborn traditionalism against the laity's increasing determination take control undermined the harmonious accord that had been started by Reverend Hinzmann and the earliest parish committees.

End Notes

1. Kuzniewski, p.98.

2. Ibid., p.106.

3. Traditionalism was the idea that insisted that the reliance upon faith alone as communicated by the Roman Catholic Church was sufficient for understanding Christian truth and was a response to the Protestant ideal of Rationalism. Ultramontanism referred to the ideal of Papal infalibility and was a direct response to Gallicanism that argued that limited autonomy on national lines (particularly with the French) could be used.

4. Kuzniewski, p.103.

5. Parot, p.29.

6. Kuzniewski, pp.98-9.

7. Ibid., p.103.

8. Ibid., p.102.

9. Parot, p.128.

10. Laurence Orzell, "The 'National Catholic' Response: Franiczek Hodur and His Followers, 1897-1907," Polish Presence in Canada and America, (Toronto, 1982), p.118.

11. Parot, p.109.

12. Orzell, pp.118-9.

13. Ibid., p.120.

14. Parot, p.122.

15. Kuzniewski, p.99.

16. Polish National Council to Archbishop McNeil, 5 November 1919, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

17. Polish National Council to Archbishop McNeil, 30 October 1919, Polish Catholic Files, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

18. Polish National Council to Archbishop McNeil, 5 November 1919, Polish Catholic Files, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

19. St. Mary's Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil,2 March 1920, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

20. Rev. Sobczak to Archbishop McEvay, Archbishop McEvay Papers, ME-AF04.36, A.A.T..

21 General Note, n.d., St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.D.H..

22. Polish National Council to Archbishop McNeil, 16 October 1919, Polish Catholics Files, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

23. Polish National Council to Archbishop McNeil, 19 October 1919, Polish Catholics File, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

24. Annual Report for 1919, n.d., St. Stanislaus' Parish File, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

25. Złote Poklosie Parafii sw. Stanislawa Kostki, p.14.

26. Złoty Jubileusz Parafii Matki Boskiej, (Toronto,1965), p.1.

27. Rev. Theo. Spetz to Archbishop McNeil, 16 February 1918, St. Mary's Parish File; Spetz to McNeil, 20 September 1918, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

28. Rev. Vincent Kloepfer to Archbishop McNeil, 12 April 1920, Polish Catholics File, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

29. Rev. Peter Mann of Allentown, Pa. to Archbishop McNeil, 25 October 1919, Polish Catholics File, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

30. Rev. Martin Piechota, Antrium, Pa. to Archbishop McNeil, 7 June 1920, Polish Catholics File, Archbishop McNeil Papers, A.A.T..

31. Rev. John Dekowski, Cornwells, Pa. to Archbishop McNeil, 29 January 1920, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

32. General Parish History, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

33. St. Mary's Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, 2 March 1920, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

34. Annual Report of St. Mary's Parish, 13 February 1918, St. Mary's Parish Fioe, A.A.T..

35. Annual Report of St. Stanislaus' Parish for 1919, 31 August 1919, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

36. Peerless Stone Co. to Archbishop McNeil, 9 August 1920, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

37. Hynes, Feldman and Watson, Architects to Archbishop McNeil 27 August 1920, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

38. Houlis, Broudy, Wilson, Solicitors to Archbishop McNeil, 18 September 1920, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

39. Rev. Blum to Archbishop McNeil, n.d., St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

40. St. Stanislaus Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, 13 September 1919, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

41. Rev. Blum to Archbishop McNeil, 29 September 1919, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

42. St. Stanislaus' Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, 24 January 1920, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

43. Ibid.

44. Rev. Joseph Chodkiewicz to Archbishop McNeil, 13 February 1918, St. Mary's Parish File: Rev. Blum to Archbishop McNeil, 29 September 1919, St. Mary's Parish File; St. Mary's Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, 2 March 1920, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

45. W.E. Blake and Son to Rev. Treacy, n.d., St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

46. Ingersoll, Kingstone and Seymour, Solicitors to Archbishop McNeil, 6 October 1921, St. Mary's Parish File; J.J.M. Landy, church regalia to Archbishop McNeil, 16 April 1920, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

47. St. Mary's Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, 2 March 1920, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

48. Ibid.

49. Martin Tomalski, secretary of St. Stanislaus' Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, n.d., St. Stanislaus' Parish Files, A.A.T..

50. Rev. Dekowski to Archbishop McNeil, 25 June 1922, St. Stanislaus' Parish Files; also Dekowski to McNeil, 16 January 1922, 26 June 1922 and 27 September 1922, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

51. Rev. Blum to Archbishop McNeil, 18 July 1921, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

52. Rev. Blum to Archbishop McNeil, 26 October 1921, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

53. Demairais and Rabitaille, solicitors to St. Stanislaus' Church, 1 May 1921, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

54. Demairais and Robitaille to Rev. Blum, 13 May 1921, St. Stanislaus Parish File, A.A.T..

55. Demairais and Rabitaille to Rev. Dekowski, 21 November 1921, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

56. Demairais and Rabitaille to Bishop James Albert Duffy, 21 April 1922, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

57. Rev. Hinzmann to Archbishop McNeil, 1 May 1922, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

58. Demairais and Rabitaille to Archbishop McNeil, 11 August 1922, St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

59. Perron, Taschereau, Rinfret, Vallee and Ginest, solicitors to Archbishop McNeil, 20 April 1923, St Stanislaus' Parish Files, A.A.T..

60. Rev. Barron to Archbishop McNeil, 28 July 1923, St. Mary's Parish File, A.A.T..

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Rev. Scafuro to Archbishop McNeil, 13 January 1920, Scafuro Papers, A.A.T; cited in Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.536.

68. Scafuro to Mgr. Treacy, 20 January 1920, A.A.T.; cited in Ibid., p.536.

69. Ibid., p.544.

70. Our Lady of Carmel Parish Committee to Archbishop McNeil, n.d. (circa 1923), Stephen Auad Papers, A.A.T: cited in Ibid., p.544.

Afterward and Conclusion

If the period to 1923 represented a time for establishing a foundation for the Polish ethnic parish, then the years from 1924 to the outbreak of World War Two were a time when most parishes slowly grew, transformed and stabilized into responsible, though peripheral, members of the Roman Catholic Church. Externally, the years after 1923 were much like the period between 1919-1923. For the most part, the Diocese of Hamilton remained stable and the Archdiocese of Toronto continued to experience severe problems.

On closer inspection, there was a discernable change of direction and makeup within the Polish parishes. The arrival of new immigrants to the parishes caused an element of dissension as the newcomers found the urban industrial society difficult to adapt to and the original immigrants were not anxious to relinquish anything they had struggled to achieve. The Great Depression would place considerable strain on all of the ethnic parishes. Both of the dioceses welcomed new bishops- McNally in Hamilton and McGuigan in Toronto- who increasingly left the operation of the Polish parishes in the hands of various religious orders. These orders finally provided the direction and stability for which the Polish parishes had for long been starved. Similarly, the parishes, still threatened from external pressures, achieved a sense of equalibrium as the disruptive elements departed and the remaining group recommitted themselves to the parish.

In the Hamilton Diocese, Sacred Heart Parish in Kitchener remained under the auspices of the calming influence of the Resurrectionist Order. Reverend Rogalski supervised the completion

of the church and stayed at the parish until his death in 1933. He was replaced by Reverend Joseph Samborski, also a Resurrectionist, who remained until 1940.[1]

In Hamilton, Reverend Tarasiuk departed the parish in 1935 to oversee the creation of a permanent Polish parish in Brantford. Bishop McNally then turned St. Stanislaus Kostka Church fully over to the Resurrectionists who assigned Reverend Casimir Guziel to the parish.[2] Still, all was not sweetness in Hamilton. Through the 1920's, the steel industry was thriving and many Poles made their way to the city in search of work. The Poles became increasingly involved in unionism and radical political activities.[3] The Polish Consul-General noted that the Polish community had divided into two factions: "the first is represented by the older, settled emigration and the parish: the second is made up of a new wave of 'temporary' exiles who fall under the influence of seditious agitation...." He went on to indicate that the Polish communities in Toronto and Hamilton seemed to possess the greatest number and severest radical groups.[4] Reverend Tarasiuk was, like Sobczak years before, in the vanguard of defending the Roman Catholic Church against the radical factions.[5] The radical activities that characterized the boom time of the 1920's gave way to the depression of the 1930's. Although many of the Polish labourers were left without employment, St. Stanislaus' Parish was sound. Even in the depths of the depression, the parish remained solvent, being 753 dollars to the good in 1935 and only 136 dollars in debt in 1936.[6]

Such achievements could not be duplicated in the Archdiocese of Toronto. At St. Mary's Parish , the same old problems

initially persisted. However, the hierarchy managed to resolve the most outstanding problems. Shortly before his death, Archbishop McNeil assumed the entire debt- in excess of 20,000 dollars- of the parish.[7] Although he was unable to find a resident parish priest, that too was eventually resolved by Archbishop McGuigan. St. Mary's had been without a regular priest since 1920 and finally in 1926, McGuigan resorted to the Redemptorist Order to oversee the parish. As in Chicago and Hamilton with the Resurrectionists, McGuigan found the orders generally provided some stability to the ethnic parishes and freed the bishop's hands from constantly seeking replacement clerics. The Redemptorists sent Reverend S. Mayer to St. Mary's in November 1926 and he remained for five years until September 1931. Mayer, in turn, was replaced by a second Redemptorist, Reverend Wladyslaw Gulczynski, until July 1940 when Gulczynski passed away. After his death, the Oblate Order, so prevalent among the western Canadian Slavs, was brought to Toronto where they remain at St. Mary's to this day.[8]

The most bitter experience through this period occurred at St. Stanislaus Kostka in Toronto. The 1920's represented a sort of armed truce between Reverend Dekowski and the parishioners. Dekowski persisted in attempting to manage the parish in an autocratic fashion which the laity strongly resisted. With the onset of the depression, the situation at St. Stanislaus' Parish deteriorated rapidly. High unemployment and virtually no finances for the parish led to a slow down in all church activities. Dekowski demanded money from the parishioners and when the majority refused to pay, he denied them the sacraments.[9]

The St. Stanislaus Parish Committee petitioned Archbishop McNeil in an effort to have the situation rectified. In 1933,

McNeil assigned Reverend Francais Slowinski as the assistant pastor. Slowinski immediately rejuvenated the parish. He:

> organized five church societies, girls', boys', mens' and womens' societies. He formed a beautiful church choir composed of about fifty voices. He taught the girls to act in plays, to amuse the older people. He taught the girls how to dance the Polish National Folk Dance in costumes. The girls won first prize for being the best group of dancers in the Arena Gardens while competing against a thousand other children. [10]

This reprieve was short lived, however, as Slowinski left the parish after nine months.

The negative predicament intensified and as no permanent solution could be found by the Archbishop, the parishioners of St. Stanislaus appealed to Canada's Apostolic Delegate, Reverend A. Cassulo. Cassulo enquired about St. Stanislaus' Parish to Monsignor Carroll, the Diocesan Administrator and Carroll described the parish circumstances:

> The parish has given trouble, on various occasions, throughout its whole history; and the present difficulties have been in existence for years.... The difficulties center around the Parish Priest. His methods are resented by a number of the parishioners; and as far as I can learn, these parishioners are in the majority. They claim he has refused them the sacraments, called them names; demanded money from them; insulted them, denied them a part in the parish committee; mishandled parish finances; and has treated them generally in a tyrannical manner.... [11]

Clearly, the problems at St. Stanislaus ran deeply and were of a personal nature. The trouble became only amplified as on several instances police were required to quell the disturbances.

As Archbishop McNeil fell ill and was unavailable to resolve the trouble, a faction of the parishioners of St. Stanislaus' left the parish. Some went across town to St. Mary's; another group appealed to the bishop of Buffalo of the Polish National Catholic

Church. Receiving a positive reply, an organizational meeting took place on 21 March 1933. On 4 April 1933, a Mass was held to celebrate the inception of the Polish National Catholic Church in Toronto.[12]

St. Stanislaus' Parish continued to fester until the arrival of Archbishop McGuigan in 1935. McGuigan had previously served as a bishop in western Canada and was aware of the work done among the Slavs there by the Oblate Order. In 1935, he personally introduced Reverend Stanislaw Puchniak, an Oblate, in a Mass at St. Stanislaus , addressing the gathering: "I brought you a good priest, you have to love him and respect him, this parish has been like a rebellious village."[13]

Under Puchniak and his assistant, Reverend Bednarz who was also an Oblate, the parish once again thrived. The wounds were deep as the P.N.C.C. parish in Toronto also continued to endure, indicating that the parishioners that left St. Stanislaus' did not necessarily return once Dekowski was gone. Still, with diligence St. Stanislaus' Parish rapidly reopened a Polish language school for the children after more than fifteen years without. Puchniak recruited the Felician Sisters from Buffalo to supervise the school and to provide a day nursery for small children.[14] The relationship between the pastor and the parish committee again became co-operative and civil. After more than a decade of friction and unrest, the Polish parishes had come of age with the help of Archbishop McGuigan and the religious orders.

From the late 1880's until the beginning of World War Two, the Polish Catholics in Toronto, Hamilton, and Kitchener evolved from peasants generally oriented with a very traditional and

parochial form of religious practice to urban, industrial workers that were capable and able to make their own decisions regarding the functioning of their church. The period to 1923 represented the first great wave of immigration from continental Europe and was the foundation of all future ethnic activity. Through trial and error, severe hardships and self-denial, and firm devotion, the Polish Roman Catholic parishes evolved from nothing to missions and to parishes that ultimately saw the parishioners attain a relatively equal position with the parish priest in secular matters. Recalling the structure of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, the transition was impressive and successful.

It is true that the ethnic parish was not integrated fully into the main body of the Roman Catholic Church. In the United States, this lack of recognition or integration had caused a tremendous schism in the Polish parishes. Although to a lesser degree a schism also occurred in Toronto, it was for a different reason based on an intraethnic problem and isolated to a single parish. John Zucchi found the lack of integration of the ethnic, and specifically the Italian parishes into the main stream of the church to be problematic.[14] This was not entirely the case. Granted, the Roman Catholic Church saw itself as a universal church without national consideration. The fact remains that the Roman Catholic Church in urban Ontario retained an ethnocentric character from the ethnic parishes up to the hierarchy. The hierarchy could not have been expected to relinquish its character or its authority as it had worked so diligently to create a strong Catholic Church in the face of the Protestant denominations and the perplexing problems of trying to accomodate all of the newcomers. Conversely,

the immigrant population would not wholeheartedly accept the Irish nature of the Roman Catholic Church as it stood in Ontario wishing to retain as much as possible of the church as it existed in the homeland. It seems, therefore, that the structure that evolved was the only reasonable compromise.

The hierarchy had done its best. In light of the extremely upsetting nature of the Polish parishes, the Bishops- O'Connor, McEvay, McNeil and McGuigan in Toronto , and Dowling and McNally in Hamilton- had preformed adequately. Although Archbishop McEvay in particular had been somewhat slow to provide priests to the immigrants, and Archbishop McNeil had trouble finding priests, they were constrained by the events around them. McEvay was quite suddenly deluged by many ethnic Roman Catholics and unlike the Protestant Churches was not initially well schooled in missionary activities. McNeil attempted to find capable Polish priests in North America at a time when the Polish Catholics, especially in the United States, were struggling for recognition and causing a deep disturbance throughout the Roman Catholic Church there. The Bishops of the Diocese of Hamilton were not exposed to this problem thanks to the Resurrectionist Order.

The eventual use of religious orders in all of the Polish parishes was most beneficial to everyone involved. The hierarchy, through good fortune and to a degree through good foresight, brought the orders into parishes and missions where no previous structure existed. Unlike the disaster that occurred when the Resurrectionist Order arrived in Chicago where there were already a number of established parishes with their own clerics, the Resurrectionists came to the Diocese of Hamilton first to minister

to the German populace when no one else was attending to them. Afterward, when the Poles had reached a substantial size, the Resurrectionists were available to move in smoothly to lead them. Similarly, in Toronto, the Redemptorists arrived at St. Mary's where there had been no resident priest for six years. The Oblate Order, after early difficulties in western Canada, came to Toronto after a Polish National Church had emerged and St. Stanislaus' Parish was on the verge of collapse. The orders ran all of the parish affairs, and left the bishops free to pursue other issues.

As suggested, the years under consideration were a difficult time to find suitable priests. As such, as in all the ethnic parishes, there were good priests and bad ones to be found. The popular clerics, such as Joseph Hinzmann, Thomas Tarasiuk, and Stanislaw Rogalski, were recognized for providing leadership and stability. More importantly, they allowed the laity to increasingly take a greater role in the secular activities of the parishes. Conversely, the autocratic minded pastors, specifically John Joesph Dekowski and Leopold Blum, who unwilling or unable to recognize that the parishioners desired a role in the parish activities, were the individuals that had the most trouble.

Finally, the Polish ethnic parish evolved as it did largely out of the evolution of the Polish immigrants. In their own growth from rural peasants to urban labourers, the Poles' achievements hinged on their ability to adapt and voluntaristically envoke all of their institutins and organizations. In this way, the experience of the Polish immigrant in an urban, industrial setting was not completely unique. The Polish immigrant was not substantially

different from the other immigrant groups. As has been seen, they all tended to live in the same areas, do similar work and met with similar successes and failures. The Polish community could easily be described as a microcosm of the ethnic, Roman Catholic experience in urban Ontario.

End Notes

1. John Iwicki, The First One Hundred Years: A Study of the Apostolate of the Congregation of the Resurrection in the United States: 1866-1966, (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1966), pp.143-4.

2. Ibid., p.144.

3. Harney, "The Polish Canadian Parish," p.38.

4. Ibid., pp.38-9.

5. Ibid., p.38.

6. Ibid., pp.37-8.

7. Zloty Jubileusz Parafii Matki Boskiej, p.1.

8. Ibid., p.1.

9. Shahrodi, "St. Stanislaus' Parish," p.30.

10. Letter of the St. Stanislaus' parishioners to Archbishop McNally, n.d., St. Stanislaus' Parish File, A.A.T..

11. Mgr. Carroll to the Apostolic Delegate to Canada, 3 January 1934, Apostolic Delegate Files, A.A.T..

12. Shahrodi, "St. Stanislaus' Parish," p.30.

13. Interview with Jacob Wolak, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Oral History Collection, (Toronto, 1983); cited in Gagat, p.53.

14. Ibid, p.53.

15. Zucchi, "Church and Clergy," p.548.

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