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The Cultural Transition and the Attitudes of Polish Immigrant Families Towards Divorce and Parental Authority in the United States, 1931-1940

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The Cultural Transition and the Attitudes of Polish Immigrant Families Towards Divorce and Parental Authority in the United States, 1931-1940

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Preaching the Gospel to the poor has always been emphasized by Christianity and the development of the radio at the beginning of the Twenties created a new, powerful tool to use for this task. Many leaders of religious communities noticed in the new invention an opportunity and used radio broadcast to both convert the unbelievers and provide teaching and support to faithful. The historical literature on early twentieth-century radio preachers in the United States includes numerous studies on Protestant and Catholic radio preachers; for example, a Protestant minister, S. Parkes Cadman began using radio broadcasts in 1923 and reached an audience of five million and in the 1930s, a famous radio evangelist, the Roman Catholic priest Father Charles Coughlin, had forty million listeners tuning in to his programs.

In English historical literature very little attention has been given so far to Father Justyn Figas, a Conventual Franciscan, who began his broadcasting career in 1926 and, by the end of Thirties he had an audience of close to three million listening to his broadcasts. Father Justyn's programs, delivered in Polish, were addressed mainly to the Polish immigrants in the United States. This dissertation examines Father Justyn's radio talks and questions from the listeners to show the change in the attitudes of the first and second generation of Polish immigrants in the Thirties towards marriage unity and parental authority, the key values of the Christian family. In the new social and cultural environment the immigrant family acted like a sensitive barometer registering the social, cultural and religious pressures of the time.

After analyzing the materials available in the Archives in Athol Springs, New York about Father Justin's Rosary Hour, this dissertation concludes that the immigrant family, often based on the patriarchal authority of the father supported by society and the Church, had no chance of surviving in the liberal American cultural environment. However, the values of parental authority and marriage unity were still practiced by these immigrant individuals and families who absorbed into their value system an appreciation for "wise" enculturation into the new society and education.

This dissertation by Stanisław Hajkowski, S.Chr. fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in United States Catholic History approved by Leslie Tentler, Ph.D., as Director, and by Christopher Kauffman, Ph.D. and Timothy Meagher, Ph.D. as Readers.

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Leslie Tentler, Ph.D., Director

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Christopher Kauffman, Ph.D., Reader

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Timothy Meagher, Ph.D., Reader

The family, which is founded and given life by love, is a community of persons: of husband and wife, of parents and children, of relatives. Its first task is to live with fidelity the reality of communion in a constant effort to develop an authentic community of persons.

The inner principle of that task, its permanent power and its final goal is love: without love the family is not a community of persons and, in the same way, without love the family cannot live, grow and perfect itself as a community of persons.

Apostolic Exhortation
Familiaris Consortio

John Paul II

Table of Contents

Foreword……. vii

Acknowledgements…… xix

I. A Stepping Stone: The Polish emigrants in Northwest England
& their religious culture…….. 1
Summary……. 58

II. Father Justyn and the Rosary Hour: An overview of the role
of the Rosary Hour and its founder…… 64
a) Father Justyn and his audience……. 65
b) The beginning of a broadcasting career…… 74
1. Themes of the new Radio program……. 77
2. Overview of the radio topics until 1940……. 82
3. Mechanics and structure of the radio program…… 85
c) Threats to the family and community……... 89
1. External threats…… 89
2. Internal threats……. 91
Summary…….. 93

III. Vision of the Polish family: Reconstructing of the family
in the American environment 1931-1932…… 95
Faith as a family value……. 96
- Feedback from the radio listeners…….. 101
- Questions regarding faith……... 103
Marriage unity..……... 107
- Questions regarding divorce…….. 108
- Questions regarding mixed marriages…… 109
Parental authority……. 112
- Questions related to the problem of parental authority……. 114
Patriotism……. 116
- Questions related to patriotism…….. 118
Work…… 122
- Questions related to work…….. 128
Soberness……. 131
- Questions related to soberness……... 131
Summary…….. 133

IV. Faith and marriage: Reinforcing the Christian values among the Polish-Americans……... 135
Faith……. 136
Superstition…….. 169
Marriage unity…….. 174
Summary…….. 194

V. Gender: Family threats and alterations in the woman's traditional roles… 195
a) Divorce…….. 196
b) Desertion…… 200
c) Mixed marriages……. 205
d) Birth control……... 211
e) Abortion……. 217
Summary…….. 221

VI. The time of change: Polish and American identity……. 223
The role of the Polish clergy in the dispute on Polish and American identity in the United States…… 227
a) Polish identity……... 229
1. Dual loyalty……. 237
2. Polish movement for the ethno-national dioceses……... 243
b) American identity…….. 247
c) Directions chosen at the Congress of the Polish-American Priests…... 252
d) Other Polish nationality organizations……... 254
e) The state of Polish-American community after the P.P.A. Congress… 255
The issue of dual identity on the Rosary Hour…… 259
a) Polish patriotism…… 259
b) American patriotism…….. 295
Summary……. 318

VII. Contending with two cultures: the reaction of the first and second generation of Polish immigrants……... 320
Parental authority1932-1940……... 321
The standpoint of the second generation of Polish-Americans 1932-1940 352
Summary……. 389

Conclusions…….. 392

Appendix:

A Letters pertaining to the Polish missions in Northwest England, 1882-1884 400
B1 Questions pertaining to faith, 1931-1932…… 408
B2 Questions pertaining to patriotism, 1931-1932……..... 410
C1 Questions pertaining to faith, 1932-1940…… 411
C2 Questions pertaining to superstition, 1931-1940…… 422
C3 Questions pertaining to marriage, 1932-1940……. 425
D Questions pertaining to new attitudes towards marriage,
Family and gender relations, 1931-1940…… 434
E1 Questions pertaining to Polish patriotism, 1932-1940……... 446
E2 Questions pertaining to American patriotism and social issues, 1932-1940 451
F Questions regarding parental authority and the standpoint
of the second generation, 1932-1940……. 458

Bibliography……. 473

Foreword

The historic St. John the Evangelist Church, 9700 Rosensteel Ave., Silver Spring, Maryland, stands about one hundred yards from a replica of the Carroll Chapel. Originally built in 1774 by Rev. John Carroll, S.J., the church is close to his family home in Rock Creek, or Forest Glen as the area is currently known. In 1786 Father Carroll moved to Baltimore and three years later he was consecrated the first bishop in the United States. The historic place in Silver Spring where Father Carroll created a place of worship for Catholics spread out in a wide area across Maryland and Virginia and beyond, is sometimes referred to as the "Cradle of the United States Catholic Hierarchy."

The present St. John the Evangelist Church was erected in 1893. Upon entering the church one can see a beautiful simple architecture with wooden beams supporting the ceiling, and stained glass windows on both sides. In the sanctuary at the right side of the altar stands the flag of the United States of America while on the left side is found the flag of the Republic of Poland. Two pictures, which do not quite go along with the interior decoration of the church, hang on the front wall: Our Lady Queen of Poland on the left and St. Maximilian Kolbe on the right side. These new items were added to this historic place after Karol Cardinal Wojtyła of Kraków visited the United States in 1976. He wrote a letter to Cardinal Baum, the ordinary of the Archdiocese of Washington at the time, asking him to consider organizing a permanent ministry to Poles living in the vicinity of Washington, D.C., and suggesting that he accept the services of the priests from the Society of Christ for this task. The pastoral mission for Polish-speaking people of the Archdiocese of Washington was organized in February 1977 with the center at the

Old St. John the Evangelist Church in Silver Spring. Later the pastoral mission took the name of Our Lady Queen of Poland and St. Maximilian Kolbe and in 1983 it was raised to the rank of personal parish.

In September 1995, I was appointed pastor of Our Lady Queen of Poland and St. Maximilian Kolbe Parish by James Cardinal Hickey. At that time it was still possible to see diversity within this small parish community, united by faith and by the Polish language used in worship. It included several groups whose history and experiences varied widely. There were the Polish-Americans, who remembered the Roaring Twenties, the Great Depression, and who had actively served in the American Armed Forces during World War II and the Korean War. The second most visible group participating at Sunday Mass consisted of Polish exiles who refused to recognize the communist government of the Peoples Republic of Poland imposed by the Soviet Union after World War II. Then, there were those who got through the Iron Curtain after 1956, during a short-lived political thaw. The Solidarity wave in 1981 and onwards brought to the shores of the United States tens of thousands of young men and women who wanted change in Poland but were forced by the communist government to leave their country. For all of these groups, events in Poland remained a concern. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 the long-awaited freedom finally arrived with its often economically painful consequences. The goal of Polish-Americans to link Poland and the United States in close cooperation has advanced tremendously during this time, with Poland joining NATO in 1999.

It was at this stage that I became acquainted with the members of the Polish Legion of American Veterans – USA, of Staff Sergeant J. A. Jagiello Post No. 191, who

held their meetings in the Polish parish hall in Silver Spring. Prior to 1999 most of Polish-American organizations in the United States, coordinated by the Polish American Congress, were doubling their efforts to promote Poland's accession to NATO. After one of the meetings of the Veterans a member of the Ladies Auxiliary asked me whether I knew about the Rosary Hour founded by Father Justyn Figas. I did not know much at this stage about Father Justyn and his radio program. Anna Maria Kaczmarski, part of the post-WW II generation, a career officer in the United States Army, married to an American of Italian and Irish-German extraction, described to me how the Father Justyn Rosary Hour enriched her Catholicism and Polish culture. Her father had served in the Polish Armed Forces in the West during World War II and emigrated to the United States; her mother was Italian. Other Americans of Polish descent who were teenagers in the Thirties and whom I had a chance to meet spoke about the Rosary Hour with similar enthusiasm.

That was the beginning of my investigation into the role of the Father Justyn Rosary Hour in shaping Catholicism and the culture of Polonia in America. This constitutes the major part of this dissertation. However, my interest in Polish emigration to the United States started earlier during my studies at the Catholic University of Lublin in Poland with writing my master's thesis on the North American Province of the Society of Christ. [1] During my post-graduate studies at the University College of North Wales in Bangor I had started to research Polish immigration to Northwest England in the nineteenth century under the direction of Dr. Duncan M. Tanner. The research was

[1] Stanisław Hajkowski, S.Chr., "Rozwój, organizacja i działalność Północno – Amerykańskiej Prowincji Chrystusowców do 1980 roku." (M. T. S. thesis, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1982 (The Catholic University of Lublin). The Society of Christ was founded in 1932 by Cardinal August Hlond, Primate of Poland, specifically for serving Polish immigrants worldwide.

originally planned as a monographic study of Polish immigration from Liverpool, the port of embarkation, to the ports of disembarkation in the United States. The original documents found in the Liverpool Archdiocesan Archive, Shrewsbury Diocesan Archive, Archive of the Małopolska Province of the Society of Jesus in Kraków, Archive of Northern German Province of the Society of Jesus in Köln, and Lancashire Record Office were produced for the most part by Roman Catholic bishops and priests of different nationalities. The clergy undertook pastoral care of the immigrants from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Lithuanians, Poles, and Ruthenians, who temporarily stopped in North West England on their way to America. A closer examination of the source material has revealed a rich source of information related to the religious dimension in the process of immigration of individuals and whole groups of people.

My move to Silver Spring, Maryland, opened a new possibility for continuing the research at the Catholic University of America. However, it was not until I started surveying the Father Justyn radio talks and Question Box, which was a part of a weekly radio program when Father Justyn answered some of the questions sent to him by the radio listeners, during a seminar on "Gender in American History" led by Dr. Leslie Tentler in the year 2000, and her comment on my final paper for the seminar, "You have a real treasure-trove in Fr. Justyn's talks", that I was inspired to change from the original monographic format for the doctoral dissertation to a socio-historical perspective with the main focus on the change of attitudes of the Polish immigrant families towards marriage unity and parental authority during the course of enculturation in the United States and the role of the religious factor in this process.

Father Justyn was a pioneer in radio evangelization not only among the Polish clergy in the United States, but also among the American clergy. In 1931 he began a radio network religious program, but his first encounter with radio broadcast took place as early as 1926. His radio talks focused on family as a natural environment for developing basic spiritual and social qualities in every human being. Moreover, Father Justyn was well aware of the fact the that the family and particularly the immigrant family reacted to the issues of work, salary, social policies, religion, education, and other elements of the environment, like a very sensitive barometer measuring social pressure. This data was recorded at the intellectual and emotional level of relationships between members of every family unit and was expressed in various forms. One of these expressions was the questions and letters sent to Father Justyn by the listeners of his radio program, to which he responded either on the radio or via mail. These questions and answers are the "real treasure-trove."

Father Justyn's work in the field of radio evangelization coincided in time with the work of two other Catholic priests who became famous in the United States of America and overseas through their radio broadcasts, namely Father Fulton J. Sheen, later consecrated a bishop, and Father Charles E. Coughlin of the Little Flower Shrine in Detroit. Father Sheen, with four million listeners weekly, was often referred to as Catholicism's famed proselytizer; Father Coughlin, with forty million tuned in to his weekly broadcasts, gained his popularity in the field of politics and economics rather than religion. Their impact on American society has been noted in the famed *Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* issued in 1997; unfortunately the name of the American priest

Father Justyn Figas, whose weekly broadcasts drew about three million Polish-Americans, has not been graced by a similar entry in this Encyclopedia.

So far there has not been any systematic study of the Rosary Hour talks and questions from the socio-historical angle. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap in relation to the period of the Thirties. The reason for choosing this particular interval for the research is explained by a balanced representation of the first and second generations of the Polish-Americans in the United States during this time. Additionally, the first generation of the Polish immigrants offers an unique opportunity for observing the traces of this religious culture which was formed in them in the partitioned Country where survival of the Polish culture depended mainly on the voluntary efforts of the families. There are several works related to the Rosary Hour. None of them deals specifically with marriage, family and parental authority issues. Father Jan A. Książek prepared a history of The Rosary Hour, printed in Polish in Buffalo in 1981. [2] Father Tadeusz Zasępa wrote two books on the subject of catechesis in The Rosary Hour printed in Polish in 1984 and 1985.[3] Father Richard Deptula O.F.M.Conv., dedicated several paragraphs in the fifth chapter of his master thesis on Corpus Christi parish in Buffalo to the Rosary Hour.[4] Another Franciscan, Father Clement R. Jarnot, sketched a history of the Rosary Hour in

[2] Jan A. Książek, O.F.M.Conv., *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa Ojca Justyna, 1931 -1981,* (Buffalo: Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa, 1981).
[3] Fr. Tadeusz Zasępa, *Emigracyjni Katecheci Godziny Różańcowej*, (Brookyn, N.Y.: Polstar Publishing Corp., 1984); Zasępa, *Umacniając Braci w Wierze*, (Clifton, N.J.: Computoprint Corporation, 1989).
[4] Richard Deptula, O.F.M.Conv., "Polish Immigrants, Conventual Franciscans, and Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph: Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church, Buffalo, New York, 1898-1939" (M.A. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1989).

the third chapter of his master thesis "The Very Reverend Justin M. Figas, OFMConv., S.T.D., D.P., D.G.; His Life and Accomplishments."[5]

My primary sources are the radio talks given by Father Justyn from 1931 to 1940. Most of the broadcast material is available in print and on Polish-language audio tapes. The author of the radio talks usually preserved the original English language in the letters and poetry used in the program. One of the regular points of the program was devoted to answering all sorts of religious, moral, social and other questions posed by the listeners where some of the questions were read in English; it was called "Question Box." Talks from the first two broadcasting seasons have been recently translated into English. The archives of The Rosary Hour in Athol Springs, N.Y., preserve the typed material created by Father Justyn in the process of preparing for the radio program. Only part of the typed material was used during a single broadcast.

My findings in this dissertation are grounded in the works of scholars belonging to different fields of history, sociology, and social anthropology. The various authors and the types of their studies examine different aspects of family life from several angles and tend to concentrate on the subjects of ethnicity, social disintegration, assimilation, and religion. The classic work of William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*,[6] serves as a framework for this dissertation. The authors of *The Polish Peasant* by and large based their study on letters and newspaper articles written by the peasants. This is also the case with my research, as it analyzes a similar

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[5] Clement R. Jarnot, O.F.M.Conv., "The Very Reverend Justin M. Figas, O.F.M.Conv., S.T.D., D.P., D.G.; His Life and Accomplishments." (M.A. and S. thesis, St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1971), 37- 45.

[6] William Thomas I. and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958).

material related to the Polish missions in Northwest England and the letters written to Father Justyn by the radio listeners. The concepts of existing and preexisting values and attitudes were also borrowed from this groundbreaking work.[7] In *The Religious Factor* by Gerhard Lenski provided convincing evidence to prove that the religious commitment of a believer influences that person's everyday life and consequently that of the society.[8] His theory of the "religious factor" and consequently his claim against the widely accepted sociological theory of economic determinism has been used in analyzing the transformation of the values and attitudes of the Polish immigrant family in the United States, especially in chapter three. The third concept, that of "three stages in nationalist feelings", by the ethnic historian Victor Greene, gives the research a theoretical grounding for discussion on the limits of ethnic and American patriotism among the Polish immigrants in chapter six.[9]

This dissertation examines a process of transformation of attitudes towards marriage unity and parental authority within the Polish immigrant family in its seven chapters. The first chapter, "A Stepping Stone: The Polish Emigrants in Northwest England & Their Religious Culture", is a historical monograph of the environment of the Polish and East European immigrants in Northwest England between 1871 and 1894. Using the concept of values and attitudes of Thomas and Znaniecki, I investigate the religious forms observed by these transient people despite the circumstances and identify the main elements in the foreign setting which affected the attitudes of individuals and family groups in the area of religious practices. The records, mainly in the form of letters

[7] Ibid. vol. I, 44-48.
[8] Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961).
[9] Victor Greene, *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860-1910* (Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975), 2.

written by the missionaries to immigrants in Northwest England, 1880-1894, constitute the bases of the source material in Chapter One. The letters most relevant to the discussed subjects are presented in Appendix A.

The second chapter, "Father Justyn and the Rosary Hour: An overview of the role of the Rosary Hour and its founder", introduces Father Justyn Figas, O.F.M.Conv., his life, and his achievements, with particular emphasis on the structure and mechanics of the Rosary Hour. It might seem that there is a gap between the first chapter, covering 1871-1894, and the second, which focuses on the period of 1931-1940. But, one has to remember that Father Justyn was born into a Polish immigrant family in 1886. Therefore his parents belonged to the same generation of immigrants who are described in the first chapter, and as did the parents of hundreds of thousands of listeners to the Rosary Hour programs. This fact cannot be missed in analyzing the change of attitudes in the immigrant family towards parental authority and marriage unity. To date, for the most part, the American historians were not interested in extensive studies of the man who took an active part in influencing the inevitable changes in the process of enculturation of millions of Polish-Americans over the period of three decades, between 1931 and 1959. Only recently did the U.S. Catholic Historian print an article on the Rosary Hour and its founder.[10]

The first broadcast season of 1931-1932 required separate treatment. Chapter Three, "Vision of the Polish Family: Reconstructing of the Family in the American Environment 1931-1932", selected and examined the main topics raised by Father Justyn

[10] Stanisław Hajkowski, S.Chr., "Father Justyn and the Rosary Hour", *U.S. Catholic Historian* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 59-82.

on the radio network program, which reached a large audience. He was already an experienced and popular radio speaker, and so my assessment was that by choosing to speak on faith, marriage unity, parental authority, patriotism, work, and sobriety he publicly expressed his understanding of these issues. Consequently Father Justyn revealed his own personality and convictions, which were influenced by his family, the communities in which he lived, and his training. At the same time these first talks exposed the main concerns of a sensitive observer of the Polish-American community and the reaction of the radio listeners expressed through the questions which are presented in this chapter and in the Appendices B1 and B2.

The issue of faith as a family value and its relationship to marriage unity is discussed in depth in Chapter Four, "Faith and Marriage: Reinforcing the Christian values among the Polish-Americans." This part of the study is divided into three sections. The different aspects of faith and marriage among the Polish-Americans emphasized in Father Justyn's talks are juxtaposed and discussed separately according to the chronological order of broadcast seasons from 1932 until 1940. He described marriage as a religious institution, a sort of religious order or a home church, and attempted to pass this message on to his listeners who were Christians, but who, according to Father Justyn, did not always have the same attitudes towards faith and marriage as their forefathers used to display. The evidence for these unorthodox attitudes is provided in the section entitled "Superstition." In this chapter I show the value of the questions and letters sent by the listeners to the Rosary Hour, which are a rich source of data on the values and attitudes of the radio listeners in the area of faith and marriage. The criteria chosen for selecting the talks for this chapter were a positive exposition of the fundamental faith and

of the Christian marriage values necessary for reconstruction of the original secure family environment in the United States. I placed in these three Appendices: C1, C2 and C2, divided into broadcasting seasons the questions relevant to different parts of this chapter. These letters-questions also reveal the concern of the listeners for the orthodox Catholic doctrine and tradition of the forefathers.

Chapter Five develops over the period 1932-1940 the themes of threats to marriage and family unity raised in the section "Family threats" of the second chapter and the theme of alterations in the woman's traditional roles. The values of religious culture brought over the Atlantic by Polish immigrants were challenged by the American culture, inspired as it was by the secular values of individualism and rationalism, and by the internal vices of the Polish-American community. The views expressed by Father Justyn and the radio listeners on this subject are examined in five sections: Divorce, Desertion, Mixed Marriages, Birth Control, and Abortion. The questions of the radio listeners related to the issues discussed in the sections listed above are placed in Appendix D, divided according to broadcasting seasons.

The idea of the reconstruction of the secure social environment based on the original culture of Polish immigrant community in the United States was initiated by the 1854 Polish settlers in Panna Maria, Texas. This idea was challenged from the beginning by different ideas of assimilation of the immigrants into the culture of the majority. Since that time there had been an ongoing debate on the issue of double loyalty, to the Old Country and to the United States. By employing the ideas of Thomas and Znaniecki, Frank Thistlethwaite, and Victor Greene, Chapter Six identifies the main attitudes of the Polish immigrant population towards the country of origin and the country of settlement.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the role of the Polish clergy in the dispute on Polish and American identity in the United States. The main source material for this part of study comes from the articles printed in 1924 in a Polish language daily *Dziennik Zjednoczenia*. The second section, on the issue of dual identity on the Rosary Hour, explores in two subsections the nature of Polish and American patriotism. In the two latter subsections I analyzed the relevant talks and questions according to the chronology of the broadcasting seasons. The same scheme is used in the two Appendices: E1 and E2, including the radio listeners' questions relevant to the second section of this chapter.

The last chapter shows the generational conflict in the area of different attitudes of the first and second generations towards the cultural values related to marriage unity and parental authority. The chapter, divided into two sections, examines the issues of parental authority and the perspective of the second generation of Polish-Americans. The scheme of keeping analysis of relevant talks and questions in line with the chronological sequence of the broadcasts was preserved in both sections of chapter seven. Questions of radio listeners placed in Appendix F relevant to chapter seven were similarly ordered.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for all the support I have received whilst researching and writing up this dissertation. Special thanks are due to the members of the Society of Christ for the Polish Emigrants, particularly my brother priests from the British and North American Provinces, who made my initial studies in Bangor, North Wales and then in Washington, D.C. possible.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Leslie Woodcock Tentler, of The Catholic University of America, the director of this project, for the gift of her experience, wisdom and guidance, which enabled me to develop an understanding of the subject and bring it to its concluding level. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Christopher Kauffman, (emeritus), and Dr. Timothy Meagher. I am heartily thankful to my many professors, friends and colleagues, whose counsel and encouragement was most valuable in my preparation of the original dissertation. In particular I would like to express my thanks to my brother priest Dr. Bernard Kołodziej, S.Chr., of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Dr. Duncan M. Tanner of The Bangor University in Wales, and to Dr. Andrzej Sulima Kaminski of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

I acknowledge the services rendered to me by the various libraries and archives, especially the Father Justin Rosary Hour Archives in Athol Springs, New York and the local community of Conventual Franciscan Friars who continue broadcasting the Rosary Hour radio program. During my visits to Athol Springs Father Marion Tolczyk, O.F.M.Conv., Father Władysław Mężyk , O.F.M.Conv., Brother Daniel Geary, O.F.M.Conv., and Father Marcel Sokalski, O.F.M.Conv., kindly allowed me access to the archives of the Rosary Hour, and showed me their truly Franciscan hospitality.

For their painstaking task in proof reading my draft copies and angelic patience in getting the right translations for some of the Polish expressions I would like to thank Ms. Mary Ann Evan and Mrs. Florence McMahon.

A special thanks goes to the Bishop John McAreavey of the diocese of Dromore in Ireland for inviting the priests of the Society of Christ, including myself, to do pastoral work in his diocese among the newly arrived Polish immigrants and making me feel really welcome. The Bishop's positive attitude, the efficiency of the staff and the team work of the Irish priests of the parish of Newry, where I am stationed now, made it possible for me during the last several months to write this dissertation.

I must also acknowledge the encouragement I received from my sisters and brothers who with their families gave me a helpful push to go after this degree. A word of thanks to them and to all those who have supported me in very different ways throughout the whole process involved in this study.

And finally and most importantly, I would like to recall the memory of my late parents, Józef and Bronisława Hajkowski, on whose love and support I always could count. They took a lively interest in the progress of this research and mobilized me to greater effort. It is to their memory that I dedicate this dissertation.

Fr. Stanisław Hajkowski, S.Chr.
Cathedral Presbytery
Newry, Co. Down, Northern Ireland
The Feast of St. Casimir
March 4, 2010

Chapter One: A Stepping Stone:
The Polish Emigrants in Northwest England & their Religious Culture

> Religion played an important role in confirming the Polish peasants' ties to their family and community. It penetrated every aspect of their lives. Here arises a question: was religion, as practiced by the peasants, an inspiration and motivation in their daily lives or a form of magic used to influence the environment in which they often felt helpless?
>
> A consideration from *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.*

A monumental work of William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*,[1] influenced American thought in the area of social history for several decades of the twentieth century. The book, published in five volumes during the period 1918-1920, described in detail the environment of the Polish peasant in his country of origin and in the United States, the country to which he emigrated. The originality of the new way of thinking about social processes in general and the process of immigration in particular, depended on getting members of the studied groups to tell their stories. In the book *The Polish Peasant* the authors generally based their study on letters and newspaper articles written by the peasants covering the period of fifty years prior to the time of research. In the analyses of the social, economic, cultural and religious background of the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki showed the importance and complexity of the value system and attitudes of any social group in adapting to a new social environment.

The authors of *The Polish Peasant* grouped peasants' interests in several areas: Family, Marriage, Class-System, Social Environment, Economic Life, Religion and Magic, Theoretic and Aesthetic Interests. Thomas and Znaniecki selected from these

[1] William Thomas I. and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958).

groups of interests the values and attitudes that formed the value system of a typical Polish peasant.[2] The second chapter of *The Polish Peasant* provides evidence of the preexisting values in the Polish immigrant communities and individuals in America, which are traced back to their primary group organization in the country of origin.

This chapter takes from *The Polish Peasant* the ideas of existing and preexisting values and attitudes.[3] Thomas and Znaniecki were the first to adopt this approach to their systematic research of the Polish immigrant group in the United States of America. The authors noticed the dynamics in the value system, which was constantly changing. According to Thomas and Znaniecki, immigrants based their choices in a new environment on their preexisting culture but not completely. As individuals and as a group they were adding new values to the existing value system and casting out some of the old values. The same adjustment would happen to the attitudes connected to the values. The research method used by the authors of *The Polish Peasant* has been adopted since by many scholars writing social history, e.g., Oscar Handlin, Joseph Barton, and John Bukowczyk.[4]

The value system we find in *The Polish Peasant* directly relates to the Polish peasant communities in the period between 1870–1920 and to their descendents who emigrated or were born in the Polish immigrant families in America. Many of the listeners to Father Justin's Rosary Hour immigrated to America in the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as children or mature adults. In the thirties most of

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[2] Ibid. I Vol., 21-23.
[3] Ibid. I Vol., 44-48.
[4] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Little: Brown and Company, 1951); Joseph Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); John Bukowczyk, *And My Children Did Not Know Me: A History of the Polish Americans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

those immigrants would be middle-aged heads of the families and young adults. The people belonging to the first generation of the Polish immigrants and their offspring were listening and writing to the radio program "Father Justin's Rosary Hour," which reflected their preexisting and existing values and attitudes. This chapter will examine both the preexisting value system and the new attitudes and values related to marriage, family and religion of the people who shared a common social background but became separated from it due to emigration. The group will be also studied from the angle of changes in their attitudes and value system in the middle of the process of emigration, shortly after arriving in England, which they considered a stepping stone on their way to America. In this regard the material presented in the *Polish Peasant* will be used as a point of reference. "As soon as we become acquainted with the materials we begin to select them with the help of criteria which involve certain methodological generalizations and scientific hypothesis."[5]

Thomas and Znaniecki used data collected in the letters of immigrants who described, in their own words, their own experience. In order to establish the importance of different social values in the Polish peasants' scheme of attitudes and values,[6] the authors also accessed among others the materials from the archives of the Emigrants Protective Society in Warsaw, of which Znaniecki himself was director at the time of the commencement of the study; Oskar Kolberg's monumental work, *Lud* (The People) and the ethnographical materials published by Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie (The Cracow Academy of Sciences) - Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne.

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[5] Ibid., 19.
[6] Ibid., Methodological Note, 1-86.

This part of the research proposes to compare the findings of *The Polish Peasant* in the areas of attitudes to marriage, family and religion of the Polish peasant to a body of sources that originated in North West England. The sources are composed mostly of the letters written by the Roman Catholic chaplains working among the Polish immigrants who used Liverpool as their port of embarkation for crossing the Atlantic to America. The chaplains who carried out the pastoral work among the Polish immigrants in North West England between 1870 and 1895 were of Polish, German, Lithuanian and Hungarian origin. The bishops of the local dioceses, where the migrants congregated, would invite the chaplains to facilitate the integration of the foreign Catholics into the local Church. All chaplains were able to communicate in the Polish language and sent reports on their work to the local diocesan bishops. They also composed private letters and notes regarding their pastoral work and sent them to friends or the newspapers. What values did the Polish immigrants consider of prime importance after leaving their natural social environment and what was the place of marriage, family and religion in the new environment? What were the major factors affecting their choices during the temporary stay in a foreign country? Do the findings of Thomas and Znaniecki, which were based on fieldwork in the United States, also describe the situation of Poles who were temporary immigrants in European or British industrial centers? Do the observations of the chaplains and the English Catholic bishops justify the statement included in the second part of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* quoted below?:

> The Polish Peasant is not a mystic; religion is for him a matter of social organization on the basis of given mythical beliefs and magical practices rather than of personal mystical connection with the divinity. This is why as we have already noticed in Volume I, there have never been any popular heresies, for beliefs and practices divergent from those of the church never assumed in the eyes

> of individuals a sufficient mystical importance to make them break with the social system of the church. Religious revolution became possible only recently when this social system began to be felt as unsatisfactory, and it took the form of a revolt against the social control exercised by the church, not against the religious dogmas and ceremonies for which the church stands.[7]

The questions raised above will be analyzed in this part of the study.

Documented evidence of the resident Polish presence in North West England starts at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[8] Individuals of different walks of life represented the first Poles in Manchester and Liverpool: people of free trades, craftsmen, and insurrectionists. The local newspapers made references to the breaking of the law by foreigners with Polish-sounding names.[9] On other occasions the newspapers took an active role in generating positive feelings and help for the exiles who took part in the abortive revolution of 1830-1831 against Russia[10], the revolution in the Prussian occupied Polish lands and the one in Hungary in 1848.[11] Some of those exiles settled in Liverpool and other parts of Lancashire.[12] The census returns for 1851 listed 107 exiles at 20 Cherry Lane.[13] Eventually these exiles dispersed or assimilated with the surrounding population.

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[7] Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit*., vol. II, 1280-1281.
[8] Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. 4, (London: 1954), p. 584 and New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Vol. 9, (London: 1980), 495-6.
[9] *Manchester Mercury,* 25 February, 1800.
[10] *Manchester Guardian,* 25 August, 1832 and *Manchester Mercury*, 21 June 1836.
[11] *Liverpool Mercury*, March 7 and 18, 1851.
[12] Thomas W. Scragg, *The Polish Community in Manchester and in the North West* (Master of Arts Dissertation, Manchester Polytechnic, 1986), 16-18.
[13] The Census Return for 1851, of the Borough of Liverpool indicated that there were 46 Cavalry (1major, 2 lieutenants, 4 sub-lieutenants, 19 sergeants and 20 privates), 55 Infantry (1 captain, 12 lieutenants, 16 sub-lieutenants, 18 sergeants and 8 privates) and 6 Artillery (2 sergeants and 4 privates) all of whom were listed as having been born in Poland.

Research of the nineteenth and twentieth century migration from the lands belonging to Poland (The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth)[14] before its partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795, encounters the problem of the multi ethnic composition of this state. Frequent changes of the political borders in this part of Europe further complicate the issue. The immigrants arriving in the English ports from southern Poland (incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire) were often listed by the authorities as Hungarians or Austrians. Lithuanians and Ruthenians (Byelorussians and Ukrainians) with no developed national awareness were enumerated as Poles or Russians. Poles from the Prussian partition were considered to be Germans. Quite often the English population mistook the itinerant Jews, who originated in the Polish lands, for Christian Poles. The research of Bill Williams in the field of Manchester Jewry demonstrates the difficulties involved in attempting to determine how many of the immigrants identified as coming from the Polish lands were Jewish or not Jewish.[15]

Between 1850 and 1914 some 3 million Poles immigrated to parts of Europe, Asia and the Western Hemisphere.[16] The majority of the Polish emigrants headed for the United States of America and they usually chose the German ports for the transatlantic passage. It has been estimated that 50% of all Polish immigrants were embarking on the ships in Bremen, 30% in Hamburg and the rest was split between Rotterdam, Le Havre, Trieste and Liverpool. Among the many ship companies the most popular with the

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[14] Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was created by the Union of Lublin in 1569 and lasted until the 1795. The Commonwealth included the Kingdom of Poland, Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruthenia (Ukraine).

[15] Bill Williams, *The making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1985), pp. 355-356.

[16] Joseph A. Wytrwal, *America's Polish Heritage: A Social History of the Poles in America* (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1963) p. 79; Aleksander Gieysztor et al., *History of Poland* (Warsaw: P.W.N. [Polish Scientific Publishers], 1968), 584-86.

emigrants from the Polish lands was the Norddeutsher Lloyd in Bremen, then the Hamburg America Linen. The Holland America Linen Company in Rotterdam and The Austro-American Company in Trieste played a smaller role.[17]

On a continental scale Liverpool was a major port of embarkation for emigrants on their way to U.S.A. and Canada between 1830 and 1930, because it had well established mercantile links, based on timber and cotton, with North America,. Liverpool was also easily accessible. Emigrants from North Western Europe would cross the North Sea to Hull and then travel by train to Liverpool. In the 1870s, the ports on the continent were connected via the railway network to all bigger European cities. The development of the railway network facilitated the growth of emigration from Central and Eastern-Europe.

The estimated number of Poles residing in Britain in the 1870s was 1,500 persons.[18] By the end of the nineteenth century there were three main centers of Polish settlements in Britain: London, Lanarkshire in Scotland, Liverpool and Manchester and its surrounding areas. London was the destination for a permanent residency, unlike the two provincial colonies, which served the incoming migrants from Eastern-Europe as a stepping-stone on their way to the New World.[19] Only a fraction of them, with no money to pay for the whole journey to America, stopped on their way to find employment. Those were looking for employment in one of the big industrial centers to save money;

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[17] Florian Stasik, *Polska Emigracja Zarobkowa w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki 1865-1914 (Polish Economic Immigration in the United States of America 1865-1914),* (Warszawa: P.W.N. [Polish Scientific Publishers], 1985), 50-51.
[18] Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain,* (The Hague: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1956), 40.
[19] Ibid., 39-42.

buy a ticket for a steamer and eventually cross the Atlantic. Very few Polish migrants considered Britain as a place for permanent settlement.

The northern route of transmigration to North America via Liverpool had been chosen by East Europeans under pressure of "push-pull" factors and reflected "chain migration" features. Emigration was one of the reactions to constant political and social volatility in the lands of partitioned Poland. A sequence of disastrous developments in the 1860s and the following decades even increased the urge to emigration. The abortive January Uprising of 1863 in the Russian partition was followed by the repression of all participants. Lithuania, which suffered particularly brutal persecutions after the Uprising, was struck by famine in 1866. Two years later cholera spread throughout the Russian Pale of Settlement.[20] The following year, Western Russia and Eastern Prussia had fallen into deep commercial stagnation. The already bad situation was made even worse with typhus finishing off what the ravages of previous misfortunes had started. However, in contrast to the expulsive reasons for emigration that existed, many attractions, like boundless opportunities in the New World, the demand for labor in certain occupations, absence of restrictive laws and free institutions in the United States and Great Britain, provided incentives for emigrating. The news about existing possibilities was disseminated by means of letters sent back to relatives and acquaintances and also through personal contacts reaching out beyond ethnic and religious boundaries.

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[20] "The Pale of Settlement," *Wikipedia:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pale_of_Settlement (accessed July 23.2008). "The Pale of Settlement was the term given to a region of imperial Russia, along its western border, in which permanent residence of Jews was allowed, […], the Pale corresponded to historical borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth […]. The Pale was first created by Catherine the Great in 1791, […]. At its heyday, the Pale, […], had a Jewish population of over 5 million, which represented the largest concentration (40 percent) of world Jewry at that time

One of the attractions drawing the Jewish immigrants to England was a very efficient relief system organized by the resident Jews. Manchester experienced ”an unforeseen influx of Jewish poor” during 1869-70.[21] A contemporary newspaper article printed in the Jewish Chronicle in 1866 wrote of the “Vast numbers of foreigners who, to escape the hardship of a military service at home have sought asylum in this hospitable country, many of whom have taken up residence in this northern metropolis, whose wealth and charity seem to have gained a continental reputation.”[22]

This article reflects the expectations of thousands of Jewish migrants driven mostly from Eastern-Europe in the hope of finding a better life overseas. Over the next decades the pace of emigration from that part of Europe grew considerably. The so-called May Laws of 1882[23] banned the Jewish population from rural areas and small towns and confined them to designated towns within the Pale. The May Laws, aimed at the segregation of the Jewish population, created fierce competition in overcrowded towns for those anxious to make a living from the few outlets of employment remaining open to Jews. Major W. E. Evan Gordon, a member of the Royal Commission on the Immigration of Aliens, observed that the causes of Jewish emigration from Russian Poland were:

> […] economic rather than Political. The Jews are not oppressed (by the Russian authorities) to an appreciably greater degree than the Roman Catholics; the struggle for life among both sections of the people is severe, and that a similar pressure impels both classes to leave the country is shown by the extensive

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[21]Williams, *The Making*, 269.

[22] *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 November 1866, cit. in Bill Williams, *The making,* 269.

[23] “The May Laws,” *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May_Laws (accessed August 11.2008). “The May Laws were anti-Jewish regulations enacted on May 15 (May 3 O.S.), 1882, by Czar Alexander III of Russia that were described as “temporary” but remained in effect for more then thirty years. The May Laws reflecting a systematic policy of discrimination against the Jews, banned the Jewish inhabitants of Russia from living in rural areas and towns of fewer then ten thousand people, including within the pale of Settlement. […] The laws remained in effect until 1917 and provided the impetus for mass emigration.”

> movement of Christian Poles westward to Germany, England and America which proceeds concurrently with Jewish emigration.[24]

The causes of emigration in all three partitions were basically very similar. In Prussian occupied Poland the "Colonization Policy" culminated in the1885 Expulsion order, which drove tens of thousands Prussian residents of Polish, and to a lesser extent of Jewish, origin out of their homesteads. The Austrian policy of preventing industrialization of Galicia caused the surplus rural population to emigrate. Jerzy Zubrzycki, the author of *Polish Immigrants in Britain*, draws a conclusion of basically "positive correlation between the Jewish and Polish emigration."[25] Father Joseph von Lassberg, a German Jesuit priest working as a chaplain for the Polish and Eastern-European immigrants in England in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, noticed in Liverpool in the Spring of 1889, "caravans of Polish immigrants in the Jewish quarters."[26] Many immigrants did not have enough money to continue their journey to America and were looking for work wherever it could be found. Some immigrants were cheated by the Ocean liners' agents; others were escaping military service or following the same route as members of their families.

The employers who were looking for cheap labor would pick up Poles on arrival. Not surprisingly, some Jewish owners of factories in Liverpool and North West England spoke Polish, the language of the country they left earlier, and employed groups of Poles. Since communication was not a problem, both groups interacted in other areas too. In their quest for a better life many Christian Poles from all three partitions were using the

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[24] Vol. II, Minutes of Evidence, 459-460. Cit. from Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain,* 46.
[25] Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain,* 46.
[26] Jan Badeni, T.J., *Polacy w Anglii* (Poles in England), (Kraków: Druk WŁ. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1890), 62.

same northern emigration route as some groups of the Polish and Russian Jews. Information about the possibilities of getting work overseas was spread by means of letters to relatives and through personal contacts. It is obvious that the exchange of information through personal contacts was one of the major boosts for emigration. Consequently, the Old Country's connections were cultivated abroad to a certain extent. Dr. E. W. Hope, the Medical Officer of Health in Liverpool, communicated to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration:

> Aliens have been settling in Liverpool for the last 15-20 years but of recent years this immigration has increased. The great majority of immigrants come from Western Russia and Poland, principally from the borders of the German frontiers. There are two races – Jewish and Christian. They settle in independent colonies. The Jewish colony is in the Brownlow Hill area and the Christian colony in the Fairclough Hill area.[27]

The best narrative hitherto on pastoral work among the Polish immigrants in England in the nineteenth century was offered by Father Jan Badeni in *Polacy w Anglii*[28]. Several authors made references to the topics and material included in Badeni's work, but none of them did thorough research on the religious aspect of the Polish immigration to Great Britain in the discussed period.[29] The author of *Polacy w Anglii*, a Jesuit priest from the Małopolska Province of the Society of Jesus, collected material for his work from correspondence, newspaper articles and interviews with the people who were actively involved in organizing and providing the spiritual care to the Poles in England in the period from 1831 till 1890. For these reasons Badeni's book is valuable source

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[27] Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, (London, 1903), Vol. II, 773. Cit. from a dissertation by Thomas W. Scragg, "The Polish Community in Manchester and the North West, (Manchester: Manchester Polytechnic, 1986), 18.
[28] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*.
[29] Zubrzycki, *Polish Immigrants in Britain*; Scragg, *The Polish Community in Manchester and in the North West*; Paweł Sawicki, *Polska Misja Katolicka w Londynie 1894 – 1944* (London: Veritas Fundation Press, 1944); Ks. Adolf Bakanowski, *Moje Wspomnienia1840-1863-1913*(Lwów: Jakubowski i Sp., 1913).

material and a guide to the spiritual conditions of the immigrants from Eastern Europe on their way to America in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, for a better understanding of the role religion played in the lives of people who generally did not consider England as their destination and what religious practices they still clung to, one has to search for more sources and critically analyze the existing and the new data. In order to do so it is important to undertake a task of painting a clearer picture of the values and religious attitudes of the people who left their familiar environment in the hope of building a better life in a foreign land.

The book starts its story from the aftermath of an abortive November Uprising in the Polish lands (1830-1831). It paints a gloomy picture of the material and spiritual conditions of mainly political exiles. No regular pastoral care was offered to them in the Polish language. Before the Crimean War (1854-1856) Father Emeryk Podolski was taking care of a small Polish colony in London. Most of its members joined a Polish Division of Sultan's Cossacks fighting on the side of the Turks against Russia. The British government was bearing the costs of this military formation. Father Podolski went with them as a military chaplain and returned to London after the campaign. He was replaced about 1862 by Father Chwaliszewski who was financially supported by a former commander of the Polish troops in the Crimean War, general Zamoyski. In the years 1864-1865 Father Jażdżewski was helping the victims of the January Uprising (1863-1865) who arrived to England, but due to health problems and lack of funds he returned to his homeland. Most probably nobody replaced him for the next five years. In fact Badeni moves his very detailed story line at this point to the year 1878, leaving a time loophole of twelve years, but one has to remember the agency of Father Bernard

Łubieński, who resided in London from 1871 till 1882 and made himself available to Poles. Father Łubieński as a member of an English Redemptorist Province was in a position to support the Polish immigrant communities in Great Britain for over a decade.

It was in summer 1878, thanks to arrangements of the already mentioned Redemptorist and his provincial superior, that a priest from the order of Resurrectionist Fathers undertook a pastoral responsibility for the Poles in England.[30] His mission didn't, however, last long. Father Adolf Bakanowski was shot at by an international terrorist in the course of celebrating Mass.[31] Fortunately the priest was not harmed during the attack but shortly afterwards, in August 1880, he was recalled from his post by his superior.[32] On 13th December 1878, another Polish priest, Father Julian Dudkiewicz, commenced pastoral work among the Polish-Lithuanian community in Liverpool on recommendation of Father Łubieński.[33] The core members of this community originated in the regions of Suwałki, Białystok, River Bug Region, Lithuania and Galicia. First, they emigrated to North America and after an unsuccessful attempt to settle there were sent away by the United States government to England, according to Edmund Naganowski's version of developments among the Polish-Lithuanian community in Liverpool. The articles of this London based correspondent were printed by several Polish language newspapers.[34] However, it was very unlikely that the government of the United States would send away from its territory the above-mentioned group of immigrants, since at that time it

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[30] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 43.
[31] Ks. Adolf Bakanowski, *Moje Wspomnienia1840-1863-1913* (Lwów: Jakubowski i Sp., 1913), 103-107.
[32] Ibid., 43-44. A German anarchist Schosser shot at Father Bakanowski several times, but missed. The perpetrator was sentenced in London to life imprisonment.
[33]Canon. Van Hee to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 30 September 1880, Liverpool Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives (hereafter L.A.A.). No. 60 B/L4, Our Lady of Reconciliation (hereafter O.L.R.).
[34] "Polacy w Liwerpolu." *Słowo,* 26, 27 October 1882: 2 and 2-3; "Kronika Kościelna: Anglja" *Przegląd Katolicki*, 9 November 1882:715.

encouraged free and open immigration and did not have a federal border control agency until 1891. So, Naganowski's statement in the article is probably inaccurate. The unfortunate migrants, who for some unidentified reasons left America, disembarked in Liverpool, where they received help from the local magistrate and eventually got employment in the Liverpool docks. This small community joined later by new arrivals was gathering for Sunday duty at the church of Our Lady of Reconciliation in Eldon Street run by a Belgian priest, Father Van Hee. This church served as a pastoral center for all East European Catholics living in Liverpool. The parish priest couldn't speak their native languages, but "he used periodically to bring down a priest from London to attend them."[35]

The Polish-Lithuanian community was in 1879 numerous enough to guarantee the Bishop to pay a salary for their priest who was to be in residence at the presbytery of the church of Our Lady of Sorrows.[36] Father Dudkiewicz, who came to serve this community, was born and raised in Lithuania. He was fluent in Polish, Lithuanian and French. For unknown reasons he left his homeland for the Duchy of Posnania (Prussian Poland) - most probably he escaped reprisals from the Russian Government after the January Uprising (1863-65). The priest was expelled from Prussia for allegedly anti state sermons he preached there. Eventually he settled in Paris with a well-to-do Polish family as their private teacher.[37] After receiving a request for a Lithuanian speaking priest, Father Ladislas Witkowski, a superior of the Polish Catholic Mission in Paris, persuaded

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[35] Bishop Bernard O'Reilly to Cardinal Manning, 9 May, 1880. L.A.A. No 60B/L3, O.L.R. In December 1873, Father Podolski came to minister to the community - Canon Van Hee to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 6 December 1873. Lancashire Record Office (hereafter L.R.O.), R.C.Lv. box 11.
[36] Bishop Bernard O'Reilly to Cardinal Manning, 9 May, 1880. L.A.A. No 60B/L3, O.L.R. Bishop O'Reilly stated their number at 250-300.
[37] *Słowo,* 26 October 1882.

the exiled priest to go to Liverpool.[38] Father Dudkiewicz's life experience was typical of many educated and patriotic Poles and Lithuanians forced into exile by the regimes ruling in the Partitioned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The patriots never accepted the annihilation of the statehood of their country. Consequently they believed in the idea of Poland expressed by a celebrated Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, *"*Poland is not where it is a land defined borders, but wherever are beating hearts of our countrymen*."*

The Polish chaplain in Liverpool did not limit his pastoral work to one place only. He visited the Polish and Lithuanian communities also in the surrounding towns. He communicated to the Bishop the spiritual needs of his compatriots in French. The surviving correspondence shows that Father Dudkiewicz had understanding and respect for jurisdiction regulating his activities in the Archdiocese.[39] Though, after a few months of working under supervision of Canon Van Hee, Father Dudkiewicz found that the arrangements made for his pastoral work were too restrictive to serve adequately his countrymen. The chaplain, with the support of the Polish and Lithuanian immigrants in Liverpool and substantial financial help from an individual donor from France, Mrs. Ksawerowa Pusłowska from Paris,[40] started a process of separation from the unwanted supervision of the local parish priest. His goal was to set up a separate chapel, still within the jurisdiction of the local Bishop. The most important element in this process was, however, a sanction from the Bishop of Liverpool. Father Dudkiewicz met with Bishop O'Reilly sometime in the beginning of the year 1880, to discuss this matter. During the

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[38] Ladislas Witkowski to Bishop O'Reily, 5 February 1881. L.A.A. No 60B/L3, O.L.R. Ladislas (Władysław) Witkowski, C.R., was a member of the Congregation of the Resurrection.
[39] Julien (Julian) Dudkiewicz to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 16 June 1880. L.A.A. No. 60 B/L3, O.L.R.
[40] *Słowo,* 27 October 1882. Badeni gives full name of the donor - Mrs Ksawerowa Pusłowska from Paris in *Polacy w Anglii*, 45).

conversation he stated his intention to the Bishop to become independent and that he intended to organize a chapel. He was refused a sanction for his plan:

> I refused to sanction it, but said I would sometime [in the future sanction] a chapel in a suitable neighbourhood provided I was satisfied as to the character & conduct of the Priest who was to have charge of it. Upon this Father Dudkiewicz said that he would open the chapel in spite of me & say Mass in it & administer the Sacraments.[41]

There were a number of issues involved in the controversy of the Polish chapel in Liverpool. Misunderstanding was one of the major issues leading the Polish-Lithuanian community to confrontation with the Bishop. During the meeting of Father Dudkiewicz with the Bishop, was present Canon Van Hee. The Canon, himself a non native English speaker, was most probably translating into English Father Dudkiewicz's expressions made in French. A conversation in English was almost impossible for the Polish priest, according to Canon Van Hee, who wrote, "… I may add that Father D. will never be able to speak English, at least, that is my opinion."[42] The fact that Bishop O'Reilly was not against the idea of a separate chapel and that he only verbally forbade organizing the chapel, supports the view of misunderstanding. This opinion is also sustained by lack of references in the correspondence between the Bishop of Liverpool and Cardinal Manning to a formal written statement which would prohibit Father Dudkiewicz from organizing the separate chapel. Likewise the evidence to prove that point of view might be derived from the course of action taken by Father Dudkiewicz, suggesting his belief in the persuasive power of petitions sent to the Bishop which eventually would change his mind.

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[41] Bishop Bernard O'Reilly to Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, 9 May, 1880. L.A.A. No 60B/L3, O.L.R. Copy.
[42] Canon. Van Hee to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 30 September, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60 B/L3, O.L.R.

Many priests serving in the dioceses within the boundaries of the former Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth, in the nineteenth century, were forced to act in pastoral matters without the sanction of their Bishops due to the fact that the Roman Catholic Bishops were often barred from administering their dioceses by the partitioning powers, especially in Russia and Prussia. At the same time the rights of the regular Catholics were not recognized by the civil authorities. The priests serving in those circumstances were seeking in certain pastoral cases the support of the people they served, e.g., organizing a Mass point in a remote village. Since Father Dudkiewicz considered serving the immigrants, victims of the political and economic situation in Eastern-Europe, as his prime duty, his experience in partitioned Poland was certainly a factor influencing the methods he adopted during his time in England. Misreading of intentions and expressions was easy in such situations and affected both the foreign element and the local host group in the diocese.

In face of mounting problems Father Dudkiewicz looked for advice not from Bishop O'Reilly or other diocesan presbyters in Liverpool. Their set of mind and pastoral methods fitted their environment but were alien to the immigrants. Instead he sought advice and support among the leading members of the Polish community in London and a Polish prelate in Rome, who himself was removed from his archdiocese by the Prussian government.[43] During the meeting which took place in early 1880, the Polish priest from Liverpool met with a correspondent of the Warsaw based paper *Słowo*, Mr. Edmund

[43] Mieczysław Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski was nominated Archbishop of Gniezno-Poznań in1865. The incumbent of this Archbishopric also carried the title of Primate of Poland. The Prussian Government jailed Cardinal Ledóchowski in 1874-1876 and then exiled him from Prussia. He directed his Archdiocese from Rome until 1885 and in 1892 became Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fidei.

Naganowski, Father Adolf Bakanowski, a chaplain of Poles in London and others.[44] After the meeting, in March and April of 1880, he mounted a campaign of petitions directed to the Bishop of Liverpool. The aim of this campaign was to get an official sanction for the opening of the chapel.[45] Petitions were also sent to Cardinal Ledóchowski[46] in Rome and to Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of Westminster.

The petitions sent from several Polish communities in England: Liverpool, Manchester, Oldham and Sheffield, indicated the values and attitudes regarding the religious practices of the people who identified with the problem. A priest speaking their native language and a separate chapel were on the top of requests of the petitioners. An interesting situation emerged regarding the language in one of the petitions in which the authors claimed to be "the natives of Poland" (During the 19th century a Latin formula 'gente Lithuanus, natione Polonus' (Lithuanian people, Polish nation) was common in Lithuania proper);[47] they also stated that "The Rev. Father Dudkiewicz is thoroughly conversant with the Lithuanian language which is our mother tongue." The sacrament of confession took priority among all listed religious practices. The issues included in a

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[44] *Słowo,* 27 October 1882.

[45] Petitions: Poles from Liverpool (9 signatures) "To His Excellence the Lord Bishop of Liverpool," Liverpool, March 10th 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R.; Poles from Manchester (1 signature representing 50 individuals) "To the Right Reverent the Lord Bishop of Liverpool," Manchester 12th March 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B,/L2, O.L.R.; Poles from Oldham (1 signature) "To the Right Reverent the Lord Bishop of Liverpool, Oldham 12th March 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R.; Natives of Poland in Liverpool (2 signatures) "To the Right Rev. Father in God the Bishop of Liverpool," Liverpool , April 12th 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R.; Poles from Sheffield (2 signatures representing 16 individuals) "To the Lord Bishop of Liverpool," Sheffield, March 18th 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R. Edmund Naganowski (the correspondent of Słowo) admitted to being requested to write a petition to the Bishop of Liverpool, *Słowo,* 27 October 1882.

[46] H. E. Card. Archbishop to The Lord Bishop of Liverpool, Rome, April 29, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R.; Mentioned also in the Liverpool Daily Post, October 4, 1880. Mieczysław Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski was nominated Archbishop of Gniezno-Poznań in1865. The incumbent of this Archbishopric carried also the title of Primate of Poland. The Prussian Government jailed Card. Ledóchowski in 1874-1876 and then exiled him from Prussia. He directed his Archdiocese from Rome until 1885 and in 1892 became Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

[47] "Lithuanian nobility," *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lithuanian_nobility (accessed July 26.2008).

petition from Liverpool expressed concern for the couples living without the sacrament of matrimony and non baptized children. Other subjects regarded prayers, catechism and special devotions in the mother language, which the group was unable to practice in the assigned church according to their own customs and convenience.[48] The petitioners were conscious of their spiritual maladies and clear on the remedies needed: a native priest and their own chapel, separate and independent from the local parish network. Henry Edward Cardinal Manning shared with Bishop O'Reilly these observations, "It is true that very few Poles are now absorbed in our churches; & they are very ill in faith & morals."[49] As a remedy he gave permission for the Poles in his archdiocese of Westminster in London to organize a chapel, but reserving the right to sanction the place of worship and appointment of the chaplain. He suggested in the letter to the Bishop of Liverpool to take the same line.

The available evidence shows an active involvement of laity in an attempt to organize a separate place of worship for the Polish population in Liverpool. The invitations for the opening of the Polish chapel in Juvenal Street sent to the Bishop O'Kelly, Canon Van Hee and other guests were signed by three laymen.[50] One of the signers, Allan Macdoughall, was a Scotsman involved in the affairs of the Polish exiles.[51] Not much is known about the other two individuals, but it was probable that they were

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[48] *Słowo* explains that the requirement of paying the two pence fee for a pew in the church repelled many immigrants from attending Sunday Mass. Słowo, 26 October 1882.
[49] Henry E. Card. Archbishop to The Lord Bishop of Liverpool, Rome, April 29, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R.
[50] To His Lordship the Bishop of Liverpool, 1 October, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L3, O.L.R.; To the Rev. Canon Van Hee, 1 October, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L3, O.L.R.; To Father O'Kain, 1 October, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/ L3, O.L.R. The names were: John Przekop, Henry Radomski and Allan Macdoughall.
[51] "Opening of a Polish Catholic Church in Liverpool," no author given. *Liverpool Daily Post*, October 4, 1880.

involved in running a Polish club in Juvenal Street in Liverpool.[52] It was possible that prior to the arrival of Father Dudkiewicz many of the members of the Polish colony frequented quite often their club. Therefore the ethnic club, where the national language was spoken, provided a venue for presenting ideas and forming opinions among the immigrant community. The idea to rent a building in the same street as the existing Polish club to organize a separate chapel and a school serving the Poles and Lithuanians was a natural consequence in the process of consolidation of the community. The choice of location for a future chapel also points at the role of laity involved in the club in taking decisions or at least influencing the decisions made by the priest on behalf of the community. The financial support for the project came from the local community, but a substantial donation was sent from Mrs. Ksawerowa Pusłowska, a wealthy Polish lady who resided in Paris.[53] Eventually the chapel was opened on Saturday, October 2nd, 1880, in spite of the decision of Bishop O'Reilly. It was a bold and risky move on the side of the spiritual leader of the immigrant community. He hoped for the Bishop's change of heart till the last moment. Father Van Hee wrote to the Bishop on 30th of September, 1880, "He told Father Banks that his chapel would be blessed by you or your delegate next Saturday."[54]

Consequently, on October 2nd, 1880, Father Dudkiewicz blessed the chapel in 11 Juvenal Street himself and started celebrating Mass in it. At the first stage of the movement towards an independent existence the support from the congregation encouraged the leaders to plan for renting an additional house to open a school for the

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[52] The names of John Przekop, Henry Radomski and Allan Macdougall were signed on the invitation to Father O'Kain, 1 October 1880. L.A.A. No. 60 B/L3, O.L.R.
[53] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 45.
[54] Canon. Van Hee to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 30 September 1880. L.A.A. No. 60 B/L3, O.L.R.

Polish children. The support faded away quickly after Father Dudkiewicz was suspended by the Bishop; Naganowski, a reporter from London, hinted in his article on the chapel in Liverpool printed in *Słowo* at the rumors circulating about the socialist and schismatic views of the Polish priest.[55] There is no evidence that these suspicions had bearing on the decisions made in the offices of the Bishop of Liverpool regarding Father Dudkiewicz. Canon Van Hee had no objections to his moral conduct and considered him a gentleman. Perhaps further investigation into the biographies of the priest and the group signing the petitions and invitations for the opening of the chapel might shed more light on this issue. Further developments in the Polish community in Liverpool show its structural weakness. Their leaders, inspired by the values resembling those of nationalistic Polish Catholicism, set the group on a collision course with the local Church administration. Unable to negotiate his position and losing support, even those who formerly recommended him to the Bishop of Liverpool, Father Dudkiewicz left Liverpool in February 1881 and went to the United States.[56]

The basic issues reflected in the conflict between the Polish chaplain and the local curia regarded first, the problem of different methods of pastoral work practiced in the Eastern-European and Western Anglo-Saxon Catholic dioceses; second, language and cultural differences resulting in misunderstanding; third, lack of guidelines for the Polish chaplains agreed between the bishops of the countries of origin and the countries receiving the immigrants. Some of the Polish chaplains of immigrants put strong emphasis on the national element. This pastoral attitude often led religiously minded members of the Catholic congregations into conflicts with both the local bishops who

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[55] *Słowo*, 26 October 1882.
[56] Ibid.

pursued the policies of assimilation of the foreign element into one culturally uniform local church and with the representatives of political national movements evolving in the country of origin. These encounters sometimes took a very dramatic form, like the schism of the Polish National Catholic Church in North America by the end of the nineteenth century. The proper balance between the national culture of origin and the requirements of the universal Catholic Church was an alternative pastoral attitude represented by other Polish priests who found themselves in Britain.

Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R., a veteran of the work with the Polish immigrants in England met with Father Jan Badeni, S. J., in Kraków on March 3, 1890 to tell his story.[57] Father Łubieński was born on December 9th, 1846, in Guzów near Warsaw. His family belonged to the Polish nobility and had means to send him for studies at a Catholic Ashaw College in England. After graduating from the College he entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, was ordained priest on December 29th, 1870, and served for the next eleven years as a secretary to the provincial of the English Province of Redemptorists. He was not formally charged with the responsibility of a chaplain to the immigrants, but his position in the order and frequent travels due to missions he offered, usually in bigger towns, availed him many opportunities for meetings with the immigrants. In a letter to Father Badeni, dated February 24, 1890, Father Łubieński admitted that besides fulfilling the duties in his religious order, he was undertaking a task of finding the Poles.[58] The post of the provincial secretary put him also in contact with members of the English Catholic hierarchy, whom Father Łubieński

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[57]Father Bernard Łubieński to Father Jan Badeni, 24 February 1890. Archiwum Prowincji Małopolskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego in Kraków, Mały Rynek 8 (Archive of Małopolska Province of the Society of Jesus) (hereafter P.M.T.J.), Badeni Jan papers, no. 1309, folder 9.
[58] Ibid.

often assisted in dealing with issues related to Eastern-European immigrants. Father Robert A. Coffin, C.Ss.R., who held the office of provincial of the English Redemptorists from 1865 till 1882, was evidently very supportive of the initiatives of his subordinate.[59]

Father Łubieński could spare in Kraków only two hours for Father Jan Badeni. The material he provided to an inquisitive researcher was included in a book *Polacy w Anglii*.[60] Since 1871 he was one of a few Polish priests in Great Britain serving occasionally the spiritual needs of the immigrants from the Polish lands who at that time changed their character from the political to the economic emigration. He was still meeting the old immigrants who remembered Father Jażdżewski and other Polish chaplains with great respect. Many poor Poles were coming for alms to the Redemptorists' monastery in London-Clapham, where Father Łubieński lived. On these occasions they were telling their tales which often ended with confession listened to by the priest who spoke their language. Others managed to assimilate fairly quickly, often due to mixed marriages, and fell off their religious practices.

Father Łubieński didn't provide any statistics but from his description of the life of the Poles he met in England came into view several characteristic features of the religious life of the immigrants living in England before the year 1870. The initiative to make arrangements for bringing a priest to an immigrant colony, organizing a place of worship, and paying the expenses it involved was left to the priests themselves, and to nobility or wealthy people who were taking up a leadership role in these communities, e.g., general Władysław Zamoyski; Mrs. Jadwiga Zamoyska, the wife of general

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[59] Ibid. Father Robert A. Coffin was ordained bishop of Southwark in 11 June 1883.
[60] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, especially 42-50. From the year 1883 Father Łubieński took an active part in restoration of his order on the Polish lands.

Zamoyski; and Mrs. Pusłowska.[61] There was no lay organization, Church-based or of any other kind, which would support missions to the immigrants in England in an organized way. Confession was the most frequently requested and administered sacrament. Public religious practices, e.g., Holy Mass or devotions, were not regular among the Polish immigrant population. Father Łubieński did not describe to Father Badeni any forms of individual or family religious practices except for confessions. A more detailed description of the character of religious practices of the immigrants is presented in the letters written by Father Maksymilian Baraniecki, who worked among the Polish immigrants in Middlewich near Liverpool. He wrote those letters to Father Łubieński in a form of reports from a missionary field. Additionally a correspondence preserved in the Shrewsbury Diocesan Archive gives more insight into the spiritual life of Eastern-European immigrants.

Father Augustine Tremmery, originally from Belgium, a parish priest in Middlewich, diocese of Shrewsbury, had within the boundaries of his parish a small, immigrant population of about sixty persons. Germans, Poles and Ruthenians came to work here between the years 1870 and 1900. The priests serving in Middlewich were coming there to say Mass once a fortnight in a chapel bought in 1871 with the arrival of foreign workers.[62] Sometime in the beginning of the year 1882, Father Tremmery exchanged a correspondence with Father Łubieński with the intention of finding a priest able to give missions to the immigrant community of his parish. The Redemptorist from London acted as an informal coordinator of the pastoral care for Poles in England, so he

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[61] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 43.
[62] E. Maurice Abbott, *History of the Diocese of Shrewsbury 1850-1986* (Farnworth: Catholic Printing Company of Farnworth, 1986), 113.

made the necessary arrangements and referred Father Baraniecki to the bishop of Shrewsbury in a letter dated April 6th 1882:

> The Revd. Father Tremmery as your Lordship is aware has been writing to me about the Poles in his parish & we have been in correspondence for some time as to the possibility of getting that most excellent Polish priest Father Baraniecki to come down to Middlewich to see to these Poles' spiritual wants.[63]

The people Father Baraniecki was going to see were coming to England for work. They were settling into a dramatically new environment, most often with no previous experience of work in an industrial center. That kind of transfer must have made a serious impact on every newcomer relying usually on support of a local community in the country of origin. That kind of community didn't exist in a new place. Consequently the immigrants were left to their own devices in managing the new reality. The analysis of the group of immigrants in Middlewich and other parts of North West England offers a unique opportunity for observing their reactions in areas related to marriage, family, religious practices, economy, etc. In the eighteen-eighties, the group of immigrants from Middlewich came to the attention of several professional bodies, e.g., the Medical Officer of Health for Cheshire, who left valuable source material. Based on this data, W. H. Chaloner devoted in his study a part of one chapter to the Eastern-European immigrants.[64] This inquiry will review the existing sources and supplement the finings with facts found in the letters of chaplains who visited the same community in the eighteen eighties.

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[63] Father Łubieński to Bishop Edmund Knight, April 6.1882. Shrewsbury Roman Catholic Diocesan Archive (hereafter S.D.A.). Box Poles, uncatalogued.

[64] W. H. Chaloner, "William Furnival, H. E. Falk and the Salt Chamber of Commerce, 1815-1889: Some Chapters in the Economic History of Cheshire" in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 112 (1960), 123-45.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Cheshire become a pre-eminent salt producing area in Great Britain. The rapid growth of Liverpool was partly helped by the proximity of Cheshire salt deposits. "By the mid-eighteen seventies the salt export trade of between 900,000 and 1,000,000 tons employed one-third of the port's loaded export tonnage."[65] H. E. Falk, who owned the salt works in Meadow Bank and rock salt mines in Winsford, played a prominent role in the British salt industry, especially after becoming vice-president in 1864 and later president of the Salt Chamber of Commerce until 1889.[66] During a great strike in 1868 for higher wages, involving seven thousand men in the salt district, Falk resisted the demands of strikers and started employing immigrants in his salt works. A detailed account on the motives and conditions of employment of the foreign workers was presented on 13 July 1888, by Herman John Falk, one of H. E. Falk's sons, during a full-scale public investigation conducted by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was looking into the whole question of migration of foreigners into and from the United Kingdom.[67]

The first time Falk employed eighty German workers to replace the English strikers in the Cheshire salt district was in1868. [68] That was at the time of heavy emigration from Germany via Britain to the United States and Canada. Once in Liverpool, many found casual work, others went to chemical works in Widnes and Nortwich. A large number was employed in sugar houses and refineries in Liverpool. The rest turned to the overcrowded Liverpool workhouse or to the Liverpool Society of the

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[65] Ibid, 124.
[66] Ibid, 136. H. E. Falk (1820-98) was born in Danzig and came to Great Britain in 1838-9.
[67] House of Commons Select Committee on Emigration and Immigration (Foreigners), 13 July 1888, (Sessional Papers, 1888, vol. 11), 154-165, Questions 3231-3506 (hereafter H.C.S.C.F.). Among those who questioned Falk was William Randal Cremer, trade unionist M.P. and one of the founders of the First International in 1864. W. R. Cremer was knighted in 1907.
[68] Ibid., Q. 3238.

Friends of Foreigners in Distress, from where, since 1868, they were sent on foot to Cheshire, occasionally in groups of thirty up to forty men. They walked a distance of about twenty six miles carrying sometimes a piece of paper on which was a note "Please direct the bearer to Winsford." The labor in the salt boiling works was divided into three classes: a) skilled tradesmen, e.g., carpenters, blacksmiths, engine-minders;[69] b) the "wallers" who pulled salt with a large rake to the side of the evaporating pan and then lifted it out with a spade;[70] c) laborers employed "at common work, such as barrow work, shifting coal and cinders."[71] The immigrant German wallers were getting 20 s. a week in 1868; the English wallers received 23 s. a week before the strike and demanded a rise to 27 s. a week.[72] The foreign laborers from the third class were getting 12 s. a week which was by 4 s. lower than an English worker getting 16 s. at that time.[73] Later, with the instability of the salt market by the end of the eighteen seventies and growing demands for a pay raise from the German work force, the Germans were replaced by Falk in 1877 with the so called Hungarians:

> Q. 3261. The Hungarians came in 1877? – Yes, the Hungarians came in the beginning of 1877. […]
> Q. 3262. What made you apply to the Hungarians? – The Hungarians applied to us, I should say, in the first instance. The workhouse at Liverpool was being very much troubled with a great number of Hungarians coming chiefly from Galicia. There was great trouble in Galicia at that time, and those Hungarians came over in very large numbers. The workhouse authorities applied to me, as my father was known to employ foreign labor. […].
> Q. 3263. Where did those Hungarians come to? – They came to Liverpool and they went to the workhouse, and my father's foreman went to the workhouse and saw them. I asked him some questions about them, in view of my examination, and he told me that he went to the workhouse and he saw something like 200 of

[69] Ibid., Q. 3298.
[70] Ibid., Q. 3240, 3241.
[71] Ibid., Q. 3273.
[72] Ibid., Q. 3275.
[73] Ibid., Q. 3275, 3276.

> those Russian Poles, as he called them, and from those 200 he selected about 100, whom he brought straight to the works.
> Q. 3264. What class of men were they; were they all men over 20? – They were mostly men between 20 and 30. One rarely sees a man who looks 40.

Falk junior used interchangeably three names to describe the nationality of the workers: Hungarians, Russian Poles and Poles. He knew that they were coming from Galicia (a part of Poland belonging to the Austro-Hungarian empire at that time), which suggests that many of them were of Polish origin. The influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe to Liverpool and their successive employment in the Cheshire salt works occurred during the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-8 and an agricultural depression in that region. Falk admitted to not being able to employ all applicants.[74] Poverty and avoidance of military service rigidly implemented in Austria and Russia as well were the main motives for emigration. Another important factor affecting decision for emigration disclosed in the course of examination by the Parliamentary Committee related to relatives who had already settled in the United States. Their letters describing the prosperity and their help in a form of sending tickets for the Atlantic liners tempted many to go there.

The wage given to the Poles and other immigrants in the salt works for up to ten hours work, six days a week, in the beginning of 1877, was 22 s. and it remained on that level until the middle of 1885, when it was reduced to 18 s. The laborers from the third group received from 1877 until 1888 only 12 s.[75] Most of the immigrants remained in Winsford for a short time. The longest stay, noted in a pay registry book was seven and a half years.[76] On average a foreign worker stayed two years.[77] Herman John Falk stated

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[74] Ibid., Q. 3370.
[75] Ibid., Q. 3266, 3278, 3284, 3410.
[76] Ibid., Q. 3298.
[77] Ibid., Q. 3465.

repeatedly during the examination that most of his father's foreign employees were able to save £5 or £6 needed for the next stage of their journey to the United States.[78] The description of the work conditions and pay provided by the Select Committee was similar for immigrants in other places in North West England, e.g., the weekly earnings of an English dock laborer would be no more than 13 s. to 14 s.; a foreign laborer often did the same work for several shillings less.[79] The evidence given by Herman John Falk before the Select Committee confirms the priority of salaried work in the value system of the Polish temporary immigrant. The long hours of hard work for low pay were motivated by the desire of crossing the Atlantic to the United States or Canada, where they intended to better their working and living conditions.

In order to establish other elements of the Polish immigrant's values and attitudes during his temporary stay in North West England more evidence related to other basic living needs is needed. Among those existential needs were housing, food and clothing. The salt mine and works didn't provide housing for its workers. The employees were offered housing owned by Falk at 4 s. per week. A rent payer could take as many lodgers as he wanted and divide the cost between them.[80] The first to turn the attention of public opinion on the living conditions of the foreign workers was Dr. John M. Fox, Medical Officer of Health for Cheshire, when he delivered his report on the foreigners living in Meadow Bank at a meeting of the Local Board. This report was later reprinted by a local journal and attracted the interest of a number of papers, which gave a detailed description

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[78] Ibid., Q. 3299. The old pound sterling was divided into 20 shillings and one shilling was divided into 12 d. (pennies).
[79] Ibid., Q. 3394.
[80] Ibid., Q. 3418.

of the matter. [81] The cottages in which the immigrants lived were built of an unattractive looking material called locally clinker or bass, which was the white deposit from poor coal. The houses were built on the banks of river Weaver at Meadow Bank. A typical dwelling had from two to four alleged rooms with virtually no furniture, stone flooring without any covers, a kitchen-range, simple sleeping berths in each room on which lay sacks filled with straw and covered with rag-bundles - there was no other bed-clothing. The sanitary arrangements of these apartments were rudimentary. In each cottage lived from eight to twelve people; larger rooms housed even eight boarders. The first report of Dr. John M. Fox in 1885, then his evidence given before the Select Committee in 1888 and the articles printed in the contemporary journals pointed at filth, overcrowding and unsanitary conditions of the tenements. *"*They, however, appeared to be happy and contented with their lot," noticed a correspondent of *Chester Chronicle*.[82]

The members of the Meadow Bank colony lived in isolation from the local neighborhood and their fellow laborers of the district, "[…] they are a community as much apart as if the sea were still between them […]."[83] They didn't know the language, the laws of the country they lived in and their habits were contrary to the English ideas. Above all the immigrant workers were the black legs for the local people, since they broke the strike by lowering the cost of labor. The negative feeling of the English neighborhood towards foreigners was so strong that it often led to provocations which did not develop into serious rows thanks to the placid character of the East European

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[81] "A Cheshire Salt Hell,"*The Sunday Chronicle*, September 5, 1886; "Foreign Labour in the Cheshire Salt Trade,"*Chester Chronicle*, 14 July 1888; "By the Sweat of Their Brow …," *The Umpire,* March 3rd and "The Promised Revelations," *The Umpire,* March 10th 1889.
[82] "Foreign Labour in the Cheshire Salt Trade," *Chester Chronicle,* 14 July 1888.
[83] "A Cheshire Salt Hell." *Sunday Chronicle*, September 5, 1886.

workers. The isolation was further enhanced by different clothes and diet. According to Mr. Falk, the immigrants wore sack clothing during the day, which was much below the standards of the English workman and never wore nightshirts.[84] As for food, they chopped cow's lights [lungs] and boiled it with cabbage. A local observer was of the opinion that the foreign workers in Winsford almost never ate butcher's meat and compared their dietary habits to those of Chinamen. Surprisingly, Dr. John M. Fox reported a very low rate of death among the foreign adults in the questioned area.[85]

There was, however, another issue in the report of the Medical Officer of Health for Cheshire, which first disturbed the public opinion and later caught attention of the Parliamentary Select Commission – allegations of immorality among Eastern European workers in the Meadow Bank colony. The local press repeated after Dr. John M. Fox the reported fact of men and women who commonly lived in the homes and slept together in the same rooms.[86] *The Umpire* printed an article in March 3rd 1889, in which a special commissioner revealed facts concerning the morals of the foreign salt workers at Winsford. The facts were based on an interview with a local informer:

> What countrymen are they? - Chiefly Poles and Hungarians, and were in the employ of Messrs Falk. There were from 100 to 120 of them at one time.
> Were they all adults? - The great majority were.
> Did they marry? - Not much. This was said with a meaning laugh.
> Do you wish me to understand that their morals were only indifferent? - Indifferent – no. They were bad, for the men and women lived promiscuously, and slept in the same room.
> Did they make long stays here? - Not very long. Two years perhaps, but as fast as the old ones went away new ones came to take their places.

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[84] H.C.S.C.F., Q. 3313, 3315.
[85] "Foreign Labour in the Cheshire Salt Trade," *Chester Chronicle,* 14 July 1888.
[86] Ibid.

> Where did those who left go? - America, chiefly, I think, and I wish Brother Jonathan joy of his new friends with all my heart. Its only a pity they didn't go straight there at first, instead of taking Winsford on their way.[87]

Mr. Falk, questioned by the Select Committee on the issue of the immorality of foreign workers, denied the charges. He explained that there had never been more than five women among the workers and they were married. In some cases married women slept with their husbands in the same room where other people were sleeping. Only in one case, according to Mr. Falk, did an unmarried woman live among men, which caused a certain degree of immorality, but as soon as it came to the attention of owners she was sent away.[88] The *Chester Chronicle* dismissed later the charges of Dr. John M. Fox as unfounded.[89] The evidence registered by the Select Committee shows also that drunkenness among the immigrant workers was not a problem. During the period of twenty years only seven cases of conviction for drunkenness occurred among the disputed group, according to Mr. Falk.[90] This statement goes parallel to the claim of the docile character of the foreign laborers, who came mainly from Galicia.[91]

Among the questions asked Mr. Falk by the Select Committee was a question regarding the religious practices of the immigrants from Galicia.[92] The answer showed lack of regular Sunday Mass attendance among the Catholic immigrants, despite the fact they didn't work on Sundays. The closest Roman Catholic church, as Mr. Falk thought, was six miles away from the place they lived. In fact there was a Roman Catholic chapel in Winsford since 1871, where Sunday Mass was offered "once a fortnight" by the priests

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[87] "The Promised Revelations." *The Umpire,* March 10th 1889.
[88] H.C.S.C.F., Q. 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312.
[89] "Foreign Labour in the Cheshire Salt Trade*," Chester Chronicle,* 14 July 1888.
[90] H.C.S.C.F., Q. 3404.
[91] Ibid., Q. 3308, 3403.
[92] Ibid., Q. 3406.

from Middlewich.[93] The author of an article printed in the *Sunday Chronicle* revealed a general attitude of immigrants towards the Sunday duty, "[…] they do not trouble about going to church." One of the interviewed foreign workers from Hungary, referred to by the author as Fritz, probably Slovak, who spoke some English said, "I like some sleeps when it is not work, […]. " [94] From time to time a priest from Liverpool, able to speak their language, came to attend to their spiritual needs.

To this very place came Father Baraniecki on April 18, 1882. He described in vivid detail his experience of missionary work among the immigrants in North West England in a letter written in Middlewich to Father Łubieński:

> I arrived happily to Middlewich on Tuesday at about 3 in the afternoon. Father Tremmery came for me to the railway station and took me to his place where dinner already was waiting for us; a very kind, good and hospitable man. Originally he is from Belgium, speaks French. After dinner I arranged for transportation and we went to those salt mines. It was too late to walk and it takes one and a half hours to get there. The salt works are enormous. The brine is pumped up from 300 foot deep wells and then processed in enormous iron basins. First we went to those people who have a boy who speaks English. Poor people, they just returned from a 12 hour shift and were asleep. Naturally they immediately got to their feet and greeted us traditionally by kissing hands and falling to their knees. They are in fact Poles from Galicia, district Tarnow. In Galicia they are known as Mazury in contrast to Ruthenians. All together there are 10 men and 4 women and over ten children of which the oldest must attend a protestant school. There is no Catholic school in this place. I couldn't see more people this day because it was getting late and most of them were at work. Therefore I told these people to let the others know that I have arrived and to arrange time for a meeting in a chapel for preparation to confession. They quickly

[93] E. Maurice Abbott, *History of the Diocese of Shrewsbury,* 77.
[94] "A Cheshire Salt Hell, "*Sunday Chronicle*," September 5, 1886.

answered that it probably wouldn't work, because they are constantly at work. Some of them finish work at 12 noon or 1 pm, to start again at 12 midnight or 1 am, others follow and so on. Those who do not work have only a few moments to rest. The owner is so strict that he does not hesitate to lay off a worker for being late or charges him a penalty fee. However, they promised to communicate with the others and let me know about the arrangement. On Wednesday afternoon a boy came to tell, that the people would have time to come to a chapel only on Sunday. So, the mission came to naught. My goodness, in order to see them once more and at least to be able to listen to their confessions on Saturday and to have more time to say a few words of exhortation, which is impossible to do on Sunday, we went with Father Tremmery to Winsford today after breakfast, to see these people. During the first visit they spoke about the Hungarians, so I wanted to see them too. We were there about one in the afternoon, exactly when some of them were coming from work and others were going to work. So, I did see the Hungarians. They are Ruthenians from surroundings of Przeszow (Presburg), the same kind as Piskorek in London. They all understand Polish, because their language is very similar to Polish. They consider themselves Catholics. There are Calvinists among them too. How many of them are Catholics – they do not know it – maybe 100. I asked them whether they wanted to come for their confession to me – they promised to come. I arranged for them to come on Saturday afternoon, only those who work till 9 at night will come on Sunday morning. So, only one Sunday will be left for us. I will get busy with them between morning and afternoon; I'll give them benediction and say a few words, e.g., "Spiritus Stus dabit." These people claimed that there are many Poles in Liverpool and even in Manchester and Glasgow. Hence it shows a great need for a Polish priest, at least one for the whole of England, who would do pastoral work, travel to all towns and settlements and (at least once or twice a year) would make the Holy Sacraments available for those poor people. Maybe it would be a good thing to bring this idea to the attention of the English bishops, who at this time are at the conference in London, maybe they could sort out this matter. It is unthinkable to

> leave these folks without any help and religious support. I would volunteer to go to Liverpool or to any other place where a bishop requests my services, provided there are funds for it. If the English bishops are not willing to do something for the good of our poor folks, I doubt they will, so this matter should then be referred to our bishops, the Cardinal and the Galician bishops. This enormous mission should be placed under the charge of a priest who has not only an apostolic zeal but also speaks Lithuanian. This is all about this matter. Now, something about Piskorek. Piskorek didn't come to me. He only sent word informing me that everything will be regulated in three weeks. He is ready to get married. If I return to London on Monday, I will depart on Tuesday and I will have no time to take care of Piskorek. Maybe you dear Father will be able to help him somehow. Would it be possible for you dear Father to send tomorrow a parcel with the "chaplets" or the "rosaries" and the "black scapulars" meaning the Carmelite scapular, to distribute it among these poor people – I would give them to them for a keep sake – I have forgotten to purchase these things before my departure. Also, if there are some holy pictures over there or other devotional items, all of it is in a great demand here and would be received gladly and with appreciation. If the bishop of Liverpool would like me to come and listen to the confessions of his Poles, he should hurry with a response. On Monday morning I am leaving Middlewich, because I do not have anything to do here and I do not want to be a burden to this poor priest, who provides for my needs more than he can afford.[95]

Father Baraniecki's visit to the immigrants in Winsford did not go unnoticed by the local parish priest and his host in Middlewich Father Austin Tremmery, who on April 26 sent a summary of the pastoral efforts of the visiting priest to the bishop of Shrewsbury:

> Your Lordship no doubt expects me to acquaint you with the result of the Polish expedition, which we had here last week. Father Baraniecki was here a week and found it unnecessary to stay any longer. He has examined carefully the whole

[95] Father M. Baraniecki to Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R., 20 April 1882. P.M.T.J. Badeni Jan papers, no. 1309, folder 10. Translated from the original Polish.

> colony of Poles and Hungarians. The Poles numbering 10 men and 4 women with 6 little children are all Catholics, and have quickly and willingly listened to him and approached the Sacraments. The Hungarians are not Latin Catholics but Greek-Catholics or rather belong to the Greek rite. He pronounces them however Catholics and the only difference there is, consists in their services being conducted not in Latin but in an old Slavonic tongue and that their communion is administered in two species. He has carefully and zealously expounded to them doctrines concerning them in his house to house visits; but they hold that they are not allowed to attend the Latin rites. They belong, he says, to what are well known in his country as the Greek–Catholics and are thorough Catholics. Nothing however could persuade them to come to our Latin chapel. He says that he has often met such people and has never succeeded in persuading them. Nothing, he says, will ever influence them to attend the Latin – rites except that their own priests in their own countries be instructed by their own Bishops to tell their flock that they may safely, when in foreign countries, attend the Latin rites. There are about 100 such men in this colony.[96]

Baraniecki wrote again to Father Łubieński one week later, on May 1:

> It is a week today since my arrival to Liverpool […]. The bishop referred me to Canon Van Hee, who took me himself to several Polish families. We visited a number of houses; unfortunately most of the group are male and female Lithuanians, who understand very little Polish or none at all. There are very few pure Poles; all work very hard day and night. I asked them to spread the word about the arrival of the Polish priest, who wants to see all of them on Thursday in the church and that he is ready to listen to their confessions. Maybe eight people came on Thursday; the rest either were unable to come or didn't receive the word or maybe were too lazy. There was nothing to do. I said a few words to them in the school […]. On Friday evening a few women came, a few people on Saturday and a few on Sunday, the total number of confessions was 36: 20 women, 16 men.

[96] Father Austin Tremmery to Bishop Edmund Knight, 26 April 1882. Box Poles, uncatalogued.

> Several Lithuanian women I had to listen to through a translator. On Sunday evening I told them to gather in the school, I said a few words, gave them devotional medals and chaplets. They made a collection against my wishes; they collected 13 shillings, which I gave the canon. I will stay for a week to seek the sheep in Liverpool. There is a pressing need for a missionary for the whole of England, a missionary with a command of Polish and Lithuanian languages. This need is recognized here by everybody, the bishop and the priests. [97]

Father Baraniecki offered further reflections on May 4:

> Poor people, they are in dear need of a priest and spiritual care; with God's help, the future Polish mission in England will be established on better and more solid foundations then the present once. The Poles, with total warmth and true Polish hearts welcome the priest; ready for all kinds of sacrifices if they see that a priest is interested in their spiritual welfare. I have found here many Polish families from Galicia, whom they call Austrians, and many Slavs from Hungary. I like these people: strong, tall, handsome, good folks […]. They understand us very well and we understand them as well. Briefly speaking, there is a lot of work for a future missionary and he is absolutely needed.[98]

On May 8th the missionary sent this short report on the works undertaken in Liverpool and his plans to visit the Polish immigrants in Manchester:

> There were altogether seventy persons at confession; a great pity I do not know Lithuanian, because there would be a lot of work. The canon wrote to the Bishop of Manchester, enquiring about my possible visit there; but I remembered later,

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[97]Father M. Baraniecki to Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R., 1 May 1882. Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii,* 48. Translated from the original Polish.

[98] Father M. Baraniecki to Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R., 4 May 1882. Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 48-49. Translated from the original Polish.

that there is a Polish priest there, Szulc, who most surely serves the needs of the Poles. [99]

Father Baraniecki went to Winsford and Liverpool as a missionary, about a year after departure of Father Dudkiewicz from this area. According to his own account, confirmed also by Father Tremmery, the presence of a priest speaking the same native language met with a quick and very positive response from the members of the Polish group. In both places the visiting priest listened to confessions, a religious practice, which the Church required every Catholic to attend at least once a year, along with receiving the Holy Communion. Some Catholics of Lithuanian language approached the sacrament of confession through a translator. They were Catholics of the Latin rite, the same as Poles, but the Ruthenians, who were Greek – Catholics, were not to be persuaded by a Latin rite priest to go to a Latin chapel. They preserved the liturgical, theological and devotional traditions of the Byzantine rite, and in spite of the house to house visits and instruction given them concerning doctrines, no one went to receive the sacraments from Father Baraniecki. Religion as practiced by these three different ethnic groups, mostly of peasant origin, was strongly based on the sacraments celebrated by priests and considered essential for Catholics. Although the non sacramental devotional practices were not required under penalty of grave sin, as the Sunday or Easter duty, they were very popular among the faithful of all walks of life. The Rosaries, chaplets, black scapulars,[100] devotional images, small crosses, etc., were often taken by the immigrants on their journey. Father Baraniecki distributed some religious objects among the group he

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[99] Father M. Baraniecki to Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R., 8 May 1882. Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 49-50. Translated from the original Polish.

[100] Most probably Father Baraniecki was referring to the Black Scapular of the Passion. Those faithful wearing the scapular (made from black cloth) were granted indulgences by the Pope.

met in Liverpool. These objects served their keepers as a reminder of denominational adherence, important elements in private devotion and protection from evil. Due to their simplicity the religious devotions were practiced more regularly in an unfamiliar environment than, e.g., Sunday duty. The lack of a priest speaking the same language and celebrating religious rituals according to the tradition-sanctioned way resulted in indifference toward the sacraments administered by the local English speaking clergy on the part of the Polish Roman-Catholics and the Ruthenian Greek-Catholics. The warm welcome of Father Baraniecki by the Polish workers in Winsford and their unresponsiveness toward the Sunday duty do not provide sufficient evidence for Thomas and Znaniecki's argument that religion was for the Polish peasants rather "a matter of social organization than of personal mystical connection with the divinity." The gathering of Polish immigrants around the priest speaking their language was evidently a form of underlining their difference from the Greek-Catholic Ruthenians and an expression of their connection with the Polish-speaking Roman Catholics. On the other hand, a deeper religious dimension of this encounter cannot be excluded. The evidence from Baraniecki's letter from 20th April indicates the existence of some private forms of religious practices among the Polish immigrants in Winsford and Liverpool, such as saying the rosary or wearing a scapular. It was possible that in certain situations these pious practices "substituted" for the Sunday duty. The new state of affairs in this temporary stopping point on the way to America conditioned the hierarchy of priorities of the immigrants, who did not drop the value system they had brought over from the village community but changed their attitudes toward these values. The major factor bearing on the attitudes of Polish immigrants in Winsford was work, which became their first

priority. They could not depend on the help of the extended family and of a community, which did not exist in the new environment, and they realized that their only way to cross the Atlantic was through back-breaking work. A strange environment, ignorance of the local language, the hostile attitude of the surrounding population, and heavy labor also took a psychological toll on the people who despite all these odds did not stop seeking ways to achieve their main goal of crossing the Atlantic.

After leaving Middlewich, Father Maksymilian Baraniecki went to Liverpool, where he was hosted by canon Peter Van Hee in the presbytery of the church of Our Lady of Reconciliation in Eldon Street. The missionary met with the immigrants in the same church which earlier was used by Father Dudkiewicz. The short visit of the Polish priest and his examination of the immigrant groups evidently helped the bishop of Shrewsbury in clarifying his views as to the future form of pastoral work among the immigrants in his diocese.[101] Subsequently, bishop Edmund Knight informed Father Bernard Łubieński, who at that time resided in Rome, about finding a missionary for Poles in the House of Ditton, (a house of studies of the German Jesuits).[102]

The sequence of letters related to the "Polish expedition" to Winsford concluded a short account of its results reported on June 25th by Father Tremmery to bishop Knight:

> The scholasticus of Mold College will be with me on next Sunday. It would be advisable that he should deliver a sermon or two to his countrymen in case he can persuade them to go to our Latin chapel. May your Lordship kindly grant the necessary permission. He has only received minor orders, but we could

[101] Father Baraniecki returned to his home archdiocese of Poznań shortly after the mission to North-West England and worked later in the parish of Rusko, deanery Borek.
[102] Bishop Edmund Knight to Father Bernard Łubieński, 5 May, 1882, notes for a letter in Italian. SDA. Box Poles, uncatalogued. Translated from the original Italian; Appendix A.

> not test the material well unless he addresses them in the chapel which they shall be invited to attend.
>
> May I take this opportunity to inform your Lordship of the fruits of the Polish expedition. Last Sunday three were at Mass, the first and only ones who made their appearance since the time when Father Baraniecki left them. I shall ask the scholasticus to see them too, as they understand the language or rather as the Poles and Hungarians converse together. [103]

The reluctance to attend Sunday Mass in a foreign environment was also expressed by the Ruthenians who were Greek-Catholics. Initially they refused to receive any sacraments from Father Baraniecki and any Latin-rite priest. To remedy the problem Bishop Edmund Knight exchanged correspondence with Father Łubieński, who moved from London to Rome in May 1882, and on his advice wrote letters to the Greek-Catholic Bishops of Eperjes and Ungvár, asking them to send a formal instruction persuading the people who came from their dioceses to receive the sacraments from the Latin rite priests.[104] The Bishop of Shrewsbury secured also services of a theology student at St. David's College in Mold, V. Ritli, a native of Hungary, to help in changing the attitudes of the Greek-Catholic Ruthenians towards receiving the sacraments from the Latin-rite priest.[105] Ritli shared with the bishop of Shrewsbury his understanding of the reasons behind the unwillingness of the Greek-Catholic Ruthenians to attend the Latin-rite celebrations of Mass and the Holy Sacraments:

> The reason why the rest did not come, was not bad will, but fear, I might perhaps seduce them. There is therefore no other means to get them to assist at our

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[103] Father Austin Tremmery to Bishop Edmund Knight, 25 June 1982. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued.
[104] Father Łubieński to Bishop Edmund Knight, 3 June 1882. S.D.A. Polish papers, uncatalogued; Appendix A; Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 14 August and 7 October 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued. Translated from the original French; Appendix A.
[105] Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 7 July 1882. Box Poles uncatalogued; Appendix A.

> ceremonies, than this, which Your Lordship indicated in the letter to Fr. Rector, viz. to procure them instruction from their own Bishops.[106]

In October, Rector Tissot, Ritli's superior, communicated to bishop Knight, "I come to inform you regarding the workers at Winsford. Brother Ritli has transmitted to them the statements from their Bishops. Many have already been to Mass but the problem is for their confession, […]."[107] Since brother Ritli was not a priest he could not hear the confessions of his compatriots whom he understood and served so well. The "Polish lad" who bishop Knight hoped would be able and willing to take care of the immigrants in his diocese was not quite Polish and was not yet a priest in May 1882 when Father Łubieński read about him in Rome.

Father Lewis Kaluza of the Northern German Province of the Society of Jesus, was charged with the responsibility of listening to the confessions and giving religious instructions to the Poles in Middlewich shortly after his ordination to priesthood on September 1, 1882.[108] His father was a germanized Pole serving as an officer in the Prussian army and his mother was German by birth. Contacts with Polish relatives in his boyhood allowed him to learn Polish, although his upbringing was German.[109] After joining the Society of Jesus, the political situation in Germany forced him to travel to England in order to finish his theological studies

The victorious war with France in 1871 made Prussia the leading state in a united Germany and Otto von Bismarck the leading statesman. He immediately began

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[106] V. Ritli to Bishop Edmund Knight, 6 July 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued; Appendix A.
[107] Rector Tissot, S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 7 October 1882. S.D.A. Polish papers, uncatalogued; Appendix A.
[108] Father A.M. de Haza-Radlitz, S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 9 June 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued.
[109] Father Lewis Kaluza, S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 28 December 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued.

"Kulturkampf," the struggle between the Roman Catholic Church and the German government for control over schools, ecclesiastical appointments and civil marriage. The struggle led to a law passed by the Reichstag in June 1872, banning the order of Jesuits from the Reich territory. Many of the expelled Jesuits arrived in Ditton Hall, some one and a half miles from Widnes, which was developing rapidly as an industrial center based on chemical works. Ditton Hall, a home donated by Lady Mary Stapleton-Bretherton for the refuge of German priests was used as a Jesuit novitiate and college for training Jesuit priests.[110] Soon after, Lady Mary Stapleton-Bretherton offered money for erecting a new church, dedicated to St. Michael in May 1879. The college served as the main theological college for the German Province and was separate from the Mission established for the local Catholic population. Each institution had its own administrator. Father Antonius-Maria de Haza-Radlitz, who was in charge of the Mission, organized pastoral work for the local Catholic population and also the Polish, Ruthenian and Lithuanian immigrants in North-West England, London and Scotland.[111]

After his two initial pastoral visits to Winsford at the end of 1882, Father Lewis Kaluza sent a detailed report in fairly good English to the bishop of Shrewsbury. In the report he gave an account of the spiritual life of Poles and Ruthenians whom he met there:

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[110] Archiv der Norddeutschen Provinz SJ, Köln. Historia domus, Abt. 290 and Litterae annuae, Abt. 291. Historia domus (The Home Diary) was kept like the Log Book of a ship at sea (written in Latin) had an entry for almost every day. Litterae annuae – The Yearly Letters (written in Latin) were sent each year to the headquarters of the province and related to the history of the Ditton Hall College; Brother Fingerhuth, "Die Anfänge von Ditton-Hall," (An account of the beginning of the Ditton Hall College written in German in St. Xavier's, Bombay, April 1904, printed copy of original), *Mittheilungen aus der Deutschen Provinzen den Gesellschaft Jesu*, 3. Band. 1903-1905 (Roermond: J.J. Romen und Söne, 1905), 338-339.

[111] Centenary Album of St. Michael's Ditton Hall 1879-1979 (Liverpool: Catholic Pictorial Ltd, 1979), 7. When St. Michael's church was built, Father W. Stentrup S.J., was Rector of the College and Father Antonius-Maria de Haza-Radlitz S.J., was in charge of the Mission.

> There are about 20 Poles amongst them including their wives and children. Most of the married men have their wives and children with them, only a few have left them at home. Two Polish children, a boy and a girl, are nearly old enough to be admitted to their first confession. I gave each of them an English catechism and instruct them as well as I can when present. All the children of those parents that are employed by Mr. Falk, attend the school established by this gentleman. The school seems to be pretty good, yet religious instruction is not given. There is a Sunday school superintended by a daughter of Mr. Falk. Here the children are instructed in religion and taught to pray. I have forbidden the catholic parents to send their children to their Sunday school. All the Poles being Roman Catholics are full of love and reverence for the catholic priest. I did not find any difficulty in dealing with them except one point: they cannot be brought to attend church regularly. Their chief reason is, that the chapel does not look like a catholic church. The Poles being accustomed to fine churches at home they rarely can be brought to believe, that poor chapel, as the one in Winsford, is a catholic one.[112]

The Jesuit missionary, as well as the student Ritli and Father Baraniecki left valuable and unique records on their pastoral work among the Eastern-European immigrants in the North West England. Among many detailed observations they noticed a tendency among the Poles to emigrate with their wives and children, in contrast to the Ruthenians, most of whom were married but left their wives and children home. The Roman-Catholic Poles reacted to all missionaries who visited them with reverence and trust although some of the missionaries did not have a good command of Polish. Most of the members of this group went to confession when this opportunity was made available for them and attended the Latin-rite Mass if there was a spiritual authority able to motivate them and communicate in the language they understood. They had, however, a peculiar attitude

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[112] Father Lewis Kaluza S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 28 December 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued; Appendix A.

towards the chapel in Winsford where Mass was celebrated. Their reason for not attending the Sunday Mass regularly was that the local chapel didn't resemble a Catholic church they were accustomed to – in fact the church served originally as a Primitive Methodists' chapel before it was bought by Catholics in 1871. This reflects on the role of Sunday meetings which functioned in that group rather as a form of declaration of their belonging to a distinct ethnic community and culture than an act of divine worship.

Father Kaluza like other missionaries offered only a limited pastoral help to the East-European immigrants. Mass, once a month at the most, occasional confessions and instructions were not sufficient to bring the intensity of religious practices among the colonies of foreigners to the same level as it used to be in their countries of origin. On the other hand, the efforts of Father Kaluza were commendable. His ability to overcome the language and culture barriers certainly provided for many individuals the necessary comfort of religion sustaining them in realization of their project America, where they planned to stay longer if not for good. Father Kaluza served in North West England until the middle of 1884. Father James Gardiner, a parish priest at the church of Our Lady of Reconciliation in Liverpool where the Jesuit chaplain was serving the immigrants, noted on 20 May 1884 that "Fr. Kaluza, the Polish priest, told me at Easter that very probably he would be leaving England for good after Whitsuntide, and that with your Lordship's permission, he would like to come & have confessions on Whit Saturday. The number of confessions at Easter were Poles 70. Lithuanians 121. Ruthenians 17."[113]

At the same time the priests who interacted with immigrants often identified with them so strongly that it led them to changing their initial plans. Father Kaluza, who reluctantly

[113] Father James Gardiner to Bishop O'Reilly, 20 may 1884, L.A.A. No 60B, L4, O.L.R; Appendix A.

accepted the offer of working with the Polish immigrants, eventually went to the United States, left the Jesuits, and worked as a secular priest among the Poles in the diocese of La Crosse, Wisconsin.[114]

There is no evidence suggesting that someone replaced the missionary from Ditton Hall. Probably during the next few years the Polish colonies in Liverpool, Widnes, Winsford, and Manchester had occasional visits from priests speaking their language. Only at the end of the year 1887 did another German Jesuit priest from Ditton Hall, Father Jakob Linden, start short-lived pastoral visits to the immigrants.[115] After his visit to Winsford in January 1888, Father Linden was transferred to Holland.[116]

Father Joseph von Lassberg, a German Jesuit teaching Canon Law in Ditton Hall, the house of studies of the German Jesuits, had been charged by Bishop of Liverpool with pastoral responsibility for the immigrants from Eastern Europe in February 1888.[117] Father Lassberg learned the Polish and Lithuanian languages fairly quickly. His written Polish was so good that he was able to write some reports on his pastoral work among the immigrants in that language and mail them to Father Jan Badeni, the provincial of the Southern Province of the Polish Jesuits. Sometimes, for lack of time, he wrote his letters in German. Father Badeni edited the received letters and notes from Father Lassberg and other correspondents from Great Britain and included them in his book *Polacy w Anglii*

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[114] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii,* 50.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Archiv der Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu, Father Jakob Linden papers. Born 10 May 1853 in Heimersheim an der Ahr, joined the Society of Jesus in 1874, went to England in 1887 and next year to Holland, died 1915 in Aachen.
[117] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 51; see also *Mittheilungen aus der Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu*, 17. Band., Heft 1, Nr 113, 112-113. Father Joseph von Lassberg was born on 22 May 1851 in Detmold, Westphalia. In 1867 he joined the Society of Jesus, taught the Canon Law in the College of Ditton Hall (1885-1895), for two years operated in Germany from residence in Blyenbeek, Holland, sent to the missions in Brazil in 1897, died 30 July 1946 in Sao Sebastiao do Cai, Brazil.

(*Poles in England*) printed in Kraków in 1890.[118] The letters and notes of Father Lassberg, printed in *Polacy w Anglii*, cover the period of his pastoral work among the immigrants between February 1888 and March 1890. The editor divided the correspondence into topics, so there is no clear indication of the number of letters and notes he received from the German chaplain. Father Lassberg was very systematic in executing his duties as a chaplain to immigrants. His reports were detailed and covered many aspects of immigrant life:

> A big number of Poles – no doubt the biggest after London, is to be found, or at least had been in Liverpool a few years ago; presently, counting together Lithuanians and Slovaks, not including however children, there will be about three hundred of them; 6, 7, 10 years ago there were probably six hundred of them.[119]

The first topic deals with the group of immigrants congregating in Liverpool at the church of Our Lady of Reconciliation in Eldon Place It appears from the text that Father Lassberg celebrated a Polish devotion every first Saturday of the month. At that time the Sunday Mass was recited or sung in Latin. Much of his time during his trips to Liverpool was spent visiting the immigrants. The well received plan of installing a painting of Our Lady of Vilnius in one of the side altars of the church in Eldon Place indicates the presence of a sizable population from Lithuania which, at that time, was not divided by nationalistic movements. It also shows a very important Marian aspect of

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[118] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*. Unfortunately much of the archives (including Father Lassberg's correspondence) of the Polish Southern Province of Jesuits (Archiwum Prowincji Małopolskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego) were destroyed by Nazis during WW II.
[119]Ibid., 51. This is a quotation of a note written in Polish by Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J.

Eastern European religiosity:[120] "At last – a report from our missionary – we received an image of Our Lady of Vilnius, [...]."[121] This text describes the enthusiastic involvement of Poles and Lithuanians in the preparation of the ceremony for the blessing of the picture of Our Lady. The participation involved offerings of money and time on the part of immigrants. On that Sunday, it appears that, during the official ceremonies, four languages were used: Latin, English, Polish and Lithuanian. The chaplain also admits that he preached that day on Our Lady.

A few months after commencing his pastoral responsibilities, Father Lassberg was already a recognizable figure among the poor and desolate immigrants. He wrote, for example, "It happened on August 28th, this year (1888), in the evening, when I read in a letter of a priest from Liverpool, that a Polish man, who became seriously ill, strongly desired my visit."[122] This piece of information was written in the Polish language with the sixteenth century expressions common in the Bible translated by Wujek into the vernacular. It discloses the source which Father Lassberg used to build his Polish vocabulary and grammar. His written Polish is old fashioned but shows a great skill in using the self-taught language. While narrating a story of a dying Pole in Liverpool to whom he was called as a chaplain he also proved to be an excellent observer, pastor and humanist. We learn from the letter that a journey by train from Ditton Hall, the Jesuit House of Studies, to central station in Liverpool took half an hour. For the next twenty minutes the priest walked along Scotland Road and turned into a side road, the area

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[120] Mary, the Mother of Jesus, takes in the Roman Catholic Tradition a second place in the God's plan of salvation after her Son.
[121] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii,* 52-53. This is a citation of a note written in Polish by Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J.
[122] Ibid., 53-55.

inhabited mainly by the Irish workers. The Poles and Lithuanians living in this part of the town found employment in the sugar factories. Some of them came from America, others intended to go there. The family visited by Father Lassberg emigrated from the Russian occupied district of Grodno (gubernia Grodzieńska) without passports. This might signify that Józef Kolaic, the head of the family, who was ill, emigrated to avoid long and harsh military service in the Russian army. As a seasonal worker he could not stay in Germany longer than ten months according to law, so he went to England and possibly waited for his fiancée. Józef Kolaic later married and had three children. Apparently, as the text suggests, he intended to cross the Atlantic. While working in the sugar factory he took ill. Knowing about his imminent death, the man called on an English priest who listened to his confession and gave him the Last Rites.[123] One may suppose that the ability to speak English was very limited among the immigrants of that time, therefore Father Lassberg listened again to the confession of the dying Pole in his native tongue. This narrative shows us how important contact with the priest and receiving the sacraments were to Kolaic in this critical moment of his life. The fact that the priest was of a different nationality did not seem to hinder him from asking for his spiritual help. Another observation of the German Jesuit, whose description of the environment with which he interacts is detailed, shows empathy with the experience of immigration and reveals his pastoral zeal. A week after the first visit of Father Lassberg the Polish immigrant died, leaving a young widow with three children.

[123] The term "last rites" refers in the Catholic Church to three sacraments administered to a person being in a danger of death. The sacraments are: Confession, Viaticum (Holy Communion) and Anointing of the Sick.

At another time Father Lassberg informed Father Badeni about his pastoral work in Manchester and Salford, where he had been visiting the immigrant communities quarterly since Lent 1888.[124] The author's estimated number of immigrants of Polish and Lithuanian origin was three hundred. Most of them lived in the area of Cheetham Hill and earned money by making slippers. This area was also populated by some twelve thousand Jews, most of whom came from the Polish lands and, according to the Jesuit chaplain, were able to communicate in Polish and Lithuanian. This fact points to some connections being established between the Christian and Jewish immigrants who originated from the same part of Europe. Most probably the Christian immigrants were seeking employment with the Jewish employers and getting their basic supplies from the Jewish stores where they could also communicate in their own languages. Father Lassberg met with the Poles and Lithuanians at the English Church of St. Chad's in Cheetham Hill and, from Christmas 1889, in the small school chapel of St. Wilhelm. On the Sunday before Christmas 1889, two hundred immigrants attended vespers and listened to the chaplain's sermon. The Jesuit's report provides evidence of the existence of the strong attachment of the Polish and Lithuanian immigrants to the traditional forms of expressing religious affiliation based on their original culture. Collecting money for a huge banner with an image of Our Lady of Częstochowa, the patron saint of Poland on one side and St Casimir, the patron saint of Lithuania on the other side, is very significant. A banner was commonly used in religious processions all over Europe. It symbolically displayed either an article of faith or a saint of the Church. Religious confraternities in the Catholic Church were using banners during religious processions to manifest their support for the

[124] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 55-56. This information came from a note written in German by Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J.

faith. For the immigrants in Manchester, the carrying of the Polish-Lithuanian banner in religious processions served as a symbolic form of not only confirming their allegiance to their own religious tradition which they intended to continue abroad but also as a means of public identification with their country of origin. Another noteworthy comment made by Father Lassberg in his report was the idea of a Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, already developing through the participation of both ethnic groups in the same religious gatherings. The placing of the religious symbols representative of two nations on one banner was further evidence for keeping alive the tradition of a Commonwealth in the minds of the people who emigrated from a state that, since 1795, had been partitioned for almost one hundred years.

In his next short note the Jesuit chaplain informed of his intentions to visit Poles living in different places of Great Britain.[125] We also learn that there was a strong group of Poles and Lithuanians, about 70-100 in number, working in the chemical factories in Widnes, Lancashire. In June 1889 Father Lassberg visited from 150 to 200 Polish and Lithuanian immigrants in Scotland. In Leith, near Edinburgh, he met 70 Poles mostly from Galicja and a small number of Lithuanians and Slovaks, who were all working in sugar factories.[126] The priest did not meet with a good response there. Very few immigrants came to the meetings he organized in the church of Our Lady the Star of the Sea. Even fewer of them received the Sacraments. The author observed that the morals and faith of the Polish immigrants were grossly endangered. The men were single, lived in rooms with 10, 15 and 20 people and were exposed to mainly Protestant society. Father Lassberg was not sure how to explain the lack of response of those people to his

[125] Badeni, *Polacy w Anglii*, 56. This note was written in German by Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J.
[126] Ibid., 56-57. The note written in German by Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J. - ca. March 1890.

call. He gave two possible explanations: firstly, the negative influence of the Protestant environment, and secondly, too short notice and an inconvenient time for the working people. This short description of the chaplain shows him to be a very detailed, critical and apt observer of social, economic and, above all, religious features in the lives of immigrant communities.

In the note related to the visit in the area near Glasgow, we learn of small pockets of workers of Polish and Lithuanian descent.[127] They worked in the steel works and lived in groups of 15, 20, 30 and more people. Father Lassberg praised Lithuanians for their understanding and patience while he was giving them instructions in the language he did not know very well. A number of them sacrificed their day earnings in order to be able to participate in religious instructions and receive the Sacraments. Similarly, 15 Poles from Glengarnock, a small town on the shores of Kilbirnie Loch, came, after the night shift, to the priest for confession on the morning of the second day of Pentecost,.

In September 1889, Father Lassberg has been invited by Father Timothy Ring, an Irish priest, to give a mission to Lithuanian immigrants in Silvertown, an industrial district of London, between the river Thames and Albert docks.[128] The mission started on September 21 and lasted till September 29 and also attracted many Poles from Silvertown and Whitechapel. During his visit to London from 6th to 19th March 1890, Father Lassberg managed to gather some data related to the number of Polish and Lithuanian immigrants.[129] About 500 Poles lived in Whitechapel, a district of London, and another 200 in Silvertown. The total Polish immigrant population in London and the surrounding

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[127] Ibid., 57-58. This is a quotation of a note written in German by Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J. - ca. March 1890.
[128] Ibid., 58-59.
[129] Ibid., 59-60.

areas the German Jesuit estimated at one thousand. The chaplain organized a mission aimed at Poles from 6th- 8th March, 1890. He distributed flyers with information in Polish and Lithuanian to the Poles and an invitation to attend religious instructions and confessions at St. Boniface church in Whitechapel, London. From 150 to 200 Poles and Lithuanians came to the church on Saturday and Sunday. The weekdays were less attended. The author of the note admitted that many flyers didn't reach the addressee, some people ignored the mission while others were unable to come. Father Lassberg gave the dispersion of Poles over the whole city as the main reason for the poor attendance at the mission.

Among his letters and notes describing the work of a missionary, Father Lassberg offered some reflections on immigration, based on his experience.[130] The author observed that some sections of immigrants from Eastern Europe, particularly young girls from Lithuania, light heartedly took the decision to immigrate based on letters received from acquaintances who exaggerated the opportunities awaiting them in England and America. The young women, unprepared for the hardships of immigration, were often falling victims to unscrupulous employers and frauds.[131]

Having recognized the problem of the exploitation of immigrants in England, the chaplain suggested setting up a Polish information office in Hamburg. The role of that office would be to save the Eastern European immigrants from fraudulent agents directing them to the employers in England who took advantage of them. Father Lassberg stated that the Polish immigrants had "their eyes set on America." What prevented them

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[130] Ibid., 60-61.
[131] Ibid., 61-62.

from reaching that destination was often lack of money or the deceitful offer of job in England.

These notes show the gradual disintegration of the old value system brought by the Poles and Lithuanians to Great Britain. There are several main reasons for the disintegration provided in Father Lassberg's notes and reports: lack of education, in many cases illiteracy, language barrier, no access to a basic social and religious network necessary for supporting community life. In the view of the priest the Poles and Lithuanians were deeply religious people attached to the church, its traditions and faith. According to the author the uprooting of these people from their natural environment affected negatively their traditional way of life to the point of complete negligence of religious practices. The sporadic visits from a missionary were not enough to save them from losing their cultural and religious identity.

After Father Jan Badeni published the notes and letters sent to him by Father Joseph von Lassberg, the German Jesuit continued his systematic work as missionary to the Eastern European immigrants in North West England and other parts of the United Kingdom until 1895. In the letter from 19 of March 1891, published by a Polish paper in Kraków, *Przegląd Powszechny*, Father Lassberg described a ceremony of blessing of a standard representing St. Casimir, a patron saint of both Poles and Lithuanians.[132] The event, which took place in a little church of St. William in Manchester attracted 400 participants representing Polish, Lithuanian, English and Irish Catholics. At that time, according to Father Lassberg, about 300 hundred Polish and Lithuanian immigrants lived in Manchester and Salford. Bishop Vaughan, the main celebrant, considered the

[132] Ks. Józef Lassberg, (Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J.) "List z Anglii,"(A Letter from England) *Przegląd Powszechny*, VIII, no. 30 (Kwiecień, Maj, Czerwiec 1891): 306-308.

immigrants as members of his diocese and facilitated the services of priests who worked with them. The Bishop was conscious of the importance of preserving the symbols of religious tradition by an ethnic group in a country of immigration, hence, he linked the formal ceremony of confirmation with the expression of respect to the tradition of both ethnic groups in the diocese of Salford. It was a practical form of integrating the immigrant population with the local church. During the visit Bishop Herbert Vaughan spelled out to the immigrants his vision for retaining their Catholicism in a foreign environment. Among the religious practices the Bishop put stress on the practice of the rosary and the Sunday duty. He pointed at the value of reading books in national languages and the value of learning the English language, which was important not only in getting better jobs but also in giving them access to religious services. The address of the Bishop was translated word for word into Polish and then Lithuanian by Father Lassberg.

The traditional religious ceremonies were practiced as an expression of communal identity and faith. The line between the two is not easy recognizable. However, there is evidence suggesting that a traditional religious ceremony was often used to express a deep spiritual attitude of immigrants towards religion. The institution of marriage and family definitely was at the top of the value system amongst the immigrants from Eastern Europe. Notwithstanding the missionaries and Father Lassberg amongst them, there appeared the growing problem of "dishonoring" of marriage by Poles and Lithuanians. To encounter this unwelcome tendency in the Catholic communities the priests were taking a number of measures, e.g., sermons, confession, banning from receiving the Holy Communion, parish retreats during which the sins against the marriage sanctity and unity

were exposed and condemned whilst the sinners admonished. One of the positive methods employed in supporting the traditional attitudes based on the Church teachings was organizing the public celebrations of marriage jubilees. In the letter written to Bishop O'Reilly in January 1894, Father Lassberg explained clearly the discussed subject:

> Mr George Żemajtis and Mrs Apolonia Żemajtis Lithuanians, over 70 years old are living together in marriage for 50 years and wish ardently to celebrate their jubilee nuptials by getting the blessing of the priest in a similar way as it is the custom in Poland. They are very poor but pious and giving as far as I can say a good example and I would therefore like to fulfill their wishes to honour them but much more to the honour of the Sacrament of marriage which is so easily in our days dishonoured also by Poles and Lithuanians. Yet not knowing a formulary approbated for this country I would ask your Lordship's kind permission to use the enclosed formulary which I copied verbatenus from the ritual used in Poland.
>
> I would leave out the tradition of staff with the cross as this would create perhaps some admiration.
>
> The ceremony would take place Sunday next at the altar of our Lady of Wilna at a time when not many English speaking Catholics are in the church.
>
> Should this formulary not please your Lordship and should your Lordship not give an other formulary – I would have with these old people who will celebrate the jubilee nuptials and with their relatives and friends an other short celebration and give them the usual sacerdotal blessing and of course Holy communion – if this will find the approval of your Lordship.
>
> One son of George and Apolonia Żemajtis lives with his family in Liverpool – the daughter with her husband and children in Seacombe – second son supports by his work the old parents.
>
> The wishes of your Lordship regarding the allowance with the Poles and Lithuanians and Hungarians should give to their Missionary will be executed at once. I spoke already with Father Walmsley – from Widnes. I would like to wait

> for one or two months, because the need and distress of the Polish and Lithuanian families is there to the utmost great.[133]

In the next letter to the Bishop from February 1894, he indicated a rise in attendance at the Sunday Mass of the Roman Catholic immigrants. Taking into account that the immigrant colony from Eastern Europe was in a state of constant flux with people coming and going the number provided by the Missionary is impressive and serves as a proof of his pastoral success. It cannot be, however, taken as a confirmation of the general attitude of the immigrants towards the main requirements of the Church for Catholics:

> Your Lordship will be pleased that I counted last week in Liverpool and Seacombe about 800 Catholic Poles, Lithuanians and Slovanians, men women and children – The number may be even little higher –
> From these are about 50 in Seacombe – but there may be in Seacombe just as the work is going well or not well sometimes a little more or less – The chief seat is Liverpool.[134]

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[133] Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J. to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 23 January 1894, Lancashire Record Office (hereafter L.R.O.), R.C.Lv. Box 6. The letter presented in its original un-altered English.
[134] Father Joseph von Lassberg, S.J. to Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, 14 February 1894, L.R.O., R.C.Lv. box 6.

Summary

At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century in Poland, the problem of the lowest layers of society, especially in Galicia and the Polish Kingdom, was illiteracy. The rate of illiteracy was 69% in the Russian and 50% in the Austrian partition. In the Polish provinces ruled by Prussia, illiteracy had been solved by the end of the nineteenth century through the introduction of obligatory schooling. Their low level of education made the poor people defenseless in their struggle for improved pay and working conditions in factories or farms. The economic depression as well as religious and political persecution pushed hundreds of thousands Poles to seek better living conditions abroad. Galicia (the Austrian partition) had witnessed about 10% of its population lost through emigration. Keeping these facts in mind will help in drawing more accurate conclusions on the topic of the value of religion and the attitudes of the Polish immigrants in North West England towards religion. Another important issue in this task is the structure of the old social classes, which still existed in Polish society in the second half of the nineteenth century, although it was undergoing a process of transformation. The analyses of values and attitudes, as Thomas and Znaniecki suggested, must take into account the preexisting values and attitudes. These varied from one social class to another and changed when emigrants left their original environment.

The book *Polish Peasant* presents two old social hierarchies, the fundamental one common to the rural areas and another found in town populations.[135] In the countryside, the social classes included nobles and peasants, and each of these groups was further subdivided. The highest level of Polish nobility lost its importance after the fall of the

[135] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. I, 128-140.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795. There were numerous members of the middle levels of nobility still preserving their influence in the country areas as wealthy land owners. The third group, the lower level or peasant nobility (in Polish "szlachta zaściankowa"), a class found only in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, had the same political rights as the middle nobility but no wealth and no culture. The only thing which distinguished this class from peasants was tradition; their political rights had been taken away by the partitioning powers. The peasant nobility, being very patriotic and loyal to the Catholic Church, both the Latin and the Greek rites, suffered brutal persecution in the Russian partition for their participation in national uprisings. In the rural areas, there were two classes of peasants. The peasant farmers were free but had no political rights. The landless peasants constituted the lowest stratum in the countryside. In the towns there were basically three classes and the hierarchy was determined by wealth, culture and birth: wealthy merchants, intellectual workers and the craftsmen, then the bottom of the social ladder in the towns was occupied by the petty merchants and unskilled workers,

The old class system described above survived in the Polish country areas and towns more or less until the First World War. The initial examination of the series of letters by Polish peasants in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* shows that they were written between 1900 and 1914, so the texts of the letters definitely portray the transition of the traditional values and attitudes of the preindustrial Polish village during the advance of the capitalist economy. The introductions to the letters presented in *The Polish Peasant* meticulously indicate the types of values, attitudes, and social class that each author reflected. Literacy, a good command of the Polish language in many cases, and descriptions of the correspondence provided by Thomas and Znaniecki demonstrate

that the authors of the letters generally represented three social classes: peasants, peasant nobility, and town workers. There are only a few letters representing views of the lowest classes, namely, the peasant and town proletariat. These lowest classes were however in the most desperate economic situation and for them emigration was the only option they had to better their lives.

The chaplains who extended pastoral care to the Polish immigrants in North West England were in contact mainly with the people from the lowest social strata, the country peasants and the town proletariat. These poor people did not have money to pay for their passage to America from Hamburg or Bremen, the usual ports of embarkation for the emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. They had to earn money for passage on their way to the final destination. Sometimes unscrupulous travel agents would send them from Hamburg or another Continental port to Liverpool, telling them that they were sailing to America. The main factors for sending the emigrants to Liverpool were, however, the lower steamship ticket prices offered in Liverpool and the opportunity for them to get a job there. Father Kaluza, the student Ritli, and Father Lassberg observed a tendency among the Polish emigrants in Winsfort and Liverpool to travel with their wives and children, which indicated that they had not left possessions behind. Obviously, then, in the new environment their first priority was to earn enough money for passage to America.

The priority of work and the foreign environment changed the attitudes of the Polish emigrants toward religious practices; they stopped fulfilling Sunday duty, which would be unacceptable in their home village. This phenomenon was observed by all of the chaplains visiting Polish emigrants in Great Britain. Cardinal's Manning remarks,

shared with Bishop O'Reilly, on the attitudes of Polish emigrants toward their church attendance do not give us a full picture of the problem, "It is true that very few Poles are now absorbed in our churches; & they are very ill in faith & morals."[136] A fuller picture of religious attitudes of the emigrants is provided in the chaplains' reports. The Polish priests, Father Dudkiewicz and Father Baraniecki, as well as the German Jesuits, paint a different picture of the Polish emigrants in North West England, London, and Scotland: respect for the priests, willingness to confess and receive the sacraments, devotion to Our Lady and private religious practices, like saying the rosary and wearing the Scapular. As they were probably illiterate or had very little formal schooling, the Polish emigrants behaved according to the advice of the priests in their homeland, who had warned them against entering non-Catholic churches. In most cases only the priests who spoke their language managed to persuade the emigrants to attend Mass and receive the sacraments. The religiosity of the Polish peasants was built on what was popularly known in Poland as "Biblia pauperum" (Pauper's Bible). The architecture of the churches; the mosaics, frescos, and paintings on the walls inside the churches; the statues of the saints; the icons; the multitude of crosses and the little shrines along the roadsides, dedicated to Our Lady and the saints; all of these educated the poor and generally illiterate people about the articles of the faith. This is what the German Jesuit Father Kaluza observed in Winsford, "The Poles being accustomed to fine churches at home they rarely can be brought to believe, that poor chapel, as the one in Winsford, is a catholic one [*sic*]."[137] Another German Jesuit, Father Lassberg, very quickly came to an understanding of this attitude of

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[136] Henry E. Card. Archbishop to The Lord Bishop of Liverpool, Rome, April 29, 1880. L.A.A. No. 60B/L2, O.L.R.
[137] Father Lewis Kaluza S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 28 December 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued; Appendix 1.

the Polish as well as of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian emigrants, and he installed a picture of Our Lady of Vilna in the church of Our Lady of Reconciliation in Liverpool. He also ordered a banner with the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa on one side and St. Casimir on the other side for the Poles and Lithuanians in Manchester. The Greek Catholic Ruthenians were similar in their attitudes to the Latin-Catholic Poles. They recognized only their Eastern-rite liturgy as true and refused to attend any other liturgy until their bishops communicated to them that they were allowed to receive the sacraments from the Latin-rite Catholic priests.

As for the problems of "dishonoring" of marriage observed by Father Lassberg as well as the immorality of the Polish emigrants living in small pockets of single men in different industrial areas of Scotland and other parts of Great Britain, the Jesuit attributed these to the horrendous living conditions to which they were subjected and the negative influence of the Protestant society. All chaplains agreed that the cure for the moral and spiritual illness of the Polish emigrants lay in establishing regular pastoral care for them.[138] The Polish communities in North West England did not consider religious practices as their first priority; they also did not express the sufficient communal solidarity to work as a group for a common goal. This factor is indicative of the mentality of landless peasants, who worked as surfs or manor servants. They were distrustful of the foreign environment which they did not understand and were willing to act only when a leader able to speak their language and understand their psychology won their trust. The claim of Thomas and Znaniecki, "The Polish Peasant is not a mystic; religion is for him a matter of social organization on the basis of given mythical beliefs and magical practices

[138] The Polish Catholic Mission in England and Wales has been established in London in 1894.

rather than of personal mystical connection with the divinity," is a generalization. The Polish intellectual class at the beginning of the twentieth century had an ambivalent attitude toward the Polish peasants. Some praised them for resisting the attempts to destroy their national identity and Catholic religion. Others held the Polish peasantry in contempt for their traditionalism and for their refusal to support the January 1863 Uprising when czarist Russia announced the enfranchisement of peasants and resolved a bitter agrarian conflict between the peasants and the gentry of the manor.

Thomas and Znaniecki researched two groups of the population of the Polish peasants, one in Poland, the other one in America. Both groups displayed different patterns of social disorganization and then social reorganization. One has to remember that the adaptation to the new capitalistic economic order of the Polish peasant was a complex process with more than one pattern. As the chaplains' letters indicated, the emigrants, who were mainly peasants, displayed various attitudes toward religion, ranging from a deep connection with divinity to superficial religious practices or even loss of faith. Nonetheless, Thomas and Znaniecki's work was the first systematic social analysis of the religious attitudes of the Polish peasant, which paved the way for future scholars working in this subject. Many of the religious attitudes of the Polish emigrants displayed in the letters of the chaplains and other sources examined in this study emerged in the Polish communities established later in the United States. This chapter provides a point of reference to the changes of the value system and attitudes of the first and second generation of the Polish-Americans in regard to religion and family.

Chapter Two: Father Justyn and the Rosary Hour:
An Overview of the Role of the Rosary Hour and its Founder

The present chapter of this study will investigate the work of Father Justyn, a pioneer of radio broadcasting among the Polish clergy in the United States, how he identified and addressed the attitudes of Polish-American women and men in relation to family based religious culture, which was primarily motivated by faith but also by social pressures which often underlie faith practice. Religious culture is understood in this inquiry as a collection of the beliefs and practices of a particular group of people from the same ethnic background, who consider their beliefs and practices as important in building family and social relations. This study will give an overview of the history of The Rosary Hour from 1931, which marked the beginning of a "chain broadcast" (radio network) of The Rosary Hour program, until early 1940, during the time of World War II. This part of the research will also highlight the mechanics of the organization of the program and the main issues treated by Father Justyn during the broadcasts, in order to show the range of the entire operation. The following chapter, Chapter Three, will focus on the topics raised during the first broadcasting season which are of the particular interest to this study, namely, faith, the concept of the family, parental authority, youth, and ethnic and American values. Chapters IV, V, VI and VII will analyze in detail the issues concerned with the concepts of family and parental authority over the ensuing years.

a) Father Justyn and his audience

Migration has been one of the characteristic features of the history of the last two centuries. Between the 1820's and 1920's more than 55 million Europeans left their homes and traveled across oceans to new work or settlement in North and South America, Australia, and Africa. Tens of millions of others moved to new places within Europe. Similar social, economic and political pressures compelled millions of Asians to other locations in Asia as well as Africa, North and South America, and the Islands of Pacific and Caribbean. During the first part of this period incalculable numbers of Africans were exported to the New World as slave laborers. The majority of the Polish overseas emigrants, about 85%, headed for the United States of America and they usually chose the German ports for the transatlantic passage. Only about 5% chose to use Liverpool for their transatlantic voyage. A more significant influx of Polish immigrants into the United States was noted as early as 1851, but by the end of the nineteenth century Poles were occupying one of the first places in terms of numbers among those immigrating to the United States. In 1913, just before the First World War, 174 thousand Poles emigrated to the United States where, according to the Census of 1920, the total number of resident Poles was 2,436,895, excluding those born to Polish parents in America. This number may be accepted also for the year 1914 because the war brought the immigration movement to an almost complete halt. The figures quoted are not accurate for several reasons. Before the year 1918 there was no Polish state and many ethnic Poles were identified as nationals of the partitioning states by the immigration services. There is no precise data on the re-emigration and second emigration - the United States began to include this data in its statistics only after 1908. There is also no data on

the movement of the Polish population between Canada and the United States. This is why there are discrepancies between the numbers of the Polish population in the United States provided by different researchers. The Polish-American organizations which include the second and third generations usually give a larger number for the Polish immigrant population than do the official statistics, However, most authors agree that the number of 3,000,000 in the 1920's is probably most accurate, although some arrive at figures between five to six million. The Census for 1930 counted the number of foreign-born Poles at 1,268,365 with the total Polish population in the United States at 3,343,198.[1]

Initially between 1851 and 1880 the emigration from Prussian Poland went primarily to Texas, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota.[2] After 1880 the Poles from the historical province of Greater Poland within the boundaries of Prussia were finding employment in the industrial centers of the northeastern part of the United States and after accumulating some capital they moved on to settle in farms spread out between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. At the turn of the century, that part of the immigration coming from the Russian and Austrian partitions tended to settle on the East Coast farmlands of New York and New England, with an especially large number found in the Connecticut Valley. The main wave of Polish immigration arriving between 1900-1914 moved to the industrial and mining centers in the northeastern part of the country, between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes. Based on the

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[1]Joseph A. Wytrwal, *America's Polish Heritage: A Social History of the Poles in America* (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1961), 79.

[2] Krystyna Murzynowska, "Polska emigracja zarobkowa przed 1914 r.: Stany Zjednoczone – największy ośrodek emigracji zamorskiej," in *Historia Polski: Vol. III 1850/1864-1918,* edided by Żanna Kormanowa i Walentyna Najdur (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1972), 780-754.

general geography of the Polish settlements within the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of those immigrants who embarked on trans-Atlantic ships in Liverpool between 1870 and 1900 probably dispersed among the various Polish settlements in the northeastern states.

By 1889 the Polish communities, whose population totaled 800,000, had built 132 churches served by 132 priests and had established 122 schools, conducted almost entirely by the Felician Sisters and the School Sisters of Notre Dame. In 1900, there were 390 parishes; in 1910 – 512. With 90% of peasant emigration Polish-Americans were slowly building a middle class. Before 1914 less than 2% of the Polish immigrant children went to high school.[3] In 1920 Polonia had 762 parishes with over 1,200 priests, and 511 parish schools with 3,500 teachers and total enrollment of 220,000.[4] In order to sustain these impressive organizational achievements, Polonia looked to the next generation." However, the new generation, born and brought up in America, differed in many ways from their parents and grandparents, who were strongly connected to the country of their forefathers. The Twenties and Thirties was a transitional period for Polonia, which was shifting from an ethnic to an American focus,

Into this setting stepped Father Justyn Figas, a pioneer of radio broadcasting among the Polish clergy in the United States. He was the director of the radio program "Rosary Hour," from1931 to1959. Father Justyn started his broadcasting career in 1926. The Rosary Hour became a network program in 1931 when it was carried by six stations. By the time of Father Justyn's death in 1959, the number of stations had risen to seventy-

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[3] Krystyna Murzynowska, "Polska emigracja zarobkowa przed 1914 r.," 780-754.
[4] "Jak Sejm Polski Radził nad Losem Emigracyi Polskiej we Francji i Ameryce," *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 53 (Mar. 3, 1924): 3; "Co prasa warszawska pisze o potrzebie biskupów polskich w Ameryce,"*Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 54 (Mar. 4, 1924): 2.

two. According to Father Justyn, the radio talks in the Polish language had three million regular listeners in the USA, and from 1938, there were also regular listeners from Canada. Mrs. Sophia Helfand, born to Polish immigrants in Pennsylvania, was fourteen when she heard Father Justyn speaking for the first time on the radio. She recalled that, "Everybody who was Polish was at home in Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, at 6 pm. on Sunday when the broadcast was on."[5]

Although the number of listeners was only an estimate, there is no doubt that The Rosary Hour was the most popular Polish language radio program in the whole of North America. The evidence supporting the claim of the widespread reception of the Polish radio program is shown by the number of the network stations which transmitted The Rosary Hour. There were fifteen stations before the end of the season 1938-1939: in Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Scranton, Hazelton, (Pennsylvania), Boston, New Bedford, Waterbury and Bridgeport, (Connecticut), Pittsburgh, Springfield, Lowell and Lawrence, (Massachusetts), Philadelphia, Baltimore.[6]

The majority of listeners to The Rosary Hour spoke Polish among their families and within their community. Although the radio broadcasts were conducted primarily in the Polish language, other Slavic people listened as well: Byelorussians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Croatians, and also Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, and Germans. The audience included both Christians and Jews. The use of the English language signaled in certain programs Father Justyn's intention of making a greater impact on the group he was addressing, especially on second-generation Polish-Americans. The growing number of letters written and read in

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[5] Author interview with Sophia Helfand, 13 March 2000, in Silver Spring MD.
[6] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 115.

English on the radio programs showed that Father Justyn recognized the fact that Polish-American youth absorbed more fully ideas expressed in English. Father Justyn was aware that the reception of his radio program would differ from one social group to another and so focused on the group that formed the majority of the Polish immigrant population, namely the working class. Although he intended to include in his program the American-born youth of Polish descent, he used Polish as the main language in the broadcasts. Occasionally he read in English some of the letters written to him in that language. There are examples in the printed talks of The Rosary Hour of English expressions popularly used by the people and some pieces of English poetry. Although English letters had been read in previous broadcast seasons, beginning with 1936-1937 there was a considerably larger number of them. This was an important development in the radio program's approach, though many letters written in English were still translated into Polish and Polish remained the prevailing language on The Rosary Hour in the 1930s.

The role of The Rosary Hour in the Polish-American community in the United States in the 1930s was affected by the history of the previous two decades. First, there was the profound importance of Poland regaining its independence as a consequence of World War I. The dream of many generations of Poles had come true. The nation's independence reduced the number of people immigrating to other countries, including the United States. The most patriotic, pro-Polish element in the United States even returned to the Old-Country.[7] Second, America in its discriminatory provisions of the 1921 and 1924 Quota Acts against immigration, limited the immigration from Poland to less than 6,000 persons per year. Third, the children of the Polish parents who emigrated before the

[7] Joseph A. Wytrwal, *America's Polish Heritage*, 236.

World War I came of age in the 1920s and 1930s and affected the orientation of the major Polish-American organizations. Joseph A. Wytrwal draws the conclusion that indifference to the issue of immigration restriction laws was the prevailing attitude of both the Polish National Alliance (PNA) and the Polish Roman Catholic Union (PRCU).[8] The two organizations reflected and influenced the opinion of Polish immigrants on major issues of interest throughout their whole history in the United States including the period after 1919. In the 1920s the focus of the organizations shifted from the country of origin to the country of adoption: the U.S.

One could never overestimate the role of the Polish clergy in assisting the Polish immigrants, though the prime objective of their assistance was religious. As a result we observe a change of aims in the pastoral work in Polish ethnic parishes. The Polish people belonged to the Roman Catholic Church and the Polish clergy had to carry out their work according to the programs of the Catholic hierarchy in America, which included only a few representatives of the larger Polish Catholic community. Although the priests implemented the policies of their respective bishops, their opinion on the issues relating to the problems of the Polish community took into consideration the opinion of the laity. The Resurrection Fathers were one of the most prominent Polish religious orders which identified its pastoral program with the ethos of the early Polish immigrants in America. A combination of second generation of immigrants coming of age, a reduction of the flow of new arrivals from the mother country and an altered political, social and economic environment changed that ethos. The attitude of the laity towards their ethnic pastors was also transformed.

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[8] Joseph A. Wytrwal, "The Role of two American Polish Nationality Organizations in the Acculturation of Poles in America," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1958).

This change from Polish to Polish-American or to an American-Polish perspective on religion was noticed and addressed in an extraordinary way by two Franciscan orders working in the United States, the Capuchin Fathers from the Polish Province of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Conventual Franciscans from the Polish Province of St. Anthony of Padua. A new pastoral style was marked by the use of new methods of communication, for example, the press and the newly-invented radio broadcasting system. The Polish immigrants who decided to settle in the United States and their American-born children considered themselves as American citizens but did not want to break up the links with the country of their forefathers. Father Justyn Figas, a member of the Franciscan Conventual Order, understood their attitude very well.

Father Justyn Figas was born into a Polish immigrant family on June 24, 1886, in McClure, Pennsylvania, a small mining community. At baptism he was given the name Michał. His parents, Jakub and Marianna, neé Szczepańska, immigrated to the United States from Wielkopolska, a region of Poland partitioned by the Prussians.[9] The Polish-speaking population in the borders of the Prussian state resented the Germanization policy supported by the Prussian government. In many instances this cultural and religious persecution, next to economic strife, had been as important a reason for immigration as any other. Father Justyn mentioned the cultural and religious persecution in his radio talks as the reason for the immigration of his parents from their native land.[10] The radio priest's father had only three months of formal schooling, but he was able to

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[9]Wielkopolska was a part of the 'Prussian Poland'. In popular usage the term 'Prussian Poland' referred to all the lands, which the Kingdom of Prussia inherited from the former Polish-Lithuanian Republic. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 112-138.

[10] Fr. Justyn Rosary Hour, Ojciec Polonii ("Wywiad" z O. Justynem Figasem) #53 (Oct. 31) 98/99. This so called interview with Fr. Justyn is a compilation of fragments taken from Father Justyn Rosary Hour talks and recorded on a tape.

read and write in Polish. He spoke German and in America he learned English to a level that allowed him to be a translator for the newly arrived immigrants. Father Justyn admitted to the profound influence his parents exerted on him and on his siblings in their formative years. This influence was particularly evident in passing on the Roman Catholic religion, the Polish language and culture.

Michał Figas went to the parish school that was three miles away from his home. The school was run by the Polish Sisters of Nazareth (Nazaretanki). He was a talented boy. Later on in his studies, Father Justyn listed among the authors he read at the age of eleven, the Nobel Prize winner, Henryk Sienkiewicz, one of the most popular Polish writers, Adam Mickiewicz and Bolesław Prus.[11] Father Justyn also acquainted himself with American literature. His father, who borrowed books from the parish library and brought them home every week, supported these interests of his teenage son. In response to the demands of the big family, Michał, who was just eleven years old started work at the same mine where his father worked and did other daily chores at home. From the accounts given by the biographers of Father Justyn and from his own radio talks emerges an important characteristic of the future pastor of the American Polonia, the strong bond between father and son, formed in the most trying circumstances. At an early age the son transferred this respect and admiration for his father and mother to their religion, their native country and culture.

In 1900, and with the intention of becoming a priest, the young Figas enrolled in the Gymnasium of St. Francis in Trenton, New Jersey, which was run by the German-speaking Conventual Franciscans. Despite the obvious burden placed on his family by the

[11] The most popular titles by Henryk Sienkiewicz are: *Quo Vadis* and the Trilogy: *With Fire and Sword, Deluge and Sir Wolodyjowski.*

additional expense, he finished school. In 1903, Michał entered the novitiate of the order of the Conventual Franciscans and received the name Justyn. Later, Brother Justyn moved to the separate province of St. Anthony, established in 1906 in the United States for the Polish-speaking Franciscans.[12] He studied in America and Europe, as often was the case with American-born clergy. After his ordination in 1910 and the completion of his studies with the degree of Doctor of Theology, Father Justyn returned to the United States and served at the Basilica of St. Joseph in Milwaukee. The qualities of the young priest were soon recognized by his provincial who called him to serve as secretary of the Polish Franciscan Province in Buffalo. The turning point in his priestly life took place when the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order gathered in Rome in 1921 and elected Father Justyn to the position of general secretary of the Order. He declined that position on the advice of Father Jacek Fudziński, a leader in the Order and his former provincial. It was an understandable move from the point of view of the Polish Province, which wanted to keep its best men for the pastoral work among the Polish-Americans who were undergoing a cultural and religious transformation in the twenties. In 1923 Father Justyn was elected minister provincial for a three-year term. He served six terms in that capacity until 1939. The experience of coming from a working class family and his education and experience of pastoral work prepared Father Justyn well for the future challenges in his broadcasting venture.[13]

At the time Father Justyn started his broadcasting career he had a reputation as a good preacher not only at the Franciscan parish of Corpus Christi in Buffalo but well

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[12] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa,* 32-34.
[13] For further reading see Clement R. Jarnot, O.F.M.Conv., "The Very Reverend Justyn M. Figas, O.F.M.Conv., S.T.D., D.P., D.G.; His Life and Accomplishments." (M.A. and S. Thesis, St. Bonaventure University, 1971).

beyond its borders. In 1931, the city had 573,000 inhabitants, including 218,000 Poles, who made up the largest Polish community in the United States, second only to Chicago. Father Justyn was aware of the needs of his congregation, their ambitions, faults and virtues. He was the type who believed in "let's do it." Among the many projects he started between 1923 and 1939 were new schools, the most famous of which was built in Athol Springs, N.Y. Father Justyn involved the local Polish elite in this task through a fundraising committee.

In Buffalo, Father Justyn founded the studio from which The Rosary Hour was broadcast. The audience listening on Sunday evenings to the radio broadcasts soon spread far beyond this single city. During his twenty-eight years of directing The Rosary Hour, Father Justyn developed the world's most extensive Polish-language radio network. The broadcast network included the main Polish population centers in twelve states in the U.S. and six Canadian provinces. Pope John Paul II said in his address on the fiftieth anniversary of the radio station in 1980, "The Rosary Hour is the world's biggest pulpit in the Polish language."[14]

b) The beginning of a broadcasting career

The Kolipinski Brothers Furniture Company in Buffalo, which sponsored a half-hour Polish Variety Program, invited Father Figas, the minister provincial of St. Anthony of Padua province of the Conventual Franciscan Order, to deliver a weekly five-minute spiritual message on radio station W.K.E.N. on Sundays. The hesitant priest was unsure of the need for a religious program, but the idea for a program presented itself during one

[14] Jan Paweł II, "Przemówienie na otwarcie Roku Jubileuszowego Radiowej Godziny Różańscowej Ojca Justyna," in: Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 17.

of the skits on the Polish Variety Program. Two characters, a husband (Podeszwa) and his wife (Kordula), were quarreling with each other:

> [Husband]: I had enough of you, old squaw, I am going to get divorce!
> [Wife]: You are not going to get a divorce, you old jerk, because you got married in the Catholic Church.
> [Husband]: But, I know a priest whose name is Father Justyn, and I am going to ask him. He will help me.

Next Sunday, with the acceptance of the Kolipinski Brothers Company, Father Justyn spoke […] and that was the beginning of the Rosary Hour program.[15]

Father Justyn, the Franciscan "monk," as he used to call himself, accustomed to prayer and silence, hesitated to appear on the public stage, an opportunity that was afforded to him by the new invention of the twentieth century: the radio. Although the "monk" did not seek instant popularity, it did not take him long to make up his mind and take center stage. Father Justyn's decision to accept the invitation to begin a local radio program opened up a new pastoral opportunity and access to so many people that later on his own program was called "the biggest Polish ambo in the world." Father Justyn was preparing for that day on the smaller stages of his parish churches, where he carried out his vocation of preaching the Good News. He was a courageous man, but his deep motivation and strength, which sustained him in trials and challenges, were his faith and love of people. He explained his attitude to people on many occasions. One of his disclosures seems to expose his most deeply felt motives for becoming a priest and sheds light on the preaching style which affected so many people. On the radio program broadcast on Sunday, February 27, 1938, Father Justyn shared with the listeners the

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[15] The account on the beginnings of the Rosary Hour comes from a letter by Zofia Hubert (Kordula) to Father Kornelian Dende, 9 July 1968, Rosary Hour Archive (hereafter R.H.A.), Fr. Kornelian Dende Correspondence - printed in Książek, op. cit., 59-60. Father Justyn's first radio talk in 1926, R.H.A., Fr. Justin's Manuscript – printed in Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 60-62.

recollections of his student days in Rome. After passing his final exams he went on July 16, 1911 for a private audience with the pope Pius X, who gave him personal pastoral advice quoted from St. Augustine, "Make sure your teachings will reinforce, taste and cure." The next day the young Franciscan bid farewell to Cardinal Merry del Val, cardinal protector of the Order who ordained him a priest. The cardinal, who was asked to sign his small photograph as a keepsake, left this note, "Let your teaching be a spiritual medicine for the people of God." Father Justyn sought to remain faithful to the advice he received from the Pope and the Cardinal in his preaching at the pulpit and his ministry before the microphone. [16]

Divorce was one of the topics most frequently discussed on his program during the 1920s. In the year 1900, more than 600,000 couples got married in the continental United States; by 1929 this number had doubled to over 1.2 million. The number of divorced couples for the same years rose from approximately 55,000 to 200,000. The number of divorces per 1,000 marriages grew from 81 in 1900 to 163 in 1929.[17] Very often the new invention, the radio, was used to address divorce or other related subjects. Radio communication became especially popular in many American households in the second half of the 1920s. For his inaugural broadcast Father Justyn spoke on "Family Problems."[18] It was no surprise that the audience, which wanted Father Justyn to speak, received the well-liked Polish priest's words enthusiastically on that Sunday.

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[16] Fr. Justyn Figas, O.F.M.Conv., "Dlaczego," *Mowy Radiowe Ojca Justyna* (hereafter *MROJ*), vol. 2, 27 Feb. 1937-1938, 42.
[17] 1931 U.S. Census Report.
[18] Justyn Figas, O.F.M.Conv., "Problemy rodziny," 1926, two pages of typed text. Rosary Hour Archive (hereafter R.H.A.), Fr. Justyn's Manuscript.

Subsequently, Father Justyn's words led to the creation of the so-called "Question Box," a ten-minute segment on the Kolipinski Brothers' program.

The demand for the radio priest was so great that Father Justyn started his own half hour program, called the "Question Box," on the station W.E.B.R. in November 1928.[19] It was mostly working class, first and second generation Poles in the Great Lakes area who formed the audience of The Rosary Hour in the first years of its existence. Father Justyn explained religious, social and cultural problems on his program, but resolved to avoid becoming involved in politics and religious controversies. This attitude met with the approbation of the local ordinary, Bishop William Turner.[20] The depression of 1929 forced the cancellation of the radio program for a time. Nevertheless, on August 25, 1930 Father Justyn was back on the air after signing a contract for a half-hour program to be transmitted on Sunday nights at the cost of $25 per program.[21]

1. Themes of the new radio program

The breakthrough for The Rosary Hour came on December 6, 1931 with the formation of the first Polish religious radio network in the United States: the Great Lakes Chain. The program was broadcast from the studio of station W.E.B.R. in Buffalo between 6 and 7 p.m. and was simultaneously transmitted by telephone to stations in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Scranton. A sixth station, in Cleveland, Ohio, was added on December 13, 1931.[22] Father Justyn's address was the main feature of the program. The Question Box, so popular in Buffalo, was preserved in the network broadcast. The one-hour program allowed for more religious hymns and songs to be presented. The main

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[19] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa,* 63.
[20] Ibid., 64.
[21] Deptula, "Polish Immigrants," 284.
[22] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 67-69.

ideas brought up by Father Justyn during the first broadcast concerned the love of the Fatherland, the family home, the community, the Church and tradition. His first talk was titled "Our Parents:"[23]

> Today is a historic day for all of us. For the first time, with the help of radio, here in America, a Catholic priest, a member of the Franciscan order, a son of a poor Pennsylvanian miner, stands in front of a microphone in the town of Buffalo, N.Y., and his voice you can hear far away, even in the houses spread among the woods and fields of Wisconsin. […] This first program I dedicate to our Polish fathers and Polish mothers, to those quiet and humble pioneers, who decorated the Church with their deep and humble faith, who with their heavy and unceasing work this American country made rich, who earned respect among the nations for their practical virtues, who left their Divine and old Polish virtues as inheritance for us. For them exclusively, I repeat, with heart overflowing with love, respect and gratitude, I devote this program.[24]

The talk delivered on December 6 revealed the deeply felt affection Father Justyn had for his own parents and for their Polish heritage, represented by the figures of Polish fathers and mothers. Father Justyn used language pregnant with symbolic and mystical meaning. His words were unmistakably understood by the audience brought up in a culture which had such a great regard for the figure of the "Polish mother."[25] The figure of the "Polish mother" was a mystical personification of Poland, created by the literature of the nineteenth century. Poland was identified with those Polish mothers who very often had to take over the manly responsibilities in their families. That role was a common experience among many women during the frequent abortive national uprisings in the nineteenth century, former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and during the reprisals by

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[23] Ibid., 203. Father Książek characterized the Rosary Hour in general terms as a program in the Polish language, devoted to religious and social issues, conducted in the Christian and Franciscan spirit. The author discusses the themes of the Rosary Hour in chapter 9 of his book.
[24] Ibid., 67.
[25] The figure of Polish mother (in Polish "Matka Polka"), was created by the Polish Romantic literature.

the partitioning powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria. The second expression charged with a figurative meaning related to "Divine and old Polish virtues." These virtues had their realization in the forefathers who, since the fifteenth century, defended Christendom against the Ottoman Empire.[26] At that time Poland acquired the name of the "buttress of Christianity." By referring to those national sentiments the radio priest identified himself with Catholicism and the Polish culture. These themes the Director of The Rosary Hour considered not only as sentimental memories, but also as important elements in building the life of Polish immigrants in America.[27]

Father Justyn was very well aware of the assimilation polices of the so called Americanizers. The Americanization movement was multi-faceted and involved professional, popular, and political elements. Its participants were united in facilitating the immigrant towards a smooth absorption into the host nation, but varied in their viewpoints and priorities from the "100% Americanism," stringently implemented during WW I and in the 1920s, to the ideology of "cultural pluralism," which gained popularity in the 1930s. In respect to Americanization, the process of enculturation in the new country, the Polish clergy generally adopted the idea of "cultural pluralism." The Polish religious leaders strongly opposed the type of enculturation that ignored ethnic culture. These views were clearly expressed in the Fifth Convention of the Polish Priests Association (P.P.A.) which gathered in Philadelphia on February 26, 1924.[28] The broadcasts of the Rosary Hour consequently were engaged in promoting the idea of

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[26] Poland after the Union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1569, inherited lands of the present day Ukraine bordering with the Ottoman Empire.
[27] Figas, "Nasi rodzice," *MROJ*, 6 Dec. 1931, 3-8.
[28] "Z Sejmu Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich," *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* (Feb. 29, 1924): 2. Dziennik Zjednoczenia (Union Daily News – National Edition). The newspaper founded in 1920 had two editions: City Edition and National Edition. The paper was owned by the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

cultural pluralism supported generally by the first generation of Polish-Americans. The second generation, caught up between the traditionalism of their parents and the individual freedom offered by the mainstream American culture, had to make hard choices. This group needed a leader who would guide it in the troubled waters of the New World. This role fell to Father Justyn Figas, who did not seek it, but who, as a radio priest well known to Polish-Americans, became that leader. Did he, however, rise to the challenge and fulfill the hopes vested in him? Was he able to judge adequately the consequences involved in the decision to promote cultural pluralism, especially those affecting the second generation?

The second radio broadcast on The Rosary Hour network, entitled "A Pole as an American,"[29] showed that Father Justyn argued his viewpoint for cultural diversity within the context of shared American national values that ensured civic harmony and cooperation in the new homeland. Father Marion Tolczyk, who was born in the United States and listened to The Rosary Hour as a teenager, at some stage rebelled and started questioning his parents, the immigrants from Poland, asking why an American should listen to a Polish program. His mother told him why it was important to listen to Father Justyn who provided religious advice and talked about Polish culture, the culture his parents left behind. The most convincing element for the teenager in the explanation of the parents was the fact that Father Justyn himself was born in the United States. When the young boy heard another American on the radio say that it was important to study English to get ahead, but there was nothing wrong in learning Polish, he believed him. The Polish culture, explained the voice from the radio, would bind you to the Fatherland,

[29] Figas, "Polak Jako Obywatel Amerykański [*sic*]," *MROJ*, 13 Dec. 1931, 2-7.

to where your parents came from, to where your grandparents are.[30] The insistence of Father Justyn on cultural pluralism in American society aimed at giving to parents the authority in the moral formation of the young generation and at creating an alliance of the Church, family and school for bringing up a new generation within the framework of the United States. Cultural pluralism in this form represented to the radio priest a powerful reaffirmation of that kind of ideology that would serve as the basis of American identity.

Just as the first broadcast aimed at the cultural roots of Polish-Americans, the second one pointed to those characteristics of the three million members of the Polish community which made them Americans. In his second talk Father Justyn stressed the fact that the United States offered the Polish immigrants the possibility of realizing their economic, social and religious aspirations that had been denied to them in their own homeland. Due to the fact that the talks were aired in the Polish language and addressed generally to one ethnic and religious group, they attracted the attention of those elements in society who viewed this kind of activity as un-American and unpatriotic. Anticipating this accusation Father Justyn stated quite clearly during the second broadcast, "We are Americans, legally and politically. But also, we are Americans or American citizens of Polish descent."[31] This statement was followed by listing two patriotic qualities of Poles in America: attachment to the Star Spangled Banner and loyalty to the American government. Father Justyn Figas supported this view with the words of President Calvin Coolidge whom he met personally in Washington, D.C., "[…] Poles are laborious, frugal and loyal. The Poles in America through their continuous work, exemplary sacrifice and

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[30] Author interview with Father Marion Tolczyk O.F.M.Conv., 23 February 2000, in Athol Springs, N.Y. In 1959 Father Tolczyk was responsible during the programs for providing oxygen to Father Figas suffering from asthma. He was a director of The Rosary Hour from 1995-2002.

[31] Figas, "Polak Jako Obywatel Amerykański [*sic*]," *MROJ*, 13 Dec. 1931, 4.

exceptional thrift accomplished many goals in the religious, social and economic fields."[32] Another figure mentioned on the radio program was President Theodore Roosevelt who spoke these words during one of his election campaigns, "[…] Poles were always recognized as patriots of this country since the times of Pulaski."[33]

Having mentioned the opinions of these Americans, Father Justyn described the harsh work conditions in which many Poles found themselves. After building his case with arguments that showed the civic qualities of Americans of Polish descent, Father Justyn publicly rejected the claims of the "100% Americanizers" who accused the Polish people of not being fully American. The radio Speaker did not stop his arguments after that episode; he went on the attack delivering subsequent punches to his adversaries. The next argument the radio priest presented was taken from the actions of the Polish-Americans during World War I. He referred to their war effort: volunteering in the Armed Services in proportionately larger numbers and their record of buying American War Bonds. These were sources of great pride among the Polish-Americans and strongly supported the ideology of "cultural pluralism" promoted by Father Justyn.

2. Overview of radio topics until 1940

The two introductory broadcasts of 1931-1932 signaled to the audience the content of the talks to follow: the Catholic religion, Polish culture, and the rights and duties of American citizens. A general survey of the themes of the radio talks shows how strongly Father Justyn felt obliged to raise issues considered by him to be threats to the Christian norms of the family, which he first presented to his audience during the third

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[32] Ibid., 5.
[33] Ibid. Theodore Roosevelt said these words in Buffalo in the school hall of St. Stanislaus during his election campaign for the office of the governor of the New York State on October 25, 1898.

radio broadcast, December 20, 1931.[34] Father Justyn regularly broadcast his views on marriage, family and parental authority. He reminded the radio listeners about parenthood as a mission given by God that required the strong and conscientious embrace of piety, hard work, and sobriety. The education of mind was not enough if it did not include the education of the soul and heart, the Speaker continued, and then he stressed that obedience of children to their parents was a religious requirement.

The talks of the first broadcast season, 1931-1932, set an agenda that continued to be the basis of the program for almost a decade. This agenda focused on family, religion, Polish culture, American values, communism, social justice, the rights of workers, the economic crisis, prohibition and drunkenness, ethnicity, youth and generational conflict. The next season repeated the main themes of the initial series and developed them further. The third season added new themes: materialism and new trends in the American culture such as birth control, divorce, mixed marriages, family desertion, emancipation of women, and offence to public morality in entertainment and the mass media. In the fourth season, 1934-1935, Father Justyn started with the topic, "The Torch of Happiness,"[35] in which he spoke about the global crisis of morality, pointing out the negative consequences of World War I on social relations in the United States and in the world. Other themes of that season continued to raise the traditional subjects from the 1931-1932 season with the emphasis on the external and internal threats to the family, American xenophobia, irreligion, superstition, communism and the New Deal. The fifth season started with the subject of irreligion. It was followed by themes related to the adaptation of immigrants to American culture, sects and anti-Catholicism. Among the

[34] Figas, "Boże Narodzenie," *MROJ*, 20 Dec. 1931, 4.
[35] Figas, "Pochodnia szczęścia," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Oct. 1934-1935, 3-7.

traditional family issues, four of them, birth control, parental authority, free love and mixed marriages were discussed on separate programs. The broadcast year 1936-1937, the sixth season, also featured a discussion on neo-paganism as well as on the topics already mentioned. The seventh season brought up problems related to irreligion, and the general threats to family life in the talk entitled, "What Happened to Home and Family?"[36] Another theme referred to the threats from American culture. The eighth season considered the issues of materialism, American culture, and female equality. The topics of the negative influence of the press, bad books and non-denominational schools were raised in the program broadcast on February 12.[37]

The outbreak of World War II on September 1, 1939 affected the whole season of 1939-1940. The aftermath of the brutal aggression of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union against Poland dominated the talks featured by Father Justyn and the invited guest speakers on The Rosary Hour. During the radio broadcast on December 31, 1939, Father Justyn gave a report on his recent visit to the Polish refugee camps in Romania.[38] Because of numerous requests from a wider spectrum of American society, the whole program on February 11, 1940 [39] was broadcast in English. In that program Father Justyn described for the listeners his personal impressions on the war in Poland based on the meetings he had with the refugees from that country whom he met in Romania and Italy. In spite of the preoccupation with the developments in Europe, The Rosary Hour

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[36] Figas, "Co się stało z domem i rodziną?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 20 Feb. 1937-1938, 30.
[37] Figas, "Papier latający," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 12 Feb. 1938-1939, 17-25.
[38] Figas, "Przemówienie Przew. O. Justyna Figasa,"*MROJ*, vol. 1, 31 Dec. 1939-1940, 93-95.
[39] Figas, "The Nation of Martyrs and Refugees," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 11 Feb. 1939-1940, 18-30.

continued to feature its regular topics, among which marriage, family and youth were most prominent during that season.

3. Mechanics and structure of the radio program

It was impossible for one man to take care of all aspects of the broadcast. Maria Jung, secretary to The Rosary Hour from its inception to 1959, the year of Father Justyn's death, had the opportunity to observe directly the mechanics of the radio program for almost three decades. She was born in Buffalo on December 13, 1909 to Polish parents who had immigrated from the village Wojsław near Mielec towards the end of the nineteenth century. Mary went through the parish school system run by the Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph at Corpus Christi Church and after graduating from Mary Immaculate Academy got a job at a typing company in downtown Buffalo. She joined the parish "Girls' Club" which was organized in the vicinity of the "Corpus Christi Club" which was intended to provide a meeting place for men and young adults. In the early 1930's the girls from the club were voluntarily helping to address the booklets with the Lenten reflections broadcast on the radio by Father Justyn. Two weeks prior to the launch of the Great Lakes Radio Network on December 6, 1931, Miss Jung, who did not have a steady job at the time, received the offer of a full time position as the secretary to The Rosary Hour program. She received ten dollars a week, "Not much, but it was steady," she later reflected.[40] At first she addressed by hand the booklets containing Father Justyn's talks. The first letters responding to the new religious radio network were mailed from the area of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The name and address was taken from each letter and put on a mailing list, which was used to send out Father Justyn's printed "Radio

[40] Author interview with Mary Jung, February 23, 2000, in Buffalo, N.Y. The information on handling the letters was drawn from this interview.

Talks." The following year new machines were introduced to help with the process: a graphotype and addressograph. At that stage a helper came to operate the machines. Letters arrived all year round, even outside the broadcasting season, which started on the first Sunday of November and ended on the last Sunday of April. The Rosary Hour promoted novenas, especially on Mother's Day, Father's Day and on All Souls' Day. In order to deal with this amount of mail, the Franciscans constantly relied on volunteers from Corpus Christi parish. Besides the usual tasks with the mail, the secretary typed the speeches for the broadcast using carbon paper. Some of the stations requested a copy of the speeches and accepted the Polish text. But with the growing network, a number of new stations asked for a synopsis of the talks in English.

All personal letters were taken care of by Father Justyn. But the hundreds and thousands of letters that were arriving because of the growth of the network required more volunteers and an organized approach. During the weekends the Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph[41] who taught in the elementary school at Corpus Christi offered their help. The opening and acknowledging of the letters was entrusted to the Franciscan Sisters. According to Mary Jung, most of the letters expressed appreciation for the program. The letters with questions were selected and transferred to Father Justyn. From its inception the organization of The Rosary Hour had multiple layers of staff and volunteers.[42] The letters with questions were dealt with by a Franciscan Friar who acted as a secretary for the Director of The Rosary Hour. With the help of his priest secretary and laity, Father Justyn structured the program. Initially the program was broadcast live from a studio at

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[41] For a comprehensive account on the history of the Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph, see Sr. Edwina M. Bogel FSSJ and Sr. Jane Marie Branch FSSJ, *In All Things Charity* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph, 1983).

[42] Author interview with Father Marion Tolczyk O.F.M.Conv.

the W.E.B.R. radio station in Buffalo. After 1937, Corpus Christi Church in Clark Street in Buffalo was used for that purpose. When a broadcast was hosted in a different parish the program was sent ahead of time with requests, for example, for a choir to perform selected hymns. At the beginning of the program, an announcer provided introductions in English and then a choir sang a hymn which was followed by a talk by Father Justyn and then the reading and answering of questions from the Question Box. A second announcer introduced all the parts of the program in Polish and also read the questions.[43] At that time all broadcasts were live, leaving no room for mistakes.

Father Justyn described the aims and the style of his talks in the October 15, 1933 broadcast:

> I hope that our Sunday program will be a welcome guest, expected with yearning and joy on the thresholds of your homes; not only by the elders but also by the young, not only by the compatriots born in distant Poland, but by the American youth of Polish descent as well. The aims of our program are well known. Nothing else but faith and Polishness, the privileges, teachings and laws of the Catholic Church, the rights and obligations of the American citizens of Polish origin. I am going to prove to you that the Catholic Church is the only advocate and defender of the poor and persecuted.… I will expose you to the beautiful pictures taken from the Polish history and from the lives of our fathers and forefathers. From that you will find out what they were and what we should be.… You won't find in my talks smooth sentences and a refined style …. I will talk to your minds and hearts using simple and easy to understand words.[44]

In one sense the opening of the third season of The Rosary Hour marked a new beginning after the break in broadcasting caused by a lack of funds.[45] In spite of the large number of listeners to the program, their financial support was not sufficient. Nevertheless, paid

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[43] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 161. The first announcers were Józef Dąbrowski (Dombrowski) and McLane.
[44] Figas, "Polska dusza," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 15 Oct. 1933-1934, 1.
[45] Ibid., The break in broadcasting of the Rosary Hour on the Great Lakes Network occurred between December 11, 1932 and March 5, 1933.

advertisements were not accepted. The financial problems prompted the Director to set up The Rosary Hour League in January 1933 to assist the radio program financially.[46] The League was run by the lay members of Corpus Christi Church in Buffalo, where Father Justyn resided and worked. The activities of the energetic leaders of the league and the appeals of the radio priest were met with an overwhelming response, allowing the broadcast to continue.

A typical Sunday program included: A hymn such as "Różaniec mój," choir performance, Father Justyn's radio talk, a second choir selection, the Question Box, announcements, benediction with the Blessed Sacrament, prayers for the sick, and a final hymn. Father Justyn organized the radio talks around several issues: religion, patriotism, social issues and culture.[47] Here is an example of the program topics from 1934-1935: A Torch of Happiness; Lazarus; The Warden of the World; Wanderers and Heroes; God-Death-Dollar; Follow Them; Inhuman People; Polish Worm; Prodigal Wanderers; Crib; New Tomorrow; The Star of the Wise and of Wisdom; Soldiers in the Cassocks; Our Will be Done; Two Wheels; The Old Fashioned and the Modern; Slaves; The Soul Does Exist; Belief in God or Belief in People?; Respect God's Gifts; Incendiaries of the World; The Destroyers of the Worker's Happiness; Worker-Work-Salary; Stop-Look up-Listen; Lift up your Hearts. A typical season lasted for twenty seven Sundays. The crucial elements of The Rosary Hour were the radio talk and the Question Box. Those two

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[46] Fr. Justyn Figas, O.F.M.Conv., "Uwaga," *Posłaniec Godziny Różańcowej*, 15 January 1933:1. In this fortnightly journal, which also printed the Rosary Hour radio talks, Fr. Justyn announced the establishment of the Rosary Hour League and appealed for funds; Deptula, "Polish Immigrants," 285. The Rosary Hour League began in 1933 with annual summer picnics on the grounds of St. Francis High School in Athol Springs, N.Y.

[47] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 203.

components of the radio program functioned as mirrors reflecting the lives of the Polish American communities.

c) Threats to the family and community

1. External threats

The idea of creating a safe environment for the immigrant family was one of the main objectives of The Rosary Hour. The way proposed by Father Justyn to achieve this goal was based on practicing true Christianity. The secular culture of the world and the lack of true faith were creating cracks in the Polish family unit in the United States and often resulted in its total breakdown. There were two major external factors confronting every member of the Polish-American communities in the 1930s: the challenge from American culture and the Great Depression, both of which distressed the lives of American families until World War II. The Rosary Hour, which was aimed at working-class Poles, devoted considerable radio time to address these issues related to everyday life. The radio addresses and the material from the Question Box shows that Father Justyn was in touch with the grassroots of his radio family. He had a unique understanding of the problems experienced by the generations of Polish people who experienced World War I, the unprecedented prosperity of the 1920s, the Great Depression and World War II. Father Justyn was able to address these important issues in a charismatic way, providing hope and encouragement. One of the ways in which he stayed connected to his listeners was through correspondence mailed to the office of The Rosary Hour. A foreword to the program broadcast on January 16, 1938, explains:

> These letters are for me the best sign of what human life is like! People disclose in them their consciousness, open their hearts and pour out their souls! These letters are to me what for the captain of a ship is a compass.

> They show me not only the situation and condition of humanity, but clearly point at the direction of the pilgrimage on the waters of life to the destination set up by Creator."[48]

In one of his programs broadcast in 1938 he claimed to have reached three million listeners.[49] Some estimates put the number of listeners of The Rosary Hour at the peak of its popularity in 1959 as high as five million. These numbers are reflective of Father Justyn's charisma and awareness of the problems related to the lives of his listeners.

In a talk broadcast in 1938, he listed the main elements that undermined the family in the United States: World War I, Prohibition and depression, the movies, bad newspapers, pornographic publications and secular education.[50] Father Justyn's straightforward explanations were clear and convincing to his listeners. For example, in commenting on prohibition, he stated, "Prohibition brought upon our country numerous crimes. … Every home became a brewery-distillery-winery."[51] Consequently, there were other ill effects. Fathers spent many hours producing homemade alcohol (moonshine). Mothers prepared the alcoholic drinks in their kitchens and consumed them along with their husbands and fathers. The children followed suit. This description of the "moonshine problem" was not based on statistical data, but the exaggeration served to make the audience aware of the serious consequences of alcohol abuse which directly and indirectly affected a large portion of the Polish-American community. Father Justyn argued on his radio program that the preceding twenty-five years had overturned Christian norms regulating

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[48] Figas, "Czy życie nie jest bolesną pielgrzymką?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 16 Jan. 1937-1938, 120.
[49] Figas, "Jesteś Chrześcijaninem," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 6 Nov. 1938-1939, 5.
[50] Figas, "Co się stało z domem i rodziną?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 20 Feb., 1937-1938, 33.
[51] Ibid., 32.

interactions among families: between husband and wife, between parents and children, and between siblings. Prohibition was one of the factors in this process.[52]

2. Internal threats

The unity of the Polish-American family was threatened not only by external factors. The Rosary Hour observed also the internal dangers peculiar to the Polish socio-economic and political environment. Father Justyn quite frequently addressed the theme, "Our vices." In his programs he identified specifically Polish faults that undermined the Christian culture of his compatriots.

In his Sunday radio talks, prohibition was called the mother of all crimes.[53] It did not mean, of course, that the Polish-Americans were first exposed to the threat of drunkenness in the United States. This social problem was also known in Poland. However, in the Old-Country drinking was usually confined to the "karczma" (the public house). During prohibition, individual families engaged in the illegal home production of alcohol. Father Justyn consequently spoke against the prohibition law, but with the same determination he also criticized drunkenness among Polish-Americans.

There were two programs during the season 1932-1933, addressing specific Polish vices.[54] Among the worst of faults Father Justyn mentioned was the political indifference of Polish-Americans. The lack of representation of Polish-Americans in the political process on all levels was accompanied by criticism of the faults of elected officials in the organizations founded by Polish-Americans. The political inertia of the Polish-Americans also applied to the matters of the Old-Country. Additionally the radio

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[52] Ibid., 31.
[53] Figas, "Matka zbrodni," *MROJ*, 10 Apr. 1932, 2-8.
[54] Figas, "Nasze zalety i wady," *MROJ*, 4 Dec. 1932-1933, 18-26; "Nasze zalety i wady," 11 Dec. 1932-1933, 30-33.

priest revealed a second Polish national fault: a tendency to disunity and division. Apparently the Polish-American communities were divided politically on the issues relevant to Polish national politics. The third fault was jealousy. This fault revealed itself in the tendency of every Pole to want to be a leader. The Polish rules, said Father Justyn, were two, "I do not have and you should not have"; "Where there are two Poles, one is too many."[55] His criticism went even further. The author of the talk, "Our Vices," observed that no social class of Poles was free of jealousy, "[…] from child to old, from worker to professional; the more education the more jealousy. Even a religious habit and clerical cassock make no difference."[56]

[55] Figas, "Nasze zalety i wady," *MROJ,* 11 Dec. 1932-1933, 31.
[56] Ibid.

Summary

On December 6, 1931, Father Justyn laid out the guidelines for the main direction of his network radio program, characterized by Father Jan A. Książek, the author of a history of The Rosary Hour in Polish as "a religious and social program in the Polish language, conducted in the Christian and Franciscan spirit." [57] For the Franciscan-led radio apostolate, a Christian and Franciscan spirit meant in practice spreading the Good News to the poor. Father Justyn addressed his program to the working-class Polish-Americans who on one hand found themselves in a critical and exploitative socio-economic situation in the 1930s and on the other hand were torn apart by the internal quarrels among differing Polish ethnic organizations.

With two million listeners for its weekly Sunday broadcasts, The Rosary Hour was a small radio program compared to the popular program of Father Charles Edward Coughlin which counted more than forty million listeners during the 1930s. Father Coughlin initially used his radio program to promote Franklin D. Roosevelt and his early New Deal proposals. His leading topics were political and economic rather than religious. The two programs differed also in their aims. For Father Justyn catechesis and religious topics were the prime themes discussed on the air. National politics were not his priority, however, he spoke against communism and devoted special attention to the problem of Polish communist organizations in the United States, which were, in his view, disseminating ideas very destructive to the community. In the program aired on April 14, 1935, Father Justyn was provoked to express his view on the radio program run by Father Coughlin by a listener from Chicago, who signed his name K. F. The question was, "Why

[57] Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 203.

do you Father Justyn never speak against Father Coughlin and his program, which I do not like at all?*"* Father Justyn's answer was generally appreciative of Father Coughlin's program, although with some reservations, "[Father Coughlin] did a lot of good so, although I do not agree on all points of his program, I willingly give him credit for his good work."[58]

Father Justyn acknowledged that at the core of Church, community and nation were families. This idea was fundamental to The Rosary Hour, which addressed the issues of the family in almost every single broadcast. Immigrant families in America were hoping for a new start. They were exposed to many new ideas, but often were not prepared to make the right choices. The brutal economic conditions and secular American culture caused a slow disintegration of the family unit based on Christian values. The action of The Rosary Hour aimed at preventing the destruction of the Christian family. Father Justyn used the newest technical invention, the radio. By the means of the new technology he was able to approach every family unit in its own home. There was no political agenda in his radio program, although we can say that he had a two-fold cultural agenda that eagerly promoted both resistance to secular cultural values and cultural pluralism in the United States.

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[58] Figas, "W górę serca - Pytania i Odpowiedzi (hereafter – P. O.)," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Apr., 1934-1935, 167. The expression "Pytania i Odpowiedzi," has been translated to "Question Box."

Chapter Three: Vision of the Polish Family:
Reconstructing of the Family in the American Environment 1931-1932

The talks during the season of 1931-1932 set the tone of the new network religious program. The examination of the content of those talks should reveal the fundamental issues the author believed were relevant to the listeners of his radio program. The listeners to the Rosary Hour responded to the program via mail. The letters with questions were then read and answered by Father Justyn in the Question Box, which was a popular, twenty minutes part of the Rosary Hour radio program. What was the subject matter of the questions? What were the selection criteria used? What kind of correspondence was given priority? Was the Radio Priest answering his critics publicly on the program? This chapter will analyze the response to the letters by Father Justyn when he expressed his views on family values during the first broadcast season. Given that the focus of this research is on family-based, religious culture, the collected data will be used to establish Father Justyn's views on family values as expressed on the programs featured on the radio network during the first broadcasting season of 1931-1932 and then further examined in the next chapters over the seasons from the Fall 1932 till Spring 1940.

Faith as a family value

Patriotism and hard work were the important elements for Father Justyn in building foundations for a strong family, but the personal faith of an individual was the keystone. The first radio talk on 6 December 1932 "Our Parents"[1] was of paramount importance. It pointed to the values Father Justyn considered essential to consolidation and further development of the American communities of Polish descent. As Father Justyn stressed in the first radio network talk, the Polish immigrants brought from the Old-Ccountry their value system and their attitudes to the institution of family. Parents were the first educators and the first authority for the new, American born generation. In his inaugural speech Father Justyn used symbolic language to revive sentimental attachments to those values that were commonly considered basic and most important in the Polish culture. A fistful of soil, taken from the homeland in a little sack, served as a powerful reminder of the family, the village, the church, the cemetery where their forefathers were buried, the whole nation and the heroes they had left behind in Poland. The next symbolic reference illustrated the moment of parting with parents and receiving their blessing in which the parents obliged them to remember God and the Fatherland in the faraway country. The radio-priest challenged the attitudes of immigrants and their children towards God and their country of origin by reminding them of the parting scene. The parting scene, with all its additional elements, played an important role in the common memory of the immigrants and was passed on to the second generation with the intention of preserving the family tradition and the identity of the group. By painting a

[1] Figas, "Nasi rodzice," *Mowa radiowa Ojca Justyna, O.M.C.* (hereafter **MROJ*), 6 Dec. 1932, 4-8. *Mowa Radiowa Przew. Ojca Justyna, O.M.C. (Very Rev. Father Justyn, O.M.C., Radio Talk)* in the broadcast season 1931-1932 was printed weekly as a separate volume; in the broadcast season 1932-1933 all talks were printed in one volume and the talks in the following seasons were divided into two volumes.

picture of the hard-working, first generation immigrants, who were often exploited in the new country because of their ignorance of the language and local customs, Father Justyn was presenting himself to the audience as one who understood the ethos of the group he was addressing via his radio program to. He also expressed his unshaken belief in the people, who, against the odds encountered in the new country, did not stop from realizing their dream, a dream based on the love of family, Church and Fatherland. Consequently, Father Justyn noticed that the immigrants came to appreciate the laws of the United States and eventually became its citizens while still holding on to the values of the Old-Country.

Poorly educated, first generation immigrants were exposed to all kinds of ideas but were unprepared to engage with them on an intellectual level. This vacuum in the Polish-American community was partly filled up by the weekly religious programs. The Catholic doctrinal topics were always given a prominent place on the Rosary Hour. They were presented in two forms, as the formal teaching of the Church and as the experience of faith by an individual. The talk "Return to God,"[2] broadcast on 7 February 1932, presented the case of an unemployed worker going through a crisis of faith at the critical point of contemplating suicide. The sound of an old, Polish, religious hymn, "Beloved Mother"[3] brought to his mind the image of his father with whom, as a child, he used to frequent the church. He had forgotten the church through being busy earning his living. There was no bread in the church, he thought, and bread was his only goal. The co-workers believed that God was everywhere and one could pray even on a street. The poor

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[2] Figas, "Powrót do Boga," **MROJ,* 7 Feb. 1932, 3-6.
[3] A popular, Polish religious hymn "Serdeczna Matko," composed in XVIII c., expressing a devotion to the Heart of Mary.

man entered the church where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed and knelt on his knees before Christ in the Holy Eucharist, thinking, Can a man be abandoned if Christ is still with him? When the man stood back on his feet his emotional wounds were cured and his faith returned. In a rhetorical question the radio-priest asked, "Dear radio listeners! How many of you in this moment identify with the character from the story?"[4] Father Justyn made his point by showing the importance of the traditional religious practices in leading to a life-changing faith experience.

The idea of "one religion is as good as the other" was a practical approach taken by the American pluralistic society to alleviate social problems caused by the large number of religions which operated among the general public. However, the Roman Catholic Church disagreed with that view from its doctrinal perspective. The pastoral experience and the stream of letters coming from the radio listeners allowed Father Justyn to observe confusion in the area of religion, signaled by the abandonment of, or defection from, the practices of the Catholic Church. The subject of the true religion was addressed on the program aired on 17 January during the talk, "Where do you go?,"[5] when the radio-priest, referring to the Holy Scriptures, explained the nature of Catholic belief in one God, one Faith and one Church. In the foreword to this talk the listeners heard the description of a famous encounter between Saint Peter and Jesus, taken from the famous novel *Quo Vadis* written by the Polish Nobel prizewinner writer, Henryk Sienkiewicz. The use of literary works by mainly Polish authors affected the audience in three ways; first, it provided information on literature to people without formal education and to those who were not exposed to Polish literary works; second, it highlighted the

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[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] Figas, "Dokąd idziesz?," **MROJ,* 17 Jan. 1932, 3-6.

problem argued by Father Justyn during a program; third, it stimulated pride in the culture of the country of origin. The letters sent to the Rosary Hour showed that some people of Polish extraction, who were not practicing Catholics, listened to the program for its cultural dimension. During the broadcast season of 1931 – 1932, parts of the novel *Quo Vadis* were read on two more occasions: on 20 March, during the program "Christ Have Mercy" and on 27 March, Easter Sunday.[6] Due to his studies in Rome, Father Justyn was well acquainted with the history of the early Church; therefore he frequently identified parallels between the tribulations faced by the Christians in Imperial Rome and the twentieth century Christians living in the United States.

Father Justyn emphasized the problem of faith by making frequent references to the Holy Scriptures, selected literary works and also by putting faith issues in a contrasting context, e.g., by highlighting the activities of religious sects among the Polish-American population. In order to sharpen a particular aspect of a subject already discussed, Father Justyn regularly used the idealized image of the Old-Country's village with its church and family home just as he had done on his opening program. This method also served as a point of reference for him, when he discussed the issue of lack of faith, religious indifference and defection in the talk given on 28 February 1932, "God or Baal:"

> Twenty, thirty or forty years ago your life was different. Do you remember? Let me help you. You were in the distant Poland getting ready for a journey. You were to travel to a foreign country, to America! […]. You bade farewell to your parents and siblings. Not so fast, wait a moment! First you went to the church, to confession and the Holy Communion. It was the church in the village where you were baptized, where you received your first Holy Communion and perhaps professed your chosen one love and fidelity. […]. At the departure, your parents

[6] Figas, "Chryste zmiłuj się," **MROJ,* 20 Mar. 1932, 3-7; Figas, "Zmartwychwstanie Pańskie i Nasze [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 27 Mar. 1932, 3-6.

> did not give you a fortune, but your father made a sign of cross above your head and your mother hung a scapular on your neck, even more, she put into your hand a blessed medal, a rosary or a prayer book. Your parents' last words were: Son, daughter! Remember God and His Blessed Mother. Be pious, honest, keep your faith and God will help you, God will not abandon you! That was the legacy of your parents.[7]

This appeal to the parental legacy was a striking reminder of the articles of the Catholic faith, e.g., hell, heaven, purgatory and confession, all endangered by the teachings of different sects and popular culture. Consequently, Father Justyn in his programs, attacked divorce, birth control and the rise of sexual liberation as the main dangers to the "old concept of family life."

In order to present the qualities of these first generation men and women who lived according the old concept of family life, Father Justyn used the example of living characters. One of these people was his own father, whom Father Justyn presented on radio programs as a typical example of a Polish pioneer in America – pious, rock-solid, sober and honest. This ideal of a man was followed by a portrait of a "Polish mother" as a symbolic expression of the virtues of Polish women whose vocation, as presented during the first season of the Rosary Hour, was home and children. The sacrifice and Polish virtues of the first pioneer generation were testaments to their hardships and faith and benefited the second generation. The language, loaded with symbolic meaning and skillfully used by Father Justyn, was aimed at the emotional level of the immigrants' attitudes towards God and Fatherland:

> After so many years I ask you […] and this question is perhaps put to you for the first time in such an open and obtrusive way: - did you always faithfully and consciously adhere to the standard on which was written in golden letters these words: God and Fatherland?" – Yes or no? – If the first, you fulfilled the paternal

[7] Figas, "Bóg albo Baal," **MROJ,* 28 Feb. 1932, 3.

order; if the second, someone in the skies looks at you with a sad paternal eye, full of tears and blood.[8]

The liturgical calendar of the main religious celebrations of the Church was always respected on the programs. It became a pattern for the Rosary Hour to dedicate talks on the Sunday before Christmas and on Easter Sunday to those seasonal feasts. On 20 December 1931, Father Justyn reminded his listeners of the need to be spiritually prepared for welcoming God Incarnate not only by participating in the liturgical and traditional observances but most of all by correcting their Christian standards of life. Father Justyn ended the program with traditional Christmas greetings which also included a verse from the popular Polish Christmas carol, "God is being born."[9] The Easter Sunday program on 27 of March 1932 featured a foreword with references to the Old-Country's village celebrations. The main talk, entitled "The Lord's and our Resurrection," included an account of the Resurrection of the Lord expressed by Peter in the *Quo Vadis* novel.

- **Feedback from the radio listeners**

The first broadcast on 6th of December featured two questions. There were three questions on the second broadcast. The questions selected for the program on December 20th, turned the Question Box into a sort of a variety show with references to the talks "Our Parents" and "A Pole as an American." These questions are grouped below as they were in the original order:[10]

- Why a Roman Catholic cannot be a good American citizen? Signed, R. R.
- Is it true that Edison invented the process of manufacturing synthetic rubber? Signed, Student B.P.

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[8] Figas, "Nasi rodzice," **MROJ,* 6 Dec. 1931, 5.
[9] "Bóg się rodzi," a Christmas carol issued by a Polish author Franciszek Karpiński in 1792. Melody to the carol composed by an unknown author in the middle of the XIX c.
[10] Figas, "Boże Narodzenie – P. O.," **MROJ,* 20 Dec. 1931, 7-12.

- Wouldn't it be better if all governments were running their affairs as Russia does? Signed, L. T.
- You Fr. talked about Gniezno: I am originally from that area and I ask you, in what year was the "tum" (cathedral) of St. "Wojciech" (Adalbert) built? Signed, T.W.
- Would it be just if the United States followed the advice of Senator Borah and took away Pomerania and Silesia from Poland? Signed, I.Z.
- Why Rome is called The City of Seven Hills? Signed, M.B.
- How many popes were in office in the nineteen century? Signed, S.M.
- Is it permissible for Catholics to read the Bible printed in England by the Bible Society? Signed, S.S.
- Is it a sin to stay a spinster all one's life? Signed, J.M.
- Why do Polish Catholics leave the Catholic Church? Signed, H.S.Z.

Most probably, the first radio broadcasts did not generate many responses from the listeners, so the selected letters-questions taken from the correspondence showed the diverse interests of the listeners for whom the Polish language radio program became a source of information. This view is supported by Mary Jung who was the secretary for the Rosary Hour from its inception.[11] The answers given during the third program reveal the enormous confidence Father Justyn had in his ability to diagnose and solve all manner of human problems. Many queries posed to the Rosary Hour were straight forward and the explanations were simple and based on facts. The well-researched answers, frequently taken from the solid sources such as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* or "The Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church," built respect for the Rosary Hour even among its ideological critics who continuously corresponded with Father Justyn. There were other questions involving personal views of the author of the radio program, like the case of the Polish National Catholic Church established in the United States by the end of the nineteenth century, Bolshevik Russia, and social justice.

[11] Author interview with Mary Jung, February 23, 2000, in Buffalo, N.Y.

- **Questions regarding faith**

The sects which attracted followers from the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church were always a hot agenda among the Polish-Americans. The issue of being true to one's faith was debated on the initial program and often revisited, therefore questions on the motives behind Poles leaving the church created other opportunities to explore the subject further. In response to the question, "Why Polish Catholics leave the Catholic Church?" Father Justyn explained that the Poles were leaving the Roman Catholic Church for material reasons, because they either rejected the moral discipline of the Church or for reasons of pride and arrogance. So, from Father Justyn's point of view, there were no justifiable reasons to leave the true Church.

The broadcast on 17 January 1932 featured, among the nine questions related to religion, alcoholism, family and the role of the Polish language in the American parish schools, the concern of a listener from Pittsburg, signed, F. K., "Is it true that these Catholics who go to the church and pray are considered good? I suspect that some people do it for the right reasons and the others for the wrong ones."[12] At this time Father Justyn did not used his ability to give an apt, straight to the point and sharp answer. Instead he became a meek catechist, who recognized, behind the poorly written Polish sentences, a genuine quest for truth. In response, he quoted the second chapter of the letter of St. James about the importance of deeds for a believer and confirmed the observations of the listener from Pittsburg by adding the following observations on the matter, "There are those among the Catholics who go to the church not necessarily for genuine reasons, but

[12] Figas, "Dokąd idziesz? - P. O.," **MROJ,* 17 Jan. 1932, 7; Appendix B1.

because of custom, public pressure or for personal gains."[13] Father Justyn believed that declarations of faith did not make any sense unless they were supported with deeds motivated by genuine faith. He supported his statement with a quotation from the scripture dealing with faith and deeds.[14] However, for many Eastern European immigrants, public pressure served as a strong motive for religious practices. This attitude was especially true among the generation which was brought up in the Old-Country village environment. The motive lost its strength under new conditions in America. Certainly the attitudes of people towards religion did not change overnight but did so gradually. One can expect that the old motives for practicing religion, as listed by the radio Speaker, were much stronger among the first generation than among some sections of the second generation who were dispensing with some of the attitudes held by their parents in the areas of religious practices and beliefs. Further scrutiny of the motives for religious practices among the second generation immigrants compared with those of the group born in Poland will be given more attention in the seventh chapter.

The idea of "one religion is as good as the other" discussed in the talk "Where do you go?," attracted the attention of a group of listeners who sent their responses.
A person from Detroit, signed K. Z. challenged Father Justyn with a statement put in the form of a question, "Why you Father Justyn are so sure, that only the Roman Catholic Church is true, what about the other churches?"[15] Another question was, "We have the Catholic, Jewish and Muslim faiths; which one of those secures salvation?" Signed P. R.,

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[13] Ibid., 7.
[14] What good is it, my brothers, if someone says he has faith but does not have works? […] - Jam 2:14, 17. NAB.
[15] Figas, "Niedoszła Samobójczyni [*sic*] - P. O.," **MROJ,* 21 Feb. 1932, 8; Appendix B1.

from Detroit.[16] Through the answers given to the selected questions on successive radio programs Father Justyn was able to present different aspects of faith, teach the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church and correct unorthodox perceptions. He not only reinforced belief in one, holy and apostolic Church, but he also professed that faith without deeds did not save. The style of the answers to the religious queries reveals that Father Justyn was a confident and competent teacher of the Catholic doctrine through which he showed the only proper solution to issues of faith and morals. In the initial phase of broadcasting the "Rosary Hour" there was no place for ecumenical dialogue. The only form of respect shown for other faiths had been by refraining from criticizing other religions on the radio.

There is no evidence to show that during the first season there was a plan for picking up questions which fitted in with the actual talk or followed a predetermined theme line. The queries, representative of broader issues, were answered as they came in during the broadcast; other questions were answered by mail.[17] The questions regarding faith that were discussed on the air between January and April 1932 unveil the religious attitudes of a section of radio listeners, mainly from Detroit and Chicago. The initial examination of the issues raised in the queries shows the problem of lack of formal education and the religious ignorance of their authors. In spite of this, the authors of the letters sought to find answers to their queries through this man of learning who was recognized as an established authority in society. The additional element which motivated the authors to look for answers was the use of the Polish language in which they were able to express themselves. The letters reveal the existence, among the first generation of Polish immigrants in America, of the old attitude of respect of the Polish peasant for the

[16] Appendix B1.
[17] Author interview with Fr. Marion Tolczyk O.F.M.Conv., 23 Feb. 2000, in Athol Springs N.Y.

priest from whom they would seek advice in most of the important matters regarding their wellbeing. Although this attitude of respect for the authority of the priest survived among the Polish immigrants in America, it appears that certain sections in the Polish-American communities did not trust their local pastors or were in a state of conflict with their own pastors for some unorthodox practices. It was probable that a number of the inquirers had already approached their own pastors with their queries and got an answer which they wanted to compare with the answer given by Father Justyn. One of the possible explanations for this scenario could lie in the question sent by a person from Chicago signed, L.M.: Does a man who works honestly for his living break the Law if he misses church and the Holy Sacraments?[18] This issue should not be a problem for the average practicing Catholic, but it seems that this radio listener from Chicago had an issue with his local pastor and wanted to have a "second opinion." The above example and other questions posed between January and April of 1932, indicate various faith related problems with practical and doctrinal matters. They were engaged on the level of basic catechesis in which Father Justyn explained the articles of faith.

[18] Appendix B1.

Marriage unity

From the content of the lecture during the Rosary Hour talks and the Question Box, it is clear that Father Justyn considered marriage and family based faith as the cornerstones in the continuation of parental legacy. Marriage in the teaching of the Catholic Church is a natural bond of love between a man and a woman elevated by Jesus Christ to the status of the Sacrament of Matrimony performed by a couple in front of a representative of the proper religious authorities. Baptized Catholics are obliged to have their marriage sanctioned by the Church during a formal ceremony. As the matrimonial consent between groom and bride evokes God as the Guarantor of the legitimacy of the union, no man can dissolve it. The couple being married exchange vows of love, fidelity and loyalty till death and also confirm their willingness to accept children from God lovingly and bring them up according to the law of Christ and his Church.

In the Old-Country marriage was part of the extended family, which exerted effective control over it but also provided support in a time of crisis. This position changed over time with the introduction of the capitalist economy and through emigration. As we find from the available sources, Eastern Europeans departed from their villages as individuals or single family units.[19] Contrary to the practice in the country of origin, the conditions in the new world favored individualism, which affected "the old family value system" and attitudes towards marriage unity, fidelity, the sanctity of life and parental authority. These issues were raised on the radio network in a general way during the third program. In the course of the first season Father Justyn mentioned in his talks, which made up the main part of his programs, the problems threatening "the old

[19] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. II, 1483-1503.

family values," divorce, adultery, abortion and generational conflict, but he did not give talks which dealt directly with those issues with the exception of generational conflict.[20] Nevertheless, these issues were mentioned in some talks and surfaced in the Question Box.

- **Questions regarding divorce**

The first question read on the first program related to the problem of divorce and was sent by K. Z. from Pittsburg.[21] After the war a woman who arrived to join her husband in America, was left by him after two months. Her husband after returning to Poland informed her that he divorced her. The answers to this and other questions provided Father Justyn with an opportunity to instruct the wider public on the teaching of the Church in this matter and its relation to the civil law. S. J. S. from Buffalo asked why divorce was accepted by civil law which also gave the legal possibility for remarriage. The person continued, "Contrary to that, the Church's law does not accept divorce and even condemns it. Why is it that a party pronounced not guilty by the civil court has to suffer equally with the guilty party in respect to the Church's law?"[22] The responses given by Father Justyn on the radio to the preceding question and to a mother signed R. S. from Chicago,[23] enquiring about the possibility of receiving the Last Rites by her son who divorced a Catholic and married a Lutheran woman in the court provoked a reaction from J. C. Z. from Buffalo who stated:

> I am very much surprised that you Catholic priests are so naïve, not excluding Father Justyn, because when he answered a question regarding marriages taken in the court, he said clearly that he did not consider any weddings conducted in the

[20] Figas, "Nasza młodzież," **M.R.O..J.,* 3 Jan. 1932, 3-7.
[21] Figas, "Nasi rodzice - P. O.," **MROJ,* 6 Dec. 1931, 9.
[22] Figas, "Dokąd idziesz - P. O.," **MROJ,* 17 Jan. 1932, 8.
[23] Figas, "Opieka nad robotnikiem - P. O.," **MROJ,* 24 Jan. 1932, 7.

> court as valid, why? Explain yourself priest, because I do not know how you priests dare to disregard the marriages administered in the court, when you can join nobody without the court, whereas the court can join and disjoin without your help and all your weddings without the court's permission are not worth a bag of chaff.[24]

Although the question came from an agitated and ill-mannered person Father Justyn took his time to discuss it at length. His answer made clear the position of the Church on the irrelevance of the civil marriages in relation to religious marriages. Then the listeners were given a short history on the origin of civil marriages, which had been facilitated by Martin Luther, whom Father Justin called a defector from the faith. In conclusion to this part of his answer Father Justin quoted Pope Leo XIII, who considered the introduction of civil marriage and divorce as catastrophic for the nations and leading to licentious behavior. The Radio Priest proved his point with statistics giving the rate of divorce in the United States, which reached over one million in the year 1931. Then after clarifying the relationship between the "Marriage License" and the Church's Law Father Justyn followed on by directly addressing the respondent:

> You did not surprise nor offend me my friend when you called me naïve. I often have heard an insult that I would not dare to repeat here. […] According to you and those like you, Catholic marriage was not worth a bag of chaff, but for good Catholics who respect the God's Law it is worth as much as the salvation of their souls.[25]

- **Questions regarding mixed marriages**

Life in a multicultural country inevitably created an environment for interaction between different religions and nationalities. The questions sent to the Rosary Hour

[24] Figas, "Powrót do Boga - P. O.," **MROJ,* 7 Feb. 1932, 8-9.
[25] Ibid., 9-10.

indicated the problems which were a challenge for many immigrant families who came from culturally and religiously uniform communities:

- My daughter dates a Slovak. Can she marry him? Signed, J. J. S., Hazelton, PA. Talk "Nero's Rome and the Twentieth Century," 31 January 1932.
- Is a girl allowed to marry a Protestant, who does not want to convert to Catholicism, although they have known each other for five years? Signed. P. M. Pittsburgh. Talk "The Catholic Church and the Worker," 14 February 1932.
- Seven years ago I married a Ruthenian boy before a minister; my parents do not know about it, but even though the boy accepts marriage in the Roman Catholic Church, the parents disagree on the grounds of him being a Ruthenian. He is a good boy. Is this wedding before a minister a valid one? What should I do? Signed, Virginia, Pittsburgh. Talk "Christ Have Mercy," 20 March 1932.
- My son intends to marry a girl who believes only in the Bible! My son maintains that he still can stay a Catholic even if he gets married in the court or before a preacher. Signed, L. R. W., Hamtramck, MI. Talk "The Mother of Crime," 10 April 1932.

In these cases Father Justyn promoted the rule of "keep to your own kind." Mixed religion marriages were accepted in the Catholic Church but only on certain conditions in order to safeguard the religious practices of the Catholic side. The central issue in mixed religion and mixed culture marriages, as expounded on the radio program was the unity of the spouses in the areas of faith and rearing children. Furthermore, the non Catholic party was able to get a divorce and have another religious marriage, an option which was not available to the Catholic person, thus putting the Catholic in an unfair situation.

The rule of "keep to your own kind" was also applied to Catholics of different nationalities. This attitude was carried over from the country of origin and reflected the existence of a tight- knit, village community mentality found among the first immigrant generation. Hence any abridgement of this norm affected the family unit, "Will the Catholic Church let a Polish girl marry an Italian Catholic? Signed, M. P. Carnegie, PA. As Father Justyn saw it:

> There are no restrictions on Church grounds, […]. But if you asked my advice, honestly and openly I will tell you, that I would not advise any Polish girl to commit her life and happiness into the hands of a foreigner. I have seen too many complaints and grievances amongst these international, or rather mixed marriages.[26]

My interviews with the second generation of Polish-Americans suggested the motive of security as the main reason for maintaining an attitude of reserve towards the other nationalities on American soil.[27] The accepted wisdom among the multicultural neighborhoods generally upheld the conviction that their members were safer and better off by keeping to their own kind.

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[26] Figas, "Prawo i Zapłata Robotnika [*sic*] - P. O.," **MROJ,* 10 Jan. 1932, 10.

[27] Author interview with Fr. Marion Tolczyk O.F.M.Conv., 23 Feb. 2000, in Athol Springs N.Y. Fr. Marion Tolczyk was born in Bridgeport, CT.; Autor interview with Sophia Helfand, 13 March 2000, in Silver Spring MD. Sophia Helfand was born in Pennsylvania in Apr. 20. 1916.

Parental authority

Shortly before Christmas 1931, the theme of parental authority appeared in the program and in that program parents were admonished to give a good example to their children. But significantly, the first talk in the New Year 1932 was dedicated to this subject.[28] In the opinion of the Director, the young people of Polish descent were the healthiest and noblest in the United States.[29] This positive picture of the American born generation included the love of God, respect for parents, affection for siblings and neighbors, diligence and soberness. The ideal portrait of Polish-American youth projected on the air-waves was aimed at elevating their ethnic pride and certainly corresponded with the formation goals for the young generation. Did the portrait correspond with the reality? One should expect that a statement from a recognized authority reflected the true state of affairs with regard to the addressed group. However, there were no statistics provided in this matter, only an indication of worrying cracks in the affairs amongst youth, "But the ranks of this disciplined youth are becoming more and more lax, break and disintegrate."[30] At this point Father Justyn provided a list of evidence from the newspapers to show the growing problem of juvenile delinquency among the Polish-American community and the signs of generational conflict. A quote from a newspaper printed on 6 Dec. 1931 in New York described the action of a desperate Polish father who committed suicide on learning that his sixteen year old daughter escaped from home because of his old fashioned attitudes which limited her freedom. The daughter stated in a letter written to her mother that she would come back home only if the father left or

[28] Figas, "Nasza młodzież," **MROJ*, 3 Jan. 1932, 3-7.
[29] Ibid., 3.
[30] Ibid.

died.[31] The radio-priest identified the sources of these distressing incidents as parents, schools and the education system, theaters, newspapers and prohibition.

At this stage a noteworthy statement which appeared in the speech requires some explanation, "There is no true home today."[32] The strongly promoted view of Father Justyn of the "true home" was based on the family value system and was explained by the juxtaposition of two opposite views of home in the context of the family relationship. The first home was described as the sleeping place for the family: children were born in the hospitals, brought up on the streets and in schools; young people spent time in the factories, played in the halls and theaters, ate in hotels; family members were dying in hospitals and institutions, burials were conducted from funeral parlors. The second, "true home" was a place of gathering for the whole family and the daily chores were divided among all its members who looked after one another and were ready to help. At ten o'clock at night the family reinforced their spiritual unity by common prayer and went to rest. As a result of their actions parents in the true home asserted their authority over the formation of their children.

The talk "Our Youth" unveiled the typical style of Father Justyn's speeches in which he adopted a three-point method for dealing with a problem: first, reinforcement; second, solid evidence and respect for his audience; third, cure. Father Justyn linked the solution to the disintegration of the family to the very institutions which created the problem in the first place: home, family, theaters, newspapers and prohibition. The plan of action proposed by the radio-priest to the listeners was not successful in creating a

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[31] Ibid., 3-4.
[32] Ibid., 5.

movement or a new organization to coordinate the task. Father Justyn's appeal was directed to the good will of individuals and the family units. The Franciscan, who saw his broadcasting as a form of evangelizing, always set his ideas in the theological context which he saw reflected in all facets of the community which he wanted to get ahead and advance. Consequently, his objective was to build the home on the rock of God's commandments and Christian values.

- **Questions related to the problem of parental authority**

There was no general public reaction to the question of youth reflected in the Question Box during the broadcast season 1931-1932. This fact supports the basically positive condition of the Polish-American youth expressed in the talk "Our Youth." However, Father Justyn came back to the issue of generational conflict in the foreword to the talk "An Attempted Suicide" broadcast on 21 February 1932.[33] The talk was generally dedicated to the problem of suicide, but also included the topic of parental authority. A letter, written on 15 February 1931 by I. S. from Chicago and included in the foreword to the program, revealed the heartbreaking situation of a remorseful girl who escaped from home in order to be free to do what she pleased. At the end she was abandoned by her friends and came to the brink of suicide. In her letter she disclosed that her only hope was in the program to be aired on 21 February 1932, which could be her last day. Father Justyn decided to change the topic he prepared for that Sunday and attempted to answer the suicidal girl. He responded by analyzing the true life story of a young woman who survived an attempted suicide. The narrative showed causes of despair similar to those made known by the girl from Chicago, including the desire for

[33] Figas, "Niedoszła Samobójczyni [*sic*]," **MROJ*, 21 Feb. 1932, 2-7.

unbridled freedom and the rejection of the value system represented by her parents. The solution to the problem offered at that stage during the Rosary Hour was: return to "the old family values."

It is doubtful if the references to the old family values made a strong impression on the girl who rejected this value system by running from her family home. Certainly the fact of a well known radio-personality caring for her welfare could be of some help. The drama of the girl reflected the absence of the value system which she replaced with the attractive concept of freedom without taking responsibility for her own actions. It ended in a disaster. The story of the troubled girl also shows that her parents failed to pass on to her their own values and to motivate her to live accordingly in the new environment which was hostile to the traditional Polish family values. The suicidal girl represented a growing problem of a generation that was devoid of the Polish culture, not yet able to absorb the American culture and made judgments according to the new cultural criteria. At the beginning of the "Rosary Hour" Father Justyn did not absorb the idea of engaging in dialogue with the second generation on its own terms. Youth was still expected to think and act according to the "old family values."

Patriotism

The second talk of the broadcast season 1931-1932, "A Pole as an American Citizen," was dedicated to the issues of citizenship and nationality. The Director of the Rosary Hour explained his understanding of patriotism in terms of the cultural connection with Poland, the country of origin, along with political and social activity in the United States, the adopted fatherland. In his speeches Father Justyn often reminded the radio listeners how Poles expressed their loyalty to the new country and its government through their hard work and shedding blood during World War I. The theme of patriotism surfaced again on a number of occasions.

While talking on American patriotism Father Justyn expressed not only his own views but those held by a big section of Polish-Americans at that time. The value of patriotism, acclaimed in the talk "A Pole as an American Citizen," was articulated using the national American symbols represented by the star spangled banner, loyalty to the United States government and its laws. The foreword [34] to the talk "The Catholic Church and the Worker," directed the attention of the Polish-Americans to patriotism as expressed through social and political activity. This activity required the virtues of honesty, passion for truth and courage:

> […] under the slogan of patriotism, exploitation of not only the sweat but also the blood of workers, their wives' and children is practiced! Why not tell the truth to the citizens? […] it's time for the citizens' minds to waken up from their lethargy of indifference and negligence to get involved more genuinely with matters relating to the welfare of the country and the improvement of living standards! This is not only the citizen's right but also a duty![35]

[34] Figas, "Kościół Katolicki a Robotnik [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 14 Feb. 1932, 2-3.
[35] Ibid., 2.

Father Justyn addressed these words of encouragement to his compatriots whom he warned against developing the mentality of underdogs which he observed in some Polish-American organizations, "Remember, dear radio-listeners, the times of Prussian, Russian and Austrian slavery passed away. You are the American citizens."[36]

Polish patriotism, as Father Justyn regarded it, had its direct expression in learning the language and culture of the forefathers. Unquestionably, listening to a radio-broadcast in the Polish language gave the Polish-Americans an opportunity for weekly confirmation of their ties with the Old-Country. The Rosary Hour would frequently feature works of Polish writers, poets, composers and musicians. During the first season Father Justyn introduced his audience to the beautiful texts of the Nobel-prize winner, Henryk Sienkiewicz.[37] His world famous work *Quo Vadis* was used several times during the season to show the similarities between the Roman Empire ruled by Cesar Nero and some aspects of the reality experienced by the people in the Thirties.[38] The talk broadcast on 31 January made a comparison between Nero's Rome and the twentieth century. Father Justyn pointed to the similarities in the distribution of wealth to over one million poor slaves and workers in Rome compared with the two thousand extremely rich Romans; in 1931 there were over one hundred millions of poor people in the U.S. and 40 thousand millionaires. The foreword to the talk entitled, "Where do you go?" (a translation from the Latin title *Quo Vadis*), used the part of the famous novel which described the meeting of St. Peter with Jesus outside Rome. Further on in that program the radio-priest spoke of the grim economic and political situation of the country and of

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[36] Ibid., 3.
[37] Figas, "Chryste zmiłuj się," **MROJ,* 20 Mar. 1932, 3-7; Figas, "Zmartwychwstanie Pańskie i Nasze [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 27 Mar. 1932, 3-6.
[38] Figas, "Rzym Nerona a Wiek Dwudziesty[*sic*]," **MROJ,* 31 Jan. 1932, 3-6.

the world, asking this rhetorical question several times, “Where do you go?” “Looking at the international relations, I am asking ’states and nations where do you go?’”[39]

- **Questions related to patriotism**

The effectiveness of the talks delivered on the Rosary Hour could be measured by the responses of the radio listeners. The questions taken from the December 1932 talks, “I heard the Reverend Father speaking about the Polish maidens whose valor equals the world famous heroines. Where are such heroines?”[40] or “Why a Roman Catholic cannot be a good American citizen?,”[41] belonged to the domain of patriotic values. The struggle for Polish independence and its rebirth after WW I was frequently featured on the airwaves of the Rosary Hour. The Polish heroes represented the “virtues of forefathers” and were publicized on the program to evoke national pride in Polish-Americans and inspire them to active involvement in preserving the culture of their country of origin., In response to a listener, Father Justyn described the life of Zofia Prokopowicz, a female sergeant in the Polish Army, who fought for independence at the second battery led by Major Abraham. When describing the history of Miss Prokopowicz, Father Justin ignored the traditional system of "old family values" in which a woman's role consisted primarily of being involved in the interests of the family home. The story of Miss Prokopowicz suggests that Father Justin felt that duty to the country takes priority over the duty to the family regardless of gender. It was a statement going against the accepted standards of defining the role of women in society.

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[39] Figas, “Dokąd idziesz?,” **MROJ,* 17 Jan. 1932, 4.
[40] Figas, “Polak, jako obywatel amerykański - P. O.,” 13 Dec. 1931, 8: Appendix B2.
[41] Figas, “Boże Narodzenie - P. O.,” **MROJ,* 20 Dec. 1931, 7; Appendix B2.

Miss Prokopowicz was born in Lwów to a poor family. Since girlhood she liked to read stories about the Polish knights, and was a good pupil in school. Against the will of her parents she joined the ranks of the defenders of Lwów, her home town. After her transfer to a women's legion she became engaged and made plans for her wedding. On hearing the first news of the war with the Bolsheviks she bade farewell to her fiancée and went to defend Wilno. In a dramatic turn of events, when the Bolsheviks were getting ready to assault Warsaw, Miss. Prokopowicz was surrounded by Cossacks and was wounded near Płock. She was taken to a field hospital and died four weeks later. Her funeral gave the opportunity for a huge demonstration during which the inhabitants of Warsaw paid their respects to a heroic woman, a "child of Lwów." For people whose relatives and friends participated in the events described by the radio-priest the story provided a powerful boost to their morale. The choice of speeches included in the program aired on 13 December 1931, highlighted the importance of preserving national culture and being loyal to the adopted country, as expressed in the talk of that program "A Pole as an American Citizen" and in a response to a letter.

The next discussion of the problem of American citizenship was provoked by a question from a radio-listener on the following Sunday. The question echoed the talk "A Pole as an American Citizen," and referred to the views of "the one hundred percent Americans," who criticized the so called hyphenated Americans. The answer started with another question, "I am now not asking if a Roman Catholic could be a good American citizen, but I am asking when he was not and is he not a good citizen."[42] Additional explanation was provided from facts relating to the history of settlement of the English

[42] Figas, "Boże Narodzenie - P. O.," **MROJ,* 20 Dec. 1931, 7; Appendix B2.

Catholics in Maryland and those Catholics who proved their loyalty to the United States with their blood during World War I, by buying war bonds or paying taxes. In other countries, e.g., Poland, Marshal Piłsudski, a good friend of the Holy Father Pius XI and a Catholic, saved the country from the Bolsheviks and Germans. This last answer did not go down well with a person who signed himself as, J. Pszczółka, Parafianka (a parishioner) in a letter alleging inconsistency in the Radio Priest's reports on the relationship of Marshal Piłsudski and Mussolini with the Pope Pius XI. The correspondent requested a clarification of the Director's views on that matter on the radio and suggested that he keep religious subjects within the church walls and broadcast something more valuable. In his response on January 10, Father Justyn presented facts proving the close personal relationship between the people in question and made the distinction between personal friendship and religious or political differences. At this point Father Justyn admitted that Mr. Howell, a Protestant and mason, who owned the radio station used for broadcast of the Rosary Hour, was his personal friend. The Speaker went on to remind the author of the letter of his right to switch off the radio and of his own right, as the broadcaster, to talk about religion, "[…] thank God we are in America, not in Russia!"[43], said the priest, who was very annoyed and attacked the views and arrogance of the respondent with full force:

> You and your doubles want to prescribe for us what and where we should talk. You can't stand God's teaching about eternal life, conscience, death, hell; you and your doubles would wish to lock God in the church, yes, it would be more convenient for you to throw this God even from the church away overseas; you and your doubles dare to replace God with education, progress and culture.[44]

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[43] Figas, "Prawo i Zapłata Robotnika [*sic*]- P. O.," **MROJ,* 10 Jan. 1932, 8-9.
[44] Ibid., 9.

Father Justyn ended his response by putting in doubt the good will and honesty of the correspondent whose name and address proved false after it was checked. The above incident exposed a group of listeners identified on the program as "progressivists," who claimed to stand for education, progress and culture. Father Justyn believed that they hid moral decay and anti-Christian attitudes behind their formal, attractive statements, but regularly answered their queries and other questions referring to the patriotic themes in the Question Box.[45]

[45] Appendix B2.

Work

The fourth talk of the season, "A Communist Worker,"[46] handled the issue of class warfare. Father Justyn told the story of a Polish worker involved in a secret Communist organization which chose him to carry out a terrorist attack on a capitalist. The worker's situation became desperate: if he decided to obey his organization, the electric chair would await him; if he decided not to obey, he would be killed by his comrades. After building up the drama around the problem of struggle for social justice, the story line moved to the setting of the worker's family. The individual, listening to his children's evening prayer, was stimulated to think about his own attitudes to God, church and prayer. A long time ago he had embraced the new values of education, progress and culture. But now, in the battle between the Christian and Communist value systems that took place in the worker's mind, faith was victorious and the next morning the man went to confession. The ex-Communist made his choice and for disobeying his organization paid the automatic price of his life. The story stressed, in a strong way, three values important to Father Justyn: faith, social justice and family. By choosing faith the worker did not reject the value of social justice; he rejected murder and blood-shed as the means of achieving it.

The talk "A Communist Worker" introduced a very significant subject of social justice on the radio program, and included issues such as capital and labor, just wages and economic programs. The importance of the head of family having a job, was shown in January 1932 in the leading speech entitled "The Rights and Pay of the Worker."[47] Getting a job was very crucial for the new immigrants; getting a job during the

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[46] Figas, "Robotnik komunista," **MROJ,* 27 Dec. 1931, 3-6.
[47] Figas, "Prawo i Zapłata Robotnika [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 10 Jan.. 1932, 3-7.

depression was considered a blessing. This issue, which Father Justyn used in the foreword to the talk, was deeply felt by the Polish-American families: the image of a father and his three small children who came to the church of Corpus Christi in Buffalo to pray at the manger. The children said the "Hail Mary" aloud and added at the end, "Jesus, give our daddy a job and employment." [48] In this case and in many other settings, the family was reacting to the issues of work and salary like a very sensitive instrument measuring the social situation. This data was recorded at the emotional level of relationships within every family unit and expressed in various forms among all its members. Father Justyn himself was an acute observer of social matters and how they affected society and individuals. He was very much concerned with the danger of social unrest, which posed the threat of bloodshed and could directly affect the people whom he served and with whom he identified. The Radio Priest rejected revolution and violence as a form of achieving social justice and securing the rights of workers. Both the Communist revolution and the exploitation of the worker by capitalists were evils which had to be condemned and removed from the social map because both were immoral. At the point of discussing the just wage the priest and advocate of the working class stated very clearly, "How much more above his own subsistence a worker should receive? The amount should be sufficient to support the worker's family without the need for his wife and small children to work on regular basis![49] To support his statement Father Justyn quoted parts of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, on the condition of workers by Pope Leo XIII and from the Bible.

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[48] Ibid., 2.
[49] Ibid., 4.

The reaction to the talk "The Rights and Pay of the Worker" was overwhelming. During a period of two weeks, listeners from over four hundred towns and cities sent letters and comments on working class matters to the office of the Rosary Hour.[50] The Director of the radio program responded swiftly with a talk, "Care for the Worker," reflecting the method adopted during the first season of broadcasts for choosing topics for the talks. The method was based on a form of interaction between the producer and his audience. Clement Jarnot, O.F.M.Conv., a biographer of Father Justyn, noted that Father Justyn was able to speak and write with outstanding style, force and grace, but his strength lay in his oratory.[51] The convincing and inspiring speech which triggered the surge of correspondence had to be revisited. In the span of two weeks the audience listened again to discussions on the topic which informed hundreds of thousands of people of the situation. The best way to emphasize a problem and make the connection with the listeners was to illustrate it as a true fact. The time of recession was full of collective and individual dramas and offered plenty of examples to choose from, so the talk "Care for the Worker"[52] included the following incident taken from a news paper, "A Polish daily *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* from fifth of January 1932, reports on a sad event:" Adam Purecki, a worker and ex-serviceman. Purecki who died in a prison hospital, of wounds inflicted in fight with the police.[53] Purecki, continued the Speaker, was an ordinary, quiet, respectable man. When the war broke out, Purecki did not seek protection or try to avoid military conscription, but went to fight under the star-spangled

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[50] Figas, "Opieka nad robotnikiem," **MROJ,* 24 Jan. 1932, 2.
[51] Clement R. Jarnot, O.F.M.Conv., "The very Reverend Justin M. Figas, OFMConv., S.T.D., D.P., D.G.; His life and Accomplishments." (M.A. and S. thesis, St. Bonaventure University,St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1971), 29-30.
[52] Figas, "Opieka nad robotnikiem," **MROJ,* 24 Jan.. 1932, 3-7.
[53] Ibid., 3.

banner. After the war finished he returned to Chicago, saved money from his hard work, got married, bought a home, raised his family and was happy. But the depression came; in fact, it did not come, it was imposed on us by those who during the war made fortunes on the exploitation of such people as Purecki who lost his job. Eventually, Purecki lost his home, in which he had invested life savings. The repossession order put Purecki, his wife and children on the street. Purecki decided to defend his home. He ordered his family out, barricaded himself inside the house and when the police came he refused to give in. Shots were fired; Purecki was wounded and died in the prison hospital. This short story painted in plain Polish a vivid picture of the injustice that was endemic in society.

Another letter selected for quotation on the same program demonstrated the typical experience of an unemployed person and at the same time showed the sensitivity of Father Director towards the troubles suffered by so many, "Before me is lying a letter written by Mr. S. K. from Lincoln Park, Michigan. Listen: 'I am 46 years old and have lived in America since 1902. I am a father of four children, for whom I cannot provide. […].'"[54] This talk, aimed for a second time at just wages, added the issue of economic programs. The plan for reform laid down by Father Justyn before the listeners was introduced by two statements: a worker's salary should support the family; citizens owning small businesses should be protected by the federal government against the big corporations. The government should engage in a five point plan, announced the Speaker: 1) Reduce the workload of women and children in order to safeguard the quality of family life. 2) Reduce the length of the work day. 3) Introduce health and safety regulations in the work place. 4) Establish industrial inspectors. 5) Create a social

[54] Ibid., 4.

security system to deal with cases of unemployment. Father Justyn did not trust the effectiveness of labor unions. His mistrust was based on his suspicion that some of the workers' unions leaders were involved in the international Communist movement and were not serving the best interests of the working class. The discourse ended in a mixed patriotic and dramatic tone, "The basis of the American nation is this incalculable number of folks, who as Leo XIII wrote in 1891, live a discriminated life unworthy of a human being."[55]

As mentioned before, one of the characteristic features of the Rosary Hour was the interaction between the producer and his audience. Quite often, the respondents to the program did not share the same opinions as its author. Nevertheless, they were listened to and their points were presented on the radio-waves. This way the program was not limited only to proclaiming the teaching of the Church on moral issues but often turned into a platform for a public debate on various social issues. On 14 February 1932, Father Justyn began his talk by citing a letter from a correspondent who lived in Detroit:

> I am surprised and I am asking, since what time all churches generally and the Roman-Catholic Church in particular, have been involved in taking care of the workers and the poor, oppressed man? Why this sudden change of front and this criticism of the government and capitalism, when the facts from the past centuries show something different? For a clear thinking man it is apparent that politics, capitalism and the church create and have always created a very solid team. Is it not a little too late to persuade the people, that the church feels for the misfortune of the worker?[56]

Certainly, it was obvious to the Radio Priest that it was not only this single respondent who shared that view on the issue, so he decided to publicize the question. Father Justyn based the line of defense of the Church in regard to its attitude to the workers and work

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[55] Ibid., 7.
[56] Figas, "Kościół Katolicki a Robotnik [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 14 Feb. 1932, 3.

on the text from the Gospel of St. Matthew,[57] which described the owner of a vineyard who hired workers and at the end of the day paid their salary, no matter how many hours they had actually worked. The conclusion was: work for all and pay for all. After revealing the works of the Church in the past in building a just society the Speaker highlighted the teachings of the pope Leo XIII and his concept of Catholic trade unions.[58]

The Polish immigrants did not have their own ethnic unions supporting them in their industrial struggles. So the producer of the Rosary Hour felt obliged to fill in the gap and warn his compatriots against the modern Judases. "Modern Judases"[59] was a talk delivered in March 1932. Its main point was to send a message of warning against joining those workers' unions which did not represent the best interests of their members and were unreasonable in their demands against the employers. The criticism of the unions focused on the non-Christian background of their leaders and unclear programs. After that the Radio Priest pointed his finger at the tactics of the American Federation of Labor**.** He explained on his program how the leaders of the A.F.L. contradicted themselves by first rejecting the social security plan for workers at its last convention and then sending a letter to the president of the United States expressing their concern at the action of the Congress which passed the bill to bail out the banks and corporations for billions of dollars while stopping short of passing a similar bill to help the unemployed. Leaving the unions aside, Father Justyn went on to condemn from his microphone the unscrupulous businessmen and politicians who created misery for millions of regular Americans. To support his claim he quoted the authority of the church articulated in the encyclical

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[57] Mt 20, 1-16.
[58] Figas, "Kościół Katolicki a Robotnik [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 14 Feb. 1932, 5.
[59] Figas, "Nowocześni Judasze," **MROJ,* 6 Mar. 1932, 3-8.

Quadragesimo Anno of Pope Pius XI on the reconstruction of the social order, issued in 1931.

For the founder of the Rosary Hour communism was the antithesis of social justice and of all values he considered fundamental to Christianity and Western Civilization. The Depression in the United States germinated the sympathy of masses of working class people towards the state of the Bolsheviks in Russia. Father Justyn shared the concerns of the working class but decisively condemned the methods used by the Communists in achieving the legitimate rights of the workers. The priest used one of his speeches from March 1932, "The Bolshevik's Eden,"[60] to emphasize the contrast between the official propaganda of the Communist state and the actual reality. The political terror, state control of the economy, religious persecution and false ideology led the whole country to an economic disaster and often to starvation in many regions. Family values were undermined by the Soviets. Men and women lived together in irregular relationships without taking responsibility for their children who were cared for in public institutions. Regardless of that situation the Bolsheviks received international support from some American banks, newspapers and individuals.[61] The point of the speech was to make listeners aware of the danger of "doomed to failure" Communist ideology which could bring blood and destruction to the American shores. People had to resist the actions of the revolutionary activists in their ranks and choose the true teaching of Christ and the banner of the Cross instead of the Bolshevik banner. .

- **Questions related to the issue of work**

Measuring by the amount of mail received, the talk that had the biggest effect on

[60] Figas, "Raj bolszewicki," **MROJ,* 13 Mar. 1932, 3-8.
[61] Ibid., 6.

the radio-listeners in the 1931-1932 season was "The Rights and Pay of the Worker." People from over four hundred towns and cities reacted spontaneously to the topic which reflected and highlighted their deeply felt concerns.[62] The response prompted Father Justyn to speak again on the subject on several occasions. Out of the twenty talks delivered on the radio in 1932, six were dedicated to problems affecting the working class. This involvement in working class problems provoked some people to consider the Director of the radio-program as a socialist. A certain B.F.L. from Chicago wrote directly to Father Justyn to ask him, "In my circles some people say that you Father Justyn are not a Roman-Catholic priest, but a socialist. Is it true?"[63] The addressee first explained the Christian nature of his teachings on social justice and then, with his own typical sense of humor, he invited the doubters to Buffalo to get acquainted. However, he felt that the public needed to know more about the nature of the messages being sent to the radio station. On the following Sunday, the priest talked about the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and by those who were supposed to defend them, the unions. His own role was that of a trusted negotiator between the capitalist and the worker who were divided by a wall of mutual suspicion. The priest's respect for people and his well-researched speeches and answers earned the program and its author a great deal of popularity and support. The total number of letters received at the end of first network season, 1931-1932, was more than 120 thousand[64] and the content of a good number of them were about social issues, which were discussed at that time in many venues e.g.:

- Father Justyn, haven't you missed the truth, when you talked about the people sinking ships with coffee and fruits, to keep up its prices? Signed, I.P.,

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[62] Figas, "Opieka nad robotnikiem," **MROJ,* 24 Jan. 1932, 2.
[63] Figas, "Rzym Nerona a Wiek Dwudziesty[*sic*] - P. O.," **MROJ,* 31 Jan. 1932, 8.
[64] Jan Książek, O.F.M.Conv., *Father Justin Rosary Hour*, 255.

Hamtramck, MI. Talk "Nero's Rome and the Twentieth Century," 31 Jan. 1932. ref. "Where do you go?," p. 4.

- Is it right for the workers to strike? Signed, P.K., Detroit. Talk "The Catholic Church and the Worker," 14 Feb. 1932. Talk "An Attempted Suicide," 21 Feb. 1932.
- Why do you Father Justyn not tell publicly that only the unions can help the workers? Signed, L.B., Dickson City, PA., 14 February 1932. Talk "An Attempted Suicide," 21 February 1932.

Raising working class problems on a Catholic radio-program took some people by surprise and irritated some of those in circles which attempted to organize the Polish-American workers into a movement based on Communist ideas. One of the groups that was active in this area was the Polska Centrala Robotnicza (Polish Workers Agency) which publicized its views in socialist news papers, e.g., the Detroit based *Trybuna Robotnicza* (*Workers' Tribune*).[65] Some letters included in the speeches or in the Question Box revealed the existence of a group of critics of Father Justyn:

> Father Justyn, nobody liked your talk on Sunday, 13 March, because of your condemnation of Bolsheviks. Here we are all Bolsheviks. Only the capitalists who have enough money are good and without sin and without confession and live like human beings. Now we will become the Bolsheviks. There is no other way in our lives, because people will be hungry and naked and will join the Bolsheviks if not this year, surely it will be next year. Bolshevism will be here. People cannot find another way but Bolshevism. Respectfully, Mr. Mądrala, Pittsburgh.[66]

Father Justyn's sharp reply left no doubts as to his perspective on the future of Bolshevism in America, "There will be no Bolshevism in America, because the citizens love their country too much."[67]

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[65] Ks.Tadeusz Zasępa, *Emigracyjni katecheci,* 23.
[66] Figas, "Matka zbrodni - P. O.," **MROJ,* 10 Apr. 1932, 8-9.
[67] Ibid., 8-9.

Soberness

Soberness as a family virtue had a special meaning in the United States of America after the Anti-Saloon League and other organizations, e.g., Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Prohibition Party, successfully lobbied for a Prohibition Law enshrined in the Constitution with the passing of the 18th Amendment in 1919. Father Justyn introduced himself in a talk entitled, "A Noble Experiment,"[68] aired on 3 April 1932, as an open enemy of drunkenness and prohibition; the Prohibition Law was repealed in 1933. The virtue of soberness was presented on the first and second programs as an important ingredient in family unity, but the radio-priest identified soberness with moderation and decisively rejected prohibition as the mother of crime. The evidence against the 18th Amendment was highlighted on the program dedicated to youth earlier that year and especially on two programs broadcast in April. The fact of widespread home brewing of the so called "moonshine" exposed the younger generation and women to drinking alcoholic beverages. The consequences of drunkenness were tragic and were explained to the listeners of the Rosary Hour by vivid examples of the marriages and families broken by alcohol abuse in a talk entitled, "Father Drunkard-Mother Drunkard."[69]

- **Questions related to soberness**

During the season 1931-1932, there were a few questions sent in about the issue of soberness. J. B. from Detroit wanted to know whether it was a sin to brew vodka at home.[70] Another query from Detroit by L. U., concerned the attitude of the Catholic

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[68] Figas, "Szlachetny eksperyment," **MROJ,* 3 Apr. 1932, 3-8.
[69] Figas, "Ojciec-pijak; Matka-pijac[z]ka [sic]," **MROJ,* 17 Apr. 1932, 3-8.
[70] Figas, "Opieka nad robotnikiem - P. O.," **MROJ,* 24 Jan. 1932, 10.

Church to Prohibition.[71] The first answer was, no, but for breaking the law one could go to prison; in the matter raised in the second question, the answer given was that the Church had no comment to make. This response to the subject did not mean that there was no problem of drunkenness among the Polish-American community during the last years of Prohibition; there was evidence on the Rosary Hour showing the opposite. It seems that people preferred rather not to discuss that topic publicly. The reason for that could be related to the popular resentment felt towards the unpopular prohibition law which crossed the racial, ethnic and religious boundaries. Father Justyn, who so vehemently criticized the prohibition law, was also vigorously speaking against drunkenness, which he linked to the prohibition law. Therefore, he saw prohibition as the main reason for the abuse of alcohol in the United States and the abusers as victims of the bad law rather than as offenders. Another reason for the lack of public response to the problem of alcohol abuse among the Polish-Americans on the Rosary Hour was social acquiescence to getting drunk. This problem, however, although causing concern, did not grow into a major issue among the Polish-American communities.

[71] Figas, "Niedoszła Samobójczyni [*sic*] - P. O.," **MROJ,* 21 Feb. 1932, 10.

Summary

Before launching the Rosary Hour network radio program on 6th of December 1931, Father Justyn had experience as a radio broadcaster in Buffalo. His first radio talk in 1926 was on divorce and family matters, which remained the main focus of the programs broadcast through the network system after 1931. So, the analyses of the topics raised during the first year of the network broadcasting season are of fundamental importance to this research which aims at establishing that Father Justyn's list of priority topics chosen for the radio talks were appropriate as reflected in the responses from the radio listeners. Among the main themes which came to light in the first season were faith and marriage unity, parental authority and youth, patriotism, work and social justice and finally soberness.

The top three family values described and developed on the Rosary Hour in the season 1931-1932 were: faith, work and patriotism. Father Justyn regarded these three values as fundamental to the wellbeing of every family and to the whole value system brought over from the Old-Country. So, the task of the Rosary Hour was focused on the promotion of the old family values which could be practiced in the safe environment of the Church represented by the local parish, Catholic education and ethnic neighborhood. As Father Justyn saw it, the liberal attitudes of American culture towards marriage and family and the hostility towards ethnic cultures were undermining the old family values which were based on Christian principals. He saw the second generation as being the most vulnerable to the threat coming from the host country culture. As a remedy, he offered cultural pluralism and the participation by the different ethnic groups in the United States in the civic and economic life of the new country.

The response from the radio listeners was wide and reflected the personal interests of the listeners - all together about 120 thousand listeners' letter were sent into the Rosary Office during the first season. Of course it was impossible to respond to all of the letters during such a short time. Father Justyn made the selection of letters himself. Some letters, relevant to the subject discussed on a given broadcast, were quoted during the foreword or within the program. It appears that the most overwhelming response from the radio listeners came after the talk "The Rights and Pay of the Worker" broadcast in January 1932. So, this reaction provides evidence confirming that work and the issue of social justice were the main concerns of the Polish-American communities at the beginning of the thirties. Father Justyn regarded these issues as integral to the wellbeing of the family and providing a safe environment for its growth. The open question at this stage of research is: Did the radio listeners to the Rosary Hour see the issues of work and social justice in the same way as Father Justyn intended his listeners to see them?

Chapter Four: Faith, Marriage and Superstition:
Reinforcing the Christian Values Among the Polish-Americans

The second broadcasting season exposed the financial volatility of the Rosary Hour and the determination of Father Justyn to continue the radio program against all obstacles. After a temporary halt in broadcasting the Rosary Hour, from the middle of December 1932 until the end of February 1933, the program resumed transmission on 5 March 1933. The Rosary Hour did not change its character and continued to focus on religious and social matters. Father Justyn believed that religion always had to be part of private and public life. In practice, his view did not mean that only religious topics were aired on the radio program. Other topics on different social issues were included in the program but were always based on the Christian value system. Chapter Four will focus on the three topics, faith, superstition and marriage. The aim of the first part of the chapter is to present the main theological themes raised during the broadcasts. The second part shows deviations of faith. The intention of the third part is to reveal Father Justyn's vision on marriage as it developed during the Thirties. The basic source material for this part of the research has been selected from the Rosary Hour talks and questions from the Question Box. The questions included in the first part of the chapter have been selected according to the criteria of their relevance to faith. The criteria applied to the selection of the questions for the second part included predominantly the enquiries of the radio listeners about the issue of superstition. Similar criteria were applied in the third part to the issue of Catholic marriage.

Faith

1932-1933

The second season of the Rosary Hour featured only two broadcasts dedicated specifically to religious themes, "Do you Love God? "on 12 March 1933 and an Easter celebration topic, "The Lord of Death" on 16 April 1933. The first talk continued the theme of the necessity to express faith through works, a subject initiated during the broadcast season of 1931-1932 in Question Box as already discussed in Chapter Three. A new aspect added to the theme identified immediate family members as the first recipients of the New Testament's Commandment of Love.

The examination of the letters sent during this period shows several religious topics highlighted on the radio waves: religion versus science, creationism, sacraments, Catholic saints, salvation only within the Catholic Church, secularism, religious devotions, human and animal soul. Judging by the subject matter raised by the questions, the main catechetical subject of "faith expressed through works" discussed by Father Justyn over two broadcast seasons, 1931-1932 and 1932-1933, initiated a significant discussion on the level of religious values and attitudes within a family unit in the areas of marriage and parental authority, which will be examined in the third part of this chapter and chapters V and VII. The listeners signaled also through their correspondence what seemed to be major areas of their spiritual struggle, namely: "religion versus science" and "salvation only within the Catholic Church." One of the listeners from Detroit articulated his doubts by writing to the Rosary Hour, "Science proved disparity with religion, did it not?"[1] This statement indicated tension caused by a clash between the

[1] Figas, "Nieznani żołnierze - P. O.," *MROJ*, 21 May 1933, 181; Appendix C1.

traditional religious culture of the majority of Polish immigrants, and the American secular public sphere. One of the areas of this encounter was the public educational system, which fundamentally was non-religious. Though the Polish ethnic parishes made an enormous effort in maintaining the religion-based school system, many Polish-American parents would send their children to the public schools for a number of reasons, e.g., they could not afford to pay fees or they considered the public school education as more helpful in upward mobility. Some parents, however, opposed the religious ethos of the parochial schools. "Why waste time teaching children Catechism in the Polish schools? There are other more valuable things to learn," stated a radio listener from Toronto.[2] Another category of letters reflected a growing interaction of the Polish Catholic families with members of different religious denominations, "Can only the adherents to the Roman Catholic Religion be saved, and the adherents to other religions, even though they are most honest and most noble, condemned?"[3]

1933-1934

At the beginning of the broadcast season 1933-1934, Father Justyn focused his attention on a new topic. To the religious themes of old Polish virtues, crisis of faith, conversion, sects, practical faith, the role of ethnic culture in practicing religion and liturgical calendar observances already spoken about on the radio program he added the issue of materialism. The problem of materialism had already surfaced on previous programs, but on 22 October 1933 it was discussed at length. In the foreword to the main talk Father Justyn gave a short history of slavery which he called one of the greatest plagues of humanity. He observed that, as in the past, people were forced into slavery, so

[2] Figas, "Pan śmierci - P. O.," *MROJ*, 16 Apr. 1933, 122; Appendix C1.
[3] Figas, "Marnotrawni! - P. O.," *MROJ*, 27 Nov. 1932, 15-16; Appendix C1.

in contemporary times they would willingly subdue themselves to the power of the dollar, which became their almighty lord and the only goal and happiness of life.[4]

In order to present a clear picture of the complex problem of materialism the listeners to the Rosary Hour were offered a story in the talk "Almighty God or Almighty Dollar," which presented a scene set in a bank where Father Justyn had a conversation with two characters who held opposite views on the role of money in their lives. An elderly man who was rather unable to adjust to the times he lived in, when asked about his wellbeing answered, "I do not belong to this generation; years ago there was time for the rosary and for dance. Today the rosaries went to fire and people went to dance as if they intended to break their backs."[5] Suddenly, as the story unfolded, a fashionably dressed man, described by Father Justyn as a typical, average and little bit arrogant American citizen, joined in the conversation with a scornful smile on his lips. This man pulled a twenty dollar bank note out of his pocket and holding it in front of the priest said, "This is my emblem, my standard and my God!"[6] The tension provoked by juxtaposing the two opposite characters certainly created disquiet in anticipation of the conclusion to the story, which was provided by a quotation from the New Testament, "No one can serve two masters […]."[7]

What followed during the latter part of the radio talk was the disclosure of Father Justyn's personal views on the reasons for, and consequences of, embracing the materialistic culture of American society. As Father Justyn saw it, the turning point in the

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[4] Figas, "Wszechmocny Bóg czy wszechmocny dolar?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 22 Oct. 1933, 13.
[5] Ibid., 14.
[6] Ibid., 14-19.
[7] No one can serve two masters. He will either hate one and love the other, or be devoted to one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon. Mat 6:24, NAB.

life of American society was the year when the stock exchange collapsed in Wall Street. Before the financial collapse the majority of people allowed themselves to be dragged along by the general current of thoughtlessness and greed like the violent waters of the Niagara River heading to the abyss of its waterfall. The people rejected all moral and religious considerations in the process of getting richer. Millions of dollars were lost in bogus companies and phony businesses. Father Justyn commented, "This unbridled craving for gold and money was mercilessly weakening the American society. Injustice, lack of conscientiousness, meanness, mercilessness and lack of pity, brutality were spreading in the body of our society like a cancer."[8] Eventually the nation grew not only in arrogance but also in pride and rejected God, who blessed America so richly, in its schools, families and public sphere. Suddenly, this dollar, which had promised so much years ago, slipped from the hands of its worshipers and left despair in their minds. Consequently many people suffered – the unjust with the just. Some of the people recognized a sign from God in their experience of the four years of economic depression and opened their eyes on the real cause of crisis. Others still blamed God's Providence for their misfortunes, observed the Speaker.

At the end of the program Father Justyn offered the listeners to the Rosary Hour two pieces of advice for coping with the difficult times. First, he encouraged people to genuinely trust in God by reminding them of the words of Christ who called to himself "all who labor and are heavily burdened."[9] In his explanation of the text from the New Testament, Father Justyn made it clear that money was the tool, not the goal, of life.

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[8] Figas, "Wszechmocny Bóg czy wszechmocny dolar," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 22 Oct. 1933-1934, 15.
[9] Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you rest. Take my joke upon you and learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart; and you will find rest for your selves. Mat 11:28-29, NAB.

Second, for the first time in the history of the Rosary Hour, Father Justyn openly supported President Roosevelt and his plan of economic recovery. To his listeners Father Justyn endorsed the President as a leader whose mission was to lead the nation out of chaos. [10] This was an important announcement by the priest who put his ecclesiastical authority behind the federal government and the head of state. This broadcast certainly angered some critics of the Rosary Hour and prompted them to accuse Father Justyn of betraying the interests of the working class. In anticipation of the reactions of his adversaries Father Justyn, during the same broadcast, appealed to the listening workers to refrain from strikes, which he warned "would only obstruct economic recovery and undermine the authority of the President." (The issue of work and the working class will be discussed later, in the chapter on patriotism).

The practical advice given to the audience on how to cope with the economic depression resulted in responses from the listeners seeking advice on social, political and economic issues from the "trusted source." Out of presumably many letters, Father Justyn chose the following to read on the November programs, "Did N.R.A. do anything good for the workers?"[11] - from Buffalo, and the next one from Chicago, "Is the N.R.A. staff working for free or for salary?"[12] On this field Father Justyn was very careful not to express his personal views, for the reason of avoiding being accused for taking sides on a controversial political issue. Instead he provided the statistics produced by Frances Perkins, the United States Secretary of Labor. The statistics were not showing a breakthrough in fighting the economic crisis by the N.R.A.; nonetheless, Father Justyn

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[10] Figas, "Wszechmocny Bóg czy wszechmocny dolar?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 22 Oct. 1933-1934, 18.
[11] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 53; Appendix C1.
[12] Figas, "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov. 1933-1934, 88; Appendix C1.

called for patience, which in fact was on his side a guarded act of support of the government's initiative.

In a talk on God's justice, delivered on 18 February 1934, Father Justyn initiated the topic of people challenging the authority of God by blasphemy and experiencing what he called God's punishment. [13] In one of the stories aired on that program Father Justyn shared what he heard from a woman whose husband was blasphemous and a drunkard. In addition the man physically abused his pious wife for any word of admonition she uttered. Eventually his wife left him. After two years of separation a telegram arrived at her door step informing her that her husband was in the hospital in one of the cities in the West and that he wanted to see her. On arrival she saw him lying in bed with a swollen, bandaged head. His lips were painfully and slowly opening without any sound, blood was abundantly trickling from them; his tongue was missing. A nurse explained to the shocked woman what had happened to her husband. While working at a machine he opened his mouth and spoke blasphemous words; suddenly the belt slipped from the machine, entangled with his tongue and pulled it from his mouth.

Other talks during the broadcast season of 1933-1934 focused on the main religious feasts: "The Bethlehem Crib,"[14] "The Old and the New Year,"[15] "From Gethsemane to Calvary,"[16] "Resurrection."[17] In the talk "Today I Believe,"[18] broadcast on 10 December, Father Justyn revisited the problem of crisis of faith and returning to

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[13] Figas, "Sprawiedliwość Boża," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 18 Feb. 1933-1934, 85-90.
[14] Figas, "Stajenka betlejemska," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 24 Dec. 1933-1934, 136-143.
[15] Figas, "Stary i nowy rok," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 31 Dec. 1933-1934, 148-153.
[16] Figas, "Od Ogrójca do Kalwarii," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 3 Mar. 1933-1934, 157-162.
[17] Figas, "Rezurekcja," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 4 Apr. 1933-1934, 170-175.
[18] Figas, "Dziś wierzę," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1933-1934, 108-115.

God, as discussed in the 1931-1932 season. [19] Again he used the real life story of a man who lost his faith and returned to religious practices after experiencing the hardships of war:

> Before the war Bolek Froncki belonged to a godless people. He never said his prayers, never went to church, devoured meat on the Fridays of Lent and scorned all religions as if he was a mason or a Moscovite nihilist. Practically, he wasn't a typical "lost sheep," but clearly an obstinate ram.[20]

In a few sentences Father Justyn managed to sketch out a character representation of the rebellious Polish young men of the pre World War I generation. The use of simple language and expressions, popular among the peasant and working class people, made the story interesting from the beginning and kept the audience alert and awaiting the conclusion. The character, from a story written by the Polish author Szczepkowski, was a soldier fighting Bolsheviks in the ranks of the Fifth Polish Division in Siberia.[21] By witnessing the horrors of war and escaping almost certain death several times the hero of the narrative became a spiritually changed man. Father Justyn saw this story as appealing to the pre World War I generation and serving a deeper purpose than merely being a sentimental reminder of the sufferings of the soldiers during the past military conflict. After capturing the listeners' attention Father Justyn challenged them with the following words, "At one time Bolek did not believe – today he believes. How many do we have among us of those who once believed and now do not believe?"[22] The statement which immediately followed the above sentence during that broadcast was very significant and

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[19] Figas, "Powrót do Boga," **MROJ,* vol. 2, 7 Feb. 1932, 3-6.
[20] Figas, "Dziś wierzę," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1933-1934, 108.
[21] "Polish 5th Rifle Division," *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_5th_Rifle_Division (accessed June 8. 2009). Polish 5th Siberian Rifle Division (Polish: *5. Dywizja Strzelców Polskich*; also known as the *Siberian Division* and *Siberian Brigade*) was a Polish military unit formed in 1919 in Russia. The division fought during the Polish-Bolshevik War, but as it was attached to the White Russian formations, it is considered to have fought more in the Russian Civil War.
[22] Figas, "Dziś Wierzę," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1933-1934, 113.

potentially risky to the authority and respect in which Father Justyn was held among the Polish Americans:

> Nobody should be surprised that those born and reared here are like that, because Americans of Polish descent, although they cast off everything that smacks of the Polish spirit, they remain faithful to some rules which they have suckled from their Polish mothers' breasts, particularly the rule of praising and absorbing what is alien, without knowing what really belongs to them and what treasures they already own.[23]

After being so blunt with his listeners in one statement, he immediately exposed in the next statement a similar antireligious disposition among some immigrants from Poland, "One should not be surprised to see those who, years ago arrived here from Poland, lost their faith, rejected the customs intertwined with faith and turned into the apostles of a strange enlightenment and an even stranger progressivism."[24] This critical description of the attitudes of some Polish-Americans towards faith and national tradition suggests there was a growing crisis of faith among the first and second generations of immigrants.[25] The context of the radio program during which Father Justyn pronounced his strong statements pointed to the crisis of faith problem discernible among certain groups in the Polish American community. During this broadcast Father Justyn identified a man, Witold Skierniewski, who embodied the phenomenon and quoted fragments from a letter written by him in Detroit and dated 12 November 1933. The author of the letter was publicly known for his anti-Catholic views, "The Holy Scriptures is the fundamental teaching of the Church, not the declarations of Councils like the Council of Trent,"[26] was one among a number of the anti-Catholic views held by Skierniewski; therefore Father

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[23] Ibid., 113.
[24] Ibid.
[25] This observation is also supported by findings of Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant*, vol. II, 1280-1302.
[26] Figas, "Dziś wierzę," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1933-1934, 113.

Justyn decided to confront him publicly and rebuff his "false views and unfounded allegations," as he viewed them.[27]

A new development in the Rosary Hour was that of using quotations that were extracted from the letters sent to Father Justyn. On the one hand this change reflected a growing interest in the Rosary Hour program and on the other hand, Father Justyn's deep knowledge of the issues discussed on the radio program, and also his judgment as to the value and representativeness of the quoted texts and their reception by the large audience. The critics of the Rosary Hour Director responded to his views either in the Polish-American press or on ethnic radio stations. The criticisms were voiced by members of different denominations of Polish descent, sympathizers of communism or Americanizers and will be discussed later.

The talk "Today I Believe" ended with the reading of two testimonies on returning to the faith as expressed in the letters sent to the Rosary Hour. The man from Detroit who mailed a letter dated 26 November 1933, admitted to giving up prayer, fasts and Sunday duty after being scorned for his religious practices by his coworkers. His conversion came when the man lost his savings and found himself in hospital. The second letter, dated 15 November 1933, showed a man who had not practiced his religion for eighteen years and eventually became a criminal. On hearing Father Justyn's talk about a sinner who went to confession at the request of his mother, the author of the letter remembered the request of his own mother on her death bed and changed his life.

The testimonies read during the talk "Today I Believe," reveal the existence of correspondence which focused on the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The letters

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[27] Ibid.

included in the Question Box of that season did not refer directly to the talks given on the principal articles of faith presented in the season 1933-1934 but repeated the issues from the previous broadcasting season. They also revealed certain religious attitudes of some individuals and groups of Polish-Americans, e.g., rejection of faith and religious practices, lack of reverence for the Church's ceremonies - which was a sign of lack of personal faith. The forceful personality of Father Justyn with his tendency to be in charge in the matters he considered to be under his authority had also shown up while he was answering a question of a listener from Chicago. "I belong to a parish choir; when I go to sing at High Mass on Sunday, I can listen to Mass very little, because some singers converse all the time in the gallery. During the sermon the bachelors and spinsters walk out for a smoke. Would you call this a Catholic custom and is it respectable to belong to such a choir?" Father Justyn shared with his audience in a witty way an account of his own confrontation with the choir at Corpus Christi Parish in Buffalo,

> It is obvious that the Polish parish choirs from Chicago and Buffalo can kiss each other. […] A few years ago I dared, regardless of the personalities involved, to criticize quite sharply the choir in Corpus Christi parish (in Buffalo) because, at High Mass on Sunday, the singers behaved as senators and congressmen in Washington. They not only conversed loudly, but also walked out for a single shot with pepper or two long ones; the decent, singing brotherhood became offended and even some contraltos went on strike out of sympathy for the tenors; some sopranos kept quiet; the female soloist did not show up because of the absence of the male soloists, etc. I thought that I would be pressed to sing all the Mass, not only with my baritone voice but with my ram's voice. Fortunately there were some reasonable males and females and diplomatic relationships improved. Today it is a little better, but still far away from the ideal. Singers, try to understand that when you are singing you are praying twice, but this does not give you the right to turn the choir area into a theater or a social hall.[28]

[28] Figas, "Łzy ludzkie," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Jan. 1933-1934, 23; Appendix C1.

Although Father Michael Cieslik, O.F.M.Conv., was pastor of Corpus Christi parish,[29] where the incident with the choir took place, his provincial Father Justyn did not hesitate to assume the leadership role and take direct action to deal with the problem. This meant that he publicly scorned the members of the choir for disrespectful behavior during the liturgy. It seems that this patriarchal style of dealing with the issues involving members of the parish community was generally practiced and was a generally accepted way of acting by the priests in Polish-American communities.

However, the regular members of the parishes were quick to object to the abuse of power by their spiritual leaders as evidenced in a question sent by a listener from Milwaukee, "Is it in accordance with the rules of the Roman Catholic Church to request a certain sum of money for absolution and to collect the entry fee to the church as in theaters?"[30] Father Justyn was appalled on reading about the practice of charging for absolution and confirmed that it would be a grave sin if something like that happened, but he doubted that the incident had really taken place. He implied that there could be a possible refusal of an Easter Confession card to those who did not pay their parish dues. The practice of an Easter Confession card in the pastoral tradition in Poland and among the Polish immigrants was to encourage fulfilling the duty of confession once a year - one of the Church's Laws. Answering the issue of a church entrance fee, Father Justyn explained that the collection of "a few cents" was justifiable and, in practice, those who did not have money were still allowed to enter the church. The tone of the last two

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[29] Jarnot, "The Very Reverend Justin M. Figas," 19.
[30] Figas,"Łzy ludzkie," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Jan. 1933-1934, 24; Appendix C1.

answers and in general all other answers in the area of religion was authoritative and, in contrast to the issue of National Recovery Administration, much more definitive.

1934-1935

Four years of economic depression took their toll on the general public psyche. Certainly Father Justyn was in a position to observe at firsthand the reactions of different groups of people to hardships, their every day struggle to survive, and their attitudes. His leadership position impelled him to search for answers and analyze the reasons which provoked the turmoil in American and world-wide society in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Father Justyn's focus was on moral values and from this angle he gave his assessments of the changes in the value system of American society on a number of occasions on the Rosary Hour. Some early broadcasts included Father Justyn's reflections on the moral attitudes and the changes he observed in the area of morality among the Polish Americans in the context of the United States, e.g., "Our Youth," "The Nero's Rome and the Twentieth Century," "Lepers."[31] The talk entitled "The Torch of Happiness" which was broadcast on 21 October 1934 was a more comprehensive attempt at explaining the core of the social crisis that people were going through and showing a way out of the situation.[32]

The "The Torch of Happiness" talk was an inaugural discourse in the Rosary Hour for the new 1934-1935 season. In this speech Father Justyn presented the main values of Western society--freedom, brotherhood and equality--as empty promises and pretentious claims of the Enlightenment. Progress and civilization invented and used

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[31] Figas, "Nasza młodzież," **MROJ,* Jan. 1932, 3-7; "Rzym Nerona a Wiek Dwudziesty [*sic*]," **MROJ,* 31 Jan. 1932, 3-6; "Trędowate," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 28 Jan. 1933-1934, 42-49.
[32] Figas, "Pochodnia szczęścia," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Oct. 1934, 3-8.

horrible tools of destruction in World War I. Enlightenment, culture, progress and civilization devoid of spiritual values were vulnerable to abuse and unable to deliver on their promises, Father Justyn argued. In the first speech of the new broadcast season, he criticized this trend in American culture which inspired so many people of the generation living in the first quarter of the twentieth century to seek only natural perfection and happiness on the natural level:

> People were inspired by these attractive and empty ideas; they surrendered themselves to strange slogans, they were building their futures on sand. Naïve! They ate, drank, danced and enjoyed themselves; they used and abused. They did not see boundaries and they rejected warnings.[33]

The culture which directed its energies into ideals devoid of spiritual values formed the mentality of "using and abusing" and offered no hope for the future, explained Father Justyn. He was convinced that only preservation of spiritual continuity ensured the transmission of the constructive values of the past, which are the true torches of perfection and happiness, to future generations. In order to warn against a life based on the mentality of "using and abusing" and to show the tragic consequences of such actions, Father Justyn drew a few gloomy pictures from the World War and the economic depression of the Thirties.

In the part of the talk which immediately followed the description of the horrors from the recent past, Father Justyn presented the audience with the story of two brave men who sailed from the Polish sea port of Gdynia with the intention of crossing the Atlantic Ocean. The two daredevils had to fight storms almost constantly, but eventually, after fifty two days at sea, they reached the Bermuda Islands. Later, on 14 July 1934,

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[33] Figas, "Pochodnia szczęścia," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Oct. 1934-1935, 3.

crowds greeted the sailors on their yacht in Buffalo.[34] Father Justyn, who personally met with the Polish sailors, identified the three main qualities which helped them to survive the dangerous journey and reach their goal as skill, character and faith. Their openness, bravery and discrete piety captivated Father Justyn, as he mentioned, and were in startling contrast to the attitudes expressed by some visitors from Poland, envoys and agitators, who came to the Polish communities in the United States to teach and reform them, collect their money and who eventually mocked them.

The conclusion of the talk presented by Father Justyn evolved from the beginning of the program and directly from the example of the sailors. Every human life is like a journey on a vast and dangerous ocean and he posed a rhetorical question to his listeners: The one who lived through the last four years has endured a lot. Is it now the time to lose heart and give up hope?[35] Father Justyn advised that in order to survive the crisis and carry on, one needed all the virtues of the forefathers, skills to fight against the obstacles and above all, faith in God. The words of encouragement expressed in the last sentences of the talk were repeated several times at the end of the program with the stress put on faith, which in the speech signified in the first place faith in God, but also emphasized faith in oneself and faith in the leader of the United States. This "three dimensional faith" was for Father Justyn the necessary torch showing the way to happiness, satisfaction and prosperity.

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[34] Figas, "Pochodnia szczęścia," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Oct. 1934-1935, 5. Father Justyn reported that two young Polish lieutenants, Bohomolec i Świętochowski, set sail on 6 June 1933 from Gdynia to cross the Atlantic Ocean on a twenty seven feet yacht „Dal." After 52 days the sailors reached Bermuda Islands on 26 August and later visited several American port cities on the eastern shore.
[35] Ibid., 6.

After presenting his critique on the culture of "use and abuse," Father Justyn, in the season 1934-1935, resumed his regular religious topics in various talks on old Polish virtues, the crisis of faith, and conversion - especially in "Stand-Look up-Listen"[36]--and liturgical calendar observances in "Crib."[37] The new religious topics included discussion on God's providence in "The Caretaker of the World,"[38] religion versus science – in "God-Death-Dollar"[39] and "Miracles do Happen[40] (this last topic had regularly surfaced in the Question Box since the 1932-1933 season). Other religious themes raised on the Rosary Hour included the problem of accepting God's will in "May Our Will be Done,"[41] belief in the human soul in "There is a Soul,"[42] superstition in "Faith in God or Faith in People,"[43] and God's gifts in "Respect God's Gifts."[44]

The religious themes of the season 1934-1935 can be divided into three categories: first, catechetical teachings on doctrinal topics, e.g., God's providence.; second, threats to the family and society and changes in religious attitudes (this category will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five); third, fundamental religious and social values necessary for a strong family, the continuation of the Polish culture and the development of the Polish American community in the United States. The third category is of special interest to this part of the study because it shows Father Justyn's vision for the Polish American family and community life. However, Father Justyn's vision encountered his audience's growing tendency to absorb secular ideas into their value system and adopt a

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[36] Figas, "Stań-popatrz-posłuchaj," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 7 Apr. 1933-1935, 144-151.
[37] Figas, "Żłóbek," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 23 Dec. 1934-1935, 120-125.
[38] Figas, "Dozorca świata," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 4 Nov. 1934-1935, 30-35.
[39] Figas, "Bóg-śmierć-dolar," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 18 Nov. 1934-1935, 52-58.
[40] Figas, "A jednak są cuda," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Mar. 1934-1935, 81-87.
[41] Figas, "Bądź wola nasza," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 20 Jan. 1934-1935, 2-6.
[42] Figas, "A Jednak jest dusza," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 17 Feb. 1934-1935, 56-62.
[43] Figas, "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 24 Feb. 1934-1935, 70-74.
[44] Figas, „Szanuj dary Boże," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 10 Mar. 1934-1935, 94-98.

rationalist outlook on religion. These attitudes became apparent in many of the questions that surfaced in the Question Box, e.g., "Science proved disparity with the Catholic faith, did it not?"[45] The questions reflected the general problems of a generation struggling with the issue of faith and reason in the first half of the twentieth century.

The two talks, "God-Death-Dollar" and "Miracles do Happen" dealt with the issue of reason and faith. In the foreword to the first radio conference of the new season Father Justyn identified "[…] mentally and intellectually perverted individuals who under the slogans of progress and enlightenment spread the pestilence of ignorance and backwardness among our community."[46] The motive for unbelief and anti-religious attitudes among people was explained at the beginning of the radio program with the help of a New Testament text, "The Holy Scripture gives us a reason of that kind of conduct: […] 'because their works were evil.'"[47] Then Father Justyn presented quotations from two letters. The author of the first letter explained his unbelief in the existence of God, reasoning, "Why do I have to believe in God? God is mighty. So, here, especially in America, as well as God the dollar is also mighty."[48]

The second letter was written in an arrogant, anti-religious tone, "The Catholic religion may be good for a simple peasant, but it will never satisfy an educated man."[49] Father Justyn chose to engage in discourse with the authors of the letters on his radio program by using storylines, which he noticed were well received and very effective with his audience. The first narrative was set in a temporary military hospital during World

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[45] Figas, "Nieznani żołnierze – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 21 May 1934-1933, 181
[46] Figas, "Bóg-śmierć-dolar," MROJ, vol. 1, 18 Nov. 1934-1935, 52.
[47] And this is the verdict, that the light came into the world, but people preferred darkness to light, because their works were evil. Joh 3:19, NAB.
[48] Figas, "Bóg-śmierć-dolar," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 18 Nov. 1934, 52.
[49] Ibid., 52.

War I. The visit of a chaplain encouraged the wounded soldiers to express their faith in God. There was one soldier who declared his faith only in power, "Force is the law and might. The most powerful of all however, is the American dollar,"[50] he said. Shortly after the chaplain left a bomb destroyed the barrack; many were killed; nobody asked about the dollar. Only God was able to save the suffering from death. The chaplain was found dead on the second day with an expression of solidified joy on his face – "perhaps," said Father Justyn, "his last words were: My God."

The second narrative described a woman who was considered a member of the so called "Polish elite" in the United States. Father Justyn revealed that the woman was, in reality, the daughter of a nouveau-riche, who cheated and took advantage of the poor villagers:

> She was sleek and cultured on the surface; her brains, if not empty were shallow and cynical; her heart, cold and cruel. Naturally, on her first encounter with me she got stuck into religion about which she knew as much as it was possible to write on a finger nail on the hand of a little child. This 'lady' let loose in a monologue and behaved like a simple village girl. […] Eventually she finished like this: 'The church is good for yokels. I do not go to church because it stinks there. In the church I cannot stand the stench of the peasants who do not take baths or the women who do not wash themselves.' […] After two years I read in a newspaper that this 'lady' had died of asthma.[51]

Summing up the conclusions arising from the narratives, Father Justyn again resorted to text from the Holy Scriptures, "Rely not on your wealth; say not: 'I have the power.'"[52] He also recommended that everybody should learn from the truly educated people, like the famous explorer and naturalist, Alexander Humboldt, from whom he quoted during

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[50] Ibid., 53.
[51] Ibid., 57.
[52] Sir 5:1, NAB.

the talk, "[…] knowledge by itself does not give peace and satisfaction."[53] Then Father Justyn added his own comment, "[…] knowledge, enlightenment and progress by themselves do not teach reason which comes only through faith."[54] He used the term "progressivism" to describe a general intellectual orientation and criticized its liberal bent in the sphere of morality, which led some Polish-Americans to reject religion as useless in the modern world and led to the decline of traditional culture.

The second talk dedicated in this broadcasting season to the problem of faith and reason was delivered on 3 March 1935. In his radio communication Father Justyn avoided theoretical discourses. The ideas presented by him were associated with real people who were graphically described, so the listeners were able to connect with them. This was the case with some groups of Polish immigrants who called themselves progressive. Father Justyn made a distinction between the genuine progressives and those who were hiding their moral decay behind a pretentious claim and called them, "Wolves in sheepskin."[55] Frequent references on the Rosary Hour to progressivism and progressives reflected the existence of a moral tension between progressivism and religious observances among the Polish Americans, particularly affecting the second generation. This problem was also indicated by the number of questions included in the Question Box, e.g., "How can you, respectable Justyn, defend the Roman Church when the Roman priests always oppose enlightenment and progress?"[56] Another correspondent who wrote earlier from Detroit shared his dilemma, "I have a class mate. He believes in nothing. He says that a reasonable man does not need to believe. Science alone suffices

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[53] Figas, "Bóg-śmierć-dolar," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 18 Nov. 1934-1935, 58.
[54] Ibid. 58.
[55] Figas, "A jednak są cuda," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Mar. 1934-1935, 81.
[56] Figas, "Stań-popatrz-posłuchaj," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 7 Apr. 1934-1935, 151; Appendix C1.

for people." To him Father Justyn addressed a poem, "Instead of giving you philosophical and theological arguments, I will read you a beautiful composition from our immortal poet Adam Mickiewicz, (Reason and Faith)."[57] Father Justyn noticed the existence of representatives of cultural progressivism in the Polish American environment. He observed that a number of these people had some sort of education, and aspired to leading roles in Polish American politics and social life. Father Justyn did not welcome this development and branded the so called progressives in the Polish American community as, "[…] a coat of progress put on moral decay" and "mental gangrene."[58]

During the 3 March 1935 program, and after the introduction in the foreword, the whole talk was dedicated to miracles and rationalism. Father Justyn started with the definition of a miracle by Thomas Aquinas. Next, the listeners were given a vivid description of the miraculous survival of a family during a flood in Poland in 1934. Subsequently, Father Justyn listed some of the most documented and acknowledged miracles like those at Lourdes and the blood miracle of St**.** Januarius in Naples. Because of the exercise of human free will, the hard evidence showing the existence of supernatural reality did not make everybody believe in God. To show that miracles do happen in modern times and that a change of heart was possible even among the staunchest unbelievers, Father Justyn gave the example of the conversion of the Italian pragmatist and philosopher, Giovanni Papini (1881-1956). The question of unbelief was, however, still unsolved, despite the miracles and famous conversions. Being aware of the situation Father Justyn again resorted to the Holy Scriptures, a regular practice on the

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[57] Figas, "Łzy ludzkie," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Jan. 1933-1934, 21; Appendix C1.
[58] Figas, "A jednak są cuda," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Mar. 1934-1935, 81.

program and quoted a text from St. Paul, "[…] For the time will come when people will not tolerate sound doctrine […]."[59]

1935-1936

For Father Justyn faith was the motive and the foundation of all Christian activity. As an astute observer of life he saw and understood the struggle of individual immigrants to survive and make a living in an unfamiliar land. This kind of life, arduous and often brutal, hardened the attitudes of some immigrants towards religion which originated in their homeland and initially shaped their way of thinking. The new way of thinking in a far away land affected people in different ways and to different degrees. The character featured on the first talk of the broadcast season 1935-1936 was taken from a story by Józef Przewłocki.[60] In the narrated story a man was returning to his family village after eighteen years spent in the United States. During an emotional reunion with his mother he revealed that he had changed his views, "Mother, the modern world does not recognize sentiments, it put them in a junk yard. Reason and will power is the modern God respected by the world."[61] Father Justyn was aware of the fact that many of his listeners shared the view of this character in the story that God was an invention of the priests and only good for the poor, the upset and the uneducated. The listeners, who were traditionally Christians, represented a mosaic of different life experiences and attitudes towards religion. Therefore, Father Justyn applied different methods to revive traditional attitudes towards faith based on the Holy Scripture and the orthodox teachings of the Church. The method he made use of in the October talk was by making reference to the

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[59] 2Ti 4:3. NAB.
[60] Józef Stanisław Przewłocki (1887-1963). A Polish immigrant community activist, journalist and writer.
[61] Figas, "Wierzyć lub nie wierzyć?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 20 Oct. 1935-1936, 4.

emotionally powerful picture of the departure of an emigrant and his family from the Old-Country and the parental memento, "Remember, believe in God and follow your heart."[62]

Remembering God and following the heart was not a matter of simple choice for many of the listeners to the Rosary Hour. One of them reacted to the talk "Does One Need to Believe?" in a letter in which the author claimed that neighborhood, companions, wider society and readings could influence people either way, positively or negatively, "Why? Because nobody is able to control his beliefs or his convictions or his feelings! One acquires these attributes by external influences and loses them in the same way, regardless of one's own will for or even against them."[63] The correspondent, who was evidently a booklover, later contradicted his previous statement by implying the existence of "doubting priests" who were able to control their emotions and beliefs as described in the novel *Abbé Pierre* by Emile Zola. Finally the author finished the letter by stating that it was better to believe. Father Justyn reacted to the views expressed in the correspondence by declining to become involved in a theological dispute. He was aware of the fact that not many of his listeners read Emile Zola and were not much concerned with the intricacies of the spiritual doubts of "Abbé Pierre." Therefore his answer was straightforward, "Faith is the axis of human life; faith is the foundation of commerce, business, agreements, contracts, pacts, and so on!"[64]

This was a key statement which showed the place of faith in the teachings of Father Justyn, who then went on to discuss the nature of Christian faith. So, if you

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[62] Ibid., 6.
[63] Figas, "Czy trzeba wierzyć?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 24 Nov. 1935-1936, 66.
[64] Ibid., 67.

believe people whose authority in their area of expertise you recognize and respect, why not believe in God out of respect for His authority; Christians, clarified Father Justyn, were not fatalists like the ancient Greeks, and could control their beliefs, convictions and emotions. Although faith was a gift from God it did not suspend human reason; the human will may oppose reasonable faith, but "nobody is to be forced to embrace the faith against his will," Father Justyn quoted from St. Augustine. Among the reasons for losing faith he listed: bad company, bad readings, bad example, arrogance, neglect, and unwillingness to implement faith in life. His arguments were solid and without any appeal to the emotions this time and pointed to the importance of making the right choice.

A few weeks after the broadcast a young man wrote to express his praise for the Rosary Hour radio program and its content:

> I am a young man 23 years of age and I listen to the Rosary Hour every Sunday and I am deeply touched by your talks and lessons. Some time ago I was a sort of half Catholic but now I realize what it is to live with God. I have made up my mind to go to confession on the 11th of this month and thereafter live like a true Catholic. Father your radio program is simply wonderful. It helped me to realize what life is. Father Justyn, I haven't much but I am enclosing all I can at present to help the Rosary Hour continue and help others to return to God. Father Justyn, please send me one of your crucifixes and I'll wear it always to help me in my needs of every-day life. Father Justyn, may your voice over the radio never stop; let it continue over even a greater Chain some day. Spreading the word of God into every home on earth "Let that be God's will." Thank you from the bottom of my heart, Father Justyn.[65]

In spite of this positive example, not all listeners were convinced by Father Justyn's way of argumentation. Among those who did not quite agree with some opinions expressed on the Rosary Hour was a person from Sturtevant, WI, who wrote, "Father Justin when answering a question said, 'I couldn't care less – it is none of my business who believes

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[65] Figas, "Czemu śmierć a nie życie?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 12 Jan. 1935-1936, 12; Appendix C1. Letter written and read in English on the program .

and in what.' Does this mean that the Catholic priests should not care about what others believe in and that all religions are equal?"[66] In this case the listener correctly remembered the context and posed a legitimate question to the popular radio orator which surely embarrassed him. The words used during the answering the question, "Why is it that Father Justin says nothing about the Polish sects? After all, they only destroy and harm,"[67] are the words to which the person from Sturtevant referred, clearly indicated expression of indifference towards the radio Speaker about the beliefs of the non-Catholics. However, the conditions imposed by the Federal Radio Commission[68] requested every radio station to make sure, "[…] what is being said especially when a foreign language is used."[69] The radio broadcast regulations did not allow for conducting programs aimed at destroying the reputation of individuals or institutions. So, Father Justyn by refusing to debate the issue of other religious groups intended to obey the regulations of the Federal Radio Commission rather than refuse to take an interest in "what other people believed in." His later response on the January program to the allegation of indifference to the religious convictions of other people explained that what he meant was to say that it was not in his power to force the listeners to believe in what he preached. In fact he was not going to admit his error. At the same time, in the second part of his response, Father Justyn did not overlook an error in the statement of the respondent on equality of religions and reminded listeners about the Roman Catholic teaching on the one, true Church.

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[66] Figas, "Czemu nie powrócić do rodziny? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 26 Jan. 1935-1936, 41; Appendix C1.
[67] Figas, "Czy trzeba wierzyć? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 24 Nov. 1935-1936, 76; Appendix C1.
[68] The Federal Radio Commission (F.R.C.) was a government body that regulated radio use in the United States from its creation in 1926 until its replacement by the Federal Communications Commission in 1934.
[69] H. H. Howell to Father Justin Figas, Nov. 4, 1931. R.H.A. (IV:41). H. H. Howell owned the radio station W.E,B.R. in Buffalo, N.Y. from which the programs of the Rosary Hour were broadcast throughout the radio network.

In March 1936, about three months after examining the issue of faith and free will on the program in November 1935, Father Justyn gave practical examples of the attitudes of some working class Polish Americans towards fulfilling their Sunday duty. This time he chose to share his own observations from the neighborhood in which he made his regular daily walks. The workers, unaware of Father Justyn's presence on the streets of Buffalo during the long dark Fall and winter evenings, freely exchanged their views, especially on leaving a saloon:

> You surely know the nature of a Pole. A Pole has a sheepish look and even that of a calf on his face when he drinks only water or milk. But, when he has two or three drinks, he feels not only warm but hot and new strength and energy flows through his veins. Then, the sheep turns into a lion; he is afraid of nobody and stands up to everyone, even to his own wife. [70]

The conversation between two workers from a slaughter house in Buffalo, which Father Justyn related, highlighted many issues. When they were passing in front of the Corpus Christi church, one of the workers said, "John, you know? For twenty years, I have put a dime on the collection plate every Sunday in this church, but did this church give me something in return? Never!"[71] Father Justyn acknowledged that this was a popular statement made by a number of church goers. The comment demonstrated the change of attitude among some Polish Americans in their perception of the church as a "moral property" in relation to the Polish peasant. Thomas and Znaniecki observed that "in the eyes of the peasant" the church as a physical plant belonged to God.[72]

During the same talk Father Justyn gave another example of changed attitudes among a committee of Polish communists with whom he debated in October of the

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[70] Figas, "Co mi Kościół daje?," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 8 Mar. 1935-1936, 114-115.
[71] Ibid., 115.
[72] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, vol. I, 275.

previous year. The members of the committee complained that the Church did not get involved in supporting the poorer class and paid more attention to their souls and eternal salvation. Father Justyn responded to the complaint with a list of initiatives taken by the Church in the field of social justice, practical aid for the poor and moral values. He convinced the members of the committee that the Church was taking care of the whole human being, body and soul. However, Father Justyn blamed the so called rogue progressives, who acted among the Polish community in the United States, for spreading false accusations against the Church. The choices of unsophisticated and naïve people were often influenced by exterior elements, which Father Justyn attempted to correct on the Rosary Hour.

The talks about faith were juxtaposed in the broadcast season 1935-1936 in a coherent chain starting with the issue of lost faith, followed by the theme of faith as a gift and free will, which led to the subject of the abuse of free will. The concluding topic of choice came at the end of the Rosary Hour programs in 1936, before the summer break. An illustration of the consequence of making a bad choice was taken from a court case in which a young man was accused by his parents of stealing from their home and associating with bad company. If only our son changed his ways, the parents said, we would welcome him back in our home. When the judge asked the accused if he wanted to say something in his defense, he answered, "Your honor, if I must choose between my parents and my friends, I prefer the latter."[73] To stop us from passing judgment on ourselves, continued Father Justyn, let us think of our own choices and what influences them when we choose between Christ and the world. Father Justyn gave moral decay as

[73] Figas, "Piotr czy Judasz?," *MROJ,* vol. .2, 5 Apr. 1935-1936, 172.

the main reason for choosing not to believe and supported his statement with a quote from a nineteenth century French writer, Francois Chateaubriand. ”Gentlemen, put your hand on your heart and admit that you would be believing people if you only managed to live a pure life.”[74]

1936-1937

Until the end of the Thirties the other radio seasons continued broadcasting the established three-dimensional format of talks dedicated to faith, namely, reasons to believe, catechesis on different aspects of faith and threats to faith. Further issues related directly to marriage and family, youth, work and patriotism also had their established place on the Rosary Hour during the same period. Though Father Justyn raised the issue of faith every year, he described fundamental religious truths by connecting them with the constantly changing environment and different real characters who had the chance to express their views on the program even if it happened that Fr Justyn did not agree with their sentiments. Certainly, a man from Holyoke, MA., who identified himself as a progressive and expressed contempt for the church did not find favor with Father Justyn who gave him a witty reply:

> My dear compatriot calling himself a progressive! If everyone who does not believe, does not pray, does not go to the church, leaves his lawful wife and lives with a woman in a free relationship, steals someone else’s wife, divorces his wife to enter into a civil marriage with another woman deserves the honor of being called progressive, then every head case has an equal right to be nominated as a successor to the Russian throne! [75]

The Rosary hour featured a mixture of types of men and women representing different walks of life and attitudes toward the faith. The positive and negative characters belonged

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[74] This quote Father Justyn attributed to a French writer Francois-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848).
[75] Figas, ”Czemu nie po chrześcijańsku?,” *MROJ*, vol. 2, 27 Mar. 1937-1938, 87.

to one Polish American community and the "poor Franciscan" from Buffalo tried to reach all of them by condemning what he considered wrong and promoting what was genuine and good. A talk from 1 November 1936, presented the radio listeners with the image of a typical Polish man from Chicago, described by Father Justyn as a type of "old Pole." He exemplified the virtues of love of God and neighbor, hard work and perseverance in the face of difficulties and frugality. This theme dealing with the virtues of the forefathers was one of the most celebrated on the air waves of the Rosary Hour.[76]

1937-1938

Conversion was another aspect of faith promoted by the radio talks. The audience itself provided rich material for debating this subject. The importance of the letters of the radio listeners was best disclosed by Father Justyn on one of the programs in January 1938, "For me these letters are the best indication of what human life is like! People open their souls in them, lay bare their hearts and pour out their souls! These letters are for me what a compass is to a ship's captain."[77] Most probably there were many people who listened with empathy, on a Sunday in January 1938, to the life story of a woman, a mother of four children, who married against the will of her parents, was battered by a drinking husband who had committed adultery, then started drinking herself and eventually admitted, "I am a derelict. I have made a wreck of my entire life."[78] Conversion was a medicine offered for many people like this woman who described her drama in her letter. The number of listeners to the program who accepted the medicine offered by Father Justyn and regained control of their lives is impossible to count. The

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[76] Figas, "Wspomnienia," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 1 Nov. 1936-1937, 7.
[77] Figas, "Czy życie nie jest bolesną pielgrzymką?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 16 Jan. 1937-1938, 120.
[78] Ibid., 120.

important thing is that somebody treated human problems with dignity and offered hope. Father Justyn's power lay in the trust and confidence his radio audience had in him and he was determined not to abuse this power.

At the beginning of each broadcasting season the listeners were assured by Father Justyn of his uncompromising and honest attitude towards the interests of the Polish Americans, "It is a privilege and honor to work for people like you, defend, fight, have a good time with you as well as cry and suffer with you."[79] In the next sentence of the foreword he expressed his patriarchal attitude towards the listeners, by admitting that, if needed, he would reprimand them. In the following year Father Justyn assured his listeners that he had no intention of offending any nationality, religious denomination or anyone in his speeches or answers and asked for their patience when waiting for an answer to their questions.[80] "My speech" said Father Justyn on the beginning of the radio season 1936-1937, "will be easy to understand, simple, genuine and heartfelt; it will be concerned with our virtues, faults and weak points. For me black will always be black, a sin will be a sin, truth will be truth, a lie will be a lie, a virtue will be a virtue."[81] These words appealed not only to the prodigal daughters who told their stories to Father Justyn but also to the prodigal sons.

The emotional and familial tone used played a big part with a section of the community addressed by Father Justyn but not with all of them. A letter included in a main talk on 27 February 1938 came from an educated man who disagreed with the opinion expressed in the talk "To Believe or not to Believe," aired on 9 January 1938.

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[79] *Figas,* "Pochodnia szczęścia?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Oct. 1934-1935, 2.
[80] *Figas,* "Wierzyć lub nie wierzyć," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 20 Oct. 1935-1936, 1.
[81] *Figas,* "Wspomnienia?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 1 Nov. 1936-1937, 3.

According to the author, who was from Springfield, Massachusetts, Father Justyn claimed that unbelievers got rich thanks to fraud and wickedness. The sender of the letter felt offended and decided to express his reaction by writing to Father Justyn, although he presumed that his letter would be thrown into a bin. The criticism gave Father Justyn the opportunity to address again those members of the audience who were better educated. The correspondence was read in its entirety and all the questions posed by the listener from Springfield regarding religious topics were debated on two programs. On the talk of 9 January, which prompted the debate, Father Justyn discussed a different letter sent by a professional from Massachusetts who claimed that people who do not believe enjoy a better standard of living. The man disclosed that he accepted the secular worldview held at the university where he studied and considered religion a hindrance on the way to progress and civilization. The correspondent added at the end of his letter, "Do not trouble yourself to reply. I know you, Father, would not dare to organize a radio talk on this subject, because you would have to admit to not having sufficient, convincing arguments."[82]

Father gave a rational and sophisticated response to the claims of the professional from Massachusetts on his radio program which generated more letters from the listeners. A few weeks later the issue of unbelief was again on the table. Father Justyn answered the claim accusing him of overstating the view that unbelievers who got rich were frauds and defended his position by clarifying the distinction between tycoons and regular citizens who earned their living. Father also admitted that he personally knew unbelievers who were honest and honorable, but, for him, the truly honorable people were those who

[82] Figas, "Wierzyć czy nie wierzyć?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 9 Jan. 1937-1938, 110-111.

believed because they knew their real dignity. Father Justyn gracefully answered the man who made the allegation against him by answering the seven questions posed as well as other concerns that had been raised in the letter.[83]

People who wrote to Father Justyn were of different ages, culture, education and different levels of involvement in practicing religion. This was characteristic of the Question Box of 1937-1938 which among others featured a letter from Anusia, a girl from Lemont, Illinois, "Is there a Santa Claus? My brother says that there is no Santa Claus."[84] A correspondent from Black Rock, N. Y. asked, "Why scare people about hell when there is no hell?"[85] There were questions requesting an explanation of Polish traditions, e.g., dingus day or wet Monday. (On Easter Monday Poles go out and soak everybody). The most frequently asked questions in the category of faith belonged to the group "science versus religion." "Is it not that in face of the inventions of scientists, your omnipotent God becomes smaller?"[86] Many listeners openly disagreed with Father Justyn's portrayal of child rearing in America as pagan. "Why does Father Justin always talk about the pagan education in America? I do not believe that this is so," wrote a radio listener from Dearborn, Michigan.[87] To these and similar allegations father Justin answered with overwhelming evidence taken from readily available sources. The issue of education and bringing up the young generation will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

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[83] Figas, "Dlaczego?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 27 Feb. 1937-1938, 43-50; Figas, „Jeszcze, Dlaczego?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 13 Mar. 1937-1938, 66-74.
[84] Figas, "Co nam da nowy rok? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Dec. 1937-1938, 94; Appendix C1.
[85] Figas, "Bez wiary, co? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 12 Dec. 1937-1938, 67; Appendix C1.
[86] Figas, "A potem , co? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 2 Jan. 1937-1938, 107; Appendix C1.
[87] Figas, "Wierzyć czy nie wierzyć? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 9 Jan. 1937-1938, 117; Appendix C1.

1938-1940

The talk "Will You Pass?" broadcast on 13 November 1938 expressed Father Justyn's deep skepticism towards science, knowledge, progress and purely materialistic civilization. It was a form of an intuitive forecasting of another tragedy on a global scale. The terms used to describe the situation in which the next conflict was brewing were typical of the contemporary language used by religious leaders and preachers, "We sail surrounded by currents of godlessness, paganisms and materialism and we do not even know what for and where?"[88] The reminder of the causes of WW I was like a mirror image of the late thirties in the western world. Unfortunately, this sensing of the upcoming events proved to be true. The description of the disturbing vision of the future would not be complete for Father Justyn without leaving the audience hope in a wise Helmsman to whom he encouraged all to cry, "Lord, save us because we are perishing!"

Based on the texts of letters sent to the office of the Rosary Hour the somber mode introduced at the beginning of the new season was not by and large shared by the listeners. "Is one allowed to organize dances during the Lenten season on the day of Saint Joseph?" asked on March 5th, 1939 a listener from Conshohocken, PA.[89] Father Justyn was less than impressed by the way St. Patrick's Day was celebrated by a "certain nationality." The use of the name "certain nationality" instead of Irish, shows how carefully the texts for the Rosary Hour radio program were prepared in order to satisfy the regulations of Federal Radio Commission in regard to defamation law:

> […]. I know that some people will say that a certain nationality arranges dances on St. Patrick's Day, so we should be allowed to dance on St. Joseph's Day! Such

[88] Figas, "Czy przejdziesz?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 13 Nov. 1938-1939, 19.
[89] Figas, "Posąg żyjący! – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 5 Mar. 1938-1939, 49; Appendix C1.

> an argument is not worth a pound of tow. More than one nationality, in spite of ecclesiastical law, creates customs unworthy of practicing Catholics. […].

Despite the systematic catechizing broadcast on the radio waves of the Rosary Hour, letters unceasingly appeared critical of the religious aspect of the program and even demanding to close it all together. "Today, religion is not needed. The human mind is the axis of progress,"[90] or "I have been listening to the programs for several years, because they are in the beautiful Polish language. I see no reason, however, to talk about God or eternity. Why bother people?"[91] There were, however, questions which indicated the existence of a bigger group of listeners to the Polish language religious broadcasts, who more deeply reflected on Father Justyn's talks on the moral crisis in western society leading to another war and the need for religion. "Can a Catholic be an advocate of pacifism? Does the Catholic Church justify war?"[92] A few months later a person from Philadelphia asked, "What is the origin of the Living Rosary?"[93]

The outbreak of WW II in Poland dominated the themes of the talks but did not eliminate the religious reflections from the program. Traditionally the main religious feasts, Christmas and Easter, were given priority on the radio. Due to Father Justyn's travel to Europe the Christmas talk, "Is There Something to be Happy About?" was delivered by the new provincial of St. Anthony Province of the Conventual Franciscans, Father Wawrzyniec Cyman.[94] As one could expect, most of the letters sent to The Rosary Hour revealed concern about the situation in the country of the listeners' forefathers. For some people religion either was still the priority or in the new circumstances became

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[90] Figas, "Tam i tu – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 15 Jan. 1938-1939, 122; Appendix C1.
[91] Figas, "Trzy Rezurekcjie – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 9 Apr. 1938-1939, 99; Appendix C1.
[92] Figas, "Wykradacze dzieciny Jezus – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 25 Dec. 1938-1939, 90; Appendix C1.
[93] Figas, "Powiedz: Nie! – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 16 Apr. 1938-1939, 112; Appendix C1.
[94] Wawrzyniec Cyman, O.F.M.Conv., "Czy jest z czego radować się i weselić?" *MROJ*, vol. 1, 24 Dec. 1939-1940, 83-89.

even more important. The evidence found in the correspondence points at the influence of a pluralistic American society on the type of issues reflected in the questions sent to Father Justyn by the Polish-Americans. "I read and heard that a man when born is already destined for heaven that God provided from the ages and God has already decided who will be saved and who damned. And this I cannot comprehend and I am overcome with discouragement to prayer and the sacraments."[95] This person did not know the origin of the thesis on predestination. The answer from the radio probably clarified the problem in this matter for some people, but many more who were not prepared to engage in dialogue with the surrounding world in a comprehensible way, would fall victims to all kinds of ideas, be they religious, political, social or cultural. Even those who went to the institutions of higher education had difficulties in holding to the belief system passed on by their forefathers. A student from Brooklyn, N.Y. wrote, "My professor at the university argues that Mary was only the Mother of Jesus, not the Mother of God. I tried to convince him of my point of view on this matter but was unsuccessful."[96]

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[95] Cyman, "Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1939-1940, 66; Appendix C1.
[96] Cyman, "Czy jest z czego radować się i weselić? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 24 Dec. 1939-1940, 90; Appendix C1

Superstition

Along with rationalistic attitudes which surfaced on the programs of the Rosary Hour, a growing trend of superstitious practices among the Polish Americans became a concern for Fr. Justin. The questions regarding superstitious beliefs were answered on the Question Box quite regularly before the problem was targeted on a regular talk in 1935. Magical practices had existed alongside the official religious systems from time immemorial. Thomas and Znaniecki described in *Polish Peasant in Europe and in America*[97] different forms of magic and religious systems which existed among the Polish peasants. Immigrants carried over to the United States not only their Christian faith but also their beliefs in the magical powers of natural objects, magical powers which could also be acquired and benefited from spirits or powers who could be contacted. Christianity and superstition existed alongside and were practiced simultaneously by individuals or informal groups. Some of those practices of magic originated from the Polish lands, other were absorbed in the country of immigration. This research will mark out traces of superstitious beliefs among the Polish Americans reflected in Fr. Justin's talks and analyze their effect on family life.

The problem of magic and superstitious practices was mentioned for the first time in part of a regular talk "Faith in God or Faith in People?" in February 1935.[98] Starting with a definition of superstition the program listed different forms of beliefs in the supernatural powers of persons and things, e.g., chain prayers, prayer cards used for protection, bad luck associated with the number thirteen or third on a match, an old woman met in the morning, a black cat crossing the road; the hunchback, a four leaf

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[97] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. I, 205-288.
[98] Figas, "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi?" *MROJ*, vol. 2, 24 Feb. 1934-1935, 70-74.

clover, an old horse shoe, and an old shoe were supposed to bring good luck. Other beliefs related to witches who were responsible for misfortunes even on a global scale due to their relationship with the devil. Among some Polish-Americans Father Justyn observed traces of belief in the evil eye, a belief which we also find described by Thomas and Znaniecki.[99] This superstition gave rise to belief in averting charms, which were performed usually by an elderly woman called "baba" in Poland. Among other popular superstitious practices was divination. As Father Justyn saw it, belief in superstition was a consequence of "lack of faith in the true God."

In December 1935 two consecutive talks were dedicated to spiritism. Typically in the Rosary Hour program the listeners were given a real life picture of the problem in the form of a letter describing a man who contacted the spiritists. Then, the audience heard a short definition stating that spiritism dealt with communicating with the souls of dead people and was also used as name for science investigating super-natural phenomena which go beyond the laws of physics.[100] The main point of the talks "Faith or Fudge?" and "Miracle or Illusion" was to provide the listeners with facts showing the falsehood of the many alleged supernatural phenomena and the unfounded claims of spiritism.[101] As his conclusion to the whole argument Father Justyn recalled the decree issued by the Holy See in 1917, banning all Catholics from assisting at any spiritualistic meetings.[102]

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[99] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. I, 259. For more reading on magical practices among the Polish peasants especially 234-275.

[100] "Spiritism," *Wilkipedia:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spiritism. Accessed Dec. 7. 2009. Spiritism is a philosophical doctrine established in France in the mid-nineteenth century and based on books written by French educator Hypolite Léon Denizard Rivail under the pseudonym Allan Kardec.

[101] Figas, "Wiara czy brednia?" *MROJ*, vol. 1, 1 Dec. 1934-1935, 77-85; "Cud czy złudzenie?" *MROJ*, vol. 1, 8 Dec. 1935-1936, 91-99.

[102] A decree of the Holy Office, 30 March, 1898, condemns Spiritistic practices, even though intercourse with the demon be excluded and communication sought with good spirits only. In all these documents the distinction is clearly drawn between legitimate scientific investigation and superstitious abuses. What the

The theme of superstition returned again on the radio waves in 1938. Father Justyn repeated the issues that were raised in the previous programs in his talk and condemned the Polish elite in America for its superstitious practices,

> Our Polish elite unfortunately went a few steps ahead. To the prejudices and superstitions of the simple folks, it added spiritism, hypnotism, and dozens of other "isms!" Misses and Misters of their intelligence do not have the time to pray daily, health and interests do not let them attend church, reason and honor suspends them from the Holy Confession. They, however, have time, health and enough naivety to spend hours at the tables spinning in the air when they call some ghosts, which are not the ghosts.[103]

Based on the evidence provided on the Rosary Hour radio programs on superstition and spiritism - three programs in 1935 and one in 1938--it would be impossible to arrive at a precise statistic of the number of Polish-Americans involved with such practices. Therefore, Father Justyn's statement from 1938 on the involvement of "Polish elite" in the practice of superstition and spiritism has no experimental data to support it. So, one can only accept this statement as an opinion drawn from general observation by one of the spiritual leaders. Father Justyn, unlike other spiritual leaders, bishops and parish priests, was in the position of making frequent visits to different religious centers all over the United States and Canada. In the thirties he also had access, on average, to the letters written by about one hundred thousand people annually. But, even a cursory, numerical analysis of the topics of the programs and the questions related to superstitious practices and rational attitudes towards religion shows that there were far more radio talks and questions dedicated to the issues of rationalistic attitudes towards religion among Polish-Americans than to the superstitious or spiritistic practices among

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Church condemns in Spiritism is superstition with its evil consequences for religion and morality. "Spiritism." The Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol. 14, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14221a.htm. Accessed 7 Dec. 2009.

[103] Figas, "Co to za wiara?" *MROJ*, vol. 2, 20 Mar. 1937-1938, 84.

this group. Another important element missing from the statement was the lack of information on the basic criteria applied to identifying the so called "Polish elite." There was also no comparison between the major Polish-American centers in terms of the involvement of its elite in non-orthodox spiritual practices. In view of these facts one has to assume that Father Justyn's statement on superstitious and spiritistic practices of the Polish elite in America was a generalization which signaled only a trend among part of the group under scrutiny.

The examination of the Question Box reveals the existence of two chief categories of questions related to the unorthodox spiritual practices of Roman Catholics of Polish descent in America: superstition and spiritism. One of the letters from the first broadcasting season was sent by a young man frightened by the revelation that he would die if he acted on his decision, "I am 16 years old and I would like to join the Navy. An acquaintance of mine went to a psychic and she said that if I enrolled, I would be killed. Please tell me what should I do?[104] The attitude of Father Justyn towards such practices is shown in the next question sent by a listener from Detroit, "Why does Father Justin so disparage fortune tellers? They also are human beings and must live. They do not harm anyone."[105] As for the issue of spiritism, some questions signaled a great deal of the confusion which existed about the matter, "I thought that spiritism and hypnotism were one and the same. My good friend, a Catholic priest, says that the Church does not prohibit hypnotism and Father Justin says that the Church prohibits spiritism!"[106] The approach taken on the Rosary Hour towards the issues of superstition and spiritism was

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[104] Figas, "Prawo i Zapłata Robotnika [*sic*] - P. O.," **MROJ*, 10 Jan., 1932, 7; Appendix C2.
[105] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 3 Jan., 1936-1937, 148; Appendix C2.
[106] Figas, "Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiedniejsza zapłata? - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 1 9 Jan., 1935-1936, 29; Appendix C2.

broad and not limited only to theoretical and doctrinal aspects. The people who wrote the letters expected to receive advice on their concrete problems. "From time to time a nightmare suffocates me and I cannot sleep. I went to a spiritist and she advised me that if I frequently went to her she would cure me." To this listener from Cleveland, and probably to many others with similar problems, Father Justyn answered, "Specter is an invention of diseased and superstitious minds. Instead, go to a doctor, a specialist in nervous diseases. [...]."[107] In another situation Father Justyn defended a girl who was beaten up by her mother for something that seemed to be only innocent play, "At our bazaar, one of the girls had a special kiosk where she practiced divination. Her Mother beat her up for foretelling the future." The answer to this problem was, "This girl did nothing wrong and did not commit any sin by dressing up as a fortune teller at the bazaar. […]."

[107] Figas, "Chłop bohater - P. O.," *MROJ*, 2 Apr., 1932-1933, 95; Appendix C2.

Marriage unity

Marriage, the nucleus of the traditional family of immigrants from the Polish lands, was under enormous pressure from the pluralistic society of the United States, which intended to assimilate all ethnic minorities into mainstream culture. Despite cultural and social disadvantages, the majority of Polish-American families from the first generation continued to live according to the traditions of the Old-Country, which influenced their relationships, and they attempted to pass the same traditions on to their children born in America. In its efforts, the immigrant family lacked the support of the extended family left behind and the close village community. The ally who took a leading role in supporting and defending the traditional immigrant family values was, in case of the Polish-Americans, the Roman Catholic Church. At local level the parishes provided moral and spiritual support and on the social level they were the leading force in rebuilding the old village community in the form of ethnic neighborhoods which sprang up not only in the village communities in the new world but most of all in the large industrial centers. To these people Father Justyn addressed, among many topics, the catechesis on Catholic marriage.

1932-1933

In his talk "Do you Love God?"[108] Father Justyn taught that faith was to be practiced in private as well as in the public domain and should especially permeate the life of every Christian family. The love of God had to be expressed by the love given to a wife, a husband, children and parents. The motive of "practical faith," raised in connection with family relationships, was accompanied by a strong appeal to husbands

[108] Figas, "Czy kochasz Boga?" *MROJ*, 3 Dec. 1932-1933, 53-59.

for boundless patience, deep trust and faith in God's help. These qualities were needed especially in the current hard times. Wives were reminded about their own mothers who radiated the fear of God, diligence, frugality and sacrifice. The role of husbands, fathers, wives and mothers was to be that of the guardian angel of people's minds and hearts. Father Justyn presented these qualities as a matter of vocation to marriage directly connected to the faith of husband and wife.

The questions related to marriage and family issues focused generally in the season of 1932-1933 on practical matters. Many enquiries were about the rules of the Roman Catholic Church in relation to a marriage contract between a Roman Catholic and a non-Catholic party. In the case of the question from Buffalo read on 9 April 1933, "He is Polish and Roman Catholic; she is Polish but belongs to a sect; can they contract marriage in the Roman Catholic Church?" Father Justyn, who was obviously regarded as a learned authority on the topic by many in his audience, gave a negative answer, claiming that Canon Law reserved the sacraments only for Catholics and that the only way for a non-Catholic to receive the sacraments in the Roman Catholic Church was to convert to the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, his answer to a similar issue posted from Hamilton, Ontario, "Is it possible for a non-Catholic to contract marriage in the Catholic Church?" read on 16 April, 1933, was, "The Catholic Church allows for mixed marriages, but then the marriage contract takes place in a parish office or in a sacristy, never in a church."[109] There was a discrepancy between the two answers and evidently the first answer was not correct. However, the policy of the Roman Catholic Church was to discourage mixed marriages, for example, by the requirement of a

[109] Figas, "Pan śmierci – P. O.," *MROJ*, 16 Apr., 1932-1933, 123; Appendix C3.

bishop's dispensation from the impediment of disparity of religion. The dispensation was never to be granted except with all the explicit guarantees or safeguards from the non-Catholic side. Another form of discouragement was to refuse to perform the marriage ceremony in a church.

1933-1934

The efforts towards the preservation of traditional forms of marriage within the same religion and ethnic group went, however, against the current general trend prevailing in particular among the second-generation immigrants. Father Justyn announced on the program broadcast on 5 November 1933 that although he had very carefully monitored a stream of letters sent by the listeners he had never received so many questions regarding marriage issues as those sent during the three weeks preceding the broadcast.[110] The sudden appearance of questions concerned with civil marriage, divorce, birth control, marriage with a divorcee, the socializing of unmarried women with married men did not arise from a previous talk dedicated to the issue of marriage or from the answers to the questions sent in to the Question Box. For Father Justyn it was proof that the young generation of Polish Americans was succumbing to the temptation of "modern rules," which will be discussed in Chapter Seven. It was also a reflection of the composition of the age group listening to the Rosary Hour, a listening audience which included the American born generation eager to discuss their problems with a commonly recognized authority. Father Justyn's response to these letters yielded fruit in the form of a talk dedicated to the vision of Christian marriage and several other talks given on this subject during the 1933-1934 broadcast season.

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[110] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 41.

In the talk "Christian Marriage" Father Justyn delivered the well documented teaching of the Church on marriage. He began with a quote from the encyclical *Casti Connubii* (On Christian Marriage) of Pope Pius XI.[111] Then, he explained the text from the Book of Genesis on the creation of man and woman, reminding the audience about the sacramental character of Christian marriage as established by Jesus Christ.[112] In giving his explanation he emphasized that marriage between Catholics in the Church was a religious institution and that a civil marriage administered to Catholics was considered by the Church as the usurpation of its rights and had no consequence in Canon Law. However, this view on marriage was not how some of the listeners to the Rosary Hour understood the situation. A writer from Buffalo expressed this view in one of the three letters included at the end of the November talk,

> Reverend Father: You have to live among people to know the poverty and misery which they experience today. Despite that the Church still teaches people that they always have to live in marriage and produce many children. But this teaching applies only to the poor and thick. Rich and aristocratic people can do as they please. For them it is acceptable to divorce and live a comfortable life. My father and mother have lived in conflict for ten years; they curse each other, often beat each other and we, the eight children in the house, have to listen to all of it. If I ever marry it will be only in court, because I know, that if my marriage does not work I'll get a divorce.[113]

"A truly sad picture, but, thank God, not all marriages are like this," responded Father Justyn to the letter. In his usual style, he presented a formal and theoretical teaching of

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[111] […] "let it be repeated as an immutable and inviolable fundamental doctrine that matrimony was not instituted or restored by man but by God; not by man were the laws made to strengthen and confirm and elevate it but by God, the Author of nature, and by Christ Our Lord by Whom nature was redeemed, and hence these laws cannot be subject to any human decrees or to any contrary pact even of the spouses themselves. This is the doctrine of Holy Scripture; this is the constant tradition of the Universal Church; this the solemn definition of the sacred Council of Trent, which declares and establishes from the words of Holy Writ itself that God is the Author of the perpetual stability of the marriage bond, its unity and its firmness." The Encyclical Casti Connubii was promulgated on 31 December 1930.
[112] Gen 1, 27-28; Mat 19, 3-6.
[113] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 45.

the Church by using a real life situation with which people were able to connect. By engaging in a debate with the views of a correspondent Father Justyn dramatized the problem and gave the audience a taste of "live radio talk." In fact it was a repetition of the main points of the message from the encyclical *On Christian Marriage* that were included in the beginning of the talk. Replying to the allegation that the Church put pressure on married people to have as many children as possible, Father Justyn denied that the assertion was true and stated that the teaching of the Church always advised restraint and moderation in the area of procreation. Finally, Father Justyn directed a straightforward, common sense question on the air waves to the author of the letter, "Is the Sacrament of Marriage to be blamed for the quarrels of your parents?,"[114] a question that was heard by hundreds of thousands of listeners who also heard that the Church was not to be blamed for a crisis in a marriage relationship, as quite often, the hasty decision to get married without consideration of future consequences and responsibilities was the cause of the difficulty. The church did not force couples to marry; those, however, who decided to seek the solution to their marriage problems through divorce, would find neither happiness nor peace. To prove this statement true Father Justyn read another letter in which a woman revealed how she got married in court, then was divorced by her husband after six months and left with a baby.[115]

In the topic "Duties of the Spouses and Parents" Father Justyn introduced into his teachings on marriage the concept of companionship in the relationship between married people.[116] However, this companionship required sacrificial love, mutual help,

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid., 46.
[116] Figas, "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov. 1933-1934, 82.

faithfulness and specific qualities of character in both husband and wife. The husband had to display patience and meekness in relation to his wife. The wife had to be agreeable, calm and thrifty in relation to her husband. These characteristics fitted in with the time-honored division of the roles in the family where the man was responsible for being the breadwinner and the woman for looking after the home and family. This long-established type of marriage, according to Father Justyn, was challenged by a new kind of woman and man:

> Stand next to a theatre in your city district on one evening. What are you going to see? - Young wives, often with an infant to hand, swarming as if for a plenary indulgence on a parish feast. Young mothers who leave their children under the care of their father or even their grandmother and go to the movies where they learn everything except how to be a good wife and an exemplary mother. Go to dances and parties! What are you going to see there? - Young husbands and fathers who left their wedding rings at home and flirt with shy, naïve girls.[117]

Father Justyn, when deliberating on, as he put it, the "religion of having a good time," used the expression - "thousands of couples." This estimation of the numbers involved meant that, in his view, the traditional marriage relationship was seriously challenged by the lowering of religious standards, a materialistic world view, the deification of human reason, the desire for "having a good time," and undue emphasis on individualism. All these factors created a new type of woman who was unknown to the forefathers of Polish-Americans but was gaining popularity among the contemporary generation through the stage, books, and moving pictures – the carriers of modern ideas.

Father Justyn opposed all forms of distortion of the traditional model of marriage as well as the traditional type of woman who was essential in preserving marriage as a religious institution. He believed in the saying "like family, like nation." For that reason

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[117] Ibid., 84.

he illustrated his view by sharing the image of the relationship within his own family home. His family relationship was a model of the companionship described at the beginning of the talk "Duties of the Spouses." This model of marriage and family was, according to Father Justyn, crucial in bringing up the new generation to be conscious of their social, religious and patriotic responsibilities. He developed this wider aspect of marriage and family by quoting the Primate of Poland, August Cardinal Hlond, with whom he shared the same view on the issue, "Nothing promotes advanced, noble, supernatural culture like the action of a good home environment; from its walls people who are sober, modest, prudent, matured in faith, love and patience."[118]

On the Rosary Hour, the positive family depictions were never far away from descriptions of tragedies, which have a curious power in attracting human attention. This phenomenon may be exploited for financial gain by tabloids, or used as an example serving to caution others against danger. As for the number of human tragedies and scandals narrated on the Rosary Hour, it could have competed with the tabloids. However, the aim of this religious radio program was far removed from the exploitation of its listeners. Faithful to his mission motto, "Make sure your teachings will reinforce, taste and cure," Father Justyn, on his program aired on 3 December 1933, presented a letter written by a nineteen year old woman from Chicago. She met a young man in a dance hall and shortly afterwards married him. He was a "dance hall hound," did not look for a job and did not change his life style notwithstanding the pleas from his young wife. Eventually he left her after one year. "Why do our parents not tell us the truth, why do

[118] Ibid., 87-88. August Józef Hlond 1981-1948. Cardinal and Primate of Poland, founder of the Society of Christ for the Polish Emigrants, Servant of God.

they not teach us beforehand, but wait till someone breaks our heart and health?" asked a woman in despair.[119]

In his talk "True Picture of Marriage," Father Justyn was doubtlessly revealed to many in his audience as a parent understanding the motives of his child, as a compassionate priest ready to save a lost sheep and as a medical doctor with a concrete cure. True life is based on love expressed in body, soul and mind with the full strength of one's being – Father Justyn quoted an extract from the novel written by the French author Henri Bordeaux, where Mrs. Guibert shared her wisdom with an unhappy young wife. Marriage, said Mrs. Guibert, is about sharing everything with a life companion, whether that person is good or bad. The positive messages in the December program were interlaced with differing examples such as the one expressed by a high school girl to Father Justyn who shared it with the audience in his talk:

> I do not see marriage as my parents did. My father never moved anywhere without my mother or my mother without my father. My husband will have his freedom; I'll go my way, he'll go his. I'll only expect him to be educated and tasteful in his clothing and behavior.[120]

By giving an example of the criteria for choosing a marriage partner contrary to the traditional norms, Father Justyn intended to provoke the listeners to think about the right standards. His general assumption was that happiness in marriage was impossible between one party who believed in God while the other believed in nothing. In order to have a harmonious relationship in marriage, the couple also needed to be similar in character and temperament. Further criteria were divided into two groups, one for prospective husbands and the other for prospective wives. The husband had to be a little

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[119] Figas, "Prawdziwy obraz małżeństwa," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 3 Dec. 1933-1934, 95.
[120] Ibid., 99.

older than his wife, but not by more than twelve years. A "play boy" type of man would not make a good marriage candidate; a good candidate should display faith, industriousness and understanding, according to Father Justyn. As candidates to become wives, women had to be pious, methodical, organized, practical, prudent and busy. The bachelor and the spinster had equal rights in choosing their life partners and in expecting their choice to be honored by their parents.[121]

The norms presented by Father Justyn for candidates to marriage provoked an exchange of opinions of the first and second generation reflected in many letters. In one of them a young man from Kenosha, Wisconsin, asked Father Justyn's advice on the matter of the suitability of his fiancée for marriage, "My fiancée is a good girl, but she likes to drink and smoke and wants me to accompany her to parties and theaters. We have been dating for four years. What shall I do?"[122] When answering the question Father Justin said that in matters of leisure he was a liberal - he liked to smoke cigarettes and enjoyed drinks. The problem which he pointed out was the tendency to excess and lack of moderation, "With the advent of gender equality, the female gender in particular has lost its balance of mind and lays claim to anything that smells of masculinity, the distinction between the sexes has been blurred and a new type of so-called hoyden emerged [. ..]."[123] Finally, the young man was advised to take the counsel of the Holy Spirit.

The issue of the attitudes of the young generation to marriage will be more fully discussed in Chapter Seven. At this point in the analysis of the talks the focus is on the main religious elements taught on the Rosary Hour about marriage in the Catholic

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[121] Ibid., 99-101.
[122] Figas, "Chłopskie serce – P. O.," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 21 Jan. 1933-1934, 38; Appendix C3.
[123] Ibid.

Church and the reception of these pronouncements by the audience. From the reading of the correspondence to the radio programs 1933-1934 there emerges a picture of the gradual erosion of the religious concept of marriage among the Polish-Americans. The awareness of the importance of marriage for a member of the Catholic Church as a religious institution may be classified, on the basis of the letters sent to the Question Box in the 1933-1934 season, on three levels: an awareness based on the teachings of the Catholic Church, an awareness based on the tradition of religious rituals of the community of origin, and the disappearance of religious awareness. The example of the first level of awareness was shown by a correspondent from Buffalo, "My cousin has been living with a man for two years, and they are not married but she goes to church for Confession. Is it valid?"[124] The person who asked the question was aware of the issue of the Sacrament of Matrimony, of which her cousin was probably unaware. Another respondent wrote from Chicago, "It has been twenty years since we have lived together as a couple. Our neighbors and priests think that we are married. What we shall do? We are ashamed. My husband and I will do whatever you, Father, advise us."[125] It is evident that the couple was indifferent to the religious value system and merely followed the religious tradition of the ethnic community. A third type of awareness was exemplified by a man from Buffalo who was confused about the whole issue of the Sacrament of Marriage:

> Is the matrimony, as performed in the Catholic Church, a contract and sacrament or a contract only? My wife has claimed for the past twelve years that a wedding (celebrated in the Church) is a contract not a sacrament; that a husband is a

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[124] Figas, "Ruina rodziny – P. O," *MROJ*, 12 Nov. 1932-1933, 60; Appendix C3.
[125] Figas, "Trędowate –P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 28 Jan. 1933-1934, 50; Appendix C3.

> stranger to his wife, and based on the view she held, she collected everything and left me in my old age.[126]

This case is a combination of some sort of awareness of the religious tradition on the part of the husband, and a lack of awareness on the part of the wife. The attempt to clarify the question of the Sacrament of Marriage arose with the husband only after the desertion of the spouse, which shows that the religious attitudes of this couple towards marriage were replaced by a practical approach.

1934-1935

During the 1934-1935 broadcasting season there were no talks on marriage of the kind presented in the previous year, although marital problems emerged in some of the main talks and in the Question Box of that year. The majority of questions related to the religious aspect of marriage dealt with different cases, e.g., the canonical age for marriage. The Rosary Hour, in a sense, served from time to time as an advice bureau on matters related to Canon Law. This situation occurred on 9 December 1934, "Can a juvenile marry in the Church? Who besides the parents can sign the consent for marriage if the parents are still alive?"[127] A woman with a strong religious value system, asked Father Justyn to clarify the following issue,

> Being a widow I got married to a man from the Russian partition, who posed as a bachelor. We got married in the Church. After 12 years I learned that he had a wife and children in the Old-Country. I even have a letter from his wife. I divorced him. People say that I could live with him, because the marriage was contracted in the Church.[128]

"You did very well," responded Father Justyn. At a different time Father Justyn explained the rules regarding close relations intending to marry, "My second cousin

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[126] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo – P. O.," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 46-47; Appendix C3.
[127] Figas, "Robaczysko polskie – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 9 Dec. 1934-1935, 101; Appendix C3.
[128] Figas, "A jednak jest dusza – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 17 Feb. 1934-1935, 65; Appendix C3.

wants to marry me. My mother says that it is not possible."[129] These sample enquiries confirm the important role of religious attitudes regarding marriage among the listeners to the Rosary Hour although other evidence demonstrates something different, "I am getting married to a non-Pole and non-Catholic. I believe that faith alone will not save me."[130] It does not seem, however, that this attitude was representative of a sizeable group within the Polish-American community. It is apparent that the majority of the regular listeners accepted the teaching that came from the Rosary Hour.

1935-1936

In a talk aired on 26 January 1936, Father Justyn returned to the subject of marriage and the family model generally by repeating the "good marriage norms" from the talk on the "Duties of the Spouses," delivered in November 1933. Most of the program from January 1936 was, however, dedicated to different marriage crisis situations.[131] A few weeks later Father Justyn debated the momentous theme of happiness. He attempted to answer the question which was also the title of his talk, "Is there Happiness and where is it?"[132] Father Justyn acknowledged that while the pursuit of happiness was universal, unfortunately only a few people on earth enjoyed happiness. Most of them were chasing happiness where there was none. He expanded this philosophical and theological reflection by referring to the work "Ecclesiastes" by Stanisław Lubomirski, "Better is a small chalet with virtue than a big palace with fortune."[133] Then Father Justyn stated, "[…] reason without faith is nothing other than a

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[129] Figas, "A jednak są cuda - P.O." *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Mar. 1934-1935, 87; Appendix C3.
[130] Figas, "Grabarze szczęścia robotnika – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 24 Mar. 1934-1935, 129; Appendix C3.
[131] Figas, "Czemu nie powrócić do rodziny?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 26 Jan. 1935-1936, 31-38.
[132] Figas, "Czy jest i gdzie jest szczęście?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 9 Feb. 1935-1936, 58-65.
[133] Stanislaw H. Lubomirski, *Ecclesiastes* (1702) – treaty on happiness. Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski (1642–1702), was a Polish noble, politician, patron of the arts and writer.

blind cripple looking for something in darkness […]. Free will without faith changes into playfulness which turns a man into a slave […].”[134] Father Justyn was deeply convinced that individuals and nations who were replacing belief in God with blind belief in progress and human reason were devoid of the essential ingredient of happiness. The examples of unhappy nations and individuals were to be found in the capitalist countries, the nations living under Hitler’s swastika or the hammer and sickle, in pagan Mexico and unfortunately, amongst the American youth.

Drawing from his rich experience of meeting with all kinds of people during his journeys in the United States and overseas, Father Justyn gave the example of his meeting with two happy individuals. While travelling from Kalisz to Poznań he conversed with a young man who admitted that he was happy. Father Justyn, intrigued by this surprise disclosure, asked the man about his profession. Responding to the question the young man said that first of all he was a Catholic, then a Pole, then a husband and a father. The man was a merchant by profession and had moderate success in his job, but his priority in life was honesty. He learned to see God’s providence in adversities and how to wait patiently for the revelation of His will. The young man’s wife was the companion with whom he shared his life. Nevertheless, he placed his hope and happiness in God who always was magnanimous and generous in everything He did for him.

The second man lived in Gary, Indiana. When Father Justyn met with a group of people from there, they complained about their hard times. One of them was calm and did not speak at all until he was asked about his wellbeing. He lost his grocery shop, then his family house was taken away from him because of his debts, and he was unable to find

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[134] Figas, “Czy jest i gdzie jest szczęście?,” *MROJ*, vol. 2, 9 Feb. 1935-1936, 61.

work, but he did not complain. He said that he possessed, at that moment, exactly what he had when he landed on American soil thirty years ago – nothing, except a decent wife, good children and good health. The man was grateful to God for those blessings and hoped that the economy would turn around and bring better prospects. The message sent by Father Justyn to the audience was clear: "Believe in God, have confidence in your own strength and hope for a better future!"[135] According to Father Justyn, these values were the key in the pursuit of happiness which was to be found through faith in God, through confidence in ourselves using the talents given to us by the Creator and in our neighbors, especially those who needed support. In the talk "Is there Happiness and where is it?" Father Justyn combined the Old-Country's faith with the new American spirit of self reliance in which uncontrolled individualism was restrained by responsibilities towards the community. In his view the family was the bedrock of the most essential qualities needed by every society to prosper.

A different mood was presented to the listeners to the Rosary Hour on Sunday, February 23, 1936. They were presented with a gloomy picture of temporal life. [136] Father Justyn saw the quality of relationships in American society as being poor and the virtue of kindness in decline. Commerce was ruled by exploitation and speculation, which were killing honest competition. The Rosary Hour programs attributed these circumstances to the "so called modern society" which replaced God with reason and progress. As a result, in Father Justyn's opinion, a society following this model was heading towards a brutal, empty and unhappy life. In this pessimistic social context, the family emerged strongly as the source and bulwark of life, but also as a reflection of what

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[135]Ibid., 65.
[136] Figas, "Czyste małżeństwo czy wolna miłość?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 23 Feb. 1935-1936, 87-95.

was going on in society.[137] For that reason the main talk of the program put forward two contrasting models of marriage side by side.

The Christian concept of marriage and family as presented on that program included the dimension of religious vocation and the qualities necessary for achieving companionship, as discussed in previous paragraphs. The talk contained further explanation of the different facets of Christian marriage with additional elements taken from the Polish culture, which went beyond peasant experience. Father Justyn reminded his audience of the type of "Polish mother" who paid attention to the Church and patriotic matters; a selfless wife and mother, always ready to serve others, being important rather through others than through herself, walking the beaten track and not looking for a new route; a wife and mother seeing her world in the home and happiness close by. This type of woman was held in great respect by numerous members of the Polish lower nobility, who referred to their wives with the title, "friend - wife."[138] The title of friend, continued Father Justyn, was, in practice, a form of culturally-sanctioned emancipation of noble women whose position in their circles did not depend on sentiments and external attraction. This information, which Father Justyn drew from Polish literature and popular history, did not necessarily reflect the true state of affairs in the area of marriage and family relationships in the 1569-1795 period of the Polish - Lithuanian Commonwealth to which he referred. Nevertheless, the ideas described on the Rosary Hour were part of the Polish heritage and of what Father Justyn called the "virtues of forefathers:"

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[137] Ibid., 86-87.

[138] Since the XVI c. Polish lower nobility constituted up to 10% of the population, a greater proportion then in other European countries. In some counties of Eastern provinces tof the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the number of the lower nobility exceded 50% of total population; often the economic status of this lower nobility "szlachta zaściankowa," was the same as that of peasants, but they still enjoyed the full political rights.

> In order to be a good mother, one has to be a good daughter; in order to be a good wife one has to be a good virgin. These characteristics are so tightly intertwined with each other and always flow from one to the other that there is no place for any moral jumps here.[139]

The summary statement in the first part of this talk was certainly well based in the Christian value system and in Polish literature, but was it the practice of Polish Americans in the Thirties?

Traditional marriages were under attack since the twenties, as Father Justyn saw it, because of the so called "free love" advocates who endorsed informal sexual relationships between man and woman. Father Justyn debated this problem in another part of his February talk "Pure Marriage or Free Love?" He began by giving a definition of "free love," which was one of the areas of struggle for securing the equality of women. He observed that, in the Polish communities in America, there were organized groups of Polish women actively involved in promoting free love.[140] Many families in the Polish American communities were affected by this new development. The letter of a married woman, which Father Justyn presented on the radio program, showed the clash of the traditional attitudes held by a wife against her husband's modern ideas. The woman was sure that she was able to take care of herself, but was concerned for the children who had lost their father. The points made in the letter were reinforced by the texts selected from the Encyclical "On Christian Marriage." In this Encyclical Pope Pius XI condemned the view claiming that free love was an integral part of women's equality and called it a false freedom. In the final words of his talk Father Justyn used a quote from The New

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[139] Figas, "Czyste małżeństwo czy wolna miłość?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 23 Feb. 1935-1936, 88.
[140] Ibid., 92-93.

Testament dealing with the house built on rock[141] to reinforce his message that marriages holding to traditional rules survive the test of time.

The message of reinforcing of the traditional rules governing marriages and households came up again in the Question Box. In October 1935 this part of the broadcast, dedicated to various issues raised by the listeners, featured the question of a man from Detroit who complained about his wife, "I have a careless and contentious wife at home. My home is no home. What should I do?"[142] This stimulated comment on the idea of the type of home generated by the lower Polish gentry during the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1569 to 1795. The idea of reviving the old family values and the central role of the home in bringing up the young generation was publicized in Poland by a Polish writer and land owner Maria Rodziewiczówna (1863-1944). Her works praised the countryside and peasantry. During the interwar years she actively supported the Association of Polish Lower Gentry founded in 1938. Father Justyn presented on his program The Ten Commandments for the Household, which were displayed at the Hruszowa mansion house of Maria Rodziewiczówna. Among these were:"1. Respect silence, the good atmosphere and the peace of this house to become part of it, 2. You will be always busy with work according to your strengths, talents and interests. […]."[143] This topic was discussed and was later raised on 9 February 1936 in the talk "Is there Happiness and where is it?"[144]

1936-1940

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[141] "Everyone who listens to these words of mine and acts on them will be like a wise man who built his house on rock. The rain fell, the floods came, and the winds blew and buffeted the house. But it did not collapse; it had been set solidly on rock." Mat 7:24-25. NAB.
[142] Figas, "Wierzyć lub nie wierzyć? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 20 Oct. 1935-1936, 10; Appendix C3.
[143] Ibid., 10; Appendix C3.
[144] Figas, "Czy jest i gdzie jest szczęście?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 9 Feb. 1935-1936, 58-65.

The next broadcasting seasons brought several talks on marriage which repeated matters already discussed, e.g., Father Justyn dedicated the first part of the talk "Remember" to the theme of death in order to move on to the examination of conscience for married couples; in the second part he raised the issue of the responsibilities of husbands and wives. Other topics, like "Lame Marriages" from March 1937, [145] "Creator or Destroyer?," [146] and "What Happened to Home and Family?"[147] from February 1938, "Why Not Today?" from March 1938, "Human Trinity"[148] and "Shore or Pond"[149] from January and March 1939, dealt with marriage crises and the attitudes of the second generation of Polish Americans to the Christian norms and views presented by Father Justyn on the Rosary Hour. Father Alojzy Sobuś [150] talked in January 1940 on the general norms regarding Christian marriage. The Christian view on marriage, family and parental authority presented on the radio waves over a decade was heard by hundreds of thousands of Polish Americans. The way these messages were received and implemented will be studied in the next chapters, but can be previewed by the examination of sample questions.

The general pattern of questions related to the religious aspect of marriage can be divided into four categories: norms for a good Catholic marriage, choosing a partner, special cases, and rejection of the norms of the traditional marriage. With some variations this pattern repeated itself over the years. Questions related to marriage issues were asked repeatedly and were answered repeatedly. One of the reasons for that practice was the old

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[145] Figas, "Kulawe małżeństwa," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Mar. 1936-1937, 80-87.
[146] Figas, "Twórczyni czy niszczycielka," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 13 Feb. 1937-1938, 19-25.
[147] Figas, "Co się stało z domem i z rodziną?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 20 Feb. 1937-1938, 30-37.
[148] Figas, "Trójca ludzka," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 29 Jan. 1938-1939, 137-142.
[149] Figas, "Brzeg czy staw?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 19 Mar. 1938-1939, 61-64.
[150] Figas, "Mowa O. Alojzego Sobusia," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 7 Jan. 1939-1940, 106-116.

Latin proverb, "Repetitio mater studiorum." Another reason was motivated by the constantly enlarging radio network which every year enabled new people to listen to the programs, so that there was always a group in the audience which was hearing an issue for the first time. In the 1933-1934 season, Father Justyn spoke on the norms of a good marriage in the talk "Duties of the Spouses and Parents."[151] In November 1936 he received a question asking about the norms for a good marriage, "Recently I have married. What shall I do to make our marriage a happy one?"[152] Choosing a partner was not always an easy part in the process of getting married. Often the parents of the parties wanted to influence that choice; "I am twenty-two years old. My father does not allow me to marry. My fiancée is a good Catholic and a Pole."[153] Father Justyn in all these cases advocated parental restraint and respect for the couple's choice, "[…]. Many fathers and many mothers imagine that the child has to stay at home with them for life. This is a bad idea. Others again insist that the son takes a wife that they like; or that the daughter marries the one whom they selected for her. And those also act unwisely. […]."[154] The so-called "special cases involving marriage" were the most numerous among these four categories. "My sister, a widow, is visited by a Protestant, who vowed (got married) before the Justice of Peace, and now got a divorce!" Answer, "[…]. So, the marriage of this Protestant is valid. […]. Therefore, your sister, the widow, cannot get married in the Church. […]."[155] The last category of questions on the rejection of traditional marriage, was the rarest among these categories, but was also recognized and commented upon.

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[151] Figas, "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov. 1933-1934, 82.
[152] Figas, "Czyśmy gorsi? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 8 Nov. 1936-1937, 30; Appendix C3.
[153] Figas, "Czy życie nie jest bolesną pielgrzymką? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 16 Jan. 1936-1937, 120; Appendix C3.
[154] Ibid; Appendix C3.
[155] Figas, "Dlaczego? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 27 Feb. 1937-1938, 51; Appendix C3.

"Would not relaxed divorce regulations help human happiness? Why does the Church not consider this?" Signed, T. S., New Bedford, Massachusetts. The answer to that kind of questions was unchanging, "[…]. Divorce is a sign of the breakdown of the family, the demoralization of husband and wife, harmful to the children and leads to the destruction of society. [...]."[156]

[156] Figas, "Powiedz mojemu ojcu – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol, 1, 22 Jan. 1938-1939, 133; Appendix C3.

Summary

A typical pattern for the religious topics on the Rosary Hour in the seasons covering the period 1933-1940 can be divided into three categories: first, catechetical teachings on doctrinal topics, second, threats to the family and society and changes in religious attitudes; third, fundamental religious and social values necessary for a strong family and for the continuation of the Polish culture and the development of the Polish American community in the United States. Among the attitudes towards faith Father Justyn put forward the "three dimensional faith" as the necessary torch showing the way to happiness, satisfaction and prosperity. This included faith in God, faith in oneself and faith in the leader of the United States. However faith was endangered by the secular culture of the host country and by the growing rationalistic and superstitious attitudes among the Polish-Americans.

Father Justyn based the main point of his vision of marriage on the teachings of the Church, mainly the Holy Scriptures and the Pope Pius XI Encyclical on Christian Marriage, which presented marriage as a religious institution. So he kept to Catholicism and Polish culture, which were the vehicles for communicating religious and moral values among the Polish immigrants, and were the necessary prerogatives in building a happy marriage, according to Father Justyn. The letters and questions presented on the Rosary Hour showed three levels of awareness of the religious dimension of marriage among the Polish Americans: awareness based on the teachings of the Catholic Church, awareness based on the tradition of religious rituals of the community of origin, and the disappearance of religious awareness.

Chapter Five: Gender:
Family Threats and Alterations in the Woman's Traditional Roles

The conclusions to Chapter Four have shown Father Justyn's anxiety about the American culture, which he considered as posing a danger to the traditional value system brought over by the Polish immigrants from the Old-Country. The main tendencies in American culture Father Justin underlined most clearly in one of his talks of the 1934-1935 season: "The Torch of Happiness" and the talk of season 1937-1938, "What Happened to the Home and Family?"[1] In the latter, the characteristics of American cultural realities were better developed than in the first one and included more applications to contemporary life. The section "Family threats" in Chapter Two lists the main external and internal causes of disintegration of family life in the Polish-American community. Among the external causes Father Justyn included: World War I, Prohibition and depression, the movies, bad newspapers, pornographic publications and secular education. The list of the internal threats to family life was filled up with the main national vices: abuse of alcohol, political inertia, disunity, division and jealousy. This chapter will take a closer look at the particular manifestations of these main causes of the disintegration of the family, particularly Father Justyn's counsels with regard to divorce, desertion, mixed marriage, birth control and abortion - along with his views on gender roles and women's emancipation.

The traditional system where the married couple was part of the large family was sanctioned by the entire social milieu in Poland together with the Church and state.

[1] Figas, "Pochodnia szczęścia," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Oct. 1934-1935, 3-7; Figas, "Co się stało z domem i z rodziną?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 20 Feb. 1938, 30-37.

Thomas and Znaniecki observed in their research a disorganization of the conjugal relation among the Polish immigrants in the American context. The authors linked their explanation of this phenomenon to disintegration of the old system of the extended family which was not reconstructed in the new environment. In the new setting the old attitudes on which marriage was based as a social institution almost lost their value. The constitutional separation of church and state effectively removed the authority of church and consequently the community to enforce the old value system related to marriage, unless the individuals chose to participate in the life of that community and voluntarily accept its authority. Thomas and Znaniecki suggested that marriage under the new circumstances depended basically on the temperament and attitudes of individuals, "Sexual desire, maternal instinct, in a much smaller measure paternal feeling, desire for response and desire for security are practically the only powers, which draw and keep the couples together."[2]

a) Divorce

Among the most vivid examples and causes of disintegration of family life was divorce. Originally, for most of the Polish immigrants, especially from the peasant class, divorce was a rare option. The very first of Father Justyn's radio talks in 1926 was devoted to divorce, which, in the post World War I era, was a most disputed subject that often appeared in the programs of The Rosary Hour. One program broadcast in the season of 1933-1934 showed a family disintegrated by divorce. Initially Father Justin described one particular marriage which was an exemplary union. The parents brought up five children. Under the influence of her unmarried girl friend the apparently exemplary

[2] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, vol. II, 1704.

wife and mother started enjoying social life often leaving the children on their own. In her response to the comments of her husband regarding her conduct she stated, "I did not marry you to be your slave for life."[3] Eventually she left her husband for another man and shortly afterwards died in a car accident. Her lover became an alcoholic and got mentally ill. This story was followed by a hard statistic showing a fast growing number of divorced couples in America. The Federal Statistic noted in 1888, 5.4 divorced marriages for every 100 couples; in 1932 the proportion of the divorced couples grew to 17.0 for every 100 couples.[4]

This trend had its reflection in the letters sent to radio program. In the Question Box Father Justin would give answers to only a selected number of questions, on average ten, in a sixty minute program. Examination of the queries shows that there were three questions related to divorce in the broadcast season of 1932-1933. In the next year the number of such questions grew to eight. In the season of 1934-1935 Father Justin explained the matter of divorce four times. In the following years the questions about divorce declined, but the rate of divorce did not. In a single program only a few of the most representative letters were used. Typically, he would use them as an introduction for the catechesis on the Sacrament of Marriage. On Sunday, December 4, 1932, he read a question from a letter signed, M. S., from Cleveland, "I know that the Catholic Church says that marriage is the Sacrament, but would not it be better if, in some cases the Church approved divorce?"[5] After explaining the official teaching of the Church on divorce, Father Justyn linked divorce with abortion and birth control.

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[3] Figas, "Ruina rodziny," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 12 Nov. 1933-1934, 54-60.
[4] Ibid., 57.
[5] Figas, Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.," *MROJ,* 4 Dec. 1932-1933, 27.

Another author, in a non-signed letter from Buffalo, stated, "[…] the Catholic Church teaches the people that they always have to live in marriage and have many children. But, this teaching takes effect only with the poor and dim. […] The rich and aristocracy are free to do everything. They can get divorced and have a comfortable life."[6] Then, the author described the scenes in the marriage of her parents and informed Father Justin about her decision against marrying in the church. This sad story served in the radio program to explain the teaching of the church in most understandable categories. Sometimes the answers were given by way of a humorous story, as in the case of a man who wrote to Father Justin about his sixty four year old wife who wanted to divorce him.[7] In this instance a witty answer, "Devil feeds fire in the old burning stove," and a common sense recommendation of discussing the problem with the local pastor, probably made a better argument with the audience in support of marital unity than a referral to the strictly theological concepts.

Worth noting is the attitude of the author of the radio talks towards the gender issue in respect to divorce. In most of the cases brought forward, the women were presented as bearing the main consequences of the relaxed approach to marriage:

> Yes, knowing how easy it is today to get divorced, the present day youth enters into marriage blindly and without consideration. Divorce disgraces today's society and the woman particularly is dragged down from the altar of honor and adoration. The divorce tears the beautiful wreath of virtue and sanctity out of her; it pushes her down to the level of a person without mind and nobleness.[8]

This statement was followed by an example of a woman who got married in a civil court. Her husband left her with a child after six months, then got a divorce and married another

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[6] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 45.
[7] Figas, "Robaczysko polskie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 9 Dec. 1934-1935, 102.
[8] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 45.

woman in a different state. The quoted letter ended with the words, "Left and without work, what am I going to do?"[9] Father Justin admitted to taking on that case personally but he did not disclose the name and location of the woman to protect her anonymity. This public show of concern by a respected clergyman for a deserted woman must have made an impression not only on the women listening, but especially on the men as an example of marital responsibilities.

The rise of the radio talks dedicated to the problem of divorce in the season of 1934-1935 and a growing number of divorce cases noted afterwards, indicated a considerable change of attitude among the Polish immigrant population towards the value of marriage unity. The letters presented on the programs illustrated a growing problem of isolation of a number of families from the community which was generally still adhering to the Old-Country value system. Two researches, Shonle Cavan and Katherine Howland Ranck who studied in the Thirties the effects of the Depression on family life discerned two trends in their investigation of a sample of one hundred families in Chicago.[10] During the economic crisis some families developed even stronger bonds among their individual members while the other family units disintegrated. Cavan and Ranck explain this fact by differences in the condition of the family structure before a social crisis strikes. The integrated units tended to adapt to the changing environment and carry out usual chores. The families who were crumbling prior to the Depression had no resources to face problems and usually would fall apart. The authors mentioned integrity and adaptability as factors important in surviving the economic problems. The observations

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[9] Ibid., 46.
[10] Ruth Shonle Cavan and Catherine Ranck, *The Family and the Depression* (Chicago: The Univerisity of Chicago Press, 1938).

made by Cavan and Ranck emphasize two elements in their study: a tendency of urban families to become isolated units[11] and a tendency of some families to remain in the neighborhood.[12] The different patterns of rustic and urban cultures inevitably influenced reactions of the family units to the economic crisis. Most likely the isolation of an immigrant family in a crisis situation represents the effect of urban culture, which is characterized by individualism and reduced ability to mobilize its members to act as an integrated loyal unit. In the case of some sections of the Polish-American community Father Justyn observed a cultural vacuum, a condition characterized by lack of traditional ethnic culture and at the same time a superficial enculturation into the new American way of life. The second group of families identified by Cavan and Ranck tended to remain in familiar surroundings. Was it dictated only by economic imperative, or should this latter trend be seen as the effect of a rustic culture with its strong tendency to communalism? A number of questions sent to the Rosary Hour point toward religious motives influencing decisions of the Polish-Americans regarding marriage and family unity.[13] The two trends observed by Cavan and Ranck in the family units living through the Great Depression are also mirrored in the in the Question Box of the Rosary Hour.

b) Desertion

The problem of desertion was also painfully hurting to the family during the Depression, but Father Justyn targeted that problem less often than divorce. The number of questions related to this issue presents itself as follows: season of 1932-1933, eight

[11] Ibid., 90.
[12] Ibid., 192.
[13] Figas, "Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 4 Dec. 1932-1933, 27; Appendix D.

items and in the next years in sequence: three, three, one, zero, three, zero.[14] Very often desertion ended with divorce, sometimes with legal separation but also with reconciliation. There are some cases of child desertion. The small number of questions raising the problem of desertion prompts one to infer a minute occurrence of this form of family pathology among the Polish-Americans. During the second year of the radio program Father Justyn dedicated a whole talk to the issue of desertion. Out of nine letters used in that single talk, three were written by children from Chicago, Pittsburgh and Detroit and described the desertion of fathers. There was also a man from East Pittsburgh writing about his wife who left him and their two children for a non-Pole. Three letters from Cleveland, Hamtramck and Buffalo related to children breaking contacts with their parents. Another two letters included stories from Chicago and Buffalo describing women with children, who were left by their husbands. The problem of desertion was very often related to alcoholism, generational conflict and adultery. The cases introduced in the second program represented a typical pattern recurring over the following years. Typically, the women were at a disadvantage in those situations.

There are several vivid illustrations of female mistreatment prior to desertion. This evidence is to be found throughout the Thirties in the Question Box and in the radio talks. In a letter from Toledo, a woman told the story of her husband who left her and their two children three times.[15] She used the word "Gypsy" to describe his character. In the Polish colloquial language that word has several meanings; one of them is "untrustworthy." Whatever the causes of the men's irresponsibility for a family, it was mostly the women who had to deal with its consequences. An anonymous woman

[14] Author estimation.
[15] Figas, "Czemu nie dziś?- P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 6 Mar. 1937-1938, 60.

reported to Father Justyn that she would get only thirty cents daily from her husband for the housekeeping. On one occasion he took a holy picture off the wall of their house and destroyed it. According to the abused woman's version of the story, he did not practice religion and forbade her to attend church. The deserted wife admitted at the end to meeting with her mother-in-law who pleaded with her to accept the unreliable husband once more. The young woman expected the Radio Priest to judge her case.

Father Justin was aware that his verdicts were listened to by hundreds of thousands of families and would influence the relationship of many couples that were on the brink of breaking up. So, his rulings had to be theologically sound, simple and practical. The judgment passed in the case of the above-mentioned woman reveals many aspects of the family based relationship. On Sunday, March 6, 1938, between six and seven p.m., all listeners of the Rosary Hour heard that they should forgive those who trespassed against them, "Accept him once more. But, put several conditions on him."[16] First, freedom of religious practice for the woman; second, her husband's conversion and return to the practice of receiving the Holy Sacraments third, the husband should provide for the housekeeping and the other expenses in a rational and sufficient way. At this point Father Justyn stated that wives should be treated as husbands' equals, companions and associates. He dismissed as unacceptable the husbands' tendency to treat their wives as their boarders, hirelings, servants or slaves. The standard regulating financial matters set by The Rosary Hour considered the wives as keepers of the husband's salaries.[17] Father

[16] Ibid.
[17] Father Justin and his respondents used the word "pejda" instead of salary, a polonized version of an English word "to pay."

Justyn based his ruling on the tradition of giving up the control of the family finances to the mothers.

However, some husbands and fathers were unable for different reasons to provide for their families, which caused them loss of authority and respect of their wives and children. That alienated them emotionally from the family unit. Desertion and divorce were a logical consequence and a formal expression of a dysfunctional unit. The Great Depression disrupted the former family, ethnic, and workplace structures based on authority. The traditional family pattern was based on a strong family union, set roles for all members of the unit and self-sufficiency. This model had gradually crumbled. The harsh economic conditions of the Thirties often made it necessary for women to take work outside of home to defend the family from destitution. In this situation the biggest losers in the area of family life became fathers from working-class families. A man from Buffalo, Signed, J. J., expressed in his question directed to Father Justyn his frustration caused by loss of the traditional authority and respect, "Has the today's guy nothing to say? Women press on everywhere, they replace the guys, take their work, even the office work."[18] The answer broadcast on the Rosary Hour on March 4, 1934, acknowledged the reality of women's equality and pointed at common abuses which occurred in the area of women's employment, "[…] there are many professions and jobs not adequate to the woman' nature. The guilty are often the employers, who driven by greed, employ women for a lower wage to work in jobs better suited for men."[19]

The question of women working paid jobs requires more attention to the consequences it brought on the family structure. The evidence presented by Leslie

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[18] Justyn, "Żale ludzkie, - P. O.," *MROJ*, 4 Mar. 1934, 124; Appendix D.
[19] Ibid.

Tentler in her book, *Wage Earning Women,* suggests that in the period of the first three decades of the twentieth century the factory employment was the most common for the working class women taking up paid work. The author claims that, for most women, the work experience did not alter in any significant way their dependence on the family.[20] In fact, as the author puts it, the paid work experience even enforced in those women the sex-segregated roles in the family. Their earnings were so small that without family support the wage was not sufficient for independent living. In that context, a married woman going to work signified a family crisis – usually unemployment or insufficient earnings of the main breadwinner. The increasing activity of women in the labor market, especially the married ones, signified a diminishing role of men as chief breadwinners. As a consequence of the wage-earning opportunities available in the industrial centers, other members of the household challenged their paternal authority which had hitherto been based on providing for the family. According to Tentler the working class husbands of different ethnic backgrounds had the custom of turning over their salaries to their wives.[21] This observation is also supported by the evidence found in the Rosary Hour talks.[22] Mothers then, were not only the emotional centers of the families but also made the economic decisions. They were much more involved in child rearing and disciplining them than fathers were. The working women did not obviously intend to undermine the family union. However, the new job opportunities and the Social Security Act of 1935 which created a program aimed at helping families with children, among other factors,

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[20] Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Wage Earning Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 5.
[21] Ibid., 177.
[22] Figas, "Czemu nie dziś?- P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 6 Mar. 1937-1938, 60.

contributed to economic independence of women, and also to a growing rate of divorce, desertion and single mothers.

c) **Mixed marriages**

The increasing activity of working-class women in the labor market created more opportunities for interacting with members of different ethnic groups and religious denominations. The effects of this new development were not welcomed and were viewed as threat by the Polish ethnic community in America. The analyses of the radio talks and the letters used in the programs show that mixed marriages were treated by Father Justyn as a most dangerous trend, destroying faith and the family unity among the Polish-Americans. There were two main kinds of mixed marriages to which the radio program referred: the mixed nationality marriage and the mixed religion marriage. There were twenty eight questions related to the issue of mixed marriages between the broadcast seasons 1931-1932 and 1939-1940.[23] In this period Father Justyn gave two talks devoted specifically to that problem.[24]

In the first talk related to the problem, delivered on Sunday, November 19, 1933, Father Justyn revealed his views concerning mixed marriages. In his opinion it was a growing problem in the Polish communities in the United States affecting especially the younger generation. Father Justin, in his speech, recognized the influence of the alien environment on the Polish youth who mixed with religious and cultural strangers, "The surroundings, employment, entertainment and even prayer, tends more to strangers and

[23] Author estimation.
[24] Figas, "Małżeństwa mieszane," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 19 Nov., 1933-1934, 68-74; Figas, "Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 15 Mar. 1935-1936, 129-135.

not to our own kind."[25] In the introduction to that talk the Radio Priest argued against the opinion of some Polish-Americans who accepted the view of cultural defeatism. He compared himself to a doctor and asked rhetorically, **"**Is a doctor who sees a slowly dying patient, allowed to be idle? Is he allowed to apply a poison to speed up his death?"[26]

Father Justin organized his talk around four points: the teaching of the Church, expert opinion, his own experience and extracts from the letters from the listeners. On the first point he alluded to the authority of Canon Law, which severely forbade mixed religion marriages because of the danger of losing faith. He also quoted Pope Leo XIII who believed that mixed religion marriages led to religious indifference, the biggest danger of the twentieth century.[27] The Director of the Rosary Hour supported that opinion with the evidence from the estimated statistics he received from an informant referred to as a prominent non-Polish priest, showing that 80% of the Irish Catholics and 60% of German Catholics who entered mixed marriages left the Faith.[28] The given numbers were only estimated and were not supported by hard evidence. So, in this case Father Justyn could have been ill-informed. It was probably for this reason that this general statistic was followed in his talk by a statistic concerning a single, unnamed Catholic diocese in the United States, which revealed that out of 450 mixed marriages 400 led to the loss of faith by the Catholic side and 90% of the children of those marriages never identified with the Catholic Church. Finally, Father Justyn presented the opinion of Father Jan A. Schmitt, a contemporary authority on inter-denominational statistics, who claimed that in

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[25] Figas, "Małżeństwa mieszane," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 19 Nov. 1933-1934, 67.
[26] Ibid., 67-68.
[27] Ibid., 69.
[28] Ibid., 68.

marriages where one side was a Catholic and the other was a non-Catholic, 66% of the children did not practice any religion at all.[29]

The observations of the author of the radio program and the selected letters were one-sided and intended to disclose the mechanism of losing faith and religious tradition in the marriages in question. Father Justyn either did not notice, which seems unlikely, or decided not to emphasize the weaknesses of the peasant form of Catholicism of the Polish-Americans, based on rituals and the use of sacred objects, but not intellectually deepened. This form of Catholicism observed by the chaplains working among the Polish immigrants in Northwest England by the end of the nineteenth century, and discussed in Chapter One, appears not to have changed substantially in the environment of the United States of the Thirties. This form of Catholicism, which evolved in the close-knit village communities among the mostly illiterate peasants, was sufficient to introduce them into the mysteries of faith in a safe and familiar environment controlled by the Church, the state and the local village elders. In confrontation with the representatives of heterodox and the more intellectually based religious professions, traditional Catholics were usually unable to express their faith in intellectual terms, although they had some kind of formal education in the United States.

At this point Father Justyn presented the common and dangerous experiences and ideas to which those who decided to leave their own kind were exposed: equality of all religions, questioning of the Catholic religious discipline prompted by the non-Catholic spouse, entering new relationships with people of different religions. The latter observation made by Father Justyn pointed also to the phenomenon of the inferiority

[29] Ibid., 69.

complex among Polish-Americans towards the Protestant majority, whom they viewed as standing higher in American society. The social and cultural standards represented by Protestants could have been mixed up with religious values and led many of the poorly educated members of the Polish communities in America to accept their heterodox standards in the religious sphere.

The best way to convince the listeners of the dangers of liaisons with non-Catholics was to provide the radio family with the evidence which would speak for itself and make the main point of the talk crystal clear. Father Justyn selected for his program the story of a woman from Cleveland, who described her troubled marriage in a letter read during a radio talk. The unnamed woman from Cleveland, Ohio, admitted in her letter to contracting a Sacramental Marriage at the age of eighteen in the Catholic Church. After the birth of their first child, the non-Catholic husband forbade his wife to attend the religious practices at her church. This sad story focused on the two main aspects of the mixed marriage, the religious one and the cultural. The author of the letter depicted the negative attitudes shown by both families towards her. The Polish side opposed the marriage and terminated contacts with the woman. The husband's family did not accept her as an equal in their family for the reason, as she put it, of being ashamed of her.[30]

Several persons, who were teenagers in the Thirties, confirmed this negative attitude of the contemporary Polish-American community towards mixed religion marriages. Among them was one of the future directors of the Rosary Hour, Father

[30] Ibid., 69-70 and 71.

Marion Tolczyk, O.F.M.Conv., and this is how he described the atmosphere existing in his family in the Thirties:

> It was not just Father Justin, it was general at that time; that you stay with your own. It all meant that Polish and Catholic couples will survive, and will have a better life. You did not go around with other nationalities. You would be brought up in a safer situation if you lived and interacted with your own. [31]

It seems that the slogan, "Stick to your own kind," was well learned by the second generation of the Polish-Americans, though not necessarily practiced by all, and the story read by Father Justyn signaled a trend among the younger generation that the majority of marriages which were contracted before the World War II were with their "own kind," ethnically and religiously speaking.

Same religion but culturally mixed marriages were also causing uneasiness in the Polish-American community. The Rosary Hour did not oppose mixed nationality marriages as much as it opposed mixed religion marriages. Over the considered period of nine years, Father Justyn spoke twenty four times on the mixed religion marriage, four times on mixed nationality marriage and once on mixed race marriage.[32] Father Director either dedicated his talk to a chosen topic or discussed a problem briefly during the part of the program called the Question Box. The majority of answers were sent, however, by mail. Unfortunately the letters received by the Rosary Hour have been destroyed. The only ones that have survived are the copies of those read on the program.

The mixed nationality issue had been raised twice on the radio talks in connection with the already mentioned mixed religion marriages. In the talks broadcast in 1933 and

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[31] Author interview with Sophia Helfand, 13 March 2000, in Silver Spring MD; Autor interview with Fr. Marion Tolczyk OFMConv., 23 February 2000, in Athol Springs, N.Y; Author interview with Mary Jung, February 23, 2000, in Buffalo, N.Y.

[32] Author estimation.

1936 Father Justyn gave reasons against the mixed nationality marriages. Although, he admitted, the Church did not oppose mixed nationality marriages, he said that, "No farmer sows wheat together with rye or plants cabbage with carrots on his soil. That is why his field presents such a beautiful picture. The same is with God, who created diverse nationalities; sow wheat and rye on the same piece of land and what happens?"[33] As Father Justin saw it, Polish-American youth stood higher morally and physically than the other nationalities and there was no need to look for marriage partners elsewhere. In both talks dedicated to that issue, he criticized very strongly the idea of the melting pot, which he regarded as a Nordic and Saxon invention for all other nationalities but theirs.[34] However, the views he presented were not founded on political or racist considerations. Father Justyn's prime objective was a pastoral one. He was convinced that the women of Polish origin usually were disadvantaged in both the mixed religion and mixed nationality marriages. Despite that, the women were entering into these bonds more frequently than the men of Polish origin.[35]

A number of letters gave several reasons for that. A woman signed S. W., from Buffalo, N. Y. in her letter rejected faith as the basis for a happy marriage.[36] In a letter written by A. R. from Sonyea, N. Y., a parent asked a question related to the marriage of (his/her) seventeen year old daughter to a forty year old divorced non-Catholic. The wealth of the candidate for a husband mentioned in the explanation of the problem seems to be the reason for that marriage.[37] Father Justyn quoted, as reasons for a mixed

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[33] Figas, "Małżeństwa mieszane," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 19 Nov. 1933-1934, 73.
[34] Figas, "Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 15 Mar. 1935-1936, 134.
[35] Figas, "Małżeństwa mieszane," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 19 Nov. 1933-1934, 67.
[36] Figas, "Grabarze szczęścia robotnika – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 24 Mar. 1934-1935, 129; Appendix D.
[37] Figas, "Czy świat lituje się nad niemi? – P. O.," *MROJ,* vol., 2, 24 Apr. 1937-1938, 143.

marriage, the complaints of the girls of Polish origin about the boys of Polish origin, who according to them, were yobs, lazy and boozers. Father Justyn dismissed these complaints as untrue and listed a desire for a fashionable and comfortable life among the true reasons, in the majority of cases, for marrying outside the religious and ethnic boundaries.[38] The Rosary Hour had to give a clear opinion and direction, but probably the rule of supply and demand should be also counted among the main reasons for contracting mixed marriages.

d) Birth control

On 5th November 1933, Father Justyn began his foreword to the talk with the following statement, "I have never received so many questions relating to the marriage problems, as in the last three weeks. They deal with civil marriages, divorces and birth control."[39] The birth control issue came up for the first time on the Rosary Hour on the program broadcast on March 19th, 1933. A listener from Rochester, N. Y., signed T. P., asked this question, "Why, out of all churches, is it that only the Roman Catholic Church insists and orders that the families have as many children as possible?"[40] Prior to the answer, Father Justyn made the following remark to the author of this question, "How unreasonable and even silly it sounds when any old cobbler or a tailor takes to translating the teaching of the Catholic Church?"[41] The Director of the radio program justified his slightly harsh remark by the malicious tone of the question. Later he explained the stand of the Church on birth control.

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[38] Figas, "Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 15 Mar. 1935-1936, 135.
[39] Figas, "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 5 Nov. 1933-1934, 41.
[40] Appendix D.
[41] Figas, "(Untitlet) - P. O.," *MROJ*, 19 Mar. 1932-1933, 73.

Until the second half of the broadcast season 1934-1935 the birth control issue came up on the program only three times. It happened twice in connection with the famous American radio priest, Father Charles E. Coughlin.[42] The Polish language press alleged that Father Coughlin made offending remarks against Poles during a hearing in Washington, D.C. on birth control by comparing them to Negroes. After receiving hundreds of letters Father Justin clarified the allegation by reporting on his personal meeting with Father Coughlin and by reading his letter of explanation in English and Polish to the listeners of the Rosary Hour. The letter presented a positive opinion held by the famous Radio Priest from Detroit about the attitude of the Poles towards the teaching of the Church on birth control.[43]

There is an indication that Father Justyn was receiving many more letters urging him to speak up on his radio program about the issue of birth control. In an appeal broadcast on January 20, 1935, Father Justin invited all the listeners of his program to write on this subject and express their opinion on whether he should talk on the issue of birth control publicly or not.[44] The tone of this appeal suggests an uneasiness with which Father Director decided to take to this question, "Up till now, for various reasons, I did not take to a very important socio-religious issue. This topic is so widely discussed today and unfortunately practiced: birth control, murdering of a fetus, etc."[45] He pointed to the seriousness of that problem which threatened the very foundations of the Church, family and nation. Usually Father Justyn knew very well what to say and when. It was not so in

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[42] Figas, "W górę serca – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol., 2, 19 Apr. 1934-1935, 167-168. Father Justin Figas refrained from making public comments on the issues raised by Father Charles E. Coughlin. He praised him in general terms for his contribution in the field of social justice, but admitted to having some reservations to certain points in his radio program.
[43] Figas, "Robotnik," *MROJ*, vol., 2, 25 Feb. 1933-1934, 104.
[44] Figas, "Bądź wola nasza – P. O.," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 20 Jan. 1934-1935, 13.
[45] Ibid; Appendix D.

this case. The radio listeners were invited to respond to his appeal during the following week, but it took Father Justin almost a year to return to that subject. He did it in the Question Box section. A woman urged Father Justyn to respond to her question,"I have already written three times asking Father Justin to speak up on birth control. I am sure that every woman is interested in it."[46] The addressee admitted to receiving several thousands of letters on this subject and made an excuse for not discussing it on the radio. As reasons he gave the delicate feelings of the female listeners and the imagination of the young listeners. This was followed by a story depicting a related problem of abortion.

Father Justin, a year after his appeal, was still considering the pros and cons involved in broadcasting a program devoted to a systematic analysis of the birth control issue. What was holding him off from debating that problem, as he put it, was the spiritual welfare of the radio listeners who represented a cross section of the Polish-American community. A sizable part of that community had very little knowledge or probably was totally unaware of the new methods of birth control. We have to remember that there was still a sizable number of the first generation of immigrants who were either illiterate or did not know the English language. In their case and in the case of the adolescent listeners Father Justyn would run the risk of scandalizing the innocent if he decided to use the radio program to debate the controversial topic. Another unspoken reason which may have held him back from going public with birth control was the attitude of the hierarchy and the parish clergy in the United States and Canada. The Director of the Rosary Hour had to respect their opinion because they, according to Canon Law, had the prime responsibility for the spiritual welfare of their dioceses and

[46] Figas, "Na co spowiedź? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol., 1, 5 Jan. 1935-1936, 157; Appendix D.

parishes. However, Father Justin admitted to having antagonized some clergy by his radio broadcasts in other areas. For example, in March 1932 he received from hundreds of radio listeners a cutting from one of the parish bulletins in which a Polish pastor from Chicago criticized the Rosary Hour and discouraged his parishioners from supporting the program financially.[47] Another Polish pastor from Buffalo publicly spoke about Father Justyn in derogative terms calling him a beggar.[48] However, the Polish priests from New England were on the whole very supportive of the Rosary Hour. The fact of crossing the boundaries of dioceses and parishes with a distinct Franciscan and Polish pastoral program, must have surely been met with mixed feelings in some circles in the Catholic Church and among the Polish clergy in particular. The local Ordinary, Bishop of Buffalo William Turner, was definitely supportive of the Polish language pastoral radio program. Father Justyn cited the approval of the Rosary Hour by the Bishop of Buffalo at the beginning of every broadcasting season.

Several weeks after January 5th, 1936, when Father Justin mentioned the contentious problem, it came up again in a woman's question read on the radio on February 23rd, 1936. She sent her letter signed L. N., from Cleveland, "Why Father Justin says nothing about 'birth control'? All are writing about this."[49] Again, Father Director shared with his listeners some of the reservations keeping him from addressing the requested topic. At that time he must have felt strong pressure from the listeners of whom four thousand, men and women, wrote asking him to give them some guidelines. Father Jan A. Książek, the author of a monograph of the Rosary Hour, maintains that in radio

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[47] Figas, "Raj bolszewicki – P. O.," **MROJ*, 13 Mar. 1932, 10.
[48] Figas, "Niedoszła Samobójczyni [*sic*] – P. O.," **MROJ*, 21 Feb. 1932, 8.
[49] Figas, "Czyste małżeństwo czy wolna miłość?, - P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 23 Feb. 1935-1936, 97; Appendix D.

broadcasting there is a rule, according to which, behind every letter sent to a radio station there are five hundred radio listeners who share the same opinion, or the same question, although not all of them write.[50] If we accepted that rule the number of people requesting Father Justyn to talk on birth control would be two million. However, Father Justyn was not yet prepared to yield to the request of his radio family. His authority was at stake. If he avoided speaking on that subject for too long, he would start losing at least some of the more educated audience. For the time being the listeners were offered a short introduction to the history of birth control, starting from the story of Onan described in chapter thirty-eight of Genesis in the Old Testament. Mentioning on the radio the theory of Malthus on population and his criticism of the theory of neo-Malthusianism was only a way of avoiding broaching the issue head on.

Father Justyn exposed on the program aired on 23 February 1936, a large audience of male and female listeners who still considered religious teachings on the subject of birth control as relevant in their practice of conjugal intercourse.[51] This finding may be compared to a research carried out in 1958 on the religious aspects of society by Gerhard Lenski who published his investigation in 1961 in *The Religious Factor*.[52] He applied a sociological method to investigate the influence of religious belief and practice on the life of society. This technique includes: interviews, a representative cross-section of the studied population, a standardized schedule of questions. For this particular study a sample of seven hundred fifty Detroiters was selected. A sample of six hundred persons

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[50] Książek, *Father Justin Rosary Hour,* 247.
[51] Figas, ”Czyste małżeństwo czy wolna miłość?, - P. O.,” *MROJ*, vol. 2, 23 Feb. 1935-1936, 97; Appendix D.
[52] Gerhard Lenski, *The religious Factor* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961).

is sufficient to determine characteristics of a population of several million people.[53] Lenski intended to prove that the religious commitment of a believer influences his everyday life and consequently that of the society. He presented a very convincing evidence to prove his claim against a widely accepted sociological theory of economic determinism.

The author provided data for four socio-religious groups: White Protestants, Negro Protestants, White Catholics and Jews in the area of family size. Lenski observed in his study how Protestant and Catholic teaching on this issue determines the actual practice. In short, the Protestant churches accepted the control of births with modern contraceptives. The Catholic Church rejected these methods as immoral and favored more numerous families. In the fifties, nine percent of young white-Protestant couples under forty reported having four or more children; among the white Catholic families, the percentage with four or more children grew from 10% in 1952 to 22% by the end of the decade.[54] The rate among Negro Protestants resembled that among the white Protestants. In the Jewish group, the data indicated some growth in the number of families with four or more children, but not at the same rate as in the Catholic group. Finally, Lenski says that those who practiced their faith regularly tended to have larger families than those who did not.[55] The group researched by Lenski was roughly the next generation to the group living in the Thirties. For lack of precise data related to the issue of birth control among the Polish-Americans during the Great Depression, who were Catholics in the

[53] Lenski, *The Religious Factor,* 13.
[54] Lenski, *The Religious Factor,* 217.
[55] Ibid., 229.

majority, Lenski's findings offer some indication as to the practice of birth control in the group under investigation.

e) Abortion

Birth control returned to the program the next year, on January 10th, 1937, for a brief moment in the Question Box.[56] A radio listener from Detroit, signed A. N., expressed concern for the future of the American population, which would have to starve if the birth rate was not reduced. Eventually, on Sunday, February 7th, 1937, Father Justin decided to talk, not on birth control but on abortion. The talk was entitled, "A Grave of the Child Next to the Mother's Heart."[57] Prior to the main talk Father Justyn gave an introduction to the topic in which he attempted to foresee the reactions of his audience, "I understand, that today's talk will expose me to sharp and vitriolic criticism. Some listeners will be scandalized, others will become angry; particularly a certain group of progressive women and modern girls will be indignant at me; […]."[58] Father Justyn organized his talk around his usual method of examples, which captured the attention of the listeners and after each picture offered his comments. He started with the picture of a demoralized ancient Rome and then, as in the movies, painted another picture of a young couple rejoicing at the birth of their first child. Their happiness was diminishing slowly as more children arrived. Finally, finding herself pregnant with a seventh child, the mother decided to have an abortion. Her female neighbor suggested taking certain pills available in a local drug store. They did not work, so she ended up seeing a midwife who secretly performed an abortion on her child. The operation went wrong and the mother

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[56] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie - P. O.," *MROJ,* vol. 1, 10 Jan. 1936-1937, 159-160.
[57] Figas, "Grób dziecka obok serca matki," *MROJ,* vol.. 2, 7 Feb. 1936-1937, 17-24.
[58] Ibid., 17.

died. The story was followed by a medical statistic relating to illegal abortions which showed seven hundred thousand abortions every year in the United States. Then the author of the talk moved to the description of the health complications faced by women who decided to have an abortion. When talking about the motives behind abortion, Father Justyn listed bad economic conditions, keeping a job, considering a child as a lost career, considering a child as a burden in social life. The list of motives behind abortion was completed with the conclusions of a study made by the British Medical Association: the professional life of women does not allow them to think of children; unemployment, which postponed the time of contracted marriages made the women concerned about childbearing; preserving a slim figure, having the conviction that no child should be allowed to be born until the parents are able provide for all its material needs. Father Justyn dismissed the reasons for abortion by recalling God's Law and the Natural Law. He knew that for some of his listeners that would not be a sufficient argument, so he once again explained the medical consequences of the criminal operations performed on women.

Father Justyn was encouraged by the response to his first talk dedicated to abortion. The following Sunday's talk was also dedicated to the same issue. It was organized in the same way. The letter which introduced the program signed, One of We Moderns!, was read first in English, then in Polish. It represented an extreme feminist view on marriage, "You are well aware that marriage is an institution built by men to both oppress end enslave us women."[59] The following letters presented various stories shared with the Radio Priest. The motives for not having children were generally the

[59] Figas, "Serca nowoczesne," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Feb. 1936-1937, 28.

same as given on the previous Sunday. All nine letters were written by women and represented many similar situations described in previous correspondence sent to the Rosary Hour. They were read under the very descriptive title "Modern Hearts." One of the authors decided not to have children because of the irresponsibility of men who were unreliable in marriage. Evidently, Father Justyn did not want to shock his audience with such views on birth control but to deter them. They were exposed to those kinds of stories anyway. His aim was to argue with, as he put it, the neo-pagan attitudes influencing the Polish-American community, and influence it with the positive examples presented in true stories depicting the main Christian values.

On the third consecutive Sunday, Father Justyn again talked about the response to his two programs on abortion. His general conclusion, based on the letters received, was grim and pessimistic. The letters proved to him that family values were in decline in the community he served. There is no evidence showing how many listeners responded to abortion and the related issue of the changing values in family life. Their number must have been considerable as the third consecutive Sunday program was devoted to the same theme. Father Justyn entitled this talk, "Complaints of the Pained Hearts." He began with the criticism of the wrongly interpreted idea of women's equality. He argued against the modern trend which identified women's equality with imitating men and assumed that, in many instances, it was imitation of the vices of men.[60] By practicing that kind of false equality women were losing out, warned Father Justin. At the end of the talk Father Director read a letter written in English by a woman. She stated that, "Men do not respect their wives anymore for being the mothers of their children, not today. Any woman who

[60] Figas, "Skargi zbolałych serc," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 21 Feb. 1936-1937, 42.

decides to have more children is compared to the senseless animals."[61] She blamed the socio-economic situation as well as the attitude of husbands for the women's decisions to terminate pregnancy. Unwillingness to have many children was a growing trend in the Polish-American community in the thirties. A new hedonistic type of marriage was slowly making its way into the family-based religious culture replacing it with the new trends. Father Justyn was painfully aware of that situation. The letter he quoted in its full length reflected that new trend from the women's point of view. It must have been also representative of the new realities faced by both women and men, as it was included in the program without edits. In response to the letter Father Justyn addressed wives and husbands and reminded them of their shared responsibility for every conceived life. How was his message getting through?

A few months later he received another letter in which a woman from Oshkosh, Wisconsin, signed, An Old Fashioned Mother, asked him the following question, "Why does Father Justin not say more on birth control? Today, the girls do not get married to be mothers but to sport."[62] Father Director again declined to touch on that subject, although he admitted to having prepared three talks on birth control. The extensive search for the texts of these talks in the Rosary Hour Archives in Athol Springs, N.Y., did not produce results. Most probably the texts were destroyed. The analyses of the radio talks beyond the year 1940 on the abortion and birth control issue in subsequent broadcast seasons may reveal to us how The Rosary Hour eventually dealt with that issue.

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[61] Ibid, 43-45.
[62] Figas, "Ojciec to czy morderca? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 30 Jan. 1937-1938, 147; Appendix D.

Summary

On December 6th, 1931, Father Justin laid out the guidelines for the main direction of his chain radio program. In a story about an immigrant family from Poland that he recalled from his childhood and told the radio listeners during the very first broadcast of The Rosary Hour, Father Justyn announced his program for building his radio family. He, the father, wanted to provide what was best for the family and forewarn it of dangers. Families were at the core of the Church, the community and the nation. This idea was fundamental to the Rosary Hour, which addressed issues of the family on every single broadcast. The immigrant families were hoping for a new start in America. They were exposed to many new ideas, but often were not prepared to make the right choices. The brutal economic conditions and the secular American culture caused a slow disintegration of the family unit based on Christian values. The action of the Rosary Hour was aimed at preventing the destruction of the Christian family. For that reason Father Justin used the newest technical invention, the radio waves.

The radio program was intended to defend and form a Christian and a Catholic family in the new, challenging environment of the secular American culture. The way proposed by the Rosary Hour emphasized the family based religious culture. The idea of creating a safe environment for the immigrant family was not a new one. It led to the creation of many cultural niches or ethnic ghettos in American society where family, church and tradition were the bases of daily life. Father Justyn, however, did not want to preserve a ghetto; he repeatedly identified himself as an American patriot who also loved the Fatherland and the culture of his forefathers. From his talks presented on the Rosary Hour came a concern for the basic values building every Christian family. Its programs

identified the main dangers to the integrity of the family. Father Justin named these threats as divorce and desertion, mixed religion and mixed nationality marriages, birth control and a new hedonistic approach to marriage. In view of those dangers he insisted that his listeners build a safe environment for their families to avoid destruction and to progress in the new adopted country.

Father Justyn believed that the Polish-American women leaving the safe religious, social and cultural environment created by the Polish institutions, e.g., family, parish church, and parish school, lost more than did Polish-American men. The new trends in the American culture relating to the idea of women's equality were seen by the second generation as a more attractive option for the young women than the old fashioned idea of motherhood. The themes focusing on keeping the Christian priorities of motherhood, fatherhood and the partnership of parents in the family life had a privileged status in the Rosary Hour. Father Justyn assumed that only a healthy, integrated family could effectively integrate itself in the best possible way into American society. He viewed with caution the institutions outside the family, e.g., schools, papers, movies, theaters, etc. Questioned about the future effects of his insistence on the Polish language and Polish culture Father Justin answered, "Is a doctor who sees a slowly dying patient, allowed to be idle? Is he allowed to apply a poison to speed up his death?" We may say that his identification with the Polish culture was not an aim in itself but the best method of therapy he could think of to implement for his radio listeners in order to stop disintegration of the family.

Chapter Six: The Time of Change:
Polish and American Identity

During the first year (1931-1932) in which the Rosary Hour was broadcast on network radio, Father Justyn explained his understanding of patriotism in terms of the cultural connection with Poland, the country of origin, set against the political and social activity in the United States, the adopted fatherland. The national context of the issue of patriotism in the Thirties was still dominated by the debate over two opposing concepts of the American nation, the "melting pot" hypothesis and the "cultural pluralism" hypothesis. These two contrasting approaches to the problem of nationhood had their supporters and opponents at every level of American society. The Americanizers accused the followers of the "cultural pluralism hypothesis" of being unpatriotic. In turn, those accused of not being true Americans reposted with allegations that the Anglo-Saxon element in the country used the concepts of "100 Percent Americanism" and the "melting pot" hypothesis to dominate the other ethnic groups who had also contributed to the development of the United States of America. Other factors like the end of World War I, which brought statehood to Poland and other European nations, the 1921 and 1924 Quota Laws and the coming of age of the second generation of emigrants affected greatly the process of change in attitudes towards the issue of identity.

The immigrants arriving in the United States after the 1880s encountered a different culture among the majority which had its own approach to shaping the identities of the newcomers. At the turn of the century, new hypotheses emerged in order to accommodate the differences of culture, race and religion: the "melting pot hypothesis" and "cultural pluralism hypothesis." The belief that all races and cultures represented in

America would eventually become one homogeneous people was the prevailing view held at the beginning of the new wave of immigration that took place during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and continued until the beginning of World War I. The "cultural pluralism hypothesis" identified the new American nation as constituted by people's participating in civic culture. According to that view one becomes an American by accepting the following three basic rights and responsibilities in the new democratic country: ordinary men and women are entitled to representative self-governance, all who live in the political community are eligible to participate in public life as equals and finally, citizens should have the freedom to adopt different religious outlooks and other sorts of pursuits in their private lives.[1] According to this hypothesis all individuals are free to create an identity of their own choosing. The idea of cultural pluralism had its numerous followers among the Polish immigrants in the United States. Whether consciously or not, Polish American Leaders were the most persistent exponents of the "cultural pluralism hypothesis."[2]

How did the minorities in the United States react to these concepts and what contributions did they make to the vital discussion about culture, race and religion on the New Continent? Frank Thistlethwaite, an ethnic historian, claims that the immigrants were not a passive mass but followed a scheme of their own. They considered travel to America as moving from one job to another.[3] According to Thistlethwaite, hundreds of thousands of people responded generally to the demands of the labor market by crossing

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[1] Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1990), 5.
[2] Joseph A. Wytrwal, *Behold! The Polish Americans* (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1977), 251.
[3] Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *A Century of European Migration, 1830-1930*, ed. Rudolph J. Vecoli and Susanne M. Sinke (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 32.

the Atlantic. The author observed that behind the decision to immigrate was a calculated choice between the available opportunities provided by the Atlantic economy and those of their homeland. The migrants did not come to the United States to become Americans but to improve their family status. Many repatriated back to their homes after amassing cash; others, for the same reason, decided to settle and make their home in the new country. The rate of repatriation from the United States was over thirty percent overall but varied between economic periods and different ethnic groups.[4] The thesis of Thistlethwaite seems to explain many instances of repatriation in the Polish community in the United States. Thomas and Znaniecki described the motives behind the migration of most of the Polish peasants as land-hunger as they sought unskilled work in order to accumulate enough money to return to their village and buy land.[5]

Another researcher, Victor Greene, turned his attention toward the psychological process of the adaptation of an immigrant into the new reality. Greene sees the causality of cultural pluralism as a "painful process of psychological trauma and discomfort."[6] According to this author a minority of immigrants chose to resist Americanization. Those who put up resistance represented different levels of ethnic awareness. Greene defines three stages in nationalist feelings. Those in the first stage possessed basic common characteristics, such as language, but they did not feel they belonged to a national group. The second stage is characterized by strong identification with ethno-national culture.

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[4] Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 25
[5] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant* , vol. I, 192.
[6] Victor Greene, *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860-1910* (Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975), 2.

Greene terms this stage "cultural nationalism."[7] The mainly educated people who fell into that category saw their nation as "one among many others."[8] National feelings at the third stage are the most intense. Those ethnic patriots were dedicated to the cause of their nation and found special pride in revealing and underlining their identity.

The Polish Roman Catholic priests were the most educated and influential leaders in the Polish immigrant community in the United States before and after World War I. Their contribution to preserving the Old-Country's culture and shaping the new one will be looked at in this research from two perspectives: the perspective of the ethnic idea of identity and the direction chosen in building a new identity. The Polish Roman Catholic clergy served the ethnic Poles but at the same time belonged to the structures of the Catholic Church in the United States. For the Polish Roman Catholic clergy this situation created the triple loyalty problem of the Catholic Church, the Old-Country and the adopted Homeland. The obvious questions which arise at this point are twofold. What was the role of the Polish clergy in the mid-Twenties dispute among Polish Americans over ethnic and national boundaries? How did the Rosary Hour radio program contribute to this debate in the Thirties?

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[7] Greene, 3.
[8] Ibid.

The Role of the Polish Clergy in the Dispute on Polish and American Identity in the United States

In his book, *Behold! The Polish Americans*, Joseph Wytrwal presents an unfavorable assessment of the role of the Polish clergy in the area of Polish national objectives. The author claims that Polish clergy were guided by a "myopic and selfish view."[9] The change of attitude of the priests towards the Fatherland during World War I took place, according to Wytrwal, under the "trend of events."[10] The same author describes the religious leaders as, "unconsciously inclined not to encourage the participation of Poles in American institutions" and focused on defending "the autonomy of the Polish American parishes against interference from the Catholic American hierarchy."[11] Wytrwal's statement, denying the Polish clergy their dedicated, constructive and leading role in the shaping of ethnic and American identity before the World War I, does not find support in the examined data from the debate which started by calling the Congress of Polish Priests' Associations in America to Philadelphia, on February 1924. The data from the exchange of the opinions of the clergy and the resolutions passed by the Polish religious leaders during the 1924 Congress reveal that their orientation toward ethnic identity was focused on keeping a balance between the triple loyalty of the Catholic Church, the Old-Country and the United States of America in order to preserve the unity of the Polish Diaspora. However, the data for the year 1924 shows a strong call from among the clergy for a revision of the attitudes to the Old-Country and for building a new identity for the Polish Americans.

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[9] Wytrwal, 149.
[10] Wytrwal, 255.
[11] Wytrwal, 150.

To provide clearer understanding of the ideas of Polish-American clergy on Polish and American identity, this study will examine the discussion on these topics which was reported on the pages of a popular Polish language newspaper *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* (Union Daily News – National Edition) between January and August 1924. The newspaper, *Dziennik Zjednoczenia,* founded in 1920 had two editions: a City Edition and a National Edition. It was owned by the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The exchange of ideas (mainly between the Polish priests) was spurred on by the Congressional debate on the Immigration Restriction Bill (passed by Congress on May 26, 1924) and by the Fifth Congress of the Polish Priests' Association in America. When, on January 26, 1924, Bishop Paweł Piotr Rhode, who was of Polish ancestry and was president of the Polish Priests' Association (hereafter P.P.A.) in America, called a convention of the P.P.A. to Philadelphia, an ongoing debate on the reorientation of Polish aims was already well under way in a number of Polish immigrant circles.[12] This was how one of the contributors to the debate, Father Kneblewski, expressed the general mood among the leaders of the Polish community in the United States at that time, "Perhaps never in the history of our emigration has there been such tension as at the present moment, for the reason that one never before realized the danger threatening the totality of the national and religious cause in the Diaspora as well as everybody now understands and feels it

[12] Rhode, Bishop, Paweł, "Orędzie J.E.Ks. Biskupa Pawła Rhodego do Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce Północnej" (Proclamation of His Excellency Bishop Paweł Rhode to the Polish Priests Association in North America), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 22 (Jan. 26, 1924): 4. Paweł Piotr Rhode (1870-1945), the first Pole to be named a Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States. In 1908, he was consecrated an auxiliary for Chicago. Bishop Rhode was active in bringing schismatic communities back into the Church. In 1915 he became Bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he served for thirty years.

today."[13] Another correspondent, Stanisław Osada, called for a revision of the old programs, "I think that it is now time that all thinking people among our emigrants, boldly and without illusions, should face the truth that the time has come to revisit our present programs in light of the new conditions which influence the momentum of our lives and define new routes for us."[14]

The need for a new approach to the issue of the Polish American community was noticed not only by clergy but also by the laity. In September 1924 the Congress of the Polish National Alliance in Philadelphia was held and in April 1925, the Congress of Polish Immigration in the United States of America took place in Detroit. At the time of these important events, Father Justyn was a minister provincial of St. Antony's Province of the Conventual Franciscans, one the biggest religious communities engaged in pastoral work among the Polish immigrants in America. The future direction of the Rosary Hour radio programs was most certainly affected by his contacts with the main figures who shaped the new ethnic identity and who participated in the proceedings at the Congress of Priests in Philadelphia, and also by his personal participation in the Congress.[15]

a) Polish identity

In order to provide a background to the issue of Polish identity it is necessary to present an introduction to the history of the roles played by the three main structures

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[13] Fr. W. Kneblewski, „Nasze Potrzeby a Kongres Katolicki," (Our Needs and the Catholic Congress) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 60 (Mar. 11, 1924): 4.
[14] Stanisław Osada, „Nowe Prądy," (New Currents) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 151 (Jun. 27, 1924): 4. Stani slaw Osada, Polish Immigration activists and writer (1868-1934).
[15] "Uczestnicy Zjazdu Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce" (Participants of the Congress of the Polish Priests Association in America), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 52 (Mar. 1, 1924): 2.

active among the Polish immigrants: Polish Roman Catholic parishes, The Polish Roman Catholic Union and The Polish National Alliance.

Father Vincent Barzyński, C.R., a dominant personality in the Polish part of Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century, provided guidelines for the pastoral care of the Polish immigrants in America. These guidelines influenced the attitudes of the majority of the Polish Catholic clergy and laity until World War I. "Each Pole should retain his Catholic Faith, learn the language and history of Poland but be given the chance to become a good Yankee."[16] The clergy organized the Polish Roman Catholic Union (hereafter P.R.C.U.) in 1873 for the Polish immigrants or the Polish Americans who professed the Roman Catholic Faith. At that time the ethnic parishes, as a matter of necessity, fulfilled social and cultural roles. In fact the ethnic parishes were at the center of immigrant community life. The P.R.C.U.'s role was to coordinate the social and cultural activities in close cooperation with the clergy who were not formally involved in the structures of the organization. The primary objective of the P.R.C.U., from its inception until the end of World War I, was expressed by the motto, "For God and Country," and for that reason it was nicknamed the "religionists' camp."

The Polish National Alliance (hereafter P.N.A.) founded in 1880, was a lay organization whose objective was to rally all Polish immigrants, regardless of creed and faith, to work for the eventual liberation of Poland. These two organizations competed for

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[16] Edward E. Kantowicz, *Polish-American Politics in Chicago 1888-1940* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 32. Fr. Vincent Barzyński was born in 1836 in that part of Poland which was partitioned by Russia. After his ordination he fought against the Russians in the abortive insurrection of 1863, escaped to Austria and was deported to France. In Paris he joined the Congregation of Resurrection Fathers whose spiritual aim was focused on uniting Catholicism with religious and Polish national rebirth. After his appointment as pastor of St. Stanislaus Church in Chicago in 1874, Fr. Barzyński influenced a significant portion of Polish life in America with his creed.

hegemony over the Polish Diaspora under their particular ideology. The P.N.A., nicknamed the "nationalists' camp," constantly criticized the religionist camp either for not doing enough or even for its indifference to the national cause.[17] There were priests who shared the values represented by the nationalists. Father Kazimierz Sztuczko was one of them. During his time as the pastor of the Holy Trinity Church in Chicago, the community he guided preserved its ethno-centric character.[18] Within a short period of time he became known as the most nationalistic of all Polish priests. The majority of the clergy followed a different path.

The cool attitude of the clergy towards Polish independence had political and religious causes. The question of whether to be Catholic Polish or Polish Catholic had divided immigrants since the creation of the first Polish churches in America. After the arrival in the United States of the former Insurrectionists of 1863, discussion on national issues often led to confrontations which split parishes. The source of those antagonisms may be seen in the condemnation of the November Rising of 1830 by Pope Gregory XVI, a condemnation which infuriated many Poles and pushed them to anti-clerical positions which often resulted in a formal break with the official structures of the Church. Again, during the January 1863 Insurrection the Vatican kept quiet until the Rising was over. The Ecclesiastical State itself, fearing revolution against legal authority, saw revolutionary and socialist tendencies behind the Polish independence movements. That view was true to some extent, especially at the end of the nineteenth-century when Polish

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[17] For further reading on the P.R.C.U. and P.N.A., see Joseph A. Wytrwal, *Behold! The Polish Americans*, 191-227; "The Role of two American Polish Nationality Organizations in the Acculturation of Poles in America" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1958).

[18] Greene, *For God and Country,* 80-81. Fr. Kazimierz Sztuczko served as pastor in the Holy Trinity Church in Chicago from 1893 till his death in 1946.

nationalism associated itself with Socialism.[19] The organizers of the P.N.A. showed tendencies towards liberalism and religious indifference.[20] Those tendencies were enough for the religionist camp to consider the P.N.A. as a threat to the Church.

In the United States the Polish Catholic parishes were both religious and cultural centers. The majority of priests writing to the *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* considered Polish national culture as a tool in their pastoral work although the aim of that work was spiritual. An anonymous priest from the East Coast, in order to prove the necessity of preserving cultural pluralism in America, attempted to identify the role of the Church in America, "Everybody can give direction to an Irish or French or Polish church, but nobody knows or could direct a person to a Catholic Church in America."[21] To prove the value of ethno-national culture, the author gave the example of the French Catholic who falls away from Catholicism as soon as he stops attending a French language church.[22]

One of the concerns emphasized by several columnists on the pages of *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* was the problem of differentiating between the national culture and religion (the article was reprinted from *Przegląd Kościelny*). The author, who called himself "A Priest from America," listed the most important priorities for Polish Americans. First on his agenda was pastoral work among the immigrants. The columnist observed a widespread neglect in that area and made a distinction between pastoral care and Polish pastoral care. The average Pole identified religion with his nationality. So, in order to establish contact with him on a religious level, one had to recognize and respect his

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[19] Norman Davies, *God's Playground, A History of Poland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), vol. 2, 213.
[20] Wytrwal, 148.
[21] "Nasze Sprawy," (Our Business) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 33 (Feb. 8, 1924): 4.
[22] Ibid.

ethnic culture. Ninety-nine percent of Polish immigrants were motivated by patriotic feelings when contributing to the building of Polish churches. In the opinion of the author, ignoring that fact would create a crisis situation. Active confrontation between the Polish patriotic spirit and any anti-Polish action would lead to parish conflict and activate radical and socialist elements; on the other hand, passivity towards the issue of ethnic culture on the part of a priest ensured peace but, in the long run, made the church unattractive and planted the seeds of indifference towards religion.[23] As we see, this opinion relates to the group of Polish Americans born and acculturated in the Old-Country. In order to solve the problem, the columnist suggested making an appeal to Rome for a decree requesting the American bishops to appoint Polish assistant priests to every parish with a sizable Polish minority.

Another columnist, with the pen name Bar, called firstly for equality of the Polish priests with pastors of other nationalities, especially the Irish, and secondly, for proportional representation in the hierarchy. The contributor linked his call for equality and proportional representation with raising the status of the Polish Catholic population in America. In the opinion of the author, only Polish bishops and priests would understand all the aspects of Polish Catholicism which combined strong religious practices and deeply seated anticlericalism. This interesting statement on anticlericalism was further developed in the article in which Father Bar advocated shifting the emphasis to the equality of the Polish population in the United States because most people saw the implementation of equality for the Polish priests as a form of reward, not as an important

[23] A Priest from America, "Rzeczy Najważniejsze i Najpilniejsze dla Polaków w Ameryce," (The Most Important Matters for the Poles in America) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 15 (Jan. 18, 1924): 4; *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 16 (Jan. 19, 1924): 4.

part of their pastoral mission. The negative psychological attitude of Poles to their clergy was a handicap for practicing Catholics and a challenge for the priests and future bishops:

> This is such an important issue but at the same time so mishandled by the press that associated it with the psychology of an Irishman who would jump into a fire after his Father and not with the psychology of our people. Many of them, since the year [1846] 46, unconsciously carry the anticlericalism inherited from their grandparents in the depths of their hearts.[24]

Bar referred in this article to "The Galician Slaughter," also called "The Peasant Uprising of 1846." This was a two-month-long uprising of Polish peasants in the southern part of Poland, a former Polish province incorporated into the Austrian Empire then known as Galicia. The peasants of Galicia living under the oppressive feudal system and suffering from the famine which devastated Europe after several failed harvests in the mid-1840s, turned against the nobility. The Austrians encouraged this turn of events to suppress the uprising by the Polish nobility (Kraków Uprising), with the result that landlords were attacked and manor houses destroyed throughout the region. These tragic events left deep seated animosity between the peasants and the upper classes, including clergy.[25]

Father R. Strojcowski raised the issue of the enemies of the Poles in America. Prior to the Congress in Philadelphia, the author wrote that the defense of ethnic boundaries was one of the prime duties of the clergy. Membership of the P.P.A., even passive membership, was, for the newspaper columnist, a test of a priest's Polishness, an indication of whether he would be able to carry out his pastoral care for his compatriots. Among the dangers threatening the boundaries of the ethnic group he saw the restrictions

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[24] Bar, "Jeszcze Słowo o Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce" (One Word More on the Polish Clergy Equality in America), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 12 (Jan. 15, 1924): 4.
[25] "Galician Slaughter," *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galician_slaughter (accessed July 19.2010).

on teaching the Polish language in the parochial schools, the Immigration Restriction Bill, the lack of pastoral care and the lack of equality for the Polish clergy. Father Strojcowski saw in the P.P.A. Congress the possibility of building solid foundations for the future development of the Polish community in America. The most dangerous enemies, according to the correspondent, were those elements within the Catholic Church that consciously distorted opinion about Polish Catholicism in the United States. For that reason, the equality of the Polish clergy was a most urgent and important issue. Father Strojcowski proposed an appeal for action by the Holy See in order to neutralize the schismatic Bishop Hodur and his demagogy. He was convinced that a strong Polish presence in the American hierarchy could prevent the most dangerous attacks on the cultural and religious identity of the Polish immigrants. Such an arrangement would also rally people around the issues affecting the boundaries of the ethnic community: Polish language instruction, formation of youth, reduction of immigration from Poland, pastoral care and the equality of the Polish clergy.[26]

World War I united all Polish-American organizations in the war effort. In 1914, the newly created Polish National Committee (Wydział Narodowy Polski) directed the actions of many different organizations and groups towards one goal – Polish independence. The effects were astonishing.[27] The Committee, acting through its local branches, helped in creating a volunteer force of 26,000 Polish-Americans, the famous Blue Army, which fought, under General Józef Haller de Hallenburg (August 13, 1873-

[26] Fr. R. Strojcowski, "Sejm Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Pol. w Am. a Żywotne Sprawy Naszego Spoleczeństwa" (The Congress of the Polish Priests Association in America and Vital Matters of our Society), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia – City Edition* IV, no. 36 (Feb. 12, 1924): 4.
[27] Committee collected over $50,000,000 in goods and money.

June 4.1960), in France and Poland on the side of the Allies.[28] The widespread identification of Polish immigrants with their ethno-national organizations, for whatever reasons, supports the thesis claiming that the newcomers preferred the preservation of their own culture over the adoption of the dominant new culture.

This strong identification with ethno-national organizations together with the call for active participation in the political life of Poland was underlined by Father Aleksander Syski from Hyde Park, MA. He stated that it was not enough for the Polish immigrants to be merely involved with the life of the Fatherland in terms of welfare or social life. He argued that organizing welfare for the Zulu nation would not make one a member of that group. So, abstinence from participation in the political life of the country of origin would effectively lead to the loss of ethno- national identity. According to the columnist the attitude of political abstinence from Polish politics was adopted in America only by the so called Polish intelligentsia; on the contrary, the populace resisted this philosophy.[29] The claim of the author that the majority of Polish immigrants in America held fast to political nationalism was hardly accurate since these attitudes were not reflected in the resolutions of major Polish nationality organizations and the Congress of Polish Immigration in the United States of America in 1925. Placing the common public against the position of the educated class of the immigrant community was an attempt to present the problem of national identity in black and white. In his article Father Syski reduced the complex reality of the issue of ethnic boundaries to two choices only. The

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[28] Wytrwal, *Behold!,* 205.
[29] Fr. Aleksander Syski, "Jeszcze o Rewizytę Stanowiska Naszego na Wychodźctwie Wobec Obozu Narodowego w Polsce," (Our Position in Emigration Toward the National Camp in Poland Revisited) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 94 (Apr. 19, 1924): 4.

columnist admitted, however, that the reaction to his views was generally critical with only a few exceptions.[30]

1. Dual loyalty

On February 12, 1924, during a session of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) in Warsaw, Father Czuj, a member of the Sejm, credited the Polish-American clergy in America with preserving Polish identity in the Diaspora, developing the ethnic educational system and organizing the Blue Army. Father Czuj expressed his views on the activities of the Polish clergy in the United States in a polemic against another member of the Sejm, who represented the views of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and was critical of the role of the Polish clergy in America.[31] At that session the Sejm passed a resolution calling on the Polish government to put pressure on the Holy See to take action which would prevent the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States, represented mainly by the bishops of Irish and German origin, from the systematic Americanization of the Poles residing in that country. In that same year, on April 8, Stanislaw Kunz, the only congressman of Polish extraction at that time, spoke against the proposed bill to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States. The congressman stated that the aim of the proposed bill was to favor the "Nordic" races against the Southern and Eastern Europeans and for that reason could stir up racial, religious and national antagonisms. He reminded Congress of the Polish volunteers who fought for the United States from the time of the American Revolution and of those who, in recent

[30] Polubowny, "Z Powodu Artykułu Ks. Dr. Aleks. Syskiego o Rewizytę Stosunku Wychodźctwie Wobec Polski," (Prompted by the Article by Fr. Aleks. Syski on the Position of Emigration Toward Poland Revisited) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 65 (Mar. 17, 1924): 4.
[31] "Jak Sejm Polski Radził nad Losem Emigracyi Polskiej we Francji i Ameryce," (How the Polish Sejm Debated on the Polish Emigration in France and America), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 53 (Mar. 3, 1924): 3.

times, fulfilled their civic duties while fighting under the American flag on European fronts.[32] These two speeches, in Warsaw and Washington, identified the problem of dual loyalty. The original detachment from the Polish independence cause as observed by priests and formally expressed by Father Barzyński's creed, changed as a result of World War I into a dedicated involvement for the national cause. At the same time, many individuals were making difficult choices about exposing their dual loyalties to Poland and America, and to the Polish Army and the American Army.[33]

Yet a third loyalty existed in the religionist camp – loyalty to the Church. This third loyalty raises the question: Was the loyalty of the Polish clergy to the Catholic Church hierarchy dictated only by their obedience to the rules or was it also that they found understanding with those who sympathized or even openly supported the idea of cultural pluralism within the Church hierarchy in the United States?

In June 1924, the *Dziennik Zjednoczenia,* reprinted, from the New York-based Polish Catholic paper *Kurier Narodowy* (National Currier), its comment on a letter written by Bishop Michael Gallagher of Detroit to the Polish Theological Seminary in Orchard Lake, [34] Michigan. The Letter supported taking up collections in every Polish parish in America in support of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary in Orchard Lake and the issue of keeping the Polish language alive among the immigrants:

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[32] "Poseł Kunz o Projekcie Ustawy Imigracyjnej," (Congressman Kunz on Immigration Bill) no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 86 (Apr. 10, 1924): 1-2.

[33] Wytrwal, *Behold!*, 215-216. After America's entrance to war on April 6, 1917, about 22 thousand Polish immigrants who were not American citisens joined the famous Blue Army that fought later in France and Poland. Under general Haller the total number of soldiers in the Army reached 100,000. At the same time Many American citisens of Polish descent joined the U.S. Army.

[34] SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary was founded in 1885 in Detroit, Michigan, to prepare candidates for the Roman Catholic priesthood primarily to serve Polish American immigrant communities. The seminary was transferred in 1909 from Detroit to Orchard Lake, Michigan.

> […] the content of the letter gives evidence to the fact that not all leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States of America hold the views of the Hakata[35] as Cardinal Mundelein. There are people among the dignitaries of the Church in America who are not overcome by the disease of Americanization and who can look clearly into the future.[36]

In its editorial, the Polish daily also reprinted the positive remarks on the letter made by *Przegląd Katolicki* (Catholic Review - The Voice of the Polish Priests' Association). These commentaries gave evidence of the existence of two different attitudes towards ethnic –national languages in the American Roman Catholic educational institutions, although Bishop Gallagher saw the value in learning the Polish language not as a religious necessity but for two other reasons, Catholic traditions and international relations. Nonetheless, the editorial of *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* on July 30th acknowledged Bishop Gallagher's positive attitude towards the Polish language in contrast to Archbishop Mundelein of Chicago, who attempted to implement a plan of Americanization in his Archdiocese. The editor also emphasized the role of the Polish language for the immigrants in the United States. "The Polish Parishes in the United States have developed rapidly in the last few decades. The parish schools are overpopulated. To deny these institutions to the Polish element, even gradually, would mean to block their further growth."[37] The Polish language paper also paid much attention to Bishop Gallagher's pastoral letter directed to the priests of the diocese of

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[35] German Eastern Marches Society was a German radical extremely nationalist xenophobic organization founded in 1894. Mainly among Poles it was known as Hakata or H-K-T after its founders von Hansemann, Kennemann and von Tiedemann. Its main aims were the promotion of Germanization of Poles living in Prussia and distruction of Polish national identity in German eastern provinces. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_Eastern_Marches_Society (accessed July 27. 2009).
[36] "Głosy o Liście Biskupa Gallghera" (Comments on the Bishop Gallagher Letter), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 140 (Jun. 14, 1924): 6. Bishop Michael James Gallagher (November 16, 1866-January 20, 1937) was the Roman Catholic bishop of the Diocese of Detroit from 1918 to 1937.
[37] "Znaczenie Listu Biskupa Gallaghera" (The Importance of Bihop's Gallagher Letter), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 178 (Jul. 30, 1924): 4.

Detroit. The Bishop requested priests and all believers to defend the parish school system by voting against the State of Michigan's ballot initiative sponsored by the Public School Defense League requiring attendance at public schools and outlawing private ones. If the amendment to the State of Michigan Constitution was passed in an election planned for the Fall of 1924, the Polish parish schools would suffer enormously along with the other private schools.[38] The public school amendment was crushed with more than 64 percent of the votes cast against it. This result was certainly helped by the Polish American voters. In 1924, Bishop Gallagher received a Polish-born auxiliary bishop, Joseph Casimir Plagens, whose nomination he attributed to "pressure that was brought to bear on the Holy See in favor of Polish Episcopal aspirations in America."[39]

It was only natural that the Polish religious leaders were looking for allies who shared similar views on matters of religious and ethnic culture. The first ally was the segment of Polish immigrants who, according to Greens' classification of nationalism, would fall into the category of cultural nationalists. This group filled the ranks of the P.R.C.U., whose agenda pointed to moral and religious revival. The religionist camp believed that moral and religious revival would lead eventually to national and political revival. The second ally was the group within the American Catholic hierarchy which supported the cultural pluralism concept. The Polish religious leaders engaged in

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[38]In 1924 there were in the whole of the United States of America 511 parish schools with 220,000 children and 3,500 teachers. This statistic based on 1920 data was presented by Rev. dr. Czuj, "Poseł na Sejm" (M. P.) at the session of the Polish Parliament "Sejm" on February 12, 1924, see "Jak Sejm Polski Radził nad Losem Emigracyi Polskiej we Francji i Ameryce," (How the Polish Sejm Debated on the Polish Emigration in France and America), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 53 (Mar. 3, 1924): 3.

[39]Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 307-308. Tenler gives an account of Bishop Gallagher's generous apporoach to creation of foreighn-language parishes in the diocese of Detroit.

dialogue with the American Catholic Hierarchy in order to negotiate their acculturation on their preferred terms.

The bishops in the American hierarchy who supported ethnic diversity in their dioceses included Archbishop Michael Joseph Curley of Baltimore and Archbishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland, to name a few.[40] The location of the 1924 Congress of the Polish Priests' Association in Philadelphia indicated the positive attitude of Cardinal Dennis Joseph Daugherty, Ordinary of Philadelphia, towards cultural pluralism. In the sermon he delivered on the first day of the Congress, the Cardinal acknowledged the achievements of Polish priests in the area of pastoral work. At the same time the Cardinal praised the participants of the Congress for taking a very decisive stand against anti-religious and socialist tendencies.[41] The Polish clergy were considered the custodians of the Polish ethnic group in the United States. That responsibility compelled them to draw on Poland's thousand-year-old religious tradition. One of the canons of that tradition was, "A true Pole should be a Catholic." The clergy observed that ethnic culture was central to the faith of immigrants; therefore losing the culture of the Old-Country often equaled the loss of faith. A considerable number of defections from the Church (frequently through mixed marriages) and a growing religious indifference led many priests to emphasize the value of ethnic culture in their pastoral work.

Father Stanisław Konieczny, C.M., from Erie, PA., addressed two of the main concerns of the Polish priests in the post World War I period. In his sermon delivered

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[40] "Znaczenie Listu Biskupa Gallaghera" (The Importance of Bihop's Gallagher Letter) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 178 (Jul. 30, 1924): 4.
[41] "Co Kardynał Daugherty Powiedział na Sejmie Zjednoczenia Księży Polskich,"(What the cardinal Daugherty did say on the Congress of the Polish Priests Association), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 54 (Mar. 4, 1924): 4.

during the 1924 Congress of the P.P.A. in Philadelphia, Father Konieczny highlighted the unity of the Polish immigrant community as a precondition for the successful defense of religious and ethnic values. Yet the orator gave prominence to faith and during his inaugural homily declared that "disaster begins with the lack of deep faith." Father Konieczny expressed the religionists' camp point of view when he stated that "the national revival was possible only through a religious revival."[42] The priests had their own concept of service to the country in that the concept of religious values was placed at the top of their agenda. But, in the first half of the Twenties, those who resided in the United States struggled with placing their loyalty to America above their loyalty to Poland. Father Konieczny made his choice public in front of two leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States from Philadelphia, namely, Dennis Joseph Cardinal Dougherty and Bishop Michael J. Crane, more than two hundred Polish priests, Catholic laity and journalists. The headlines in *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* a couple of days later drew the attention of its readers to the most poignant pronouncement made in the whole talk, a pronouncement which, in a way, was a declaration of the dual loyalty of all gathered for the Congress, "Let our motto in America be: With the Gospel in one hand and the Constitution of the United States in the other one."[43]

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[42] "Kazanie Ks. Rektora St. Koniecznego Wygłoszone na Sejmie Kapłanów w Philadelphii," (A Sermon of the Rev. President, S. Konieczny Delivered During the Convention of Priests in Philadelphia) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 51 (Feb. 29, 1924): 4. The sermon was divided into two parts; the second part was printed in no. 52, Marzec (Mar.) 1, 1924: 4.

[43] "Kazanie Ks. Rektora St. Koniecznego Wygłoszone na Sejmie Kapłanów w Philadelphii," (A Sermon of the Rev. President, S. Konieczny Delivered During the Convention of Priests in Philadelphia) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 52 (Mar. 1, 1924):4. The sermon was divided into two parts; the first part was printed in no. 51 (Feb. 29, 1924): 4.

By borrowing Greene's definition of the three staged evolution of nationalism, the tension between the religionist camp and the nationalist camp may be presented as antagonism between "cultural nationalism" as represented by the P.R.C.U. versus "political nationalism" or "extreme nationalism" represented mainly by the P.N.A. up until the end of World War I. In light of the evidence presented, one may become aware of the sense of siege felt by the Polish priests in the mid-Twenties. The priests feared enemies from within and from without; among the enemies from within, the clergy counted Communists, Socialists and dissenters from the faith. The religionist camp also had reason to be suspicious of the loyalty of Polish nationalists to the Church and was also concerned about Americanization forces in the State and in the Church, the Ku Klux Klan, the Johnson-Reed bill and the anti-Polish and anti-Catholic press.

2. Polish movement for the ethno-national dioceses

At the turn of the twentieth century there were many attempts to create so-called independent parishes, in which laity took control of administration. In such cases, church committees would build a church without asking the permission of the local bishop and then invite a Polish priest to work in it. The committee also reserved the right to property ownership and the removal of an unwanted priest without conferring with the ecclesiastical authorities. The independent parishes followed the idea of identifying Catholicism with national goals. That idea was strongly opposed by the Roman Catholic clergy who supported the American hierarchy in the "parish deeds" regulation policy. The different attitudes towards linking Catholicism with nationality were kept alive by

the two major Polish American organizations, the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Polish National Alliance.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the independent church movement in the Polish ethnic group separated from Rome. After Father Franciszek Hodur took charge of the schismatic Church and was made bishop by the Old Catholic Church in Utrecht, Holland, the dissenters attracted only a small fraction of Polish immigrants. The Polish Roman Catholic priests stressed their loyalty to the Pope and to the local English-speaking hierarchy. They saw religion connected with the social and cultural advancement of the Diaspora and made every effort to strike a healthy balance between the preservation of ethnic culture and loyalty to the American hierarchy. However, for the majority of priests, the salvation of souls always took priority over national issues if they had to make a choice.

At the time of the Fifth Congress of the P.P.A. in America on February 26-27, 1924, the total number of Polish priests serving in the United States was 1200. These priests had responsibility for 762 parishes and 511 parish schools that had a total enrollment of 220,000 children.[44] In the social, cultural and political fields the ideas represented by these religious leaders were implemented by organizations staffed by laity. In addition, the clergy either owned or exercised joint ownership of major Polish language newspapers aimed at a three million strong ethnic population. Nevertheless, the strong position of the priests among their own people was not reflected in the hierarchy

[44] "Jak Sejm Polski Radził nad Losem Emigracyi Polskiej we Francji i Ameryce," (How the Polish Sejm Debated on the Polish Emigration in France and America), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 53 (Mar. 3, 1924): 3.

of the American Catholic Church which included only one bishop of Polish extraction. The lack of proportional representation among the hierarchy was bitterly felt not only by the potential candidates for ecclesiastical elevation but by all the elements of the Polish Diaspora in the United States. From the beginning of mass immigration from Central and Eastern Europe into North America, the issue of consecrating ethnic bishops was at the top of the agenda of all Polish clerical organizations. The establishment of the Catholic Church in America, which was primarily composed of clerics of Irish and German extraction, argued against the fitness of Polish priests to take up the responsibilities of being the bishop of an American diocese. This so-called anti-Polish propaganda was conducted at a national level and in the Vatican offices. The lack of confidence in the Polish clergy's fitness to hold the higher offices in the Catholic Church in America not only undermined the image of the priests as loyal American citizens but also created a distorted picture for all Polish immigrants in the United States. [45] Action towards achieving proportional representation for Polish priests within the American hierarchy took many forms over the years 1880-1930 and had several motives. These motives included the safeguarding of the Polish language, preserving Polish religious and national traditions in the ethnic parishes,[46] advocating Americanization on Polish terms, and promoting the prestige of the ethnic group on the national level.

Proportional representation for Polish Roman Catholics within the American hierarchy had support in all sections of the Diaspora, but there was no similar, unanimous

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[45] "Z Sejmu Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich" (From the Congress of the Polish Priests Association), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 51 (Feb. 29, 1924): 2.
[46] In the oppinion of the Polish clergy a sudden break with the ethnic-national culture meant usually dissention from Catholicism.

support from the community as to the methods that should be employed by the different groups to achieve this goal. This state of affairs surfaced in a column written by Father A. Górski from Amsterdam, N.Y. In his ongoing campaign for Polish bishops, the author of the article criticized Father Wacław Kruszka, a well known activist from Milwaukee, for misrepresenting the Polish cause in the Vatican. The columnist considered the initiative for having separate Polish dioceses in America as damaging the legitimate case for having proportionate representation, useless for the Community, offensive to the United States bishops and above all, a precedent potentially dangerous to the unity of the Church.[47]

Among the vocal supporters of the concept of separate Polish dioceses was a regular contributor to *Dziennik Zjednoczenia,* Father Wincenty Chmurowicz who declared his support for Father Kruszka and separate ethnic dioceses in several articles printed especially in July 1924.[48] Father Ignacy Słoneczny, a columnist, reacted to this declaration. He engaged in a polemic against views favoring an independent ecclesiastical structure within the existing one. The author argued, in a similar way to Father Górski, that the autonomous dioceses would damage the unity of the Church. [49] In spite of this exchange of opinions, proportional representation in the American hierarchy was a problem of major concern for the majority of the correspondents to the Polish Daily in 1924, not the separate ethnic dioceses which had few loud and outspoken advocates.

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[47] Fr. A. Górski, "Głos na Sejm Kapłanów Polskich w Philadelphii" (A Voice for the Congress of the Polish Priests in Philadelphia), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 46 (Feb. 23, 1924): 1.
[48] Fr. Wincenty Chmurowicz, "Zapiski Tygodniowe" (Weekly Notes), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 175 (Jul. 26, 1924): 4.
[49] Fr. Ignacy Słoneczny, "Parafie Narodowościowe z Musu" (The Ethnic-National Parishes an Effect of Circumstance), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 178 (Jul. 30, 1924): 4.

b) American identity

The following paragraphs are intended to show that the old ethnic boundaries, generally defined by membership in Polish organizations and by identification with the Old-Country, were bound to be redefined with the rise of the second generation of Polish-Americans. The new currents within the ethnic community did not indicate breaking the ties with the Old-Country. Ethnicity was not seen by the new generation as a static reality rather, it was for them a living organism subject to constant change and developing processes, and expressed itself in many forms.

In 1924, an American-born priest, Father Stanislaus Orlemanski, exposed the injustice of the "opinions" expressed by the enemies of the Poles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.[50] By countering the untrue statements about Polish immigration in America, Father Orlemanski from Springfield, MA, made an interesting contribution toward defining the national boundaries for the Polish Diaspora in the United States. In his article Orlemanski questioned the correctness of the statistics regarding Catholic Poles, the Irish and other nationalities in the United States. According to the author, the numbers given in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* were not based on scientific data but were made up to prove the dominant role of Catholics of Irish descent in the Church in America. The deliberately deflated numbers of the other ethnic groups belonging to that Church served to marginalize the importance of these groups. Although the *Catholic Encyclopedia* estimated the total number of Poles in the United States as not less than

[50] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1910 ed.

2,800,000,[51] over half of that population constantly moved back and forth between Europe and America. Orlemanski concluded that the number of Polish immigrants and Polish Catholics was much higher by 1910. The distortion of the true number of the ethnic population, concluded the author, was to undermine the movement to promote the appointment of Polish bishops.

Another complaint about the inaccuracy of the Encyclopedia regarded a statement on the typical Polish attitude toward nationality and religion, "Historically the Poles have been so circumstanced that their racial and religious sympathies completely coincide […] their Americanization is most frequently concomitant with loss of faith."[52] In Orlemanski's opinion, the aim of this statement was to convince the readers of the unsuitability of Polish candidates to become American bishops because they would have created a Polish Church state within the Church in America.

For Father Orlemanski the viewpoint describing those Poles born in the United States as not Americans was totally unacceptable; he disagreed with the opinion regarding Poles as an unwanted element seeking only to get and not to give in America. The author gave evidence of the enormous sacrifice of those Polish immigrants who contributed, not only to the building of their own churches and schools in America, but also to their respective diocesan funds which were used to support many establishments

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[51] Fr. S. Orlemanski, "Statystyka, Charakterystyka i Religijność: Niemców, Włochów, Francuzów, Ajryszów i Polaków Według 'The Catholic Encyclopedia,'" (Statistics, Characteristics and Religiosity: Germans, Italians, French, Irish and Poles According to 'The Catholic Encyclopedia'), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 35 (Feb. 11, 1924): 4. The article was divided into several parts and printed in 1924 on Feb. 11, 13, 18, 20, 26 and 27.

[52] Fr. S. Orlemanski, "Statystyka, Charakterystyka i Religijność: Niemców, Włochów, Francuzów, Ajryszów i Polaków Według 'The Catholic Encyclopedia,'" *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 48 (Feb. 26, 1924): 4.

of the Church in America.[53] Orlemanski was convinced that a different language and culture did not stop one from being an American. Hard work and respect for the law were essential contributions to the adopted country. The building of churches and the support of religious institutions among the Poles could stand on an equal level with that of the Catholics whose language was English.

Not all Polish priests had such a high opinion of the unquestionable loyalty of their compatriots to the laws of the United States. Father Kwiatkowski from Wilkes Barre, PA., although he supported the cultural pluralism hypothesis, was worried about the behavior of Polish immigrants in America. Among the values defining a good American citizen, Father Kwiatkowski listed respect for the law, in its spiritual and literal meaning. The contributor observed many cases of the breaking of the law among the people belonging to his ethnic group, but the most deplorable offence was that of the Polish immigrants breaking the Prohibition law. Every second or third Polish home, he claimed, had a secret brewery or distillery.[54] In many instances those people were arrested and sentenced on charges of breaking the Prohibition law. Father Kwiatkowski saw the proposed Immigration Restriction Law of 1924 as a consequence of the behavior of his compatriots. He advised the writer to make an effort and try to understand the point of view of the settled Americans who were disturbed by the behavior of the law-breaking Polish immigrants and based their opinions on what they had observed. The author concluded that Poles living in their own country would react exactly in the same way towards immigrants who threatened their way of life.

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[53] Ibid., 4.
[54] Fr. W. Kwiatkowski, ”Nasza Lojalność Amerykańska” (Our American Loyalty), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 42 (Feb. 19, 1924): 4.

The debate on national boundaries attracted many esteemed contributors. The editorial of *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* praised the President of the United States in an article titled "Zasady i Idee Woodrow Wilsona" (The Norms and Ideas of Woodrow Wilson).[55] The editor chose a speech which the President delivered in Philadelphia on the occasion of a naturalization ceremony for a group of immigrants. President Wilson admitted the existence among newcomers of the ideas of freedom and justice,[56] which many of them wanted to pursue in the new continent. Unfortunately some Americans forgot the meaning of those ideas and needed the immigrants to remind them. The editor provided the names of some groups of Americans who failed to live up to the values pronounced by the President and claimed that their American nationality existed only on account of the English language. These included the Ku Klux Klan, American chauvinists, The Chicago Tribune and the authors of the Immigration Restriction Bill.

A sharply critical article on Americanization was reprinted in the *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* in May from the Warsaw based weekly "*Hasło.*" The point of the anonymous columnist was, "A general assessment of Americanization in the United States in the last year leads to the conviction of a plan carefully thought out and executed in detail." The author concluded, "The strength of Americanization surpasses decisively the force of Germanization in Prussia or Russification in Russia."[57] To widen his argument the columnist also hinted that poverty in Poland and the instances of the

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[55] "Zasady i Idee Woodrow Wilsona," (The Norms and Ideas of Woodrow Wilson), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 44 (Feb. 21, 1924): 4. The article is continued in the issue no. 45 (Feb. 22. 1924): 4.
[56] "Zasady i Idee Woodrow Wilsona," 4.
[57] "Co się Przyczynia do Amerykanizacji Polskiego Wychodźctwa," (What Contributs to the Americanization of the Polish Immigrants), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 106 (May 5, 1924): 4.

boycott of immigrants returning to their native country were factors which negatively affected the identification of immigrants in the United States with the Old-Country's culture. The column drew attention to the greatest danger facing immigrants, the loss of ethnic identity in the program of Americanization. The program stipulated full participation in American citizenship rights on acquiring the so-called "second citizenship papers." In order to obtain these papers an immigrant had to take a naturalization course which was dedicated to persuading the newcomers to abandon their ethnic identity. According to the author of the article, that method of Americanization was coercive and much more efficient in de-Polonization than any other ever experienced by Poles in their partitioned country.

In a column entitled "Bolszewizm Amerykański," (American Bolshevism) an author who called himself Zawisza compared the Ku Klux Klan to Bolshevism. The one hundred percent Americans organized by the K.K.K. directed their attacks (as did the Soviet Bolsheviks) against the independent parish-based school system. The intention of that racist action was to use the law in order to compel children to enter the public educational system. Zawisza was concerned about the plans for the implementation of a government program for the public schools, a program which intended to exclude religion. The author noticed the forceful, coercive action of the "American Bolsheviks" in Washington State, directed particularly against the parochial schools and Catholics in general. Members of the Catholic Church were denied access to higher office and were constantly obstructed in exercising their civil rights. Zawisza also took note of the

decision of the Supreme Court which ruled out an attempt to eliminate foreign languages from the parochial schools on the grounds of the Constitution of the United States.[58]

c) Directions chosen at the Congress of the Polish-American Priests

The president of the P.P.A., Bishop Paweł Piotr Rhode, the first Pole to be named a Roman Catholic Bishop in the United States, delivered a report on his journey to Rome at the Fifth Congress.[59] In his report he dealt with the triple loyalty issue of the Catholic Church, the Old-Country and the United States of America. During the Bishop's meeting with Pope Benedict XV, he raised the concerns of the Polish immigrant population in America. The first concern discussed was about the equality of the Polish clergy, then the creation of Polish ethnic parishes and the pastoral care of Polish Catholics who did not have access to priests able to speak their language. In this report we find an authoritative rebuttal of the so-called "Polish separatism" within the Catholic Church of the United States as alleged in some circles. Bishop Rhode publicly denied the involvement of Polish clergy in a movement directed towards the creation of separate Polish dioceses in the United States. On the contrary, at the Fifth Congress, the president of the P.P.A. acknowledged the existence, within the Catholic Church of the United States, of groups unfavorably inclined towards the Polish cause. The Bishop also urged the priests not to generalize or blame the American hierarchy for orchestrating actions against the Polish Diaspora, because no such actions were ever undertaken. In his speech Bishop Rhode also focused on the need to change attitudes towards the Old-Country. The speaker

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[58] "Bolszewizm Amerykański,"(American Bolshewism), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 48 (Feb. 26, 1924): 4.

[59] "Z Sejmu Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich" (From the Congress of the Polish Priests Association), no author given. *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 51 (Feb. 29, 1924): 2.

received prolonged applause when he made the following remark during the session, "We do not need cultural and religious directives from the Old-Country for the time being."

The Fifth Congress of the Polish Priests passed several resolutions which aimed at adaptation to the new reality. The religious leaders decided to support the Polish National Division (a central welfare organization created in 1914) as one means of activating the laity into taking responsibility for the national, social and political challenges faced by Polish Americans. The participants of the Congress praised the religious sisters for their dedicated work in the Polish parish school system and resolved to make every effort to improve the educational standards. The shift of attention from Poland to Polish America was expressed by the passing of a resolution supporting the American Kosciusko Institute and the Old-Country institutions but only done after endorsement by the P.P.A. Committee. The report of Bishop Paul Rhode and the resolutions of the P.P.A. went in the direction of the majority of columnists who contributed their opinions to *Dziennik Zjednoczenia.* The general tone of religious leaders of that moment in the history of Polish immigration to the United States was adequately expressed by Father Kneblewski:

> One has to take two things as fundamental to restorative action: first, the fact that Poland regained its independence and freedom, so today it should rely on itself […]; second, the emigrants must deal with one aspect of working by organizing themselves into a compact national union, based on American life and its requirements. The relationship with Poland will be close, but through America, which our Diaspora must link more closely with our Fatherland […]."[60]

[60] Fr. W. Kneblewski, "Nasze Potrzeby a Kongres Katolicki" (Our Needs and the Catholic Congress), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 60 (Mar. 11, 1924): 4.

d) Other Polish nationality organizations

In April 1925, the Congress of Polish Immigration in the United States of America was held in Detroit under the auspices of the Polish National Division. The Congress addressed the issue of national identity in a similar way as did the priests at their Convention in 1924. The delegates who had gathered in Detroit called for "wise Americanization." In order to implement that idea the delegates created a new central organization, the Polish Welfare Council of America (Polska Rada Opieki Społecznej w Ameryce)**,** which replaced the former organization Polish National Division (Wydział Narodowy Polski) created in 1914 for the sake of Polish welfare and independence.[61] The new central welfare organization was primarily concerned with the domestic problems facing Polonia, rather than Poland. This change of mood towards the Old-Country was emphasized during the second convention of the "International Alliance of Poles from abroad," held in Warsaw in1934. The representatives of the Polish National Alliance and the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the two American Polish nationality organizations, made the following declaration, "We came to the convention not as Poles from abroad, but as Americans of Polish descent. We are loyal citizens of the United States, but as citizens of the United States we would like to cooperate with you only in the cultural field."[62]

Evidently the leaders of the Polish American organizations did not intend to forsake the heritage of their forefathers. The religious leaders of the Polish Diaspora

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[61] Ks. A. Syski, *Przegląd Kościelny*, (May 1925): 254-264. Przegląd Kościelny (Church Review – the Voice of the Polish Priests Asscociation).
[62] Miecislaus Haiman, *Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce*, (Chicago: 1948), 427, in Joseph A. Wytrwal, *America's Polish Heritage, A Social History of the Poles in America*, (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1961), 242.

(Polonia) in the United States had the same intention. Bishop Rhode shared this observation at the 41st P.R.C.U. Convention, "If we forget our Polish heritage we become nothing but ships in the wind without anchors."[63]

e) The state of Polish-American community after the P.P.A. Congress

The continuous struggle of the immigrant community for the equality of Polish clergy within the Roman Catholic Church in America was reflected in most of the editorials and articles printed in *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* before and after the P.P.A. Congress in Philadelphia. Since the Roman Catholic Church in the United States was one of the agents of the acculturation process for Polish immigrants, its role should not be overlooked. It must be stated that the Church was not carrying out government polices but supported the acculturation process on its own terms. The letter of Bishop Gallagher, sent to the Alumni of the Polish Theological Seminary in Orchard Lake, provides evidence showing the difference of opinions among the American hierarchy on the issue of ethnic languages in the Church's educational institutions. The accommodation of the aspirations of ethnic groups depended on the polices of the local bishops and that created a window of opportunity for some and struggle for other immigrant groups.

The evidence presented in this part of the research reflects the action of coercive forces in the process of acculturation and the possibilities open for immigrants within the democratic system. Regrettably, the Polish community was not consolidated in the Twenties to the extent which would enable it to take full advantage of the available opportunities. In 1925, the community had only two bishops and one congressman. One of the columnists, using the pen name Bar, probably noticed an important element in the

[63] Ibid.,, 433.

character of the Polish-Americans which could shed some light on the anomaly of the big disparity between having more than three million immigrants of Polish origin in the United States in the mid Twenties and such a meager representation in the ranks of the Church and state establishments. Bar observed that Poles in America exhibited a high rate of religious practices with deeply seated anticlericalism which obviously had roots in the nineteenth century class system of the Old-Country. [64] He advocated the appointment of Polish bishops in America because they would be able to understand the intricacies of the Polish community. The psychological traits of the Polish community in America made up just a fraction of the problems which hindered the progress of the community within the new American society. Another internal problem of the Polish Diaspora was described by Father W. Kneblewski who argued, in his column printed in Dziennik Zjednoczenia on 11 March 1924, that the Polish clergy was the only group fit to organize and consolidate the immigrant community for purposes of its advancement, "[…] the rest of the Polish sophisticated class as brought up and educated here medical doctors, lawyers and technicians along with entrepreneurs are not yet solidified and ready to lead."[65]

Since the end of the nineteenth century clergy played a dominant role in defining the ethnic boundaries for the immigrant community in confrontation with the religious and lay factions of the nationalist camp. This situation eventually led to a schism and the creation of an independent church known as the Polish National Church. After Poland regained independence in 1918, the issue of nationalism lost its appeal among most of the

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[64] Bar, „Jeszcze Słowo o Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce" (One Word More on the Polish Clergy Equality in America), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 12 (Jan. 15, 1924): 4.
[65] Fr. W. Kneblewski, „Nasze Potrzeby a Kongres Katolicki" (Our Needs and the Catholic Congress), *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 60 (Mar. 11, 1924): 4.

Polish immigrants in the United States. With the fading ethos of struggle for the independence of Fatherland, Polonia entered a period of inaction. The creation of the Polish Welfare Council in America in 1925, a new central organization which was to coordinate efforts aimed at raising the status of the Polish Americans in their new Homeland, did not live up to expectations, so the social and cultural life of Polonia became stagnant in the twenties.

The material collected from the articles printed in *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* in 1924, allows for sketching the main issues, from the clergy's perspective, which emerged in the mid Twenties discussion on the new identity of Polish Americans. In accord with Thistlethwaite's thesis, which was expressed with the words "They did not come to become Americans," one has to notice the strong attachment to the old roots strongly expressed by the Congress of the P.P.A. in Philadelphia in the resolution supporting the Polish parish school system. Nonetheless, in spite of all the dedication of the clergy to the culture and traditions of the Old-Country, they realized that "Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis."[66] This Latin proverb was articulated in the column written by Father Kneblewski in a call for the transformation of the Polish American community in connection with the culture of Fatherland "but based on American way of life and its requirements." The position of triple loyalty, taken by the Polish priests in the United States, defined the attitudes of the religious leaders toward the three profound realities they were connected with: the Roman Catholic Church, the Old-Country and America. The policy of triple loyalty expressed by Fr. Vincent Barzyński by the end the nineteenth century with the words, "Every Pole should retain his Catholic Faith, learn the language

[66] "The times are changing and we change with them."

and history of Poland and be given a chance to become a good Yankee," proved to gather in popularity in the post World War I reality with America becoming the Homeland and the first point of reference for the majority of Polish Americans and especially for the second generation.

This examination serves as a background for the debate held on the identity of Polish-Americans by Father Justyn Figas on the Rosary Hour broadcast in the Thirties. The analysis of the debate prior to, during, and after the P.P.A. Congress in Philadelphia is not sufficient to ascertain the extent to which the views on ethnic and American identity, as represented by the Polish priests in the 1924 debate, were supported by the Polish-American community as a whole. Greene suggested that only a minority of the immigrant population was prepared to defend its ethnic values against the majority culture.[67] Greene's definition of the three stages of the evolution of nationalism allows us to re-classify the religionist camp, as it was in the Twenties, to the second stage called by the author "cultural nationalism." Central to the stand of the clergy in the area of Polish national objectives was not a "myopic and selfish view," as Joseph Wytrwal claimed in "*Behold! The Polish Americans,"* but was a deep conviction of the need for unity among the Ethnic Community.

[67] Greene, 5.

The issue of dual identity on the Rosary Hour

Examination of the radio talks and the Question Box may shed more light on the issue of the attitudes of Polish-Americans towards ethnic and American identity. Based on the scrutiny of the views expressed by Father Justyn on the issue of dual loyalty towards Poland and the United States during the first broadcasting season, it is possible to identify him as a supporter and promoter of cultural pluralism among the Polish immigrants in America. The Director of the Rosary Hour explained his understanding of patriotism in the second talk of the broadcast season 1931-1932, "A Pole as an American Citizen," in terms of the cultural connection with Poland, the country of origin, along with political and social activity in the United States, the adopted Fatherland. However, the responses from the radio listeners during the broadcasting period 1931-1932 do not permit a conclusion to be drawn as to the extent to which Polonia shared Father Justyn's views on Polish and American patriotism.

a) Polish patriotism[68]

1932-1933

The discussion on ethnicity and new American identity was one of the central themes in Father Justyn's talks. During the first broadcast season of the Rosary Hour, cultural pluralism was recognized as the framework for the new identity of an immigrant from Poland. This topic was developed during the second season in two talks entitled "Our Vices," already mentioned in Chapter Two. Attachment to the culture and traditions of the Country of the Forefathers and involvement in the social and political life of the United States were the characteristic features of the new identity. In the Thirties this

[68] Appendix E1.

concept was challenged by two forces: the second generation and the advocates of "100 Percent Americanism." The generation born in America did not fully identify with the concept of ethnic boundaries such as the Polish parish school system and local and nationwide ethnic organizations as conveyed to them at their family homes, and on the Rosary Hour radio programs.

Father Justyn considered ethnic culture as a carrier of the value system brought over the Atlantic by the immigrants. By acquainting the listeners of his program with real life role models who were formed by the same culture, he attempted to influence and encourage his audience to carry on their tradition in the New World. One of the heroes introduced during the first broadcast season and often referred to in the next programs, was Archbishop Jan Cieplak. In 1923 Archbishop Cieplak, an apostolic administrator of Mohylev in Russia, drew the public attention of the world to himself when he and his vicar general were accused of conspiring against the revolutionary government.[69] After a mock trial by a Soviet tribunal in Moscow he was condemned to death. The international protests against the sentence led to the change of the penalty given from death to ten years of imprisonment. The protests and pleas made on behalf of the archbishop by the heads of the states, including President Coolidge, organizations, and individual persons did not cease. In the end, after a year he was released from incarceration and expelled from Russia. Archbishop Cieplak arrived in the United States via Rome in 1925 with a mission from the Vatican to examine the Polish American institutions and make a report back to the Holy See. In December 1925, the prelate was hosted by Father Justyn and

[69] Mohylev was a city within historical borders of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth incorporated to Russia during partitions. At present Mohylev belongs to Belorussia.

other Franciscans and, at a mass meeting with thousands of Poles in Buffalo, he shared his dreadful experience of a Soviet prison. The Archbishop visited over three hundred Polish parishes in the United States and everywhere encouraged the Polish immigrants to preserve the Faith and the national spirit inherited from their forefathers. He died of pneumonia in Passaic, N.J., on 17 February 1926 before being able to report back to the Holy Father.[70]

Father Justyn knew Archbishop Cieplak personally and shared his conviction about the value of the Old-Country's culture in preserving the Faith. The prelate exiled from the Soviet Union was mentioned for the first time on the second program of the Rosary Hour, broadcast on 13 December 1931, in the context of a discussion about work as a form of expressing patriotism. On the program "Our Faults and Virtues," broadcast on 4 December 1932, listeners were again reminded about the Archbishop and about his conversation with a Polish boy from one of the parish schools in the State of Wisconsin. When the boy was asked where Poland was, his answer was – in the United States. This short answer reflected Father Justyn's belief in the need to build a strong ethnic-national community in America.[71]

The cultural pluralism hypothesis was a reality practiced in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth for over two hundred years from 1569 until the fall of the state with the last partition in 1795. A multi-ethnic population lived in the Commonwealth, each group employing its native language:

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[70] Richard Deptula, O.F.M.Conv., "Polish Immigrants, Conventual Franciscans, and Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph: Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church, Buffalo, New York, 1898-1939" (M.A. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1989), 236-238; Fr. Jan A. Książek, *Father Justin Rosary Hour*, (Buffalo: Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa, 1981), 55-56.
[71] Figas, "Nasze zalety i wady," *MROJ*, 4 Dec. 1932-1933, 26.

> Polish was the chief language used in the Parliament (Sejm) and in matters of administration, while the courts of law employed (in addition to Polish and Latin) German, Ukrainian/Belorussian, and Armenian, depending on the corporate privileges of the various ethnic groups. Considerable religious toleration characterized the Commonwealth during that period, and the faiths professed were almost as numerous and diverse as the languages spoken […]."[72]

After the dismantling of the political and social structure of the Commonwealth by the partitioning powers, the religious administration did not change much and was able to preserve the status quo. Archbishop Cieplak knew from his own experience as apostolic administrator of the archdiocese of Mohylev how a minority ethnic or religious group could function although surrounded by a different majority culture or a number of different ethnic groups. The tradition of a multicultural society in one political organism survived in the Polish culture, in the pastoral praxis of the clergy and in the programs of those political leaders who identified with the tradition of the former Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth and struggled to restore the old union of Eastern European nations. Thus the Polish National Alliance in America with its logo of the white eagle, the white knight and Michael the Archangel was a reminder of the three nations of the Commonwealth, Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian, who shared the glories and misfortunes of the state.

The peasants were exploited and abused by the ruling classes of the Commonwealth and later by the partitioning powers. The Polish intelligentsia of the Nineteenth and Twentieth century scornfully called them "yokels" (chamy). The peasant was mistreated in the church, in the school, in the office and within his own community. For many of them emigration was the only solution to their problems. But, since they did

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[72] Andrzej S. Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686-1697* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1993), 18. In the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth lived Poles, Ruthenians (Ukrainians and Belorussians), Lithuanians, Germans, Jews, Armenians, and Tatars.

not fully participate in the political process back in their Fatherland, especially in the Russian partition, they exhibited passive attitudes towards the democratic process in the United States. To Father Justyn, who understood the value of participation in the civic culture of the adopted Fatherland, involvement in the civic culture was a ”sine qua non” for becoming part of American society and a boundary which marked and safeguarded the new identity. Regrettably, the large Polish community had very few representatives in the local and nationwide administration and politics.

To change that indifferent attitude Father Justyn challenged his compatriots in his talk on 11 December 1932, by sharing his observation of an incident during one civic feast in which about one thousand Polish community members marched in front of an honorary tribune in one of the big cities in the United States. The master of ceremonies who was describing all the different nationalities that took part in the parade said, “Here come the Irish. Now come the Italians. There come the Germans.” As the Polish group came closer to the honorary tribune the speaker announced with a cynical smile, “And here comes the dumb nation!” That statement was racist, malignant and provocative; nonetheless, Father Justyn admitted on the program that even though the statement had hurt him, the speaker was right.[73] He substantiated his opinion by reminding the audience of the Rosary Hour about the next to zero political influence of the biggest Polish communities in cities like Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh. The highest positions the immigrant Poles were able to achieve were those of street sweepers and dog catchers, mocked the embittered Father Justyn about his politically passive countrymen.

[73] Figas, “Nasze zalety i wady,” *MROJ*, 11Dec. 1932-1933, 30.

To keep a balanced and objective view of the people whose weak points he was discussing in a public forum he listed their positive sides too, like hard work, patiently paying taxes and doing their best to avoid encounters with the public guardians of law and order. From this kind of eulogy Father Justyn then suddenly slipped into a sarcastic comment of praise and irony, "I must admit that they also conscientiously obey God's Law and with Polish regularity and perseverance break the Eighteenth Amendment [...]."[74] These generalizations and sarcasms were often used on the Rosary Hour as oratorical forms designed to encourage the listeners' ambitions to increase their efforts to get ahead in life and be more assertive but were also a reflection of the underachievement of Father Justin's compatriots as American citizens in the Thirties. Therefore, Father Justyn forcefully pointed the way out of political and social stagnation for his countrymen by repeating certain catchphrases, e.g., "The ballot and voice are more powerful weapons than rifles and guns."[75] The Polish religious radio programs from Buffalo encouraged the use of that kind of weaponry in asserting the position of the more than three million Polish immigrants in the United States.

In Father Justyn's assessment, the attitudes of the American citizens of Polish descent with regard to the ethnic boundaries of the community were not much better than their attitudes towards their newly claimed identity and were characterized by sluggishness and lethargy. Any initiative in the area of strengthening the ethnic-national identity was often torpedoed by the so called "national vices" (mentioned in Chapter Two). This tendency to division and jealousy among the Polish community was the most

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., 31.

frequently criticized national vice on the radio program. Father Justyn saw the young generation as the only hope for forging the ethnic-national identity in the new reality. This view was expressed on the Rosary Hour in 1932 along with a warning against the judgmental attitudes of those who, using the criteria of the forefathers, criticized the youth. Instead, Father Justyn advocated that the youth should be exposed to what was best in the Polish culture. Again, the advice given by Archbishop Cieplak to the Polish American youth was quoted on that program, "Do not break the connection with Poland! Get acquainted with the Polish language and the Polish literature – not superficially but thoroughly. Travel to Poland. Familiarize yourselves with the Polish spirit. Learn the history of Poland and its rich past!"

Evidently, the Rosary Hour program was used to encourage its listeners to seek pride in the culture and history of Poland, but to what effect? The audience was listening to the inspired talks of the generally admired the Radio Priest. This could happen for a number of reasons: the listeners tuned in because they understood the language, it was a form of relaxation on Sunday evening, it provided an opportunity to learn something about their own roots and hear about current events. Radio was a relatively new invention in the Thirties and like movies wielded a kind of hypnotic power over the listeners, especially when a charismatic speaker was at the microphone. So the radio could be a powerful tool of change in the social, cultural, political, economic and religious areas of life. How then was the idea of building the Polish community life in the United States based on the culture of country of origin received by the Polish-Americans at the beginning of the Rosary Hour radio network transmissions?

In order to form an opinion on this aspect of the communal life of Polish immigrants it is necessary to collect as much feedback as possible from the listeners to Father Justyn's programs. A very significant response to the issue under discussion was included in the Question Box which followed the talk "Our strengths and weaknesses" broadcast on 11th December 1932, "Why do Polish children, even my own, do not want to speak Polish?"[76] Signed, E. P., Archbald, PA. The question suggests a widespread negative attitude among the second generation towards the language of their parents. This observation is also confirmed by the answer given on the radio, "One of the biggest reasons is a sad fact that children follow the example of the adults. [...]. Guilty are the schools where children attend, not excluding even some of our schools. Finally, our educated class bears the blame, especially some of our younger clergy. [...]."[77] The preceding text proves that Father Justyn was aware of the lack of enthusiasm on the part of a large part of his countrymen to the idea of cultivating the culture of their ancestors. He also noted that a similar apathy occurred among Polonia in relation to the activities in the Polish ethnic organizations and the political life of the United States. Indifference of a significant segment of Polish-Americans towards the political life of the country in which they lived did not effect a policy change in the Rosary Hour in this field. This example shows a characteristic feature of this radio program, which focused on educating its audience in hope of building foundations for a stronger community.

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[76] Appendix E1.
[77] Figas, "Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 11 Dec. 1932-1933, 36.

1933-1934

The first radio program of the season 1933-1934 continued the discussion on the ethno-national boundaries from the previous year with the strongly emphasized theme of class struggle. A story about a hero from the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1919–1921 from the Polish novel *Najwyższy lot* by Antoni F. Ossendowski, described the problem of social injustice and the war for the independence of Poland. [78] A son of an activist in a socialist workers' movement volunteered for the Polish Army in face of the invasion of the Bolsheviks. Władek, the hero from the novel and nicknamed "Socialist" by his colleagues, was fighting the Bolsheviks arm to arm with the other workers, the sons of peasants, the sons of noble men and of the middle class. Their unity of purpose was a display of solidarity where patriotism and the independence of the Fatherland took priority over grievances and cross-claims.

On the program, Father Justyn used this episode from the novel to show the sad reality of the still existing divisions in the community of Polish Americans in the Thirties. There were cultural differences kept alive among the Polish immigrants from the three different partitions, Russian, Prussian and Austrian. The differences were reflected in America by subdivisions of the Polish communities created by separate settlements along the old political boundaries of the three partitioning powers. These communities later erected their own churches, often at very short distances from one another. They were further divided by political, religious and social views. Father Justyn described these

[78] Antoni Ferdynand Ossendowski (1876 -1945) was a Polish writer, journalist, traveler explorer and university professor. He is best known for his novels on Lenin and the Russian Civil War, which he took part in. After the WW II, the new communist Soviet-led authorities of Poland issued a ban on all books by Ossendowski. It was not until 1989 that his books were again published openly in Poland.

attitudes among his compatriots as shameful and degrading. He also observed that the community life of Polish Americans was sinking in "a flood of negligence and indifference."[79]

The plan for the recovery of Polish communal life that he proposed was based on four points: 1. Cooperation of Polish Americans as most important for resolving the ethnic community's issues; 2. Restraint from the politics of the Republic of Poland and the cultivation of cultural roots; 3. Participation in local and nation-wide elections and in the political process of the United States; 4. Tolerance for the political and religious differences between compatriots. Father Justyn hoped that the future of the Polish American community would be decided by the audience listening to the program. To Father Justyn the community still had great potential, but everything depended on the will, intelligence and unity of its members. The extract from the novel which Father Justyn used at the beginning of the talk described the struggle of the Polish nation for independence and showed the ability of the forefathers to unite in the face of danger and was aimed at encouraging the Polish immigrants in America to do the same.

The rules for the revitalization of the Polish community were further discussed on several broadcasts over the period between the January and April talks of the following calendar year. The talk "Peasant's Heart,"[80] broadcast in January, raised the issues of ethnic cultural boundaries as depicted in the literary works of the Polish writers and their opposition to communism. The theme of anti-communism functioned on the Rosary Hour as a boundary line which portrayed the two identities, the national American and the

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[79] Figas, "Polska dusza," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 15 Oct., 1933-1934, 6.
[80] Figas, "Chłopskie serce," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 21 Jan. 1933-1934, 27-36.

ethnic Polish American identity, as coinciding with each other. The stories chosen for that program described the religious, patriotic and anti-communist attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy in the historic eastern provinces of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Soviet revolution. All the characters in the narrative were either killed or imprisoned for displaying their religious and national identities. The stories were designed to show the brutality of communist methods and served as examples of what would happen to the listeners, who were not only Poles, if the revolution started in the United States.[81] Father Justyn did not deny the existence of "exploitation, injustice and oppression" in the United States, but again confirmed his support for President Roosevelt and his trust that the President's administration would sort out the "unhappy relations."

Certain actions, like public disrespect to the Polish community in the United States, were able to mobilize Polish-Americans in a show of protest against what seemed to them an attack on their good name. One of those protests was provoked by the controversy created by the expression used by Father Charles E. Coughlin during a hearing on birth control in January in Washington. As Father Justyn reported, "For some time, almost all Polish newspapers named Father Charles E. Coughlin, the famous radio speaker, as an enemy of Poles for the reason that he compared the Poles with the black men, and so without end."[82]

Hundreds of letters sent to the office of the Rosary Hour requested Father Justyn to give his position on this matter. Father Justyn knew Father Coughlin from his positive

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[81] Ibid., 35. Among the other nationalities listening to the Rosary Hour Father Justyn mentioned: Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Russians and Slovaks.
[82] Figas, "Robotnik," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 25 Feb. 1933-1934, 103.

attitude towards the Poles whom he described as pious, honest and diligent people. Father Justyn, from his personal meeting in Detroit with the well known Radio Priest, shared the information that Father Coughlin employed proportionately the biggest number of Polish women in his radio office in Detroit. Then Father Justyn read the letter dated 12 February, 1934, sent by Father Coughlin with his explanation of the problem which so enraged the Poles:

> Thank you for your letter of February 3rd which was brought to my attention this morning. I want you to know that I appreciate your splendid interest and your courtesy in questioning me directly. I am glad to offer this explanation of my statements at the hearing in Washington. Noting that birth control is practiced among the so-called Nordic races more than among the Latin, the Magyar, the Polish and the Negro who still believe in the scriptural teachings of "Increase and Multiply." Further, I stated that it would only be a matter of time until the Polish people would deservedly inherit America along with the Latins, Magyars and Negros if the Nordics, composed chiefly of English, Irish, Scotch and Scandinavian races, persisted in birth control. Instead of condemning or criticizing the Polish people, as a certain news agency tried to make it appear, I was rather praising them for their Christian philosophy and their putting of it into practice.[83]

The remarks of Father Coughlin who claimed that some news agencies tried to present his comments as critical and degrading of Poles, triggered a reaction which provided another opportunity for the Polish-Americans to outline their attitudes as to their place and dignity in American society.

The three programs in March and April continued the discussion on the ethnic-national boundaries within the context of the situation of Polish workers in America. The talks "The Ulcer of the Polish Worker," "Judas of the Polish Worker" and

[83] Figas, "Robotnik," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 25 Feb. 1933-1934, 104.

"Resurrection,"[84] underlined the subject of attitudes to social justice, one the most important concerns of the Polish Americans in the Thirties. The Depression and unemployment affected the Polish worker, weakened his body and made him sick, said Father Justyn who defined the worst symptom of this sickness as ulcers on the body of the Polish worker and the worst of all ulcers, according to him, was The Polish Workers Agency (Polska Centrala Robotnicza), which infiltrated the immigrant community through the Polish Workers' Clubs. The first Congress of the workers' organization to prepare plans for further action was held from the second to the fifth of September 1932 in Cleveland. Among the main topics discussed there was the possibility of taking over Polish American organizations by creating formal opposition groups and an ideological propaganda. The *Trybuna Robotnicza* (The Workers' Tribune), was the official organ of the Polish Workers' Agency which often printed critical articles about the Rosary Hour and Father Justyn. Among those most actively involved in spreading the communist ideology among the Polish workers Father Justyn listed Jan A. Siemiaszko who organized the Labor Councils in Chicago and Józef Grzegorczyk who was his deputy. All these facts were carefully researched and based on the material printed by *Dziennik Związkowy* (Polish Daily News) in 1933.[85]

On the next Sunday the talk "Judas of the Polish Worker" continued the theme of communist agitation among the Polish Americans. Although there were a number of

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[84] Figas, "Wrzód polskiego robotnika," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 11 Mar. 1933-1934, 128-135; Figas, "Judasz polskiego robotnika," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 18 Mar. 1933-1934, 143-149; Figas, "Rezurekcja," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 1 Apr. 1933-1934, 169-175.

[85] Father Justyn informed that Polish Daily News printed in 1933 a series of six articles under the title „Zdemaskowanie Pracy KomunistycznejWśród Polonii Amerykańskiej" (Exposure of the Communist Labor Among the American Polonia) with the names of members of the Labor Councils.

supporters of radicalism in the labor movements connected to the Polish Workers Agency, it was not a large organization. The P.N.A. and the P.R.C.U., two major Polish nationality organizations in America, as well as the Polish clergy and other organizations formed a united front against Bolshevism within the Polish American community. The articles against the United States government printed by *Trybuna Robotnicza* and the actions of the Polish Workers Agency were condemned by the representatives of Polonia who at the time were united about this matter.[86] Bolshevism and communism, with their class-struggle ideology, were considered by the Polish American leaders as enemies and a threat to international stability. Father Justin's two talks dedicated to the communist threat gave a detailed examination of the organization of radical labor movement in the context of the Polish American worker and examples of the practical implementation of this ideology in the Soviet Union. In contrast, there were no analyses of the allegations made by the Polish Workers' Agency against the "New Deal" and its supposedly fascist overtones which favored big capital over the worker.[87] Father Justin was not challenging Roosevelt's policies, instead he was asking Polish worker to stand by the American standard. With the turn of economic prospects in the United States for better towards the end of the decade, the activities of the Polish Workers' Agency and its dependent cells gradually began to disappear.

Another talk, "The Example of Goodness," dedicated to the renewal of the Polish community in America, referred to the problem of internal divisions and the lack of

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[86] *Trybuna Robotnicza* printed in the issue of 3 March 1934 the following statement: „Here in the United States the liberal government led by Roosevelt is rapidly moving toward a complete fascism […]," in Fr. Justyn Figas O.F.M.Conv, "Judasz polskiego robotnika," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 18 Mar. 1933-1934, 147-148.
[87] Ibid., 144.

tolerance towards compatriots. The novel ,*Ksiądz Piotr* (Father Peter), by the Polish writer Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, was presented to the audience as an illustration of injustice in Poland between the land owners and the serfs.[88] The novel told the story of the two last days of life of an old village pastor who, in conversations with the organist, described his youth when he was a cavalry man in the November Uprising and later became a priest to make a penance for the offences of his ancestors and his own committed against the serfs. Father Justyn used the literary example of a noble man (szlachcic) who reformed from the bad habits he had inherited from his ancestors to persuade his listeners to embrace the method of self-perfection as opposed to class struggle and revolutionary upheaval. For Father Justyn, tolerance and respect for the members of their own community were two of the most important elements in the building and rebuilding of any group of people, and, at the same time, clearly marked and strengthened the ethnic boundary.

1934-1935

Father Justyn usually spent the summer months visiting different parishes and being involved in providing pastoral help. This process provided him with the opportunity of meeting a cross-section of the Polish communities in America and getting experience which he later shared with the audience of the Rosary Hour. The second talk of the season, "The Sufferers," reflected on the situation of the homebound and homeless people. Listening to the dramas of individuals inclined Father Justyn to express his overall assessment of the situation of Polish immigrants in the United States. He chose the medical term "paralysis" as the word best suited to illustrate his comment, "Our

[88] Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer (1865-1940), a Polish poet, novelist playwright, journalist and writer.

nationality, especially here in America, suffers from a paralysis of will. This is one of our national flaws."[89] He supported his comment with the observation of the Nobel Prize winner, Henryk Sienkiewicz, who wrote, "The Pole won the high religious and moral principles, and locks them in his soul, as he locks money in a safe, making them dead capital. He owns them, but as if as stock. He has accumulated gold but lives as a pauper." [90]

Sienkiewicz referred to the Polish society of the turn of the century, which suffered from the lack of a strong native middle class. The nation, divided into three partitions, was run by foreign administrators who, with the exception of those in the Austrian partition, generally ignored the Polish traditions and aspirations. Thus the only institutions which continued to preserve the Polish culture in that period were the Church and the family. The situation of the Polish-American community in the Thirties was in a way like the mirror image of the situation of Polish society before regaining independence in 1918. This observation was reflected in a question of a radio listener from Toledo, signed B. K., "What would have been left of the Polish Emigration here if it had not been for the Polish churches with their sermons, societies, the Polish schools? What would have been left of our Polish traditions? Would the Polish newspapers have existed? Please say something about it."[91] The answer was very short, "In this question is a complete answer. My further comments are not needed."

Another correspondence indicated the existence of a group in the Polish-American community which turned hostile to its own roots and culture. A letter from

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[89] Figas, "Łazarze," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 28 Oct. 1933-1934, 20-21.
[90] Ibid., 21.
[91] Figas, "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi? – P. O.," *MROJ,* vol. 2, 24 Feb. 1934-1935, 76; Appendix E1.

Chicago, dated 1 November 1934, and signed B.B., was used to introduce the talk "Wanderers and Heroes" dedicated to the Polish pioneers in America:

> You Father should be ashamed to praise the Poles so much. In spite of being of Polish descent I am ashamed of it. The type of Poles who came to America is the worst in the world and without polish and culture. They did not know how to read and write. They were able, however, to get drunk, to be at odds with each other and fight among themselves. Why do you not talk about these facts, Father? Where and what is the impact of the Poles? They deserve to be treated as the Black men and Chinese, because they are a cluster of narrow-minded primitives, who do not deserve to be treated better. But you Father will not tell the truth, because you do not know it, and therefore are not able to speak. The Poles in America are like a flock of cattle, the sooner they get lost and disappear, the better for us, their descendants. With no respect."[92]

Father Justyn hesitated to publicize this poisoned, anti-Polish letter written by a person of the same descent. He thought that the author had, first of all, no respect for himself and no knowledge of the true character of the Polish immigrants who often under their rough, loutish exterior hid a noble personality. He further believed that it was not their fault that they lacked polish or education and culture. Alternately, violent and soft de-Polonization programs, carried out by the invaders, did their destructive work on the Polish nation, he argued further. Nonetheless, Father Justyn observed, these rough and loutish people were able to build their houses, churches and organizations in the land which offered them that opportunity. They were able to raise their families and educate their children. He attributed this kind of a hostile attitude to their own roots expressed by part of the new generation to the limited culture and polish they had acquired in the United States. By taking pride in what was only mediocre according to the American standards, they became blind to the honesty and diligence displayed by their parents, qualities of character fundamental in shaping every family and society. The lack of these

[92] Figas, "Tułacze i bohaterzy," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 11 Nov. 1934-1935, 42.

qualities was very evident, continued Father Justyn, during the recent election campaign when educated, cultured and polished candidates challenged their opponents by calling them thieves and fraudsters. "We still are so low that we should blush from shame," concluded the advocate of the Polish-Americans.[93]

The analyses of the talks delivered by Father Justyn in defense of the Polish immigrants in America might sometimes give the impression that he used the victim mentality frame a little too often when blaming everyone else for what happened in the world of the immigrants. If this slant was occasionally so, one has to notice that the Rosary Hour programs put decisively more emphases on advertising the ability of Polish immigrants to take care of themselves and their upward progress in society. That was the case of Antoni Schreiber, whom Father Justyn presented as an exemplary character among the Polish community in Buffalo, in his response to a letter from the beginning of the program broadcast on 11 November 1934. Schreiber served on the audit committee of the Polish National Alliance and in Buffalo, where he resided, he owned the biggest Polish brewery in the United States. He was born in Raciąż, under Prussian partition in 1864. His family supported his education, but because of their involvement in the Polish January Uprising of 1863, the young Schreiber was watched by the Prussian agents. He emigrated to America in 1881, where after years of hard work he was promoted, in 1888, to the position of representative of the Mary Rawolle Company. Then, he founded a brewery in Buffalo in spite of big competition. During this time Schreiber was actively involved in the life of the Polish community. On the occasion of the unveiling of the

[93] Ibid., 47.

Pulaski and Kosciuszko monuments in Washington, 12 May, 1910, Schreiber was involved in organizing the Fourth Polish Congress under the auspices of the Polish National Alliance in spite of protests from the German, Russian and Austrian embassies. This example of upward mobility among the first generation of immigrants shown by presenting the story of Antoni Schreiber on the radio program served Father Justyn's thesis about the value of character and the virtues of the pioneer immigrants from the Polish lands. Schreiber was an honest, religious, educated, hard working man and a patriot. During the talk "Wanderers and Heroes" Schreiber's story served as a model example of what was best in the Polish immigrant.

Another challenge to the value of ethnic-national identity and patriotism came from an ex-serviceman who served in the Polish Legions and emigrated after the war to Chicago; his views were presented on 13 January 1935, during the talk "Soldiers in Cassocks:"

> The Catholic priests are ready to talk about sacrifice and patriotism. Father Justyn also does nothing else. Why you do not give good example? It is easy for you to say and exhort, because it does not cost you anything. But, yourselves, in the time of need of patriotic sacrifice, you hide behind the backs of others. I was in the Legions. I went through the hell of blood and hunger. When I arrived in America, instead of finding help, even the Polish priests dispatched me with nothing. Before the war, the priests in Poland persuaded me to enlist in the army, to defend God and Fatherland, and today God has left us and the Fatherland has forgotten about us. It does not pay to sacrifice for anyone, including God and Fatherland."[94]

Father Justyn portrayed patriotism as an obligation implanted in human hearts by the natural law which had its source in God. Therefore, the love of fatherland and nation was a duty which served to avoid chauvinism leading to the contempt of other nationalities

[94] Figas, "Żołnierze w sutannach," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 13 Jan. 1934-1935, 159.

and negligence and lack of respect for one's own nation and Fatherland. Christ himself was a patriot and was not ashamed to show his attachment to his own nation. Patriotism was the duty of all citizens, the shoemaker, farmer, smith, monk, bishop or cardinal, reminded Father Justyn. Afterward, he referred to the author of the letter with the expression, "My legionary is angry at God, Fatherland and the Polish priests." And then he added, "God and Fatherland do not need my weak defense. Any priest can also cope."[95] Subsequently, these statements were followed by the disclosure of a personal secret. Father Justyn revealed that, after President Wilson declared war on Germany on the sixth of April 1917, he went, on the second day, to ask his superior for permission to enlist in the American Army as chaplain. Permission was denied him. But thousands of priests proved their love for the homeland with their blood and lives. Among a few moving stories told to the audience on that Sunday evening was one which described a mortally wounded priest who shortened his life, to restore one lost soul to God during World War I. The story, printed on the pages of *Dziennik Chicagoski* (The Polish Daily News), underlined religion as the strongest foundation of patriotism.

A listener from Chicago responded to the talk on patriotism with a letter signed A.B.O., ex-combatant, private in the Polish Army in France. He confirmed that patriotism was a duty to the Fatherland. The ex-private was surprised that the legionary, whose letter Father Justyn read on his program, did not join the Association of the Veterans of the Polish Army in America and at the end he wrote, "After all I am sure that the true legionary never would have expressed himself like him."[96]

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[95] Ibid., 160.
[96] Figas, "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi?,- P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 24 Feb. 1934-1935, 75.

1935-1936

The genuine practice of Christianity and true patriotism is the quality most frequently found in relations with family members and those of the same community. This assertion appeared frequently on the Rosary Hour. The discussion from 2 February 1936, echoed the talk aired on 1 November 1934, which, although it pointed to the rough manners of the pioneer emigrants, praised their generally honest attitudes towards their fellow countrymen. Father Justyn's call for kindness towards compatriots reflects his belief in the essential decency of other human beings. On this occasion, Father Justyn discussed the absence of honesty in relationship towards others by depicting real life situations using a detailed analysis of individual cases. The talk entitled "Is it not Crying to Heaven for Vengeance?" started with a statement that the World War had not ended in 1918.[97] The reflection which followed noted the change of human attitudes in respect of the commandment of love of neighbor and Father Justyn used a sad observation from the life of American society and the Polish American community which proved his point, "Even now a poor throttles a poorer; […]. No one cares about the means in order to achieve the objective."[98]

The first example illustrated a classic situation where a well-to-do man signed a bank loan for one thousand dollars for his friend who had managed to pay off part of the loan and then stopped paying installments due to loss of income and eventually his house. His only means of getting any money to support his family was a car which he garaged at the place of the friend. His friend, however, got a warrant, held the car and threatened to

[97] Figas, "Czy to nie woła o pomstę do nieba?" *MROJ*, vol. 2, 2 Feb. 1935-1936, 43.
[98] Ibid., 43.

take it unless the debt was paid. Another form of human nastiness was described using the story shared by a girl who was the only one who worked in her family of six. She got up at six in the morning and toiled in a restaurant from half past seven until six in the evening for as little as six and a half dollars per week. In addition, her boss cursed her and other workers for being lazy. These and other stories which described the problems of perjury and robbing the poor showed the great interest Father Justyn had in the moral analysis of American public life as well as the moral attitudes of Americans of Polish descent. His capacity for perception of the trends in the moral environment of Americans of Polish descent and the moral qualities of individual persons demonstrates his great sensitivity. What is most intriguing, however, in Father Justyn's approach to moral issues, was his idealistic attitude to the so called "forefathers." For example, his statement on perjury, "Perjury was completely unknown to our forefathers, because they believed that he, who swears falsely, is committing a terrible blasphemy and attracts the wrath of God. Today, perjury is on the daily agenda."[99]

His idealization of the forefathers was, to a great extent, developed by his reading of literature which formed his views on Polish history. On the program "Is it not Crying to Heaven for Vengeance?" Father Justin read from the Polish book *"Rok Złudzeń"* a few stories which provided descriptions of the tragic consequences suffered by perjurers. The circumstances of the described events pointed to God's punishment of the perjurers. The shocking descriptions of God's wrath and categorical statements on the morality of the forefathers probably made a strong impression on the listeners and this could partly explain Father Justin's assessment of the attitudes of the forefathers to perjury. Another

[99] Inid., 49.

factor explaining Father Justyn's idealization of the morality of the forefathers was his a priori belief in human decency, although it was partly damaged by original sin. The literary examples were monuments to the beliefs, aspirations and achievements of people in the Old-Country. Father Justyn decided to use the same examples as the points of reference and inspiration for the Polish-Americans to help them in keeping on the right course in a world which had its own history and tradition and was often not compatible with the values brought over by the immigrants. By taking this direction in addressing the issue of ethnic group identity he connected with the first generation born in the Old-Country and exposed to its culture. Simultaneously he risked alienation of the growing second generation from the Polish ethnic community, which was exposed to the American culture to a greater degree than their parents and did not fully comprehend the context in which the Polish culture was developed.

1936-1937

The November talks, "Are we Worse?" and "Our Position,"[100] provide an assessment of the Polish community at an important moment in the history of American society, which elected President Franklin D. Roosevelt to a second term in office and gave him its approval for his planned reforms. Father Justyn, as a supporter of the New Deal, wanted to see his compatriots becoming more involved in the changes taking place in the United States and by doing so bringing respect to the Polish Americans. But instead of seeing the Polish Americans advancing in this direction, he found that the community had become even more divided by the internal quarrels than it had been prior

[100] Figas, "Czyśmy gorsi?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 8 Nov. 1936-1937, 20-28; "Nasze położenie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 22 Nov. 1936-1937, 49-56.

to the elections. Father Justyn's rhetorical questions highlight his concern about the situation:

> So how you will explain this sad fact to me that among us we have so many arch-masters of lies and denunciators against their own? How can you justify those who scoff and sneer at our own? How can you excuse those who sink their own people in a sea of invectives, indignity and mockery? – Have our people, whether they are the priests, attorneys, doctors, pharmacists, the poor, the overworked, and the regularly bedeviled simple workers, no advantages and no virtues?[101]

The lamentations of Father Justyn over his own people revealed his bitterness. However, he did not allow his emotions to overwhelm his ability to seek the reasons for the occurring problems and to find solutions to the crisis. He laid the main responsibility for the low status of the Polish Americans on the very people who were part of this community. Father Justyn considered the inability to recognize, encourage and support what was of value among its own ranks and use it for the benefit of the community as the major defect in the character of the Polish Diaspora. What is more, the same people, captivated by an inferiority complex, would naively and blindly praise other communities in American society, particularly the Nordics, if they showed any kindness towards them. This last trait was revealed especially in those radio talks which dealt directly with the second generation of Polish Americans.

Consequently, a lot of young Polish Americans changed their family names, displayed a reluctance to learn and speak the Polish language and felt ashamed of their origins. The younger people were turning into the most vigorous critics of the Polish nationality in the United States and were becoming adamant advocates of Americanization. Moreover, it was this group which blamed the general Polish American

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[101] Figas, "Czyśmy gorsi?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 8 Nov. 1936-1937, 20.

public for building an ethnic wall separating them from the rest of American society and keeping the young people away from taking part in the nation's social life on an equal basis with the rest of the citizens. These attitudes were explained on the Rosary Hour as unilateral and unjust. In addition, Father Justyn clarified, this critique of the Polish Americans had nothing to with citizenship, wise Americanization or patriotism, and he provided a definition of "wise Americanization:"

> Americanism is the love and commitment which the citizens show for their country and for all affairs regarding the country. Therefore, Americanization means to teach that love and attachment to the home country and its affairs. Superfluous and ridiculous is the willingness to Americanize our nationality in this sense, because every one of our fathers has been Americanized just as he stepped down from the ship and stood on American soil! They loved this country which opened its gates to all the persecuted."[102]

This definition of Americanization, as patriotic as it is, leaves out one practical point regarding the problem of inefficiency. If an ethnic community was inefficient, and either the whole group or a part of it neglected the call to fulfill its duty to the country, who would be responsible for eradicating the problem? Father Justyn passed over that dilemma and focused his attention on the form of Americanization which in practice coerced immigrants into the Anglo-Saxon group. He noted that there were problems with the integration of the Polish pioneer immigrants into the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. However, these problems were not the result of a tendency to separatism by the minority ethnic group but a reaction to the policy of coercion to assimilate the minority ethnic groups into the Anglo-Saxon majority. The immigrants from Eastern Europe often met with suspicion and hate. This attitude of the established

[102] Ibid., 52.

ethnic communities towards the new-comers led to the creation of a mentality of self-defense and separation.

To prove his way of reasoning Father Justyn presented, during the talk "Our Position," a discussion he had with a lawyer, the son of Polish immigrants, who went through the Polish parish school system, the high school and one of the nation's renowned universities. Although, as Father Justyn mentioned, "[he] got rich on the Poles and the Polish cases," the lawyer dropped his ethnicity and absorbed "Nordic" attitudes towards American society, believing that this was the way for immigrants to get ahead and become equal with the leading ranks in society. This discussion, giving the arguments and contra-arguments from both sides of two opposing outlooks on the Polish American community, was related to a large audience of listeners to the Rosary Hour program. Father Justyn argued against his opponent that, in all major American cities, not only Poles but also other ethnic groups created separate neighborhoods. The ethnic walls were built around the Polish quarters by those who defined the newly arrived immigrants as: "dirty Polack – guinea – yap – frog – foreigner," and so on.[103] The youth, "enlightened by Saxon civilization," organized incursions into the Polish neighborhoods by bands armed with baseball sticks and gave lessons on tolerance to the "European trash and foreign rot."[104] As a pupil of a Polish parish school Father Justyn experienced maltreatment from the public school students who threw stones and beat the Polish children who were on their way home after classes. The protests were ignored, "The

[103] Ibid., 50.
[104] Ibid., 51.

parents of our persecutors and oppressors smiled with satisfaction that their offspring defended the Nordic fame and honor," concluded Father Justyn."[105]

The clash with other nationalities in the United States left some immigrants with a bitter resentment towards everything American and others with a deep inferiority complex. The attitudes towards ethnicity and Americanization transmitted through the Rosary Hour were accepted by those who wanted to find a balance between their heritage and active participation in the social life of the new country. The promotion of cultural pluralism was part of a self-defense mentality against coercive Americanization. As the spiritual leaders of the Polish Roman Catholics sought allies among the American hierarchy in order to defend their religious culture, so a similar trend was observed in civil society. For Father Justyn the coercive assimilation was anti-American and he looked for support of his views in the public statements of the leadership of the United States. Introducing President Roosevelt's 1936 speech addressed to the whole nation, Father Justyn spoke first in English and then in Polish, "It is well for us to remember that America is the product of no single race or creed or class. Men and women – your fathers and mine – came here from the far corners of the earth with beliefs that varied widely."[106]

The reading of the Constitution of the United States and even using the best quotes from the speeches of the presidents were not enough to cure the problems of an ethnic minority, problems which had piled up over generations. Father Justyn blamed, without exception, the low status of Polish-American community on their own leaders, but they were only part of a problem, which was much more complex. He developed his

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[105] Ibid., 51.
[106] Ibid., 55.

interpretation of the issue in the answer given to a question posed by a listener signed S.A.P. from Niagara Falls, N.Y., on 14 March 1937, "Why is it that such a small country as England rules so many nations and has colonies and power everywhere?" Father Justyn answered, "The English have a strong original and racist Nordic-Saxon tradition, they are brought up in this tradition, penetrated by it and they love this tradition."

The continuation of this response is a very important testimony of one of the most important leaders of Polish Americans about the image of Polonia in the Thirties:

> Our nationality, especially here in the United States, never had a national education and it does not know and does not have a national culture. […] Indeed, our nationality is not only a crank but a real monster. We create a crowd of unruly, inconsistent, jealous and suspicious rams and goats. There are many, relatively speaking, very many of us. We, however, do not want to unite, we do not know how to shake hands and we do not want to cooperate."[107]

This might be too crude a view of Americans of Polish origin in all the United States; however, this opinion had its justification in the events that took place in the elections in Buffalo in 1936, when a group of young, energetic Polish Americans with commonsense attempted to make a change by creating an independent party, which was signaled with great anticipation by Father Justyn on the program broadcast on 1 November 1936. Not only did these young people not receive support from their community, but after few months there were four different camps with different agendas organized by the Polish Americans in this area.

So, the cure for Polish Americans lay in finding ways to unite and find inspiration, as suggested by Father Justyn, in the history and tradition of Poland, which provided many examples of overcoming odds with a coordinated, systematic and

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[107] Figas, "Kulawe małżeństwa – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Mar. 1936-1937, 91.

determined effort. He drew the attention of the listeners to the methods adopted by Polish Silesians who successfully resisted the Germanization of their homeland during the Kulturkampf. The comparison of the situation of the Polish ethnic group in the United States to the situation of the Polish Silesians within the German state at the turn of the century called for mobilization around the issue of cultural self-defense. Father Justyn however, immediately clarified that the aims of the Polish Americans were only parallel with those of the Polish Silesians within the cultural dimension. He confirmed his unwavering belief in the great future that lay ahead for Americans of Polish descent and encouraged them to unite in an effort to destroy the walls of chauvinism that had been built by their adversaries and had proved to be one of the major obstacles to them becoming fully part of America.

1937-1938

After very intense debates on social and political issues during the election time, the focus of the Rosary Hour during the next season shifted more towards religious formation. Nonetheless, the first program at the start of the new season raised the role of the Polish language in the life of the Diaspora. The talk on 7 November 1937, "The Rosary Hour Apostolate," revealed a conversation between Father Justyn and Bishop Alphonse Emmanuel Deschamps of Montreal.[108] The invitation to visit the Bishop in Canada who, at the time was holding the function of minister provincial in the Polish Province of St. Anthony of Padua to the Poles in Montreal, concerned Father Justyn who knew that the Bishop had recently had trouble with the Poles in his diocese. When the

[108] Figas, "Apostolstwo Godziny Różańcowej," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 7 Nov. 1937-1938, 5-9.

bishop finished speaking, Father Justyn started explaining his understanding of the Polish character to the bishop. At the end of the explanation the bishop decided to give the Poles from Montreal into the pastoral care of the Franciscan Conventual Fathers. On the Rosary Hour the whole story served to provide an argument in the ongoing debate in the United States on the role of the Polish language in the Polish parish school system. According to Father Justyn, Bishop Deschamps requested the Franciscans to teach religion only in the Polish language. The Bishop believed that as long as immigrants love their language, they will love their faith.

The continuation of the first Sunday talk reminded the audience about the need for diligent work in raising the status of Polish Americans in all areas and in organizing protests against unjust opinions and actions against the common good. These issues and the question of the perception held by others about the Poles in America were sensitive topics. Very often, the Poles in America had been used as objects of derision and humiliation. During the second program of the season the listeners heard the story of a Canadian railway superintendent from Winnipeg who sailed with Father Justyn from Vancouver to Alaska, and although not knowing Father Justyn's origin, engaged in conversation with him. The superintendent who used to be in charge of eight hundred workers representing almost all the nationalities in the world identified from among them a group of Poles who were noted for their orderliness, hard work, devotion and large families. In contrast to this opinion, a journalist from Poland who visited Buffalo and accepted the hospitality of the local Polish-Americans, later described them in the papers of Old-Country as dollar-chasing boors and ignoramuses. By juxtaposing these two

opinions of Americans of Polish descent, the Rosary Hour called for self-criticism and self-assertiveness within the ranks of the Polish-Americans who, in order to advance in the new world, had to rely on their own judgment as to what was right and beneficial for the community. While talking about self-assertiveness to his radio listeners in November 1937, Father Justyn revealed a new tone in his addresses which prevailed on the radio programs towards the second half of the Thirties. He used more often in his speeches the examples of Polish-American heroes involved in the history of the United States, "Our President, on the occasion of a celebration in honor of Casimir Pulaski and the transfer to Arlington National Cemetery of the remains of General Krzyzanowski said, "The heroic deeds of those Poles, who brought with them [to the United States of America] a burning desire to regain freedom for Poland which, at that time, was suffering from the burden of enslavement, were recorded in gilded letters in the history of our country."[109]

1938-1939

During this season, the debates on ethnicity and new American identity gave way on the Rosary Hour to other issues. The talks focused on religious formation and social issues, and significantly shifted in their treatment of developments among the second generation. The United States was coming out of recession and a new generation was becoming more assertive in its economic, social, and political life and in the life of the Polish-Americans. It was a turning point in further growth and consolidation of the community, which had struggled to advance in the American society in the previous

[109] Figas, "Dłonie chłopskie serca pańskie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 14 Nov. 1937-1938, 12.

decades. The direction taken by the generation born and raised in America and their reaction to the forthcoming challenges will be discussed in the next chapter.

1939-1940

The German aggression on Poland in 1939 triggered a strong reaction among the Polish Americans. All the speeches given by Father Justyn during the 1939-1940 season, with the exception of the period between November and December when he visited the Polish refugee camps in Romania and then went to Italy, were dedicated to descriptions of the tragic war in Europe. Also, during the talk on Sunday, 7 January 1940, Father Justyn was not present in the studio and another speaker replaced him. The opening of the new season brought sad news, but at the same time created an opportunity for highlighting the links with the Fatherland and for encouraging the Polish Americans to manifest their loyalty to the flag and the President of the United States. The role of the Rosary Hour as a center representing Americans of Polish descent was recognized by Bishop William J. Hafey of the diocese of Scranton. On the same program broadcast in English on the 5th November, he portrayed the war as the attack of two anti-Christian powers of Nazism and Communism against Christian Poland. Unity with the suffering nation as expressed by a member of the American hierarchy was a poignant moment for the listeners to the broadcast. The bishop depicted the Polish nation as being in a similar category to the holocaust, an image which opened the eyes of millions of people from every land, including Americans:

> Literally, cataracts are falling from the eyes of men, the thick cataracts formed by years of spiritual sloth and materialistic philosophies which blinded their eyes to the light of natural reason as well as to Divine Revelation. Like the poor blind

> man begging by the wayside, in the providence of God, Poland's sacrifice has become a miraculous event giving sight to the blind."[110]

Bishop Hafey referred in this fragment of his speech to the war time Encyclical of Pope Pius XII condemning Nazism's racism and Communism's atheism.[111] He suggested that had the Encyclical been published before the sacrifice of Poland it would be "[…] meaningless to or misunderstood by the millions within or without the Fold of the Catholic Church."

A few weeks later another American prelate, Bishop John Aloysius Duffy, the ordinary of the diocese of Buffalo praised the work of the Rosary Hour in developing "a spirit of love for Poland and devotion to Catholic ideals and principles." He expressed his sorrow about the invasion of Poland by its enemies.[112] The bishop also confirmed his belief in the rebirth of the country whose culture made the Fatherland of the Polish Americans "the center of Western Civilization on the Eastern borders of Europe." The United States also owed a debt to the Polish race, said the bishop, for the labor of its workers and the moral strength of the Polish family. Bishop Duffy ended his talk by reading the expression of solidarity of all American Catholics and its hierarchy with the citizens and descendants of Poland.[113]

From the first program of the season 1939-1940 Father Justyn mobilized the radio listeners into action to help the victims of war. He said that showing only sentimental compassion was not good enough, and started preparing his audience for a concrete,

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[110] "Mowa Wygłoszona Przez Ks. Biskupa Hafey'a," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 5 Nov., 1939-1940, 9-13. Bishop William J. Hafey served in the diocese of Scranton, Pennsylvania (1937 – 1954).
[111] The Encyclical *Summi Pontificatus* was announced by the Holy See on 20 October 1939.
[112] Bishop John A. Duffy, ordinary of the diosese of Buffalo (1937 – 1944).
[113] Figas, "Kopia Mowy Wygłoszonej przez. Najprzew. Ks. Biskupa Jana Alojzego Duffy, na Programie Godziny Różańcowej [*sic*]," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov., 1939-1940, 38-41.

long-term self-sacrifice to help the country of the fathers. His plans to get involved in organizing aid for Poland affected his decision to resign from the function of minister provincial of his order and prompted him to journey to Romania to meet with the exiles. While in Romania he even planned to cross the border with occupied Poland but was prevented from doing so by an official notice.[114] On his return to the United States Father Justyn engaged in several projects. One of the most urgent initiatives was an appeal to the federal government to send American charity organizations to the German occupied zone of Poland.

The response of the American Poles to the tragedy in the Old-Country was mixed; it varied from indifference, characterized by disbelief regarding the atrocities committed on the Polish nation, to shock, concern and compassion. He explained that this attitude was caused by the spiritual depression and shock people suffered after the tragedy in Poland, but he was adamant in his criticism of some of the Polish language newspapers and radio stations in America which blamed the catastrophe in the Old-Country on its government and citizens. The communists and a section of the ethnic community who pretended to have a leadership role in supporting the Polish people were identified on the Rosary Hour as being among the groups and individuals who carried out propaganda aimed at distorting the true picture of what had happened in Poland.[115] On the talk broadcast on 21 January 1940 Father Justyn's irritation at the indifference among the Polish Americans towards the sufferings of their brothers and sisters in Poland was

[114] Figas, "Tragedia tułaczów," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 14 Jan. 1939-1940, 123.
[115] Figas, "Z krainy bólu i łez," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 19 Nov. 1939-1940, 30-33.

very evident.[116] The topic of conspiracy was explored further on the program broadcast on 4 February 1940. The opportunity to do so was provided by a question from a listener signed F.C. from Wilkes-Barre, PA., "Why does Father Justyn not stigmatize those Poles who in these times spread misunderstanding among us and degrade us?"[117] Father Justyn branded this group as "German agents" and "Muscovite apostles" who regrettably belonged to the so called Polish intelligentsia. Father Justyn stated that these persons were born and brought up in Poland and therefore were not Americans of Polish descent. He denounced the activities of that group and threatened to disclose their names if they did not stop their anti-Polish and anti-Christian propaganda.

It appears from the talks aired on the Rosary Hour that the initial stage of the war in Europe was marked by misinformation spread by the official German and Soviet Union propaganda which created confusion among wide sections of public opinion in the Free World. One of the representatives of the "confused" general public wrote a letter in English to Father Justyn and this letter was read in its original version on the program:

> Your recent broadcasts on the plight of our Polish people in Europe touched me to the quick. I confess to you that prior to that and after the loss of Poland, I, too, felt bitter toward the defeated Polish government and army staff and was prone to criticize them rather than defend what seemed to me their unorganized and ill-trained diplomacy and defense. In fact dear Father, I was filled with shame to the point of contempt for the weak show of bravery and fighting spirit within the Polish nation. – Your broadcasts, since you have returned from abroad, end especially the last one, changed all that! […]."[118]

The author of the letter, introduced on the program as a real red-blooded American of Polish descent, offered to adopt one or two Polish orphaned children (Father

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[116] Figas, "Głosy tułaczów polskich," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 21 Jan. 1939-1940, 139.
[117] Figas, "Jeszcze głosy z Rumunii – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 4 Feb. 1939-1940, 14.
[118] Ibid., 15-17.

Justyn then started an initiative to allow thousands of Polish orphans into the United States) and informed his listeners that he had sent a petition to the Senator from Illinois urging him to respond to the plan of sending the American Red Cross to areas in Poland devastated by war. Different sections of the Polish American community revealed various attitudes to the country of their fathers at the start of World War II. For example, the Polish merchants in America were among the groups who swiftly reacted to the appeal to collect rescue funds for the war victims.[119] The young generation of the Polish Americans agreed with Father Justyn's analysis by expressing their bonds with the country of origin. The next letter described in Polish how events in the far away country turned a twenty year old man into an eager student of Polish history:

> Father, I was not interested in Poland until Germany raged war against the Poles. Now I read and learn Polish history. I tell everywhere about the nation who preferred to suffer rather than voluntarily surrender in captivity! The entire Polish nation deserves the compassion and support not just from us and America but from around the world."[120]

Another text was written collectively in English by members of a youth club and sent by telegram to Father Justyn:

> We have a radio in our club and each Sunday we listen in eagerly to your broadcast. Our admiration and sympathy go to the entire unfortunate and suffering nation. Your broadcasts make us feel proud of our Americanism and of the country of our fore-fathers. Cheer up, Father Justyn and carry on your good work![121]

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[119] Figas, "Truciciele dusz," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 12 Nov. 1939-1940, 20.
[120] Figas, "Opowiadanie tułaczów polskich – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 18 Feb. 1939-1940, 41.
[121] Ibid.

b) American Patriotism[122]

1932-1933

Since Father Justyn considered political and social activity as a form of expressing American patriotism among the immigrants and citizens of the United States, these topics occupied a prominent place on the Rosary Hour in each season. On the program broadcast on 26 March 1933, a novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, *The Knights of the Cross* (in Polish, *Krzyżacy*),[123] served Father Justyn as an illustration of the struggle of the workers during the Depression. Jurand, a fourteenth century knight who fought against the Knights of the Cross, was caught by his enemies and mutilated. The workers, explained Father Justyn, built the foundation of the country's prosperity, but they were mutilated during the Depression by careless governments, unjust employers and bloodthirsty financiers. The enemies blinded the worker with lies, gouged out his eyes with false enlightenment, closed his mouth with fear and cut off his arms with stagnation and unemployment. Jurand, when had a chance to take his revenge on his enemy, let him go free as he was mindful of the Lord's Prayer. The fifteen million American workers did not seek revenge, either, but bread and justice. Father Justyn broadcast this message about forgiveness and justice regularly on the air waves and encouraged the workers to perseverance and patience. His pronouncements of the coming prosperity and peace enraged some listeners who leaned towards revolutionary solutions to the problems brought upon the working class by the Depression. The anti- revolutionary and anti-

[122] Appendix E2.
[123] The (Krzyżacy), a novel written in 1900 by Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz, was to strengthen Polish national determination against the occupying powers. The narrative describes an episode in a long confrontation between the Teutonic Knights and their neighbors in the northern realm of the Kingdom of Poland. The combined forces of Poland and Lithuania defeated the Teutonic Order in the 1410 Battle of Grunwald.

socialist stand of the Rosary Hour brought accusations upon Father Justyn of being a traitor to the working class cause. His firmness was, however, unwavering and based on loyalty to the American government.[124]

Communism was for Father Justyn the antithesis of social order, so, he denounced it at every opportunity. This attitude, displayed by the main body of Polish American clergy, was remarked upon by Cardinal Dennis Joseph Daugherty when he praised the participants of the Congress of the Polish Priests Association in America for taking a decisive stand against anti-religious and socialist tendencies.[125] It was not only the anti-religious aspect of the Communist ideology which put the priests off from the tempting promises of the new system which claimed to bring justice at last to the worker. The experience of war with the Bolsheviks convinced the patriotic element within the Polish nation that Communism was another tool at the disposal of the powerful neighbor to continue its aggressive policy against other nations. So for Father Justin, opposition to Communism as well as Socialism was not only a religious but also a patriotic duty. In a number of talks broadcast on the Rosary Hour he denounced Communism as an anti-social and anti-American system, literally the enemy of the worker and the State.

The talk "A Wolf in a Sheep's Skin" delivered on 23 April 1933, was determined by a letter from a bewildered worker signed M.A., from Hamilton, Ontario. His letter revealed the state of mind of many thousands who were in a similar position. Therefore, the decision taken by Fr. Justin was to respond to what seemed to be urgent, "What

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[124] Figas, "Jurand dwudziestego wieku," *MROJ*, 26 Mar. 1932-1933, 78-83.
[125] "Co Kardynał Daugherty Powiedział na Sejmie Zjednoczenia Księży Polskich,"(What the Cardinal Daugherty did say on the Congress of the Polish Priests Association) *Dziennik Zjednoczenia* IV, no. 54 (Mar. 4, 1924): 4.

should the workers do? When they claim their livelihood, they are accused of being communists or socialists, etc. Do they still have to wait till God gives them work and bread for their children?"[126] Father Justyn responded to the question, in a talk entitled "A Wolf in a Sheepskin," by reading several paragraphs from a novel written by Józef Watra Przewłocki, a Polish writer. The story highlighted the problem of revolutionary agitators inseminating the ideology of class struggle, who were manipulating industrial disputes for the political ends of their central headquarters rather than for the benefit of the workers. Father Justyn called them false prophets, the apostles of lies and wolves in sheepskin. The response to the talk was tremendous. Over six hundred letters were sent to the office of the Rosary Hour during one week in which the correspondents asked Father Justyn to continue the theme of agitators disturbing the minds of the workers. One of the letters gave a description of an industrial dispute which took place in a little town in the United States in the Thirties and how the workers were betrayed by agitators.[127]

The letter was followed by the second part of the story started on the previous Sunday. The narrative described how the agitators masterminded a bloody confrontation between the workers and the police. The workers lost, the agitators escaped from the scene, sentences were passed on those who broke the law. The workers realized at the end that they were only used as tools by canny agitators. The message sent to the listeners of the Rosary Hour advocated peaceful negotiations between the workers and their employers during industrial disputes and belief in good will on both sides of the discord.

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[126] Figas, "Wilk w owczej skórze," *MROJ*, 23 Apr. 1932-1933, 124.
[127] Figas, "Ofiary wilków w owczej skórze," *MROJ*, 30 Apr. 1932-1933, 136.

Father Justin dedicated the latter part of the talk to listing factual information about some of the activities of the communist agents sent to the United States and Canada between 1924 and 1926. Allegedly, the agents targeted the Polish working class communities in the following cities: Chicago, Detroit, Hamtramck, Buffalo, Pittsburg, New York, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Erie, Syracuse, Passaic, Utica, Newark, Milwaukee, Providence, Cleveland, Wilkes-Barre, Philadelphia, Boston and St. Louis, plus a number of smaller towns. Father Justyn gathered this information from an issue of *Dziennik Związkowy* (Polish Daily News) printed at the end of the year 1932.[128] He also dismissed the claims of the Soviet government on the supposed prosperity of the working class living under their administration. Based on the statistics printed in *Pravda*, the organ of the Soviet government, which showed the earnings of workers under the new regime and the testimonies of those who managed to escaped from the country ruled by "workers and peasants," Father Justyn painted a gloomy picture of the new Communist State. At the same time he announced that the crisis in the United States was coming to an end. But in that case there were no statistics, no evidence and no statements from the official United States government representatives. Hope for a better future for the workers and citizens of America was based on loyalty to the government without any critical analysis of the prevailing political and economic conditions. It seems that this attitude, articulated on the radio waves by Father Justin, was shared by many of his listeners. One of them, who lived in Toronto, wrote:

> Having an opportunity to listen to the radio program of the Rosary Hour for the last couple of Sundays, as well as to the answers to the posted questions, I think,

[128] *Dziennik Związkowy* (Polish Daily News), the largest and the oldest Polish language newspaper in the United States. Established in 1908 in Chicago as an organ of the Polish National Alliance.

> that it will be adequate, if I use this way to express my gratitude for such a relevant answer to our immature Polish communists from Toronto, this social pestilence here on Emigration. There are not very many of them here, but they sponsor lampoons aimed at sullying the name of Poland and the Poles on this continent. I ask, although on my own behalf, if similar questions are sent in the future, will you give them a good airing? I am quite sure that the words of the Reverend Father will be welcomed with appreciation by the healthy-minded Polonia in Toronto, as well as throughout all of Canada.[129]

This letter of appreciation to Father Justyn signed by J.C. from Toronto referred to a question sent earlier to the Rosary Hour by M.A., from Hamilton, Ontario, which triggered the two talks on the radical mood among a fraction of the working-class of Polish origin in North America. The author of the letter of thanks had no doubt that the question was inspired by communist ideas. This text shows that the problems of immigrants from Poland, who lived in the United States, were also shared by the Polish immigrants in Canada, especially in the area of economic crisis, the plans for recovery and the communist threat. Communism and communists were presented on the Rosary Hour as enemies of the working class, the Polish nation and the United States.

To define further the new national identity boundaries regular discussions were held on the meaning of the American symbols of patriotism. Attachment to the American flag, American laws and the American government was not only mentioned on the Polish language programs but also expressed in the practical forms. One of them was prayer for the President of the United States and the Nation. The audience of the Sunday religious programs was frequently asked to join Father Justyn in a prayer offered for the President, especially on special occasions like the President's Day which occurred on that Sunday, and to also remember the head of their adopted Fatherland in their private prayers. The

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[129] Figas, "Ofiary wilków w owczej skórze," *MROJ*, 30 Apr. 1932-1933, 142.

first such prayer was said in March 1933. Father Justin explained at the end of his talk that he was asked to offer a prayer for President Roosevelt. During that particular broadcast all the radio listeners were invited to repeat the following words spoken in Polish:

> Give, we besiege You Lord, your servant, the President of our United States, the right hand of celestial help, as he seeks you with all his heart, and listen to his righteous requests. Inspire him with thoughts filled with the spirit of Christian love, that a greater love of neighbor may prevail, a wider understanding among citizens, so that all of us, living in harmony and unity, can work for the greater glory of God and our Homeland. Amen.[130]

1933-1934

The class warfare discussed in Chapter Three in the talk "The Rights and Pay of the Worker" returned in December 1933. The topic was introduced in a letter sent by an author from Detroit who used the pen name Rasputin. The letter was dated 31 October 1933:

> Please give me an answer on next Sunday as to what kind of weapon the worker should use to fight those harassing us, capitalists and millionaires, in order to improve our well-being? So far, neither prayers nor rosaries, neither local unions nor the [American] Federation of Labor, nor the N.R.A. (National Recovery Administration) have done anything for the worker. In my opinion, would it not be best to organize all workers under the Workers' Agency, which already exists, and attack the enemy under the red banner, as they did it in Russia. There is no other solution. Then, after finishing the slaughter, take the Rosary in hand and thank God for the victory."[131]

Father Justyn believed that thousands of people had similar thoughts, but the overturning of the existing economic and social system would bring only extreme misery upon the poorest. Having said that, he drew the attention of the listeners to the condition

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[130] Figas, "Czy kochasz Boga?," *MROJ*, 12 Mar. 1932-1933, 59.
[131] Figas, "Walka klas," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 17 Dec. 1933-1934, 122-123.

of the Russian peasants who were dying in their millions from starvation after having been betrayed by their revolutionary leaders.

It seems that it was a good moment to start systematic work on organizing the workers of Polish descent around the social justice issues as Father Charles Coughlin did by organizing the National Union for Social Justice in 1934 with the help of his weekly radio talks. There was considerable interest in the working class movements among the Polish immigrants, judging by the number of letters which were sent in response to Father Justyn's talks on those issues.[132] Father Justyn did not embark on achieving that goal at this stage. It is also interesting that Father Justyn, in his talks in the year 1933, never mentioned the Catholic Worker movement which was founded that same year by Dorothy Day and, generally, he did not make comments on the topics raised by the famous Radio Priest from the Little Flower Shrine in Royal Oak, Michigan. There could be two possible reasons for this stance: either Father Justyn was too clerical in his attitude towards the working class movements and did not see value in creating an organization based on lay activists or he thought the Polish workers were not yet sufficiently consolidated to exert a viable political and social influence through an organized movement. The examination of the radio talks and questions in the preceding parts of this study does not suggest that Father Justyn ever considered that possibility. Moreover, he believed that any lasting national, political, or social revival could be facilitated first of all by a religious and moral revival.

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[132] Several hundred letters were sent in one week after the talk "Wolves in the Sheepskin" on 23 Apr., 1933, dedicated to the issue of industrial disputes.

Since the tensions between the poor and the rich were as old as human society and the audience of the Rosary Hour was mostly Catholic, the argument against creating violent solutions to the problems of the workers was sought in the Bible and in the teachings of the Church. Therefore, the text which was read to the listeners during the talk "Class Warfare" was taken from the fifth chapter of the Book of Nehemiah, in which is described the injustice between the rich and poor Israelites who were working at rebuilding Jerusalem after returning from their Babylonian exile.[133] Father Justyn reminded his audience that the way out of the age-old problem of injustice was to be found in revisiting the Christian norms promoted in the 1891 encyclical, *"Rerum Novarum,"* of Pope Leo XIII as Christianity was systematically removed from the public sphere of life in most countries including the United States. The statement was only a general observation, not an accusation against any particular institution responsible in America for the retreat from Christianity. The plan of action for the workers, as advised from the studio of the Rosary Hour, appealed again to their loyalty to President Roosevelt. Father Justyn believed that corruption in the United States was widespread and that economic and social injustice was obvious; nonetheless, President Roosevelt and his government had his trust and he advocated his fellow American citizens of Polish descent to display the same attitude and forget about class differences and other grievances at this time of emergency.

New elements in the discussion on American patriotism in the context of the working class Polish-Americans were presented in February 1934, in the talk on "The

[133] Neh 5, NAB.

Worker."[134] The talk was composed of three main subjects of which the first and the third focused on the theme of ethnic boundaries. The second topic related to the matter of American patriotism. The suggestion offered during that program by Father Justyn to the second subject was based on the premise that government was primarily responsible for providing security for its citizens. Father Justyn considered security as a vital element in the state's integrity and the basis for the proper functioning of society. Therefore, Father Justyn explained, that the government had the power to use all the means necessary to maintain internal and external security. Thus the conclusion to this way of thinking was that the economic security of the laborer and his family should be also the responsibility of the government because, to a large extent, the social and economic conditions of the working class determine the strength of the state. The views presented on the Rosary Hour at this stage, on the issues of work and capital, were in line with the ideas proposed by President Roosevelt. Father Justyn expected that the New Deal would provide social security and stabilize the volatile situation in the labor market.

The subjects of social security and other current topics raised many issues for discussion and polemics as reflected in Polish language newspapers, letters, Rosary Hour programs and above all in the homes of the Polish Americans. This reaction, which showed the matters that the community cared about, debated and argued, was a form of negotiation of the new identity based on the Old-Country value system. Due to the demands of life in the New Country, the different aspects of this new identity were constantly developing and changing. Social security within the existing economic and political system, for the majority of Polish workers, was a new boundary to their identity,

[134] Figas., "Robotnik," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 25 Feb. 1933-1934, 97-105.

was absorbed by them and became part of their lives. For others, a minority, a revolution and the workers' councils were the answers to the labor problem. The social dimension did not, however, exhaust the whole reality of the new, constantly developing identity of the Poles who lived in America. The role of the Rosary Hour in consolidating the immigrant community was significant but so far could only be described as conservative and reactionary. It was conservative in the area of preserving the ethno-national identity; reactionary in the sense of responding to external stimuli. Was the role of the Polish radio program from Buffalo also a creative force for its listeners?

The subject of the working class was one the most debated issues on the Rosary Hour radio programs in 1933 and 1934. The governmental plan of national recovery and the constant industrial actions provoked many responses and enquiries from the public regarding the plan serving the best interests of the worker. The criteria chosen by Father Justyn to assess the value of different solutions offered from all sides of the political, economic, social and moral spectrum to the depression were based on the principles included in the Papal Social Encyclicals and the American experience. In Father Justyn's view, social justice plus recovery equaled prosperity, with no place for revolutionary confrontation. He was adamant about this view and often spoke boldly against international communist revolutionary ideology and its domestic branches. For this reason, he was accused of sympathizing or even directly collaborating with the capitalists. One of these allegations was put to him by the *Trybuna Robotnicza* (the Workers' Tribune), an organ of the Communist movement among the Polish workers in the United States. A listener to the Rosary Hour signed L. T. from Detroit, sent a cutting

from that paper which, under the title "An Agent of the Steel Trust in a Cassock," wrote, "Father Justin acts on the Steel Trust's orders, the orders of financial magnates, shaking the whole of America, in an attempt to prevent the development of the worker's organization among the thousands and tens of thousands of Polish workers, laboring in the steel mills." The Polish Workers Agency (Polska Centrala Robotnicza), which was behind this article, was exposed on the Rosary Hour as a group of international subversives and specialists at screaming loudly and making big noises, for whom there was no place among the respectable compatriots.[135]

1934-1935

The whole range of domestic problems caused by the Great Depression still affected the American working class during the 1934-1935 broadcast season. The measures under the common name of "New Deal" were designed to bring relief to the unemployed, reform of business and financial practices, and recovery of the economy. The changes were, however, not coming as fast as many expected. As a consequence, this situation created breeding grounds for the development of revolutionary ideas and sympathies for the Soviet Union, the first state allegedly run by workers. The communist radical solutions attracted a big portion of the most impoverished people of society including some of the Polish immigrants. The full recovery of the economy was still a distant reality and the communist propaganda of quick change offered hope and excited the imagination. The frontline of this major ideological battle between the peaceful and the revolutionary methods of achieving social justice was cutting through the consciences and the hearts of people, thus families and communities living in towns and in rural areas.

[135] Figas, "Trudności młodzieży," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 8 Apr. 1933-1934, 193-193.

Father Justin, who continued to be a vocal opponent of communism and was also no admirer of the laissez-faire capitalism, took the position expressed in the social encyclicals of the Roman Catholic Church on working class matters: Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*, on capital, labor and the condition of the working class and Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno*, on the reconstruction of the social order . The voice of the Rosary Hour radio station made a significant impact on the way its listeners thought about social matters. The talks delivered in March 1935 were part of a series of programs prepared to counter radicalism in the ranks of the Polish immigrant workers. The talks were based on evidence and the use of arguments that came from different sources. This fact revealed the significance of social issues among Polish Americans and the value put by them on sound evidence. Another important element that became observable over a longer period of time in the broadcasts was the confidence of the listeners in the reliability of Father Justyn. Flimsy statements, unreliable or superficially researched sources would expose the radio program to attacks and condemnation in a community prone to challenge any form of authority within its ranks.

The talks "Incendiaries of the World" and "The Spoilers of Worker Happiness" gave the audience an account of the situation in Soviet Union. The comments were drawn from a debate in the Senate in February on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Another piece of evidence came from a socialist "flyer" (the name used by Father Justyn instead of *Trybuna Robotnicza*/Workers Tribune) issued on 23 February 1935. An article in the *Rochester Sunday American,* issued on 3 March 1935, was used to discuss starvation in Russia and Ukraine supported by the detailed description of the

photos taken in the Soviet Union by a reporter, Thomas Walker. Among the evidence were also the testimonies of two eyewitnesses: Leszek Krzyszkowski and Jan Iwasiewicz. The latter one shared his observations at the Warsaw Polytechnic on 7 November 1934.[136] During the program further information was given to the listeners from an interview, printed in "*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*" issued in Poland, with a Polish ex-communist Józef Engel who escaped with his wife to the Soviet Union and returned back to Poland, disillusioned with communism. Father Justyn concluded the story of the ex-communist with a long quotation from an article written by Richard Halliburton to the *Detroit News.* The author, who spent a long time in Russia, had no illusions about the "glorious new system" introduced in the Soviet Union, "[…]. We must carry out extensive reforms, the social sores must be healed, but certainly and apparently the dictatorship of the proletariat must be sorted out with all certainty and transparency, as it is not an appropriate remedy for us or any other freedom loving and intelligent people. […]."[137] At the end of the second talk in March Father Justyn listed the tragic facts found in an article by a Russian correspondent who did not disclose his name, printed in *La Vie Intellectuelle,*[138] about the youth in the Soviet Union.

The sound evidence was not enough, however, to stop all Father Justyn's critics from making allegations that he was biased against the Soviet Union and was a supporter of capitalism and the capitalists who paid him for his propaganda. The talk "Incendiaries of the World," provoked many listeners into sending letters in which they asked Father Justyn for clarification on the issues of work, capital, communism and the New Deal.

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[136] Figas, "Podpalacze świata," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 17 Mar. 1933-1934, 105-111.
[137] The *"Detroit News"* printed the article probably in early 1935.
[138] Figas., "Grabarze szczęścia robotnika," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 24 Mar. 1933-1934, 118-124.

These responses and the choice of sources on the programs dedicated to these issues showed that a sizable part of the audience of the Rosary Hour was taking an active interest in American social and political polices. Father Justyn responded to the criticism immediately on the next Sunday in the talk "The Spoilers of the Workers' Happiness." Once again he reminded the listeners of his working class background and assured them that his intentions were to improve the situation of the workers, because the existing system did not secure their basic rights.

Nonetheless, he decisively rejected the idea of class struggle and revolutionary methods in achieving that goal. Those who promoted violence he called traitors of the Homeland and the worker, and the apostles of pagan principles:[139]

> Tell them once and for all: 'go away and far away from us!' And always thank God for living in the country on whose shores stands the Statue of Liberty, rather than the mausoleum of Lenin; that we are the citizens of our adopted Homeland and that the banner with the eagle and stars proudly flies over us, not an international sheet stained with fraternal blood, crying out to heaven for vengeance.[140]

It seemed that the last quote did not leave any doubt as to where Father Justyn's loyalty lay, but still he was questioned, and indeed he admitted to receiving many enquiries during the season of 1934-1935 about his reasons for dedicating very little time to discussion on working class subjects and the new reform projects on his radio programs and, also, why he had stopped short of criticizing Roosevelt's plan. The reasons given to justify his restraint from making critical statements about the New Deal underlined his belief in the accuracy of the general principles of the reform plan which aimed at the improvement of the wellbeing of the workers and their families; the second

[139] Ibid., 118-119.
[140] Ibid., 124.

reason given highlighted Father Justyn's conviction of the Christian basis of the New Deal.[141] Notwithstanding these beliefs, he reminded his audience that he criticized, in the so called Question Box on the radio programs, some moves of the government which did not make sense, e.g., the control of farm production. He was concerned that some policies of the New Deal put too much strain on the shoulders of the small firms, but hoped that eventually it would lead them to the creation of cooperatives and they would become stronger than ever before. But, a generally good recovery program was slow in bringing change for the millions of unemployed. Father Justin laid responsibility for this state of affairs on the "enemies" of the New Deal: on the one hand, the socialists and communists, and on the other hand, the capitalists, bankers and millionaires.

The main talk of the program broadcast on 31 March 1935 was based on the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and referred to the themes signaled by the title "Worker-Labor-Wage."[142] Father Justyn taught that work included three elements, social, moral and supernatural. The social element was displayed by the higher standards of living and the development of culture; the moral element of work was evident in preventing laziness and vice as well as showing the growth of the virtues of patience, humility and sacrifice; the supernatural element had its roots in the Son of God who labored himself and brought a new dignity to work. The worker who received his life from God had a duty to maintain his life on the human level. Therefore, the reward for a laborer had to be just and sufficient to provide a decent living for him and for his family. After a short clarification of the rights of the workers Father Justin presented five general comments

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[141] Figas, "Robotnik-praca-płaca," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 31 Mar. 1934-1935, 131-132.
[142] Ibid., 132-137.

on capital and labor on the basis of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Pope Leo XIII: 1. A shorter working day; 2. Safety in the work place; 3. Fair pay; 4. Publicly subsidized healthcare for the worker and the elderly, and 5. Social security with the state guaranteed provisions to acquire property by the worker. At the end he promised the audience that, in the next season, he would come back to a detailed analyses of these points made in the Encyclical which he had now raised only in general terms.

1935-1936

Father Justyn fulfilled his promise given to the listeners in the previous season in January 1936, and continued the discussions on just pay, the dignity of the worker, security in old age, the length of the working day, unions and social reform in the talk "Birth Control or a Fairer Salary."[143] He saw the root of the problems in the relationship between work and capital in the monopolization of capital and the material means of production by a small group of capitalists who did not fairly share their profits with the workers, who made up ninety four percent of society. Therefore, Father Justyn favored an increase in state ownership of the means of production and reform of the economic system which would allow the workers to secure their basic rights. He also advocated the workers' union movement to organize itself on Christian principles and under the patronage of the state in order to safeguard the rights to employment and fair pay. He believed that the officials who represented the existing unions were corrupt and did not represent the best interest of the worker. The spiritual topics chosen for the broadcasts discussed between 31 March 1935 and 19 January 1936, demonstrated the strong tendency of the Rosary Hour to preserve its primarily religious character in spite of the

[143] Figas, "Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiedniejsza zapłata," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 19 Jan. 1935-1936, 16-23.

great response of the listeners to social and political issues. The content of the programs on social and political issues confirms that they were designed not to create a new movement but to delineate the boundaries of Christian conscience and the new American identity, especially in the discussion of the issues of class struggle and revolution.

The boundary of Christian and national conscience was underlined in very strong terms when discussing the issue of fair pay for the worker:

> Looking at the mass of working people who indeed live a life significantly oppressed and unworthy of man, one has to consider this Herodian theory, which instead of giving the worker an envelope with the deserved pay in order to feed his children, rather pushes into his hand a knife and forces him to cut their throats. This simply expressed animal norm has supposedly to be not only the medicine but the salvation of worker and his family.[144]

Father Justyn connected the issue of fair wages with the problem of birth control. He sarcastically named the advocates of birth control as "sophisticated professors, whimsical and perverse female activists (apostołki)."[145] In his polemic against the supporters of birth control he countered their argument of "fewer children, more prosperity and affluence" with his statement, "Give the worker a job, support it with an adequate and fair pay, this will suffice. Leave the size of the family to the worker and his wife."[146]

1936-1940

The forthcoming presidential elections led Father Justyn to make comments on the American political scene at the end of his Sunday talk on 1 November 1936. He observed the lack of substance in the pre-election campaign which was devoid of respect

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[144] Ibid., 23.
[145] Ibid., 20.
[146] Ibid.

for the norms of honesty and justice. His view on the political process was skeptical and he alleged that generally the candidates on the ballots were making empty promises which should never seduce healthy-minded citizens. However, regardless of the negative side of the politics, Father Justyn said the citizens were obliged to go to the polls because it was their responsibility to chose between the candidates who had inferior motives and those who had the qualities to serve the nation. He blamed the shortage of honest politicians on the ballot on the lack of responsible engagement by citizens in the elections, "What candidates the citizens vote for, those they elect for the offices!" Therefore, "The duty of every citizen is a rational use of ballot!"[147] This view was supported with the references to the teachings of Pope Leo XIII who urged Catholics to engage in conscious and diligent work in the field of politics for the common good and warned them against abuse of religion in order to triumph over an opponent.

The talk "Memories" broadcast on November 1, did not hide sympathies to the incumbent administration in Washington. Father Justyn listed the positive changes initiated by the government since the prior elections. He also noted the mistakes and abuses of that administration, but was positive that the mistakes could be corrected and the abuses removed. The philosophy adopted on the programs of the Rosary Hour on contemporary political life in the United States was probably best expressed in this important sentence, "I prefer the man who is trying to do something for the masses, although he sometimes goes astray and often makes mistakes."[148]

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[147] Figas, "Wspomnienia," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 1 Nov. 1936-1937, 14.
[148] Ibid., 17.

The program presented by the ruling Democrats was close to the social convictions of Father Justyn, who based his political judgment on the signs of recovery which directly affected the workers and on his belief in the integrity of President Roosevelt. To support his views about the candidate of the Democratic party before the audience of Polish American listeners to the radio broadcast, he read a fragment from a speech delivered by the President of the United States on 12 October 1936, in Providence, R.I., "The true wealth lies in the fact that every family in America always feels protected, sure of its job, sure to keep its house, sure of decent life in old age and sure of its savings."[149] For Father Justin, the presidential elections of 1936 were a long awaited "better tomorrow" turned into "today." Participation in the ballot was a mark of patriotism, both national and ethnic, and the final judgment through the vote on what was right for the Country and the society was left to the citizens.

The place of the Polish American community in the United States depended on the upward mobility of its members and their ability to coordinate efforts. The second generation made considerable progress in terms of upward mobility but it was not translated into federal or state office-holding despite the large numbers of Poles in major American cities. Therefore, it was with great joy and anticipation that Father Justyn reported on a group of young Americans of Polish descent who, before the elections, broke away from a major political party in Buffalo and created an independent party. This action was motivated by the unjust distribution of offices among the electorate. The independent party picked their own candidates for the ballot. This move met with the full support of Father Justyn who, taking advantage of this new development, announced that

[149] Ibid.

the current leaders of Polish American organizations did nothing to make the major American parties respect the Polish ethnic minority. He called these leaders "the grumpy old men" or "the old henpecked men" (starzy pantoflarze) who did not have the stamina to stand up and demand what legitimately should belong to their people. In the fervor of the talk Father Justin stated publicly, "Replace them with fresh blood, for it is not enough to talk about Pulaski and Kozjusko [*sic*] but it is equally important to make demands for practical recognition. For these reasons my vote will go to these young independent candidates, who are pioneers in the action for the legitimate recognition of our compatriots!"[150]

The increased activity in American politics triggered more intense discussions on the correlation between loyalty to the United States and loyalty to the ethnic community. In spite of many inspirational talks on ethnic-national vices and the virtues of the forefathers and emigrant pioneers, the elections proved that there was a lack of consolidation among the Polish-Americans in Buffalo. It was a big disappointment to Father Justyn who, having been asked in January 1937 by a listener signed K. W. from Buffalo, "Why here in Buffalo the Americans of Polish descent do not have officials as they have in Chicago, Milwaukee and Detroit?,"[151] he explained that it was because there was not a good leader, poor organization among the Polish-American community, the failure of one third of voters to register their vote and on-going divisions among the community.

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[150] Ibid., 18-19.
[151] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie –P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Jan. 1936-1937, 161.

Although Father Justyn considered the social and political action as important tools in consolidating the Polish immigrant community his main efforts focused on what Pope Pius XI called "a renewal of the Christian spirit."[152] The talks "Social Issue" and "Human Moles,"[153] delivered in November 1936 and April 1937, revisited the teachings of the Church on labor issues. The talk "Social Issue," repeated the main points from the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* that had been already raised on the programs broadcast on 31 March 1935 and 19 January 1936. The talk also reviewed the propositions of Pope Pius XI on the reconstruction of the social order. According to the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno,* the new economic order depended upon good will. "Otherwise, all our endeavors will be futile, and our social edifice will be built, not upon a rock, but upon shifting sand."[154] Pope Pius XI taught that the main cause of unfair wages and the consequent apostasy of a great number of workers from the Catholic faith rested with egotistical individuals who, because of original sin, are so disordered that they are "easily led by evil desires, and are strongly incited to prefer the passing goods of this world to the lasting goods of Heaven."[155] Hence, Father Justyn understood the central role of the Rosary Hour as the conversion of people to Christian charity because social change, as he believed, depended on the sum of converted individuals. Therefore he avoided controversies and polemics which would shift the attention of the audience from the predominant religious thrust of the radio talks.

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[152] *Quadragesimo Anno*, 127.
[153] Figas, "Kwestja społeczna," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 29 Nov. 1936-1937, 65-73; Figas, "Ludzkie krety," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 18 Apr. 1936-1937, 151-159.
[154] *Quadragesimo Anno*, 127.
[155] Ibid., 132.

At the time the norms for the reconstruction of the social order were discussed on the Rosary Hour, an industrial dispute in Buffalo's Duffy Silk Mills presented a challenge and an opportunity for Father Justyn to implement, in real life, the theory he taught at the microphone. Mostly women workers had been on strike for two months before Father Justyn's involvement in negotiating an accord between the employers and the employees. The account of the labor protest in the Silk Mills was given on the program entitled "More Righteousness, Less Malice" aired on Sunday, 24 January 1937. The negotiations included a meeting of Father Justyn with two representatives from the Labor Department in Washington and a local official on the Tuesday prior to the Sunday broadcast. Then, there was a meeting between Father Justin and a group, representative of the strikers, which analyzed point by point the proposed agreement which was to end the industrial action. Eventually the conditions of the agreement were approved and the next day they were presented to the strikers. The general meeting, with the representatives from Washington and Father Justyn in attendance, voted in favor of the agreement with 450 votes for, 3 against, and 1 refrained from voting.

Father Justyn praised the signed document as satisfactory for the workers, based on the norms of justice and the Papal social Encyclicals. Amongst other conditions of the agreement the employees were guaranteed to receive pay not less than the average highest in the other silk mills and seventy five percent of the yearly profit was to be divided among the workers according to their salaries. In this way the workers became the owners of part of the profit they produced. This system was already used in other places, like The Louisville Varnish Works owned by Callaghan. The so called Callaghan

Partnership Plan was received with mixed feelings by the industrialists, but it served as a blue print for the agreement in the Buffalo Silk Mills. In the role of mediator Father Justyn proved his ability to be impartial and won the trust of both the workers and the employers. Finally, on the radio he announced the success of the industrial action he had supported from the beginning as the legitimate right of laborers and ended his talk in English, "I am sure it will work in good times, as well as in hard times. It is certainly in conformity with the wishes of the Popes. I know it is Catholic. I am convinced it will be a success."[156] The support given to the industrial action of the workers in the Buffalo Silk Mills could be seen as the radicalization of Father Justyn's attitude towards strikes, which he had opposed at the beginning of the decade. In fact he always believed that the workers had the right to use all lawful methods, not excluding the strike, in order to achieve their legitimate rights. In the early years of depression, Father Justyn warned against the danger of provocation on the part of revolutionary agitators acting among the workers. Therefore the backing given to workers striking in Buffalo in January 1937 may mean that the danger of provocation during the strike was not an issue. This view is supported by general lack in Father Justyn's talks the topics related to the work and industrial disputes during the next broadcasting seasons, until Spring 1940.

[156] Figas, "Więcej sprawiedliwych mniej Piłatów," *MROJ*, 24 Jan. 1936-1937, 187-190.

Summary

The 1924 debate of the Polish priests on Polish and American patriotism consolidated their position on accepting the cultural pluralism hypothesis as a way forward in building the communal life of Polonia in the United States. The Polish clergy saw the American culture as hostile to the value system brought over from the Old-Country by the Polish-Americans. Hence they made the decision to support dual loyalty - the cultural connection with Poland and political and social activity in the United States. In the Thirties the Rosary Hour emphasized the value of the culture of the forefathers and used their experience and achievements, recorded in the tradition and literature, in order to reconstruct the Polish immigrant community in the United States. Father Justyn acknowledged the fact that the Polish nationality in the United States never had a national education and it did not know a national culture. The ambitious project of recreating a safe cultural environment for Polish-Americans, one in which the traditional values could be cultivated, met with various responses ranging from enthusiasm to passive admiration and to hostility. The economic, social, and political activities of immigrants in the United States facilitated a way to absorb many aspects of American culture, especially in the second generation. The community which had not developed a strong ethno-national culture was unprepared to assess in a proper way the value of their own culture and the new American culture. Consequently the second generation did not receive from their community clear guidance in the system of Polish cultural values, and therefore struggled to assert themselves in the area of the economic, social, and political life of the adopted country. The Rosary Hour attempted to fill the gap in the Polish-American community

created by the lack of a middle class formed by Polish ethno-national education and culture. The Rosary Hour kept to this direction for the entire decade, evolving slowly from measuring the value of different aspects of the Polish-American community according to the criteria of the first generation towards the criteria of the second generation acquired through the experience of economic, social, and political life in the United States.

Chapter Seven: Contending with Two Cultures:
The Reaction of the First and Second Generations of Polish Immigrants

The traditional European family pattern brought over to the United States by the immigrants was based on the strength of the family union, set roles for all family members and the religious dimension of the family within the Christian context. This model was challenged by the secular, individualistic culture of the host nation. The second generation found itself under pressure from two sides namely, parents who tried to pass on the cultural patterns of the old world and the pressure of Americanization. This new situation created two points of view on the value of marriage unity and parental authority within the immigrant community. The first generation tended to look at their old culture with its value system as a sort of security system and to view the new culture as a threat. For the second generation, brought up in the new environment, the American culture presented itself as an opportunity for a change of lifestyle. The investigation of the mind-set of the first and second generations towards marriage unity, as expressed through the practice of parental authority based on the traditional cultural and religious patterns transplanted from Poland, offers an opportunity to observe the attitudinal changes which emerged during the transition of the family units from their original environment to the new cultural setting in the United States. For that reason, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part examines the role of Polish immigrant parents in passing on the values of the Old-Country cultural patterns to their children. The second part analyzes the responses of the second generation of Polish immigrants to their ethnicity and the new American reality.

Parental authority 1932-1940

When Father Justyn spoke on matters of faith and religious marriage on the radio programs, he spoke from his position of authority as a spiritual teacher and leader and when addressing different aspects of the topic of parental authority he engaged in a form of dialogue with the parents and their children. Father Justyn not only respected the role of parents in bringing up their own children but also reinforced it since he clearly identified their parental role in his teachings on the Ten Commandments and Christian articles of faith. Parents, who had been brought up in the tradition of the "old school," patriarchal form of the family unit, supported by an extended family and the closely tied village community, found themselves in the totally different environment of an American culture that emphasized individualism, progress, science and technology. The norms of the Old-Country, regulating the relationship between parents and their children as well as that of children and the wider society, did not fit in with the new reality. This generational conflict hung over the Polish-American community like the Sword of Damocles. There was an urgent need for mediation between the two different social orders, the patriarchal one permeated with the Christian value system and based on an agricultural economy, and the new modern one, which was regulated by democratic institutions and a market economy. The contact that the American born generation of immigrants had with the culture of their parents and their country of birth came from their parents. The young generation was in a disadvantaged position in both communities; they absorbed only a fraction of the Polish culture of their parents' Fatherland and were not quite Americans yet. The public and the Catholic school systems were the major venues through which immigrant children were introduced to the new system, but the goals of the different schools varied from total assimilation to ethnic cultural isolation. Father

Justyn attempted to steer a middle ground that encouraged the integration of the best of both cultures, ethnic and American, in the second generation of immigrants.

1932-1933

In his talks on parental authority, during the first year of the network broadcast of the Rosary Hour, Father Justyn introduced the idea of the "true home" where parents asserted their authority over their children. This ideal proved difficult to realize. The three selected talks on parental authority in the broadcasting season 1932-1933 - "Do You Love God?"[1] "Talk of the 19th March"[2] and "Our Mothers"[3] - reinforced the method of bringing up children based on the traditional, Old-Country system. In the talk, "Do You Love God?" already mentioned in this chapter on the subject of marriage unity, Father Justyn read a letter dated February 22 that had been sent in by a mother from Chicago, who asked him for advice on the problem of exerting control over her daughter:

> Dear Father Justyn: Please advise me about the conduct of our daughter. My husband and I gave her everything of the best during all these years. We worked for her and thought of her day and night. That was until January this year, when she became eighteen years old. After graduating from high school she worked downtown. She became acquainted with a dissenter and when we learned about it we explained the risks to her. She ridiculed us. She would return home late in night, stopped saying her morning and evening prayers, she did not want to go to the church on Sunday; she became disobedient towards us, she sneered when she was reprimanded, and she even talked back to us vituperatively and disparagingly. One day at the end of January she left for work in the morning and we haven't seen her since. My husband curses and maledicts, I regret and despair; I cannot find peace day or night, and I am out of my mind with worry! Does God's Commandment not exist for today's children?[4]

In his comments on the content of the letter, Father Justyn analyzed the rebellion of the young generation against their parents. He explained that the Polish-American

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[1] Figas, "Czy kochasz Boga?*," MROJ*, 3 Dec. 1932-1933, 53-59.
[2] Figas, "(Mowa)," *MROJ*, 19 Mar. 1932-1933, 65-72. This was an untitled talk.
[3] Figas, "Nasze matki," *MROJ*, 14 May. 1932-1933, 161-168.
[4] Figas, "Czy kochasz Boga?*," MROJ*, 3 Dec. 1932-1933, 52.

children based their behavior on the ideas of the local youth educated according to non-religious norms. Consequently, this influence led the children of immigrants to discard not only the value system of their forefathers but also their faith which is the foundation of the commandment to love God and one's neighbor. According to Father Justyn, observing the practice of Sunday duty was not the only proof of one's faith which had to penetrate every aspect of life. This short commentary on the letter hinted at the question of formalism in the practice of faith, "love of God on paper," to use his expression, among the Polish-Americans. The religious formalism supported by social institutions, especially the extended family, suddenly crumbled during the process of emigration. It was impossible for parents who had emigrated to the United States to exert control over their children in the same way as they were controlled by their parents back in the Old-Country. In this situation Father Justyn called for a new approach to faith, which he called "practical faith." In his talk "Do you Love God," his call for respecting all God's Commandments was directed to parents and their children alike.

The presentation of the most descriptive letters sent to the programs of the Rosary Hour was a regular practice. The contents of the letters allowed Father Justyn to deal with real life problems and reflected the way his listeners were adjusting to the new environment. More letters which described generational conflict featured during the talk delivered on 19 March 1933. For example, a mother from Chicago asked Father Justyn to remind sons and daughters about having respect for their parents; another parent, signed K. S. from Detroit, complained about the behavior of her seventeen year old daughter who became unruly after she went to the high school.[5] These and other letters indicated to Father Justyn the changes taking place in the area

[5] Figas, "(Mowa)," *MROJ*, 19 Mar. 1932-1933, 65-72.

of parental authority and in other areas as well, "Do not these, and other similar letters, best prove that something wrong is happening among us Poles? Has a kind of cancer penetrated the traditional roots of our emigrants and infected their once healthy limbs?"[6] The process of change that the Polish-American community was going through in the Thirties, as observed by Father Justyn, was speeding up and moving in a wrong direction and he indicated, in the context of the Rosary Hour, that the community, especially the second generation, was going away from the "virtues of their forefathers." In order to strengthen the attachment of the young generation of Polish-Americans to their faith and the qualities of character exhibited by the forefathers, Father Justyn used Polish heroes to illustrate his views on faith and good character. In one instance he used "the Polish mother," who was the symbolical figure in Polish culture personified in the thousands of Polish women devoted to faith, family and Fatherland. In his talk "Our Mothers" broadcast in May 1933, Father Justyn twinned Polish national devotion to the "Polish mother" with the American tradition of celebrating mother's day in May. Father Justyn explained to the audience the way in which mother's day was celebrated in the United States and encouraged all to receive Holy Communion on that day for the intentions of their mothers. Then the listeners were given examples, in narrative form, of the mothers who displayed courage and faithfulness in the face of life's dramas, "The poorest and the simplest mother was making miracles in the souls of their children," stated Father Justyn and on the program quoted the testimony of Abraham Lincoln about his own mother, "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."[7]

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[6] Ibid., 70-71.
[7] Figas, "Nasze matki," *MROJ*, 14 May. 1932-1933, 164.

1933-1934

The portrait of the ideal mother was followed in the next broadcasting season with a negative picture revealing how parents neglected and abused their children. The talk "Duties of Spouses and Parents" delivered on the last Sunday of November 1933 was one of the series of talks dedicated, at the beginning of the new season, to the issues of Christian marriage and it started with a letter sent by a Polish girl from Chicago:

> Why to blame the youth of Polish descent for mixed marriages? After all this youth has eyes and see. Is it not the guilt of others? We have a good example. Our father is not only a drunkard, but abuses the whole family; in spite of the difficult times he brews "moonshine" and together with our mother he spends the money we earn on alcohol. What kind of father and mother are they for us? Is this the ideal image of our home, where there are only bare walls and floors? No wonder that all our free time we spend with the Americans outside our home. […]. For two years I dated a Polish man who often offended me, but one evening, when he attempted to force me to drink "moonshine," I dropped him. Soon afterwards I met an Irishman at a party. Although he is a lapsed Catholic, he treats me well and we are already engaged. I do not care he is neither Polish nor a Catholic; I am sure I will be happy with him. […]. Please, excuse the tone of this letter. It is because of my parents that I no longer desire to consider myself Polish and Catholic.[8]

An angry, drunkard and irreligious father and a neglectful, party loving and quarrelsome mother destroy the home and encourage their children to practice the new religion, the "religion of self indulgence," warned Father Justyn. A similar pattern of family life was repeated in other letters read during the season 1933-1934, e.g., the letter of a mother from Chicago during the talk on "God's Justice."[9] The obvious question to be asked in light of the content of these letters is: How typical was the situation in the Polish-American families as described by this girl who turned away from Catholicism and the Polish culture? Father Justyn acknowledged the fact

[8] Figas, "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov. 1933-1934, 81.
[9] Figas, "Sprawiedliwość Boża," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 18 Feb. 1933-1934, 89.

that while many Polish families in the United States suffered from the abuse of alcohol by parents they were not representative of the majority of families.

Given the negative developments occurring between parents and their children, Father Justyn predicted that the young generation would rebel against the authority of parents, "Our youth! Day in, day out, in sun or rain, in cold or warm weather and even when thunderstorms strike, our Zosie, Marynki, Elżbietki, Stefki and Gienie run to theaters and balls every day and every evening, because they want to have a good time. Our bachelors are not lagging behind in helping them."[10] Certainly Father Justyn did not view having a pastime outside the family home as a threat; it was the abuse in this area which met with his sharp criticism. He exposed all kinds of parental neglect caused by vain activities and the problems he observed in the children, such as seven or eight years old kids rambling the streets until late at night and the children who remembered popular songs but did not know how to bless themselves. The image of the "true home" portrayed on the Rosary Hour served as a remedy in counteracting the effects, identified on the Rosary Hour, of the disease which was infecting the roots of the big "emigration tree." Father Justyn proposed the old cure of family solidarity in sharing mundane chores and the virtue of love as expressed in the practice of God's love, conjugal love, parental love and brotherly love to his listeners.[11]

The vision of harmonious family life described on the air waves was taken from Father Justyn's childhood experience and was presented to the audience as proof that even in a new hostile environment an immigrant family could be successful in preserving the fundamental family solidarity and even the virtues of conjugal, parental

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[10] Figas, "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov. 1933-1934 , 86-87.
[11] Ibid., 87.

and brotherly love. This attitude towards the practice of family life was based on his belief in the basic goodness of human nature despite statistics showing a growing trend towards the disintegration of the relationships based on the Old-Country patterns. The existing evidence suggests that Father Justyn also used the official Census statistics related to divorce and the available statistics related to crime in general, juvenile crime and other areas of social life on the radio programs. Thomas and Znaniecki, who about fifteen years before the start of the Rosary Hour program had systematically analyzed data taken from the letters of Polish immigrants, observed the process of disintegration of the family life of immigrants. It usually started with a change of attitudes towards those elements of peasant family life which were fundamental in creating solidarity among its members.

Thomas and Znaniecki pointed to the coexistence of two or even more control systems of social relations among the Polish immigrant community and identified them as that of "peasant custom and that of law."[12] The appearance in an individual of an attitude of being wronged would find justification in the American individualistic legal system which encouraged law suits between quarreling sides, "Exactly similar is the effect which the American laws on marriage, support of wife, divorce, etc., have in helping dissolve Polish family life in this country, chiefly by giving the wife an exaggerated conception of her 'rights'."[13] The crisis within the family, combined with the reduced effectiveness of the local Polish American community in imposing socially acceptable norms of behavior on its growing youth, resulted in the erosion of organized family life among the second generation based on the moral system referred to by Father Justyn as the "virtues of forefathers." The authors of *The Polish Peasant*

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[12] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. II, 1143.
[13] Ibid.

in Europe and America suggested that the erosion of the old value system among the second generation of Polish Americans was more noticeable and in larger proportions in the bigger American cities than in the smaller towns where communities were relatively stronger and more isolated.[14]

The two letters read on the program "Human Tears," broadcast in January 1934, and a question from a teenager discussed on the Talk "Human Sorrows" from March 1934, continued to highlight the negative aspects of the parent-child relationship. The neglect of parental authority and the disorderly behavior of youth could not be checked in America by the extended family and the local community to the same degree as was the case in the primary social milieu of the Polish peasants. Through a particular case described in a letter written by a teenage girl from Lackawanna, N.Y., Father Justyn exemplified a typical situation which was causing growing concern among the Polish-American community:

> My older sister left home because father banned her from frequenting dance halls, where she would go three times a week and came home in the morning of the next day. The last time she came back on a Sunday morning and what is more, was drunk, her dad threatened her that he would not let her go any more. The next day she went away, telling her mother that she was an American so she has to enjoy life and freedom. Our mother never forbids us from doing anything: she does not forbid us to go on raids with the boys nor to go to dances; daddy allows us to go but only to acquaintances and only till midnight. I do not know which one to listen to, daddy or mother?[15]

The decision of girl's father found approval on the Rosary Hour. However, Father Justin while making comments on the letter strongly emphasized the irreplaceable role of harmonious co-operation between parents in the upbringing of the next generation. A situation described by a teenage boy from Chicago depicted a serious

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[14] Ibid., vol. II, 1777.
[15] Figas, "Łzy ludzkie," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Jan. 1933-1934, 19.

deterioration in the parental relationship which led not only to the rejection of the father's authority by his children but also to the use of force between father and son:

> Do I commit a sin when my dad beats my mom and I defend her? The last time when I did it my dad beat me until I bled and tore my clothes. Then he chased me out of my home. I would go but I am only 18 years old and I feel sorry to leave my mother and the little siblings. Is it right for me to use force against my father in such cases?[16]

Father Justyn advised the young man in this case not to use force against his father and suggested the use of legal ways to defend his mother. But even responsible parents faced challenges posed to their authority by their children and the local community, and also from those sections of the community which were formally obliged to support parents in their efforts to instill good behavioral norms in the young generation.

The third letter written by a parent from Buffalo gave clear evidence of a lack of cooperation between the parents and the community in the task of bringing up the young generation:

> Please, tell me, is it legal to sell vodka to children? For example, in a certain private house in Broadway, there is a widower who does so. He is an elderly man; he does not go to church, does not believe in God, he ridicules and mocks everybody saying that he does not need to work hard and always has dollars. All sorts of people gather there, the young and the old , and the worst of it is that he sells "moonshine" to children. The children ask their mothers for cents. A group of those children get together, collect their nickels, buy a pint and go to an empty lot. Sometimes the children get so drunk there that they are unable to walk and need to be helped. It is high time to clean up this house. Please, tell me where to go to prevent this evil.[17]

There is no word in the Polish language which would describe adequately the person who is a cause of scandal to children, said Father Justyn. He did not want to reveal in public his method of dealing with such a person, but advised the parent to go to a local police station and make a report. However, when on one occasion he made a

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[16] Figas, "Żale ludzkie," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 4 Mar. 1933-1934, 121.
[17] Figas, "Łzy ludzkie," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 14 Jan. 1933-1934, 21.

report at a police station on an illegal sale of alcohol to the school children, a policeman drove to the store keeper and told him: (The English words were used on the program) "Pal, look out for that so and so, Fr. Justin, he reported you for selling liquor to school boys."[18] The Rosary Hour showed that the legal system could be corrupt and suggested, in the case of preventing the young generation from demoralization by the purchase of alcohol, to apply an unidentified method used in the Old-Country by alluding to it with the words, "I know what I would have done, if I were in the position of these mothers!"

A social organism is exposed to destructive forces, which test its vitality and ability to solve problems. Difficulties often trigger the creative energy that helps to overcome the crisis and creates conditions for further development. An example of such activity in the Polish-American community was the creation of the Scouts under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church and The Polish National Alliance. A question from a Scout instructor from Chicago, read on the radio program, and the response of Father Justin, provoked controversy between one of the Polish newspapers and the Rosary Hour. This public discussion of the problem of Polish youth in America revealed the ability of Polish-Americans to seek accord through harmonious cooperation, "Last year the Scouting (Harcerstwo) of The Polish National Alliance was founded in our locality. I am an instructor. It appears however, that this is not popular with the local priests and nuns. Is it a sin to be a member of Scouting? Signed, Pewna Harcerka (Certain Girl-Scout), Chicago, 19 November 1933."[19] The question provoked a lengthy answer which brought to light the Scouting organized by The Polish National Alliance in the United States. The ideas of Scouting were very

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[18] Ibid., 21. This sentence was read in English on the program.
[19] Figas, "Małżeństwa mieszane – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 19 Nov. 1933-1934, 78.

close to Father Justyn's views on instilling moral norms in the young generation. Therefore, he emphasized the strong involvement of the Catholic Church in supporting the movement which exerted a positive influence on the young generation. The key role, however, stated Father Justyn, was played by the instructors, whose moral conduct and dedication to their faith and patriotism provided role models for thousands of youths. At the latter part of Father Justyn's response the Rosary Hour audience heard about several incidents of negative behavior among the Scouts for which were accused the activists of this organization. In one of the mentioned incidents a pastor from a small Polish settlement in New England alleged that the instructors of The Polish National Alliance Scouts based there were organizing outings at a time which clashed with Sunday Mass. The report of this incident triggered the publication of a critical article against Father Justyn in the *Polish Daily* on 25 November 1933 [20] and subsequently, Father Justyn's response to it on the Question Box on the program broadcast 10 December 1933.

Józef Trzciński from Chicago, the author of the article, accused Father Justyn of blackening the good name of the Polish National Alliance Scouting, of forging the question and the letter related to Scouts presented on the radio program broadcast on 19 November 1933 and of making a few derogatory statements directed at the Board of P.N.A. Scouting. In his defense Father Justyn used the letter of Jan Romaszkiewicz, the President of The Polish National Alliance, who praised the position taken by Father Justyn on the Rosary Hour and promised to take action against those instructors who did not follow the rules of P.N.A. Scouting regarding

[20] *Dziennik Związkowy Zgoda* (Polish Daily) – the oldest Polish language paper in U.S.A. Founded in January 1908 as the official organ of the Polish National Alliance; Figas, "Dziś Wierzę," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1933-1934, 117-118.

Sunday duty.[21] Hundreds of radio listeners, including the members of P.N.A., sent in letters expressing their indignation at the slanderous article while, at the same time, asking Father Justyn to respond publically to Trzciński. In his response to the author of the article which was presented in a form of a proposition, Father Justyn offered to pay Trzciński one thousand dollars if he proved his accusations true. Otherwise, Father Justyn announced that he would make an appeal to the members of the P.N.A. and the radio listeners to write letters of protest to the General Board of the P.N.A. Then, point by point Father Justyn proved the allegations false. It was not announced on the Rosary Hour how this controversy ended. Most probably the answer was to be found on the pages of the *Polish Daily*.

The whole issue of the P.N.A. Scouting reported on the waves of the Rosary Hour highlighted several important features present in the life of the Polish-American community in the Thirties. First, the problems of the young generation were not only observed, but acted upon. The former "nationalist camp," led by the P.N.A., and the "religionist camp," supported by the network of the Polish ethnic parishes, were able to address these problems in an efficient way. The second characteristic feature revealed was the still existing mistrust between the two major formations within the Polish-American community, which was the cause of the "eruption" of tensions from time to time between the two camps.

Father Justyn, although he presented true incidents which involved the P.N.A. Scouts on the radio, revealed his partiality by praising the Roman Catholic branch of Scouting and stressing the failings of the P.N.A. Scouting. This provoked a strong reaction from the publishing committee of the *Polish Daily*, who attacked Father

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[21] Figas, "Dziś wierzę," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Dec. 1933-1934, 117.

Justyn without first checking the facts. This approach revealed an anti-clerical current among certain groups of Polish-Americans. However, the willingness between the two formations of Polonia to cooperate on the issue of bringing up the young generation was strongly emphasized in the letter of the President of the P.N.A. and also on the program broadcast on the Rosary Hour on 10 December.

1934-1935

The young people who corresponded with Father Justyn voiced their concern about the value of the advice he gave them on moral conduct and his promotion of the traditional way of life in the modern world. Some of the young people complained that staying at home every evening reduced their chances of getting married. Two spinsters from Detroit, aged nineteen and twenty years old wrote that although they were not old-fashioned, they did not approve of modern conduct as exemplified by regular participation in parties and dances, smoking and drinking:

> One of us is 19 and the second one 20. We come to you, Father, because the present times are a riddle to us and we cannot explain the behavior of the young men. Although we are not "old-fashioned," we do not smoke or drink and do not attend these various suspicious entertainments, and this is why we are not popular. It seems to us that the young men do not have any respect for the girls. We do not have future prospects for having a home and raising children. We came to the conclusion that we cannot trust even our longtime friends, who know that we come from honest families. Do we have to spend all our evenings at home and not go out, because the bachelors do not know how to behave properly?[22]

Father Justyn clearly thought out, and carefully prepared, his answers to the selected letters he read out on the program. The listeners sensed his respect for their problems and his emotional attachment to everything that related to “his people.” They called him Father and he gave them fatherly answers, “There are respectable spinsters and excellent bachelors. However, do not look for them in the dance halls. You will not

[22] Figas, ”Nieludzcy ludzie,” *MROJ*, vol. 1, 2 Dec. 1934-1935, 82.

find them there. […] Respect yourselves and in this way you will make others respect you."[23] Father Justyn's answer was directed not only at the two girls who refused to follow the trendy crowd but also at the thousands of young Polish-Americans who were ambitious and wanted to advance in life.

The evidence from the talks aired on the Rosary Hour in the following broadcast season 1934-1935 showed that the lack of parental authority in the Polish-American community was becoming an increasingly growing problem. On 25th November 1934, in the sixth talk of the season, Father Justyn shared his first hand experience of his intervention on behalf of a mother whose daughter frequented an establishment called "blind piggy," a sort of night club in Buffalo for young people of both sexes. He decided to visit the place himself and talk to the owner of the suspicious establishment because he mistrusted the local police. The intervention of the priest was brought to an end by the arrogant words of the guests present in the night club at the time demanding that he leave, "Do you want to rule us; we have the right to live as we please; we do not want to listen to your sermon, if you want to talk, talk in the church not here."[24]

Father Justyn added one more example of the negative trends among young people which he noticed on the streets in Polish Buffalo. On his way to the Rosary Hour studio, on the Sunday prior to the Sunday he broadcast this talk, Father Justyn observed, in an area of four blocks, a group of Polish boys playing dice; a little further along there were three eighteen years old guys drunk almost to the point of oblivion and finally, a band of bully boys, harassing everyone including the passing dogs.

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[23] Ibid., 82.
[24] Figas, "Idźcież za nimi," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 25 Nov. 1934-1935, 65.

Father Justyn said he had tears in his eyes. Similar pictures were painted by listeners to the radio program who lived in other parts of the United States.

A mother from Wilkes Barry, PA., asked Father Justyn to address those daughters who ran away from home:

> One day before Christmas, please speak to those daughters who left home to escape from their parents, because our daughter also has done so. I reared her as I was able and as best I could. Maybe it is our fault. She was our youngest and not once did I stop her from going out in the evenings without telling her father about it. We gave her a higher education. She had a good job. She was always healthy and humorous. Suddenly, something happened. At work she met someone 20 years older than herself. She did not tell us about him. We learned about the situation from those who worked with her. He was Polish, but a godless and blasphemous man. They say that he left his wife and four children in a nearby town. […] When I tried to persuade her [to break the relationship], she answered me: 'This is none of your business. I have the right to my happiness and can pursue it wherever and with whomsoever I like'.
> – I only told her, 'Remember that you are my daughter and I am your mother'. She started quarreling with me. On the second day she went to work but did not return home. [25]

A letter from Michigan City, IN., written in the Slovak language, described a similar problem:

> Two of our daughters ran away from home to New York. They were not bad children at all. When they were maturing, they started passing their evenings outside the home. Three years ago the older girl went off to New York without uttering a word. She did not write to us for a year. When she returned, we thought she would stay. She was at home for three days and then she left and our younger (daughter) went with her. My husband cursed them and me. What I can do? I sent them to school and to church. They were spoiled by the girls with whom they kept company. I was not able to be with them all the time. We have three more daughters. My husband wants me to buy poison and poison them, because he said he would rather see them in a coffin now than have to watch them leave home and wander around the world like the two older girls. I often think, I always loved our children and worked for them. Was it worth the effort?"[26]

A letter written by a mother from Chicago, told the story of a runaway boy:

> Our 20 year old son has run away from home. He enjoyed a good home. I only asked him not to wander the streets in the evenings with other boys, because I

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[25] Figas, "Marnotrawni tułacze," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 16 Dec. 1934-1935, 109-110.
[26] Ibid., 110. Slovak language belongs to the group of Slavic languages and is similar to the Polish language. Slovaks and Poles from Galicja were part of Austrian Empire until the end of WW I.

> was worried that something bad might happen to him. In response to my requests he would answer that he was no longer an adolescent who needed to listen to his mother. During the day he looked for a job but he did not spend a single evening with us. My husband also talked to him, but to no avail. Three weeks ago he became angry and started cursing us – he told us that he would go wherever his eyes led him and if something happened to him it would be our fault. He went out and we still do not know where he is. Maybe you, Father, would help us to persuade the sons who ran away to have pity on us and come back to their parents.[27]

Letters describing the problems with youth were sent constantly to the office of the Rosary Hour. Some of the letters, like those from Wilkes Barre, PA., Michigan City, IN., Chicago, and also from Gary, IN., were read on the radio programs. This correspondence provided evidence that the crisis of parental authority in the Polish-American community was not a phenomenon specific to one city in the United States in the Thirties but affected other ethnic groups in other cities as well. Voicing the problem made people aware of the crisis but did not solve it. To counteract the subculture of this section of the young immigrant generation which found itself confused in a new environment and was ready to break up the weak family bonds and cut themselves off from their ethnic roots and religion in pursuit of happiness, Father Justyn launched a series of wide-ranging speeches in which he addressed all sides involved. One can say that, in one way or another, most of his talks in the Thirties touched on the problems of the second generation of immigrants whom he wanted to take their rightful place in American society. One of the methods he employed in tackling this task was to present role models to the young people. The program on the last Sunday of November 1934 featured several young heroes from the Polish-Soviet War that took place between February 1919 and March 1921. In his introduction to the November talk Father Justyn said:

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[27] Ibid., 113.

> I speak to you, young Americans of Polish descent; I speak to you from the bottom of my heart, simply and honestly. I do not present saints from the old times to you. I offer you examples of the actions of Polish boys during the time of the Bolshevik aggression. It would be worthwhile, really worthwhile for you to become acquainted with them." [28]

The responses from young people of both sexes did not generally focus on a particular subject in a broadcast program, but often concentrated and reflected on the individual problems of the author. A girl from Mount Pleasant, PA., gave an account of her views on the family, tradition and religion in a letter used on the program "Old Fashioned and Modern," aired on February 1935:

> I am seventeen years old. Please, do not try to convert me. This would be impossible for you Father Justyn. My parents belong to the old-country types who believe in, and value the home, factory, church, children, work and prayer. They know nothing more. It seems to me that it is not enough. After all, man lives only once. Why not make use of the time? Moreover, is it worthwhile having children today to worry about them later? Do I have to work all my life, when I can live easily without trouble? Let the foolish pay my expenses. I know I make promises, but I will give them nothing. I stopped believing in prayer. My parents may pray for themselves and for me, if it pleases them; a party, a dance, cigarettes and cocktails give me more pleasure. I want to be and I am "modern" not "old-fashioned" like my mother. Anyway why should anybody interfere with my life? I will live as it pleases me not as somebody else wants me to live. I am independent and I will show the world. If there is a God who I will have to stand before, nobody will be answering for me except me. I will enjoy my life, but I shall conduct my life according to the times I live in and not according to the precepts of my father and mother who were brought up in a field and a barn; they did not know that man lives to enjoy life."[29]

The interaction between Father Justyn and the youth bore fruit in the exchange of ideas with which he did not necessarily agree. But the fact that Father Justyn provided a platform for the young Polish-Americans to express their opinions was a sign of his respect for them and a clear message to them that their problems were not being ignored on the Rosary Hour. This strategy also created an opportunity for negotiation between Father Justyn and the second generation on the value system they were to

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[28]Figas, "Idźcież za nimi," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 25 Nov. 1934-1935, 66. The stories told by Father Justyn were written by Antoni Ossendowski.
[29] Figas, "Staromodne i nowomodne," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Feb. 1934-1935, 28.

adopt and follow. The examples that Father Justyn used were tried and tested by generations and Father Justyn was convinced they were timeless and universal. The narratives about the heroes from the Polish-Soviet War were one of the tactics used on the Rosary hour to communicate with the Polish-American youth, and were mainly intended for the young men. The girls also had their stories. In order to counteract the views on life expressed by the girl from Mount Pleasant Father Justyn spoke about the character of each of the three women described by the Polish writer Marja Czeska-Mączyńska. The first brave character was a mother who had brought up thirteen sons with almost no help from her husband. The second example of a brave character was that of a woman who for twenty years took care of her husband who was affected by a progressive paralysis shortly after their wedding and changed into an awkward patient. The third hero presented on the radio program was a widow who, in spite of being in dire poverty, managed to instill in their children the love of knowledge and the strength which makes a person become a strong character. At the end of the story Father Justyn asked all his listeners to recognize, in their own mothers, the qualities of the women he had described because they represented the ancient and old-fashioned type of mother.[30]

1935-1936

A growing number of encounters with the issues related to youth prompted Father Justyn to apply new approaches in communicating messages to his young listeners. A letter from a nineteen year old girl read on one of the first the programs of the 1935-1936 season, motivated him to debate the issues raised by her on the radio. This new approach of engaging in dialogue with young people was executed in the

[30] Ibid., 29-33.

form of a point by point analysis of the letter which Father Justyn described as a reflection of the soul of American youth of Polish descent:

> I am nineteen years old. Until now I could not complain about my parents. They tried to give me everything. They sent me to school; our living conditions are good. But my parents are the old-country type and even now they want to raise me as they were raised in the old-country. They do not want to accept the fact that this is America, that the times are different now and we have different customs from those in Europe. What I want to say is that my parents are too strict. They treat me like a little child. I have a good office job. I would like to have a good time in the evenings, as other girls do; to forget about work. They (my parents) always preach to me that I should rest in the evenings to have enough strength for work. If they allow me to go somewhere I have to come back before midnight and if I am late I have to explain myself and then my father does not believe me and yells at me. I wanted my father to give me the key to the house, but he does not even want to hear about it. I became acquainted with a man in the office; true, he is neither Polish nor even a Catholic, but he is polite and well brought up. He is 45 years old. He asked me either to go to a party with him or for supper, because he has an automobile. My parents were indignant at me for asking, so I could not resist crying. In the office they laugh at me and say I am a baby, clinging to my mother's apron strings and unable to do anything about it. I often go with this man for supper after work and I tell my parents that I work long hours. Tell me Father Justyn; is it right for my parents to refuse me permission to go out in the evenings and to keep me at home as if I was a slave girl? Why are others allowed to enjoy balls and parties and I am banned from attending them? One lives only once. I am not going to be young forever. I used to be cheerful and happy, now I feel uncomfortable and do not have the proper motivation for my work.[31]

In Father Justyn's opinion a significant number of the Polish-American youth considered their parents to be backward, refused to accept their parental authority over them but, at the same time accepted the benefits of their hard work. Father Justyn, in his talk, condemned these attitudes towards parents, which were supported by the neo-pagan undercurrent in American culture, as false and unjust and gave detailed comments on the letter, First, parental care should evoke gratitude in children; second, the old-country type of parents should be imitated because their unrefined outer appearance contrasted with their virtues of faith, honesty, kindness, hospitality to the point of exaggeration and, above all, their love of family; third, it

[31] Figas, "Wolność czy swawola?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 17 Nov. 1935-1936, 51-52.

does not matter whether we live in America or in Europe, God's Commandments are the same and the natural law applies to everyone; fourth, in the eyes of parents children always require support and care, this is the innate and natural feeling of every good father and mother; fifth, freedom cannot be unbridled, if you do not believe this, then read the daily news and learn about your sisters who abused freedom; sixth, it is appropriate that your parents do not give you the key to the house; they have the right to know where you go, with whom you go, how you relax and the time you return home; seventh, the calculated politeness of a much older foreigner will never replace Polishness and faith; in the eyes of a foreigner you always be a "Polack." Furthermore, Polish blood is too pure, too heroic and too holy to mix with that of others; eighth, those who laugh at you in the office because you "cling to your mother's apron strings" would not care if you became a social outcast; today's balls and dances do not teach reason and abstinence - instead they are the schools of immoral behavior.

There is little evidence in the transcripts of the radio talks and questions from the Question Box about the follow-up to the debate on youth arising from the November talk on "Freedom or Abuse of Freedom"[32] towards the end of 1935. There was, however, one question from the program broadcast in January 1936, which could be considered as being related to the November talk, "Who is to be blamed for so many young thieves?" Father Justyn based his answer to this question on the responsibilities of parents and charged them with negligence in exercising their authority over their children.[33] One might expect that there were numerous letters in which the authors approved of, or argued with, Father Justyn's views on parental

[32] Ibid., 51-58.
[33] Figas, "Na co spowiedź? – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 1 Jan. 1935-1936, 159.

authority. The program broadcast in February 1936, in which the talk entitled, "Do you Respect Your Children?" focused on the faults of parents, seems to confirm this assumption. It is plausible to assume that the listeners, especially the young generation, requested Father Justyn to give a fuller picture of the issue of parental authority in the Polish-American community:

> We cannot put all the blame for today's deficiencies and vices on the shoulders of your sons and daughters when a father and mother, or either one of them neglect their duties and follow today's trend of paying less attention to the child than to the dog or cat, or abuse the boundaries of reason and justice in discipline.[34]

During his talk Father Justyn grouped parents into four categories and classified them either as idol worshippers, negligent parents, tyrants or reasonable parents. He then described the different categories in turn. In relation to the first category he warned against the situation when children turned parents into their servants. Within the category of negligent parents he identified several subgroups: the modern parent who, in pursuit of a good time, regularly left the children unsupervised; the drunken parent; the parent who deserted the children. In dealing with the tyrant parent who had no respect for the children, he identified two subgroups: the parent whose only argument to both young and teenage children was, "Because your father does not want it and does not allow it!" This kind of parent turned his home into a state prison. The tyrant parent in the second subgroup was a parent who saw his grown up children only as tools for work and the source of extra money. Father Justyn then told his audience a story, using a style of presentation based on the writings of Charles Dickens. In January 1936, while he was waiting inside the station at La Salle Street in Chicago for a train to Buffalo, two young girls sat next to him. They were very poorly dressed. Although the temperature outside was minus thirty they were wearing only light

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[34] Figas, "Czy szanujecie wasze dzieci?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 16 Feb. 1935-1936, 72.

shoes, no gloves, no felt hats on their heads and their coats were threadbare. The girls shook with the cold. After a while one of them leaned towards the other and said, "Well it's warmer here, than out in the streets, ale jak my się dostaniemy do domu? (but how we get back home?)" [35]After Father Justyn heard the Polish words he started talking to them and learned that they lived on the other side of the town and had been walking the streets in search of work all day and had neither lunch nor supper. The oldest, swallowing her tears, explained that their "daddy" told them to go out in the morning to look for work and not to come back until they got it. This narrative showed the deplorable example of a tyrant father and Father Justyn ended his talk with an appeal to all parents to respect their children.

1936-1937

The topic of the obligations of parents towards their children returned again in the talk "Remember"[36] delivered on the Rosary Hour in March 1937. The subjects brought to the attention of the radio listeners concerned the Lenten themes. The narrative examined the realization of different human obligations in the light of faith and the prospect of death, final judgment and eternity. Father Justyn's narrative dealt with the obligations of work, the obligations of faith and finally, the obligations of marriage. At this point Father Justyn reminded parents of their responsibility to take care not only of the bodies and minds of their children but, above all, of their souls. Then, Father Justyn issued a word of warning about their behavior to those who were tormenting their spouses and families by alcohol abuse or by making their young children work in order to get rich on their sweat and tears.

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[35] Ibid., 9. A similar story has been described in the talk: "Powiedz mojemu ojcu," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 22 Jan. 1938-1939, 125-129.
[36] Figas, "Pamiętaj!," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 7 Mar. 1936-1937, 64-71.

The last talk of the season, which was to be broadcast on 25 April, and was specially dedicated to honor mothers, was changed because, according to Father Justyn's own words, he had received so much good material during the previous weeks through the post that he decided to use it instead of his planned texts. Among the letters he received was one sent by a young student who was moved by listening to the series of stories on Sunday, 4th April. In the letters, the authors described the pain and misery caused to them by members of their own families. The letter which made a specific impression on the young man and prompted him to respond in writing to Father Justyn was written in English and read on the Rosary Hour in its original English language:

> As much as I dislike the word, I must say this is a letter of complaint; complaint against myself, and the family and the home. Due to my upbringing and the immediate environment of the home, I am a right "flop" in the game of life. There are seven of us: our parents and five children, of whom one is married, and that took place before a non-Catholic minister. We have a father, yes; but only in the technical sense of the world. Why mother married him, I do not know. His daily solace and love are gold in the bottle with the brown fluid. From morn till night he goes at it, and how he has managed to hold his job so far, I do not know. He is one of the big aches on my heart. With the exception of my sister who is married, we are living together with our parents, two girls and two boys, including myself. I am 21. Practically, I have never had a job, except CCC camps, a couple of years back. My brother, who is younger, stronger and physically bigger, works. Therefore he is petted and idolized by mother. How we all have lived together for so long is almost a mystery; there is no harmony whatsoever. Constant quarreling and arguing are the daily menu. The girls are younger than the boys, still they are hard to handle. My mother cannot control the youngest one – how they argue with each other! – and she is only fifteen! Believe it or not, there is hardly ever a word spoken between my brother and me. We're flesh and blood, but total strangers! But, that is partly my fault which brings in my mental state. I hardly speak in the house. My mind is very fragile. So often I am in a daze, having no job, no place to go and nothing to do! Day after day, I just sit around, thinking and hoping. At this rate I am an almost certain candidate for insanity. More and more father's drunkenness and the family disorder are taxing my nerves. How long will this hell last? – when it will end? Physically I am not up to par. No energy, no ambition. My memory is bad, my will is very weak. And I am only twenty one! As much as I am dependant on my mother, mentally speaking, for this is the way I have been brought up, do you think I should leave home and go off by myself when I get a job? There is nothing left here

> for me now. Because of my joblessness, I am somewhat forsaken. With all my physical weakness, I must look out for myself. It seems I am not worthy of care, even though mother knows, there is obviously something wrong with me. But I do not want to blame her; I owe so much to her. I do not like to speak against them. But my life is so terrible among them. Please, advise me what I should do.[37]

The same program also featured a letter written in English by a fifteen year old boy, who described his family and his brothers who were gamblers. The letter was read in English:

> I am fifteen years of age and I am a student at the local high school. I have two brothers and a sister. My oldest brother has a very good position and earns a good salary, but the worst part of it is, that he never wants to support our mother. He gives her a few dollars, and he spends all the rest when he goes out at night and stays out till morning. Mother cries and prays, but it never does any good for he never listens to her. My younger brother also earns a good salary, but he too instead of contributing to support the family goes out at night, and gambles his money away. Many times mother reminds them to be good, not to stay out at night and not to gamble, but they only answer her, that they are both old enough to take care of themselves. Father, your talks over the radio, have done more good, than you can imagine. I am sure that if you read my letter it might strike at the hearts of sons and daughters and teach them to become good children![38]

Father Justyn knew the power of the mass media. The broadcast word undoubtedly made some impact on those guilty of the behavior he had publicly described and condemned, although the names of the writers and the names of the cities from which they came were not mentioned. As for the advice which the correspondents often asked for, it was not always given directly on the radio. Sometimes the advice came as part of a response to another letter read on the same program a week or two later. In many instances Father Justyn personally answered requests for help.

The above texts confirm the impact the Rosary Hour had not only among the generation born in Poland but even among young teenagers. The young student who

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[37] Figas, " Krzyżyki ludzkie!," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 4 Apr. 1936-1937, 124-125.
[38] Ibid., 128-129.

responded to the situation described in the first letter offered encouragement to the pessimistic boy in the English language:

> I have always been an attentive and faithful listener of your weekly Rosary Hour programs. In fact, I have been so faithful that I haven't even missed a precious minute of your broadcast for the past two years. When you read the letters last Sunday of those distressed and discouraged Polish sons and daughters, I was overwhelmed by sympathy for them. I almost cried, particularly when you read the letter of that discontented twenty-one year old youth. Oh, if he could only be in our home for a day, he would discover for himself that the world is a pleasant and a happy place to live in, and that our lives are worth living. My father has never abused liquor; in fact he uses it only on rare occasions. As for my mother, she never tasted a mere drop of any intoxicant. At present my father and mother are working regularly and spend all their hard-earned money on our college education. My sister is now completing her course in nursing. I am a freshman in a local university. My younger brother is finishing his sophomore year in a high school. My parents are exceedingly industrious and very good to us. In fact, they are so good that we will never be able to repay them for the care they have given us and for the goodness they have shown us in our young days. They are continually encouraging us in our enterprises, always helping to lighten our burdens and to overcome our difficulties. And above all this, they always have a kind word for the three of us. Briefly, I may say that continual sympathy, kindness and understanding prevail in our little home. As for that twenty-one year old youth, I have only a word of encouragement and advice, although I myself have only celebrated my 18th birthday not so very long ago. Listen young fellow, you are taking the wrong attitude towards life. Your outlook is rather pessimistic. Instead of choosing the road to happiness and success you're selecting a very narrow path that leads nowhere. Instead of hitching the wagon of your life to a star, you're letting it stand lonely and neglected. You must remember the fact that the world is a wide and broad place, with many possibilities and opportunities, if you will only try. Have courage, fortitude and perseverance, and I am sure you will succeed. [39]

In the commentary on the letter Father Justyn praised the author for his wonderful testimony on the virtues of his parents and said that the content of the letter celebrated Mother's Day better than a sermon by the most outspoken preacher, because the account was given by a son. All three letters gave evidence of the existence and reality of the two patterns in family life in the Polish-American community in the Thirties, the one promoted eagerly on the Rosary Hour programs and based on traditional "old-country" values and the other, the dysfunctional pattern. In another

[39] Figas, "Okruszynki," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 25 Apr. 1936-1937, 165-166.

part of his comment on the letter read during the talk “Crumbles” in April, Father Justyn expressed his opinion that the majority of the Polish-American parents fulfilled their obligations in the way described by the eighteen year old youth.

There was no evidence at this stage of any significant group of families of Polish descent functioning successfully outside the Polish-American communities. The majority of adherents to the Rosary Hour spoke Polish in their families and in their community. However, the use of the English language on certain programs signaled the intention of Father Justyn to make the maximum impact on the group he was addressing. The growing numbers of letters written and read in English on the radio programs showed that Father Justyn recognized the fact that the Polish-American youth absorbed the messages and ideas relating to their lives better when they were expressed in English. Although the English letters were read in their original format in previous broadcast seasons, during the season 1936-1937, a noticeably bigger number of the letters sent in to the program were written in English. This change was an important development on the radio program which gave more of its air time to the language used in the new country, although many letters written in English were still translated into Polish, and Polish continued to be the predominant language used on the Rosary Hour in the Thirties. One of the characteristic features of the Rosary Hour was that the themes raised in the letters each season were repeated time and time again. One of the major reasons for that occurrence was due to the growing number of new radio stations added to the network of the Rosary Hour, which consequently led to an increase in the number of new listeners who had missed the discussions on the themes when they were aired on the earlier programs.

1937-1938

Father Justyn raised the theme of the ultimate goal of human life many times, especially during the programs dedicated to catechetical teaching. For many people their own experience at the time raised new questions with which they struggled to make sense of their lives. The program on the first Sunday of the year 1938, entitled "And what after?" focused on a few letters reflecting people's views on the goal of human life. A letter written in English by a sixteen year old girl and translated into Polish described a person who decided to break with the traditional norms represented by her parents due to the influence of her American teacher in the high school:

> I am a pupil in a high school in Chicago. Why does Father Justin always insist that we obey God's laws, the Church commandments and our parents. If we did this, we would not be able to lead our own lives, which have to be our lives. If this is life, surrounded by the laws of God, the church and the parents, it is already not owned by us, nor do we have personal freedom! We did not ask for this life. Maybe it would be even better, if we did not exist. Others have duties to us, not we to others. My parents also preached to me all the time. I told our teacher about it. She smiled and said, 'They evidently still cling to the old European traditions, which do not fit in our modern times'. My teacher provided me with directions on how to live and make the best out of my life. The teacher said, (the original English expression used on the program) 'You must take a fling of your life. You will be so much wiser and safer.[40]

Father Justyn responded to the letter by telling a real life story which happened in Chicago to a couple of youths who decided to break with the rules of God, the Church and parents. A fifteen year old girl and a seventeen year old boy rejected superstition and European views and, as Father Justyn expressed it, they "lived life as they saw fit." The seventeen year boy, the son of a Polish businessman, shot himself. According to the newspapers, reported Father Justyn, the parents of the boy and the girl were divorced. After narrating several similar stories he asked the audience a rhetorical question, "And what after?" The Sunday's talk ended with the following

[40] Figas, "A potem - co?," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 2 Jan. 1937-1938, 99-100.

message, "It is better too and much wiser if you never lose sight of your true goal. All the rest are only the means towards achieving this goal. Never mix one with the other. Then, and only then, with faith, optimism and peace, will you be able to answer the question: And what after?" [41] The next month, the topic "Is this a Christian Mother," was introduced; it dealt with the issue of negligent parents as already discussed in previous months and years. This time, Father Justyn was campaigning particularly against parents who abused alcohol. The testimonies written to him, often by the very children who suffered from the addiction of those who were supposed to take care of them, showed the horrors they had to go through on a daily basis. This talk was the last one in which the theme of parental authority was discussed in the 1937-1938 season.

1938-1939

The beginning of the 1938-1939 season took an interesting turn which arose from a story about a Christian hero entitled "You are a Christian" that was featured on Sunday, 6 November 1938. The storyline started with the description of a chat between Father Justyn and a non-Catholic, travelling on the same train to Scranton, PA. Both admired the beautiful views from the window of the train and agreed that human life could be much brighter if people wanted to think and live like Christians. During the course of the conversation Father Justyn learned from his fellow traveler about the heroic act of a twenty-six year old American from Chicago and later shared this story with his audience. It was a story about a young man who found himself in a burning theater crowded with children. He was at the exit doors when the fire broke out but decided to stay and help to save the lives of the children. Sadly, he was badly burned and was taken to the hospital but the doctors could not save his life. Before he

[41] Ibid., 101.

died the young man was asked why he did not save his own life. The answer was that he would not be a Christian if he acted differently.[42] This heroic character, taken from American society, pointed to the unseen bridge that links disparate people and to the promotion of common values. No new matters were introduced during the remainder of the broadcasting season. The November talk "She – he"[43] and the January talk "Tell my Father,"[44] continued discussing the theme of dysfunctional families; "Flood-Hurricane-Earthquake" from 8 January, "Human Trinity"[45] and "Say No!,"[46] broadcast on 29 January 1939, dealt with the diminishing authority of parents; "Shore or Pool,"[47] focused on the problem of rebellious children.

1939-1940

Shortly after the start of World War II on 1 September 1939, Father Justyn went to Romania to visit the Polish war exiles there. The programs of the Rosary Hour continued in the absence of its Director. The issue of parental authority reappeared during that time on 17 December 1939, in the talk "Failings of Parents" delivered by Father Alojzy Sobuś, secretary to the St. Anthony Province of the Conventual Franciscans. The Speaker looked at the major aspects of bringing up children in faith. He reminded the listeners that parents participated with God on the natural level in the creation of the lives of their children; on the supernatural level they cooperated with God to save the souls of their children. This is why the union of man and woman is raised to sacramental level. However, parents could become also

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[42] Figas, "Jesteś Chrześcijaninem ," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 6 Nov. 1938-1939, 6.
[43] Figas, "Ona – on!," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 20 Nov., 1938-1939 , 29-36.
[44] Figas, "Powiedz mojemu ojcu!," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 22 Jan. 1938-1939, 125-131.
[45] Figas, "Trójca ludzka ," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 29 Jan. 1938-1939, 138-142.
[46] Figas, "Powiedz: Nie!," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 16 Apr. 1938-1939, 105-109.
[47] Figas, "Brzeg czy staw?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 19 Mar. 1938-1939, 60-64.

the murderers of their children's spiritual life if they do not teach them what is good or taught them what was bad. [48]

Father Justyn based his statements on family life among the Polish communities in America on much more extensive source material than Thomas and Znaniecki. Every year during the Thirties he received over one hundred thousand letters from the first and second generation of immigrants. Even if a fraction of these letters related to different aspects of the integration processes, the amount of source material could still be counted in thousands. The statements on parental authority and other family related issues broadcast during the radio programs indicated the patterns developing within the community and revealed the method applied by Father Justyn as a priest and spiritual leader in his work. One of the aims of the radio program was to notice and assess the positive and as well as the negative aspects of life within the Polish-American community. After that, Father Justyn provided the audience with his description of the reasons for the particular trends observed in the community. This method of analyzing letters was directed by the principle of finding a solution to the evolving problems and identifying the right plan of action for the desired effects. As evidence shows, there are numerous sticking points between the methods of analysis of the letters of immigrants in the Rosary Hour radio program and *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. The main difference between the two analyses in their approach to the primary task lies in their guiding principle: Thomas and Znaniecki were searching for sociological laws directing the social processes of enculturation; Father Justyn was looking for practical solutions to the problems he observed within

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[48] Figas, "[Mowa] Przew. O. Alojzego Sobuś," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 17 Dec., 1939-1940, 71-80. Fr. Alojzy Sobuś O.F.M.Conv., served at that time as a secretary of St. Anthony's Province of the Conventual Franciscans.

the community under observation. A critical comparison of the statements broadcast on the Rosary Hour with descriptions of the same immigrant community found in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, but roughly separated by one generation, may broaden the understanding of the integration processes within the group in question.

The standpoint of the second generation of Polish-Americans 1932-1940

1932-1933

The intensive wave of Polish immigration to the United States stopped with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The Emergency Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924, the so called Quota Laws, limited further immigration from the European countries, especially from Southern and Eastern Europe. So, the young generation of Polish-Americans to whom Father Justyn addressed his talks in the Thirties was born mainly in the United States during World War I. According to the words Father Justyn spoke on the Rosary Hour in 1932, the young people of Polish descent were the healthiest and noblest in the United States, but worrying cracks were appearing in their attitude and behavior. The main problems observed during the broadcast season 1932-1933 were about young people running away from home, drunkenness, delinquency, suicide and child labor. These issues were discussed especially in the talks on, "The Prodigals,"[49] "Calvaries of the Twentieth Century"[50] and "The Unknown Soldiers."[51]

Some of the letters written in Polish by parents and read in November on the first program of the season 1932-1933 indicated the problems of young people running away from the parental home and the drunkenness phenomenon among the Polish-American youths. A mother from Cleveland wrote:

> I do not know what to do with my two daughters. One is seventeen and the other one fifteen. Both left home, because they were influenced by the daughters of my neighbor. There was not a single evening that they stayed home. Every evening they would go somewhere, especially to dances in unsuitable halls. They would come back home at four or five in the morning; when I asked and admonished them they only scorned me. As God is my

[49] Figas, "Marnotrawni!," *MROJ*, 27 Nov. 1932-1933, 6-11.
[50] Figas, "Kalwarie dwudziestego wieku," *MROJ*, 9 Apr. 1932-1933, 53-59.
[51] Figas, "Nieznani żołnierze," *MROJ*, 21 May. 1932-1933, 172-179.

> witness, I only wanted to protect them from being hurt, but they left me! Today they not even look at me, and my heart is broken.[52]

On the same program, in another letter from a mother who lived in Buffalo there was a similar story about two sons who were abusing alcohol:

> Please, give me advice: I had only two sons! Neither ever wanted to work, but day and night they either hung around on the Broadway corners or in the 'pool-rooms'! They came back drunk in the mornings. They beat me up twice because I did not want to open the door for them. A week ago, they took everything they could, even the tablecloths and walked away. Now they live with their partners in an attic.[53]

A letter from Hamtramck, MI., told a story about a seventeen year old girl who left home for a non-Pole and a non-Catholic man:

> My seventeen year old daughter ran away from home, because she said that I was too 'old-fashioned' for her. Three and four times a week she brought home a foreigner and a dissenter. When I admonished her, she told me: 'Mother, you are satisfied with bread and coffee, because you did not have anything more in the old-country, but I need more money and a good time. He is rich and can give me everything, you will give me nothing. What's the big deal that he is neither Polish nor a Catholic? This means nothing. Money is everything'. Dear Father, I have my own house, it is clean and well furnished. This daughter was a good child until she went to work in a hotel. From that time she changed beyond recognition in every way. I pray for her that she will come to her senses before it is too late.[54]

To this series of letters Father Justyn added two sketches of young people. A twenty year old woman dying in the hospital was abandoned by everyone. She lived with her parents and siblings and was healthy, pious, and diligent. Then she got into bad company and began frequenting theaters, dance halls, parties and road-houses. Her sad life ended when she ingested arsenic. Another story was about a young man who had been sentenced to life imprisonment. He had also left his parents' home after falling under the influence of bad companions.

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[52] Figas, "Marnotrawni!," *MROJ*, 27 Nov. 1932-1933, 7.
[53] Ibid., 7.
[54] Ibid., 7-8.

As a result of the content of a letter written by a twenty year old girl the subject of child labor was introduced on the Rosary Hour in the talk broadcast on 19 March 1933. She complained that her parents expected her to work and give all her salary to them. The letter was written in Polish:

> I was in the church one Sunday when you, Father, preached a sermon cautioning parents for criticizing their children for not working instead of showing them charity. I must thank you Father for that. You do not know, Father, that you saved my life. I already had a bottle of poison in the bag with me and I intended to use it at dinner after the High Mass. Oh, how discouraged I was by everything. I did not want to live any longer! My father is extremely tight-fisted. He owns his house and has eight thousand dollars in the bank. My mother is always complaining that I have not been working very long and that I need to be fed and clothed, but I never bring a cent home. Dear Father, I have been working willingly and often very hard all these years; I always gave in all my salary [to my parents]; I never took a penny from my envelope, never changed a check, and now, because I was laid off and do not work, I must listen to their gripes and watch the unpleasant looks they give me. As a result I became discouraged and intended to end my life. When I listened to you, Father, I changed my outlook and my parents left me in peace.[55]

This young, but already mature, person was still expected to submit her earnings to her parents, even though the family was moderately well off. The constant nagging of her parents because she did not contribute to the family income, broke their child's heart and almost led her to suicide. How widespread was this attitude among Polish families? Had it been noticed on the Rosary Hour? Did Father Justyn express his opinion on child labor where the dependence of parents was much stronger than in the case of the young woman?

Thomas and Znaniecki observed that in the peasant family relationship in the Old-Country, "Helping with housework and turning over to the family money earned is not assistance, but the duty of keeping and increasing the familial fortune."[56] There were four stages for boys and three stages for girls, as Thomas and Znaniecki explain, in managing the familial property, "[…] early childhood, before the beginning of

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[55] Figas, "(Mowa)," *MROJ*, 19 Mar. 1932-1933, 70.
[56] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. I, 94.

man's work; after beginning man's work until marriage; after marriage until the parents' retirement; after the parents' retirement."[57] Children in the first stage had no right to any control. During the second stage children were obliged to give the money they earned to their father, who was seen not as the owner but as the manager of the family's property, and if the need arose they had the right to appeal to the rest of the family. Marriage, the third stage, gave the boy and girl almost equal status with their parents in relation to managing their portion of property, back in the village of the Old-Country. However, the old system of controlling the economic aspect and other areas of life by the extended family and the village community was not supported by the extended family and wider society in the United States; despite of that, this system was still practiced in many Polish-American families. The American legal system and the culture of individualism eroded the old family values in the area of family economy. The lack of efficient control and support from the extended family and the wider community opened up the old-country practice of family communism, in relation to the ownership of property, to abuse by dysfunctional (tyrant, neglectful or addictive) parents. When the limited rights of wage earning children were not observed within the family, children could rebel against their parents and find support for their rights from United States society. Even if the demands of the children in relation to their parents were exaggerated, the local community would not help the parents in the same effective way as happened in the old-country. The existence of the old mindset of the family holding on to control of the economic and other aspects of their members' lives among the generation of immigrants from Poland, needed to be checked by a commonly recognized authority in the new world. It was likely that

[57] Ibid.

many Polish-Americans saw in the Rosary Hour and in Father Justyn the old institution of moral authority, which used to be embodied in the individuals representing the extended family and the village community in the Old-Country. Therefore one should see the Rosary Hour as a sort of court of appeal based not on the written law, but on tradition and moral authority.

The last radio program of the season 1932-1933 was dedicated to child labor. In the talk "The Unknown Soldiers,"[58] Father Justyn described an army of juvenile workers. He supported his analyses of the problem with statistics which showed that, in the year 1930, throughout the United States of America there were 2,773,796 juvenile workers between ten and seventeen years old. The total number included 1,817,794 boys and 955,802 girls. The statistics were divided according to age groups, and demonstrated that, in the youngest group of children (ten to thirteen years old), there were 162,260 boys and 71,068 girls employed. Father Justyn informed his listeners that, on 2 July 1924, the Senate passed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States banning child labor, but Section no. 2 of the amendment conditioned the implementation of the new Federal Law on prior suspension of the State Laws regarding child labor by the individual States. He said that up until the year 1933 only six States accepted the amendment, namely, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Montana and Wisconsin. Further statistics illustrated the horrible exploitation of children in the labor market by unscrupulous employers. To exemplify the situation Father Justyn juxtaposed the earnings of juveniles in different occupations, e.g., in the clothing industry in Pennsylvania children earned 8 dollars a week until 1929; however, in 1933, many of those children worked a 55 hour week for only 5 cents an

[58] Figas, "Nieznani żołnierze," *MROJ*, 21 May. 1932-1933, 172-179.

hour.[59] The girls, who worked 16 hour a day as domestics, 7 days a week, were paid 1 dollar a day. The exploitation of children led to a strike by juvenile workers in Allentown, PA., action that was supported by the wife of Governor Pinchot on the 5 May 1933. A long and detailed list of different examples and aspects of child labor on a national scale and among the Polish-American community was examined on the radio program that Sunday.

The best available means of investigating the situation of the Polish-American juvenile labor was the letters which reflected the national problems in the micro-world of the family. In a letter from Milwaukee, a domestic servant girl wrote that her employer offered her only food for working hard from six in the morning until eight in the evening. A letter from Scottdale, PA., revealed the plight of a family of twelve, where only two girls were working; one was being paid three dollars a week and the other five dollars. The last letter was about a young, unmarried, twenty two year old woman from Chicago, who was exploited at work and at home:

> I write, because I have to complain to someone, otherwise either my heart will break or I will go mad. After two years of looking for work I got a job cleaning offices. I graduated from high school and I am twenty two years old. I had to take that work otherwise we would starve to death. I go to work every evening, except Sunday, from six in the evening until two and three in the morning. They pay me four dollars a week. I cry sometimes when I am scrubbing, I pray and I despair. When daddy is drunk, he calls me names and curses me because I earn so little. On many occasions he told me to get out so that he would not see me again. What can I do if they pay me so little? Often I work and cry so much that I can neither eat nor sleep. Did I do something wrong that I must to suffer so much?[60]

One of the frequent themes raised on the radio waves by Father Justyn was a "just wage for honest work." He considered this condition as one of the fundamental elements in building a harmonious society. Therefore he appreciated the fact that the

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[59] In the original text was printed a sum of 5 cents a day, but it was probably a misprint; five cents an hour seems to be a more probable amount.
[60] Figas, "Nieznani żołnierze," *MROJ*, 21 May. 1932-1933, 178.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops made a proclamation in July 1932, in which they requested the reform of the whole system of production and distribution of profits, the introduction of a social security system to support a worker in case of unemployment and paying a fair wage linked to the costs of maintaining a family. The details from that proclamation ended the 1932-1933 broadcasting season.

1933-1934

At the beginning of the Sunday program on 28 January 1934, Father Justyn admitted that on several occasions he had attempted to sketch out the life of Polish-American youth but always became disheartened and tore out the written text. On this particular Sunday he dedicated the whole program to the problem of the young generation. The talk "Lepers"[61] presented several illustrations focusing on girls who abused their freedom and suffered physical and moral consequences. Father Justyn listed bad press, movies, theaters and dance halls where all seven deadly sins were promoted as major sources leading to the demoralization of the young people. He also observed that many parents were not sufficiently careful about selecting entertainment for themselves and their children, e.g., Father Justyn sharply criticized the so called "floor show" performed at one of the balls in the Polish section of Buffalo where three thousand, mainly young persons of Polish descent, watched shameless performances, especially a very sensual dance, which, as Father Justyn described it, "put to shame the biblical Salome." He stated that the combination of external negative influences and ineffective parenthood led to parents losing control over their children. At the end of his talk, Father Justyn said that he was ashamed of the youth from Corpus Christi parish in Buffalo, who watched base performances at a ball, "Until now I praised the youth from our parish always and everywhere and presented

[61] Figas, "Trędowate," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 28 Jan. 1933-1934, 41-49.

them as an example to follow; from now on I will be forced to keep silent, you do not deserve my praise."[62]

Father Justyn's critical comments had not gone unnoticed. Most likely the people who participated in the ball expressed, in different ways, their opinions on the event commented about on the radio program. On March 18th, 1934, a letter regarding the ball in the parish hall was read during the Question Box, "Father Justin singled out some entertainment because there were many people there. After all, the goal was good, to help the poor. A lot of young people were shocked after this criticism; Father Justin should be careful what he says, because it is only natural to play!" Signed, K. K. K. from Buffalo.[63] By taking the matter of a single event, which probably reflected a bigger problem, into a public forum Father Justyn showed that he was not afraid to address the subject. He represented the traditional moral code of behavior which regulated conduct during social gatherings; that code was shared by a large section of the older age group of Polish-Americans. Father Justyn's attitude led him to make a strong announcement, "I add, and emphatically do so, that in the future, in these and similar matters I will not spare anyone! So, watch out, and watch your step!" This attitude of a strong leader using his moral authority to oppose the breach of the generally accepted communal norms was a test for the young Polish-American generation and the degree to which they absorbed the value system of the forefathers. The text of the letter written by a listener signed K. K. K. from Buffalo indicated that there were a big number of young people who absorbed a different value system, although they would still identify with their ethnic community. Certainly, there was a group within the young Polish-Americans who absorbed the value system presented

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[62] Ibid., 49.
[63] Figas, "Judasz polskiego robotnika," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 18 Mar. 1933-1934, 153.

on the Rosary Hour. However, at this point Father Justyn put more emphasis on the strength of his authority and the elimination of an unwanted trend rather than on directing the limelight onto the section of the young generation which shared the traditional values.

The tendency to seek a good time in public places of entertainment instead of cultivating family values was a noticeable feature among the young people of Polish descent in the United States in the Thirties. The practice, within the ranks of the second generation of immigrants from Poland, of frequently breaking with traditional religious and cultural norms led Father Justyn, in the 1933-1934 broadcast season, to criticize the negative trends in statements which seem to be somewhat exaggerated and generalized, e.g., "The rule of our youth is religion of indulgence" (Nov.1933),[64] "Youth of both sexes, poisoned with romances, stories and events widely described in detail by journals, loved light and loose life" (Dec. 1933)[65] and "Parents lost, completely lost, control over their adolescent children" (Jan. 1934).[66] Father Justyn's strong criticism of the Polish-American youth can be justified by the sudden surge of letters which indicated some problems, as signaled in the Question Box on 31 December 1933, and the constant flow of correspondence describing individual tragedies. In the case of the Polish-American youth Father Justyn used hard evidence including statistics, and different methods of persuasion in which positive and negative overstatements supported his criticisms. In the previous 1932-1933 broadcast season, Father Justyn expressed his pride and deep confidence in the future of Polish-American youth:

> Our young people have natural talents and an exalted life above all other nationalities, with no exceptions! Our young people are pious, diligent and

[64] Figas, "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 26 Nov. 1933-1934, 84.
[65] Figas, "Prawdziwy obraz małżeństwa," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 3 Dec. 1933-1934, 96.
[66] Figas, "Trędowate," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 28 Jan. 1933-1934, 47.

> sober! They love God and their parents and, they respect their neighbors! However, there are exceptions, but these only confirm the general pattern, and because these exceptionally sad events exist, they have a very big impact on us.[67]

The negative and positive statements about the youth as publicized on the Rosary Hour were exaggerated and generalized to mobilize the listeners, especially parents and youth, to combat and resist certain negative developments within the community.

In a second part of the program "The Ulcer of the Polish Worker," aired in March 1934, Father Justyn attempted to shed more light on the issue of the Polish-American youth. In order to make his point, he used a letter written in English on 24th February 1934, by a young Polish-American female from Detroit. The letter was introduced as a faithful reflection of the contemporary generation described as, "[…] restless, dissatisfied, hungrily seeking new sensations, experiences, new games and entertainment":

> This letter of mine, dear Father, will be a sort of open confession from a Catholic "gone Freudian." I am an avid listener and admirer of your sermons and somehow believe in your sincerity – though I have lost confidence in mankind and most of all in myself. You cannot altogether blame me for that, as one really lives in a vicious circle and does not know what it is all about – this trouble and turmoil. I have good parents both ardent Catholics themselves, but very lenient with us where observing Catholic rites were concerned. I for one am the black sheep. I smoked from childhood – later drank – ran around with the so called fast crowd – indulged in all sorts of excesses – and to my shame, I think I keep up thi*s* behavior from force of habit rather than for any other reason. I thought that Freud – Schopenhauer – Rabelais and Voltaire were better than Tetmajer (a Polish poet Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer) or Sienkiewicz. I have since discovered that today I can sit down and read Sienkiewicz – laugh at Zagłoba, and cry real tears over Longinus (characters from a novel "Deluge" by Sienkiewicz). I consider "Quo Vadis," a masterpiece. It must be an awakening. I might yet be converted into becoming a good Catholic. It would be a battle and I wonder whether it pays? So many inconsistencies – one fears. So many Gods – one wonders which is the real one. It is perhaps too late, to mend my mode of living – too late to alter my ways of thought? After all, what is the use? I am at the so called 'suicide stage' at present, being disillusioned after making a mess of my life. Shortly before my father's death he called me to his side and spoke to me about my way of living, but I only laughed and told him to that I had made my bed and

[67] Figas, "Nasze zalety i wady," *MROJ*, 11 Dec. 1932-1933, 32.

> here are his last words to me: 'Z ciebie, społeczeństwo ani Bóg żadnego pożytku mieć nie będzie, a moje przekleństwo sięgnie ciebie tu na ziemi, a nie po śmierci' (With you, society and God will have no benefit and my curse will reach you here on earth, not after your death). And so dear Father, it has. I have been suffering the torture of the damned. Things have been getting worse from year to year. Death would be a welcomed guest. It would be a release. I have as yet the remnants of that something called conscience, and that seems to be my most bitter enemy. My father's curse has done its work and a Nemesis has written down my fate, and that fate spells my doom. I know that I shall sink into the depth of depravity – because there is no way to return to the narrow path. The life of leisure and 'easy life' have put their stamp on me, their victim – and so I shall die! The most damnable part of it all, is this, I want to return to the lap of the Church, regain faith. I have tried it Father. I went to church – heard Mass – came out of church – and asked myself: What is the use of it all? Voltaire has done his work! Here is salvation and peace for me? It is not better to whiff monoxide gas and end it all? We must have some God – something to cling to, - if we are disillusioned without even a semblance of an illusion left – we are lost! Faith! How we need it! Well, I have confessed Father! I ask for no help from you. Just say a little prayer for me to your God. He would not hear me. Your sermons have shown me that you know our people and their weaknesses. Allow me to express my admiration for your frankness in criticizing our present generation for its 'loose' living. It is not emphasized enough. You Catholics have a field there to plow! An inexhaustible topic and no amount of emphasis will exhaust it. The conditions are deplorable. We who have still a little conscience left – can be saved. Hence save us – the little ones! Yes, you Catholic priests have work to do. You must stress – you must devote a full hour to teach parents and children the right way to live. They need it. You are aware of the conditions only too well. You have work ahead of you. A real Crusade! I feel that I have written more than I should have. It will probably not interest you, but it has relieved me somehow. Before I decide how I shall end it – I will write to you again as a farewell, and ask your prayers.[68]

Father Justyn justified reading the letter in English as he did not want to lose the drama of the painful expressions used to describe the struggling and unhappy soul by translating the letter into Polish and he wanted to maximize the message to the young people whose conceptual system of thought was built on the English language. His comments on the letter were provided, however, in Polish. He told the audience about his trip to the Italian Alps after finishing his studies in Rome in 1911. Father Justyn and a group of hikers were led by three professional guides on the dangerous slopes of Monte Cenisio and after an arduous climb they all reached their destination safely.

[68] Figas, "Wrzód polskiego robotnika," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 11 Mar. 1933-1934, 135-136.

The focus of the letter that Father Justyn had shared with his listeners, reminded him of his trip to the Alps because he realized that life was as dangerous as hiking in the high mountains and those who wanted to finish their journey safely had to find a guide who surely was God and their Faith. At this point he repeated again his disturbing statements from the previous talks on the youth of Polish descent:

> The letter read to you is the best proof. Once more I summarize the consequences of the modern pagan outlook on human life. These points of view, that life, all life is a carnival of balls and entertainments, decent and indecent, within acceptable limits and unacceptable, have been sown in the minds of the youth by the school, street, factory, theater and literature!. Let us look at the consequences of this norm: The house fell down, there is no family life.[69]

He stated that the Polish-American young people were surrounded by the norms of pagan egoism like birds in a cage and were becoming lazier, more boring, more venial and more self-indulgent in seeking pleasures. Therefore, it was time, Father Justyn urged the listeners, for those who played the roles of prodigal sons and prodigal daughters to admit their faults and to say with remorse, "I shall get up and go to my father […],"[70] and he assured his listeners that this Father will accept everyone with joy and compassion.

Following on from the discussions about the content of the young woman's letter that he had used in the March program, Father Justyn prepared a talk for the April program entitled, "Difficulties of Youth," based on an interview he held with a former pupil to whom he had taught Latin grammar. The young man was a university student. He had changed over the years and answered, in English, the questions posed in Polish by his former teacher. "He talked," reported Father Justyn:

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[69] Ibid., 140.

[70] I shell get up and go to my father and I shell say to him, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and against you. I no longer deserve to be called your son; treat me as you would treat one of your hired workers'. Luke 15:18-19, NAB.

> with a supposedly indulgent smile which arose from adopting the views of other students in higher education about the spirit of modernism and progress, views which fill the mind and empty the heart, but are only skin deep and diminish a person's ability to think rationally; in the eyes of the world the person appears to be a gentleman but in the eyes of God he is a savage without honesty or respect.[71]

Father Justyn noted that in this way, his former pupil typified only one type of Polish-American youth. Father Justyn then summarized the beliefs of that particular type of youth. Young students subscribed to the modern ideas about "free love," "nudism" and "rationalism" and all their logical consequences. Confronted by Father Justyn's arguments against his views, the former pupil changed the subject under discussion and started to complain about the behavior of contemporary females, but his complaints were rebuffed with an old Polish saying, "Wart Pac pałaca a pałac Paca," which means in this context – (the young males and females who follow modernism are good enough for one another). The old manners and respect for women of the older generation have disappeared, continued Father Justyn, and he gave examples of a number of typical insults committed against women by young men, among which was encouraging young girls to drink in order to make them look bad in the eyes of the public, an insult Father Justyn considered to be one of the most underhanded and despicable. The talk ended by remembering the young generation of Polish youth, boys and girls, who, in the face of the Bolshevik invasion, stood in defense of Warsaw, the heart of Poland, in 1920. Many died but the enemy had to retreat. Thus Father Justyn urged the listeners to defend the Polish-American young people who were being attacked from all sides by the multifaceted enemy. He appealed to every Polish family to join a Polish parish, to enroll every Polish child in a Polish school, to join Polish organizations, read good Polish books and papers, and even learn from other nationalities and members of different denominations what was good and

[71] Figas, "Trudności młodzieży," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 8 Apr. 1933-34, 183.

beneficial in the defense of the young people who would be the heart and future of the Polish community in the United States.

1934-1935

In a talk entitled, "Follow them," given on 25th November 1934 to the audience of the Rosary Hour, Father Justyn used the theme of the young heroes from the Polish-Bolshevik War as a method of inspiring young Polish-Americans to imitate the virtues of those with whom they shared the same blood and of encouraging them to become respectable citizens. Sadly, there was still the ever-present danger of falling into the trap of vice and joining the ranks of law offenders. Many juveniles of Polish descent were prosecuted and incarcerated. Father Justyn often visited prisons in the Buffalo area where he did pastoral work and was well aware of the number of young Polish-Americans in prison. But he maintained that the vast majority of young people from this group kept away from crime.[72]

In the question posed in response to the talk aired on 25 November, "Follow Them," a young man, on behalf of a group of youths, objected to Father Justyn's choice of heroes for the Polish-American youth to imitate. He alleged that the message of the talk glorified war and was short of ideals which could inspire the Polish-American youth who were not at all enthusiastic about chopping and hacking the Muscovites, "There are a few of us young men, and we put the question although we are sure that it will never be answered. With the examples you Father said that we should be as the young Polish heroes, chop, hack the Muscovite etc." Signed, J. Wiśniewski, Buffalo, 6 January 1935.[73] It was very likely that this was not an isolated criticism of this particular speech given on the Rosary Hour since it met with

[72] Figas, "Idźcież za nimi," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 25 Nov. 1934-35, 71.
[73] Figas, "Gwiazda mędrców i mądrości – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 6 Jan. 1934-1935, 155.

a sizeable public response. Father Justyn described the author of the question and his colleagues as pacifists. The refusal to bear arms on moral and religious grounds was rather a rare phenomenon among the Polish-American population. However, the criticism of the speech indicated the more common attitudes towards ethnic tradition of the young Polish-Americans whose conceptual system of thought was largely formed by the English language and American concepts. Therefore, the concepts of noble sacrifice and heroism expressed through fighting with the enemies of the Fatherland were not absorbed very well in some sections of the generation of young Polish-Americans for whom it was more important to integrate with the ideals of the American society that to find recognition in the eyes of the Polish patriots. Father Justin made the following comment on the attitudes of this group of young people:

> In the speech of November 25, I directed to our youths a request to abandon gambling, drunkenness, suspicious plays, hanging on the street corners, etc. I displayed to them a picture from the time of the Bolshevik invasion of Poland, when boys under the age of 17 filled up the ranks to defend Poland. I pointed out these young soldiers as typifying the ideals of noble sacrifice, extraordinary courage, etc. I called: go after them, I encouraged the virtues. What's wrong with that? I did not praise the war– I did not incite to murder. Apparently someone somewhere misunderstood me.[74]

According to Victor Greene's three levels of ethnic awareness, discussed in the chapter on Polish and American Identity, the features revealed by the youths in question, placed them in the first level of ethnic awareness – they knew the Polish language and possessed other vestiges of the ethnic group, but only partially identified with it.

The testimonials about broken or rebellious characters kept reappearing on the Rosary Hour. In February 1935, the radio listeners learned, through the talk on "Old Fashioned and Modern," about a rebellious girl who called her parents "the old-

[74] Ibid., 155-156.

country" type and indulged in seeking pleasures in life.[75] The next Sunday program featured another girl who was sent to a detention center called the House of the Good Shepherd. The text of the program suggests that the parents filed a petition with the Juvenile Court concerning their seventeen year old daughter who refused to obey them, was out every night and returned home every morning with men unknown to the mother. The mother asked Father Justyn to visit her daughter in the detention center. The conversation with the girl later served Father Justyn as a canvas for the program entitled "Slaves." On the radio talk Father Justyn described the girl as a strange, bold and provocative type of Polish girl. Her outlook on life was completely different from that of her mother:

> I do not want and I'll never go back home. I have to live at home as these oldies want me to? Not me! This is not for me. From home to the factory and from the factory to home! We only live once. No home, no parents, no shop is going to give me what I deserve. I have to live my way, as I wish; not with somebody always telling me what I have to do, where to go, with whom to go, what time to be back home. I am neither a child nor the "old-country" Kaśka. I want to live as the others, not as my mother. (The following text was delivered in English on the radio program.) My mother wants me to work like a horse, marry some dope, raise a bunch of dirty kids and die without having a good time. I am going to live my own life as I see it, whether the old woman likes it or not. I am nobody's sap.[76]

The report on the girl from the detention institution was followed by a quotation from another letter in which a girl alleged that Father Justyn never talked about cheeseparing parents. This juxtaposition of the two different issues seems unrelated, at first glance. Notably, there were no further direct comments on the radio program about the interview with the girl from the Good Shepherd Home. But in other programs, topics relevant to young people were raised, like the interview with

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[75] Figas, "Staromodne i nowomodne," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Feb. 1934-193, 28. The letter was discussed in the first part of this Chapter entitled Parental Autority 1932-1940.
[76] Figas, "Niewolnicy," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 10 Feb. 1934-1935, 43.

the young student on the program broadcast the previous year in April[77] and many of the letters describing this section of the Polish-American youth which followed a "religion of self indulgence," showed that the problems encountered by young people were often linked to their parents. Father Justyn often repeated a saying, "Like father, like son." It seems plausible that the talk he delivered in February on the vice of avarice as found in the older generation of immigrants was indeed a partial explanation of some of the causes of the problems experienced by young people.

One of the main issues that emerged from the correspondence written by the young people to the Rosary Hour pointed at the shortcomings found in some segments of the Polish community in America in providing positive life patterns for the young generation. Putting aside the dysfunctional families, we are left with generally two types of families who made up the audience of the Rosary Hour. First, a group of peasant farmers and craftsmen who immigrated from the Old-Country and whose children were born in America and second, landless peasants called "parobki" and servants with their children who were also born in America. Thomas and Znaniecki in their book, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, pointed to the existence in Polish lands of a clearly perceptible class system with a strongly developed class-consciousness by the turn of the twentieth century. In the perception of Polish people there was a very deeply rooted distinction between the independent peasant and artisan workforce and the servant workforce, which was usually employed in the manor estates and considered as lower in social status. Emigration did not destroy this consciousness and class attitudes, as Thomas and Znaniecki observed. These views continued into the second and even the third generations, "[…] the familial tradition is

[77] Figas, "Trudności młodzieży," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 8 Apr. 1933-34, 183.

kept up, and the question of birth plays a role."[78] Back in the Old-Country, the farm-holding peasants had a respectable social position within their ranks and a developed values and attitudes system. As for the landless peasants and servants, they had the lowest position in the social hierarchy, a position that had no social respect attached to it. The families who originated in the lowest social class in the Old-Country did not have the same value system and attitudes supported by their peers as the peasant farmers and craftsmen had and they did not have a strong social instinct which would have helped them to organize themselves around the different issues and defend their interests. Drawn from the assumption made by Thomas and Znaniecki, one can therefore conclude that social isolation would manifest itself by social breakdown, crime and demoralization. Therefore, the landless farmers and servants would be the weakest point in the chain of the different social groups which emigrated from the Polish lands and their members would be the most vulnerable to social disintegration. Nevertheless, more investigation needs to be carried out to ascertain the differences in the reactions of the Polish land owning peasant farmers and the Polish landless peasants to the process of immigration.

There is no evidence in the talks of Father Justyn to suggest that the members of the lowest social class which immigrated to the United States from the Polish lands and their descendants were more prone to social breakdown, crime and demoralization. However, the expressions of the rebellious young Polish-Americans, as presented on the radio program, indicated a breakdown in the family units in which they lived, a lack of a clear value system within the family unit and a lack of support from the wider community. There were other elements, too, which certainly

[78] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* vol. I, 132. For more reading, pp. 128-140.

contributed to the breakdown of parental authority and family relationships despite the efforts of parents; these elements included schools, papers, entertainment and bad company, to name but a few. Each socially isolated and disintegrated family were exposed to the whole brunt of living outside their native group which had provided some sort of security for them. This is where Father Justyn and his radio program were helpful in a very special way. The Rosary Hour served the whole Polish community in America but focused on the most isolated individuals for whom the weekly programs and correspondence served as an extended family and a moral authority, both of which they had lost during the process of immigration.

The expressions used on the Rosary Hour were, first of all, aimed at serving the truth, as Father Justyn assured all listeners at the beginning of each broadcast season. He took special care not to offend anyone during the preparation of the text for the programs. But some of his phrases, though clear and precise, could not be considered as particularly flattering to the recipients. The talk "Slaves" identified two attitudes among the Polish immigrants with regard to material possessions. One attitude was characterized by "living beyond one's means," the other, by avarice. Father Justyn considered both positions as examples of greed and abuse. The "religion of self-indulgence" inspired the living beyond one's means attitude. Father Justyn regretted that this defect had become deeply rooted among his people. He said that, "People do not live in a natural way today, as reasonable and noble people should live, but turn into parrots and peacocks."[79] He observed that some of his Polish compatriots in the United States copied the Old-Country's land owning noblemen called "szlachta" in their life style. While giving a short analysis of the reasons for that kind of behavior, he shared his conversation with an elderly woman who

[79] Figas, "Niewolnicy," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 10 Feb. 1934-1935, 46.

expressed her amazement on seeing the behavior of one of the Polish-Americans, with the listeners to the radio talk. The woman asked Father Justyn, "Surely this man must be the descendant of an aristocratic and noble family." His answer was short and brutally sarcastic; "Yes, mother, this man is an aristocrat and descends from a noble family in the same way as myself! The only little difference between us is that his father fed the pigs in 'Galicja' while mine fed them in 'Poznańskiem' (region of Poland)."[80] The model of living beyond one's means was copied by the young generation from the attitudes of their parents and transformed in the places of entertainment into its American version. Father Justyn said that those who lived on the benefits provided by the city or by charitable organizations, shamelessly repeated Hoover's statement that they deserved to have two cars in the garage, two chickens in the pot and silk socks on their legs.

The negative and positive aspects of the Polish community in America met with reaction from the next generation of young people who were looking for role models in their lives and ventured out in search of them with or without the help of the Polish-American community. In March 1935, Father Justyn appealed for help for this young generation who showed many signs of bringing about a revival of the religious and national spirit. He came to this conclusion after visiting a number of Polish centers in the United States during the first three months of the year 1935. Most probably, the story he addressed to the young generation during the program entitled, "Respect God's Gifts," was one of the fruits of the visits he had made. Janek, the character of this true story was sixteen years old. He received his first wage from a big car factory and was going home to give the pay his mother. A group of colleagues

[80] Ibid., 46.

invited him to a bar to celebrate receiving his first wage. Reluctantly he went with them for only one drink. Later that night his mother found him completely drunk on the steps of her house. After two months he was able to go back to work. Janek learned his lesson the hard way and next time when he was coming home with his wages he met his friends again and said no to them. Today he is a sober and diligent man. Unfortunately, many of these young boys and girls show the signs of rebellion, declared Father Justyn. The radio priest advised that this type of behavior should be stopped and the only way to do so would be for young people to cut themselves off from those who bring misery and destruction upon them.

1935-1936

During the 1935-1936 broadcast season many of the issues discussed in the talks on "Freedom or Abuse of Freedom," "Do you Respect your Children?" and "Why is that?" were about matters that related to young people. The last talk, "Why is that?" provided a general overview of the condition of young Polish-Americans. The program, "Why is that?," broadcast on 1 March 1936, began with the presentation of Mr. Gronkowski, a Polish lawyer who served as a judge in Hamtramck, MI. Father Justyn described the lawyer as an exemplary American citizen and a Pole through and through. He met him at a convention of the representatives of Americans of Polish descent in Detroit. Among a number of topics they both discussed the conversation turned to the subject of young people of Polish origin. The judge was concerned with the growing number of crimes committed by juveniles of Polish descent. The criminal statistics showed a big rise among Polish juveniles compared to the situation ten years earlier.[81]

[81] Figas, "Czemu to tak?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 1 Mar. 1935-1936, 100-101.

Father Justyn was grieved but accepted the sad news passed on to him by a respectable authority and shared it with the radio listeners. He analyzed the causes of the problems becoming apparent in the court's statistics and pointed to unemployment as the main but not the only reason for the growth in crime. Nevertheless, the general perception of Polish-American young people did not change on the Rosary Hour; Father Justyn described the current state of the young generation as not quite healthy but with the potential to improve. He divided the Polish youth into two sections: the majority, characterized by diligence, obedience, piety and honesty belonged in the first section; the minority, who broke all the laws of God, the Church and civil laws, was growing at a shocking speed.

In detailed analyses Father Justyn listed the sources which were poisoning the young generation. At the top of the list was the disintegration of the home which became no more than a restaurant for the family, and marriage, which changed into a game said Father Justyn. That kind of home and marriage was unable to nurture a healthy generation. To illustrate the problem Father Justyn used his personal observations from a journey in a train where he overheard a conversation between four English speaking men who played "bridge." The men were traveling to Bridgeport to a Polish dance and were making plans about where to go with the Polish girls after the dance. One of the men admitted that his wife knew where and why he travelled, but she kept quiet, "because they are Polack girls and they're so dumb."[82] On another occasion, Father Justyn referred to a group of non-Polish men attending a public meeting who were discussing the subject of Polish girls. They did not notice Father Justyn who was forced to keep silent when he heard what was being said, "They're the easiest birds to take out for a good time." Father Justyn's comment on

[82] Ibid., 102-103.

his reaction to the opinion of the men about Polish girls was surprising and certainly caused the listening audience to feel ashamed, *"*It made me so happy, as if somebody slapped me in the face."[83] The tone with which the radio priest discussed this shameful subject changed from serious to sarcastic and then to emotional expressions of pain, sorrow and helplessness. How did the listeners receive this speech? Definitely, they were upset, because Father touched their emotions, their sense of honor and pride. Not only did Father Justyn speak their native language in the proper grammatical way, that everybody understood well but his words struck home and so they not only understood them, they felt them too, often with feelings which brought tears to their eyes.

Father Justyn had already identified the following sources of "poisoning" of Polish-American young people including prohibition, World War I, the non-religious and non-Polish schools, modern literature, papers, pamphlets, theaters, movies, dance halls and bars, and they were listed again in the talk "Why is that?" In particular, he identified the adverse effect of movies which were watched by millions of children and youths who later imitated the heroes they saw on screen. In order to save the young generation from the negative influences affecting their moral behavior Father Justyn advocated common, agreed action. However, he did not encourage the creation of new youth organizations but relied on the old and tested institutions, like family, school and church. In the formation of the young generation he strongly advocated improvement in the moral and intellectual quality of those with direct responsibility for helping young people navigate the troubled waters of life.

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[83] Ibid., 103.

1936-1937

The topic of delinquency among the young generation in the United States resurfaced on the radio waves of the Rosary Hour in December 1936. This time the talk dealt with the problem of juvenile offenders who served long prison sentences or were condemned to death for murder. The first story was about a seventeen year old criminal, James Sullivan, a pupil in Richmond High School. He brutally killed an elderly man and robbed him of nine dollars. The jury pronounced the young boy guilty and the judge sentenced him to death by electrocution. The sentence was to be carried out in the New York State Prison, Sing Sing, at the beginning of 1937. After hearing the sentence Jimmy asked if he could give a few words of advice to other boys. The press reported his words and Father Justyn quoted them, in English, on the radio. "Tell them to obey their parents. Tell them to go to church. Tell them not to drink. Tell them to take school seriously and stay away from girls until they are really able to think of marriage. Girls can get you into a lot of trouble, always wanting something, and they can be catty too, and make you forget your best pals."[84] The advice of this young man on death row, the list of other boys sentenced to death and the letter of a young man serving a long prison sentence were brought to the attention of the young generation during the radio program to make them aware of the tragic consequences of an irresponsible and wasteful life. Father Justyn used his talent for giving dramatic descriptions of different life and death situations on that program to tell the story of his personal visit, in November 1936, to the Connecticut State Prison in Wethersfield to see a young man who awaited execution for robbery and killing a policeman. He illustrated to his audience the whole process of execution by

[84] Figas, "Powiedz im aby," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 13 Dec. 1936-1937, 95.

depicting all the technical details and the reactions of the human body tied to the electric chair.

The response from the listeners to the radio program on juvenile delinquency was overwhelming. On the first Sunday of January 1937, Father Justyn reported that he had received many letters from parents and young people in reaction to his talk and to his final statement when he blamed bad company and alcohol, but mainly "bad company," as the main causes for young people stepping onto the path of vice. The people who responded told stories about their sons behind bars and their daughters who ran away from home. Scores of letters, written in Polish and in English, described the generational problems and the bad example given by parents to their children. Summing up the main points made by the young people in their correspondence, Father Justyn concluded that the home, instead of encouraging consent, peace and happiness, turned into a restaurant, hotel and prison and in reality cultivated criminals. The fact that this pronouncement on the state of the family home had already been stated on the radio in the seasons 1933-1934 and 1935-1936, affirmed Father Justyn's growing concern for the condition of the Polish-American families in the second half of the Thirties. Subsequently, he used the title, "The Modern Jerusalem Daughters,"[85] derived from the words addressed by Jesus Christ to the anguished mothers of Jerusalem, for two consecutive talks given on January 3rd and 10th. The content of the talks was based on the letters mailed to the office of the Rosary Hour after the broadcast of the radio program on Sunday, 13 December 1936. One of these letters told the story of parents whose two teenage daughters rebelled against them:

[85] Jesus turned to them and said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me; weep instead for yourselves, and for your children, for indeed the days are coming when people will say, 'Blessed are the barren, the wombs that never bore and the breasts that never nursed.' […]." Luc 23:28-29. NAB.

> We heard the speech to young people. We listened and cried. Young people do not understand that parents themselves suffer more than their son or daughter. We also have two daughters; one is seventeen years old and the other one is nineteen years old. The one who is seventeen years old told us that other girls have more freedom and she would be better off elsewhere than at home and she left us. The second one, the one who is nineteen years old, complained as we admonished her and indignantly told us, that she was old enough, that she knew what she was doing, that she wanted to live her own life according to her way, not as her parents intended. Both went to the Catholic school. The sisters who taught them liked them very much and praised them because they studied well and were good daughters. Then, when they went somewhere with their friends they began to rebel against us. Should such children not reform and come back home?[86]

The letter written in Polish by an unnamed parent was sent to the Rosary Hour in response to his speech on rampant delinquency among the American youth. The listeners who heard the program aired in December and responded to it by writing letters to the Rosary Hour indicated a growing concern among Polish-Americans about the problems caused by the youth who were out of control.

In relation to the enforcement of control over the young generation, the Rosary Hour radio program acted just like an extended family in the Old-Country with the central moral authority embodied in Father Justyn. This moral authority was recognized and respected far and wide. People turned to Father Justyn for advice and explanations or asked him to use his moral influence in concrete social or family situations. One of the first examples of executing this influence took place on 31 December 1933 when, on the Question Box, Father Justyn, responding to the big number of letters he had received, made an appeal to children who had run away from their parents to come back home.[87] He was conscious of the moral mandate given to him by hundreds of thousands of Polish-Americans and his position as the spiritual "Pater Familias." In the year 1933, on the occasion of sharing Christmas greetings

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[86] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Jan. 1936-1937, 151-152.
[87] Figas, "Stary i Nowy Rok," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 31 Dec. 1933-1934, 159.

with the listeners he stated: "We emigrants here are one big family."[88] The letter read on 10 January, 1937, followed by an appeal directed to both, parents and their children, was one of many examples underlining the unique role of Father Justin and his radio program.[89] The expectations of the listeners in regard to the enforcement of control over the young generation from the Radio Program were based on their belief in the effectiveness of the force of moral authority. There is evidence that shows the positive results of the radio talks on some individuals and groups of youth. However, the social system of enforcing decisions of moral authority in the Old-Country had disintegrated to a large degree in the United States. So, that kind of authority had much less chance to make a significant impact on the behavioral patterns of the young generation in the new social and political environment than in the Old-Country. The problem of efficiency certainly posed a serious test to the moral authority of the Rosary Hour within the Polish-American community and the addressing of that issue in a practical and effective way was one of the major tasks of Father Justyn's leadership role within his "emigrant family."

There was a noticeable difference in Father Justyn's approach to youth problems after his talk in January 1934 when he scolded the youth from the Corpus Christi parish in Buffalo for watching a base performance at a ball. On the January 1937 program, he recognized the reality of the distinct environment in which the young generation of Polish-Americans was growing up, "Dear listeners, fathers and mothers, we all have to accept [the fact], that our young people live not only in times that are different from the times when we were young, but in times more perverse than our times!"[90] Father Justyn reminded his listeners that the generation born in the

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[88] Figas, "Stajenka betlejemska – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 24 Dec. 1933-1934, 146.
[89] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 10 Jan. 1936-1937, 152.
[90] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 3 Jan. 1936-1937, 138.

second decade of the twentieth century was affected by three great upheavals: the World War, prohibition and the depression. Due to these upheavals and the ideological turmoil of modern times young people were confused and should not be blamed for that, considered Father Justyn. This announcement signaled a turning point in the attitudes he had previously expressed on the Rosary Hour towards the youth of Polish descent born in America. Then Father Justyn listed the main negative trends promoted in modern times with the help of new inventions in the mass media and he showed the damaging effects they had on vulnerable young people.

In two programs particular attention was paid to the public school system which was devoid of religion and encouraged young people to accept a materialistic view of the world. The Commonwealth College in Mena in the state of Arkansas, presented one shocking example of the anti-religious way of life promoted in the public schools. Father Justyn described the results of the state inspection carried out in the college and exposed the methods used by the reformist teachers to instill new ideas opposing the traditional values in the minds of pupils. To prove his point on the anti-religious influence of public education in the United States Father Justyn referred to a book "Crucifying Christ in Our Colleges" written by Dan Gilbert and issued in its third edition in 1935. The book, written in collaboration with students from four universities stated in its first chapter:

> All thinking men and women in America today are alarmed at the appalling prevalence of drunkenness, debauchery, lawlessness and licentiousness among students of our higher institutions of learning. They are doubly disturbed by the fact that even when gross immorality itself is not apparent, there is present, only too often, a dangerous form of immorality; an indifference to moral values, an ordering of youthful lives without reference to Christian ideals.[91]

The lengthy quotation from the book was read in English and also included the issue of a godless evolution with its ethical and moral consequences. It was becoming a

[91] Ibid., 142.

regular practice on the radio program to quote from original texts written in English and for communicating more complicated matters to the young generation. Faced with the range of different opinions presented in quotation format, the young people of Polish descent felt lost.

The second part of the discussion, dealing with the general state of the younger generation in a world that proclaimed confusing views on the origins and goal of human life, focused on tragic examples of lives dragged down by the waves of the new ideological currents, tossed around and smashed against the rocks of life. The examples were provided from five letters selected for the program and read in Polish. All the letters described the different kinds of spiritual, physical and mental disasters of their authors. For example, there was a girl who had been deceived by a married man, parents whose daughters went astray in spite of being educated in a Catholic school, two sisters complaining about their mother who pushed them into an immoral life, a woman who married a villain and a naïve secretary flirting with her married boss. Father Justyn supplemented his own comments to each letter by reading out the full text of a letter from a young woman in Detroit, which he had already read in March 1934. The text described the cause of the moral and spiritual disaster of a person who believed that the whole purpose of life was to have a good time. The last letter, read in English, featured a twelve year old girl who was abandoned by her parents. Nonetheless, she still believed that her mother would change her mind and come back home. The style of describing, in detail, all the tragic consequences of delinquency among the young generation was a hallmark of the programs addressed to young people during the Rosary Hour. The difference between the presentation of the journalists who described similar stories in the mass-media and the format used on the Rosary Hour was the emphasis Father Justyn put on the moral dimension of each

disastrous example. Judging by the number of sad events highlighted and the response from the listeners, this method was very effective in mobilizing public opinion about the problems faced by young people.

In some instances Father Justyn organized live broadcasts outside the broadcasting studio in Buffalo. This change of venue gave him a chance to face the listeners, sense their feelings and assess the impact the programs made on the audience and also provided father Justyn with an opportunity to see whether the Rosary Hour was making any change in the lives of its adherents. On Sunday, 31 January 1938, the program was broadcast from the Convention Hall in Detroit and was attended by over ten thousand, mostly young spectators of Polish origin. The talk, "The Art of Life," focused on the motivation and consequences of bad choices made by the young people as they grew up. One of the most representative illustrations of the problem presented in the Convention Hall was the story of a seventeen year old girl who left her home every evening to enjoy a good time in the company of her friends. One day, when Father Justyn visited her mother, the girl welcomed him with these words; "So, once again my old and stupid mother went and complained about me? This is a waste of time! I live as I want and (the following part of sentence was said in English) I would like to see someone stop me! I want to live my own life in my own way!" Then Father Justyn continued; "When I counseled her, do you know what she said to me?" (the sentence was expressed in English on the program) "Raise your own kids and bring them up your way. I only live once. I want to enjoy life and take everything it gives me!" After a few months, the story went on, the mother of the girl informed Father Justyn that her daughter had left home. "I forgot about her completely," said Father Justyn. "Two weeks ago I received a letter from a hospital in a small town near Buffalo. […]." The story ended in the hospital at the bedside of the

same girl who wanted to enjoy her life without any limits and was dying of a horrible social illness. She lived with a black man, had three "private operations," the man left her and when she went to the police, she was sent to the hospital. The presence of a large crowd of young people in the Convention Center in Detroit was a reliable indication that the life stories and the advice given by Father Justyn were making an impact on the addressees.

1937-1938

There were five main talks during the 1937-1938 season which dealt with different issues related to the young Polish-American generation. The talk from January 1938, "And what after?" looked at the issue of the goals in the life of the young generation as already discussed in the first part of this chapter. The following four talks broadcast in February and April 1938, "What Happened to Home and Family?" "Who is Guilty? Who is Cain?" "Is it Going to Pay?" "Should we Despair?" complemented one another. Through these talks Father Justyn presented the main themes raised in previous seasons on the programs focusing on young people. These themes were faced up to and discussed along two lines, life without moral limitations and life guided by God's commandments. Father Justyn also left his listeners with a message of hope.

The talk "What Happened to Home and Family" drew the attention of listeners to a picture of the bridge over the Niagara Falls Gorge which had been crushed at the end of January 1938 by floating ice which, on its way to Lake Ontario, smashed houses built on the American and Canadian sides of the Niagara River. Father Justyn used this image to explain the similar damage, although on a much bigger scale, that happened to homes and families, the bedrocks of natural and spiritual virtues. He added that three most terrible elements, World War I, prohibition and depression,

were responsible for the damage caused, stripped homes and families of one of their most valuable treasures, human warmth, and changed homes into cold hotels. Father Justyn considered the absence of a true home as one of the greatest disadvantages to bringing up the young generation.

The next two talks, "Who is Guilty? Who is Cain?" and "Is it Going to Pay?, delivered in April 1938, challenged the popular contemporary belief in freedom without boundaries, a belief based on modern materialistic philosophies. The discussion started with news about the suicide of a young student. She came from a wealthy family and was educated in the modern way. The abuse of freedom led her to have a breakdown. The desperate girl could not find satisfaction, peace or comfort in her unlimited freedom and modern education. She decided to look for a solution in death. With this picture of a young life smashed and shattered against the rocks of life, Father Justyn drew a parallel with the houses smashed by floating ice on both sides of the Niagara River. The weak foundations used to support a human existence deprived of the laws of God and nature were unable to withstand the pressures of the rough waves of life. The statistics on crime in the United States during the Twenties and Thirties provided Father Justyn with solid arguments for proving his point about the weak foundations relied upon by the young generation, "Up until 1920 older people were charged in courts. From then on, the young people made up a bigger percentage of those charged in courts. Out of 51,209 offenders, about 61.5 percent was made up of offenders below thirty years of age."[92] The references from a newspaper article and the statistics given generated many letters on the topic.
A waitress at one of the beer-gardens in Detroit wrote to Father Justyn about the bad example given by the older generation and followed by the young people. She had

[92] Figas, "Kto winien? Kto jest Kainem?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Apr. 1937-1938, 101.

experienced many things in her life and therefore, she was not easily surprised or offended. However, the waitress reported in her letter, that it shocked her to see how drink, dances and automobiles were destroying more young lives than any other modern enticements.[93] More testimonies from Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cicero and Boston describing human lives in ruins were featured on the program broadcast on April 10th. A letter written in Polish and English by a person from Boston reflected on the way of life of the generation living in the two decades preceding the year 1938:

> Within a short period of time we have had war, prosperity and an unbridled way of life during the prohibition before we plunged into unemployment! We were all getting drunk on the teaching about seeking pleasure. We lived, used and abused! Young people, accustomed to comfort, became soft and weak in character, unable to say 'No' to themselves. Today we have a high tide, which takes people and casts them mercilessly into the deep! (The following text was read in English on the program.) 'People crumble; wallow in self-pity and shed tears over their bad luck!"[94]

On the last program in the series was added the voice of Cardinal Hayes from New York to these descriptions of ruined lives and ideological confusion. In an interview given on 23 March 1938 to the journalists of the New York papers, the Cardinal talked about the material and spiritual confusion which permeated the contemporary world. He was especially critical of the educational system in the United States, which did not contribute to solving the general problems confronting young people. He expressed his personal reaction to the reality of the Thirties in this comment, quoted on the Rosary Hour during the talk "Should we Despair?," "I am confused. I am a bewildered man!"[95]

It was not all bad news during the series of talks on youth that were broadcast in 1938. Amidst this picture of general confusion and a culture of indulgence that was widespread among the ranks of young Polish-Americans, the Rosary Hour

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[93] Ibid., 104.
[94] Figas, "Czy to się opłaci?, " *MROJ*, vol. 2, 10 Apr. 1937-1938, 113.
[95] Figas, "Czy mamy rozpaczać?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 17 Apr. 1937-1938, 124.

emphasized the positive aspects of that group. In particular, the talk "Who is Guilty? Who is Cain?" (3 Apr. 1938), projected the new, revised opinion of Father Justyn about the young Americans of Polish descent. He admitted that the meetings he had with young people in connection with the industrial disputes that had taken place during the sixteen months prior to the advent of this particular broadcast greatly changed his perception about the group. He came to the conclusion that there was a big abyss between the views of the contemporary younger generation and those of the pre-World War I generations and added that the comparison of the views of the older generation with those of the younger generation in no way discriminated against the younger group. Then Father Justyn listed the positive qualities of the young Polish-Americans among which he placed much emphasis on their honesty. He praised them for speaking their mind without hesitation, regardless of the person or his position. It appeared from the talk that these young people, in spite of having made mistakes and, at first glance, giving the impression of being self-indulgent and bold, actually respected Father Justyn and articulated a very positive outlook on the future.

The radio program reported on a number of positive characteristics displayed by the younger generation in the difficult times of the depression among which was their fortitude, their ability to think positively and plan for the future. These attributes were also validated by the number of young people who attended evening schools or job training programs. In addition, there were other young people who made all kinds of sacrifices and worked at odd jobs, including the collection of old papers, rubber tires or boxes in order to pay off their debts and for other reasons such as, "On one occasion I was about to steal, but I fear God!;" "My only regret is that I upset my wife because I do not take care of myself!;" "It is only because of my wife that I have not

become a drunkard, she always stands by me."[96] These young men and women were rays of hope for the rest of community whom Father Justyn, using English words, encouraged to make the effort to get ahead in the typical American way, saying, "Even though I'm down, I'm not out! I can still push on! I can still push on! How? God only knows, I don't!"[97] The series of talks on life without moral limitations, abuse and consequently slavery and the life of the Cross, Resurrection and freedom, concluded with the reading of the New Testament texts on the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Christ on the program, "Should we Despair?"[98] The final advice broadcast to all the Americans of Polish descent who were listening to the Easter talk was included in the message, "There is no victory without the Cross."

1938-1940

The broadcasts of the Rosary Hour addressed to youth alternated between praise and criticism of the different facets of their life. After a positive and encouraging speech delivered at the end of the last radio season, the first theme directed towards the young people in November 1938, seemed like a warning shot. The talk "She-he"[99] reminded the listeners about the two realities. One celebrated life as a gift from God leading to harmony and beauty through constant learning and new discoveries while the other one was marked by crime and death.

On the program, Father Justyn revealed that, until the end of his life, he would never forget the picture of a twenty five year old Polish-American who was executed, on 12 April 1938, by the electric chair in Connecticut State Prison. The young man's life was a tragic illustration of many more young lives destroyed before they were able to mature. Any statements made on the radio program about serious

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[96] Figas, "Kto winien? Kto jest Kainem?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 3 Apr. 1937-1938, 100-101.
[97] Figas, "Czy to się opłaci?, " *MROJ*, vol. 2, 10 Apr. 1937-1938, 113-114.
[98] Figas, "Czy mamy rozpaczać?," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 17 Apr. 1937-1938, 124-130.
[99] Figas, "Ona-on!," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 20 Nov. 1938-1939, 29-36.

matters were always supported by solid arguments. Hence, during that 12 April talk Father Justyn gave the official statistics regarding law-breaking. He claimed that he highlighted the statistics, not only with fear but with shock because, in the year 1937, the authorities made 520,153 arrests, raising the number of offenders to 4,600,000, of whom many were just teenagers. The statistical data posed the obvious questions that needed to be answered: Where is this wave of crime and offences coming from? What are the causes of the increasing crime? The answers had already been given many times before, but the media were accustomed to repeating them time and time again. Father Justyn was convinced that there were two causes for the wrecking of young lives: First, youth without faith and second, the disappearance of the concept of the family unit and the lack of understanding of parental authority.[100] The next program called "He and the Chamber of Death"[101] followed on from the previous broadcast by reporting the last moments of life of the young man sentenced to death and was presented in the form of interview. Father Justyn supplemented the wider debate on the causes of human moral breakdowns during the interview by asking the man on death row about what had prompted him to go down a path contrary to the Law of God and man. The answer was, "Bad company and booze."

The descriptions of the young person's shattered life and the reasons for going down a path leading to self-destruction were designed to prevent the listeners from making the same mistakes. But talking, of itself, was not good enough to keep young people away from bad influences. They needed a positive vision for their lives, a vision adjusted to the new reality in which they lived. Simply repeating the Old-Country patterns, although noble and enshrined in tradition, was not sufficiently

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[100] Ibid., 31.
[101] Figas, "On i cela śmierci," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 27 Nov. 1938-1939, 43.

inspiring to the Americans in whose veins flowed the blood of their heroic forefathers from Poland. The Polish-Americans needed to prove themselves in the new land, the land of opportunities but also the land which often brought forth thorns and thistles. For many of the young people, life did not make sense. They felt themselves to be the victims of their circumstances, like soldiers in trenches during the last war, surrounded today by destruction and expecting to have a "rendezvous" with death tomorrow. There was no true home and the family unit did not exist because of the "three beasts," World War I, prohibition and depression, all of which attacked and almost totally destroyed the place for growing new life. However, there was hope for a new and full life. The task of young people, said Father Justyn, was to bring a new force and freshness into this poisoned life. Young people had to build a new house of God and a new order in the economy, based on the love of God and neighbor which had been rejected. Father Justyn, in a kind of prophetic vision, also pointed the young towards the task of re-building the civilization of God and opening the doors of all homes to Him. If these tasks are not fulfilled, "Alas and woe to the Church and State!" predicted Father Justyn.[102]

[102] Figas*," M*łodzi a życie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 11 Dec. 1938-1939, 62.

Summary

Did Father Justyn believe in the potential of the youth to whom he addressed his talks? Or, was he a kind of religious dreamer who only had a talent for making good speeches but did not see clearly the surrounding reality? How did he assess the strengths and weaknesses of young people? The answer to the first question is yes, Father Justyn was a dreamer; his oratorical talent helped him to present the vision of a better life to his audience. He was also a realist and knew what to expect of his listeners. He said in the program "Youth and Life" broadcast on December 1938, "Today's young people were not taught or rather brought up to stand on their own feet!"[103] This statement was followed in this program by a letter illustrating the problem and pointing to the reasons for the weaknesses of the young generation, which were not of their own making:

> I am twenty years old. I am a graduate of the high school, thus I have a secondary education. I do not want to live, but I do not understand the reason why I feel this way. Because of my home and school I lost my reason for living. You, Father Justyn, will be surprised if I tell you that I do not have any feelings for my parents. Since my early years there was only quarreling in my home. My father often came home drunk. Mother would get angry on that occasion and did not serve him food. They cursed and fought each other. My sister and I spent many nights with neighbors because we were afraid! My sister left home. I do not know where she is now! Our parents were in the courts several times to get divorced! They have stayed together but they do not speak a word to each other! This was my home. In school I did not learn any better! When I was younger I did not care about these things. In the last few years I started pondering: If there is a God above me, why do they not teach about God in the schools? If they teach writing, reading and calculus, why do they not teach religion? If I do not have soul, everything will end with death! The grave will be the end! So, what is the point in living such a short life, to fight against poverty and death? Why go through illnesses and sufferings? I do not see any sense in that at all. As I did not have anything good at home, I do not see anything better in life.[104]

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[103] Ibid., 64.
[104] Ibid., 65-66.

The letter included in the talk showed Father Justyn as a hard realist, but the short poem of an unknown author which followed revealed him to be an optimist:

> The earth is beautiful and wonderful is life,
> And though the path of life is covered with thorns
> If I take heed at where it leads me
> When I see a goal shining at the end,
> I already forget about the gravity of the road,
> For I am dazzled by the beauty of the absolute!

There was no coalition anymore; no partnership among the family, school and society in working together to bring children to maturity. Instead there was confusion and bewilderment as noticed by Cardinal Hayes of New York. Society was quick to notice the rapidly growing army of juvenile criminals and the tendency of the young generation to turn to vice. It was an especially acute problem among the immigrant families from the Polish lands who lacked the sophistication of the Anglo-Saxon element in the United States, who had settled in America at a much earlier time. The generational conflict led to many misunderstandings on both sides with the older generation blaming the younger group for not following the good Old-Country's recipes for life, even though many of the older people did not represent what was best in that tradition. The young generation of the Polish-Americans grew up in a different environment from their parents and was caught between two worlds which they did not quite understand. Father Justyn had tackled these problems since the broadcasting of the Rosary Hour had begun, but he came to a clear understanding of the generation of young Polish-Americans in the radio season 1937-1938. The text aired on 8 January, 1939, expressed this new understanding very clearly:

> Today it is impossible to move without hearing the whole litany of complaints about young people: […] I absolutely do not agree with you, because you are looking at young people with nineteenth century eyes, you asses, and judge these young people according to the ideals, which were instilled in you; the ideals which not only germinated in your souls, but were deeply rooted and grew into a big wide tree, so that you could find peace, support and strength

under that tree. It is not their fault that contemporary youth does not yet have these ideals. They do not have these ideals because nobody takes time to pass these ideals on to the young people.[105]

[105] Figas, „Powódź – huragan – tzęsienie ziemi,"*MROJ*, vol. 1, 8 Jan., 1938-1939, 105-106. See also: Figas, "Tam a tu," *MROJ*, 15 Jan. 1938-1939, 116.

Conclusions

Since 1931 until a little after the fall of the communist regime in Poland in 1989, The Rosary Hour continued to be the most extensive Polish pulpit in the world. In his address on the fiftieth anniversary of the radio station in 1980, Pope John Paul II said, **"**The Rosary Hour is the world's biggest pulpit in the Polish language."[1] In this dominant position The Rosary Hour was replaced by Radio Maria, which in 1991 started broadcasting programs in the new democratic Poland on religious, social and political matters.[2] On December 6, 1931, Father Justyn laid out the guidelines for the main direction of his network radio program. For the clarity of this summary I want to quote an opinion of an author whose work covered the entirety of Father Justin's Rosary Hour Polish Radio Program. Father Jan A. Książek, O.F.M.Conv., the author of a history of The Rosary Hour issued in Polish, characterized The Rosary Hour "as a religious and social program in the Polish language, conducted in the Christian and Franciscan spirit."[3] For the Franciscan-led radio apostolate, a Christian and Franciscan spirit meant in practice spreading the Good News to the poor. Father Justyn addressed his program to the working-class Polish-Americans who on the one hand found themselves in a critical and exploitative socio-economic situation of the 1930s and on the other hand were torn apart by the internal quarrels among differing Polish ethnic organizations.

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[1] Jan Paweł II, "Przemówienie na otwarcie Roku Jubileuszowego Radiowej Godziny Różańscowej Ojca Justyna," in: Książek, *Radiowa Godzina Różańcowa*, 17.
[2] Radio Maryja […] is a Polish religious, conservative, anti-post-Communist and pro-life Roman Catholic radio station and media group, describing itself as patriotic. It was founded in Toruń, Poland, on December 9, 1991 and run since its inception by the Redemptorist [Fr.] Tadeusz Rydzyk, often called Father Director by his followers. - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radio_Maryja (accessed February 22. 2010).
[3] Książek, op. cit., 203.

With over two million listeners for its weekly Sunday broadcasts, The Rosary Hour was a small radio program compared to the popular program of Father Charles Edward Coughlin which counted more than forty million listeners during the 1930s. Father Coughlin used his radio program initially to promote Franklin D. Roosevelt and his early New Deal proposals. His leading topics were political and economic rather than religious. The two programs differed also in their aims. For Father Justyn catechesis and religious topics were the prime themes discussed on the air. National politics were not his priority; however, he spoke against communism and devoted special attention to the problem of Polish communist organizations in the United States, which were, in his view, disseminating ideas very destructive to the community. As it was mentioned earlier, there was no political agenda in his radio program, although we can say that he had a two-fold cultural agenda that eagerly promoted both resistance to secular cultural values and support for cultural pluralism in the United States.

The radio in the Thirties was a powerful tool in America. For many Polish-Americans the Polish religious radio program was the only trusted institution in the hostile New World. The listeners could express their concerns and even criticize Father Director, who recognized that in order to influence his listeners they had to be convinced that he understood their problems and cared for them.

Father Justyn acknowledged that at the core of Church, community and nation were families. He presented a traditional versus “progressive” model of family through one hour weekly radio program, which looked like a fight between David and Goliath. The Rosary Hour radio program was intended to defend and form the Christian Catholic

family in the new and challenging environment of secular American culture. The way proposed by The Rosary Hour aimed at the promotion of family-based religious culture. The idea of creating a safe environment for the immigrant family was not new. It led to the creation of many cultural niches or ethnic ghettos in the American society where family, church and tradition were the foundation. Father Justyn, however, did not want to preserve a ghetto; he repeatedly identified himself as an American patriot who also loved the Fatherland and culture of his forefathers.

Did the thesis of cultural pluralism work in the United States? From a perspective of more than half a century, one can see that both the "melting pot" thesis and the "cultural pluralism" thesis were motivated by fear: on one hand, the fear of the earlier immigrants with dominating Anglo-Saxon culture of being overwhelmed by new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the fear of the new immigrants of losing their cultural identity and family structure based on authority. The fear factor influenced in a major way the attitudes of the first generation of Polish-Americans to resist Americanization. Meanwhile, the second generation saw in American culture an opportunity for a change of lifestyle, although not necessarily at the cost of losing their cultural roots. This attitude of the second generation was observed by Father Justyn who disagreed with those in the Polish-American first generation who criticized the young generation for falling off the ideals of their forefathers. According to Father Justyn it was not the fault of the contemporary youth that they did not have these ideals.

He argued that they did not have these ideals because nobody took time to pass these ideals on to them.[4]

Lizabeth Cohen in her book *Making a New Deal* observed additional factors influencing the attitudes of the second generation born in the United States towards becoming part of a more homogenous society.[5] The author attributed these to the popular culture represented by movies, radio, press, chain stores with their standardized products, and the public schools, which helped to create a new mentality among the members of ethnic communities. According to Cohen, this new consciousness came into existence as a consequence of the Great Depression, which disrupted the former family, ethnic, and workplace structures based on authority.[6] Observations by the author of *Making a New Deal* overlap at this point with the observations of Father Justin. Another author who studied this problem, John Higham, introduces in his book *Strangers in the Land* the factors of racism and anti-foreign sentiment which unavoidably had a great impact on the generational split in the immigrant families from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.[7] The old European family structures had no chance of surviving under the pressure of Americanization. The second generation of immigrants was disoriented and confused. This generation did not totally break with its ethnic ties and still was unable to fully assimilate into the American structures. This situation is best described by Ruth Shonle Cavan, a field researcher in the Thirties:

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[4] Figas, ”Powódź – huragan – trzęsienie ziemi,” *MROJ*, vol. 1, 8 Jan., 1938-1939, 105-106. See also: Figas, ”Tam a tu,” *MROJ*, 15 Jan. 1938-1939, 116.
[5] Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 249.
[6] Ibid.
[7] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism*, 1860-1925 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 316-324.

> In other cases the parents themselves are thoroughly disorganized and demoralized and cannot pass on to their children any cultural patterns, old-world or new-world. This situation is especially likely to occur in the large cities where urban conditions of living are extremely confusing to the immigrant.[8]

Father Justyn echoed this claim several times throughout the decade of his broadcasts in the Thirties, "There is no true home today," in January 1932;[9] "Parents lost, completely lost, control over their adolescent children," in January 1934;[10] "Home has collapsed, there is no family life," in March 1934;[11] "Home and family has been struck by three thunders – World War [I], Prohibition and Depression! These three thunders destroyed home and ruined family."[12]

Father Justin's statements regarding the state of marriages among the first and second generation of Polish-Americans and parental authority fits in the pattern discovered by the sociologists Thomas and Znaniecki.[13] The numerous examples provided in the radio talks and Question Box on the Rosary Hour show a process of family disintegration against the background of economic dependency, vagabondage and delinquency of boys, and sexual immorality of girls (this is how Thomas and Znaniecki described the vices of both sexes but surely the vices of girls could be applied to boys and vice versa). However, there is a question of proportions left. Had this disintegration affected the majority of the Polish-American population in the Thirties or only a specific group distinguished by, e.g., physical and mental disabilities, as presented as a factor in economic disintegration by Thomas and Znaniecki in chapter on "Economic

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[8] Ruth Shonle Cavan, *The Family* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1944), 486.
[9] Figas, "Nasza Młodzież," *MROJ,* 3 Jan. 1932, 5.
[10] Figas, "Trędowate," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 28 Jan. 1933-1934, 47.
[11] Figas, "(Mowa)," *MROJ*, 11 Mar., 1933-1934, 140. This was an untitled talk.
[12] Figas, "Co się stało z domem i rodziną?," *MROJ*, 20 Feb. 1937-1938, 35.
[13] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant,* Vol. II, 1647-1821.

dependency?"[14] The data provided in the *Polish Peasant* does not show precisely the social background or level of religious practices of all studied cases of broken marriages. These factors could be decisive in leading to disruption of the conjugal relationship in the immigration environment.

There was a marked difference in Father Justyn's approach to youth problems and change of his own attitudes after his talk in January 1934 when he scolded the young generation from the Corpus Christi parish in Buffalo for failing to act according to the traditional Old Country norms at a ball. On the January 1937 program, he recognized the reality of the changed environment in which the second generation of Polish-Americans was coming of age, "Dear listeners, fathers and mothers, we all have to accept [the fact], that our young people live not only in times that are different from the times when we were young, but in times more perverse than our times!"[15] Due to the upheavals and the ideological turmoil of modern times, reasoned Father Justyn, young people were confused and should not be blamed for not behaving according to the values of the first generation. This announcement signaled a turning point in the attitudes Father Justyn had expressed on previous occasions towards the youth of Polish descent born in America.

Father Justyn was an acute observer of the society he lived in but his prime objective was to take care of the spiritual welfare of his radio-family, as he called his audience. In the year 1933 he stated: "We emigrants here are one big family."[16] The evidence is showing that Father Justyn believed that the change and progress was

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[14] Ibid., 1687.
[15] Figas, "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 3 Jan. 1936-1937, 138.
[16] Figas, "Stajenka betlejemska – P. O.," *MROJ*, vol. 1, 24 Dec. 1933-1934, 146.

possible only through moral awakening. Therefore his expressions like, "I personally believe that the great majority of our parents [fulfilled their parental obligations]," in April 1937[17] or "There is no more home and true family in America," in February 1938,[18] cannot be viewed as sociological statements. One has either reject them as excluding each other or accept them as the indicators of realities coexisting with each other. Any general assessments as to the statistical data and the enormous work accomplished by the first Director of the Rosary radio program exceed the scope of this study. The task of this dissertation was primarily to study the patterns of changes in values and attitudes of the Polish immigrant family in relation to marriage unity and parental authority. However, this analysis covers only one decade of the Rosary Hour broadcast. There is need for further research of the talks and questions which relate to the most important events in the history of the United States and its effects on Polonia: World War II, an unprecedented economic boom after the War, the Cold War, and the Korean War, to name the most important. What were the teachings of Father Justyn in the next two decades on marriage and parental authority, and how did he address the second generation who became at that time the main force in American Polonia? What was Father Justyn's attitude towards multiculturalism in the new post World War II reality?

We can now say that both the total ethnic assimilation and cultural isolation did not work. America was born from the countries and cultures of immigrants who settled within her boundaries. There are distinguishable traits within American culture, which show their original sources, but based on these cultures a new American identity

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[17] Figas, "Okruszynki," *MROJ*, vol. 2, 25 Apr. 1936-1937, 166.
[18] Figas, "Co się stało z domem i rodziną?," *MROJ*, 20 Feb. 1937-1938, 33.

expressed in a distinctly American way has evolved. Father Justyn appreciated America and the rights the Constitution of the United States gave to its citizens. These rights allowed him to express his views freely over the radio air waves – certainly an American thing to do.

APPENDIX A

LETTERS PERTAINING TO THE POLISH MISSIONS IN NORTHWEST ENGLAND, 1882-1884 (CHAPTER I)

[Bishop Edmund Knight to Father Bernard Łubieński][1]

Revd. Bernard Lubienski
Villa Caserta
Via Merulana
Roma

My Dear Father

If it will be possible [through the intervention of His Eminence, Card. Ledochowski] to find a religious Polish priest to whom can be entrusted the care of confessing of your poor ones who live among us in England, it would be a great good. For I myself, have in the centre of Cheshire 80 or 90 who work in the mines.

A note added on top of the above text at a later time:

Found at Ditton a young Polish lad who [unclear text] October.

[Notes for a letter on the other side of the same sheet to:]

5 May 1882
Fr. Bernard Lubienski
(address over)

It will be a pleasure to you [to hear about?] the Pole at Ditton.
I have a difficulty concerning 80 Hungarians of Greek-Slavonic [Rite] who do not want to go to confession to a Latin priest nor enter the church. This difficulty related to Card. Ledochowski would help us through this ugly [situation].

[1] Bishop Edmund Knight to Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R., notes for a letter written probably after 5 May 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued. The text translated from the original Italian.

[Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R. to Bishop Edmund Knight][2]

I.M.J.A.

Villa Caserta
Via Merulana
Roma
June 3.1882

My Dear Lord

Many thanks for your kind letter which waited here my arrival. Yesterday I have been with his Emi. Card. Ledochowski and asking him what was best to be done with those Slavs from Hungary who are at Middlewich. His Emi. recommends that Your Lordship should take some steps to find out what part of Hungary these poor people come from, and then to write to their Bishop or Curia who would send them word either through Your Lordship, or, if you to chose it, through the Fathers of the Society of Ditton.
Your Lordship has given me most welcome news, saying that a missionary for the Poles in England is found in the House of Ditton.
If Your Lordship can assure me that we can depend on his not being removed out of England and that his superiors will consent to his going from town to town occasionally to give spiritual aid to the Poles therein scattered, then all is gained. I need not look out for anyone else.
I can only beg then Your Lordship to aid that good Father by your influence to put him in communication with the other Right Rev. Bishops in England and the Archb. of Glasgow so that they might give him that aid which they so graciously promised me to give to a Polish missionary.
I should esteem it a great favour therefore if your Lordship after having with the superior of Ditton arranged the matter, should send me a line that all is well, so that I might thank God that this undertaking, which I worked for so long without success, has been completed by the Good God, Who has His own time for accomplishing His own Works.
The Bishop Elect desires me to remember him to Your Lordship for the 11th: the day of his consecration whilst I beg your blessing and remain

My dear Lord
your most humble servant in Xr.
Bernard Łubienski, C.Ss.R.

[2] Father Bernard Łubieński, C.Ss.R. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 3 June 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued. The letter presented in its original un-altered English.

[Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight] [3]
Mold, 14 August -82
Your Excellency,

I was honored to receive the letter your Excellency has sent me.
Before sending Brother Ritli to Winsford, maybe it would be better to wait for the letter from the other Hungarian Bishop. We will do what you think is the best.
If the letter from Hungary is delayed, we will have to assume that it was lost.
I thank you, Your Excellency, for your blessing and remain respectfully your
Very humble and very obedient servant

Tissot S.J.

[Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight] [4]
Mold, St. David's College
7 Oct. 1882

Your Excellency,

I come to inform you regarding the workers at Winsford. Brother Ritli has transmitted to them the statements from their Bishops. Many have already been to Mass but the problem is for their confession, Brother Ritli is not a priest.

Among the Jesuits from Ditton Hall (Widnes), there is a Polish priest who can be understood by the workers of Winsford. If your Excellency gives him the faculties, he will be able to hear the confessions of these foreign people. He could hear their confession before all Saints. Brother Ritli could accompany him. We know that the Parish Priest in Winsford will be happy with this arrangement.

Your Excellency, could you let me know what your intentions are and be assured of my respectful [?].

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[3] Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 14 August 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued. Translated from the original French.
[4] Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 7 October 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued. Translated from the original French.

I am the very humble and very obedient servant

Tissot S.J.

[Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight][5]
Mold, 7 July – 82

Your Excellency,

I am sending to your Excellency the report written by Brother Ritli, a Hungarian scholastic, regarding the mission at Winsford. Thank God, his journey has not been useless, however he has not been able to attract them all to Mass. It will be necessary to write to the bishops of Eperjes and of Ungvar in Hungary.
If your Excellency desires that Brother Ritli goes back to Winsford, for the religious instruction of these decent people, I am ready to send him again as soon as the parish Priest will send us an invitation.
I am happy, your Excellency, to use this opportunity to express my respectful and ….
I am your very humble and very obedient servant

Tissot, S.J.

[V. Ritli to Bishop Edmund Knight, 6 July 1882][6]

My Lord!

Last Sunday I was at Winsford on the commission, which I have received from Fr. Rector in Your Lordship's name. May Your Lordship allow me to communicate to you the success of my work.
There are at Winsford all together seventy of my countrymen; but the number changes continually, because some of them turn back to their country and others arrive. Almost all are married, but they have left their wifes at home, with whom nevertheless they are in intercourse of letters, and to whom they intend to return. Some of them, about twenty five, speak Hungarian, some others s[S]lovak, the greater part speaks only r[R]uthen, but

[5] Rector Tissot S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 7 July 1882. Box Poles, uncatalogued. Translated from the original French.
[6] V. Ritli to Bishop Edmund Knight, 6 July 1882. S.D.A. Box Poles, uncatalogued. The letter has been presented in its original un-altered English.

r[R]uthen is understood and spoken by all. All belong to our religion; about twenty are of the l[L]atin rite, all the rest united Greeks.

I could visit in particular fifty of them; I invited them to mass and to the sermon, which I gave with the kind permission of your Lordship. They promised all to come, but in fact they came on by thirty, the l[L]atines, and some r[R]uthens. The reason why the rest did not come, was not bad will, but fear, I might perhaps seduce them. There is therefore no other means to get them to assist at our ceremonies, than this, which Your Lordship indicated in the letter to Fr. Rector, vir. to procure them instruction from their own Bishops. I inquired therefore after the diocese of all. The greater part, about fifty are of the diocese of Eperjesô the rest of Ungvár.

All those who assisted at mass last s[S]unday, promised me to go diligently to church in future. They also desired to make their confessions, which they did not since they are in England, vir. some years; but I am only in a second year of theology. Nevertheless I think they could make their confession even now to Fr. Tremmery in a general manner; I could procure him a list of sins in Hungarian an[d] Ruthen. It will be always a pleasure for me, to fulfill on this regard the wishes of Your Lordship.

I know only the residences of their Bishops; one is: Hungary Eperjes; the other Hungary Ungvár. If Your Lordship desires to know their names, I would let You know it in a short time. They know Latin, not French or English. - Asking for Your blessing

I remain Your Lordship's most humble servant in Xto

Mold 6. July 1882

V. Ritli

[Father Lewis Kaluza S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight] [7]

Ditton Hall 28 December 1882

My Lord

I feel extremely honoured to be allowed to write your Lordship something, of what I have seen and experienced at my visit to Winsford. I say only something, for till now I have not been able to become thoroughly acquainted with the state and condition of the Poles and Ruthenians at Winsford. But I hope, I shall understand things better by and by, as far as the never ceasing change of the workmen always going and coming will allow.

[7] Father Lewis Kaluza S.J. to Bishop Edmund Knight, 28 December 1882. Box Poles, uncatalogued. The letter has been presented in its original un-altered English.

There are about 20 Poles amongst them including their wives and children. Most of the married men have their wives and children with them, only a few have left them at home. Two Polish children, a boy and a girl, are nearly old enough to be admitted to their first confession. I gave each of them an English catechism and instruct them as well as I can when present. All the children of those parents that are employed by Mr. Falk, attend the school established by this gentleman. The school seems to be pretty good, yet religious instruction is not given. There is a Sunday school superintended by a daughter of Mr. Falk. Here the children are instructed in religion and taught to pray. I have forbidden the catholic parents to send their children to their Sunday school. All the Poles being Roman Catholics are full of love and reverence for the catholic priest. I did not find any difficulty in dealing with them except one point: they cannot be brought to attend church regularly. Their chief reason is, that the chapel does not look like a catholic church. The Poles being accustomed to fine churches at home they rarely can be brought to believe, that poor chapel, as the one in Winsford, is a catholic one.

There are besides the Poles about 60-80 Ruthenians. At my first visit the doubt whether I should be able to understand them or vice-versa they me caused great anxiety to me. Thanks be to God. Their language is so little different from the Polish, that we can understand one another. The greatest part of the Ruthenians are Greek-Catholics, only few are Roman-Catholics and one or another amongst them are Protestants. On the whole they are badly instructed and very much ignorant in their religion. They have very little trust in the Roman-Catholic priest and show only very little reverence. The only means to gain them is patience and amiable and affable treating. But this is easy to be understood, if one considers that lately the entire Greek United Archdiocese Lemberg together with the Hungarian Suffragan dioceses Munkacs and Unghvar were going to fall away and unite themselves with the Russian schism, and that but the energy of the Holy See of Rome and the Austrian Emperor this dreadful step would have been taken. It will be only the work of time, forbearance and perseverance to reconcile the antagonistic elements amongst the Roman and Greek United clergy and quench the national animosity identified with religion between the Poles and Ruthenians. Many of the Ruthenians at Winsford are married, but only one has his wife and child with him, all the others leaving their wives and children at home.

Finally there are amongst the workmen of Mr. Falk several German families, almost all Protestants. Till now I have found only one good catholic German family without children.

At my first visit on Saturday, Octob. 29th I went with Father Ritli from house to house, bidding the Poles and Ruthenians to come to confession and holy communion and hear my sermon. In the following morning I started 6:30 from Middlewich, where I had spent the night. At Winsfort I had to wait a long time at the chapel, before about 25 Poles and Ruthenians assembled. I heard 18 confessions in all, amongst which 5 of Ruthenians.

Afterwards I was told by the Poles, that the Ruthenians understood me well and they had made the common resolution to go to confession the next time. On Decemb. 9th I visited Winsford for the second time. A ship being arrived, most of the people were engaged in unloading it. Thus I could gather only a few. In two houses I found several people and instructed them about confession. Afterwards I paid a visit to a German family. On Sunday I hoped to hear many confessions of the Ruthenians and had therefore ordered the Poles not to come too early. But only after 9 o'clock about 20 in all appeared. Poles and some Ruthenians: I heard 11 confessions, amongst which 2 German, 2 other Germans I could not even admit to confession. But on this occasion more people attended Mass than the first time.

This is the state of things at Winsford. The success is as your Lordship perceives, very little. But I do not feel discouraged, because I am of the opinion, that I am able to render an acceptable service to the divine Heart of Jesus, and that my humble endeavours will draw down the richest blessings of God upon me, my Brethren and you my Lord, who take care with such an apostolical love and disinterestedness of these poor destitute people, abandoned by the whole world. If only time and circumstances allow it, I intend going once a month to Winsford. Rev. Fr. Rector agrees entirely with my intention. Only during the months of June and July I beg your Lordship to dispense me from my visits, because I have then to prepare my examinations.

But I beg your Lordship not to expect to much from my quality as a Pole. For my father is a Prussian officer and functionary and my mother a born German. Only in my boyhood I spent the holydays with my Polish relatives, but forgot afterwards almost all that I had learned of the Polish language. After having been nearly one year in Ditton, some Polish people were expected from Liverpool to make their confessions. It was in Summer 1881. I was called to Rev. Father Stentrup and asked, whether I understood Polish. I answered, that I had forgotten all I knew. "Well, then study Polish" he said. Thus I studied Polish, besides a little English, I knew nothing of, when coming to England, and my theology[y]ie. Thus, thanks be to God, I am allowed to avail myself of the knowledge of the Polish language even for the spiritual welfare and benefit of Ruthenians. What I can offer the People is this: I can hear their confessions, then I give them every time a religious instruction, carefully prepared, concerning the matter as well the form with the assistance of excellent Polish books. I am just going to instruct them in the next sermons about the holy sacraments. But I am entirely persuaded, that the chief thing, I can do for these people, is to pray for them. For they are in need of great and mighty graces in order to become good, true and faithful Christians.

Kneeling before the crib of the divine infant I have prayed with all my heart, that he might vouchsafe to build of the gold, that the three holy Kings will bring him a handsome chapel, school and priesthouse at Winsford and send a priest from Galicia, pious, zealous and knowing the English, Polish, Ruthenian and German languages.

Besides these my principal wishes, I had some small other ones for Polish and Ruthenian catechisms and religious reading books, for crucifixes and pious images to be hung in the rooms of the Poles and Ruthenians at Winsford. But the divine infant gave me this response: I should build the Kingdom of God first in the hearts of men. All other things were then to follow by themselves.

The jurisdiction given me by your Lordship for the Poles and Ruthenians I was to interpret in this way, that it comprised all not English speaking people at Winsfort. Accordingly I have heard the Germans. I should be very glad, if your Lordship would be so kind, to give me the faculties for all who would come to confession, that I may not be obliged to send away anybody.

Recomma[e]nding myself and my humble work
To your Lordship's prayers
I am
My Lord Bishop
Yours' respectfully in Jesus Christ
Fr. Lewis Kaluza S.J.

[Father James Gardiner to Bishop O'Reilly][8]
Our Lady's
Eldon Place
20 May 1884

My dear Lord,

Fr Kaluza, the Polish priest, told me at Easter that very probably he would be leaving England for good after Whitsuntide, and that with your Lordship's permission, he would like to come & have confessions on Whit Saturday. The number of confessions at Easter were Poles 70. Lithuanians 121. Ruthenians 17. If it be your Lordship's pleasure I will write to Father Kaluza.

May I ask Father Cavanagh of the Sacred Heart, St. Helens to preach in the morning of the Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption, the day on which I expect Canon Van Hee to preach in the evening.

I am my dear Lord
Your obedient servant
James Gardiner

[8] Father James Gardiner to Bishop O'Reilly, 20 may 1884, L.A.A. No 60B, L4, O.L.R.

A P P E N D I X B1

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO FAITH, 1931-1932
(CHAPTER III)

I am sixteen years old and would like to join the navy. My buddy visited a psychic who told him that if I joined navy I would be killed. Please, tell me what I should do? Signed, F.R.J. Młody Katolik (Young Catholic). Talk "Prawo i Zapłata Robotnika [*sic*] - P. O.," (The Rights and Pay of the Worker), Jan. 10. 1932, 7.

A family surrounding one of its members who is suddenly dying doubts that a Roman Catholic priest, who is far away, will arrive in time to administer the Holy Sacraments. There is a priest of the Polish split sect in the neighborhood; can the family call the priest of that sect to prepare the dying for the eternal journey? Signed, J.J. Chicago. Talk "Dokąd idziesz? - P. O.," (Where do you go?), 17 Jan. 1932, 7.

Is it true that these Catholics who go to the church and pray are considered good? I suspect that some people do it for the right reasons and the others for the wrong ones. Signed, F.K. Pittsburg. Talk "Dokąd idziesz? - P. O.," (Where do you go?), 17 Jan. 1932, 7.

Is it right to go to a church of a different denomination, because I went not knowing whether it was permitted? Signed, E.K. Detroit. Talk "Dokąd idziesz? - P. O.," (Where do you go?) 17 Jan. 1932,10.

Is religion a private or state issue? Signed, K. Z., Detroit. Talk "Kościół Katolicki a Robotnik [*sic*] - P. O.," (The Catholic Church and the Worker), 14 Feb. 1932, 7.

Why you Father Justyn are so sure, that only the Roman Catholic Church is true, what about the other churches? Signed, K.Z., Detroit. Talk "Niedoszła Samobójczyni [*sic*] - P. O.," (An Attempted Suicide), 21 February 1932, 8.

If faith is so necessary to happiness, why do so many millions of people in Russia belong to the "atheistic society" and why are they all happy? Signed, Ivan I., South Chicago. Talk "Chryste zmiłuj się - P. O.," (Christ Have Mercy), 20 Mar. 1932, 9.

We have the Catholic, Jewish and Muslim faiths; which one of those secures salvation? Signed P. R., Detroit. Talk "Chryste zmiłuj się - P. O.," (Christ Have Mercy), 20 Mar. 1932, 10.

We children go to church and confession, but our mother and father do not, because of business. Does this dispense them from Sunday duty and is it a sin?

Signed, S.S. Chicago. Talk "Zmartwychwstanie Pańskie i Nasze [*sic*] - P. O.," (The Lord's and our Resurrection), 27 Mar. 1932, 8-9.

My sister tells me that a man after death is reborn into another family; is it true? Signed, J.D. Depew, N.Y. Talk "Zmartwychwstanie Pańskie i Nasze [*sic*] - P. O.," (The Lord's and our Resurrection), 27 Mar. 1932, 9.

Please, tell me the difference between the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox faiths. Which one of these is the best? Please, answer speedily Father, because about thirty of us belonging to those three faiths listen together at one radio receiver as you speak! Signed, S.M. Michigan City, IN. Talk "Szlachetny eksperyment - P. O.," (A Noble Experiment), 3 Apr. 1932, 8.

Does a man who works honestly for his living break the Law if he misses church and the Holy Sacraments? Signed, L.M. Chicago. Talk "Szlachetny eksperyment - P. O.," (A Noble Experiment), 3 Apr. 1932, 10.

I arrived in America as a young man; my relatives instead of taking care of me, explained to me, that the holy faith is only for the enjoyment of stupid priests, so I have lived without God for 24 years. Now I see that I was deceived, but I do not have the courage to go to the Holy Confession, because our Polish priests have a habit of yelling. If I were healthy, it would not be so harsh, but I am sick and my illness is of such a sort, that through agitation of my mind it may cause death. Signed, F.K. Chicago. Talk "Szlachetny eksperyment," 3 Apr. 1932, 10-11.

My husband never goes to church and has not been to the Holy Confession for years. However, he likes listening to the Rosary Hour; would you be so kind Father to speak on that matter? Signed, S. A. Detroit. Talk "Ojciec pijak; Matka pijacka [*sic*] - P. O.," (Father Drunkard; Mother Drunkard), 17 Apr. 1932, 9.

Why do the Roman Catholic Poles have cards for Easter confession? I know Catholics of different nationalities, who do not use confession cards! Signed, J.W.P., Chicago. Talk "Ojciec pijak; Matka pijacka [*sic*] - P. O.," 17 Apr. 1932, 11-12.

A P P E N D I X B2

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO PATRIOTISM, 1931-1932 (CHAPTER III)

I heard the Reverend Father speaking about the Polish maidens whose valor equals the world famous heroines. Where are such heroines? Signed L.D. Talk "Polak, Jako Obywatel Amerykański [*sic*], - P. O.," (A Pole as an American Citizen), 13 Dec. 1931, 8-10.

Why a Roman Catholic cannot be a good American citizen? Signed, R.R. Talk "Boże Narodzenie - P. O.," (Christmas), 20 Dec. 1931, 7.

What does the name Byelorussians mean? Are they Poles? Why they are called this way? Signed, F.W.N. Talk "Prawo i Zapłata Robotnika [*sic*] - P. O.," (The Rights and Pay of the Worker), Jan. 10. 1932, 10-11.

Why a Catholic cannot be the president of the United States? Signed S.M, Buffalo. Talk "Rzym Nerona a Wiek Dwudziesty [*sic*], - P. O.," (The Nero's Rome and the Twentieth Century), 31 Jan. 1932, 9-10.

Reverend Father Justyn, please answer me on the radio, why has not a single Pole became Pope, despite the fact that Poland has been faithful to Rome since a long time? Signed, P.R.B., Detroit. Talk "Rzym Nerona a Wiek Dwudziesty [*sic*] - P. O.," 31 Jan. 1932, 10-11.

Are Polish priests allowed to remove the Polish language from the churches and schools, depriving our young generation of the opportunity to learn the language of our Fatherland; can Polish parishioners be removed from the churches which they build with their hard earned money? One of the parishioners, an elderly Polish woman, who came to the church and was praying in her language to God to change the misfortune which fell on the parish, was challenged by a Polish priest who told her to move to a cemetery, because it was her time. How one can evaluate such a priest? Wouldn't it be right to send those like him to the Chinese front? Signed, A.W., Chicago. Talk "Chryste zmiłuj się," 20 Mar. 1932, 7-8.

Are they Polish who live in the Polish Republic and do not adhere to Roman-Catholicism? Signed, Michał Puszkiewicz, Nanticoke, PA. Talk "Matka zbrodni - P. O.," (The Mother of Crime), 10 Apr. 1932, 9-10.

All Polish grocery shop owners and butchers in our area are Catholics. They belong to the parish, send their children to the Polish parish schools; we willingly support Polish causes, but our compatriots do not support us. Subsequently, our businesses are declining and we have to close them. Why our people are backing us so coldly? Signed, B.R.B. and G.A., Buffalo. Talk "Ojciec pijak; Matka pijacka [*sic*] - P. O.," 17 Apr. 1932, 10.

A P P E N D I X C1

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO FAITH, 1932-1940 (CHAPTER IV)

1932-1933

How old is the earth; the Church teaches that four thousand years had passed from the creation of world until the birth of Christ. Science contradicts this! Was Marja Teresa Countess Ledóchowska**,** foundress of the Sodality of St. Peter Claver, canonized? What happens to the Blessed Sacrament after it is consumed? Signed, Wdowiec, Chicago, IL. "Marnotrawni - P. O.," 27 Nov. 1932, 12.

Why and when was confession introduced? Signed, J.M., Chicago, IL. "Marnotrawni - P. O.," 27 Nov. 1932, 15.

Can only the adherents to the Roman Catholic Religion be saved, and the adherents to other religions, even though they are most honest and most noble, condemned? Signed, F. R., Hamtramck, MI. "Marnotrawni - P. O.," 27 Nov. 1932.

I do not believe and have everything. Those who believe and pray have nothing. Signed, O. K. "Nasze zalety i wady - P. O.," 11 Dec. 1932, 38.

Do I, with a university degree, have to believe in creationism? Signed, S.L. Cleveland, OH. "Nasi współbracia - P. O.," 5 Mar. 1933, 50.

Despite the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church, the states freed themselves from the chains of Catholic teachings and doctrines and live in freedom. Signed, High School Student, Buffalo, N.Y. "Chłop bohater - P. O.," 2 Apr. 1933, 95.

Is a Polish girl committing a sin by going to a dance during Lent without the knowledge of her parents? Signed A. R., Niagara Falls, N.Y. "Kalwarie dwudziestego wieku - P. O.," 9 Apr. 1933, 111.

Why waste time teaching children Catechism in the Polish schools? There are other more valuable things to learn. Signed, B. L., Toronto, Ont. "Pan śmierci - P. O.," 16 Apr. 1933, 122.

I have heard that cattle, horses, sheep, etc., have a soul. Is it true? Signed, J.P., Pittsburgh, PA. "Ofiary wilków w owczej skórze - P. O.," 30 Apr. 1933, 144.

The Church has been destroyed in Spain and Russia. The same will happen in other countries. Signed I. X., Welland, Ont. "Uczciwość polskiego robotnika - P. O.," 7 May 1933, 156.

When and why was the Forty Hour Devotion introduced? Signed D. A., Lackawanna, N.Y. "Uczciwość polskiego robotnika - P. O.," 7 May 1933, 159.

Are all people who do not adhere to Roman Catholicism condemned? Signed Z. P., Kitchener, Ont. "Nasze matki - P. O.," 14 May 1933, 168.

Does the human soul live after death? Signed, L. D., Buffalo, N.Y. "TNieznani żołnierze - P. O.," 21 May 1933, 180.

Science proved disparity with religion, did it not? Signed M. L., Detroit, MI. "Nieznani żołnierze - P. O.," 21 May 1933, 181.

Maybe your faith is good for you, but I only believe in education. Signed, Antek Bibuła, Buffalo, N.Y. "Czuwaj - P. O.," 28 May 1933, 191.

I do not send my children to the Polish school because the Catechism is taught there, etc. Signed, M. B., Rochester, N.Y. "Czuwaj - P. O.," 28 May 1933, 192.

Is revolution and the persecution of the Church still going on in Mexico? Signed, K. I., Buffalo, N.Y. "Czuwaj - P. O.," 28 May 1933, 193.

Is it only Catholics who are good? Is no one else good? Signed G. B., Buffalo, N.Y. "Czuwaj - P. O.," 28 May 1933, 194.

1933-1934

All faiths and churches only threaten and bother people. The worst is your Catholic Church. Signed, G. D. Chicago, IL. "Zdrajca szczęścia – P. O.," 29 Oct. 1933, 35. This question met with a lengthy answer.

Why do Polish priests insist on the teaching of religion in the Polish schools? Is it going to help? Signed, A. F. Detroit, MI. "Zdrajca szczęścia – P. O.," 29 Oct. 1933.

Did NRA do anything good for the workers? Signed, R.P. Buffalo. "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo – P. O.," 5 Nov. 1933, 53.

Is it proper to pray to material objects? Signed, S. M. D. Buffalo, Woltz Ave. "Ruina rodziny – P. O.," 12 Nov. 1933, 61.

Is the NRA staff working for free or for a salary? Signed K. M. Chicago. "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców – P. O.," 26 Nov. 1933, 88.

Here in Chicago (na Annowie) a certain sect founded a church. I argue that there is only one true church, but my neighbor told me that I was talking nonsense. Signed K. G. Chicago. "Walka klas – P. O.," 17 Dec. 1933, 133.

I have a class mate. He believes in nothing. He says that a reasonable man does not need to believe. Science alone suffices for people. Signed, B.F. Detroit. "Łzy ludzkie – P. O.," 14 Jan. 1934, 21.

I belong to a parish choir; when I go to sing at High Mass on Sunday, I can listen to Mass very little, because some singers converse all the time on the gallery. During the sermon bachelors and spinsters walk out for a smoke. Would you call this a Catholic custom and is it respectable to belong to such a choir? Signed S.W., Chicago. "Łzy ludzkie – P. O.," 14 Jan. 1934, 23.

Is it in accordance with the rules of the Roman Catholic Church to request a certain sum of money for absolution and to collect the entry fee to the church as in theaters? Signed, P. P. F., Milwaukee. "Łzy Ludzkie – P. O.," 14 Jan. 1934, 24.

Why do Poles mark the doors with letters (with chalk) on the day of the Three Wise Men? Signed, J. D., Detroit. "Trędowate – P. O.," 28 Jan. 1934. 51.

Do we not need money and possessions in this world? Signed, B.A., Chicago. "Rezurekcja - P. O.," 1 Apr. 1934, 179.

1934-1935

It is easy to say '*you have to believe'*. What good do we have from faith? Signed, K. Z., Wilkes-Barre, PA. "Łazarze - P. O.," 28 Oct. 1934, 22.

One preacher said that all Protestants, Dissenters and Jews will not go to heaven. The second priest said that we do not know what sentence the Lord God passed on Luther. Signed, N. O., Wilkes-Barre, PA. "Nieludzcy ludzie – P. O.,"28 Oct. 1934, 90.

Our relatives do not attend church. Now, when an organist distributed wafers (Pl. opłatki - specially made wafers for traditional Polish celebration of Christmas Vigil Supper, Pl. "wigilia") they said it was a pagan custom. Is it true? Signed, W. P., Dupond, PA. "Żłóbek - P. O.," 23 Dec. 1934, 126.

We do not believe in "opłatek" or "wigilia." Nonetheless we enjoy Christmas. We attend church rarely yet we believe. Signed, T. K. Battle Creek, MI. "Żołnierze w sutannach - P. O.," 13 Jan. 1935, 165.

I am queuing in a “bread line” and God does not give me bread. Now I believe in nothing. Signed, A. B., Detroit. “Robaczysko polskie - P. O.,” 9 Dec. 1934, 100.

I am sending you Father a paper cutting of an article attacking your lack of Christian charity. Signed, J. R., Toledo, OH. “Żołnierze w sutannach - P. O.,” 13 Jan. 1935, 167.

The Christian God must be cruel if he allowed millions to die from bullets and now, many millions to die from hunger. Signed, P. A., Chicago. “Bądź wola nasza - P. O.,” 20 Jan. 1935, 10.

You, Father Justyn, say that faith and language are one. Why do the Irish not have the language and still are good Catholics? Signed, P. W., Chicago. “Staromodne i nowomodne - P. O.,” 3 Feb. 1935, 38.

Can a divorced person attend the church and receive the Holy Sacraments, if married in the Church and got a civil divorce? Signed, F. R. D., Buffalo. “Staromodne i nowomodne - P. O.,” 3 Feb. 1935, 41.

No one as yet proved to me that there is a soul. Nobody had seen it, no one has touched it. Signed, J. N., Buffalo. “A jednak są cuda - P. O.,” 3 Mar. 1935, 87.

Why do we not praise God in our homes, only in churches which are huge and expensive? Signed, B. M., Calumet City, IL. “Szanuj dary Boże - P. O.,” 10 Mar. 1935, 100.

Why do people believe in such stupid things? Our neighbor explains to us that on July 4, 1935 it will be the end of the world. Signed, I. B., Chicago. “Robotnik - praca - płaca - P. O.,” 31 Mar. 1935, 141.

Can a Roman Catholic be a Mason? Can Masons act in a nativity play? Because here in Chicago, some society organized a nativity play but no one came for the reason, as the delegates themselves said, that the director of the play was a Mason. Signed, S. P. B., Chicago. “Robotnik – praca - płaca - P. O.,”31 Mar. 1935, 141.

How can you, respectable Justyn, defend the Roman Church when Roman priests always oppose enlightenment and progress? Signed, B. P., Detroit. “Stań – popatrz - posłuchaj - P. O.,”7 Apr. 1935, 151

Father, I am sending you a clipping from the paper “Afryka Głucha,” so that you, Father, if you get a chance, can give an answer to this “scoundrel.” Signed, A. W., Toledo, OH. “W Górę serca - P. O.,” 14 Apr. 1935, 170.

What are the Mormons and who started them? Signed, S. T., Eden, N.Y. “W Górę serca - P. O.,” 14 Apr. 1935, 172.

1935-1936

Has the Catholic faith always been the official religion in Poland? Signed, D. J., Milwaukee. “Wolność czy swawola? - P. O.,”17 Nov. 1935, 60.

Why is it that Father Justin's says nothing about the Polish sects? After all, they only destroy and harm. Signed, B. B., Milwaukee. “Czy trzeba wierzyć? - P. O.,” 24 Nov. 1935, 76.

Have the Poles always celebrated Christmas as now? Signed, M. C., Chicago. “Czemu szopa a nie pałac? - P. O.,”22 Dec. 1935, 131.

Signed, Unknown, 5 Jan. 1936. “Czemu śmierć a nie życie? - P. O.,”12 Jan. 1936, 12. (A letter of praise for the Rosary Hour written in English).

Please explain to me the meaning of the Gregorian Masses. Signed, T. S., Michigan City, IN. “Czemu śmierć a nie życie? - P. O.,”12 Jan. 1936, 14.

Where is the Mother of God since her body is not on earth? Signed, A. G., Milwaukee. “Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiedniejsza zapłata? – P. O.,” 19 Jan. 1936, 25.

Why do Catholic bishops wear a ring? Signed, W. M., Wilkes-Barre, PA. “Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiedniejsza zapłata? - P. O.,”19 Jan. 1936, 26.

Why do the Slovaks celebrate the Resurrection on Holy Saturday evening and in other churches it is celebrated on Sunday in the early morning? Why are the holidays in the Russian churches celebrated later than in the churches of Rome? I belong to the Uniat Church which is the Church under the Pope. Seventeen years ago I had broken a leg at work. Should I view it as a divine punishment? Signed, G. P., Olyphant, PA. “Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiedniejsza zapłata? - P. O.,” 19 Jan. 1936, 27.

My man has stopped believing in everything. I shout at him, sometimes even curse him, but he does not change, not even a pinch. Signed, W. K., Dickson City, PA. “Czemu nie powrócić do rodziny? - P. O.,” 26 Jan. 1936, 39.

Father Justin answering a question said: ‘I couldn’t care less – it is none of my business who believes in what.’ Does this mean that Catholic priests should not care about what others believe in and that all religions are equal? Signed, F. C. M., Sturtevant, WI. “Czemu nie powrócić do rodziny? - P. O., ”26 Jan. 1936, 41.

Father Justin is a Pole. Why does he not sing the Mass in Polish but only in Latin? Signed, P. N. M., Scranton, PA. "Czy to nie woła o pomstę do nieba? - P. O.," 2 Feb. 1936, 54.

Father Justin said many times that we should pray. I once read that God does not listen to a sinner! Signed, Z. B., Detroit. "Czy to nie woła o pomstę do nieba? - P. O.," 2 Feb. 1936, 55.

A few days ago my brother, a priest, died. He left nothing for me but all that he had he bequeathed to charity. It made me so angry that I abandoned my faith and God. I have decided that I will not recognise any priest, even at my death. Signed, G. L. L., Chicago. "Czy jest i gdzie jest szczęście? – P. O.," 9 Feb. 1936, 68.

Since when have the pilgrimages started going to miraculous Lourdes in France? Signed, B. N., Scranton, PA. "Czyste małżeństwo czy wolna miłość? - P. O.," 23 Feb. 1936, 96.

Was George Washington a Catholic? Signed, J. R., Oshkosh, WI. "Co mi Kościół daje? - P. O.," 8 Mar. 1936, 122.

Some researcher (Jehovah's Witness) told me that hell is only in the imagination, that there is no such place. Signed, G.W., Pittsfield, MA. "Co mi Kościół daje? - P. O.,"8 Mar. 1936, 126.

Why are the Polish hymns thrown out from the Polish churches? Signed, B. E., Chicago. "Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa? - P. O.," 15 Mar. 1936, 136.

Why there are so many offenders among the Catholics? Signed, B. M., Chicago. "Piotr czy Judasz? - P. O.," 5 Apr. 1936, 181.

The Spiritual Father Justin! If the thing is possible I would kindly request him to give a clear explanation to the Slavonic nation, why, what for and through what, are the three-bar crosses usually seen on all Orthodox churches, Greek Catholic, Russian and Ukrainian? Signed, M. K., Olyphant, PA. "Jam jest Zmartwychwstanie - P. O.," 12 Apr. 1936, 198.

1936-1937

Please, check whether the Negro Ralph Metcalfe (Runner of the U.S. team at the Olympics in Berlin.) is a Catholic? Signed, J. B., Buffalo. "Czyśmy gorsi?, - P. O.," 8 Nov. 1936, 32.

Why is faith always struggling with science? Signed, J. W., Scranton, PA. "Żywcem pogrzebani - P. O.," 15 Nov. 1936, 42.

Our bishop collects donations to erect a statue of Christ the King in Washington on the banks of the river Potomac. Is it worthwhile to do it? Signed, M. G., Fort Wayne, IN. "Kwestja społeczna - P. O.," 29 Nov. 1936, 74.

How many Catholics do we have in the American Senate? Signed, S. P., Racine, WI. "Powiedz im aby - P. O.," 13 Dec. 1936, 106.

Give me Father at least the name of one great scientist who believed; because you Father boldly claim that many scientists are believers? Signed, E. P., Old Forge, PA. "Więcej sprawiedliwych, mniej Piłatów - P. O.," 24 Jan. 1937, 193.

1937-1938

Why not teach children more Polish literature and fewer prayers? Signed, S. R., East Chicago, IN. "Apostolstwo Godziny Różańcowej? - P. O.," 7 Nov. 1937, 10.

Why scare people about hell when there is no hell? Signed, M. B., Black Rock, N.Y. "Bez wiary, co? - P. O.," 12 Dec. 1937, 67.

Why is it that only the simple people have faith, and scientists do not believe in God? Signed, B. H., Avoca, PA. "Bez wiary, co? - P. O.," 12 Dec. 1937, 66.

I had worked for ten years with a non-Catholic girl. She took a vow (got married) before the Lutheran pastor. I was a bridesmaid. Parents say that I have committed a sin. Signed, H. S., Chicago. "Bez wiary, co? - P. O.," 12 Dec. 1937, 66.

The more people know the less they believe. Signed, P. S., Scranton, PA. "Bez wiary, co? - P. O.," 12 Dec. 1937, 68.

My granny said that what you are on Christmas, so you will be for the whole year. Is this true? Signed, H. P., Northampton, MA. "Dziecina pokoju i dobrej woli - P. O.," 19 Dec. 1937, 79.

Our parents never allow us to go to the theater on Christmas Day. All day long we must stay at home. Signed, E. S., Thomaston, CT. "Co nam da Nowy Rok? - P. O.," 26 Dec. 1937, 92.

I lived in Lackawanna, NY, where the priest, right after Christmas, always blesses oats and then people throw oats on each other. What does this mean? Signed, P. T., Canonsburg, PA. "Co nam da Nowy Rok? - P. O.," 26 Dec. 1937, 92.

Is there a Santa Claus? My brother says that there is no Santa Claus. Signed, Anusia, Lemont, IL. "Co nam da Nowy Rok? - P. O.," 26 Dec. 1937, 94.

Is it not that in face of the inventions of scientists, your omnipotent God becomes smaller? Signed, D. G., Niagara Falls, N.Y. "A potem - co? - P. O.," 2 Jan. 1938, 107.

Why does Father Justin always talk about the pagan education in America. I do not believe that this is so. Signed, A. C., Dearborn, MI. "Wierzyć czy nie wierzyć? - P. O.," 9 Jan. 1938, 117.

Why do you clerics claim that the Mother of God is the Queen of the Polish Crown? Signed, P. S., Racine, WI. "Wierzyć czy nie wierzyć? - P. O.," 9 Jan. 1938, 118.

Is the priest obliged to give the last rites to the criminal who is to be hanged or executed in the electric chair? Signed, P. M., Chicago. "Wierzyć czy nie Wierzyć? - P. O.," 9 Jan. 1938, 118.

What is more important for us Poles in America: faith or language? Signed, K. W., Cheektowaga, N.Y. "Wierzyć czy nie wierzyć? - P. O.," 9 Jan. 1938, 119.

Is it not better to close the parish schools and send all children to the government schools? Signed, P. B., Chicago. "Czy Życie nie jest bolesną pielgrzymką? - P. O.," 16 Jan. 1938, 129.

Why spend time in prayer, when you need to take care of the body? Signed, B. B., Milwaukee. "Co się stało z domem i rodziną? - P. O.," 20 Feb. 1938, 41.

My neighbor says that she has left the Catholic Church because the Church does not allow her to read the Bible. Signed, J. K., Holyoke, MA. "Dlaczego? - P. O.," 27 Feb. 1938, 50.

My grandfather says that the robin has red feathers because it pulled a nail from the cross. Does Father Justin agree? Signed, M. T., Windsor Locks, CT. "Czy mamy rozpaczać? - P. O.," 17 Apr. 1938, 131.

Why do Roman Catholics take off their hats before going into your churches? Why do others not do this? Signed, P. F., Millers Falls, MA. "Czy świat lituje się nad niemi? - P. O.," 24 Apr. 1938, 143.

Father, say something about "dyngus" to our children. It is after all a Polish custom. Our children, however, know nothing about it. Signed, I. W., Philadelphia. "Czy mamy rozpaczać? - P. O.," 17 Apr. 1938, 132.

Some of ours believe that an oath in the American court does not oblige us, because there is no crucifix there when we take the oath. Signed, G. Z., Milwaukee. “Jesteś Chrześcijaninem? - P. O.,” 6 Nov. 1938, 27.

Did Jesus for the 33 years of his life on earth have the divine or human nature only, or both natures at the same time? Signed, J. E. M., Easthampton, MA. “Wykradacze dzieciny Jezus - P. O.,” 25 Dec. 1938, 88.

Can a Catholic be an advocate of pacifism? Does the Catholic Church justify war? Signed, J. M., Buffalo. “Wykradacze dzieciny Jezus - P. O.,” 25 Dec. 1938, 90.

Why are you Catholics such great cowards? Signed, J. J., Naugatuck, CT. “Powódź – huragan – trzęsienie ziemi - P. O.,” 8 Jan. 1939, 111.

Is a person allowed to pray for the soul of a man who not only did not go to the Church or the Holy Confession during his life time, but yet publicly mocked those who did so? Signed, M. P., Milwaukee. “Tam a tu - P. O.,” 15 Jan. 1939, 121.

Today, religion is not needed. The human mind is the axis of progress. Signed, A. K. L., Easthampton, MA. “Tam a tu - P. O.,” 15 Jan. 1939, 122.

Why does the Church decorate the Protestants? Is it because they give money to the church? Signed, Z. N., Chicago. “Tam a tu - P. O.,” 15 Jan. 1939, 123.

I wrote three times already, asking whether a divorcee may receive the Holy Sacraments and I did not receive a response. Signed, R. N., Pittsburgh. “Powiedz mojemu ojcu! - P. O.,” 22 Jan. 1939, 131.

What happened to those Greek Catholic priests who dissented from the Church? Signed, T. C., Pittsburgh. “Czytanie to ogień! - P. O.,” 19 Feb. 1939, 33.

Is one allowed to organize dances during the Lenten season on the day of Saint Joseph? Signed, K. D., Conshohocken, PA. “Posąg żyjący! - P. O.,” 5 Mar. 1939, 49.

With what particular virtue did the Holy Father Pius XI distinguished himself? Signed, S. D., Minooka, PA. “Posąg żyjący! - P. O.,” 5 Mar. 1939, 50.

Does the Church never permit the cremation of corpses? Signed, M. M., Oshkosh, WI. “Brzeg czy staw? - P. O.,” 19 Mar. 1939, 66.

To whom should I pray to get a job? Signed, M. G., Union Grove, WI. “Brzeg czy staw? - P. O.,” 19 Mar. 1939, 67.
Why does your Pope always only condemn the principles of Nazism and praise the rules of Fascism? Signed, J. S., Black Rock, N.Y. “Dom i życie! - P. O.,” 26 Mar. 1939, 75.

Father Justin read the book, "The Woman Who Was Pope!" and be converted. Signed, B. G., Hamtramck, MI. “Krzyż Baranka - P. O.,” 2 Apr. 1939, 87.

> Answer: Thanks, but the counsel is a bit late. Not only have I read that book , but I still have it in my library. I am just looking at it, and I admire not only malice but the hate of the author for the Papacy. [...].

I have been listening to the programs for several years, because they are in the beautiful Polish language. I see no reason, however, to bother about God or eternity. Why bother people? Signed, B. P., Chicago. “Trzy Rezurekcje - P. O.,” 9 Apr. 1939, 99.

What is the origin of the Living Rosary? Signed, K. T., Philadelphia. “Powiedz: Nie! - P. O.,” 16 Apr. 1939, 112.

Why does Father Justin persecute the Communists, when the Savior commanded us to love our neighbor? Signed, S. P., Milwaukee. “Zgubne marzenie - P. O.,” 23 Apr. 1939, 124.

1939-1940

Why does the church bless irrational creations like horses and dogs? Signed, R. G., Boston. “Z krainy bólu i łez - P. O.,” 19 Nov. 1939, 34.

I have been bed-ridden for fourteen years! If it was not for my faith, God knows what I would do. I am only a burden to myself and others! Signed, T. P., Chelsea, MA. “Blagi i blagierzy - P. O.,” 3 Dec. 1939, 55.

Is there a real fire in hell which burns both souls and bodies? Signed, D. N., Holyoke, MA. “Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa - P. O.,”1 0 Dec. 1939, 65.

What leads to a loss of faith? Signed, W. S., Chicago. “Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa - P. O.,” 10 Dec. 1939, 66.

I read and heard that a man when born is already destined for the heaven that God provided from the ages and God has already decided who will be saved and who will be damned. This I cannot comprehend and I am overcome with

discouragement to prayer and the Sacraments. Signed, J. K., Milwaukee. “Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa - P. O.,” 10 Dec. 1939, 66.

If miracles do happen why does the press not write about them? Signed, J. M., Cicero, IL. “Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa - P. O.,” 10 Dec. 1939, 61.

What are the Old Testament prophecies that predicted the coming of the Savior and His death? Signed, J. P., Scranton, PA. “(Mowa) Przewiel. O. Alojzego Sobuś, Sekretarza Prowincji Św. Antoniega [*sic*] - P. O.,” 17 Dec. 1939, 80.

My professor at the university argues that Mary was only the Mother of Jesus, not the Mother of God. I tried to convince him of my point of view on this matter but was unsuccessful. Signed, L. S., Brooklyn, N.Y. “Czy jest z czego radować się i weselić? - P. O.,” 24 Dec. 1939, 90.

A P P E N D I X C2

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO SUPERSTITION, 1931-1940 (CHAPTER IV)

1931-1932

I am 16 years old and I would like to join the Navy. An acquaintance of mine went to a psychic and she said that if I enrolled, I would be killed. Please tell me what should I do? Signed, F. R. J., Młody Katolik (Young Catholic). "Prawo i zapłata robotnika, - P. O.," 10 Jan. 1932, 7.

1932-1933

My mom believes in dreams, cards and psychics. She was pious and happy before, now is always shouting at me, always gloomy and consumed by thoughts. Please advise about this. Signed, A. K., Cleveland, OH. "Czy kochasz Boga? - P. O.," 12 Mar. 1933, 59.

From time to time a nightmare suffocates me and I cannot sleep. I went to a spiritualist and she advised me that if I frequently went to her she would cure me. Signed, B. G., Cleveland, OH. "Chłop bohater - P. O.," 2 Apr. 1933, 95.

> Answer: Specter is an invention of diseased and superstitious minds. Instead go to a doctor, a specialist in nervous diseases. [...].

1933-1934

May I as a Catholic attend the lectures of spiritists? Signed, M. C., Detroit. "Obowiązki małżonków i rodziców - P. O.," 26 Nov. 1933, 88.

1934-1935

My cousin says that the psychic can tell when a man will die. Signed, D. W., Buffalo. "Łazarze, - P. O.," 28 Oct. 1934, 27.

Our aunt says that at the New Year everyone should be dressed in new clothes, otherwise the year will be unhappy. Signed, S. B., Scranton, PA. "Nowe jutro, - P. O.," 30 Dec. 1934, 142.

1935-1936

I thought that spiritism and hypnotism were one and the same. My good friend, a Catholic priest, says that the Church does not prohibit hypnotism and Father Justin says that the Church prohibits spiritism! Signed, A. S. P., Chicago. "Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiedniejsza zapłata? - P. O.,"1 9 Jan. 1936, 29.

My sister has bought a dream dictionary for two dollars. Now she asks everybody what they dreamed, and explains their dreams. Signed, E. M., Detroit. “Czemu śmierć a nie życie - P. O.,” 1 Jan. 1936, 12.

Can you cast a spell on somebody? Signed, W. L., Black Rock, N.Y. “Czy to nie woła o pomstę do nieba? - P. O.,” 2 Feb. 1936, 52.

Is it true that scientists can predict the future from the stars? My sister went to one of them, she paid him two dollars. Signed, M. G., Chicago. “Czy szanujecie wasze dzieci? - P. O.,” 16 Feb. 1936, 80.

What is parchment? My friend tells me to wear parchment because it defends against misfortunes. Signed, D. G., Eau Claire, WI. “Co mi Kościół daje? - P. O.,” 8 Mar. 1936, 125.

There is a professor here who lures Poles and predicts their future from reading the stars. Signed, J. C., Chicago. “Jam jest Zmartwychwstanie - P. O.,” 14 Apr. 1936, 197.

1936-1937

Our mother believes the fortune tellers. One of them said that we would get plicas (hair in dirty, matted form) if we washed our heads. So, our mother does not allow us to wash our heads. My head hurts and I am frightened. Signed, J. K., Chicago. “Żywcem pogrzebani - P. O.,” 15 Nov. 1936, 46.

My sister goes to a fortune teller. She says that it is not a sin, because she does not believe in it. Signed, J. K., Chicago. “Żywcem pogrzebani - P. O.,” 27 Dec. 1936, 129.

Why does Father Justin so disparage the fortune tellers? They also are human beings and must live. They do not harm anyone. Signed, M. M., Detroit. “Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie - P. O.,” 3 Jan. 1937, 148.

1937-1938

Our father abandoned the Catholic faith and believes only in ghosts. He says that he hears knocking and voices. At night, he does not sleep, only walks and talks to himself. Signed, B. L., Chelsea, MA. “Czy mamy rozpaczać? - P. O.,” 17 Apr. 1938, 135.

1938-1939

I am a good Christian, but I believe in the prophecies! Signed, K. W., Michigan City, IN. "Rok nowy – życie nowe - P. O.," 1 Jan. 1939, 98.

At our bazaar, one of the girls had a special kiosk where she practiced divination. Her Mother beat her for foretelling the future. Signed, M. R., Pittsburgh. "Trzej truciciele - P. O.," 5 Feb. 1939, 10.

> Answer: This girl did not do anything wrong and did not commit any sin when she dressed up as a fortune teller at the bazaar. […].

A P P E N D I X C3

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO MARRIAGE, 1932-1940 (CHAPTER IV)

1932-1933

My son has been brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. But he contracted marriage in a religious sect. Is his marriage valid? Signed, B. B., Chicago. "Nasze zalety i wady - P. O.," 11 Dec. 1932, 36.

I know that the Catholic Church says that marriage is a Sacrament; however wouldn't it be better if in some cases the Church allowed divorce? Signed, M. S., Cleveland, OH. "Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.," 4 Dec. 1932, 27.

The priests are to be blamed for so many unhappy marriages in America; why do they not examine the young (couples) as they did in Poland? Signed, J. P., Cleveland, OH. " Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.," 4 Dec. 1932, 28.

Is it good practice for parents to put pressure on their children to get married? For example, (the parents) command their daughter or their son to marry someone whom they have arranged for them, but who is not appreciated by their son or daughter. Signed, F. K., Toronto, ONT. "Pan śmierci – P. O.," 16 Apr. 1933, 121.

May I still receive the Holy Sacraments if I divorce my husband? May I contract marriage for a second time? Signed, S. G., Cleveland, OH. " Pan śmierci – P. O.," 16 Apr. 1933, 123.

He is Polish and Roman Catholic; she is Polish but belongs to a sect; can they contract marriage in the Roman Catholic Church? Signed, W. M. H., Buffalo. "Kalwarie dwudziestego wieku - P. O.," 9 Apr. 1933, 111.

Is it possible for a non-Catholic to contract marriage in the Catholic Church? Signed, P. G., Hamilton, ONT. "Pan śmierci – P. O.," 16 Apr. 1933, 123.

My companion is 17 years old; she got married to a man who is already fifty years old. Can she be happy? Signed, Spinster, Gwalbertowo. "Nieznani żołnierze - P. O.," 21 May., 1933, 179.

1933-1934

Is the matrimony, as performed in the Catholic Church, a contract and Sacrament or a contract only? My wife has claimed for the past twelve years that a wedding (celebrated in the Church) is a contract not a Sacrament; that husband is a stranger to her wife and based on the view she held, she collected everything and left me in my old age. Signed, S. M. K., Buffalo. "Małżeństwo chrześcijańskie - P. O.," 5 Nov. 1933, 46-47.

My cousin has been living with a man for two years, and they are not married but she goes to church for Confession. Is it valid? Signed, C. N., Buffalo. ”Ruina rodziny - P. O.,” 12 Nov. 1933, 60.

Does the Church give divorce? Signed, A. M., Chicago. ”Ruina rodziny - P. O.,” 12 Nov. 1933, 61.

In the old country the marriage banns were not announced; the names were displayed at the (church) doors; why it is different here? Signed, K. O., Detroit. ”Obowązki Małżonków i Rodziców - P. O.,” 26 Nov. 1933, 93.

Is a private engagement with the presentation of ring to a spinster valid? Signed, K. O., Detroit. ”Stajenka betlejemska - P. O.,” 24 Dec. 1933, 144.

My fiancée is a good girl, but she likes to drink and smoke and wants me to accompany her to parties and theatres. We have been dating for four years. What shall I do? Signed, S. L., Kenosha, WI. “Chłopskie serce - P. O.,” 21 Jan. 1934, 38.

For two years I have been dating a Protestant. He is 24; five years ago he got married to a Protestant in court. A year later she divorced him. He is good and busy and even goes with me to the church sometimes. He even wants to convert. Can we contract marriage in a church? My parents do not allow me to date him, but I want to. Signed, M. L., Chicago. “Chłopskie serce - P. O.,” 21 Jan. 1934, 38.

I am a Roman Catholic, married to a divorcee; we were married by a judge. Can I go to the church to Confession? Signed, A. G., Chicago. “Chłopskie serce - P. O.,” 21 Jan. 1934, 39.

It has been twenty years since we have lived together as a couple. Our neighbors and priests think that we are married. What we shall do? We are ashamed. My husband and I will do whatever you Father advise us. Signed, L. B., Chicago. ”Trędowate - P. O.,” 28 Jan. 1934, 50.

Can I marry without the knowledge of parents? Signed, A. K., Detroit. ”Robotnik - P. O.,” 25 Feb. 1934, 106.

I have been married for four months and my wife is already unhappy. I have a job and give in my salary. She always is downcast and speaks very little. I do not know what to do? Signed, M. U., Chicago. ”Żale ludzkie - P. O.,” 4 Mar. 1934, 125.

I am working in an office; at the beginning I was going for lunch with a married man. Now he invites me to a theater. Can I go with him, because he does not love his wife? Signed, K. W., Hamtramck, MI.” Od Ogrójca do Kalwarji - P. O.,” 25 Mar. 1934, 163.

Did God give me a wife in order to be constantly in a state of war with her? Signed, J. B., Chicago. “Rezurekcja - P. O.,” 1 Apr. 1934, 178.

We have Polish relatives here who are Catholics. The mother sends all the children to a Catholic school. Today they arrange for the marriage of their seventeen year old daughter to a fifty years old black man. The parents are happy on this account. Who should be blamed? Signed, G. D., Detroit. ”Rezurekcja - P. O.,” 1 Apr. 1934, 179.

1934-1935

Our father shamed us. He was a widower for twelve years, and now when he reached seventy he got married with an old widow. Is it a Catholic thing to do.? Signed, M. S., Chicago. ”Pochodnia szczęścia – P. O.,” 21 Oct. 1934, 11.

When you, Father Justyn, came to us, you gave a sermon on mixed marriages. My brother broke with his non-Catholic girl. Now he dates her again. Please, talk to him. Signed, K. D., Michigan City, IN. ”Bóg – śmierć - dolar – P. O.,” 18 Nov. 1934, 61.

I intend to use my deceased mother’s wedding ring at my wedding. Can I? Signed, L. B., Buffalo,”Idźcież za nimi – P. O.,” 25 Nov. 1934, 75.

Can a juvenile marry in the Church? Who besides the parents can sign the consent for marriage if the parents are still alive? Signed, E. R. I., Buffalo. ”Robaczysko polskie – P. O.,” 9 Dec. 1934, 101.

I date a girl who got married three years ago with a non-Catholic before a judge. After six months he divorced her. Can I marry her in the Church? Signed, M. F., Scranton. ”Bądź wola nasza – P. O.,” 20 Jan. 1935, 12.

Being a widow I got married to a man from the Russian partition, who posed as a bachelor. We got married in the Church. After 12 years I learned that he had a wife and children in the old country. I even have a letter from his wife. I divorced him. People say that I could live with him, because the marriage was contracted in the Church. Signed, A. K., Chicago. “A jednak jest dusza - P. O.,” 17 Feb. 1935, 65.

Our oldest sister who was married died a year ago; now our mother wants to marry her son-in-law. Is it possible? Signed, B. K., Chicago. “Staromodne i nowomodne - P. O.,” 3 Feb. 1935, 36.

What are the reasons for the annulment of a marriage contracted in the Church? Signed, F. R. D., Buffalo. “Staromodne i nowomodne - P. O.,” 3 Feb. 1935, 41.

If a Catholic married in court, can he legally contract a marriage with another person in the Catholic Church? Signed, F. R. D., Buffalo. "Staromodne i nowomodne - P. O.," 3 Feb. 1935, 41.

I am getting married to a non-Pole and non-Catholic. I believe that faith alone will not save me. Signed, S. W., Buffalo. "Grabarze szczęścia robotnika - P. O.," 24 Mar. 1935, 129.

My second cousin wants to marry me. My mother says that it is not possible. Signed, H. F., Milwaukee. "A jednak są cuda - P. O.," 3 Mar. 1935, 87.

I have been asked by a friend to be a maid of honor at her secret wedding – elopement. May I? Signed, A. M., Scranton, PA. "Robotnik – praca - płaca - P. O.," 31 Mar. 1935, 139.

I want to marry a Catholic who is a German. My mother is against it. Is this just? Signed, K. B., Chicago. "Robotnik – praca - płaca - P. O.," 31 Mar. 1935, 140.

1935-1936

I have a careless and contentious wife at home. My home is no home. What should I do? Signed, F. C., Detroit. "Wierzyć lub nie wierzyć? - P. O.," 20 Oct. 1935, 10.

Answer: Maria Rodziewiczówna, 10 commandments for the household:

1. Respect silence, good atmosphere and the peace of this house to become part of it.
2. You will be always busy with work according to your strengths, talents and interests.
3. You are not to make a mess, cause chaos and disturbance of the house order.
4. Remember not to blemish your thoughts and lips with evil talk.
5. Do not talk, especially at meals, about sickness, disabilities, crime and misfortunes.
6. Do not show anger or raise your voice except for singing and laughing.
7. Do not spoil the peace of the house with bad humor.
8. Do not bring to this house the devilish cult of money and the curses linked to it.
9. Be friendly with all God's creatures which belong to this house, e.g., dogs, birds, hedgehogs, squirrels, etc.
10. Do not be afraid and accept calmly the visitations of God, like starvation, coldness, poverty, sickness, encroachment of unwelcomed people! – The blessing God and Our Lady the Queen of the Polish Crown may watch the foundations and walls of this house and also the soul, heart and health of its inhabitants.

I have to marry a non-Catholic before a (Protestant) minister. Will my marriage be valid? Signed, K. K., Buffalo. “Bohaterzy czy zbrodniarze? - P. O.,” 3 Nov. 1935, 24.

For one year I have been going out with my girlfriend. She is 19 years old and I am 30. People persuade her not to marry me because I'm too old for her. I do not drink and I do not smoke. I work hard. I do not know what to do. Signed, K. P., Buffalo. “Czy trzeba wierzyć? - P. O.,” 24 Nov. 1935, 72.

I am a widower; I was holding a baby for Baptism with the daughter of neighbors. Can I marry her? Signed, W. M., Detroit. “Wiara czy brednia? – P. O.,”1 Dec. 1935, 88.

I am a Catholic and a Pole. I have married before the squire. My husband is a non-Catholic and not a citizen. Am I still a Catholic and citizen? Signed, S. N., Scranton, PA. “Czy jest i gdzie jest szczęście? - P. O.,” 9 Feb. 1936, 67.

Although I married over a year ago, my mother wants me to sit with her for hours. My husband is angry at this. Signed, J. P., Manville, N. J. “Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa? - P. O.,” 15 Mar. 1936, 136.

My first wife died. I married a second. Now I regret. What should I do? Signed, K. N., Oconomowoc, WI. “Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa? - P. O.,” 15 Mar. 1936, 136.

I will never marry. Today there is no suitable "timber" for a good and thrifty wife. Signed, L. J., Milwaukee. “Jak nas krzywdzą mieszane małżeństwa? - P. O.,” 15 Mar. 1936, 138.

Why does the Catholic Church forbid mixed religion marriages and does not ban mixed nationality marriages? Signed, H. W., Dearborn, MI. “Jam jest Zmartwychwstanie - P. O.,” 12 Apr. 1936, 195.

> Answer: [...]. Church strictly prohibits mixed religion marriages. Why? Because of the disastrous consequences for the Catholic side, at first indifference to the responsibilities of prayer, fasting, going to church and receiving Holy Sacraments; in the end the total loss of holy faith. [...].

1936-1937

Recently I have married. What shall I do to make our marriage a happy one? Signed, Ł. B., Cleveland, OH. “Czyśmy gorsi? - P. O.,” 8 Nov. 1936, 30.

My wife is clumsy. She breaks and smashes everything. What should I do? Signed, J. P., Buffalo. “Nasze położenie - P. O.,” 22 Nov. 1936, 58.

Can my sister who got married in the church, then got her divorce in court, get married again in the church? My dad says she can! Signed, A. M., Chicago. "Ciebie – ci – cię - P. O.," 6 Dec. 1936, 90.

I have to get married in Advent. Our pastor does not want to give me a solemn Mass and blessing. Do I have to go to court to get married? Signed, E. G., Chicago. "Nowoczesne Córki Jerozolimskie - P. O.," 10 Jan. 1937, 163.

I had dated my boyfriend for three years. Six months ago I married him. Since then he has changed beyond recognition. What should I do? Signed, A. G., Black Rock, N.Y. "Pamiętaj - P. O.," 7 Mar. 1937, 73.

> Answer: […]. First, go to the priest who assisted at your wedding. Ask him to speak to your husband in your presence. It may thus come to a rational settlement of your confusion. However, if this fails, take the case to court. […].

I have married a non-Catholic. He signed a pre-marriage promise. Now he does not allow me to go to church and does not want to allow me to baptize the child. Can I get a marriage annulment? Signed, K. L., Chicago. "Zburzenie – spustoszenie - śmierć – P. O.,"11 Apr. 1937, 144.

> Answer: Failure to keep the pre-marriage promises, or failure to keep the pledges on the part of a non-Catholic, does not give the Catholic side the right to annul the marriage contracted before a Catholic priest. […].

Two years ago I went with my foreman to a party. I did it to spite my mother, because she prohibited me to go with him. He was divorced and a non-Catholic. The next day I got married with him in court. A week ago he divorced me. Will I be able to marry in the Church? Signed, M. D., Milwaukee. "Zburzenie - spustoszenie - śmierć – P. O.,"11 Apr. 1937, 148.

I am twenty two years old. My father does not allow me to marry. My fiancée is a good Catholic and a Pole. Signed, P. G., Michigan City, IN. "Czy życie nie jest bolesną pielgrzymką? – P. O.,"16 Jan. 1937, 120.

1937-1938

I am eighteen years old. My parents nag me to marry a bachelor, whom they like. I do not want. Signed, W. L., East Chicago, IN. "Dłonie chłopskie - serca pańskie - P. O.," 14 Nov. 1937, 17.

I got married in a church, because the girl's parents forced me to this, so that the child had my name. Is this marriage valid? Signed, M. F., Milwaukee. "Dłonie chłopskie - serca pańskie - P. O.," 14 Nov. 1937, 22.

My son is twenty three years old. He wants to marry a widow who is forty years old. Is this possible? Signed, Ł. G., “Czemu nie chcesz wierzyć? - P. O.,” 5 Dec. 1937, 52.

My sister, a widow, is visited by a Protestant, who vowed (got married) before the Justice of Peace, and then got a divorce! Signed, P. H., Nanticoke, PA. “Dlaczego? - P. O.,” 27 Feb. 1938, 51. Answer,

Why did the Catholic Church allowMarconi to divorce? Signed, R. D., Silver Lake, M. N., “Czy świat lituje się nad niemi? - P. O.,”24 Apr. 1938, 142.

My daughter is seventeen years old. She met a non-Catholic who is 40 years old. He is wealthy. He got married before a preacher with a Lutheran. She divorced him. Can my daughter have a Church wedding with him? He is a good guy. Signed, A. R., Sonyea, N. Y., “Czy świat lituje się nad niemi? - P. O.,” 24 Apr. 1938, 143.

My fiancée’s grandmother and my grandfather are brother and sister. They say that we cannot get married in the Catholic Church. Is this true? Signed, H. N., Milwaukee, “Czy każdy dzień nie powinien być Dniem Matki? - P. O.,” 1 May 1938, 159.

1938-1939

I am twenty years old. I go with my boyfriend, who has not been working for three years, so we cannot get married. We are exposed to a variety of occasions [of sin]. What advice can you give us Father Justyn? Signed, S. Z., Buffalo. “Jesteś Chrześcijaninem? - P. O.,” 6 Nov. 1938, 13.

> Answer: […]. The purpose of engagement, which should not drag on too long, is to get acquainted with each other’s drawbacks and deficiencies, virtues and advantages! The simple reason requires avoiding disreputable occasions, does not allow for intimacy and calls for self-control. Otherwise there will be weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth. If there is true love between you and you are healthy, march to the altar, with God's help you will manage!

My wife, only nine months after the wedding, is already at odds with me and throws at me just what she gets into her hand. Do I have to fight her back? Signed, F. C., Kenosha, WI. “On – Krzesło elektryczne - P. O.,” 4 Dec. 1938, 57.

My husband two years after our marriage went to his mother to board. He left me with a small child. He always said to me that man has only one mother, he may have more wives. Signed, L. B., Hazleton, PA. “Młodzi a życie - P. O.,” 11 Dec. 1938, 70.

> Answer: Only a perverse and malicious man can reason like that. [...]. If such a wise sonny had pulled out his legs from under his mother's table he would have returned to his wife and child!

Can a fourteen year old boy get married in the Catholic Church? Signed, B. W., South Norwalk, CT. "Powódź - huragan - trzęsienie ziemi - P. O.," 8 Jan. 1939, 113.

My brother was terrible to his wife. He treated her badly. He died recently. Now I want to marry her. Can I? Signed, T. W., Chicago. "Tam a tu - P. O.," 15 Jan. 1939, 123.

I write this letter in the presence of my fiancée. What shall we do to live happily together? Signed, B. M., Blue Island, IL. "Powiedz mojemu ojcu - P. O.," 22 Jan. 1939, 132.

> Answer: […]. Remember always and everywhere, "if the Lord does not build the house, it is useless for the builders to work on it."

Would not relaxed divorce regulations help human happiness? Why the Church does not consider this? Signed, T. S., New Bedford, MA. "Powiedz mojemu ojcu - P. O.," 22 Jan. 1939, 133. Answer,

Is it only the husband and wife, or the entire family that should go to Confession and Holy Communion on the silver jubilee of the parents? Signed, S. G., Latrobe, PA. "Trzej truciceiele - P. O.," 5 Feb. 1939, 12.

Three years ago I married a professional wealthy man. I finished only eight grades of elementary school, because I had to go to work. My husband hurts me mercilessly. Signed, D. B., Pittsburgh. "Brzeg czy staw - P. O.," 19 Mar. 1939, 67.

Does the Catholic Church prescribe how long after the death of his wife a widower must wait before he can marry again? I ask because my late wife was survived by four children and it is difficult for me to take care of them. Signed, F. J., Toledo, OH. "Dom i życie - P. O.," 26 Mar. 1939, 74.

Please explain to me what the duties of a husband are towards his wife, and the duties of a married son towards his mother, who not only avoids the daughter-in-law, but hates her? Signed, C. M. B., Wilkes-Barre, PA. "Zgubne marzenie - P. O.," 23 Apr. 1939, 126.

> Answer: […]. The husband should consider his wife as a companion and partner and not treat her as if she is a servant or slave! - It is not only wrong but unreasonable conduct if a husband is more attached to his mother than his wife! [...].

1939-1940

I intend to marry. However, my fiancée and I both work; we want to be well off before marriage. We cannot afford a house and children. Signed, P. N., Pittsburg. "Truciciele dusz - P. O.," 12 Nov. 1939, 22.

I'd like to have more children, but because of harsh living conditions I cannot permit myself to do that. Signed, B. N., Pittsburg. "Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa - P. O.," 10 Dec. 1939, 64.

My husband left me and four children. What shall I do? Signed, S. B., Pittsburg. "Czy jest z czego się radować i cieszyć - P. O.," 24 Dec. 1939, 91.

Before marriage my fiancée had been patient and good; after marriage she displays horns! Signed, C. K., Springfield, MA. "Maryo, uzdrów mnie! - P. O.," 28 Apr., 1940, 162.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO NEW ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND GENDER RELATIONS, 1931-1940 (CHAPTER V)

1931-1932

> [...]. I have a habit of going to the theater at about nine o'clock, and neighbors seeing it report to my husband that I go with other men. My husband believes them and tells me that what people say must be the truth; otherwise they would not have reported this. For this reason we have a great misunderstanding at home. Signed, Nieszczęślwa (Unhappy), Buffalo. Talk ”Dokąd idziesz – P. O.,” 17 Jan. 1932, 11.
>
> Father Justin, tell me what I have to do. I got married to my husband in the court; he has two children and his wife is alive. The wife is in a legal battle with him and he loses money because of it. People point their fingers at me and my child. I cannot subscribe to any parish, and no priest wants to bless my marriage. What shall I do? Signed, Z. Z., Niagara Falls, N. Y. Talk ”Kościół Katolicki a Robotnik, [*sic*] – P. O.,” 14 Feb. 1932, 11.
>
>> Answer: The only advice a Roman Catholic priest can give you is the one that you must leave the man with whom you live as soon as possible. [...].
>
> I am a widow and a mother of four; I live honestly and work hard for the subsistence of the children, but one family insults me by calling me second-handed, widow and a "scrap ", and writes anonymous letters. Signed, Wdowa M. L. (Widow), Buffalo. Talk „Nowocześni Judasze (Modern Judases), – P. O.,” 6 Mar. 1932, 8.
>
>> Answer: Letters without a signature throw into the trash or into the oven. If these authors go too far – report it to the police. […].

1932-1933

> I know that the Catholic Church says that marriage is the Sacrament, but would not it be better if, in some cases the Church approved divorce? Signed, M. S., Cleveland, OH. Talk ”Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.,” 4 Dec. 1932, 27.
>
>> Answer: [...]. In 1930, in the United States were 191,591 divorces, or 17 per 100 marriages! Add to that murders committed on the unborn

innocents and the hideous and barbaric birth control, and you will see why the Catholic Church defends the sanctity of marriage.

Why, out of all churches, is it that only the Roman Catholic Church insists and orders that the families have as many children as possible? Signed, T. P., Rochester, N. Y. Talk ”(Untitled) – P. O.,” 19 Mar. 1932-1933, 73.

Answer: How unreasonable and even silly it sounds when a cobbler or a tailor takes to explaining the teaching of the Catholic Church? [...]. The Church in its teaching does not insist, and moreover does not force upon the family the number of children they should have. The Church is not opposed to birth control through mortification and abstinence. The Catholic Church correctly and fairly forbids, birth control if it is artificial, mechanical or chemical, because it opposes God's law and the law of nature.

Why does the Catholic Church not allow divorce? I have a husband who is a rascal, idle and a drunkard, and I have to sit with him! Is it fair? Signed, K. D., Detroit. Talk “Chłop bohater - P. O.,” 2 Apr. 1933, 99.

Answer: […]. The Church has not forced you into marriage, so do not complain against the church’s law. […].

1933-1934

[…] the Catholic Church teaches the people that they always have to live in marriage and have many children. But, this teaching takes effect only with the poor and dim. […] The rich and aristocracy are free to do everything. They can get divorced and have a comfortable life. Unsigned, Buffalo. Talk “Chrześcijanskie małżeństwo,” 5 Nov. 1933, 45.

Over the last ten years, I brought up my children alone. In 1932, my husband got married in some sect; he mocks me and the children. I ask God for patience for myself and for him to come to his senses. Signed, S. F., Hamtramck, MI. Talk “Zdrajca szczęścia - P. O.,” 29 Oct. 1933, 39.

Answer: It shows that you have a great and deep faith, asking God for the conversion of your traitor husband and unworthy father of your children. But there is a way to teach him a lesson. Take him to court. He either got or did not get a civil divorce. If not, then go after his pocket, because he has to give something for the maintenance of children. Otherwise, and without mercy, get him put behind bars. And what if there is no court divorce? This would be even worse for him. For bigamy he will go behind the “Swedish curtains” (prison) for several years where he will learn not to

> mock you and your children in your misery. Thanks God there is no Turkey here and one cannot have a harem. Dear Poles it's time to reform and to imitate the honest and God-fearing life of our forefathers, not to assimilate to the customs of unbelievers and Pagans!

Father Justin, explain to my wife, who gives me trouble because I cannot find work. We are in confusion and discord at home from morning to evening. When times were good I was working day in and day out, and even at nights. Today, although I seek every day, there is nothing there. Signed, P. D., Pittsburgh. Talk "Zdrajca szczęścia - P. O.," 29 Oct. 1933, 38.

I cannot agree with my wife! We have three children, our own house, I work, but I see that one has to go to court. Signed, Powoli, Z. K., Chicago. Talk "Zdrajca Szczęścia - P. O.," 29 Oct. 1933, 39.

> Answer: Let's look at this issue carefully and calmly. To dissent one must have at least two people, to agree is the same. Is all the blame on the side of your wife? I doubt it! Maybe you, with your arrogance, intransigence, un-kindness and lack of balance, are partially guilty of discord? [...].

Father Justin said that the world pulled the woman from the altar of praise and worship. Why? Signed, A. P., Buffalo. Talk "Walka klas - P. O.," 17 Dec. 1933, 132.

> Answer: Listen to what a certain author writes: "Perhaps never, in the historical times of Saxon debauchery or during the [independent decadentism],[1] has the value of woman as a human being, wife, sister, companion of fortune and misfortune, been so brutally reduced to zero - as it is now!" You ask yourself why? Because the females allow it! Further explanation is probably superfluous!

[…]. Our mother is dead, we all live together. Eight of us, two married. [...]. An older married daughter's husband has not worked steadily for nearly three years, but from time to time, he was lucky to get a job at least for a few days. Last year, he worked continuously for five months. Over the past four months, he worked only one week. Before the depression he had a job in one company for 12 years. Second daughter's husband lost his job just a few weeks after the wedding, due to wretched business, but he is happy that from time to time he can earn some money. The two married daughters are working, although not always, but enough to earn only the cost of food. And father does not like this. He is convinced that the wives have to sit at home and the husbands should work. We agree with him,

[1] Independent decadentism – probably Father Justyn was reffering to the moral aspect of the Italian artistic movement based loosely on decadent movements found in France and England by the end of the nineteenth century.

but what else can be done when there is no work. [...]. Signed, Zmartwione córki (Sad daughters). Talk "Kapitał i praca, - P. O.," 4 Feb. 1934, 59-60.

Do fathers have any importance today? There are always only mothers and mothers. Signed, S., Cleveland, OH. Talk "Wzór dobroci - P. O.," 11 Feb. 1934, 82.

Has the today's guy nothing to say? Women press on everywhere, they replace the guys, take their work, even the office work. Signed, J. J., Buffalo. Talk "Żale ludzkie, - P. O.," 4 Mar. 1934, 124.

> Answer: […]. True, we have equality, but that word can be stretched out well beyond its meaning. And in fact, it happens. The government should look into this matter! True, there are works and activities for which the women have special gifts and talent; there are cases where women, as widows, wives of cripples and other unfortunates are forced to compete with the men, but there are many professions and jobs not adequate to the woman' nature. The guilty are often the employers, who driven by greed, employ women for a lower wage to work in jobs better suited for men.

Why does Father Justin laugh at us because we use powders and rouge? Does this bother somebody? Signed, S. H., Buffalo. Talk "Judasz polskiego robotnika, - P. O.," 18 Mar. 1934, 155.

> Answer: […]. The statistics insist that American women in the [last] twelve months consumed 52.500 tons of [cosmetic] cream, 26.250 tons of various beauty lotions, 19.109 tons of scented soap, 17.500 [tons] of strengthening cream, 2.375 tons of rouge! For all this they paid in cash about two billion dollars. Ladies and girls I will advise how you can save these two billion of U.S. dollars: early to rest, a lot of fresh air, moderate eating and drinking, a lot of cold water on the inside and outside! You will not look like the newly re-painted Fords, but as brand new Pierce Arrows.

1934-1935

It is easy for priests to insist on great families. Later, people are dying of hunger. Is that what God commands? Signed, S. L., Milwaukee. Talk "Łazarze, - P. O.," 28 Oct. 1934, 24-25.

> Answer: [...]. The Holy Father Pope Pius XI in the Encyclical on Christian Marriage wrote: "Many dare to call a child a nasty burden of marriage and act to avoid it carefully, not by fair restraint, but through violation of the

> natural act." [...]. True, people suffer from hunger, but large families are not the reason for this. People and the wicked principles to which they hold are guilty. The population of the United States is 123 million, and there is place for at least three hundred million.

Is make-up a sin? Signed, P. T., Detroit. Talk "Łazarze - P. O.," 28 Oct. 1934, 25.

> Answer: My personal and humble opinion has been always this: the one who wears make-up out of stupidity, commits no sin, the who paints her mug out of pride and with bad intent, commits a sin. There are those individuals who use powder and rouge, to cover some defects, such as pallor, pimples, etc. This will pass. However, there are those beings who use these artificial embellishments for an evil purpose. I do not want to be their judge! [...].

Announcement: […]. So far, however, and for various reasons I have not touched on a very important religious and social affair which is now so widely discussed, namely birth control, the killing of the fetus, etc! The topic is perhaps one of the most important because it hurts the Church, country and family badly, and in addition it humiliates the man and pulls the woman down to the level of a soulless animal. [...]. Respectable listeners, I leave this matter to be settled by you. Please write to me this week, whether you want me or not, to spend two or three Sundays on the matter. If you write no, I'll keep silence, if you write yes, without further hesitation, about the first Sunday in February, you will hear about some disturbing and degrading incident and facts in connection with birth control and so on. [...]. Father Justyn. Talk "Bądź wola nasza, - P. O.," 20 Jan. 1935, 13.

My husband says that he has only one mother, and if I die, he may soon get a second wife, so he must love his mother more than his wife! Signed, S. M., Chicago. Talk "Staromodne i nowomodne, - P. O.," 3 Feb. 1935, 35.

My husband is like a wild beast. He should live in a cage. Signed, M. W., Chicago. Talk "Staromodne i nowomodne, - P. O.," 3 Feb. 1935, 38.

Does smoking harm women? Signed, R. A., South Milwaukee, WI. Talk "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi, - P. O.," 24 Feb. 1935, 78.

> Answer: Without the slightest doubt smoking harms women and especially adversely affects the nerves of women. Personally, I think that the fashion of smoking cigarettes by the feminine kind is degrading, but I readily admit that in some areas I am backward. [...].

My woman is no woman at all. When she gets furious, then even I have to walk out of the house. What should I do? Signed, C. M., Detroit. Talk "A jednak są cuda, - P. O.," 3 Mar. 1935, 89.

> Answer: Tell me the truth my poor "hen pecked" that whereupon you not only need to walk out but to flee in haste, without looking in which direction and where, as soon as possible and as far away as possible. Is it not true? [...]. Keep to the military tactics and hide in the trenches in good time (before the attack). (After that, come back home!) […].

Four years ago I married. My wife and "lady mother" (an expression used by the Polish nobility to address a mother or mother in law - in this situation a sarcasm) beat me up and drove me out of my home. The "lady mother" sent her husband back to the country, and lives with the other one "on faith" (partnership relation). My wife does not want to move out from her mother. Signed, F. S., Buffalo. Talk "Podpalacze świata, - P. O.," 17 Mar. 1935, 114.

> Answer: Again (the proverb) that love is blind is confirmed. In America, everything is done "in a hurry"- " (expression in the text used in English - translates into the Polish expression: "na łeb na szyję"), yet the stork arrives with children in a rush, or even before time! A minute of joyful intoxication, and years of sorrow and tears! One waltz and then the never ending "Prisoner's Song!" There is nothing to say, you arrived at the wrong address. Apparently, like mother like daughter. The "lady mother" has no right to command you, and the wife should go with her husband. Try to come together to see me. We'll consider the matter and see if the wounds can be healed. If not, go to a Polish lawyer, for your own defense, otherwise you will be pay dearly for your trip to this marriage forest.

I have been married for eighteen years. Now my husband tells me that the devil possessed me. Signed, E. H., West Allis, WI. Talk "Podpalacze świata, - P. O.," 17 Mar. 1935, 113.

Father Justin has always praised only women and criticized the guys. If he knew such a woman like mine, only then would he have learnt what the women are like. Signed, A. W., Chicago. Talk "Podpalacze świata, - P. O.," 17 Mar. 1935, 115.

> Answer: Father Justin has never boasted of all women, nor condemned indiscriminately all men. He only approved good women, and reproved and chastised bad men. Nothing more, nothing less! It seems to me that you are like the boy whom a catechist examined in religion. The boy was asked - Why did God create Eve? – He answered simply and courageously

– because it was too uncomfortable for the man on his own. Yes, and today many, not only respond but yell in the same way. I say to that: didn't you want marriage? - do not complain now. Be a man, not an old squaw! Then you will deserve the heartfelt praise. So help you God. Amen.

I am getting married to a non-Pole and a non-Catholic; I believe that faith alone will not make me happy. Signed, S. W., Buffalo. Talk "Grabarze szczęścia robotnika – P. O.," 24 Mar. 1935, 129.

Please, comment on birth control. In some countries it is recommended, in others again, they pay premiums for a large family. Many people say that birth control is good, because there is a problem with the children; they are difficult to feed, etc. Some women go to the doctor, who for money murders a child. Signed, P. W., Toledo. Talk "W górę serca, - P. O.," 14 Apr. 1935, 168-169.

Answer: Despite hundreds of letters asking for a comprehensive discussion on "birth control", I fear to speak on this subject which is so delicate, but so important and timely. I think that the only suitable place for it is the confessional. Even from the pulpit one cannot talk about this extensively and thoroughly. This may cause more harm than good. [...]. Quotation from the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on "Christian Marriage".

1935-1936

I have already written three times asking Father Justin to speak up on birth control. I am sure that every woman is interested in it. This is important and useful. Signed, W. W., Detroit. Talk "Na co spowiedź, - P. O.," 5 Jan. 1936, 157.

Answer: Not only you, but several thousand female listeners have written on this subject. I always hesitated because I was afraid of offending the delicate feelings of the female listeners, and because of the imagination of the young listeners. [...].

Why Father Justin says nothing about "birth control"? All are writing about this. Signed, L. N., Cleveland, OH. Talk "Czyste małżeństwo czy wolna miłość?, - P. O.," 23 Feb. 1936, 97.

Answer: This subject is so serious and delicate that I fear to touch it. last year about four thousand male and female listeners have written on this subject. [...]. Before WW I, especially among the English and American elite, chasing novelties and impressions, found interest in the theory called neo-Malthusianism. The goal is to reduce the number of children in

> marriage, by the use of artificial and preventive measures! [...]. Give work for the crowd of laborers and fair pay for it and they will be able to give their children, whom God has bestowed upon him, not only material abundance of bread, but also the spiritual food. No, birth control is unnecessary; leave it to Providence and let's control ourselves!

I am 18 years old. While looking for work every day, I cannot get anything. My brothers and sisters and even my mother, they hate and curse me. In despair, I pray for death, so that I am no longer in their way. Signed, A. M., Chicago. Talk "Czemu to tak? - P. O.," 1 Mar. 1936, 110-111.

1936-1937

I have married at the age of sixteen. I have two children. My husband not only does not work, but from our wedding four years ago, he is drunk almost every day and beats me. Now I do not know what to do? Signed, K. L., Chicago. "Nasze położenie – P. O.," 22 Nov. 1936, 63.

> Answer: In my opinion, I believe that a sixteen-year old girl, who voluntarily contracts marriage, commits suicide. If the parents allow it, they commit a crime. […]. Make a report to the Police. There he will tangibly learn that those times have passed when wives were considered slaves and men were regarded as all-powerful masters. He will get an ample dose of the same medication, which he did not spare his wife!

How many divorces were in the United States and how many in the Catholic Church? Signed, B. P., Chicago. Talk "Nowy rok – nowy człowiek, - P. O.," 27 Dec. 1936, 129.

> Answer: I do not have statistics from the previous years! But I do have before me a report from the Census Bureau from 1926 to 1929. In those three years, the American courts granted 770,304 divorces and 16,706 cancellations of weddings! [...]. From the time of Christ to the present day the Catholic Church still has not given a divorce because it would exceed the Divine law: "What God has joined together let no man dare to separate." [...].

If the American families continue to have so many children, we all will start dying of hunger soon! Signed, A. N., Detroit. Talk "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie - P. O.," 10 Jan. 1937, 159.

I know that perhaps Father Justin will condemn me, but I do not know where to go; I do not see way out from my situation. For me there is only poison left.

Signed, N. W., Chicago. “Naiwnych nie sieją – sami się rodzą – P. O.,” 17 Jan. 1937, 174.

> Answer: Please hear the whole letter: "I am 19 years old and I am an illegitimate mother. My parents forced me to walk with a bachelor, no Pole, because my mother liked him. I opposed as best I could, but my mother threatened to curse me and eject from the house. One day in the summer we went in an automobile out of the city. My companion forced me to drink 'high-balls! "He must have added something, because soon I lost consciousness. When I came to myself, I was on the veranda of our house, I was beaten and wasted. The companion disappeared and to this day we do not know where stays. After the arrival of a child, my father and my mother threw insults on me and do not have a good word for me. Father, in what have I sinned? If only my mother did not sell me, I would have been happy today. Now, I only hear that I should die with my ‘puppy’. So, wouldn’t it be better to poison myself and my child?" - Reply to this letter: Listen you unhappy child. I'd be a man without a heart and feelings, if I had the courage to condemn you. [...]. Years ago a mother of a child born out of wedlock, ruthlessly deserted or disgustingly abandoned, was not only ashamed of her illegitimate child before it came into the world and washed up in the meantime in her own tears and was passing through the hell of torments because of the harm caused to her brutally, but what is more, after the birth of a child of an unknown father, she was spurned and stigmatized until the end of her life. [...]. Today, it is not like that and rightly so. Indeed, the vast majority of single mothers, about 95 percent, are abandoned wives, gullible women and deceived fiancées. The poor female workers face a bigger problem the; they can be accused of levity and credulity, however they are rarely morally broken or unfair. [...].

Can the government pass the law to allow for the legal murder of the unborn children? Signed, D. Z., Detroit. “Pamiętaj! – P. O.,” 7 Mar. 1937, 78.

Is it fair that the married women work when their husbands have a job, and the girls are forced to stay at home with no income? In addition, they are laughing. Signed, M. B. L., Buffalo. “Krzyżyki ludzkie! – P. O.,” 4 Apr. 1937, 132-133.

> Answer: […]. There was a custom once that from the marriage day, the married woman was to forget about the factory or office or warehouse. Husbands considered this a shame and disgrace, when the wife was forced to go to work. Today is different. [...]. The former conviction that if a woman marry, she always has the man who can provide for the whole

house keeping, does not agree with the economic position of the present times! […].

1937-1938

I tell my daughter that she is not to do make-up; she does not want to listen to me and continues with it! Signed, C. K., Depew, N Y. “Wierzyć czy nie wierzyć? – P. O.,” 9 Jan. 1938, 116.

Answer: My father dear, this shouldn’t upset you and spoil your humor. Since time immemorial, women use make-up and color themselves, and they will do it for all the centuries until the end of the world. [...].

Father Justin why you do not say something more and more extensively about "birth control"? Today, the girls do not marry to be mothers, but to be a good sport. Signed, Starej Daty Matka (The Old Time Mother), Oshkosh, WI. “Ojciec to czy morderca? – P. O.,” 30 Jan. 1938, 147-148.

Answer: Although I intended several times to speak on "birth control," and even I have the speech prepared, but I still hesitate. Why? I am just afraid. [...]. We must remember that I am speaking to nearly two million listeners; I must be careful not to offend their feelings on this very sensitive issue, and especially not to feed into young, sensitive imaginations the images of human baseness and rot, unworthy of intelligent people: it is not always proper to speak to everyone about everything. [...].

My eighteen years old daughter got married in the Church. Along with her husband she made an arrangement that they will have no children, because they will always practice (birth) control. They lived together for six months. She says now that, for this reason her marriage was not valid. She wants to marry another one. Signed, M. M., New England. Talk “Dlaczego? – P. O.,” 27 Feb. 1938, 51.

My daughter is seventeen years old. She met a 40 years old non-Catholic. He is wealthy. His marriage with a Lutheran woman was blessed by a preacher. She divorced him. Can my daughter marry him in the Church? He is a good man. Signed, A. R., Sonyea, N.Y. Talk “Czy świat lituje się nad niemi?” 24 Apr. 1938, 143.

1938-1939

My fiancée and I we want to enter into marriage, but at least for three years we could not afford to have a child. Would our marriage be valid? Signed, H. R., Chicago. Talk “Jesteś Chrześcijaninem? – P. O.,” vol. 1, 6 Nov. 1938, 14.

Answer: There is no doubt that the marriage is valid, but whether your life would be harmonious and happy, I doubt it, […]. I do not intend to apologize for that phrase; you plan your life on the principles of materialism and paganism. [...]. Have a little faith in the goodness of the Divine providence. Do not make such premarital arrangements!

Does a doctor, who causes abortion fall under the ecclesiastical penalty? Signed, S. B., Webster, MA. Talk "Ona – on! – P. O.," 20 Nov. 1938, 38.

Answer: Can 2350 teaches: "Fall into the excommunication reserved for all the ordinary people who effect the abortion of the fetus."[2]

Are there official birth control clinics in the United States? Signed, A. P., Philadelphia. Talk "Czytanie to ogień! – P. O.," 19 Feb. 1939, 35.

Answer: At the end of 1937 years a well known professional journal "The Journal of the American Medical Association" reported that in the United States there were 374 clinics to spread messages about artificial birth control. The teaching of the principles of human degradation is called "business"! It is a strange industry, with one foot between the science and the second leg among the hundreds of villains who make a small fortune out of thousands of victims of ignorance! The business of birth control is calculated at 250 million dollars a year! Manufacturers themselves make about 75 million U.S. dollars. And what bloody and murderous earnings!

I am fifteen years. My dad yells at me because I use powder. He says that is a sin! Signed, M. B., Chicago. Talk "Czytanie to ogień! – P. O.," 19 Feb. 1939, 35.

1939-1940

What is the woman today? Short skirt, short haircut and shaved? Signed, C. B., Meriden, CT. Talk "Truciciele dusz – P. O.," 12 Nov. 1939, 20.

Answer: The current and modern fashion I leave aside! And today the woman is a companion, an assistant and associate of the man. [..].

I would like to have more children, but because of difficult living conditions I cannot afford them. Signed, B. N., Pittsburgh. Talk "Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa – P. O.," 10 Dec. 1939, 64.

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[2] Cannon Law 1917, Can 2350 §1. The original Latin text: Procurantes abortum, matre non excepta, incurrunt, effectu secuto, in excommumcationem latae sententiae Ordinario reservatam; et si sint clerici, praeterea deponantur.

> Answer: [...]. Above all, remember that every child born from the proper marriage is not a burden but a gift and God's blessing. [...].

Do not we already have enough people in the United States? After all, there more births than deaths. Signed, F. G., Boston. Talk "Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa – P. O.," 10 Dec. 1939, 69.

> Answer: The United States is big and rich enough to accommodate, employ and feed three times as many people, than it has today! [...].

A P P E N D I X E1

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO POLISH PATRIOTISM (CHAPTER VI)

1932-1933

Why do Polish children, even my own, do not want to speak Polish? Signed, E. P., Archbald, PA. Talk "Nasze zalety i wady – P. O.," 11 Dec. 1932, 36.

> Answer: One of the biggest reasons is the sad fact that children follow the example of the elderly. [...].The schools where children attend are guilty, not excluding some of our schools. Finally, our educated class bears the blame, especially some of our younger clergy. [...].

Why are Poles in Buffalo not able to elect their own mayor? Signed, K. N., Buffalo. Talk "Kalwarie dwudziestego wieku – P. O.," 9 Apr. 1933, 107.

> Answer: This is not a secret. Jealousy is the reason and disagreement the consequence. […].

1933-1934

Why is Poland preparing for war? Signed, Bolszewik, Detroit. Talk "Chłopskie serce – P. O.," 21 Feb. 1934, 36.

I often hear at the Union (Polish Roman Catholic Union) about a Society under the name of Cardinal Hlond, the Polish Primate. What does this term Polish Primate mean? Is Cardinal Hlond alive? Signed, S. J., Chicago. Talk "Sprawiedliwość Boża – P. O.," 18 Feb. 1934, 93.

Please give a real speech [like the one] delivered against the Poles in Washington by the radio speaker, a Catholic priest from Detroit. Is Father Justin afraid to raise this matter? Signed, M. P., Chicago. Talk "Judasz polskiego robotnika – P. O.," 18 Mar. 1934, 150.

1934-1935

We had a celebration of the sixteen-year anniversary of the Polish independence. The only highly praised person was Pilsudski. Is this fair? Do others not have merit in that? Signed, K. P., Wilkes-Barre, PA. Talk "Robaczysko polskie – P. O.," 9 Dec. 1934, 105.

Please, list the villages which were affected by floods in Poland. Signed, C. L., Chicago. Talk "Marnotrawni tułacze – P. O.," 16 Dec. 1934, 116.

I am a former member of the Haller military formation. I heard that General Haller led the legionnaires named "The Legion of Death". Signed, J. K., Detroit. Talk "Gwiazda mędrców i mądrości – P. O.," 6 Jan. 1935, 157.

Must the Polish Army go to church on Sunday or not? A dispute arose between us. Signed, R. F., Cleveland, OH. Talk "Żołnierze w sutannach – P. O.," 13 Jan. 1935, 166.

What is most necessary in Poland so that it won't perish again? Signed, Polski Żołnierz (Polish Soldier), Buffalo. Talk "Niewolnicy – P. O.," 10 Feb. 1935, 50.

Do the compatriots in Poland think that we find dollars on the streets? They constantly write only for assistance. Signed, Polus, Dickson City, PA. Talk "Niewolnicy – P. O.," 10 Feb. 1935, 51.

What would we have left of Polish Emigration here if it was not for the Polish churches with their sermons, societies, the Polish schools? What would we have left of our Polish traditions? Would the Polish newspapers have existed? Please say something about it. Signed, B. K., Toledo. Talk "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi – P. O.," 24 Feb. 1935, 76.

Why has Poland such a great army, yet the citizens have to pay huge taxes? Why not turn that money into the schools? Signed, B. N., Detroit. Talk "A jednak są cuda – P. O.," 3 Mar. 1935, 88.

What are the Poles most famous of? Signed, J. O., Detroit. Talk "A jednak są cuda – P. O.," 3 Mar. 1935, 89.

Answer: [The Poles are famous of] Diligence, piety and chivalry.

I am a good Pole. I was in the (Congress) Kingdom during the war. As my relatives from Warszawa write to me now, then it was better as it is today. Why is Poland not ruled better? Signed, L. B., Chicago. Talk "Robotnik – praca - płaca – P. O.," 31 Mar. 1935, 139.

Why is the Catholic Church in Poland showing so much bigotry against other religions? Signed, P. L., Chicago. Talk "Robotnik – praca - płaca – P. O.," 31 Mar. 1935, 143.

Answer: This allegation is as one-sided and bigoted as the news of the pogroms of Jews in Poland. Let us remember that if I'm not mistaken, of all countries in the world, only Poland has the laws to protect minorities. [...].

1935-1936

How can we Poles get ahead if it is not just strangers but our kindred who interfere with the careers of our young people? Signed, Young Student, Chicago. Talk "Bohaterzy czy zbrodniarze?, – P. O.," 3 Nov. 1935.

Answer: My dear young man! It is bad, but not as bad as you think. The great majority from the older generation help our young and enjoys their success. […].

Do Poles not need to understand the obligation to vote? Signed, R. J., Buffalo. Talk "Czy to małżeństwo? – P. O.," 10 Nov. 1935, 44.

Answer: There is no cure for stubbornness and stupidity. And we Americans of Polish descent, unfortunately, we are as stubborn as goats, as stupid as "Maciej z Maciejowa" (Matthew of Maciejow). [...].

It seems to me that the best way to maintain Polishness in America is to promote the Polish Saturday Schools and sending youth to Poland. Otherwise, it is a waste of time. Signed, P. P., Detroit. Talk "Wolność czy swawola? – P. O.," 17 Nov. 1935, 61.

Answer: [...]. What till now preserved Polishness among us? There were no Saturday schools, and almost none of the Polish young people went to Poland. Polishness however, has not disappeared. Why? Because they were Polish churches - Polish schools, Polish press, Polish books, Polish fathers and Polish mother. Today it is different. Why? Because the Polish mother and the Polish father do not want to use the Polish language in the house! In the Polish house the parents do not have a Polish newspaper or Polish book. The Polish parents do not want to send their children to the Polish schools and they are ashamed to belong to a Polish parish! [...].

Was Gregory XVIth, a persecutor of Poles, supporting the Russian Tsar, because he was a Franciscan? Signed, B. J., Detroit. Talk "Wiara czy brednia? – P. O.," 1 Dec. 1935, 85.

Answer: Pope Gregory XVI was a monk in the Camaldolese Order, not a Franciscan. He also was not a persecutor of the Poles. All he did was that he sent a letter to the Polish bishops, asking them not to get involved into politics. [...].

After all, among the Communists in America there are Poles, who love Poland and support Poland. Why do you Fr. Justin hate them? Signed, W. F., Detroit. Talk "Cud czy złudzenie? – P. O.," 8 Dec. 1935, 99.

Is unemployment in Poland less now than before? Signed, P. B., Buffalo. Talk "Cud czy Złudzenie? – P. O.," 8 Dec. 1935, 101.

Is it true that Fr. Moczygemba was an ex-Franciscan? Signed, K. D., Buffalo. Talk "Cud czy złudzenie? – P. O.," 8 Dec. 1935, 102.

When Piłsudski died, did he die as a Catholic? Signed, G. S., Hammond, IN. Talk "Co mi Kościół daje? – P. O.," 8 Mar. 1936, 127.

1936-1937

Why is it that here in Buffalo the Americans of Polish descent do not have officials as they have in Chicago, Milwaukee and Detroit? Signed, K. W., Buffalo. Talk "Nowoczesne córki jerozolimskie – P. O.," 10 Jan. 1937, 161.

Is there any political party that treats Poles fairly? That is to say, does it gives the Polish citizens (Polish-Americans) due recognition? Signed, P. A. G., Cragin, IL. Talk "Żywcem pogrzebani – P. O.," 15 Nov. 1937, 44.

> Answer: No political party […]

Is it going to be always that we will be mishandled and treated like dirt? Are we always going to be "foreigners"? Signed, J. R., Salamanca, N. Y. Talk "Pamiętaj – P. O.," 7 Mar. 1937, 73.

> Answer: [...]. We bite each other, do not trust each other, we suspect each other, accuse each other and then complain about others! [...].

1937-1938

Why is our nationality not equal to others on the social level? Will we ever move forward? Signed, B. H., Chicago. Talk "A potem – co? – P. O.," 2 Jan. 1938, 104.

> Answer: We lack self-confidence. We have no ambition. We do not know how to go as a team. We are masters of jealousy [...]. We have to be great, because the great times are coming and the great times need great men. So, be great Catholics, Poles and Americans!

Are Poland and the Poles afraid of the Bolsheviks? Signed, K. J., Northampton, MA. Talk "Czy to się opłaci? – P. O.," 10 Apr. 1938, 120.

1938-1939

When did the first group of Poles come to the United States? Signed, Studentka (Student), Buffalo. Talk "Tchórze mają strach – P. O.," 12 Mar. 1939, 58.

1939-1940

Are our merchants doing something for the victims of war in Poland? Signed, J. G., Buffalo. Talk "Truciciele dusz – P. O.," 12 Nov. 1939, 20.

Who was to be blamed, that such a misfortune fell on Poland, who was responsible for this? Signed, K. P., Chicago. Talk "Tragedia tułaczów – P. O.," 14 Jan., 1940, 125.

Why does Fr. Justin praise the Pope who is indifferent to the Polish cause. He is the enemy of the Poles. Signed, J. C., Detroit. Talk "Sceny których nie można zapomnieć – P. O.," 28 Jan., 1940, 151.

> Answer: I only give to each what is due! And one of those is our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, in whose cassock not one wipes his dirty "mug" or a hate-poisoned pen! - Among the first to recognize the Polish government in exile was - the Pope! […].

How many Polish refugees are outside Poland? Signed, S. C., South Bend, IN. Talk "Sceny których nie można zapomnieć – P. O.," 28 Jan., 1940, 152.

What happens to the Poles, whom the Germans throw out of their homes? Talk "sceny których nie można zapomnieć – P. O.," 28 Jan., 1940, 152.

Do the local young people still think about the Poles, Poland and Polish matters? It seems to me that they do not and they care nothing about them! Signed, Z. B., Chicago. Talk "Opowiadanie tułaczów polskich – P. O.," 18 Feb., 1940, 40.

> Answer: Our young people not only think, but take great interest in the matters relating to Poles and Polish affairs. [...].

Is the cathedral in Poznan destroyed? Signed, A. S., Chicago. "Talk "(Untitled) – P. O.," 10 Mar., 1940, 75.

Where do the invaders send the Polish girls? Signed, S. P., Wilkes-Barre, PA. "Talk "(Untitled) – P. O.," 10 Mar., 1940, 76.

A P P E N D I X E2

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO AMERICAN PATRIOTISM AND SOCIAL ISSUES, 1932-1940 (CHAPTER VI)

1932-1933

When will the government look into the labor relations, to prevent the workers from exploitation by employers, as they do now? Signed, P. K., Pittsburgh. Talk "Kalwarie dwudziestego wieku – P. O.," 9 Apr. 1933, 107.

1933-1934

It is easy for the Pope to issue statements. Why does he not do something for the workers? Signed, K. T., Detroit. Talk "Wszechmocny Bóg czy wszechmocny dolar? – P. O.," 22 Oct. 1933, 22.

I'll never believe that the Catholic Church is the defender of the poor and workers. It's just window dressing to the human eye. Signed, B. L., Niagara Falls, N. Y. Talk "Wszechmocny Bóg czy wszechmocny dolar? – P. O.," 22 Oct. 1933, 24.

Is it right to ask for help from the city if the (mortgage) on the house has been paid off? There are ten of us at home to feed, and I have been not working for three years. Signed, F. J., Buffalo. Talk "Zdrajca szczęścia – P. O.," 29 Oct. 1933, 38.

What do you have against the strikes? Is it not better to watch the Church? The capitalists pay you priest to teach the workers not to strike. The time will come, and there will be only one class in America, the working class. Signed, Robotnik (Worker), Detroit. Talk "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo – P. O.," 5 Nov. 1933, 47.

> Answer: […]. The strikes are a moral issue. The state is responsible for justice. The Church is to remind that the worker is neither a beast nor a machine. The worker is a person with duties and rights. […].

Did NRA do something good for the worker? Signed, R. P, Buffalo. Talk "Chrześcijańskie małżeństwo – P. O.," 5 Nov. 1933, 53.

> Answer: We have no right to expect the NRA to heal in six months all the wounds of the past three years of unemployment. Let us be patient!

I believe that if the Socialists ruled, there would be equality. Signed, Robotnik (Worker), Black Rock, N. Y. Talk "Ruina rodziny – P. O.," 12 Nov. 1933, 60.

Father Justyn, what do you think, is there a just pay for the worker? Signed, R. P., Detroit. Talk "Ruina rodziny – P. O.," 12 Nov. 1933, 61.

> Answer: […]. According to the Catholic scholars fair remuneration should be such that it is sufficient for the maintenance of the worker and his family, and the insurance in case of sickness, old age and unemployment. [...].

I want to know what Father Justin thinks about the effectiveness of the N.R.A., because I highly doubt it and I think it will bring more problems. Signed, S. D., Chicago. Talk "Ruina rodziny – P. O.," 12 Nov. 1933, 64.

> Answer: […]. At least it can be said about the NRA, that it constitutes an experiment much more noble than that famous experiment with prohibition. [...].

Do the capitalists pay you Father Justyn for defending them? Signed, P. K., Chicago. Talk "Prawdziwy obraz małżeństwa – P. O.," 3 Dec. 1933, 104.

> Answer: […]. They pay me as much as you and those like you do. […].

I am always sad; my husband does not work, we are poor, I do not know what to do? Signed, K. T., Hamtramck, MI. Talk "Walka klas – P. O.," 17 Dec. 1933, 132.

Father Justin so praised Pope Pius XI, and he also cut off pay for all workers, as they write in the papers. Signed, V. S., Detroit. Talk "Stary i nowy rok – P. O.," 31 Dec. 1933, 157.

1934-1935

Do more people work this year than last year? Signed, B. P., Buffalo. Talk "Pochodnia szczęścia – P. O.," 21 Oct. 1934, 10.

Wouldn't it be better if people were not getting help from the city? This is terrible that there is so much fraud. Signed, M. U., Detroit. Talk "Dozorca świata – P. O.," 4 Nov. 1934, 36.

Would it not be better for us workers to leave everything and return to where we came from? Anyway one has to die of hunger here. Signed, C. J., Hamtramck, MI. Talk "Robaczysko polskie – P. O.," 9 Dec. 1934, 105.

> Answer: Better, dear man, sit where you are. Nevertheless, although here is bad, it could have been worse. In the European countries it is not better. [...].

Our dad has not been working for four years. We have seven people. Our diet is what the good people give us. My mother is too ashamed to ask for help in the city. Signed, A. M., Detroit. Talk "Nowe jutro – P. O.," 30 Dec. 1934, 145.

How big is the debt of the United States and who shall repay it? Signed, A. S., Avoca, PA. Talk "Gwiazda mędrców i madrości – P. O.," 6 Jan. 1935, 154.

Do we always have to suffer misery, when there is plenty of everything in the world? What does Father Justin think of the plan of the Union for Social Justice? Signed, J. S., Royal Oak, MI. Talk "Gwiazda mędrców i mądrości – P. O.," 6 Jan. 1935, 155.

> Answer: What I think about (the plan) of the Union on Social Justice, I'll articulate later. For now, I will only say that I agree with some points, with others I don't, because in my opinion they are not feasible. [...].

Why will you Father Justin's not give your views on the "New Deal". - Are you afraid of losing influence with listeners? Signed, P. K., Buffalo. Talk "Żołnierze w sutannach – P. O.," 13 Jan. 1935, 168.

> Answer: I have already spoken on this issue many times. The "New Deal" I support in general, because it is for the benefit of workers. [...].

The government did badly, that began to give to the people assistance; they are now accustomed to laziness and abuse. Signed, K. W., Milwaukee. Talk "Bądź wola nasza – P. O.," 20 Jan. 1935, 8.

What did the government do to help the unemployed? Signed, K. O., Indiana Harbor, IN. Talk "A jednak jest dusza – P. O.," 17 Feb. 1935, 64.

> Answer: […]. Finally, read the message that President Roosevelt sent to Congress and you'll see that the current president did more for the workers than was made since 1776.

Is it really going to be better this year? One no longer knows whom to believe. Signed, J. D., Detroit. Talk "Dwa koła – P. O.," 27 Jan. 1935, 26.

> Answer: Everything indicates that the present year will be the beginning of a new era in the United States. [...].

What are the names of the Supreme Court Judges in Washington? Signed, E. S., Detroit. Talk "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi – P. O.," 24 Feb. 1935, 76.

I think that Father Justin is the same kind of capitalist as President Roosevelt. Signed, F. R., Chicago. Talk "Wiara w Boga czy wiara w ludzi – P. O.," 24 Feb. 1935, 77.

> Answer: Evidently the respectable Mr. F. R. does not have the slightest idea what capitalist means. [...].

1935-1936

Is depression never to end? Is it going to be always like that? Signed, G. M., Chicago. Talk "Bohaterzy czy zbrodniarze? – P. O.," 3 Nov. 1935, 45.

What is the reason that people are still unhappy, although it is better? Signed, T. M., Cleveland, OH. Talk "Bohaterzy czy zbrodniarze? – P. O.," 3 Nov. 1935, 45.

> Answer: There are various reasons for the present discontent among the masses. The major are: 1. Lack of faith; 2. Lack of work; 3. Excessive grievances of the masses; 4. Terrifying taxes! [...].

How many families receive government welfare? Signed, B. P., Chicago. Talk "Wolność czy swawola? – P. O.," 17 Nov. 1935, 63.

How many genuine socialists are in America? Signed, S. B., Buffalo. Talk "Wiara czy brednia? – P. O.," 1 Dec. 1935, 89.

Did the Communists cease to operate in America? Signed, I. D., Buffalo. Talk "Cud czy złudzenie? – P. O.," 8 Dec. 1935, 101.

1936-1937

Are the United States not threatened by bankruptcy and don't we have too big taxes? Signed, W. M., Racine, WI. Talk "Nasze położenie – P. O.," 22 Nov. 1936, 62.

How can you expect justice from the rich if they have everything and the workers nothing? I know that the United Steel Corporation belongs to Morgan! Signed, A. K., Detroit. Talk "Kwestja społeczna – P. O.," 29 Nov. 1936, 76.

> Answer: It seems to me that this question is raised by a supporter of the communist teachings, so, also the enemy of capitalism. The capitalist

system as such, is healthy and reasonable, practical and beneficial to the society. [...].

Who will be the next president? Signed, L. B., Hamtramck, MI. Talk "Czyśmy gorsi? – P. O.," 8 Nov. 1936, 29.

Does the Catholic Church condemn capitalism? Signed, W. B., Chicago. Talk "Czyśmy gorsi? – P. O.," 8 Nov. 1936, 32.

I have been in the United States for thirty years. What should I do, because I am still not a citizen! Signed, C. L., Hamtramck. Talk "Czyśmy gorsi? – P. O.," 8 Nov. 1936, 32.

Why are almost all capitalists hostile to President Roosevelt? I read what our automobile magnate said about him. Who knows better what the people need, Washington or Detroit? Signed, B. J., Detroit. Talk "Powiedz im aby – P. O.," 13 Dec. 1936, 105.

I cannot understand how Fr. Justin can defend the strikers. Did not all the workers get increases and bonuses? Signed, P. Z., Racine, WI. Talk "Sztuka życia! – P. O.," 31 Jan. 1937, 13.

What is the reason for the current strikes in America? Signed, A. R., Otis, MI. Talk "Serca nowoczesne – P. O.," 14 Feb. 1937, 36.

Do you Father Justin feel that the currently given payment is fair? Signed, N. B., Detroit. Talk "Kulawe małżeństwa – P. O.," 14 Mar. 1937, 92

Answer: Generally speaking it is not just. […].

What do you, Father Justyn, think about our presidential proposal to enlarge the number of judges of the Supreme Court? Signed, G. L., Wilkes-Barre, PA. Talk "Od palm do krzyża – P. O.," 21 Mar. 1937, 104.

How can you, Father Justyn, justify your support for the democrat president. A priest should look after the church. Signed, K. B., Black Rock, N. Y. Talk "Zburzenie – spustoszenie - śmierć – P. O.," 11 Apr. 1937, 144.

Answer: As an American citizen I have the right to belong to any political party, as long as it is not subversive. I support our president not as a democrat, but because in my opinion, the president works for the good of citizens. Besides, I do not follow him blindly and in everything. [...]

1937-1938

Why does President Roosevelt take the side of rich? Signed, R. M., Buffalo. Talk "Czemu nie chcesz wierzyć – P. O.," 5 Dec. 1937, 53.

> Answer: […]. No president of the United States has done so much for the working brothers, for the poor and oppressed, as has the currently reigning president. True, he committed more than one error and had made many mistakes; however, our President cannot be accused of lack of good will and best intentions! [...]. None of the rulers implemented the principles proclaimed by the Pope, especially the immortal Leo XIII, the Christian and fair principles, just as President Roosevelt. […].

Should the United States interfere in European affairs? Signed, S. K., Pontiac, MI. Talk "A potem - co? – P. O.," 2 Jan. 1938, 101.

> Answer: […]. Personally I think, it would be the best if the United States watched its own nose. [...].

Would it not be better if the American government did for the worker what the Soviet government is doing? Signed, P. Z., Hamtramck, MI. Talk "Czemu nie dziś? – P. O.," 6 Mar. 1938, 63.

> Answer: If the American government was guided by the principles of the Soviets, then this country of freedom would turn into a country of slavery, and the workers would be affected more than any other class of the population. [...].

You claim that you are a good American. I do not believe you, because you swear allegiance to your Pope. Yet he is an Italian and the king of Vatican. Signed, N. K., Springfield, MA. Talk "Czemu nie po chrześcijańsku? – P. O.," 27 Mar. 1938, 96.

1938-1939

Why do the manufacturers not pay more, so that a man could put away something for the old age? Signed, K. P., Natrona, PA. Talk "Jesteś Chrześcijaninem? – P. O.," 6 Nov. 1938, 15.

Do those who receive welfare from the city and have money in the bank commit sin? Signed, R. K., Boston. Talk "Posąg żyjący – P. O.," 5 Mar. 1939, 49.

Does the new law about the salary help the workers? Signed, P. B., Chelsea, MA. Talk "Zgubne marzenie – P. O.," 23 Apr. 1939, 127.

Answer: The new minimum wage law, the so-called "wage-hour bill" looks better on paper than in reality! [...].

1939-1940

Is it true that the church fights against capitalism? Signed, M. B., Buffalo. Talk "Bóg i nad narodem polskim czuwa – P. O.," 10 Dec. 1939, 66.

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO PARENTAL AUTHORITY AND THE STANDPOINT OF THE SECOND GENERATION, 1932-1940

1932-1933

Our daughter reads a monthly entitled N. N. Is she allowed to read this journal? Signed, M. M., Cheektowaga, N.Y. Talk "Pan śmierci - P. O.," 16 Apr. 1933, 120.

> Answer: No respectable girl should read that dirty journal. […] No wonder we have such perverse views on life among the rising generation. […].

Is it alright when parents force their children to marry? For example they order their daughter to marry this one and their son to marry that one, which they (the parents) like, not those whom their sons or daughters like. Signed, F. K., Hamilton, ONT. Talk "Pan śmierci – P. O.," 16 Apr. 1933, 121.

> Answer: Parents can advise their son or daughter, but they are not allowed to force their son or daughter to marry. This is determined by Canon Law. […]. It is true that even today there are the not so conscientious parents who turn into traders of their own children. […]. Children are not doing well if they do not seek advice of parents who have the experience of marriage. Also those parents who use coercion or threats act unreasonably and unfairly in this case.

1933-1934

How many Polish Scouts are in America? Signed, K. D., Chicago. Talk "Chłopskie serce – P. O.," 21 Jan. 1934, 40.

> Answer: We have the Polish Harcerstwo [scouts] at the Polish National Alliance and the Polish Scouting at the Union [the Polish Roman Catholic Union.] (Polish Harcerstwo and Polish Scouting in the USA had similar programs and different boards.) At my request, Mr. John Romaszkiewicz, the president of the National Alliance, sent a telegraph to me with the following answer: "The precise number of boy (*harcerzy)* and girl (*harcerek)* [scouts] 32.400. - And Mr. John Olejniczak, the president of the Union, said: "Since the start of the scouting movement at the Union, which started on the first of October last year, twenty-two teams have been set up in Chicago and thirty-six in the province, with a total number of two thousand five hundred and five scouts; since the new year it has been reported that there were set up sixteen more teams with a total number of five hundred scouts. [...]. Harcerstwo [Scouting at PNA] was

> founded about two years ago, "Scouting" [at the Polish Roman Catholic Union was founded in 1933] has only five months. [...].

I am fifteen years old. In our high school almost all girls smoke; I smoke with them. My mother beat me up for this. Signed, K. T., Chicago. Talk "Kapitał i praca – P. O.," 4 Feb. 1934, 66.

> Answer: In the question of the enforcement of parental authority within the family, Father Justin agreed to a reasonable use of corporal punishment.

Please speak to our parents. Children have not caused the current crisis, and although they go every day in search of work, it cannot be found. Parents make us guilty, and frown upon us. Signed, S. B., Chicago. Talk "Od Ogrójca do Kalwarii – P. O.," 25 Mar. 1934, 166.

Our youth go to Confession on Saturday afternoon, in the evening to dances and on Sunday morning receive the Holy Communion. Is this permitted? Signed, W. Z., Dowagiac, MI. Talk "Od Ogrójca do Kalwarii – P. O.," 25 Mar. 1934, 168.

> Answer: The answer given to this question did not approve of that practice. Moreover, these practices were described as liberal and fall short in providing good example.

1934-1935

My son is five years old. I cannot control him, because my husband spoils him and permits him everything. He is happy to have a wiseacre son. Is it my fault? Signed, K. L., Chicago. Talk "Pochodnia szczęścia – P. O.," 21 Oct. 1934, 11.

Who is responsible to raise a child? Father or mother? Signed, C. M., Buffalo. Talk "Dozorca świata – P. O.," 4 Nov. 1934, 39.

> Answer: The answer confirmed the concept, promoted by the Rosary Hour, of an alliance of parents, school and Church in bringing up the children. Any attempt to replace the dominant role of parents in this process Father Justyn considered as an usurpation of power.

The priests complain about the bad state of the young people. The priests are to be blamed, they opposed Prohibition. Signed, B. K., Detroit. Talk "Pochodnia szczęścia – P. O.," 21 Oct. 1934, 12.

I was at a banquet in the Wilkes-Barre when Fr. Justyn said that the non-religious school is opposed to God and society. Is this not an exaggerated complaint? Signed, E. R., Wilkes-Barre, PA. Talk "Pochodnia szczęścia – P. O.," 21 Oct. 1934, 13.

I carefully observe what is happening between the Poles. I see that our young people, especially, follow strangers in everything, it is no wonder that we are going to the dogs. Signed, W. K., Buffalo. Talk "Łazarze – P. O.," 28 Oct. 1934, 23.

I am a young professional. Older professional mates disregard me at every opportunity. It discourages me. I would like to work and I encounter obstacles. Signed, I. F. Detroit. Talk "Łazarze – P. O.," 28 Oct. 1934, 24.

I am a good Catholic but I do not send my son to the Polish school. Signed, Patriota, Detroit. Talk "Nieludzcy ludzie – P. O.," 2 Dec. 1934, 86.

Why is the local youth so dedicated to sports and neglects the sanctification of their souls? Signed, K. R., Milwaukee. Talk "Nieludzcy ludzie – P. O.," 2 Dec. 1934, 91.

Can religious education fix the youth of America? Signed, P. Z., Scranton, PA. Talk "Żołnierze w sutannach – P. O.," 13 Jan. 1935, 169.

> Answer: "[…]Youth does nothing else but follow in the footsteps of their elders. For years we have borne the name of "the parrot of nations. […]."

My parents did not send me to the Polish school. I want to learn Polish. Signed, S. M., Chicago. Talk "Nieludzcy ludzie – P. O.," 20 Jan. 1935, 7.

How can I believe I have soul? No Teacher in the High School teaches that. Signed, S. J., Niagara Falls, N.Y. Talk "Szanuj dary Boże – P. O.," 10 Mar. 1935, 101.

> Answer: […] The present educational system is not only defective, it is also harmful. […].

Why are Polish children not as talented as the American children? Signed, K. B., Simpson, PA. Talk "Szanuj dary Boże – P. O.," 10 Mar. 1935, 102.

> Answer: First, I do not know which children you consider Polish and which American. Second, do you have any evidence and do you have statistics to prove your bold and naïve statements? In my opinion, Polish children are not just as capable, wise and smart as the so-called American children, but are head and shoulders above them. I regularly follow the monthly reports of the schools in Buffalo and I am surprised, that among the honor students, I see, on a regular basis, the names of not a hundred but three hundred percent of Americans with surnames ending in "icz" and "ski. […].

I am a member of a youth club; I am 17 years old; I attend a High School; my mother yells on me and does not allow me to go to club parties. Signed, M. C., Milwaukee. Talk "Szanuj dary Boże – P. O.," 10 Mar. 1935, 103.

Answer: As far as youth clubs are considered, I personally have some experience in this matter, because for years I have run such clubs. Years ago the youth club was a place for physical and mental entertainment. [...]. Nowadays, young people consider the club as a place for gambling, drinking, dancing and mixed "parties". – The body to the fore and the mind left in the corner (Ciało na front a umysł w kąt).

We have three small children. What do you advise us to do,Justyn, in order to bring them up well? Signed, H. P., Dunkirk, N.Y. Talk "Podpalacze świata – P. O.," 17 Mar. 1935, 114.

Answer: This question is one of the most important, because today there are few parents who understand and care about the up-bringing of their children. They are under the impression that it is enough to get the child dressed, fed and watered, and the rest will somehow fall into place. Our Father, Józef, the editor of the Kronika Seraficka, published in its March issue an article "Seven Principles of Good Rearing of the Children". "A worker when asked about how he could bring up his many children so beautifully, honestly and simply replied: 1. I never commanded the children to do anything that I myself would not do, and above all I took special care to bring up the first child as best as I could. 2. I demanded obedience! Let no one deceive himself that the time to require obedience from children will come when they start using reason; children must get used to the submission at an early age. 3. I keep showing my kids that I love them, but I do this in such a way that I still get respect and esteem from them. And then I hold to the following rules. 4. I do not tolerate any opposition. 5. Parents, in the presence of their children, should always be of one mind. If a child deserves to be punished, he should not hide behind the back of his father or mother, to seek and find defense there. 6. From an early age, children should be exposed to work, but at the same time one has to take special care about their health. 7. The most serious of all these rules is: on a daily basis commend the children and the whole family into the care of God. These seven golden rules should be the foundation of good manners in every Christian home!

Why are the children from our schools so wild? They behave on the streets like Red Indians; they make mischief, do damage, and so on, without end. Signed, B. P., Chicago. Talk "Stań – popatrz - posłuchaj – P. O.," 7 Apr. 1935, 153.

Answer: Our schools? What schools? […] If there is no alliance of these four elements, school, family, state, religion, then people become unhappy and good for nothing.

Can parents send their children to the non-religious schools? Do they sin? Signed, A. W., Toledo, OH. Talk "W górę serca – P. O.," 14 Apr. 1935, 170.

Answer: […] In some dioceses the parents who send their children to non-Catholic schools are not given Absolution.

Please remind our mothers, not to dress like high school girls. - Not only do a few of them write letters to Father complaining about their daughters, but the daughters only emulate their mothers, who should know better. Signed, C. H., Hamtramck, MI. Talk "W górę serca – P. O.," 14 Apr. 1935, 171.

1935-1936

I have adult daughters and sons, but I cannot persuade them to get married. Has marriage lost its respectability? Signed, J. P., Chicago. Talk "Wierzyć lub nie wierzyć? – P. O.," 20 Oct. 1935, 11.

My mother cares more about my brother than me, because she says that there is less trouble with a boy than with a girl. I suffer. Signed, B. G., Chicago. Talk "Wolność czy swawola – P. O.," 17 Nov. 1935, 58.

Who should mostly be blamed for so many young thieves? Signed, P. B., Buffalo. Talk "Na co spowiedź? – P. O.," 5 Jan. 1936, 159.

Answer: […] Fathers and mothers are the first to be blamed for the crimes of their children today. […].

What we shall do with our mother, who constantly swears at us and hurts our father? Signed, S. W., Chicago. Talk "Na co spowiedź? – P. O.," 5 Jan. 1936, 160.

Answer: (The continuation of the letter from S. W.): […] "She always sought only to get as much money as possible from her children; she never cared about how we would get the money as long as we just brought it to her". [...]. (Then Father Justyn read a letter of a different author who praised his good mother who passed away at the age 54.) […] At the end the advice was: Go to your pastor, who probably knows your father and mother, tell him your story. Then he [the pastor] can call all of you and pass his verdict. […]. This is a Christian way. If it doesn't work you can seek justice in court.

I am eleven years old! In November, our mother died. I also have two brothers and a sister. We are so unfortunate, because our dad does not care about us. Signed, V. K., Detroit. Talk "Kontrola urodzin czy odpowiednia zapłata? – P. O.," 19 Jan. 1936, 28.

Letter in English dated Dec. 17, 1935: […] So, with your kind permission, I'll enter this field of combat, and will not only attempt, but prove very conclusively, to these worldly individuals (Miss and Mr. who I know) that their slurring remarks concerning our Polish-American youth – their behavior and mannerisms,

are based merely on their asinine theory and lack of common sense. […]. I am twenty five years of age, but during this time, I have come into contact with many people. As a pharmacist, I serve the Poles, the so-called 100% Americans and the non-gentiles. All of these nationalities have the highest regard for the average Pole. I can honestly confess that I am proud to be a Pole. Furthermore, Miss and Mr. (who I know) I venture to say I am just as much an American as you are and probably a little more. My granddad fought in the Civil War, and since that time, members of my immediate family, have taken as active part, in each defense of their adopted fatherland. […].Talk "Czemu nie powrócić do rodziny – P. O.," 26 Jan. 1936, 40-41.

> This letter written in English was read during the Question Box. An American woman of Polish descent, from an undisclosed city, decided to defend the good name of Polish-American youth against the slander of a couple who probably published, in a newspaper, an article which offended her Polish pride.

Our teacher says that the Polish language is "too hard" – and unnecessary. Signed, R. L., Chicago. Talk "Czy szanujecie wasze dzieci? – P. O.," 16 Feb. 1936, 80-81.

> Answer: […]. We should know English and Polish fluently. […].

Our son, despite our requests, married a good for nothing girl. They got married in the court without our knowledge. Is such a marriage worth something, and does our son deserves the blessing of the father? Signed, M. C., Chicago. Talk "Czy szanujecie wasze dzieci? – P. O.," 16 Feb. 1936, 82.

> Answer: If Catholics get married before civil servants or ministers from other faiths, the marriage must be corrected. This is a regulation of Church law. The son or daughter of Catholic parents who breaks this law, does wrong and effectively sins, therefore, they do not deserve the blessing of a parent! - This is not revenge, only justice.

Please, tell us what we should think of a father, who ran away from us while we were young children. It has been seventeen years now since he left home. He lives with another woman in Buffalo. Signed, C. C., Chicago. Talk "Czy szanujecie wasze dzieci? – P. O.," 16 Feb. 1936, 82.

[…]. For the first two years I attended a Catholic school but my last two years of high school were spent in a public school. Oh, what a difference from a Catholic school! I am only eighteen but feel very miserable and unhappy. I have been afraid of losing my faith. […]. Letter in English signed Feb. 19, 1936. Talk "Co mi Kościół daje – P. O.," 8 Mar. 1936, 126.

How many Polish children in the diocese Buffalo attend the parish schools? Signed, S. D. P., Buffalo. Talk "Czemu? – P. O.," 29 Mar. 1936, 164.

Answer: About 15,500 Polish children attend 32 Polish parochial schools . This is a significant number, but it should be much greater. However, certain Polish parents do not believe that every Polish child should go to a Polish school. This gives us all a lot to think about! A strange spirit hovers over our schools and foretells us nothing good!

Why do you, Father Justyn, attack the non-religious schools? Do they not spread education? Signed, B. N., Buffalo. Talk "Piotr czy Judasz? – P. O.," 5 Apr. 1936, 185.

Answer: […]. I show only shortcomings and mistakes, and that is criticism. I am free to criticize not only the President, the regulations and the judgments of the Supreme Court but even the Constitution of the U.S.; the same law allows me to criticize the non-religious schools, lower and higher. […].

1936-1937

Why does Father Justyn always praise the Polish-American youth and censure other? I have three sons whom I cannot control. They do not accept any admonition. Signed, R. P., Detroit. Talk "Żywcem pogrzebani – P. O.," 15 Nov. 1936, 43.

Answer: […]. I do praise our youth but only when they deserve it. […].

I cannot keep my two sons at home. Every evening they go out from home and spend their entire time in a tavern playing cards. Signed, W. M., Detroit. Talk "Żywcem pogrzebani – P. O.," 15 Nov. 1936, 45.

Answer: One cannot make these young people lose their bad habit immediately. To do so requires a lot of time, a lot of patience and quite a lot of work. [...]. Our teachings and advice will be void if we do not add our deeds to them. [...]. Let's give our youth a little bit more than we have received, because we have received more than our parents.

(At the end of Question Box broadcast on 22 November Father Justyn provided statistics taken from the Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Kansas City which took place six weeks prior to the program). "[…].Broken families recruit the vast majority of new criminals. […] the formation of character is entirely up to the family home and home education! The school can help parents in this case, but without the home, the school is powerless and ineffective!" "Nasze położenie – P. O.," 22 Nov. 1936, 64.

I am seventeen years old. I attend a high school. Because all the girls smoke cigarettes, I also want to smoke. My mother says it is a sin. Signed, S. L., Detroit. Talk "Kwestja społeczna – P. O.," 29 Nov. 1936, 75.

> Answer: A girl or a woman does not commit a sin by smoking cigarettes, unless it harms their health. Girls, remember, (this part of sentence was read in English) women smoke but ladies will never smoke!

My daughter has been dating a non-Pole for the last six years. He does not have any intention of marrying her. Signed, G. D., Chicago. Talk "Naiwnych nie sieją – sami się rodzą – P. O.," 17 Jan. 1937, 176.

> Answer: […]. Perhaps this daughter belongs to a thoroughly American type, known as "Gold Diggers"? And this is a dangerous profession. Sooner or later, she will pay dearly for her play - with tears and misfortune. […].

Though I am 24 years old my mother thinks I'm too young to get married. She insults my fiancée and tarnishes her name, says that she is not worthy of me, that I still have time, that I should marry a richer girl. I want to get married with the one I have chosen. Signed, M. G., Milwaukee. Talk "Naiwnych nie sieją – sami się rodzą – P. O.," 17 Jan. 1937, 177.

> Answer: You are an adult, you can get married when you like. […].

My seventeen year old daughter knows nothing about the practical side of human life. Do I have to explain it to her? Signed, S. L., Detroit. Talk "Sztuka życia – P. O.," 31 Jan. 1937, 14.

> Answer: Every young man and every young woman should have some knowledge of what you call the practical side of human life. A father, or a conscientious Catholic physician, should be the teacher of a young man and a mother, or a genuine Catholic female physician, should be the instructor of a young woman. Otherwise, our young people will inquire and learn about all of this from healers and charlatans preying on the naive, or they will seek information from perverse and immoral rogues. […].

I am eighteen years old. Three months ago I met a man I want to marry. Parents do not allow me; they wish me to graduate from university first. Signed, K. N., Milwaukee. Talk "Sztuka życia – P. O.," 31 Jan. 1937, 15.

Our son is twenty two years old. He never worked a single day. We cannot object to this because he starts cursing and bursts with anger. Signed, W. F., Detroit. Talk "Zburzenie – spustoszenie - śmierć – P. O.," 11 Apr. 1937, 143.

> Answer: […]. It's time you had the courage to tell him: "Son, you're an adult citizen of America, so, go on your own! If he does not listen, then call for the authorities in bright uniforms. […].

Father Justyn, be so good and ask our Daddy to come back to us! Signed, G. T., Chicago. Talk "Zburzenie – spustoszenie - śmierć – P. O.," 11 Apr. 1937, 147.

> Answer: This request comes from a little boy, who wrote in his letter: "I'm an orphan; I have my mother and two sisters, and my father, who is alive, but does not care about us, and today, 21 March, it is one year since my father left the house, and not once did he show up during this year. I am so sorry that he is alive, and he does not care for us and does not remember us! " […].

Who has the duty to bring up the children: the parents or the government? Because as I see it, the government intends to control everything! Signed, J. K., Detroit. Talk "Zburzenie – spustoszenie - śmierć – P. O.," 11 Apr. 1937, 149.

> Answer: What is first, family or the state? Does the state not consist of families? Family then has some divine and natural laws, which the state cannot abridge. The government cannot afford to appropriate these rights without violating parental rights; yes, the government should help parents and support them! [...].

1937-1938

I am eighteen years old. My parents persuade me to marry a bachelor, whom they like. I do not want! Signed, W. I., East Chicago, IN. Talk "Apostolstwo Godziny Różańcowej – Co? – P. O.," 7 Nov. 1937, 17-18.

> Answer: (The letter of the girl translated from Polish) "I am eighteen years old. I love my parents, who annoy me at every step. Already two years ago there was a boy of wealthy parents who visited us. I could not stand him, but because he had an automobile and was buying drinks for my father, my parents wanted me to be married to him. I told them that I was too young and the boy was not for me. My mother persuaded me, that this would be good for me. I told my mother that she had no right to force me into marriage. My father began to annoy me. He forbade me to visit my companion, he forbade me to listen to the radio. He forbade everything to me. I went to school for a year. This helped me to get a better job; I had given in my salary regularly. My parents, however, did not change. My older sister on the other hand can leave when she wants and can go where she wants. She always comes back after midnight. She has her own key to the house. Six months ago a young Pole began to pop in to visit us. He has education and a good position. Again my mother began to persuade me to date him. I refused. I am afraid that he is educated and I am not! I know that I would not be happy. Now everybody jumps on me. Why do they want to make me unhappy? I want to marry a man of my social position and who I can trust, not the one who they like." [Father Justyn]

> No father and no mother has the right to coerce their child into any marriage, [...].

I want to enter a religious order. My parents do not want to give me permission! Signed, A.G., Chicago. Talk "Dłonie chłopskie – serca pańskie – P. O.," 14 Nov. 1937, 26.

> Answer: […]. No parent should prohibit a child from entering a religious order. The parents should instruct, warn, etc. But they never should impose a vocation on children. It is wrong if they obstruct!

For some time my daughter has been depressed! It is difficult to please her. I am not a member of the Catholic Church. However, I am a good Pole and I value this Polish Hour (Rosary Hour). Signed, J. M., Scranton, PA. Talk "Czemu nie chcesz wierzyć? – P. O.," 5 Dec. 1937, 55.

> Answer: Dear mother! Your daughter's illness may be due to natural or moral causes. One needs more details of her surroundings and her lifestyle. This is a job for the doctor and priest. […].

Why do the parochial schools not begin to teach sexual issues? Would it not prevent certain crimes? Signed, F. J., Cicero. Talk "A potem – co? – P. O.," 2 Jan. 1938, 102.

> […]. The Church believes and knows from the experience of past ages that the matters of (sexual) life should be explained carefully by the father and mother, and by conscientious physicians. […].

Why always praise the young people in Poland and do not boast of the youth in America. Are we not like them? Signed, B. H., Buffalo. Talk "Czy to matka Chrześcijanka? – P. O.," 6 Feb. 1938, 15.

Is the German government not doing more for its youth than our government does in America? I do read the newspapers, so, I praise what is good wherever it is! Signed, G. M., Racine, WI. Talk "Twórczyni czy niszczycielka? – P. O.," 13 Feb. 1938, 25.

> Answer: […]. There are three countries in Europe, which spend millions on propaganda yearly: Russia, Germany and England. Here in America they own newspapers which are on their pay list and shape public opinion in their favor. […].

I am fifteen years old. I attend the high school. The teacher says that each one of us should have a "boy-friend". However, my father does not allow me to date my partner. Signed, G. B. N., Chicago. Talk "Twórczyni czy niszczycielka? – P. O.," 13 Feb. 1938, 28.

> Answer: To this question we have a clear answer, why is it that in our country we have so many deviations and so many offences against morality, and so many juvenile delinquents. […]. Your parents are your bosses until you are twenty one, no matter what others tell you. […]. So: (words said in English on the program) "please, watch your step, and you will never regret it!"

I want to go to school, to be become more than an ordinary workman. My father is very strict. He does not allow me to continue to study because he says that hard work is better. Signed, I. K., Pittsburgh. Talk "Co się stało z domem i rodziną? – P. O.," 20 Feb. 1938, 40.

> Answer: Apparently your father is one of those who believe that God created the Pole to have someone who would brandish the spade and shovel, and always walk with his food box in hand for all of his life! […]. Sonny, I applaud your desire for further education. Count on my support and may God help you.

For one year I have been dating a girl. My mother can't stand her. She persuades me to abandon my girl. She even threatens me and her! Does my mother have the right to separate us to and poison my life? Signed, S. O., Chicago. Talk "Czemu nie dziś? – P. O.," 6 Mar. 1938, 62.

How many public schools are in the United States? Signed, B. H., Cleveland, OH. Talk "Kto winien? Kto jest Kainem? – P. O.," 3 Apr. 1938, 107.

> Answer: We have 230 thousand public schools. There are about 25 million students attending those schools. Dr. David Seabury from New York, on Tuesday, 16 November 1937, gave a lecture in Milwaukee. The lecture was in the City Club. There were about half a thousand of hundred percent indigenous Americans gathered there. He said: (the text quoted in English) "Education has created the greatest piece of restlessness the world has ever known!" […].

My daughter goes to Holy Confession on Saturday afternoon, in the evening she goes to a dance and on Sunday she receives Holy Communion. Signed, M. L., Greensburg, PA. Talk "Czy każdy dzień nie powinien być Dniem Matki? – P. O.," 1 May 1938, 156.

1938-1939

Is a girl who is twenty years old too young to marry? Because this is what my mother says. Signed, S. J. M., Milwaukee. Talk "Ona – on – P. O.," 20 Nov. 1938, 40.

> Answer: (The letter of the girl, translated from Polish) "I am twenty years old. I have worked constantly for the last four years, until now, when they

> laid me off from work. I date a man who is twenty three years old. He comes from a good family and he himself is "a strict Catholic!" Mother does not want to allow me to marry him, she says that I'm too young; she wants me to wait for five or six years. She says that I will have enough of marriage anyway! That I should enjoy life with others! I prefer to marry him and live as God ordered. What should I do?" – Truly, only a mother of modern and pagan views can persuade her daughter to enjoy life with others before getting married for good with one husband! […]. You did very well to confer with your mother who advised you perversely. You will do even better if you ask the priest to announce your marriage banns and then get married at the altar, to begin [a new life] with God and to live with God.

I am 21 years old. I go very often to parties, almost always with a different man. My mother disapproves of this. I explain to her, that when I meet an ideal man, I will hold on to him. Can I continue to do so or should I sit at home and wait until someone comes to me? Signed, P. W., South Hadley, MA. Talk "On i cela śmierci – P. O.," 27 Nov. 1938, 48.

> Answer: […]. I do not advise you to be a hermit, but do not be a flirtatious gadabout. […].

My son returned from jail. He was there six years. What should I do with him? Signed, L. W., Allentown, PA. Talk "Młodzi a życie – P. O.," 11 Dec. 1938, 69.

Who is responsible for bringing up children, father or mother? Signed, C. N., Shenandoah, PA. Talk "Młodzi a życie – P. O.," 11 Dec. 1938, 69-70.

> Answer: To father and to mother. […].

I am the mother of two sons. One already is in jail and the second expects to be sentenced. Everyone is blaming me for this. Did I do wrong that I loved them and still do? Signed, F. N., Pittsburg. Talk "Powódź – huragan – trzęsienie ziemi – P. O.," 8 Jan. 1939, 110-111.

> Answer: The natural order and that of Christian duty is to love your own children, but to love within limits, prudently and wisely! […].

Is it true that Polish girls smoke "marihuana?" Signed, R. B., Chicago. Talk "Powiedz mojemu ojcu – P. O.," 22 Jan. 1939, 132-133.

> Answer: Not only the Polish girls but also the Polish boys take to this ugly and harmful habit. Our youth learns quickly, very quickly from others. The fact of smoking "marijuana" is spreading especially among the students of the local high schools. […].

My sons always want to listen to programs on bandits and gangsters. I do not allow them, but then they go to neighbors. Signed, J. A., Chicago. Talk "Trzej truciciele – P. O.," 5 Feb. 1939, 14

I am fifteen years old. Daddy yells at me because I am using makeup. He says that it is a sin. Signed, M. B., Chicago. Talk "Czytanie to ogień – P. O.," 19 Feb. 1939, 35.

> Dear child! At your age use a lot of soap and fresh water. [...]. Using cosmetics is not in itself a sin. [...]. If, however, this serves a wrong aim and the painter has bad intentions - it may be a sin! [...].

I want to be an actress. My parents do not allow me; they say that I will never get to heaven! Signed, B. L., Holyoke, MA. Talk "Krzyż Baranka – P. O.," 2 Apr. 1939, 88-89.

> Answer: […]. Neither social position nor any vocation excludes the possibility of salvation. [...]. Not long ago we read in the newspapers about the death of a young, twenty two year old actress, Eleanor Flynn, known as "Golda Russell!" She died in a car accident. She was a favorite of the stage, screen and radio. For many years she had listened to Mass every day in the Church of St. Francis, New York. Every morning she received Holy Communion and was a devout member of the Third Order. When taken to hospital, she wore the scapular and the cord of the Third Order! [...].

Should sexual education be introduced to the schools? After all, it will be a help to health. Signed, K. C., Peoria, IL. Talk "Krzyż Baranka – P. O.," 2 Apr. 1939, 90-91.

> Answer: The best and cheapest medicine preventive and curative for health of body and soul is just and only - religion. Without God and without faith there is neither a healthy body nor a healthy soul! There is so much talk today about morality and immorality! Everything is expected to be fixed by science and education, excluding religion. [...]. Fathers should explain this matter to the sons, and mothers to the daughters! Besides, I do not believe that awareness on this very important matter in life will protect young people from offending! People well understand the significance of theft. Is it deterring theft? [...]. In the end, no offence to students of medicine, despite their extensive and precise knowledge about sexual matters, but are they renowned for extraordinary restraint and purity?

We the parents of today love our children as much as past parents. Why not give us credit for it? Signed, Młoda Matka (Young Mother) Lockport, N.Y., Talk "Krzyż Baranka – P. O.," 2 Apr. 1939, 91.

Answer: I am happy to admit that a large number of today's so-called modern fathers and mothers are model parents. [...]. But can this be said about most of the fathers and mothers? [...].

I am sixteen years old. My mother spanked me for painting my fingernails. This is apparently not a sin. Signed, R. F., Olean, N.Y. Talk "Trzy Rezurekcje – P. O.," 9 Apr. 1939, 98.

How can I fix my daughter, who does not want obey me at all? Signed, B. R., Calumet City, IL. Talk "Powiedz: Nie! – P. O.," 16 Apr. 1939, 114.

Answer: With patience and kindness, while not excluding a certain degree of parental authority, but a rational and legitimate authority! [...].

In the summer I went to the "beach" with a friend. After a few cigarettes and "cock-tails" my non-Catholic fellow drove me to a "squire". We have taken a vow. Parents do not know this. I regret that, can I get revocation of my marriage? Signed, C. B., Erie, PA. Talk "O Boże! – P. O.," 30 Apr. 1939, 132.

Answer: In the first place you should try to get a judicial declaration of the invalidity of the marriage. Then, with that document from the judge, go to your pastor or the bishop's office, show the document and explain the circumstances of this unhappy incident. [...]. This incident should serve as a warning to our girls!

Father Justin, could you read on the radio the English poem: "Baby Faces"? Signed, Studentki (Students), Chicago. Talk "O Boże! – P. O.," 30 Apr. 1939, 133.

Answer: My dear girls. I managed to find these lines. But I would ask that you do not send in similar questions in the future. You know what it means to look for a needle in a haystack? It is the same as looking for a poem without giving the author, etc. The author of "Baby Faces" is Martha Shephard Lippincott: "Happy little baby faces, How they fill us with delight! [...]".

1939-1940

Why do Poles give their children unchristian names? Signed, K. C., Braddock, PA. Talk "Z krainy bólu i łez – P. O.," 19 Nov. 1939, 35.

Answer: We are not only the parrots but even the monkeys of nations! Everyone knows that Catholic ecclesiastical law prescribes that children must be assigned Christian names, i.e., the saints and blessed! If any nationality ignores this provision of the church, we are not the last. [...].

Please, Father, make an appeal to the school boys, so that they do not throw "snow-balls"! Signed, L. D., Lackawanna, N.Y. Talk “Wesoły nam dziś dzień – jutro weselszy – P. O.,” 24 Mar., 1940, 101.

> Answer: I am happy to serve, because this is an important and timely matter! [...]. Some children lost an eye from being hit by a "snow-ball"; others have become crippled, there were even those who passed away. […].

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