

CHICAGO HISTORY



FALL/WINTER 2023-24

CHICAGO HISTORY

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Cover: William H. Mumler became a full-time spirit photographer in the 1860s as spirit photographs became popular after the US Civil War. This is one of Mumler's most famous images. Courtesy of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection.

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**As of February 2023*



The Chicago History Museum acknowledges support from the Chicago Park District and the Illinois Arts Council Agency on behalf of the people of Chicago.

This issue features names and places you may recognize, but stories you may not know. What happens to a president's widow when she is no longer First Lady? Or to a long-time church treasurer accused of embezzling funds? Or when two groups who want to preserve a cultural identity are divided along ideological differences?

In "Sojourns of the Widow Lincoln," author Joseph M. Di Cola follows Mary Todd Lincoln through her numerous stays in Chicago and other travels during her life as a widow. After leaving Washington, DC, on May 23, 1865, Mary spent much time in Chicago, staying in notable accommodations such as the Tremont House, Hyde Park House, and Clifton House, as well as her own home on Washington Avenue. Her written correspondence during this period reveals her concerns with finances, her various accommodations, as well as worries over the wellbeing of her two sons, her late husband's legacy, and his final resting place. Through her own words and travels, you'll learn more about a woman who struggled to find peace after the assassination of her husband upturned her life.

The Charnley-Persky House in the Gold Coast neighborhood was built in 1891 and designated a Chicago Landmark in 1972. Commissioned by James and Helen Douglas Charnley, it was designed by their friend Louis H. Sullivan. James had a younger brother, Charles Meigs Charnley, a lumberman, businessman, and a respected leader of the Presbyterian Church in Chicago, serving many years as a treasurer. When substantial funds were discovered missing in July 1897 from national Presbyterian charitable funds and from Chicago's Fourth Presbyterian Church, which Charles joined in 1880, Charnley was put under detective surveillance. But he managed to vanish—last seen in Chicago on September 1, 1897. In "On an Elder's Trail: The Later Life of Charles Meigs Charnley, Yale College Class of 1865," Jack Perry Brown tracks down Charles M. Charnley after he was last seen in Chicago and fills in the gaps of his life under the assumed name John Barnes.

In an excerpt from *American Warsaw: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Polish Chicago* (University of Chicago Press, 2019), Dominic A. Pacyga recounts the beginnings of Polish immigration to Chicago in the nineteenth century. The excerpt explores the division between the Gmina Polska and the Resurrectionists and features some important figures and organizations that emerged during that time. The ideological split between the two parties centered on the idea of Polishness or *Polskość*. Was a Pole first and foremost a Roman Catholic or was he or she a nationalist dedicated to the reestablishment of Poland? Could a Pole be a non-Catholic or even an atheist? Although both groups agreed on the preservation of a Polish identity in the United States, for the Gmina Polska, a simple definition sufficed: if one believed in the resurrection of the Polish state, then one was a Pole. For the emerging clerical party, a true Pole spoke Polish and was a Roman Catholic.

Finally, in our regular Making History Awards feature, Timothy J. Gilfoyle spoke to Monsignor Kenneth Velo, a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago, and Motorola CEO Greg Brown, both visible public figures in Chicago since the late twentieth century. Velo, originally from Chicago, serves as the senior executive of Catholic Collaboration for DePaul University and president of the Big Shoulders Fund. Brown is now the longest-serving CEO of the iconic Chicago company, after Motorola founder Paul Galvin and his son Robert. On the surface, it may not seem like these two men have much in common, but in the early twenty-first century, the lives of Brown and Velo intersected in unexpected ways.

Chicago Sojourns of the Widow Lincoln

JOSEPH M. DI COLA

At 7:22 in the morning of April 15, 1865, after twenty-two and a half years of marriage, Mary Todd Lincoln became a widow. Early that same morning Mrs. Lincoln left the Peterson House at 516 10th Street NW, where Lincoln had died, and returned to the White House where two of her friends, Mary Jane Welles (wife of Navy Secretary Gideon Welles) and Elizabeth Dixon (wife of Connecticut Senator James Dixon), helped her to a small room and tried to comfort her. She remained there and only a few were allowed to see her.¹

It was not until late May that Mary Lincoln left the White House. Tuesday, May 23, 1865, was a warm and sunny day, and at 9:00 a.m. the Army of the Potomac began marching through the streets of Washington, DC, in what was planned as a two-day victory celebration of the end of the war. It was also the day when Mrs. Lincoln, clad in black widow's weeds from head to toe, left the White House on a 54-hour journey that would take her to Chicago. Few were present to tender their farewells. She was accompanied by her sons Robert, age 21, and Tad, age 12, friend and seamstress Elizabeth Keckley, William Crook and Thomas Cross (White House guards and friends of Tad), and Dr. Anson G. Henry, friend and physician to the Lincolns, who had ministered to Mary at the White House after the president's assassination.

On reaching Chicago, Mary and her two sons took an apartment at the Tremont House, the largest and most popular hotel, located at the southeast corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets. The family stayed only one week because Mary thought the lodgings were too expensive.

The family then moved to Hyde Park, a community located seven miles south of downtown Chicago, where they took up residence at the Hyde Park House. The Hyde Park House was built in 1857 on the shore of Lake Michigan near Fifty-Third Street. Circumstances prevented Robert Lincoln from returning to Harvard University Law School, so he commuted daily to the Lake Street law firm of Scammon, McCagg, and Fuller to read law in preparation for admission to the bar. He also enrolled in some law classes at the University of Chicago (not the current institution founded in 1890, but an earlier institution founded in 1856 and which closed in 1886).

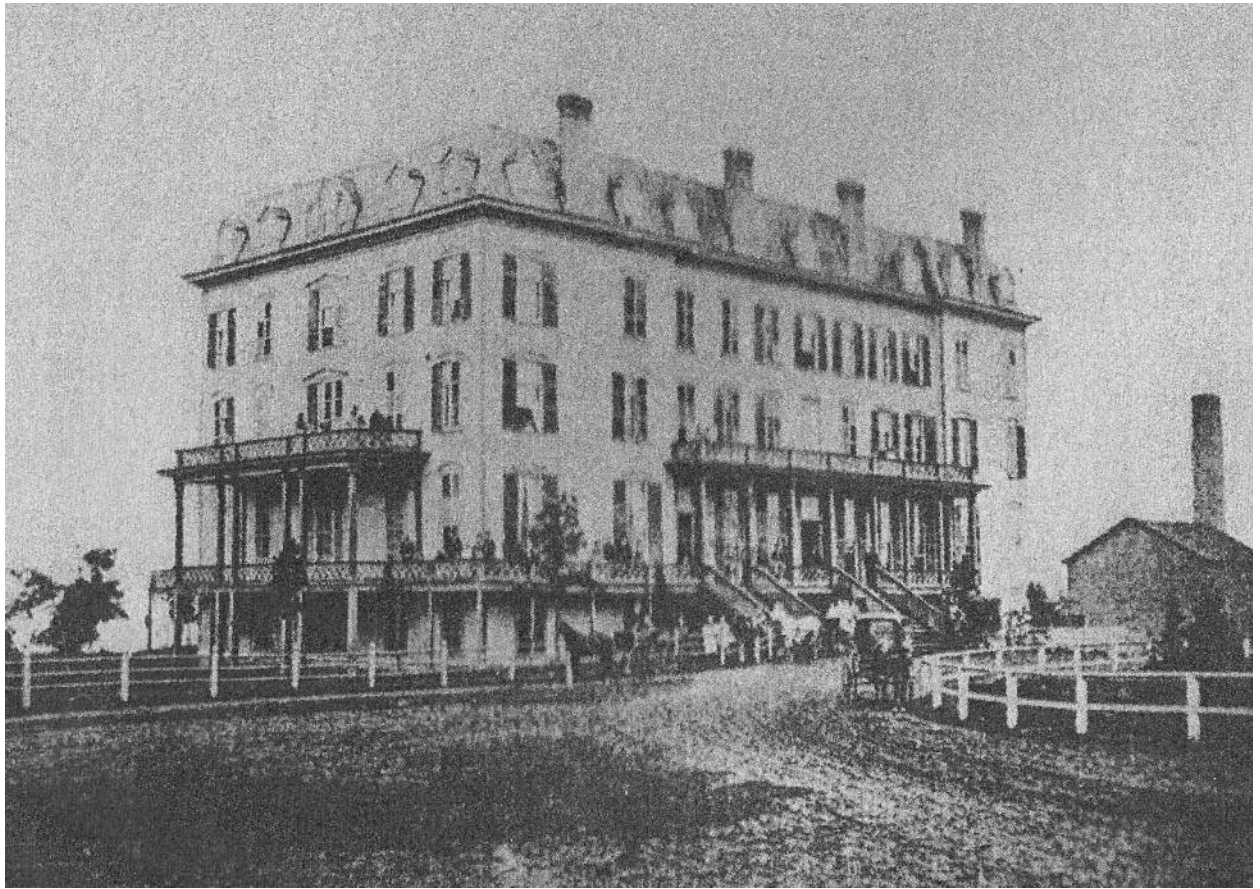


The Tremont House was located at the southeast corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets but was destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871.

Since the Hyde Park House was an upscale hotel, Mary Lincoln was initially pleased with the lodgings; however, she soon looked upon the place as a boarding house and her three-room accommodations as small and badly furnished.

Although Mary Lincoln makes reference in one letter to taking morning walks in the park adjoining the Hyde Park House, she continued to be dressed in black and mostly remained in her room, constantly crying, complaining of loneliness, and wallowing in self-pity. She neither received visitors nor called on other people and avoided conversation with anyone upon whom she might chance. Tad was her constant companion. She obsessed over money concerns and compared herself to friends who were financially better off. This is reflected in letters she wrote to others about her grief and wish to die. During this time, she also expressed her desire that the memory of Abraham Lincoln be honored.

Mary Lincoln's grief was heightened by the decision about the location of her husband's burial. Shortly after receiving the news of Lincoln's death, the Springfield, Illinois, City Council resolved "... inasmuch as this city



The Hyde Park House hotel, where Mary, Robert, and Tad stayed, was financed by Paul Cornell in 1857. Located at 53rd Street and Lake Michigan, the hotel often hosted visiting dignitaries, including Prince of Wales Albert Edward in 1860.

has for a long time been the home of the President, [it] should be the final resting place of all that on earth remains of him. . . .”² The site selected was to be the old Mather property set on a rise of ground in the center of the city. Mary remembered that during their afternoon carriage ride into the Virginia countryside on April 14 that Lincoln stated: “When I am gone, lay my remains in some quiet place like this.” In a letter to Illinois Governor Richard J. Oglesby, dated June 5, 1865, Mary wrote:

I learn from the Newspapers & other sources, that your association [author’s note: the National Lincoln Monument Association of which Oglesby was chairman] have it in contemplation to erect a Monument to my Husband’s memory, on the Mather Block, in the City of Springfield, instead of over his remains, in Oak Ridge Cemetery. . . . unless I receive within the next ten days, an Official assurance that the Monument will be erected over the Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery, in accordance with my oft expressed wishes, I shall yield my consent, to the request of the National

Monument association in Washington . . . & have the sacred remains deposited, in the vault, prepared for Washington, under the Dome of the National Capitol, at as early a period as practicable.

The work on the Mather property continued and, in another letter to Oglesby on June 10, Mary wrote again of her resolve:

I perceive by the paper of today, that notwithstanding, the note, I recently addressed to you, yourself & Mr. Hatch are *en route* to Chicago to *consult*, with me, on the subject. My determination is unalterable, and if you will allow me again to add, that without I receive the 15th of this month a formal & written agreement that *the* Monument shall be placed over the remains of my Beloved Husband, in *Oak Ridge Cemetery*, with the *written* promise that no other bodies, save the President, his Wife, his Sons and Sons families, shall ever be deposited within the enclosure; in the event of my not receiving a *written* declaration to that effect, I shall rigidly comply with my resolution. . . .³

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S TOMB. Oak Ridge Cemetery.



This tomb (c. 1866) was Abraham Lincoln's temporary resting place in Oak Ridge Cemetery until a more permanent memorial was constructed.

The Lincoln Monument Association acceded to Mary Lincoln's wishes that the tomb and monument would be placed at Oak Ridge Cemetery.⁴

On April 15, 1865, Robert Todd Lincoln had sent a telegram to United States Supreme Court Justice and old Lincoln friend David Davis: "Please come to Washington & take charge of my father's affairs." At the time of Lincoln's death, his estate was estimated to be worth \$85,000, consisting of cash, government bonds, the Springfield house at Eighth and Jackson Streets, and other real estate holdings. Lincoln died intestate, so the estate was legally divided among his widow and two surviving sons.⁵

During her first sojourn in Chicago, Mary Lincoln was beset by financial woes. She had massive debts owed to various merchants—an amount estimated to be \$20,000. She thought she should receive the balance of her husband's salary for the term to which he had been elected. Others saw things differently. However, on December 21, Congress voted her a salary of \$25,000, the same as awarded to previous presidents' widows, which, after deductions, amounted to \$22,000.⁶ Many of her letters at this time reflect her preoccupation with money matters. She wrote of idling away in "boarding houses" while others were lavished with fine homes, the ingratitude of Congress and others, and her fears of living in penury. That fear moved her to beg for help from persons in the private sector.

At the end of August, Mary wrote to her friend Sally Orne about money worries: "I mention this, by way of excusing a subject, I will mention to you." She goes on to propose selling some clothing and fabrics. "If any of your friends would desire such articles, please advise me. . . ." ⁷ She also contacted a Washington jeweler for the return of jewelry, clocks, and tableware, and a Philadelphia store for the return of state china she had ordered to replace the original set purchased in 1861.

After tending to these financial matters, Mary Lincoln moved back to Chicago in August 1865, renting rooms at the Clifton House located at the northwest corner of Washington Avenue and Halsted. In September Tad was enrolled in a nearby public school. Robert Lincoln said of the hotel: "I would

almost as soon be dead as remain three months in this dreary house."⁸ In January 1866, he rented two rooms above Crosby's Opera House on Washington Street.

By the end of 1865 a number of works on the life of Abraham Lincoln had been published, among them *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* by historian and newspaper editor Josiah G. Holland, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* by member of the Philadelphia bar Frank Crosby, and *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* by *New York Times* editor Henry J. Raymond. Mary Lincoln read whatever she could to be sure that her late husband was portrayed accurately and positively. In a December 4 letter to Josiah Holland, she expressed her appreciation of his biography and her satisfaction with the work.⁹

Right after Christmas 1865, Mary and Robert went to Springfield for the occasion when Abraham Lincoln's body was removed from the Oak Ridge Cemetery receiving vault to the temporary vault on the hillside while the permanent tomb was being constructed. Mary was not present at the removal but visited the site later. On her return to Chicago afterward, letters she wrote are filled with complaints about her economic condition and bitterness over the largesse awarded to other persons.

Mary continued to follow politics, and political gossip delighted her. She read daily a number of newspapers, and often expressed opinions, both positive and negative, about notable persons she viewed as adversaries.

Mrs. Lincoln wanted a home of her own so that she, Robert, and Tad could be together. The salary payment she received in December would help her realize that dream. In mid-June 1866, she purchased a house at 375 West Washington¹⁰ for \$17,000. The house was located between Willard Court (Ann Street today) and Elizabeth

Street and near Union Park with pleasant vistas where one could take a stroll around the small lake. She also bought a set of rosewood furniture for two of the parlors. Simon Cameron, Lincoln's corrupt first Secretary of War and, subsequently, ambassador to Russia, enlisted in an effort to help her by soliciting money from wealthy donors. However, little came from his efforts. Tad was enrolled at the Brown School, a boys' academy located at 54 North Hermitage, not far from the house.¹¹ The family worshipped at Third



This plaque, though no longer there, marked the house Mary Todd Lincoln owned at 375 Washington Boulevard in Chicago.

Presbyterian Church on Washington between Aberdeen and Carpenter.

On August 28, 1866, Mary wrote to William Herndon:

“ . . . I have been thinking for some time past, that I would like to see you & have a long conversation—I write to [know?] if you will be in Springfield *next* Wednesday week—Sept—4th—if so—at 10 o’clock, in the morning, You will find me, at the St Nicholas Hotel. . . .”¹² [Author’s note: September 4 was actually a Tuesday.]

Mary traveled to Springfield in September and met with William H. Herndon on September 5 at the St. Nicholas Hotel. Herndon interviewed her about her husband, and Mary thought she acquitted herself quite well. She left Springfield the following evening and returned to Chicago.

On November 16, 1866, William Herndon gave a lecture at Springfield’s Old Courthouse titled “A. Lincoln—Miss Ann Rutledge, New Salem—Pioneering, and the Poem called Immortality—or ‘Oh! Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud.’” In his remarks, he spoke of the winsome Ann Rutledge as the only true love of Abraham Lincoln’s life and how, after her untimely death, Lincoln nearly lost his mind in grief. He talked of how Ann was the only woman he should have married, how the marriage between Lincoln and Mary was “domestic hell,” and that “Lincoln had no joy.” This was Herndon’s fourth lecture on his former law partner, but it was the first one to include the story of the romance between Lincoln and Ann Rutledge.

When Mary read Herndon’s speech in the *Chicago Tribune* she was outraged but said nothing except in private. Mary’s first known written comment on Herndon’s speech appears in a letter dated March 4, 1867, to David Davis: “Permit me to point your attention to another sentence in a lecture of the *distinguished* W H which is of great significance and indicates more clearly if possible, the malignity of *his* remarks, than anything else. He pointedly says, for the last *twenty three years*, Mr Lincoln has known no joy.” And, further, “I would not believe an assertion of Herndon’s if he would take a thousand oaths, upon the Bible—.”

Two days later she wrote again to Davis:

WH may consider himself a ruined man, in attempting to disgrace others, the vials of wrath, will be poured upon his own head. My love for my husband was so sacred and the knowledge it was fully returned so well assure, that if W. H—utters another word—and is not silent with his infamous falsehoods in the future, *his* life is not worth, living for—I *have* friends, if his *low* soul thought that my great affliction—had left me without them. In the future, he may well say, *his prayers*—Revenge is sweet, especially

to womankind but there are some of mankind left, who will wreak it upon him—He is a dirty dog & I [do not?] regret the article [by Dr. James Smith] was sent to the papers—it shows him forth, in his proper colors—& I think he will *rue* the day, he did not take your advice.¹³

From late 1866 and into early 1867, Mrs. Lincoln continued to live in the house at 375 West Washington. In March, she stated her intent to sell the house and look for less expensive lodgings. She continued to struggle with debt and contemplated auctioning or selling the rosewood furniture during the summer. (The items finally sold in November.)¹⁴

In June 1867, Mary listed the house for sale or rent and traveled up the western shore of Lake Michigan to Milwaukee and then on to Racine, Wisconsin, to stay at one of the spas. She found that getting away was restful and good for her health. She took long walks along the lake and was pleased with her accommodations. While in Racine, she visited a secondary school with the idea in mind of enrolling Tad for the fall term. However, she found the environment too restrictive, religiously orthodox, and expensive. Also, she could not bear to be parted from Tad.

In August, Mary and Tad returned to the Clifton House, and Tad was enrolled at a school known as the Chicago Academy. The school was located on Wabash Avenue between Adams and Jackson.

In fall 1867, Mary thought she was destitute and conceived a scheme that became known as the “Old Clothes Scandal.” In order to raise funds, Mrs. Lincoln planned to travel to New York with trunks full of her clothes, unused fabrics, jewelry, and other items and offer them for sale. She enlisted the help of her friend and former seamstress Elizabeth Keckley, and retained the services of brokers W. H. Brady & Company to manage the sale. The firm assured her that they could successfully dispose of her property and that she would soon see a large profit. She was enticed to write letters that could be shown to various politicians soliciting their aid. All of this was to be done while maintaining Mrs. Lincoln’s anonymity. However, her identity became known, and she felt that the exposure was an embarrassment to her, her son Robert, and to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.¹⁵ The letters were published in a democratic newspaper, adding to the embarrassment. The “Old Clothes Scandal” cost more than it earned, and the unsold items were returned to her.

In letters to Elizabeth Keckley written from Chicago on October 6, 8, and 9, and to Rhoda White on October 18, Mary expressed her anguish over the incident.

I am writing this morning with a broken heart after a sleepless night of great mental suffering. R[obert] came



This portrait of Elizabeth Keckley was used in the frontispiece of her autobiography, *Behind the Scenes: Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House*.

up last evening like a maniac, and almost threatening his life, looking like death, because the letters of the *World* were published in yesterday's paper.

Bowed down with suffering and anguish, again I write to you. As we might have expected, the Republicans are falsifying me, and doing *just* as they did when they prevented the Congressional appropriation. . . . The politicians, knowing they have deprived me of my just rights, would prefer to see me starve, rather than dispose of my things.

. . . the Republican papers are tearing me to pieces in this border ruffian West. If I had committed murder in every city in this *blessed Union*, I could not be more traduced. And you know how innocent I have been of the intention of doing wrong.

Never was an act committed with a more innocent intention than mine was, Having no further use for the articles proposed to be sold—and really requiring the proceeds—I deposited them with an agent & I presumed no publicity would result from it—I was not more astonished than *you* must have been to see my letters in print.¹⁶

On December 20, 1867, Mary moved into a house owned by Daniel Cole, located at 460 West Washington, east of Loomis (1407 West Washington today) and

across the street from Union Park at Ogden Avenue. However, by January 12, 1868, she was back at the Clifton House.

In June 1868 she traveled to Springfield to visit the temporary tomb and meet with her cousin John Todd Stuart to discuss progress on completion of the permanent tomb. She and Tad then left Chicago and went to stay at a health resort in Cresson Springs, Pennsylvania. On September 24, she and Tad traveled to Washington to attend the wedding of Robert Lincoln to Mary Harlan, held in the home of the bride's parents. On September 25, Mary and Tad arrived at Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, and then, on October 1, they boarded the steamship *City of Baltimore* to sail for Europe.

Interlude: October 1, 1868–May 11, 1871

After a two-week voyage, the SS *City of Baltimore* docked at Bremen, Germany. Mary Lincoln and Tad then traveled to Frankfurt-am-Main, where they took residence at the Hotel d'Angleterre, close to the shopping area known as the Zeil. Mary enrolled Tad at the Institute on nearby Kettenhofstraße, headed by Dr. Johann Heinrich Hohagen, where Tad studied German, French, English, drawing, and took dancing lessons. Suffering from ill health, Mary traveled to the mineral baths at Baden-Baden, a spa town southwest of Frankfurt, and, in late February went to Nice, France. She returned to Frankfurt in early spring where she took up residence at the less expensive Hotel de Holland.

Letters she wrote during that time focused on the state of her health and her continued efforts to seek monetary redress from Congress. She also took time to write of her impressions of the places she visited and lived in, and of the people she saw.



This photograph of Hotel d'Angleterre in Frankfurt am Main was taken in 1878, seven years after Mary and Tad Lincoln's stay. The hotel was built in 1797.



This photograph of Thomas “Tad” Lincoln was taken in 1869, two years before his death in 1871 at age 18.

In summer 1869, Mary and Tad traveled to Scotland, stopping on the way in Paris and London. They went to Scotland at the invitation of the 73-year-old Reverend James Smith, her former minister in Springfield who was currently serving as US consul at Dundee. They traveled throughout Scotland, viewing its many sites. After seven weeks they returned to Frankfort by way of Ostend and Brussels and again took their accommodations at the Hotel de Holland.

On October 15, 1869, Mary became a grandmother with the birth of Mary “Mamie” Lincoln, the daughter of Robert and his wife Mary Eunice Harlan. In June 1870, the US Senate debated the pension bill long sought by Mary Lincoln and her supporters. The bill, awarding her \$3,000 per year, was signed into law by President Ulysses S. Grant.

During her remaining time in Europe Mary traveled to Innsbruck, Austria, back to Frankfurt, had a brief stay at a spa in Leamington, England, and then to London. In February 1871, Mary traveled to Italy while Tad remained in London with his tutor. In May, Mary and Tad boarded the Cunard steamer *Russia* and sailed for New York, arriving on May 11.

* * *

Mary returned to Chicago, first staying at Robert’s house at 653 South Wabash Avenue (today this is in the 1200 block of South Wabash Avenue) and then moving to the Clifton House. On the voyage home, Tad had become ill, and from the time he returned to Chicago his health worsened. In a letter to Rhoda White on June 8 Mary wrote:

Feeling assured that you will hear of my beloved young son’s illness and being well convinced of your anxiety regarding him, I will take advantage of a quiet sleep, which he is enjoying, to write you regarding him. My dear boy, has been *very very* dangerously ill—attended by two excellent physicians, who have just left me, with the assurance, that he is better. May we *ever* be sufficiently grateful, should his precious life be spared.¹⁷

In room 21 at the Clifton House on July 15, at seven in the morning, Tad died at the age of eighteen. Mary attended a memorial service at Robert’s home, but she did not travel to Springfield for the funeral.

After Tad’s death, Mary Lincoln was not often seen. She was despondent and preferred solitude. On October 8, 1871, the great Chicago fire began in a barn behind the O’Leary home on DeKoven Street. It is not certain whether Mary evacuated Robert’s home where she was temporarily staying or sought refuge along the lakeshore with Robert’s neighbors and many other displaced Chicagoans. Robert’s house survived the fire. Her extant letters make no mention of the fire until one written to Norman Williams on August 8, 1872, where, in reference to her son Robert, she writes: “I believe it will be utterly impossible—for him after *this*—to settle in poor *burnt out* Chicago—Yet there are many friends there, to whom he is greatly attached. . . .”¹⁸

Interludes: 1871–1875

After the fire, Mary visited a spiritualist center on the Fox River in St. Charles, Illinois. Sometime early in the winter of 1872, Mary Lincoln traveled to Moravia, New York, where, at séances, she witnessed “spirit faces” including that of her late son Tad. From there she traveled to Boston and visited well-known medium Margaret Fox at her residence on Washington Street. At one of the séances, Mary’s late husband allegedly appeared to her. Mary Lincoln used an alias during these visits (either Mrs. Linder, Lindall, or Tundall). After the séances she sought out spirit photographer William H. Mumler and sat for what is to-date the last known photograph taken of her. The studio portrait appears to show the ghost of Abraham Lincoln standing behind Mary with its hands on her shoulders.¹⁹

Later in the winter of 1872 she was back in Chicago, which became her home base. In May 1872, Ward Hill



William H. Mumler became a full-time spirit photographer in the 1860s as spirit photographs became popular after the US Civil War. This is one of Mumler's most famous images.



Mary lived at the Grand Pacific Hotel, located on the block bounded by Clark, LaSalle, Quincy, and Jackson, in 1874. Designed by William W. Boyington in the palazzo style popular at the time, it replaced the Pacific Hotel, which burned in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871.

Lamon's ghost-written *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* was published, causing additional grief for Mary by resurrecting the Ann Rutledge story, Abraham Lincoln's unhappy marriage and lack of religion, and the specter of the illegitimacy of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. In a letter, Mary referred to the book as "the infamous publication."

From the first week in July until mid-August, Mary was at a spa in Waukesha, Wisconsin, seeking more medical treatment. She was back in Chicago near the end of the year.

The following summer of 1873, Mary traveled to St. Catherine's, a health spa in Canada not far from Niagara Falls. By December she was again in Chicago. In a letter written to Elizabeth Swing on March 12, 1874, Mary wrote of her feelings about death. Elizabeth Swing was the spouse of Reverend David Swing, a noted preacher and minister at Chicago's Westminster Presbyterian Church. Rev. Swing and his wife had befriended the widow Lincoln sometime around 1866. Rev. Swing had advised Mary Lincoln to put aside her indignation over the Herndon lectures and Lamon biography, which had caused her so much grief.

In the letter, Mary described her sadness on the death of Senator Charles Sumner, who died on March 11, and then went on to describe her own thoughts on death:

Since my ties to this world are so rapidly being severed, and my mind naturally following them to the blessed Home of rest, to which they have gone, I sometimes feel, as if I had no right to remain upon earth. In God's own time, all that is so very dark now will be made clear to us.

In early 1875, Mary went to Florida to escape the cold Chicago winter.

When she returned to Chicago, rather than stay at Robert's home, Mary took two third floor rooms for \$45 per week at the Grand Central Hotel, which occupied the entire block surrounded by South Clark, West Quincy, South La Salle, and West Jackson streets. Her behavior became increasingly erratic. She insisted that people (including her son Robert) were trying to murder her, wandered half-clothed around the hotel corridors, complained that her headaches felt as if wires were being pulled out of her eyes, and—with her noted preoccupations with

money—carried valuable securities sewn into her clothing and purchased expensive items she did not need.

On May 19, 1875, Mary Todd Lincoln was certified insane and sent to Bellevue Place, a sanatorium in Batavia, Illinois. The story of Mary Lincoln's insanity trial, her commitment to Bellevue Place, and the subsequent adjudication of her restoration to reason have been definitively chronicled in Jason Emerson's *The Madness of Mary Lincoln*; *The Insanity File* by Mark E. Neely Jr. and R. Gerald McMurtry; and in other accounts, including general biographies of Mary Todd Lincoln and Robert Todd Lincoln.

Postlude

On June 6, 1875, Mary Lincoln was found to be "restored to reason." She was released from Bellevue Place on September 10 and traveled by train to Chicago, only to catch a 3:40 p.m. train to Springfield where she lived with her sister Elizabeth Edwards for a year. At the end of September she left Springfield, traveled to New York and, on October 1, 1876, sailed for Le Havre, France. She

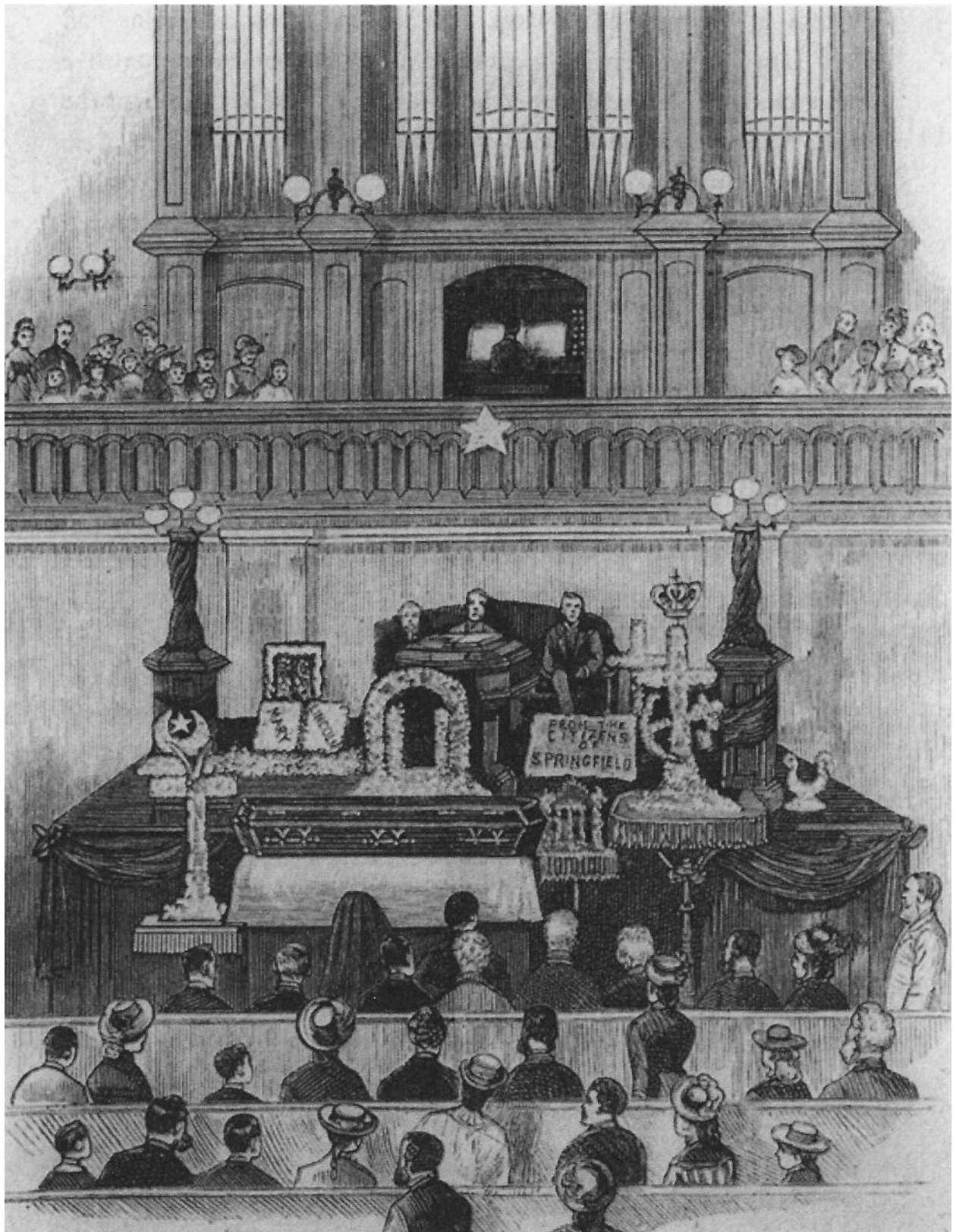


Initially a private academy, by 1867 Bellevue Place was a rest home and sanitarium run by Dr. Richard J. Patterson; pictured here in 1869.

visited a number of places in Europe, but finally settled in Pau, France, located in the Pyrenees. During her time at Pau, she made use of the mineral baths and had access to medical care. She continued to be obsessed with financial matters and entrusted Springfield banker



Mary Ann Todd and Abraham Lincoln were married at the Springfield, Illinois, residence of her sister Elizabeth Edwards on November 4, 1842. Mary died at the same residence nearly forty years later. This photograph was taken in 1886.



This engraving shows the funeral of Mary Todd Lincoln, which took place at the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield, Illinois, and was followed by a long procession of carriages that made its way to the Lincoln Tomb.

Jacob Bunn with her interests. From the end of October 1876 to early October 1880 she wrote numerous letters to Bunn concerning her finances.

Mary arrived back in the United States on October 27, 1880, and returned to Springfield to again live with her sister and her family. From the date when she was released from Bellevue Place until May 1881, Mary remained estranged from her son Robert. On the latter date Robert and his daughter Mamie came to the Edwards' home in Springfield to visit Mary.

On July 15, 1882, at 8:15 in the evening, Mary Todd Lincoln slipped into a coma and died early the next morning at the age of 63.

Joseph M. Di Cola is the author of New Salem: A History of Lincoln's Alma Mater (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2017). He lives in Minnetonka, Minnesota.

ILLUSTRATIONS | Illustrations are from the collection of the Chicago History Museum, unless otherwise noted. Page 4, ICHI-064454. 5, Wikimedia Commons. 6, the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection. 7, photograph by

Neil Arseny. 9, top: publisher G. W. Carleton & Co.; bottom: Stadtarchiv der Stadt Frankfurt am Main. 10, the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection. 11, the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection. 12, Digital Research Library of Illinois History Journal. 13, top: Digital Research Library of Illinois History Journal; bottom: from *Abraham Lincoln: Story of a Great Life*, publisher D. Appleton and Company. 14, courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library & Museum.

FOR FURTHER READING | Jean H. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1987); Jason Emerson, *The Madness of Mary Lincoln* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007); Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finance of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, IL: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1943); Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972); Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

ENDNOTES

1. Jean H. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1987), 247.
2. Dorothy Meserve Kunhardt and Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., *Twenty Days* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), 247.
3. Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 241–42, 243–44.
4. It should be noted that the remains of Abraham Lincoln and his son William Wallace Lincoln (d. February 20, 1862) were placed in the public receiving vault at Oak Ridge Cemetery on May 4, 1865, where they would remain until December 21, 1865. The remains were then moved to a temporary vault (today the site is indicated by a granite marker and plaque). On September 19, 1871, the remains of Lincoln, along with those of his sons Edward and William were moved to crypts in the uncompleted tomb. The tomb was completed in 1874.
5. When the estate of Abraham Lincoln was settled and divided on November 13, 1867, by David Davis, the net value (not including real estate holdings) was \$110,296.80. This was divided equally among Mrs. Lincoln, Robert Todd Lincoln, and Thomas Lincoln. Each received \$36,765.60. David Davis filed a final report in November 1868, and it showed that the net estate (with no expenses charged against it) had increased from \$83,343.70 to \$110,974.62.
6. Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 304.
7. Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 270–71.
8. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 275.
9. Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 292–94.
10. In 1908, Chicago's street numbering system was significantly changed and made effective on September 1, 1909. 375 West Washington was renumbered as 1238 West Washington.
11. Today an elementary school of the same name is located at that address, although in a new building.
12. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis (eds.), *Herndon's Informants* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 326.
13. Douglas L. Wilson, "William H. Herndon and Mary Todd Lincoln," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 12–13.
14. The West Washington house was rented to others until April 6, 1874, when Mary Lincoln sold the home.
15. Jason Emerson, *The Madness of Mary Lincoln* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 27–30.
16. Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 440, 441, 444.
17. Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 590.
18. Turner and Turner, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 600.
19. Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln*, 311.



This photograph of Charles Meigs Charnley was taken around 1885 by Stein, located in Chicago at 1301 Michigan Avenue.

On an Elder's Trail: The Later Life of Charles Meigs Charnley, Yale College Class of 1865¹

JACK PERRY BROWN

*"Such was the character of the early men of Woodbury. We would gladly delineate the lives of more of them, did time and space permit. Such was the caliber of the men who laid the foundations, firm and sure, of our institutions, both local and general. It is of such ancestors a virtuous descendant has a right to be proud, and the memory of whom should shame into reformation any one, who may have departed from the boundaries of good character and correct principles."*² — Thomas Cothren, *History of Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut*

*. . . But time and change shall naught avail
To break the friendships formed at Yale.*

—Bright College Years



The Charnley House (above), located at 1365 Astor Street, was designed by Adler and Sullivan in 1891–92. The first James Charnley residence (below) was located at 1204 Lake Shore Drive and was designed by Burnham and Root in 1882.



For many Chicagoans today, the name Charnley brings to mind only the Charnley-Persky House of 1892, commissioned by James and Helen Douglas Charnley from the firm of Adler and Sullivan, designed by their friend Louis H. Sullivan, perhaps with the help of a young draftsman in the office, Frank Lloyd Wright; it still stands on the corner of Astor and Schiller Streets, serving today as a public museum and the national headquarters of the Society of Architectural Historians. Those with a deeper knowledge of architectural history might even recall an earlier James Charnley House, built at Division and Lake Shore Drive by Burnham and Root in 1882–83. But in the last third of the nineteenth century the Charnley name was a prominent one in the shaping of Chicago as it rose from the ashes of the Great Fire.

James Charnley (1844–1905) and his younger brother Charles Meigs Charnley (1845–1931) were close in age and must have been personally close as well. Well-off sons of William Slater Charnley (1815–1888), a businessman, broker, banker, and investor who moved his family to New Haven, Connecticut, from his native Philadelphia in 1850, the two brothers entered Yale College together in the class of 1865, two of 112 matriculants.³ After living at home during their freshman year in the Orson Squire Fowler-inspired octagon house their father built a few blocks from the New Haven green and Yale campus, the brothers roomed together their first year on campus. They were both members of Phi Beta Kappa and Psi Upsilon and in some of the same Yale societies and boating clubs (although James was in Scroll and Key while Charles was tapped for the secret society Skull and Bones).⁴ As part of the tiny minority that attended college at that time, they must be considered well educated, although neither was awarded any academic distinction;



The graduation photographs of James Charnley (left) and Charles Meigs Charnley (right). Only a year apart in age, both men were in Yale College's class of 1865.

they were not named among the speakers and prizewinners of Presentation Week.⁵ Both Charnley brothers came to Chicago by 1867 and had extensive business and personal interactions over several decades. The Yale class photographs, taken by photographer Nathaniel Collins Sanford (1831–1886) of Lowell, Massachusetts,⁶ are their earliest known photographs.

After partnering with his brother James in the booming Chicago lumber business in the 1860s through the early 1880s, Charles's independent business career was not always successful in the later 1880s and 1890s, and a number of his business ventures failed.⁷ Charles Charnley, lumberman, businessman, and a respected leader of the Presbyterian Church in Chicago and nationally for thirty years, was last seen in Chicago (or anywhere, apparently) on the evening of September 1, 1897, at State and Lake Streets.⁸ He and his family had been living with his brother James in the Astor Street house after giving up their house at 309 (now 50 East) Schiller Street earlier in summer 1897.⁹ When substantial defalcations in national Presbyterian charitable funds, of which he was the long-time treasurer, and in funds of Chicago's Fourth Presbyterian Church, which Charles had joined in 1880,¹⁰ were discovered in July 1897, Charnley was put under detective surveillance by the bonding company, but he managed to elude the detective watching him that evening and vanished:

ON AN ELDER'S TRAIL

C. M. Charnley May Have Taken His Life or Fled.

DETECTIVES IN THE CASE.

List of the Presbyterian Institutions Affected.

CHURCH FOLK ASTOUNDED.

The newspaper headline on September 5, 1897, remarked on Charnley's disappearance, much to the surprise of church parishioners.

The story of Charnley's escape was brought to light for the first time by Dr. Johnson yesterday, who told how he fooled the detective who was employed by the American Surety Company to guard him. The detective had a key to Charnley's bedroom, and for over six weeks he did not lose sight of the treasurer.

On the night of Wednesday, Sept. 1, Charnley said he had a pressing appointment with his brother James, and they were to meet at Lake and State streets. The detective accompanied Charnley, who, by reason of nearsightedness, was unable, or pretended to be unable, to recognize faces at any great distance, and he got the detective to watch the street cars.

"I think I see James," said Charnley about 8:30 o'clock. "Look about the middle of that car."

The car was crowded and the detective had difficulty in making out faces. When he turned around Charnley was gone. The detective looked up and down the street, but was unable to find his man again. It is supposed that Charnley was taken away in a waiting carriage and placed aboard an outgoing train at some suburban station.¹¹

The Presbyterian Board of Aid for Colleges and Schools, of which Charnley had been treasurer since the early 1880s, had been found short approximately \$61,239.06 (more than \$1.9M in 2023 dollars), and Fourth Presbyterian Church, where he was also treasurer, was

PRESBYTERIAN
Board of Aid for Colleges and Academies.
C. M. CHARNLEY, Treasurer.
LOCK BOX 294, CHICAGO, ILL.

Chicago, 5/22 1888.

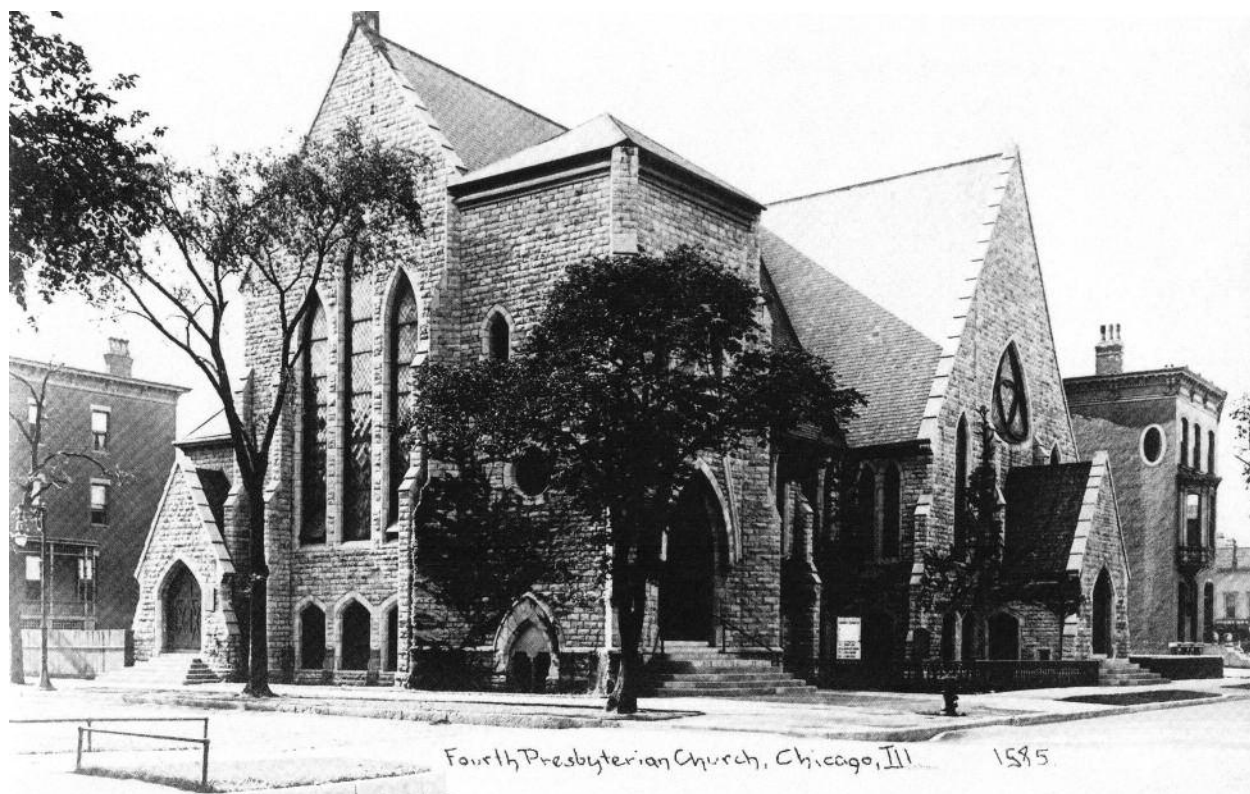
Dear Sir:

I acknowledge receipt of _____
\$ 2.00

Contributed by the
Chicago S.S.
Presbyterian Church of
Hudson Ry.

With thanks,
Yours truly,
C. M. CHARNLEY, Treasurer.

Above: Receipt for a donation to the Presbyterian Board of Aid for Colleges and Academies, dated May 22, 1888. Below: The second Fourth Presbyterian Church was designed by John R. Neff and dedicated in 1874.





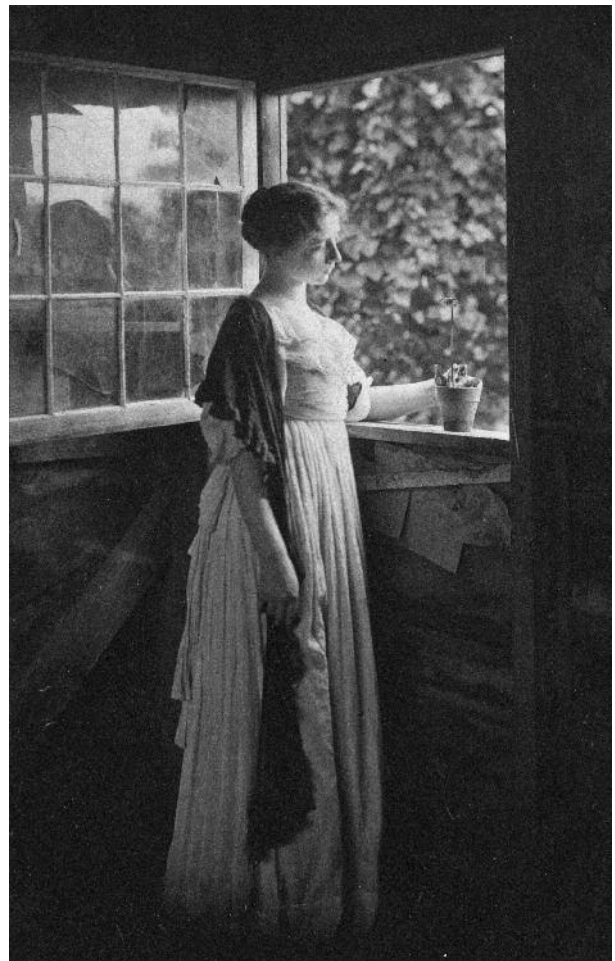
Ellen Mills Averill, Charnley's second wife, disappeared around the same time as Charles.

short \$2,307.66 (more than \$72,000 in 2023 dollars) in its benevolent fund.¹² The exact amount of loss, variously reported, may have been higher. Charnley may also have looted other funds, including a \$45,000 (more than \$1.4M in 2023 dollars) trust created for his stepmother in 1888 by his father's will, of which he and his brother James were co-administrators.¹³ It is unclear how much of the funds remained with Charnley and how much he may have lost in market speculation. Later reports stating that Charles Charnley had committed suicide in Cincinnati, was managing a plantation in Hawaii, or had fled to Japan proved false, and he was never found. Newspaper coverage at the time was extensive.¹⁴

In fleeing, Charnley and his second wife, Ellen Mills Averill (1859–1932), who disappeared around the same time as Charnley himself, abandoned four children from his first marriage to her deceased half-aunt Louise Averill Charnley, three sons and one daughter. (Charnley and Ellen had married in Harwich Port, Massachusetts, in September 1895 after Louise's death in 1893.) Two sons committed suicide within a year of Charnley's disappearance—James Charnley Jr., named after his uncle and just graduated from Yale in the class of 1897, checked into Milwaukee's Pfister Hotel in November 1897 and shot himself at age 21; newspaper reports attributed his suicide to shame over his father's actions. Charles Meigs Charnley Jr. does not seem to have attended college. After his father's disappearance he moved with his younger brother Louis to Los Angeles, where he shot himself to death in June 1898 at age 25.¹⁵ His suicide was attributed to despondency about his health.

Charnley's daughter Constance (1880–1914), who was 17 when her father vanished, joined Fourth Presbyterian Church on May 11, 1895, the same day as her brother Louis. She attended Smith College, beginning just after her father's problems surfaced, and graduated in 1901. While at Smith her guardian was listed as Emma S. Stone of Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in Chicago. She was also listed as belonging to two religious denominations, Presbyterian and Episcopal. Constance became involved in the arts and crafts community at Deerfield, Massachusetts, where she apparently spent summers. She served as a model for several photographs by the Allen sisters, the pictorialist photographers of Deerfield.

Framed in darkness, the subject of the Allen sisters' photograph titled *Constance* gazes at the exotic bloom of a native pitcher plant, her figure illuminated by the subdued light of an open window. The photographers enhanced this quiet, contemplative state through stylistic and technical choices



The photograph *Constance* was taken of Constance Charnley in Deerfield, Massachusetts, while she was a student at Smith College.



Louis E. Charnley (right), Charles and Louise's third child, was 19 when his father vanished in 1897. By 1905, there is record of him conducting business in Japan, where this photograph was taken.

including the physical and temporal setting, and their use of the platinum print, which allowed for tonal richness. Basket maker Gertrude Ashley's memory of Constance suits her portrait: "Miss Charnley had no home, and the quiet country life appealed to her. She often sang in church . . . as familiar with the music as to require no notes. After leaving college, she was a teacher for a while. Later she went to some distant country as a companion to a lady, and became ill and passed away. Knowing her love for Deerfield, her friends arranged for her burial in Laurel Hill Cemetery."¹⁶

After graduation, Constance taught literature and singing at the Brearly and Chapin schools in New York from 1901–1909 and was active in Smith College alumnae affairs. She seems to have traveled to Europe in the summers and in 1905 she did so with her Smith classmate and New York roommate Bertha Jane Richardson together with her brother Louis, to whom Bertha was briefly engaged from around 1906, when Louis was described as a resident in Kobe, Japan. Constance moved to Boston in 1909 to study singing, living with Bertha Richardson

and her new physician husband, Dr. William Palmer Lucas, whom she had married in September 1909—apparently Bertha's engagement to Louis Charnley was broken at some point. From November 1912 to June 1913 Constance had a position in the experimental voice clinic at the outpatient clinic of the Boston Psychiatric Hospital, presumably through the efforts of Dr. Lucas, and published two articles on her work with stutterers; Lucas published an article on the clinic as well.¹⁷ In early 1914 she embarked on a trip around the world, but she died of appendicitis shortly after returning to the United States from England in April.¹⁸ At the time of her death she was engaged to Dr. Hans Barkan, whom she presumably met while he was studying at Harvard Medical School.¹⁹

Only the Charnleys' third child, Louis Edelsten Charnley (1878–1959), who had moved to California with his brother Charles Jr. in late 1897 in the aftermath of his father's scandal, lived to full maturity. He was 19 when his father vanished. No record has been found of his schooling. Certainly, by November 1905 he was conducting business in Kobe, Japan, exporting straw matting (used for floor covering) to the United States.²⁰ While there he collected textiles and Japanese paintings;

Charnley authored an article on Japanese textiles in *House Beautiful* in December 1905, perhaps indicating an earlier familiarity with Japan. He may have been visited there by his stepmother's sister (his half first cousin), Mary Averill, who applied for an emergency passport to visit Japan in 1910 while living in Berlin.²¹ He returned to New York by 1914, when textiles from his collections were exhibited and sold at Anderson Galleries.²² Louis Charnley's later career was in banking, at the Seamen's Bank for Savings and as a broker in New York from the 1920s.²³

James and Helen Douglas Charnley and their son Douglas were also scarred by the scandal. Shortly after Charles's disappearance, advertisements for their home appeared in the papers. James, suffering from early stages of Bright's Disease, closed out his business interests and the family effectively left Chicago by 1900, although they maintained ownership of the Astor Street house for some years.

James died in 1905; his widow and son spent their remaining years as expatriates, chiefly in Italy and Switzerland.

Where in the World Was Charles Charnley?

The key to Charles Charnley's later life lies in his enduring connection to Yale and is found in the October 15, 1933, *Bulletin of Yale University*, an obituary record of deceased alumni—apparently hitherto overlooked as it appeared so many years after his disappearance.²⁴ It summarized his Chicago career, including his posts as treasurer of the charitable organizations, but it did not mention his defalcations or, in fact, any activities at all after he vanished from Chicago in 1897. The obituary did say he died in July 1931 and was buried in Gainesville, Georgia, where he had lived for some years, and that his wife had died the following April.

Who supplied this information to Yale? Someone must have known where the Charnleys were and thought it important to record their deaths, albeit obscurely—someone with a Yale connection. His only child alive at the time of Charnley's death, Louis Charnley, had described his father as deceased on a passport application in 1923, and Yale did not have contact information for Louis.²⁵

The highly persistent secretary of the Yale Class of 1865, W. C. Duyckinck (1843–1936), had made repeated efforts to reach Charles Charnley or obtain information about him; in the 1910 class record he was only able to say, "since 1897 we have had no report."²⁶ He noted the death of Charnley's daughter in New York in 1914, and he continued to contact several of Charnley's Yale relatives—without success—to determine if Charles M. Charnley was still living.²⁷

The person most likely to have known Charnley's whereabouts after 1897 was his brother-in-law and for-

mer business partner Lester Bradner (1836–1907); certainly, Bradner's descendants did. Born well-off, he was the son of a banker in Dansville, New York. After Bradner's graduation from Yale in 1857 he moved to Chicago, where he took a position with the Illinois Central (IC) Railroad as local freight agent. (Albert Sullivan, Louis Sullivan's brother, worked for the IC as general superintendent; James Charnley's father-in-law was the railroad's president on two occasions.) Bradner married James and Charles Charnley's sister Lucy in New Haven, Connecticut on June 7, 1865, and perhaps his presence in Chicago was inducement for James and Charles to move there. Bradner, Charnley & Company was engaged in the lumber business in the 1860s.²⁸ He left active employment in Chicago in 1875 to return to Dansville, possibly enabled by inheritance after the death of his father in 1872; after spending some years in New Haven in the 1880s he lived the last part of his life in his hometown.²⁹

Lester and Lucy had one child who survived to adulthood, Lester Bradner Jr. (1867–1929; Yale class of 1889, Ph.D. 1891).³⁰ Bradner obtained a B.D. at General Theological Seminary in 1894 and was ordained deacon and priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church; he served as curate at the Church of the Ascension in New York from 1894–1901, then as rector of St. John's Church in Providence from 1902 to 1912 and then held various association and educational positions in the Episcopal Church until his death. Letters from his descendants in Charles Charnley's alumni file demonstrate that Charnley's nephew Lester Bradner Jr. knew he had assumed a new identity and maintained contact with him.³¹

Charnley's death was apparently reported to Yale by Congregational minister H. A. Stimson (his Yale classmate and a fellow member of Skull and Bones), who forwarded a letter he received from a Bradner descendant in response to one he must have sent to the third-party mail address given by Yale, c/o Charnley's great-nephew Leicester Bradner (Yale class of 1920), grandson of Charnley's business partner and brother-in-law Lester Bradner. Leicester Bradner had given his address to Yale as a forwarding address for Charnley after his father, who had previously done this, died in 1929. Stimson added a penciled note to the letter stating: "I wonder if there is record of this & I only was informed. He was of Class of 1865 my class & was long under the cloud he had created for himself—H. A. Stimson."³² It is curious that so many family members—many of them Yale graduates and many of them clergymen—knew but did not disclose the whereabouts of someone who had embezzled substantial funds from religious institutions and fled prosecution.

Checks of the Gainesville, Georgia, newspapers, where Charnley was reported to have died in July 1931, were hampered by lack of specific death dates, and a type-



The grave marker of John Barnes and Helen Averill Barnes is located in Woodlawn Cemetery in Gainesville, Georgia, where the two lived starting around 1915 or 1916.

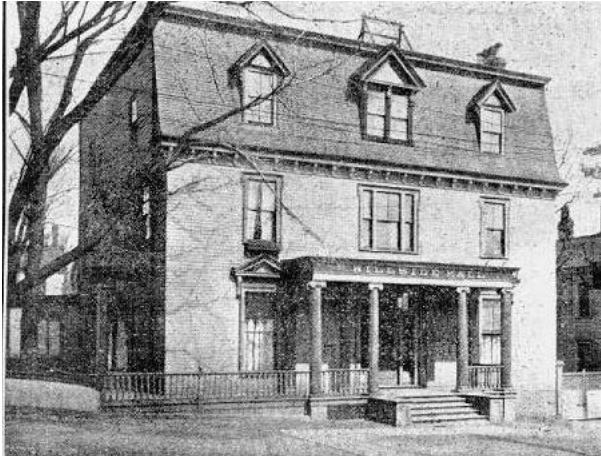
script Georgia Death Index for 1931 and 1932 provided by the Hall County (Georgia) Public Library listed no one named Charnley. However, digitized Georgia death certificates for this period are online at Familysearch.org and are searchable by date and place.³³ On inspection, one individual quickly met the criteria of location and age: John Barnes, who died July 2, 1931, in Gainesville. His birth date was given as October 20, 1846 (Charles Charnley's was October 20, 1845), and his occupation as "Banker, retired." Charnley's birthplace of Philadelphia was given correctly, but his father's given name and birthplace were not. Adding to the certainty that this was Charles M. Charnley, "John Barnes's" wife died less than a year later, April 23, 1932, agreeing with the Yale write-up. On her death certificate "Helen Averill Barnes's" birth date and place and her parents' names match exactly those of Ellen Mills Averill, whom Charnley married in 1895 in Harwich Port, Massachusetts.³⁴ It also indicated that she had lived in Gainesville for ten years and that a sister, Mae Averill of New York, survived her. (This was probably Ellen Averill's sister Mary Averill, a resident of New York at the time).

Why Charnley chose the name John Barnes for his new identity is unknown. One of the victims of Charnley's

frauds was a Rev. Charles Barnes, whom Charnley shorted in pay and accused of extravagant living, according to the *Chicago Tribune* on September 7, 1897.³⁵

With the Charnleys' pseudonyms and death dates, the Hall County Library easily produced obituary notices from the *Gainesville News*, that for "John Barnes" on July 8, 1931, and that for "Helen Barnes" on April 27, 1932. Although the laudatory notice for John Barnes gave some information about his association with Brenau College in Gainesville, it was short on other facts and said nothing at all about the early part of his life. It did give his correct date of birth, but the wrong place, and identified him as a Yale graduate.³⁶

Helen Barnes's obituary provided a bit more information, which eventually led to some details of the Charnleys' lives after 1897. After a factually correct and lengthy paragraph about her mother and father and their family history it then stated that early in her married life her husband was in the hotel business in Halifax, Nova Scotia. This was embroidered with references to hosting the future King George V in Halifax, demonstrably a fiction.³⁷ The Barneses came to Gainesville "about sixteen years ago" according to her obituary—that would be perhaps 1915 or 1916—and



Under the pseudonym John Barnes, Charnley was the proprietor of Hillside Hall in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the early 1900s.

were associated with Brenau College. The pallbearers at John's funeral were the college co-presidents and two faculty members.³⁸ The Barneses are indeed buried in Gainesville's Woodlawn Cemetery under a tombstone bearing their assumed names, but any cemetery records are lost.³⁹

A broad internet search did turn up a John Barnes in the hotel business in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the first decade of the twentieth century, as proprietor of Hillside Hall; the results were primarily from ads in digitized tourist publications.⁴⁰ In a 2003 article on the Hillside Hall hotel

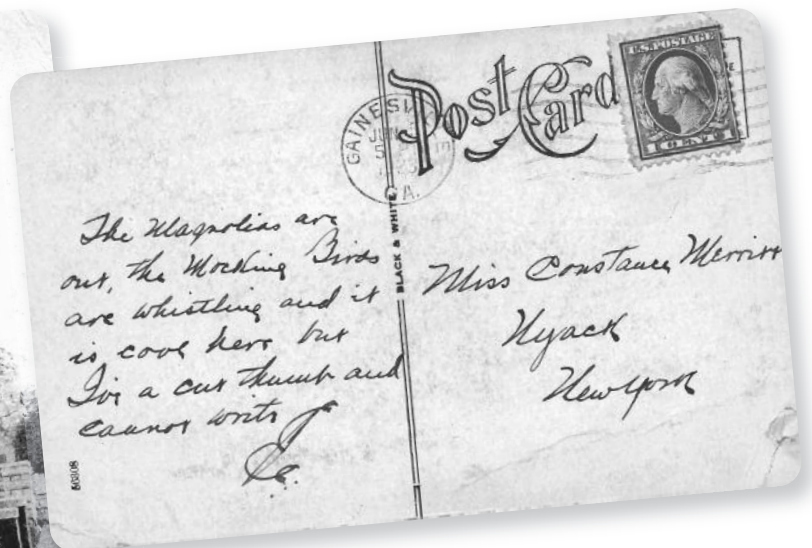
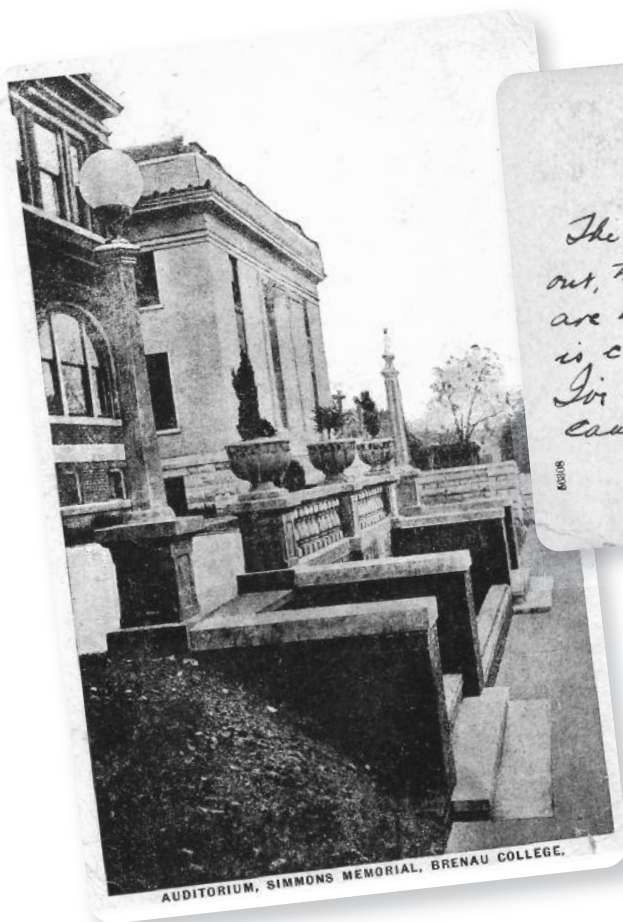
building in the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia newsletter *The Griffin*, Barnes was described as its proprietor in 1901; he paid \$20,000 for the property on January 10, 1900, taking out a \$17,615 mortgage the same day. He is listed as its proprietor in *McAlpine's Halifax City Directory for 1900–1901*. During his tenure several additions were constructed or incorporated into the property, which no longer stands. The Barneses apparently got into financial difficulties and lost Hillside Hall through a sheriff's deed sale on December 30, 1909.⁴¹

The Canadian census of March 31, 1901, for Halifax lists John Barnes (showing a birth date of October 20, 1850, profession hotel proprietor) with his wife Helen (showing a birth date of July 1, 1865, no profession); both are listed as arriving in Canada in 1897—the year Charnley vanished from Chicago.⁴² No departure or arrival confirmations—for either Barnes or Charnley—have yet been discovered. Canada did not keep records of arrivals from the United States prior to 1908.⁴³

John and Helen Barnes, “formerly of Hillside Hall and Pleasant Inn, Halifax, N.S.,” are listed as managers of the Britannia, a summer hotel on Lake of Bays, Muskoka, Ontario, in that hotel's 1910 brochure.⁴⁴ By April 1911, John—at least—was back in the United States as manager of the new Hotel Sweetwater, in Bedford Springs, Massachusetts, outside Boston; then John and Helen are listed as proprietors of the Ardmore Inn, Manomet Point, Plymouth, Massachusetts, in the August 7, 1911, *Boston Transcript*.⁴⁵ A John Barnes—possibly the same individ-



John and Helen Barnes were listed as the proprietors of the Ardmore Inn, pictured here, at Manomet Point in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1911.



This postcard from Louis E. Charnley, Charles and his first wife's only surviving child, to Constance Merritt, his fiancée, was postmarked in Gainesville, Georgia, home of "John Barnes," in June 1923.

ual?—is listed as manager of the Quisisana Spa and Hotel in Green Cove Springs, Florida, in March 1913.⁴⁶

Although initially not discoverable due to a name transcription error, the 1920 US Census at Ancestry.com does show John and Helen Barnes in Gainesville, Georgia: John, his age given as 60 when in fact he was 75, as an orderly at Brenau College, and his wife Helen, age 50 (actually 60), as a matron there; birthplaces for both, and for their parents, are listed as New York.⁴⁷ Brenau College (founded in 1878, now Brenau University) was a small nondenominational women's school with a student body of a few hundred at the time; Gainesville itself had a population of about 7,800 in 1920.⁴⁸ The Charnleys had no known prior connection with the school or place.

The 1930 US Census shows John and Helen Barnes still in Gainesville; his profession is given as "banker, retired," and hers as "librarian, college."⁴⁹ Both John and Helen Barnes appear in Brenau College publications in the late teens and twenties under various titles, John perhaps most interestingly as "Bank Cashier."⁵⁰

John Barnes

Bulletin, April, 1919 Bank Cashier
 Bulletin, March, 1920 Steward
 Bulletin, February, 1921 Steward
 Bulletin, 1922–23 Steward
 Bulletin, 1925–26 Board of Trustees
 Bulletin, 1926–27 Board of Trustees
 Bulletin, 1927–28 Board of Trustees

Helen Barnes

Bulletin, April, 1919 Assistant Matron
 Bulletin, March, 1920 Assistant Steward
 Bulletin, February, 1921 Assistant Steward
 Bulletin, 1922–23 Assistant Steward
 Bubbles, 1923 yearbook: Librarian
 Bulletin, 1928–29 Librarian
 Bulletin, 1929–30 Librarian

The name Charles M. Charnley last appears in the news in 1922, when the tug *Charles M. Charnley*, built in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, in 1882 for use in the Great Lakes lumber trade, burned at Port Jefferson, New York.

Building a family tree from information on Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.org led to living descendants of Charles Charnley and his first wife through their sole surviving child, Louis E. Charnley. When contacted—with some trepidation—in the course of preparation for a work-in-progress lecture version of this research, Charles Charnley's life and deeds were completely unknown to the family. Living family members knew Charles Charnley's

CHARLES M. CHARNLEY,

23 MONTAUK BLOCK.

Such was the character of the
Early men of Woodbury, we would
gladly delineate the lives of more of
them did time & space permit.
Such was the caliber of the men who
laid the foundations firm and sure
of our institutions both local and
General. It is of such ancestors a
virtuous Descendant has a right to
be proud and the memory of whom
should shine into reformation
one who may have departed from
the boundaries of good character
and correct principles.
Believe Me of One Wood.

This manuscript found in Charnley family documents was handwritten by Charles M. Charnley on his letterhead. See the transcribed quotation on page 17.

son—their grandfather—only as very young children but subsequently they found in long-stored family papers descended from Louis E. Charnley and then, through his son, photographs of Charles Charnley and his second wife, reproduced here for the first time. Other documents found in the family files prove that Charles M. Charnley's son Louis was in contact with his father and stepmother and at least once visited them in Gainesville, Georgia. Artwork still held by family members survives from Louis's time working in Japan.

The first epigraph for this article comes from a history of early Woodbury, Connecticut, settled by the family of Charles Charnley's two wives, the Averills; its publication was partially funded by Averill family members. Among recently-surfaced Charnley family documents is an undated manuscript copy of these words by Charles Charnley on his letterhead.

Self-reflection?

Jack Perry Brown was Executive Director of Ryerson & Burnham Libraries at the Art Institute of Chicago from 1985 to 2014.

ILLUSTRATIONS | Illustrations are from the collection of the Chicago History Museum, unless otherwise noted. Page 16, Charnley-Persky House Museum. 17, top: ICHi-039460; bottom: ICHi-051055. 18, top, left and right: Yale University Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library; bottom: *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 19, top: courtesy of Jack Perry Brown; bottom: courtesy of Fourth Presbyterian Church. 20, top: Charnley-Persky House Museum; bottom: courtesy Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA. 21, Charnley-Persky House Museum. 23, FindAGrave.com. 24, top: Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management; bottom: Jack Perry Brown. 25, Charnley-Persky House Museum. 26, Charnley-Persky House Museum.

FOR FURTHER READING | For more on the Charnley-Persky House, see Richard Longstreth, ed., *The Charnley House: Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the Making of Chicago's Gold Coast* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

ENDNOTES

- I dedicate this research to the memory of the late Pauline Saliga, colleague and friend, executive director of the Society of Architectural Historians (SAH) and steward of the Charnley-Persky House Museum, who first suggested to me that the Charnley family might be a fertile field for research. I also received much help and support from Beth Eifrig at SAH. Members of the Charnley family were amused, helpful, and generous in exploring the life of their new black sheep. I happily acknowledge the many librarians and archivists here and abroad who preserved so much and responded to my queries with such alacrity, especially the staff at Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University—*Lux et veritas*, indeed. I should also acknowledge the Internet, which would be of little value without the contributions of those same librarians and archivists, and—lastly—eBay, that source of all things odd and wonderful, which provided images of the most obscure bits and pieces of Charles Meigs Charnley's life.
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- Yale Literary Magazine*, XXX, no. 8 (1865), *passim*, lists prizes and awards for the class.
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- See, e.g., “Charnley and Lovedall. How a Man Tried to Save his Brother from Financial Ruin,” *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1887.
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- Charles's wife Louise was the first to join, in 1878; Charles transferred his membership from Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut, on December 1, 1880; and their children and his parents all joined by 1895. Charles was “dismissed” on December 5, 1897, with the laconic notation “disappeared.” Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Session Minutes.
- See n. 8 *supra*.
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- Email, Louis Charnley descendant, July 1, 2014; family oral history says he was in the tea importing business.
- Longstreth mentions the biography (*Charnley House*, 214, n. 12), but it was not germane to his purpose.
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- Email from Deborah Thompson, Brenau University, Jan. 29, 2015.
- Email from Tommy Hunt, Cemetery Manager, City of Gainesville, Jan. 27, 2015.
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The Polish Church Wars*

DOMINIC A. PACYGA

“But we Poles want to preserve our national identity, which after God, is most dear to us. So dear Reverend Father, have pity on us and send us a Polish priest...”

—Piotr Kiołbassa, in a letter to Fr. Hieronim Kajsiewicz,
Superior General of the Congregation of Resurrection in Rome¹

While Chicago’s Polish community might seem unified to outsiders, it rarely was. Polonia was riven by differences in social class, ideology, and politics from the very beginning. Four men would come to symbolize the many fissures within the community: Antoni Schermann, an early entrepreneur and community activist; Piotr Kiołbassa, a Civil War cavalry officer, politician, and community organizer; Rev. Vincent Barzyński, Polonia’s great brick-and-mortar priest (i.e., a builder of churches) and defender of the Catholic faith; and Władysław Dyniewicz, journalist, publisher, and Polish patriot. Together they set the tone for struggling over the idea of just how to be a Pole in America. What was *Polskość* or Polishness? What did the diaspora mean for the homeland? How were Poles to acclimate to Chicago, to America—or should they not?

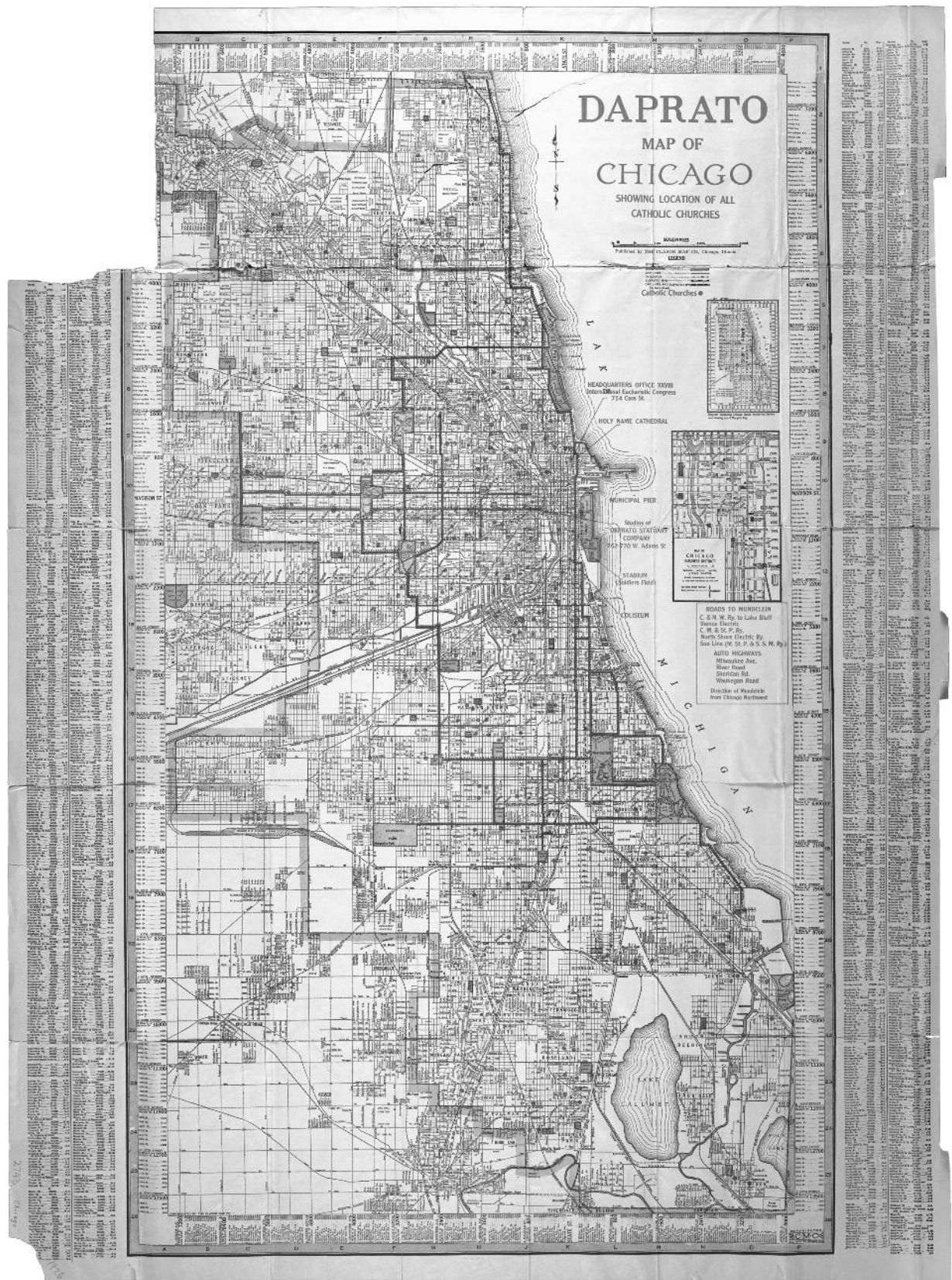
Doesn’t every ethnic immigrant group face these questions? Yes, but these questions were all the sharper for Poles for two reasons: the rigidity of their traditional class and ethnic structures and their lack of politically independent homeland. Eventually, arguments over what it meant to be Polish in Chicago would tear the community apart and lead to violence in the streets. Rival fraternal groups claimed and built new public spaces, Polish parishes fought and split, and new organizations, including a feminist nationalist one, took shape in the emerging Polish American milieu of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Differences aren’t always destructive; they can lead to growth. Disputes over what it meant to be a Pole in America helped make Chicago the capital of the Polish diaspora.

The roots of this division lay in the historical social structure of the multiethnic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but the partitions exacerbated the situation. Poland and its many ethnic groups could not fully take part in the modernization and nationalization processes that transformed Europe after the French Revolution. As a result, Polish lands remained behind the times until late in the nineteenth century. The emigration of hundreds of thousands, and then millions, of Poles further transformed the Polish countryside. As Poland changed, so did the emerging Chicago Polonia, which was defined first by immigrants from the Prussian partition and then by those from the Austrian and Russian sectors. Poles came to Chicago from many different Polands. No wonder they often argued.

Pioneers, Chaos, and Conflict

As early as the 1830s, refugees from the Polish-Russian War (1831–33) looked to settle in Illinois. While this colony never came to fruition, some Poles did make their way to the Prairie State and Chicago. Captain John Napieralski, a veteran of the war, is generally believed to have been the first Pole to arrive in the city. Little is known of these early settlers, and they developed no sense of a larger community. Some twenty years later, in 1851, Antoni Schermann (sometimes referred to as Sherman, Smagorzewski, or Smarzewski), born about fifty miles outside of Poznań in Prussian Poland in 1818, arrived in the West Town neighborhood with his wife and three children. The neighborhood housed a small and largely German population, and the young ambitious Pole spoke their language. Schermann, a transi-

*Excerpt from the following: “Settling In: Creating Polonia’s Capital” (pp. 47–75) from *American Warsaw: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Polish Chicago* by Dominic A. Pacyga. © 2019 by The University of Chicago. Published by The University of Chicago Press. All rights reserved.



Designed by the Clason Map Company and published by the Daprato Statuary Company in 1926, this map of Chicago shows the location of all Catholic churches at the time.



Piotr Kiołbassa moved to Chicago after the US Civil War, helped organize St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, and later served as City Treasurer of Chicago.

tional character, maintained ties to that community throughout his lifetime, as his German-language family bible, now in the possession of the Polish Museum in Chicago, shows. A shrewd businessman, he worked with all groups in the area.

At first Schermann was a laborer for the Chicago & Alton Railroad, but in 1867 he opened a tavern and grocery store on Noble Street. The next year, Schermann added a Polish immigration agency to the store. When he first arrived in Chicago, the Northwest Side neighborhood where he settled was rural. A flat plain bordered by the North Branch of the Chicago River with a small woodland, it must have reminded the immigrants of their homeland. About thirty Polish families joined Schermann in Chicago during the early 1860s. This was the beginning of the neighborhood that would emerge as the capital of Polonia.

The small Polish colony to the northwest of Chicago's growing downtown faced a critical problem. The peasant Catholic group could neither go to confession nor celebrate traditional Polish holy days because of a lack of a Polish-speaking priest. So, Schermann hoped to organize a Polish Roman Catholic parish but had difficulty until the arrival of a handsome, charismatic character, Piotr (Peter) Kiołbassa. Kiołbassa, like Schermann, was born in Prussian Poland in 1837. He had come with his parents as part of the Polish migration to Panna Maria, Texas, the first permanent Polish settlement in the

United States. At the beginning of the American Civil War, Kiołbassa joined the Texas Cavalry, was captured, and was brought to Illinois, where he then joined the Union Army. He served in the Sixteenth Illinois Cavalry and then as captain in the Sixth U.S. Colored Cavalry, an African American unit. As a cavalry officer, he cut a dashing figure and fit into the traditional Polish military mystique of the cavalryman.

Schermann and Kiołbassa, who was on leave in Chicago during the winter of 1863–64, organized the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society as the first step in establishing a Polish parish. Kiołbassa contacted his former pastor in Panna Maria, Rev. Leopold Moczygamba, and suggested he quit his Texas mission and come to Chicago. Moczygamba accepted the invitation, albeit on a temporary basis, and arrived during Easter season of that year. Meanwhile, the cavalry officer returned to the front, and Schermann's business affairs diverted him from parish building until Kiołbassa's return in 1866. In that year, a newly reconstituted St. Stanislaus Kostka Society worked toward the establishment of a parish. Most of these early Polish settlers originated from the German or Prussian Partition, understood German, and also felt close ties to fellow Slavs, the Czechs. Father Francis Molitor, the pastor of the West Side's Czech St. Wenceslaus Parish, offered Mass and preached in Polish at St. Joseph's German Catholic Church. So at that time, Poles often attended German-speaking Catholic parishes, but they wanted a place of their own in which to worship.²

Kiołbassa emerged as an important figure in the establishment not only of the parish but also of the growing community. He joined the Chicago police force



St. Wenceslaus Church, at the corner of Desplaines and DeKoven Streets, survived the Great Chicago Fire and was demolished in 1955.



The emblem of the Resurrectionists, or the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which began in Paris in 1836.

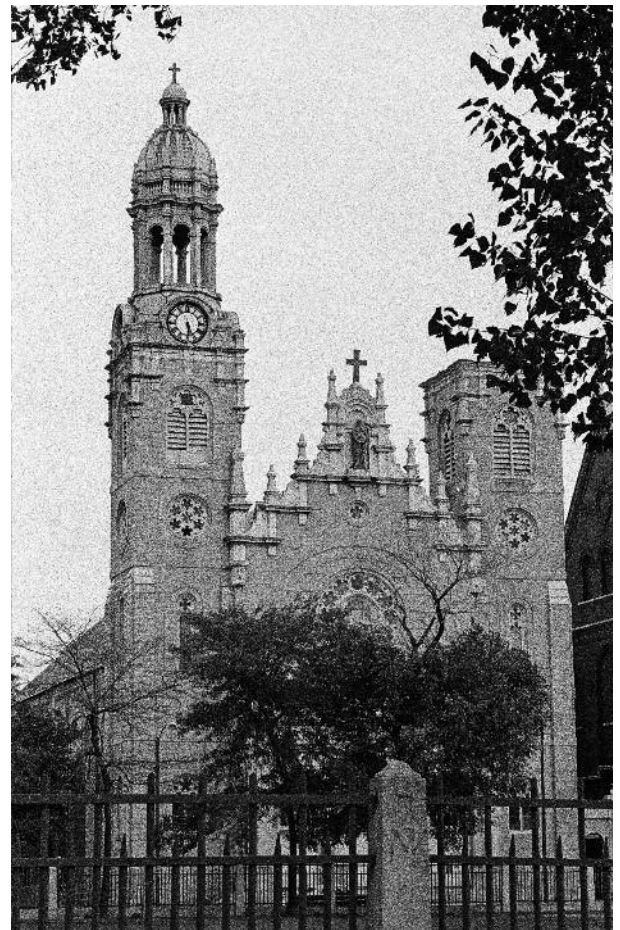
in 1866 and rose to the rank of sergeant the following year. For years, Kiołbassa ran a notary office in the St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish neighborhood, often referred to in Polish as Stanisławowo. The office, often a gathering place for immigrants looking for help in understanding the ways of the city and the United States, operated as a social service agency, legal aid bureau, and a kind of secular community center for Polonia. He frequently acted as a go-between for newly arrived Polish immigrants and helped them to cope with Chicago and America.

In 1869, Kiołbassa wrote the superior general of the Resurrectionist order, Rev. Jerome Kajsiwicz, asking for a Polish priest to be sent to Chicago. The Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which served the small Texas immigrant community from which Kiołbassa had come, was founded in 1836 in Paris by Poles who had left Poland as a result of Poland's defeat in the 1831–33 Russian-Polish War. Kiołbassa received a favorable reply before returning temporarily to Texas. In September 1869, construction began on the new wooden frame church at a cost of \$6,885 (\$118,959 in 2017). Kiołbassa wrote to Kajsiwicz that the community was made up largely of Poles from Upper Silesia, the Duchy of Poznań, and Kashubia, all in the German Partition. He complained of another group of Poles who had formed the Gmina Polska, a more secular band, in 1866. Władysław Dyniewicz emerged as a leader of this nationalist group dedicated to the resurrection of the Polish state.

When the Resurrectionist Rev. Jan Wołowski arrived on November 1, 1869, the parish already had a new

pastor, much to his disappointment. At first, the administrator of the Chicago Diocese, Rev. John Halligan, appointed Rev. Joseph Juskiewicz as pastor of the embryonic parish in October. The Resurrectionists did not give up hope in establishing themselves in Chicago, however, and the next year saw a series of moves on the part of the order and their supporters to take control of St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish.

In 1870, the Resurrectionist priest Rev. Adolph Bakanowski arrived from Panna Maria and took up residence with the Stasch family, parishioners of the St. Stanislaus Kostka. Kajsiwicz had ordered him to return to Rome, but using the Franco-Prussian War as an excuse, Bakanowski stayed in the United States and made his way to Chicago, where he became involved in the increasingly divided Polish community. Some parishioners wanted Bakanowski to take over the pastorate of St. Stanislaus Kostka. At one point, masked men attacked and beat Rev. Juskiewicz. Meanwhile Superior General Kajsiwicz once more called Bakanowski to Rome, but the priest again ignored the order. At this time,



St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, pictured here in 1978, was built in the Polish Cathedral architectural style at 1351 West Evergreen Avenue.

Kajsiewicz was of the opinion that American Polonia was doomed and that it would soon be assimilated into American society and saw little reason to send priests to serve the community except perhaps to cater to the aged. Bakanowski, however, saw a great opportunity for the Resurrectionists in Chicago. Father Juskiewicz soon left the parish. He would not be the last Polish pastor to be threatened with violence when various factions in the neighborhood attempted to take control. Finally, Bishop Thomas P. Foley appointed Bakanowski as temporary pastor and invited the Resurrectionists to take over the fledgling parish and attend to Chicago's growing Polonia. The Irish bishop must have hoped to wash his hands of the confusing and constantly warring Poles. Kajsiewicz's visit to the city in July 1871 changed his mind about American Polonia, and he decided to allow Bakanowski to stay and serve the community.

Superior General Kajsiewicz's opinions concerning the Polish diaspora in America shifted dramatically. In fact he had always felt that the Resurrectionists could not abandon the thousands of Poles who lived beyond the borders of partitioned Poland. Kajsiewicz and Bishop Foley successfully negotiated a pact giving the order the right to administer to all nondiocesan Polish parishes in Chicago for ninety-nine years. Earlier, the Gmina Polska leader, Dyniewicz, and his allies insisted on wording the deed to the church so that only Poles could use it. The bishop disagreed and refused to consecrate the church. The Resurrectionists, however, agreed to the bishop's demands and carried the day by handing the parish deed to Foley. This pact proved to be a great victory for Schermann, Kiołbassa, and the Resurrectionists as opposed to the Gmina Polska. The local Catholic diocese in America, not parishioners or some benefactor, held title to parish property. The Gmina Polska faction wanted the community to own the property and thus have total control over the parish.³

The argument between the Gmina Polska and the Resurrectionists grew and again threatened violence in the neighborhood. The confusing ideological split between the two parties centered on the idea of Polishness or *Polskość*. Was a Pole first and foremost a Roman Catholic or was he or she a nationalist dedicated to the reestablishment of Poland? Could a Pole be a non-Catholic or even an atheist? Around these competing ideas emerged one of the most fearsome intra-ethnic disputes in American history. Certainly, both groups agreed on the preservation of a Polish identity in the United States, but the clerical group saw being Catholic as most



Bishop Thomas P. Foley

important. Also, many in the Gmina Polska saw emigration to the United States as only temporary. They felt that all Poles would return to Poland once the occupying powers had been vanquished.

The conflict was based on historical experience. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which had been partitioned by its neighbors at the end of the eighteenth century, contained many ethnic groups, including Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), White Russians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Armenians, Jews, and others. Traditionally, these were all subjects of the Polish state. Increasingly, though, as the nineteenth century progressed, a

more modern idea of nationality arose in the Polish lands, which identified Polish-language speakers as true Poles. The simultaneous and parallel budding nationalism of Lithuanians and Ukrainians furthered this definition, and these two groups began to speak of their own nations. The rise of Zionism also entered the picture, as the Polish lands included the world's largest population of Jews. For the Gmina Polska, a simple definition sufficed. If one believed in the resurrection of the Polish state, then one was a Pole. For the emerging clerical party, a true Pole spoke Polish and was a Roman Catholic.⁴

The Foley-Kajsiewicz agreement further alienated the nationalist faction, especially Dyniewicz. Shortly thereafter, Kiołbassa returned to Chicago from Texas. Dyniewicz claimed that the Resurrectionists and their adherents, the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society, had become involved in a conspiracy with Chicago's Irish hierarchy to exploit the Poles and to have them assimilated into American society. Dyniewicz then encouraged Gmina Polska members to establish themselves in various parish societies, especially the newly organized St. Joseph Society.

About fifteen hundred families belonged to the young parish in 1871, and Fr. Bakanowski soon found himself overwhelmed by his responsibilities. The Great Chicago Fire of that year had created a need for labor in the city, and more Poles flocked to Stanisławowo. The parish facilities quickly proved inadequate for the rapidly growing Polish population, and rumors of a new parish spread through the neighborhood. Given the past agitation by the Gmina Polska, it was obvious that such a move would again cause conflict. Meanwhile, the Gmina Polska-dominated St. Joseph Society agitated for a new parish and raised \$10,000 (\$193,101 in 2017) to purchase a tract of land just three blocks south of St. Stanislaus Kostka. This caused an eruption between the two factions, as the Resurrectionists saw it as a major provocation.⁵

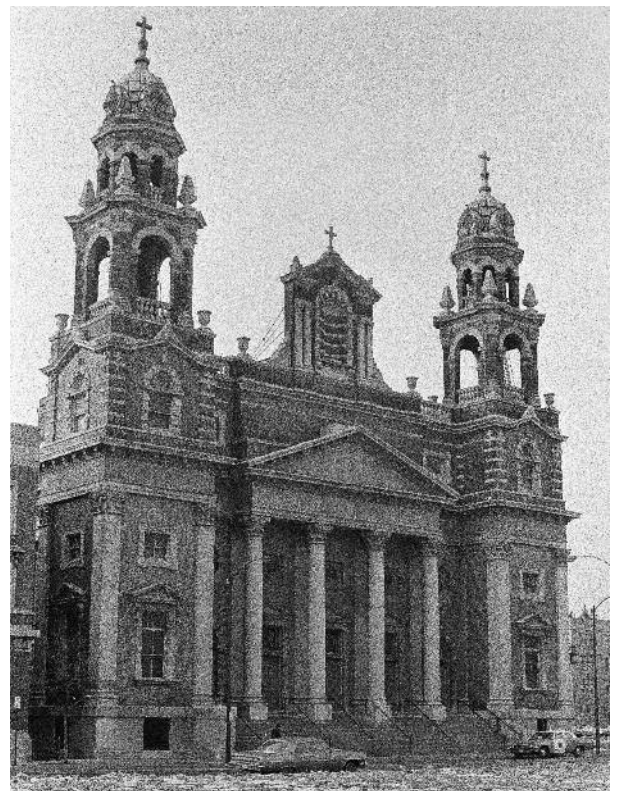
Meanwhile, in Union, Missouri, far from Stanisławowo, a newspaper called *Pielgrzym* (The pilgrim) appeared, edited by the Rev. Alexander Matuszek, a Jesuit priest, and John Barzyński, the brother of a Resurrectionist priest, Fr. Vincent Barzyński. The paper seemed to signal an alliance between the two orders. Dyniewicz felt that *Pielgrzym* favored a policy of assimilation and feared an Irish-Resurrectionist-Jesuit plot to control American Polonia. John Barzyński stated openly his feelings about American Polonia and editorialized in *Pielgrzym* that the newspaper would always work on behalf of the Polish community, but any Pole born in the United States could never be a European Pole. Here appeared a major split in the diaspora: Barzyński wanted all Poles in the United States to preserve their Catholic faith, learn the language and history of Poland, and at the same time become good Americans. For the youthful editor, Catholicism stood at the center of his idea of what it meant to be Polish. Father Vincent Barzyński not only agreed with his brother's editorial policy but also used *Pielgrzym* to attack the Gmina Polska and like organizations, which the clerical party often referred to as Masonic and socialistic in nature. The priest call for a Resurrectionist-Jesuit alliance to save souls in the diaspora. This policy of assimilation won over many adherents who felt the emigration was more or less permanent and that a Polish national liberation and the subsequent return of immigrants seemed far-fetched.

Meanwhile, back in Chicago, Fr. Bakanowski became emboldened and moved against the St. Joseph Society and their efforts to create a competing parish. The priest received various anonymous letters advising him to stop his attacks. Bakanowski ignored these and then received death threats. Of course, the pastor remembered what had happened to his predecessor, Fr. Juskiewicz, and began carrying a revolver. The St. Joseph Society then seceded from St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish and founded another parish, Holy Trinity, just three blocks south, creating the parish village of Trójcowo. Thus, began a twenty-year struggle that tore Chicago's Polonia apart. The Gmina Polska arranged to have the new parish's deed to the property made out in the name of the St. Joseph Society. The trustees of the new church, built in 1873, refused to sign the title of the property over to the diocese. Bishop Foley declined to consecrate the new church and insisted on Resurrectionist control. In 1880, Fr. Albert Mielcuszny became pastor without being recognized by the bishop and Foley immediately excommunicated him.

Bakanowski, worn out by the constant conflict and possibly afraid for his life, resigned his post and returned to Texas. The Resurrectionists sent Fr. Felix Zwiardowski to be pastor of St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish. He offered to retain Holy Trinity, but only as a mission of St. Stanislaus



Above: An undated portrait of Father Vincent Barzyński. Below: Holy Trinity Polish Catholic Church, located at 1118 North Noble Street, was founded in 1872 and built three blocks south of St. Stanislaus Kostka.



Kostka Parish. The organizers of Holy Trinity responded by creating a Committee of Public Safety to keep the Resurrectionist order out of their church. Zwiardowski soon also returned to Texas. Reverend Symon Wieczorek replaced him, but lasted only eight weeks before also retreating to the Lone Star State. In five years, four pastors had tried to serve the turbulent community. It seemed as if the Resurrectionists would give up the parish. In the autumn of 1874, the thirty-six-year-old Fr. Vincent Barzyński made his way to Chicago in hope of calming the waters and holding onto the Resurrectionist beachhead in Chicago.⁶

Barzyński's arrival proved to be fortuitous for the Resurrectionist cause. It heralded an era of unprecedented institutional growth for both his religious order and Chicago's Polonia. The young, energetic priest took control of St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish and placed it on a firm footing. He was born in the Austrian Partition in 1838 and ordained in 1861; he participated in the January 1863 uprising in the Russian partition. Two years later, he became a member of the Resurrectionist Order and was sent to Texas in 1866 to serve the Polish immigrant community there. After coming to Chicago, Barzyński saw the need for Polish institutional development tied to the Catholic Church. He channeled his energy into the creation of churches, schools, religious societies, fraternal organizations, welfare agencies, orphanages, and hospitals across Chicago's Polonia. The growth of various parish organizations is testament to Barzyński's methods and the organizational ability of his parishioners. No other Polish Catholic priest came close to his accomplishments as a brick-and-mortar priest, defined as one who built the physical infrastructure of institutions. Many Poles ostracized those who disagreed with Barzyński's hierarchical approach. The pastor saw socialism, masonry, and anarchy as the most powerful enemies of his flock and was not reluctant to accuse those who opposed his methods with these "sins." An uncompromising leader, he and his brothers, Rev. Joseph Barzyński, a priest but not a Resurrectionist, and John, a devoted Catholic journalist, moved against the Gmina Polska and the secular nationalists.

In October 1873, John Barzyński proposed a national organization to unite all Poles in America. Several months earlier, Fr. Theodore Gieryk had also called for a national organization. He made contact with Resurrectionists in Chicago in an attempt to promote his project. In December 1873, after talking to John Barzyński, Gieryk organized a meeting in Detroit. The meeting almost broke up over an argument between nationalists and those who favored a more Catholic organization. Nevertheless, a new organization appeared and the participants agreed to meet again the following October in Chicago. St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish hosted

the gathering a month after Vincent Barzyński's installation as pastor in the divided parish.

The second convention in 1874 established the organization's goals, which mirrored those of the Resurrectionist order. The association vowed to preserve the Catholic faith and the Polish culture of the immigrants. Its objectives included the creation of Polish parishes, parochial schools, libraries, hospitals, convents, and a teachers' college. John Barzyński moved his newspaper to Detroit that same year and renamed it *Gazeta Polska Katolicka*. Members also adopted the official title of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America (PRCUA) as the first national society of Poles in the United States.



The seal of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America has been the fraternal organization's official emblem since its early days.

The PRCUA held its convention in Milwaukee the following year. That meeting proved more contentious, as the issue of *Polskość* came up yet again. This time, Fr. Gieryk and Fr. Dominik Majer proposed that non-Catholics be allowed to join the organization. The Catholic Barzyński group defeated the nationalists, and Gieryk left the PRCUA. Majer stayed on initially but left in 1880 to join the new Polish National Alliance (PNA). Father Vincent Barzyński now controlled the PRCUA and shifted its focus to the needs of the Polish immigrant community rather than on the quest for Polish independence as the nationalists, both secular and clerical, had hoped the organization would.

In May 1875, Władysław Dyniewicz reacted to the creation of the PRCUA by calling for the formation of a rival organization based on nationalist principles and open to all who believed in Polish independence, regard-



The Polish National Alliance building at 1514-1520 West Division Street was designed by Polish American Joseph A. Slupkowski in an Art Deco style and served as the organization's headquarters from 1938 to 1976.

less of their religious beliefs. The appeal, however, failed. Three years later, Henryk Kałusowski, a longtime Polish patriot and activist, wrote to his comrade from the 1863 rebellion, Agaton Giller, in Rapperswil, Switzerland, calling for the establishment of a patriotic organization among Polish immigrants in the United States. Giller responded to this appeal by publishing a long letter in the *Lwów press*, which also appeared in Polish American newspapers under the title "The Organization of Poles in America." Giller urged Polish immigrants to join mainstream American society and saw the proposed organization as one dedicated to the idea of Polish independence. His appeal proved very effective, as it united the material goals of the immigrants for a better life and the patriotic aspirations of the secular leadership. When a famine struck Polish Silesia in 1879, American Poles raised money to help those affected. This crisis provided a foundational moment for what became known as the Polish National Alliance. Its organizers held a meeting in Philadelphia in February 1880. Giller praised it for its potential to unite Poles and Lithuanians in America for the Polish cause. On June 3, 1880, *Dyniewicz's Gazeta Polska* published the Philadelphia call for creating the PNA. The following month, at a meeting held in Michał Majewski's tavern, a favorite meeting place of the *Gmina*

Polska, organizers requested for the first PNA convention to be held in Chicago.

The first PNA convention opened in Chicago on September 20, 1880, with a religious service in St. Wenceslaus Church, a Czech parish on the West Side. The church provided a neutral, but Catholic, place for the group sparring with the Barzyński brothers. After the Mass, delegates and nonvoting members went to the Palmer House, then Chicago's most prestigious hotel, to conduct the first *Sejm* (congress). *Gmina Polska* members dominated the meeting. The constitution of the newborn PNA promised support for Polish independence, something the PRCUA did not do, and also the establishment of an insurance fund for immigrants. The aims of the organization, however, remained a continuing subject of debate, and the relationship with the Catholic Church constantly provided a point of conflict. Many of the founders were anticlerical to say the least. They resented the power of the clergy and their involvement in political and nonreligious affairs.

The PNA established its headquarters at 338 South Clark Street in Chicago's Loop. Later, it rented office space in the heart of the Polish neighborhood on the Northwest Side. Both the PNA and PRCUA recognized Chicago as the obvious capital of American Polonia.

Also, Polish Chicagoans controlled many of the important offices of both organizations and wielded power. While religious issues remained a bone of contention, the real difference between the two organizations was how they defined *Polskość*. What did it mean to be Polish? This was the question both in Poland and across the diaspora. Nationalists claimed that Jews, Protestants, Orthodox Christians, and even nonbelievers of every possible stripe could be Polish as long as they yearned and worked for a free and independent Poland. It was not that the Resurrectionists and the PRCUA did not also hope for Polish independence, but they saw Catholicism as the defining aspect of identity in the lives of Poles in both Poland and abroad. Members of the PNA, for the most part devout Catholics, denied the authority of priests to influence their political goals. They refused to be told who could and who could not be members of their organization, and they made Polish independence their first objective. This might seem like a strange ideological disagreement for modern ears, but it stood at the heart of the conflict.

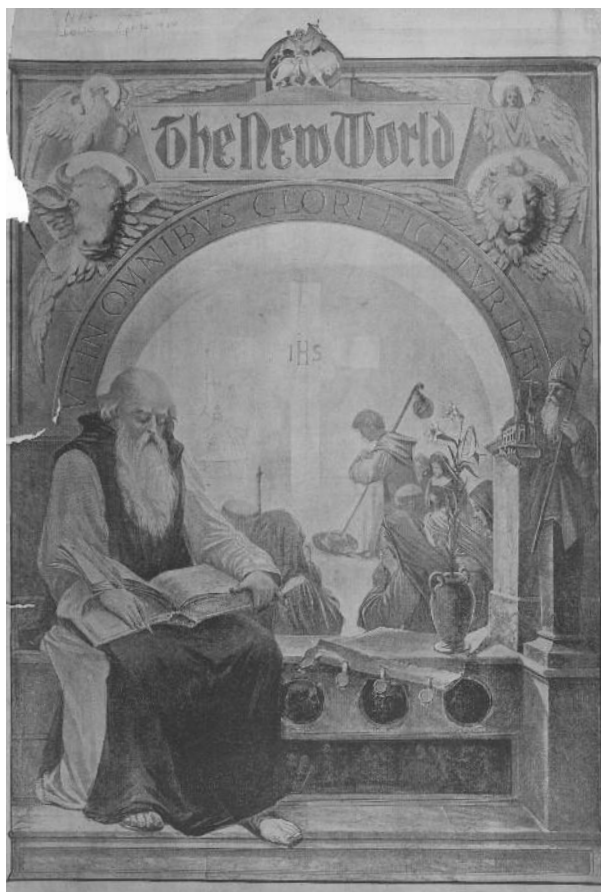
Giller and the other Rapperswil Poles, in exile in the West after the failed 1863 insurrection, advised the American Poles not to break with the Roman Catholic Church but to embrace it as an ally. This became a very difficult thing to do at times, given the intransigence of Barzyński and the Resurrectionists about Roman Catholic identity. Many PNA members also embraced the romantic ideals of the Polish insurrectionists, while the PRCUA leadership took a different approach, calling for “organic” work to rebuild the Polish nation. The two groups also differed on their attitude toward the diaspora. The PNA originally saw it as temporary and believed that once Poland regained its independence immigrants would return to the homeland. The PRCUA recognized that the immigration was more or less permanent.⁷

Nowhere did this breach become more intense than in the struggle over Holy Trinity Parish. In 1893, the Vatican, troubled by the ethnic conflict that seemed to threaten the American Church, sent a Papal Ablegate (Delegate), Archbishop Francis Satolli, to the United States to address the issue. The Papal Ablegate ended the conflict over Holy Trinity by siding with the nationalist faction and installing the Holy Cross Fathers in the parish rather than handing it over to Barzyński and the Resurrectionists.

On Monday, June 5, 1893, Holy Trinity reopened as a parish of the Archdiocese of Chicago. Archbishop Satolli arrived at 7:00 a.m. to offer a devotion in the church. Many attended, despite the fact that the time and day of the week made it difficult for the working-class men and women of the neighborhood to join in the celebration. Members of the PNA and the various parish societies gathered and stood in military fashion and then marched from Milwaukee Avenue to the doors of the place of wor-

ship. The appointment of Rev. Casimir Sztuczko, a member of the Holy Cross Fathers, as pastor proved to be important not only for the parish but also for the nationalist movement. Holy Trinity now became a bastion for the PNA and guaranteed at least the tacit approval of the organization by the Vatican. The PNA, however, maintained its insistence on the separation between the church and the secular matters even as it retained the blessing of the church in the public’s eye.⁸

Satolli’s verdict did not end the dispute, and the Papal Ablegate did not give in on the matter of the ownership of the parish property, which the American Catholic Church recognized as its special privilege. Among the more ardent nationalists, the issue continued to fester and resulted in more conflict. This struggle led to increased violence across American Polonia and to the eventual creation of the Polish National Catholic Church in schism with Rome. While the Satolli settlement brought a cautious calm to the neighborhood, it did little to alleviate the ever-sharpening debate over *Polskość* and the place of Poles in the American Catholic Church.



The New World was the official newspaper of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago starting in 1892. This cover comes from volume 8, number 13, dated April 14, 1900.

Reverend Vincent Barzyński called for an organization to bring together the various factions in Polonia to stem the surge of independent Catholic parishes resulting from this conflict. He proposed an umbrella organization, Liga Polska (Polish League), that would stand above all factions. Organizers held the first convention in May 1894, but nationalists soon saw Barzyński's hand behind an effort to seize the organization for the clerical party and walked out. In turn, Piotr Kiołbassa and the St. Stanislaus Kostka group captured most of the elected offices. While the more conservative faction of the PNA stayed in the league, many nationalists joined the independent church movement. The magnetic cause of Polish independence shaped the responses of the fraternal organizations, especially the PNA. The ideological divide now threatened the relationship between the Polish nation and the Roman Catholic Church.⁹

Meanwhile, Kiołbassa continued in leadership positions both within Polonia and in the city's political sphere. In 1878, he ran as a Republican for the Illinois State Legislature and was the first Pole to be elected to that body. After losing to August J. Kowalski, another Republican, in the Sixteenth Ward Aldermanic race in 1888, he bolted to the Democratic Party and was the first Polish Chicagoan to win citywide office as city treasurer in 1891. He earned the nickname Honest Pete because he returned interest earned on city funds to the public rather than pocketing it himself as had been tradition. Kiołbassa's election marked the beginning of the so-called Polish Block in the city's Democratic Party. Finally, in 1896, Kiołbassa captured the position of alderman of the Sixteenth Ward and later served as Chicago's commissioner of public works from 1902 to 1904 before he died in 1905.¹⁰

Polish Women

Both religious and secular female-centered institutions sprang up in Chicago. Catholic sisterhoods played a crucial role in the development of Polonia, including the Felician Sisters, Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, the Franciscan Sisters of Chicago, and the Sisters of the Resurrection. Polish nuns became more influential in America than in Europe, where German and Russian authorities frequently banned them for nationalist activity. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they had more freedom because of Catholic Hapsburg society. When the Russian government barred the Felicians in 1864 as a result of the Polish insurrection, the order reestablished itself in Kraków in Galicia. Polish women created other sisterhoods abroad, and these often turned toward serving the Polish diaspora.

Polish nuns played a crucial role in maintaining a sense of *Polskość* and later as a bridge to the wider American Catholic community. In 1874, Fr. Józef Dąbrowski

invited the Felician Sisters to come to the United States. They soon operated schools in Chicago and were followed in 1885 by the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. In 1900, the Resurrection Sisters arrived in the city. They established schools throughout Chicago and the United States. By 1909, the Felician sisters alone were teaching thirty-six thousand children in ninety-eight schools across the United States. The Felicians helped to socialize immigrants into a confusing urban industrial world. The order grew rapidly in the United States, and its success in Chicago and other Polonia centers resulted from the recruitment of a generation of American-born women. In Poland, the order drew its membership largely from the upper classes, but in the United States, most Felician sisters came from the immigrant working class. Becoming a nun provided upward mobility for these young women and afforded a socially acceptable and relatively inexpensive way to gain an education and leave the world of the factory behind. Early on, these schools came under attack by both religious and lay critics. Young girls, who had little education, often filled the ranks of these orders. Overcrowded classrooms and poorly written textbooks plagued the schools, and some observers claimed that these young nuns were able to make neither good Poles nor good Catholics out of their students.

In 1881, Josephine Dudzik arrived in the United States, along with her parents, to join three of her sisters who had immigrated to Chicago earlier. She had been born in Płocicz in Prussian-occupied Poland in 1860. At an early age, service to the poor and elderly drew Dudzik. On her arrival in the city at the age of twenty-one, she joined the Third Order of St. Francis, a religious society. When her father died in 1889, she continued to take care of her mother but opened her small apartment to poor women, allowing them to stay in her family's small living quarters. After a while, Dudzik decided to rent or purchase a home



The Dudzik Family included: (seated, from left) John, Katherine, Agness; (standing, from left): Rosalie (Dudzik Frank), Joseph, Frances, and Josephine.



Above: Josephine founded the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Chicago. Pictured here on the day of their First Profession of Vows are (from left): Sister M. Anna Wysinski, Sister M. Angeline Topolinski, Sister M. Agness Dzik, and Sister M. Theresa Dudzik. Below: Girls at St. Vincent Orphan Asylum.

in St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish as a shelter for the poor and elderly. She and her Third Order colleagues approached Rev. Barzyński with the idea. The pastor encouraged the project but insisted that the young women organize as a religious congregation. They became known as the Franciscan Sisters of Blessed Kunegunda in 1894, and Dudzik took the name of Sister Mary Theresa. The new order opened the St. Joseph Home for the Aged and Crippled in 1897 in the Avondale neighborhood. They later launched the St. Vincent Orphan Asylum and the Guardian Angel Home for Working Women and Day Care Center in the Back of the Yards neighborhood in order to better serve the poor of the Polish community.¹¹

Secular Polish immigrant women in Chicago formed the Polish Women's Alliance (PWA) in 1898 as a response to the refusal of the PNA and the PRCUA to accept women members or allow women to buy life insurance except through their husbands. Many young single Polish immigrant women arrived in the city, and while they often married shortly after their arrival, they could not purchase death benefits. As the new institution solved that problem, it also turned to other matters. The PWA appeared as the Progressive movement became a major social, political, and cultural force in society, and its members embraced many of the same goals as the reformers concerning women and children. In particular, the PWA espoused the aims of the movement's feminist leadership, especially Jane Addams. The organization vigorously supported women's rights and the education and protection of children. It campaigned against abusive husbands and played an important role in the emerging Polish independence movement. Its news-



paper, *Głos Polek* (The voice of Polish women), combined nationalism, ethnic solidarity, and the emancipation of women to form its focus. The PWA also supported the labor movement and campaigned against the abuse of alcohol in the community. In 1900, largely in response to the Polish Women's Alliance, the PNA finally allowed women to join their ranks, but the PWA still grew into the third largest fraternal organization in Polonia.¹²



Header from an issue of *Głos Polek* which was published in Chicago by the Polish Women's Alliance of America.

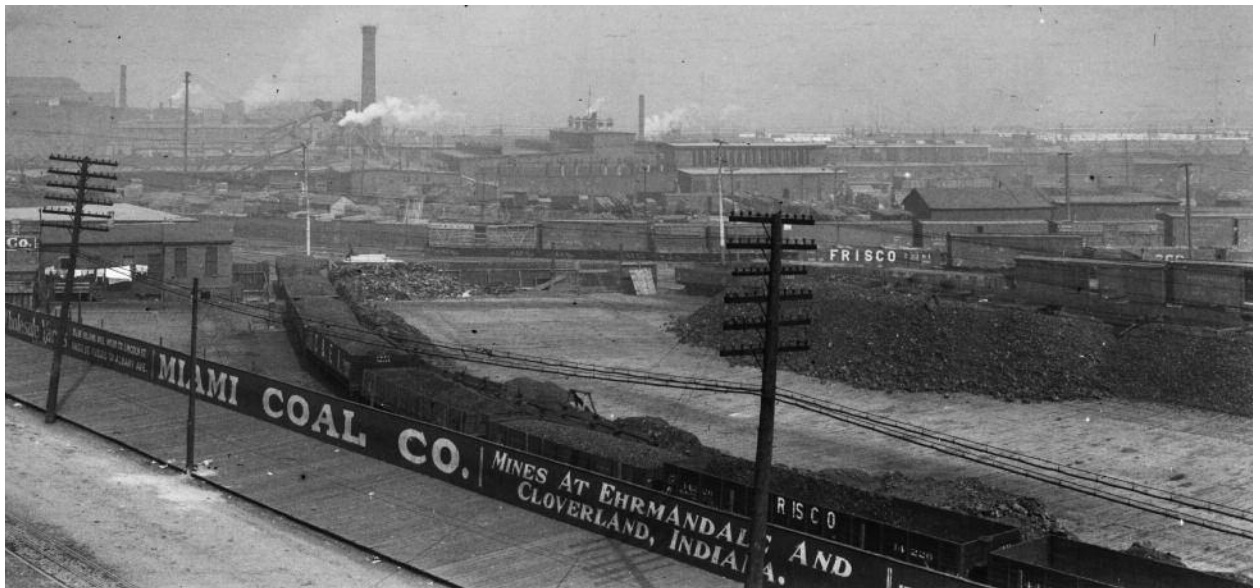
The Polish Church Wars in Chicago

By the late 1870s, Poles had spread across the city into neighborhoods beyond the confines of the city's first Polish parish. Again, any Polish community was largely defined by the organizing of a Polish Catholic parish. In 1874, Poles founded St. Adalbert's (in Polish, *Sw. Wojciecha*) in Pilsen on Chicago's Lower West Side.¹³ The Resurrectionists gave Rev. John Klimecki the task of organizing the new parish. By late 1874, construction began on a brick church on Seventeenth and Paulina Streets. Only the substructure of the church had been built by 1884, but in June of that year, Archbishop Patrick A. Feehan dedicated an imposing red brick church, the first such structure for Pilsen's Poles, who called their neighborhood *Wojciechowo*, after the parish.¹⁴

Residents of *Wojciechowo* often found jobs in the garment industry along Halsted Street, the lumberyards along the South Branch of the Chicago River, the West Side railroads yards, and at the McCormick Reaper Works on Blue Island Avenue to the southwest, all of which were within walking distance or an easy streetcar ride from the neighborhood. Defined as unskilled labor, they eventually made their way into nearby Bridgeport and Back of the Yards, where they worked in the Union Steel Rolling Mill at Archer and Ashland and in meat-packing plants. Like the older Northwest Side settlement, *Wojciechowo* quickly developed institutionally. Labor strife immediately affected the Lower West Side community. In 1876, Pilsen's Poles joined their Czech coworkers in a walkout in the nation's largest lumberyards. "Communistic" agitators supposedly led the strikers. The following year, the Great Railroad Strike rocked the country, and the police with the help of the military put down the strike. They fought the lumber shovers (men



St. Adalbert's Catholic Church (above, in 1979) was founded in 1874 and located at 1650 West 17th Street, between Paulina Street and Ashland Avenue in the Pilsen neighborhood. Pictured below are the lumber yards located at Blue Island and Western Avenues in 1906.

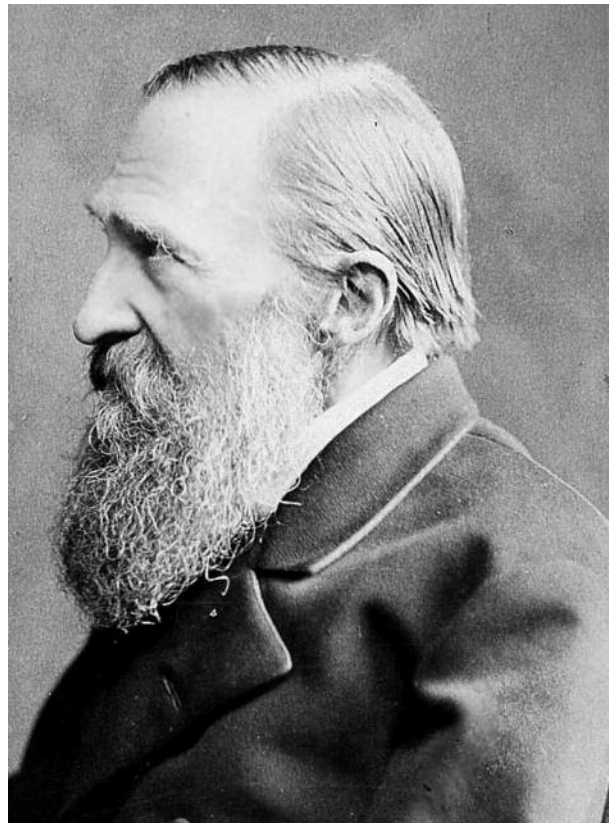




Above: An engraving from Allan Pinkerton's 1878 book *Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives* depicting the Battle of the Viaduct. Below: Writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, long part of the pro-Polish independence movement, died on March 19, 1887.

who unload lumber to or from boats, storage, or mills), railroad workers, and a large group of rolling mill and packinghouse men in the so-called Battle of the Viaduct. Poles and Czechs made up many of the dead and wounded. The next year, the *Tribune* again pointed to Polish and Czech support for the city's socialist. By 1881, observers wrote that the two Slavic groups dominated the lumber industry in Pilsen and the Lower West Side.¹⁵

Along with this rise in class consciousness, Wojciechowo saw an upsurge in Polish nationalism that paralleled the clashes that had occurred on the Northwest Side. The Gmina Polska always has a presence in St. Adalbert's, but the nationalist hold on parishioners increased as the nineteenth century progressed. In 1887, St. Adalbert's priests refused to mark the death of the great Polish writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski. Divisions in Chicago mirrored those back in Galicia. Eight years previously, Kraków's bishop Albin Dunajewski showed little support for the 1879 celebration of Kraszewski's work. The writer had refused to go to confession and receive the Eucharist before that celebration began. Saint Adalbert's parishioners organized a march to the predominantly Irish Jesuit-run parish, Holy Family Church, on Twelfth Street (Roosevelt Road) to celebrate a High Mass for the deceased poet. Eighteen societies, made up of some three thousand men marched from Seventeenth and Paulina Streets





All Saints Polish Independent Catholic Church in 1908 was located at 2020 West Lubeck Street (later West Dickens Street) in the Logan Square community area of Chicago. All Saints moved in 1993, and this location is now the home of Covenant Presbyterian Church.

to Holy Family. After the Mass, the group processed to the Twelfth Street German Turner Hall and held literary readings. The poet Teofila Samolińska read a letter she had received from Kraszewski. Her reading was followed by various speeches and the reading of telegrams sent by priests who belonged to the Polish National Alliance stating their regret that they could not attend to celebrate the “greatest poet of the nineteenth century.” The celebration ended with the singing of the traditional Polish hymn “Boże Coś Polskę” (God Bless Poland).¹⁶

This would not be the final clash between parishioners and their clergy. In 1888, the pastor of St. Adalbert’s, Rev. John Radziejewski, attempted to take control of the Towarzystwo Świętego Imienia Pana Jezusa (the Brotherhood of the Holy Name of Jesus), a lay parish organization. This resulted in a rebellion of roughly two thousand parishioners. Radziejewski refused confession to some 150 members of the congregation. The group’s original constitution listed no provision to place the society under the control of either the parish or the archdiocese. In January 1888, the pastor moved to take control by introducing several amend-

ments to the bylaws to give him power to attend all meetings, veto any proceedings, and make decisions about who could be a new member. According to one of the proposed bylaws, members who failed to attend either of two celebrations held by the society during the year had to make confession in order to be approved by the pastor at the next meeting. After a vote in August 1888 defeated the proposed amendments, Radziejewski again denied confession to his opposition. Further, the priest forbade the use of church property by the society and withdrew church membership from his opponents. The membership claimed in vain that this was a matter outside of the Catholic Church’s jurisdiction. On September 8, the priest’s supporters met and approved the amendments and elected a new leadership. The next day the majority of members met and nullified the September 8 election, electing their own slate. The minority refused to recognize the second election and appropriated the charter. By January 1890, the quarrel came before Cook County Illinois Circuit Court Judge Richard Tuthill. He ruled that the September 8 meeting had been illegal and declared the September 9 election valid. The court fur-

ther held that the society was for the benefit of widows and children, not a religious institution, and ruled that Radziejewski had no right to interfere in the society's proceedings or dictate to the membership.¹⁷

While Polonia would always remain largely loyal to the Church of Rome, laypeople often did not welcome what it considered the "tyranny" of the priesthood. This resulted in the independent church movement and eventually led to the creation of the Polish National Catholic Church in schism with Rome.¹⁸ In April 1895, after a long drawn-out battle between many of the parishioners of St. Hedwig's Parish and the pastor, a group of Northwest Side Poles decided to create an independent parish. They dedicated a temporary chapel on June 12, the Feast of Corpus Christi. The action was a result of a disagreement over parish finances with Fr. Joseph Barzyński, the pastor of St. Hedwig Parish and brother of Rev. Vincent Barzyński. Several riots occurred, and a group of parishioners left St. Hedwig's. By August, they laid the cornerstone of a permanent church building at Lubeck and Robey Streets (now Dickens and Damen Avenue). One hundred police gathered at the local police station, fearing rioting between those supporting the former assistant pastor at St. Hedwig's, who now served as the new pastor of the breakaway parish, Rev. Anthony Kozłowski, and those favoring Barzyński.

On November 10, 1895, parishioners dedicated a permanent edifice for All Saints Church, built at a cost of \$35,000 (\$964,994 in 2017). The parish of some 1,750 families also purchased twenty-eight acres for a cemetery, as the now excommunicated parishioners could not be buried in a Roman Catholic graveyard. A parade of Polish civic and military societies preceded the dedication of All Saints. Military organizations opened a path through the immense crowd to allow some three hundred schoolchildren to proceed from the temporary chapel to the new church. Clergymen followed and the overflow crowd filled the church and street. While this parish initially remained loyal to Catholic doctrine and theology, it refused to acknowledge the authority of the Chicago Archdiocese.

In the summer of 1897, the Parish of All Saints, together with other local independent Polish parishes, elected Kozłowski as bishop. On November 21, he was consecrated in the schismatic Old Catholic Cathedral of Bern, Switzerland, by the Rt. Rev. Edward Herzog, bishop of Switzerland. Three bishops of the Old Catholic Church assisted in the ceremony. Accordingly, the Parish of All Saints became a Polish Parish of the Old Catholic Church. Bishop Kozłowski died in 1907, and two years later, All Saints Parish joined the newly formed Polish National Catholic Church.¹⁹ The Polish church wars rocked Polonia and the American Catholic Church. The conflict largely ensued over what some considered the loyalty of Polish priests to the Irish-dominated Catholic hierarchy and the

authoritarianism and arrogance of the Resurrectionist order. Rebellions against pastors broke out across Chicago's Polonia including St. Joseph's in Back of the Yards and St. Josephat's on the Northwest Side.²⁰

The conflict also resulted from the refusal of the American Catholic hierarchy to consecrate a Polish bishop. The peculiar reality of the Catholic Church in the United States proved to be problematic not only because of the Irish-dominated hierarchy but also because of the increasingly Catholic immigrant groups arriving in the United States after 1890. The issue of Americanization divided Church leadership. Conservatives encouraged the preservation of ethnic cultures. Progressive bishops hoped to make the Catholic Church an American institution and frowned on the growth of parishes organized by individual national groups such as Poles, Germans, or Czechs. They especially opposed the appointment of specifically ethnic bishops and maintained that all bishops should serve all Catholics. In part, this resulted from the fact that the dominant Protestant culture in America remained largely hostile to the Church of Rome. The Irish understood this and did not see the language preservation of new immigrants as an important concern but, instead, worried about the survival of Catholicism in America. Liberals also pointed out that the goal of converting Protestants would be hurt if the Church remained a foreign institution and was seen as a menace by native-born Americans.

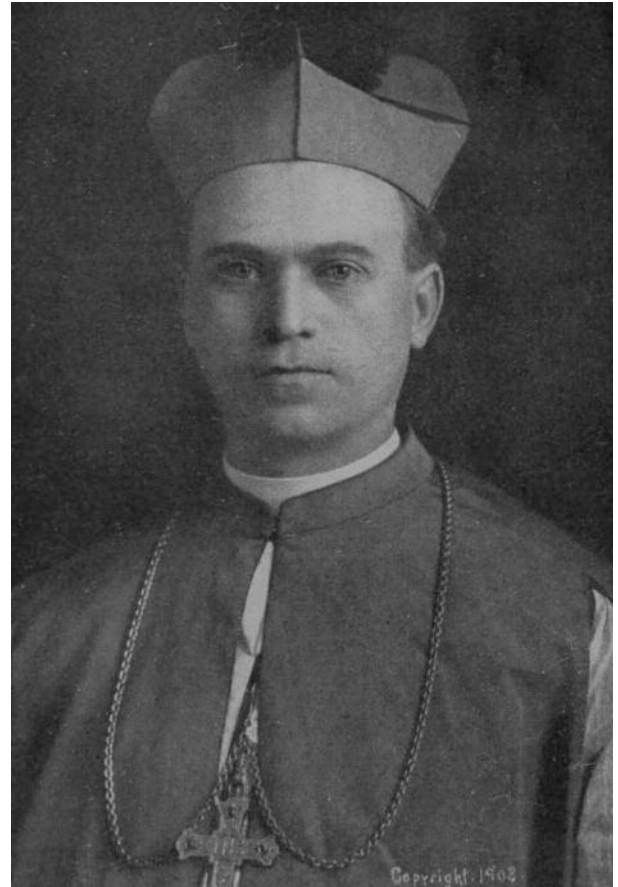
The hierarchy saw integration and assimilation of the immigrant communities as its ultimate goal. To the contrary, Polonia's clerical party hoped to maintain Polish culture in the United States while integrating immigrants into the larger social structure. Nationalists, led by the Polish National Alliance, rejected any talk of assimilation. Polish clerics felt that, without the preservation of immigrant cultures, they might lose many to the independent church movement and saw the appointment of a Polish bishop as a way to give the Polish community more of a voice in the American Church.²¹

Father Vincent Barzyński had proven to be the leading pastor of Chicago's Poles. He fought the nationalists on all fronts, and his anger toward the independent church movement knew no bounds. The priest organized the Polish Roman Catholic Union and several national congresses to deal with the problem. Barzyński died from pneumonia on May 2, 1899, at the age of sixty-one. This was a great shock to Polonia in general and to the clerical party in particular. None would match the accomplishments of Barzyński, who defined the future growth of Polonia for several generations by establishing Polish Catholic parishes across the city and leading a congregation of nearly fifty thousand St. Stanislaus Kostka parishioners, perhaps the largest Catholic congregation in the world at the time.²²

A Polish American Bishop

The various conflicts in Polonia eventually resulted in the ordination of Bishop Paul Rhode in 1908. Rhode was born in 1871 in Wejherowo (Neustadt) in the Kashubia region, near Gdańsk, in German Poland. He became a priest on June 16, 1894, and joined St. Adalbert's Parish as an assistant to Rev. Radziejewski. The Poles of the McKinley Park neighborhood petitioned for a parish, and Radziejewski championed his assistant for the position of pastor. Within a year's time, Archbishop Patrick A. Feehan asked the newly minted priest to organize a parish in the neighborhood just northwest of the Union Stock Yard. The young priest took on the job and helped to establish a church on Thirty-Sixth and Charleton Streets (now Justine Street) in what would later be the Central Manufacturing District. He celebrated the first Mass on December 22, 1895, and held regular services from that point on. The consecration of the parish church was planned for 1896. Polish Catholics from St. Adalbert's and from nearby Back of the Yards and Bridgeport took part in a celebration and the blessing of the church bell. A Polish patriot, Rhode often spoke at events marking important events in Polish history. A young, smart, energetic priest, he later took charge of St. Michael's in the Bush neighborhood adjacent to the giant Illinois Steel Company's plant (U.S. Steel's South Works). Under his leadership, the parish grew from five hundred families to twelve hundred. In 1907, he announced the construction of a new large church building to be constructed at Eighty-Third Street and Bond Avenue (South Shore Drive). During the erection of the huge neo-Gothic cathedral-like structure, his fellow Polish priests nominated Rhode as the first Polish bishop in the United States.²³

Polish priests in the United States had a poor reputation in Rome. Even Mieczysław Cardinal Ledóchowski, the highest-ranking Polish prelate in the Vatican, questioned the quality of Polonia's priests. The many conflicts and riots and the independent church movement did not reflect well on the clergy. Polish American efforts for *równouprawnienie*, or equality in the Church, hardly seemed likely to succeed. Though Barzyński had often been recognized as the de facto bishop of Polonia, his one attempt to become a bishop in 1890 failed and he instead pursued accommodation with the local archbishop. With Barzyński's death, however, the call for a Polish American bishop increased. Soon two priests began to emerge as candidates. Neither was a Resurrectionist and both proved to be more open to nationalists. The priest, journalist, and historian Wacław Kruszką of Milwaukee, himself often a controversial figure, and the Rev. Casimir Sztuczko took up the mantle of leadership of Polonia's clergy. Kruszką, the most prolific spokesperson for the Polish community in the early twentieth century, called for ecclesiastical equality for Poles. He created a propa-



Paul Rhode was appointed auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Chicago and titular bishop of Barca by Pope Pius X. Rhodes was the first Pole in the United States to be named a bishop.

ganda campaign aimed at forcing the Irish hierarchy in America to appoint a Polish bishop and proposed that bishops must be multilingual in the diverse dioceses of the United States.

In 1901, the Second Polish Catholic Congress elected Rev. Sztuczko as national secretary of the Executive Committee. Stopping the independent church movement provided the main order of business. Accordingly, representatives introduced the concept of ecclesiastical equity to the congress, which in turn authorized Kruszką and Rev. Jan Pitass of Buffalo to take Polonia's case to the American archbishops and eventually the Vatican. A memorial dated November 10, 1901, called for the appointment of auxiliary Polish bishops in those dioceses with large Polish immigrant populations. They did not call for a national bishop for all the Poles in the country or a separate ethnic diocese but argued that the appointment of numerous bishops throughout the country would stop the movement toward schism. American archbishops, who took a strictly legalistic stance, refused and stated that it was not up to them to appoint auxiliary bishops.



Pictured here in 1909, Holy Name Cathedral was designed by architect Patrick Charles Keely in the Gothic Revival style and dedicated on November 21, 1875, by Bishop Foley.

This denial led to Kruszk a embarking on a policy of intrigue. He convinced the German American archbishop Frederick Katzer of Milwaukee to forward a petition to the Vatican that called for Polish ordinaries or auxiliary bishops in twelve diocese including Chicago and Milwaukee. Katzer and Ledóchowski met, but the aging Ledóchowski died suddenly afterward. Katzer returned home, and the following summer he died as well. In 1903, Polish American clerics authorized both Kruszk a and Pitass to represent them at the Vatican. On July 1, 1903, Franciszek Albin Cardinal Symon, himself a Pole and the personal representative of Pope Leo XIII, granted Kruszk a an audience. After the pope's death and the election of Pope Pius X, Kruszk a resumed his campaign and finally received an interview with the pontiff on April 15, 1904. The pope told Kruszk a that the matter would somehow be resolved. Meanwhile, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Rev. Francis Hodur formulated a national appeal for the creation of the Polish National Catholic Church, and the feared schism became a reality.

Finally, in 1905, the Vatican sent Cardinal Symon on a tour of American Polonia. In Chicago, he extolled the Resurrectionists, praising their accomplishments and service to the Church and Polonia, but made no announcement about a Polish bishop. On returning to Rome, Symon presented a report that called for the appointment of Polish auxiliary bishops in several American cities. The Office of the Propaganda of the Faith accepted the recommendation and instructed Archbishop James Quigley of Chicago to call for an election by the Polish pastors of Chicago of a Polish priest to become a bishop. Quigley proved to be a champion of the Polish cause and had earlier spoke out in favor of *równouprawienie*. He scheduled the election for August 16, 1907, at the parish hall of Holy Name Cathedral and reminded the pastors that the newly elected bishop would serve the entire diocese and not just Poles. Quigley also enforced a one-man, one-vote rule and did not allow the largest parishes to dominate the proceedings. Twenty-six of the thirty-two Polish pastors voted for Paul Rhode of St. Michael's Parish.²⁴



Uniformed members of the Polish Guard standing outside of Holy Name Cathedral at 735 North State Street (now 730 North Wabash Avenue) in the Near North Side community area of the city in 1908.

On July 28, 1908, Rhode left his parish for Holy Name Cathedral accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Christine Rhode. After arriving at the rectory, a platoon of mounted police and seven hundred priests and bishops, as well as members of the major Polish American organizations, escorted him to the cathedral. Archbishop Quigley presided over the ceremony and the Archdiocesan Chancellor E. M. Dunne of Chicago read the papal elevation of Rhode to bishop proclaiming him titular bishop of Barca and auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Chicago. A Pontifical High Mass followed, and at the close of the Mass the procession exited the cathedral as the choir sang “Boże Coś Polskę.” People wept as the song ended the ancient ritual. A banquet for the attending clergy followed the Mass. Father Francis Wojtalewicz, of Immaculate Conception, BVM, Parish in South Chicago, served as toastmaster. He commented that the eyes of the eight million Poles living in the United States were all on Chicago.

After the banquet, Bishop Rhode returned to South Chicago, where his parishioners erected triumphal arches and crowds filled the streets. As the new bishop appeared, the bands blared out, the people cheered, the church bells pealed, and even mighty whistles of the nearby South Works shrieked out to welcome and congratulated the prelate. After the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and the blessing of the crowd, Rhode hurried to nearby Immaculate Conception Parish to repeat the ceremony. From there he rushed to the Polish Northwest Side for the evening festivities.

That evening’s events began with another parade, as some twenty thousand men in uniform made their way through the streets of Chicago to mark Rhode’s ordination. Nearly two hundred thousand people celebrated throughout the Northwest Side’s Sixteenth and Seventeenth Wards. Residents decorated thousands of houses along the parade route and throughout the neighborhood with bunting, flags, and flowers. Bands played, and fireworks thrilled the crowds as the joyous fete played its way through the night. Many wore buttons with Rhode’s image and a red and white streamer attached. At St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish, the newly anointed bishop addressed some ten thousand people in the schoolyard. Then thirteen hundred people attended a banquet that lasted to well past midnight.²⁵

Although for some it was not enough recognition for Polonia, the importance of these events cannot be underestimated. Still, the feeling that Poles had been dismissed by the Catholic Church’s Irish and German leadership did not disappear. On July 15, 1915, Bishop Rhode left Chicago to become bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin. In Chicago the appointment of Archbishop George Mundelein later that year further muddled the waters for Polish Americans, as the German American archbishop

and later cardinal refused to have a Polish auxiliary bishop and openly fought with the leadership of the Polish priests in the city. The battle for Polish equity in the American church would continue well into the twentieth century.²⁶

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ILLUSTRATIONS | Illustrations are from the collection of the Chicago History Museum, unless otherwise noted. Page 29, ICHi-065234. 30, top: Wikimedia Commons; bottom: ICHi-051336. 31, top: Polish National Digital Archive; bottom: ST-40001876-0006, Chicago Sun-Times collection. 32, Wikimedia Commons. 33, top: Wikimedia Commons; bottom: ST-19042106-0007, Chicago Sun-Times collection. 34, Polish Roman Catholic Union. 35, ST-17600087, Chicago Sun-Times collection. 36, ICHi-069566. 37, Franciscan Sisters of Chicago. 38, top: Franciscan Sisters of Chicago; middle: DN-0007966, Chicago Daily News collection; bottom: Polish Women’s Alliance of America Records, Women and Leadership Archives, Loyola University Chicago. 39, top: ST-19042159-0011, Chicago Sun-Times collection; bottom: ICHi-070329. 40, top: Library of Congress; bottom: Polona.pl. 41, DN-0006537, Chicago Daily News collection. 43, Proceedings of the American Catholic Missionary Congress. 44, DN-0007701, Chicago Daily News collection. 45, DN-0006434, Chicago Daily News collection.

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The Priest and the CEO: Interviews with Kenneth Velo and Greg Brown

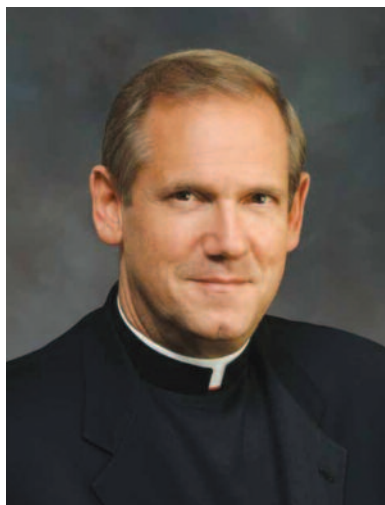
TIMOTHY J. GILFOYLE

Monsignor Kenneth Velo and Motorola chief executive officer Greg Brown have been among the most visible public figures in Chicago since the late twentieth century. Velo, a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago, serves as the senior executive of Catholic Collaboration for DePaul University and president of the Big Shoulders Fund. From 1984 to 1996, he was vice chancellor of the archdiocese and executive assistant to Cardinal Joseph Bernardin. In 1996, he was named a Prelate of Honor by Pope John Paul II.¹ Brown is chairman and chief executive officer (CEO) of Motorola Solutions, an iconic and historic Chicago company responsible for inventing the car radio, the cellphone, the pager, and elements of the television. But when he assumed the top position at Motorola in 2004, the company was on the verge of bankruptcy. Brown rapidly transformed the corporation into an international leader in land mobile radio communications, video security, and command center software. He is now Motorola's longest-serving CEO, after founder Paul Galvin and his son Robert.² In the early twenty-first century, the lives of Brown and Velo intersected in unexpected ways.

Kenneth John Velo was born on May 14, 1947. His parents, Dominick and Jeanne Felice Velo, were originally from Chicago's Roseland neighborhood. All four of his grandparents immigrated from Italy, first settling in Pullman to the east of Roseland on the South Side of Chicago. One set of grandparents was involved in the construction industry, the others ran a successful bakery. Dominick Velo eventually earned an architecture degree from the Armour Institute of Technology (now the Illinois Institute of Technology) and worked for Northern Builders, a construction company then on the city's North Side. He went on to found his own general contracting company D.J. Velo & Co.³

Shortly after Kenneth Velo's birth, the family moved to Chicago's Beverly neighborhood, initially residing

Msgr. Kenneth Velo (left) was awarded the Robert Maynard Hutchins Making History Award for Education in 2017. Greg Brown received the Daniel H. Burnham Making History Award for Visionary Leadership in 2023.



at 10126 South Prospect Avenue and then 10525 South Longwood Drive. “We attended school at St. Barnabas School at 101st and Longwood,” remembers Velo. “It was pretty Irish when I went through school, kindergarten and the eight following grades.”⁴

Velo considers stability to have been one of the defining characteristics of Beverly and St. Barnabas. “We didn’t have a lot of people who traveled. We didn’t have a lot of people who moved in and out because of assignments or didn’t have a lot of migration from one parish to another,” he explains. “People settled on a parish, then stayed there. Many of my classmates were there from kindergarten, so I remain close to a lot of those young people.”⁵

Surprisingly, the future priest was never an altar boy.⁶ But he recognized his vocation at an early age when he attended a school retreat at the St. Joseph Seminary at Moreau College near the University of Notre Dame in Indiana. “I decided I’d go to that seminary because it was very alluring to be a freshman in high school and be on the campus of Notre Dame.” His paternal grandparents, however, warned him that he would be homesick and convinced him to attend nearby Quigley South Preparatory School in Chicago.⁷

In 1961, Velo joined the first all-male class to attend the new \$5.5 million Quigley South campus at Western Avenue and Seventy-Ninth Street. The 700 to 1,000 enrolled students were expected to study for the Roman Catholic priesthood. “Everybody at Quigley was focused on the priesthood or they left,” explains Velo.⁸

Gregory Q. Brown was born in 1960 to Harris Brown and Winifred Clelland Brown. “I actually grew up in North Brunswick and Highland Park, New Jersey. They were neighboring communities,” recounts Brown. “I grew up in three homes—512 Lee Avenue in North Brunswick, 228 Donaldson Street in Highland Park, and then ultimately back to North Brunswick at 19 Oakwood Place.”⁹

His father Harris Brown was a middle school teacher and hardware store owner. “He was very principled. He was very black and white. He was a no excuses person. ‘You do what your teacher tells you to do, any of your elders or coaches,’” Brown recollects. “‘And when something goes wrong or you don’t like it, I want to hear about what you can do differently or better.’ Even though he was tough, he was pretty caring, in my opinion.”¹⁰

Brown’s mother was the perfect balance in the family. “My mom was the most optimistic, faithful, loving person; she never said a bad word about



Quigley Preparatory Seminary South was a Catholic high school administered by the Archdiocese of Chicago from 1961 through 1990.



University of Saint Mary of the Lake and Mundelein Seminary was established in 1844 in Mundelein, Illinois.

anyone,” Brown explains. “I always say if our house burned to the ground, my mom would say ‘tomorrow’s a new day, the sun will come up, we’ll make the best of it.’ She never complained.”¹¹

Brown was the youngest of Harris and Winifred Brown’s five children. Before and after graduating from Highland Park High School in 1978, he was exposed to a potential career in technology by witnessing his older brothers—Robert “Bob” Brown and Richard H. Brown. Robert worked for many years at IBM when the firm was perhaps, in Greg Brown’s words, “the best company in the world.”¹² Meanwhile, Richard worked at Ameritech, and from 1999 to 2003 served as chairman and chief executive officer of Electronic Data Systems, the technology firm founded by Ross Perot.¹³ Greg ultimately matriculated to Livingston College of Rutgers University where he majored in economics and graduated in 1982.¹⁴

Velo’s secondary school experience at Quigley South was also equally influential on his vocational path. Upon graduating in 1965, he entered the seminary at Niles College of Loyola University Chicago and received his BA in 1969 and his Master of Divinity from the University of St. Mary of the Lake/Mundelein Seminary in 1973. He was ordained to the priesthood on May 9, 1973. His first assignments were associate pastor roles at St. Angela Church on the West Side from 1973 to 1980, and then Queen of All Saints Basilica in Sauganash on the Northwest Side from 1980 to 1985.¹⁵

Velo was encouraged by his peers to run for election to the Priests’ Personnel Board of the Archdiocese of Chicago while serving at St. Angela’s. “I didn’t know much about personnel, but they felt as though I was well liked, respected, and could be elected,” recounts Velo. “No other young priest had won before me, and I was the youngest priest ever elected to the personnel board.”¹⁶

Velo’s administrative talents and popularity with his fellow clerics quickly led to other invitations. Shortly after arriving at Queen of All Saints, Cardinal John Patrick Cody asked him to serve as the part-time secretary for clergy personnel. According to Velo, Cody explained, “I want you to work here at the office with me, and I want you to handle documentation for priests’ assignments. I want you to work on laicization of priests from the active ministry. I want you to work on different things like that, priest personnel.”¹⁷

Velo began working for Cody in October 1981, but the Cardinal died suddenly in April 1982. When Archbishop Joseph Bernardin succeeded Cody, he asked Velo to serve as his assistant chancellor.¹⁸ What began as a part-time assignment was now full-time while Velo was still assigned to Queen of All Saints. So, for a time, Velo had two full-time jobs.¹⁹

Greg Brown's organizational talents were similarly evident at an early age. As a Rutgers undergraduate, he needed a summer job. After getting rejected for a job raking sand traps at a local golf course, Brown latched onto an idea suggested by his older brother Bob—painting home address numbers on curbs. Brown needed a solicitor's permit. "I went to the local police chief and said I'd like to paint curbs in the municipality. Curbs—people didn't know this—were owned by the municipality, not the homeowner." The police chief was skeptical: residents will not see the numbers; parked cars will block the numbers; homeowners will not like it; and you cannot charge anyone for the service. Brown had an answer for each: "I'm going to paint it on a white background block with fluorescent colors. I'm going to paint it at the lip of the driveway so it won't be impaired. If they don't like it, I'll scrub each one off with a wire brush. I won't charge them—I'm going to ask for a voluntary donation."²⁰ Brown's persistence paid off; the police chief relented.

Brown made more money than anyone thought possible, painting one hundred to one hundred twenty-five curbs a day—thousands over two years—when the minimum wage was \$3.25 an hour. To anyone who will listen, Brown will tell them, "There is money in curbs."²¹

That experience proved instrumental to Brown's later success. While interviewing for an IBM internship two years later, the recruiter inquired, "'You did that for two years?' I said yes. 'How many homes?' I said, 'I don't know, thousands or tens of thousands.' He said, 'I'm going to give you a shot. I've never heard of that.'"²² Brown interned as a student sales support assistant and was quickly promoted to a customer instructor on the AT&T account responsible for teaching corporate assistants, secretaries, and office managers on how to use IBM electronic typewriters and copiers. Brown explains that "I would install them. I would help repair them. I would demo them, and I would train people on them."²³

Brown expected to work at IBM after graduating from Rutgers with a degree in economics but was instead persuaded by Joe Reed, an AT&T executive, to take a job at that telecommunications giant. On the advice of his father, Brown requested a placement in Detroit, the most poorly performing market. "It started out very hard," recalls Brown. "I actually didn't make my sales quota for a year, was struggling a consecutive year, and they called me in and put me on a PIP—a performance improvement plan. Usually that's the kiss of death."²⁴

But Brown and his coworker Paul Clark ended up leading a team that won a contract to sell more than 10,000 computers to General Motors and Electronic Data Systems. Almost overnight Brown was assigned to provide seminars to AT&T sales teams around the country on how to beat IBM in selling personal computers. Brown's success at AT&T led Ameritech to recruit him, and he spent twelve years there, moving first to Milwaukee and then Chicago, where he put down family roots and rose to division president.²⁵

In 1985, Cardinal Bernardin asked Velo to become his administrative assistant and move into the cardinal's residence.²⁶ He remembers Bernardin's words: "I'm going to make you my official representative on the personnel board. I want you to continue to work priest personnel with me. You'll do the letters for the priests. You'll work on the chancery things, some things in the chancery that I want you to be at my side, getting ready for meetings, preparing for meetings, helping with meetings and follow-up."²⁷ Velo's roles eventually included serving as Bernardin's vice chancellor of the archdiocese and executive assistant. His twenty-two years of service on the Priests' Personnel Board was among the longest ever.²⁸

Bernardin proved to be an important mentor and model for Velo. “The cardinal was very consistent,” Velo recalls. “He was the same person in sweaters and slippers as he was in special vestments. He was very gentle. He was very compassionate, and he was very disciplined.”²⁹

Velo also recognizes the unique working relationship he shared with Bernardin. “Some people say the cardinal was like family,” he explains. “It was different from even that, because you usually don’t work with your brother and live in the same residence. He was always the cardinal. I saw him as a teacher, an example, a mentor, and as someone with whom I enjoyed life.”³⁰

One of the most daunting challenges Velo faced was the financial crisis originating with the declining enrollments in Chicago parochial schools during the 1980s. “We went from a surplus in schools and parishes to a \$6 million deficit in the inner city for schools,” recounts Velo. “People weren’t able to keep up.”³¹

The solution was the Big Shoulders Fund. In 1986, Velo, Bernardin, and James O’Connor, the CEO of Commonwealth Edison, created a private non-profit organization dedicated to raising financial support for inner-city Roman Catholic schools in the Chicago region. Since then, Velo has served at various points as president and co-chair of the Fund.³² By 2017, Big Shoulders was supporting eighty-three schools with operating capital and scholarship grants in a school system with more than twenty thousand students.³³ In 2014, the Big Shoulders Fund gala raised \$7.5 million, then the single largest fundraising effort for a local nonprofit or charity in Chicago history.³⁴

Velo points out the distinctive fundraising approach of Big Shoulders. “We don’t have donors,” Velo emphasizes. “We have investors, and they are investing in the parents and the teachers and especially the children in these communities. They don’t have to worry about next year, because we will be here.” In 2020, Velo and Fund leaders announced that the Fund would invest \$47.5 million in thirty schools, mostly in West and South Side Chicago communities, during the next decade. Combined with a commitment for \$45 million from the Archdiocese of Chicago, the investment campaign totaled more than \$90 million to ensure a significant level of commitment and financial support during the 2020s.³⁵ By 2023, the Big Shoulders Fund had raised more than \$600 million in support of ninety-two schools, twenty in the Diocese of Gary and another seventy-two in the Archdiocese of Chicago, and offering not only scholarships and educational enrichment, but physical improvements and leadership development.³⁶

Several leading contributors openly attributed their Big Shoulders support to Velo. John Canning Jr., chairman of Madison Dearborn Partners LLC, admits that Velo “has married and baptized most of our kids and grandchildren.” In 2014, when a scholarship fund was established in Velo’s name, Canning and his wife Rita donated \$500,000. Another leading contributor was Motorola Solutions Inc. CEO Greg Brown and his wife Anna, who pledged \$250,000.³⁷

By that time, Brown’s experiences as a CEO can best be com-

Greg Brown (left) and Msgr. Kenneth Velo (right) at an event for the Big Shoulders Fund.





The Motorola Company plant located in Schaumburg, Illinois, on April 11, 1968.

pared to a roller coaster ride. In 1998, he was named Chairman and CEO of Micromuse, a San Francisco-based network management software company.³⁸ Micromuse was a cultural shock for Brown. “I remember showing up in a fifth-floor loft. People were running around in jeans. There were dogs in the office. And I come in in a suit and tie,” Brown remembers. “And people are looking at me like you’re the new guy?”³⁹ Brown was surprised to discover that everyone but the general counsel was located in London, where the company was founded.

But Brown adapted. During Brown’s leadership from 1998 to 2002, Micromuse’s annual revenue grew from \$28 million to more than \$200 million.⁴⁰ Micromuse’s primary product was Netcool, a network fault management system that was eventually acquired by IBM. “I’m aware of customers still using Netcool,” says Brown with a smile. “And this is twenty-four years later.”⁴¹

Micromuse made Brown an expert in network infrastructure software. But his real education came in surviving the dot-com bust of 2001. When Brown arrived at Micromuse, the stock was \$7 a share; eighteen months later it reached \$108. But in 2001, it dropped to \$1.37. “You don’t learn when things are great and you think you’re great, and everything’s cooking on all cylinders. You become much more introspective, self-critical, and discerning when you-know-what hits the fan,” Brown admits. “Micromuse taught me a ton about me, technology, software, people, and what it is to manage a crisis.”⁴² Brown reduced Micromuse’s expenses by \$25 million, achieved profitability in three quarters in 2002, and kept Micromuse debt-free. In 2005, IBM announced the purchase of Micromuse for \$865 million.⁴³

As Brown was righting the ship of Micromuse, Motorola came knocking on his door. The firm is one of the oldest and most successful Chicago enterprises. In 1928, Paul Galvin founded the Galvin Manufacturing Corporation to manufacture battery eliminators at 847 West Harrison Street with five workers. The company was on the verge of bankruptcy when Galvin moved the company into an entirely new product line—the car radio. What was an unheard of and high-risk innovation in 1930 soon became commonplace in the expanding automobile culture of the United States. Galvin’s first commercial automobile radio was dubbed the “Motorola,” a name signifying both motion and the radio. The product’s popularity ultimately convinced Paul Galvin to rename the company Motorola in 1947.⁴⁴

A decade later, Galvin handed the presidency of Motorola to his son Robert. The young Galvin transformed the enterprise from a \$227-million-a-year company into an \$11-billion-a-year electronics colossus, manufacturing car radios, walkie-talkies, solid-state color televisions and phonographs; the firm counted more than 100,000 employees.⁴⁵ Motorola, the key inventor of the cell phone and digital telephony, was always on the top 10 list of American companies for patents issued each year along with IBM, Bell Labs, and other twentieth-century bastions of technological innovation.⁴⁶

Brown joined Motorola in 2004. During the ensuing four years as an executive vice president and chief operating officer, he oversaw the segments of the firm that sold communications equipment and software to public safety agencies and industrial customers—logistics companies, emergency responders, and government agencies. Brown managed the \$3.9 billion acquisition of Symbol Technologies, the second-largest transaction in Motorola's history, while restoring profitability to the company's automotive business. In January 2008, he became CEO.⁴⁷

Brown was stunned to learn Motorola was on the verge of bankruptcy.⁴⁸ The company was, according to Brown, "in massive distress because the cell phone, the very device they invented in 1973 and commercialized in 1983, was about ready to take the company down." In the 1990s, Motorola controlled fifty percent of the cellphone market with the RAZR. That dropped to single digits by 2004 as Motorola failed to refresh the product and fell behind Nokia, Samsung, and Apple. Motorola's stock dropped seventy-two percent during Brown's first year as CEO. "The very survival of the firm was at risk," admits Brown. "This was the ultimate baptism by fire."⁴⁹



The Motorola RAZR V3i was released to most worldwide markets in Q4 of 2005–2006 and was one of the most popular mobile phone models of the mid-2000s

This issue of Crain's from November 10, 2010, announces Brown's upcoming changes to the Motorola company.

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Grab the deal, Groupon
Selling would lock in huge gain for backers
BY JOHN PLETZ

Now's the time to sell Groupon Inc. if Eric Lefkowsky and Brad Keywell want to seal their biggest score ever.
Messrs. Lefkowsky and Keywell control the top player in the fast-growing online coupon market through an initial investment estimated at \$1 million. With Chicago-based Groupon reportedly attracting offers worth \$2 billion to \$4 billion from the likes of Google Inc. and Yahoo Inc., they must decide whether to cash in now or shoot for an even bigger payday down the road.
The case for selling is strong. Acquisition premiums for Internet companies are soaring, and Groupon is coveted by deep-pocketed suitors. An outright sale would lock in hundreds of

GREG BROWN'S MOTOROLA
Mobile phone spinoff leaves CEO with the company he's always wanted
BY JOHN PLETZ

Even before Motorola Inc.'s RAZR mobile phone ran out of gas in 2007, sending the company's stock into a tailspin and attracting crusader investor Carl Icahn, Gregory Brown argued that Chicago's biggest tech company should be busted up.
"A world-class cell phone business never was likely to germinate out of a conglomerate," he says. "I've always believed separating mobile devices made the most sense, even when it was going well."
The Motorola co-CEO is about to get the scaled-down company he's long wanted. Motorola Solutions, a low-profile division that sells \$8 billion worth of police radios and bar-code scanners a year will be split from Motorola Mobility in January. "We're No. 1," says Mr. Brown, 50, who joined the Schaumburg-based company in 2003 and will be sole CEO of Motorola Solutions. "It's game on, and we're ready to go."

Greg Brown will lead an \$8-billion company composed of Motorola's police-radio and bar-code scanner businesses.

See Groupon on Page 10

See MOTOROLA on Page 8

Brown's solution was to slash costs, break up the company, and redefine the mission of Motorola. In 2011, Motorola spun off the mobile devices and cable set-top box segments into an independent company called Motorola Mobility Holdings; shortly thereafter that firm was acquired by Google. The remaining business-to-business enterprise was renamed Motorola Solutions.⁵⁰ No longer was the company a consumer-focused electronics product manufacturer. Motorola was reborn as "a complex custom communications business that's end-to-end and emergency-oriented," explains Brown. "These are mission critical networks. People don't pull them out or switch. They invest more in safety and security."⁵¹ The twenty-first century Motorola has a three-fold mission: first, a platform with private, mission-critical communications for police forces, security organizations, and medical networks; second, public safety answering centers; and third, video security and analytics. Seventy-five percent of Motorola's clients are governments.⁵²

Brown recognizes the irony: "The longest standing business in the ninety-five-year tradition of Motorola is, lo and behold, the one we're in now: emergency communications networks." Since 2015, Motorola has made thirty acquisitions, mostly in video security, access control, and command center software. "The anchor tenant is the longstanding, unbending, always on, critically necessary emergency nerve center networks—13,000 strong around the world," explains Brown. "My view was to build Motorola off that foundation."⁵³ Under Brown's tenure, total shareholder return is approximately eight hundred percent, more than double the return of the S&P 500.⁵⁴

As Brown resurrected Motorola, Ken Velo helped revive Chicago's Catholic institutions. From 1993 to 2001, he served as president of the Catholic Church Extension Society, a Chicago-based national Papal organization founded in 1905 to encourage financial support for missionary work in the poorest and most isolated parts of the United States.⁵⁵ Velo was responsible for national fundraising. "We didn't have any collection. We did it through a magazine, which went out to 100,000 people," explains Velo. The key were four pillars of planning: "We had a wills and estate program. We had annual giving. We had planned giving. We had annuities."⁵⁶ In the end, the experience convinced Velo that "the only way to raise money is through relationships. You send birthday cards out, and you greet people. I never really had to ask for a lot of money. People would give it."⁵⁷ During his presidency, Catholic

Extension not only expanded their national footprint, but supported seventy-five mission dioceses around the country.⁵⁸ By the time Velo left, he was raising \$25 million annually.⁵⁹

Upon leaving Catholic Extension, Velo assumed still another leadership role. Since 2001, he has served as the senior executive for Catholic Collaboration at DePaul University. In the newly created position, Velo forged linkages between DePaul, the largest Catholic university in the United States, and other Catholic institutions such as the Archdiocese of Chicago, its schools and agencies, Catholic Charities, and various



Msgr. Velo during a visit to Rome.



social justice ministries. He also worked to expand the connections locally and nationally between the university and Catholic leaders.⁶⁰

Velo's outreach and collaboration efforts contributed to invitations to serve on the boards of numerous institutions in the region: Lurie Children's Hospital in Chicago, Trinity High School in River Forest, St. Mary's College in South Bend, Indiana, DePaul University, and the Foundation and Donors in Catholic Activities in Washington, DC. He is a life trustee of Fenwick College Preparatory School in Oak Park. Velo remains active in pastoral ministry at Old St. Patrick Parish and is chaplain at the Shirley Ryan AbilityLab.⁶¹

Velo's most prominent public moment came on November 21, 1996, when he delivered the homily at Cardinal Joseph Bernardin's funeral. The event was televised and attracted more than 1,200 in-person mourners, including Vice President Al Gore, US Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna E. Shalala, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry G. Cisneros, White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta, Illinois Governor Jim Edgar, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, and more than two dozen Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish, and Islamic religious leaders.⁶²

Velo later acknowledged he never thought about the sermon until two days after the cardinal's death. "Up until that point, I was afraid. . . . what am I going to say?" he recalls. "I guess by my experience of being at big parishes, where there are a lot of funerals, I understood that you have to speak to hearts and minds."⁶³

In the half-hour homily, Velo told the story of Bernardin's life through his highs and lows, the meaning of his ministry, and how he touched people in Chicago and beyond. At points, he mimicked Bernardin's speech, generating laughter and applause from those present. Velo ended by requesting "to have a few words with the cardinal." He turned to the casket. "It's been a long, long and beautiful ride. Cardinal, Eminence, you're home, you're home." It evoked a standing ovation from the congregation.⁶⁴

Msgr. Velo outside Holy Name Cathedral for the funeral mass for Cardinal Joseph Louis Bernardin, archbishop of Chicago, on November 20, 1996.

Velo's thirty minutes of fame transformed him into an international figure. For nearly three decades, he has been in demand as a celebrant for masses and as a speaker.⁶⁵ Velo was asked to give the eulogies at the funerals of, among others, former US Congressman Dan Rostenkowski and former Motorola CEO Robert Galvin.⁶⁶ Indeed, Greg Brown met Velo in 2011 at the latter's funeral. The brief encounter proved to be among the most important in Brown's life. In 2017, he converted to Roman Catholicism, following the religious path of his wife Anna and children, Megan and Troy, all of whom were born and raised Catholic. "It was Monsignor Velo and meeting him years ago," Brown explains, "who posed that question to me: 'Gregory, have you ever thought about becoming a Catholic?'"⁶⁷

Brown grew up in a bireligious household. "My father and the boys, the sons, were Protestant. My mother and the daughters were Catholic," explains Brown. "Every Sunday we would get in the car, drop my mom and sisters off at St. Mary's Church, then continue on to the Presbyterian church, finish the service, go back, and pick them up."⁶⁸

Brown later married his high school sweetheart Anna, which he identifies as "the most important decision I've ever made." Brown explains that "Monsignor Velo talked about that, my children, my mother, Anna, and said have you ever thought about converting." He admits that in retrospect he never wanted "to do anything to hurt the memory of my father, who was Protestant." Under Velo's guidance, "I reflected on it more and made that conversion," explains Brown. "And it's been significant to me."⁶⁹

And to Ken Velo as well. When asked which accomplishment had the greatest historical impact or personal meaning, Velo humbly responds: "If I were writing history, I would say one thing and put it on my tombstone: The most blessed priest in the Archdiocese of Chicago. That's all."⁷⁰

Msgr. Velo presents Brown his Making History Award at the ceremony held on June 7, 2023.



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ILLUSTRATIONS | Illustrations courtesy of the awardees, unless otherwise noted. Page 51, HB-31289, CHM, Hedrich-Blessing Collection. 52, top: Wikimedia Commons. 54, ST-30002336-0641, Chicago Sun-Times collection, CHM. 55, Kyle Flubacher Photography.

FOR FURTHER READING | Insightful interviews of Greg Brown include: Tyler Mathison and Becky Quick, "Disconnecting the Cell Phone Business with Motorola Solutions CEO Greg Brown," *The Keynote by CNBC Events*, Sept. 2019, accessed April 2, 2023, <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/disconnecting-cell-phone-business-motorola-solutions/id1493248246?i=1000468656129>; Susie Gharib, "How Motorola Solutions Escaped Bankruptcy," *Fortune*, April 25, 2017, accessed April 1, 2023, <https://fortune.com/2017/04/25/motorola-solutions-ceo-greg-brown-bankruptcy/>; "Motorola Solutions Chairman & CEO Greg Brown on Communication," *The Manufacturer*, accessed April 1, 2023, <https://www.themanufacturer.com/videos/motorola>. A good biographical introduction on Brown is Wallin Wong, "Motorola Solutions CEO Seems to Thrive on Being Underrated, Beating Odds," *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 12, 2012, accessed March 31, 2023, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/business/chi-motorola-solutions-ceo-seems-to-thrive-on-being-underrated-beating-odds-20120213-story.html>. On the history of Motorola, see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Quarks, Neutrinos and Virtual Perfection: Interviews with Robert W. Galvin and Leon M. Lederman," *Chicago History*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 56–72; Gilfoyle, "Robert W. Galvin," in *Biographical Dictionary of Management*, ed. Morgen Witzel (Bristol, England: Thoemmes Press, 2001). On the Rev. Kenneth Velo, see Ken O'Brien, "After the Homily," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 23, 1997, accessed April 4, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1997-11-23/features/9711230269_1_cardinal-joseph-bernardin-priest-hotel-lobby; Bryant Keil, "Monsignor Kenneth Velo Leads Through Example," *Michigan Avenue*, June 1, 2010, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://michiganavemag.com/heaven-sent>; and Shia Kapos, "CEOs push Big Shoulders Fundraiser over \$7.5 Million," *Crain's Chicago Business*, May 14, 2014, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20140514/BLOGS03/140519924/ceos-push-big-shoulders-fundraiser-over-7-5-million>. Velo's homily on behalf of Cardinal Joseph Bernardin is considered a classic in the genre and can be viewed on YouTube at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8gsdF0sB3fw>.

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