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Article Title: Our Sacred Lithuanian Word: St. Anthony's Thirst for Cultural Homogeneity

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Article Summary: South Omaha's Lithuanian immigrant families wanted their church preserve their ethnic heritage. They accordingly forced their bishop to accept Lithuanian replacements for St. Anthony's Polish pastor and the Ursuline Sisters who had served at the parish school.

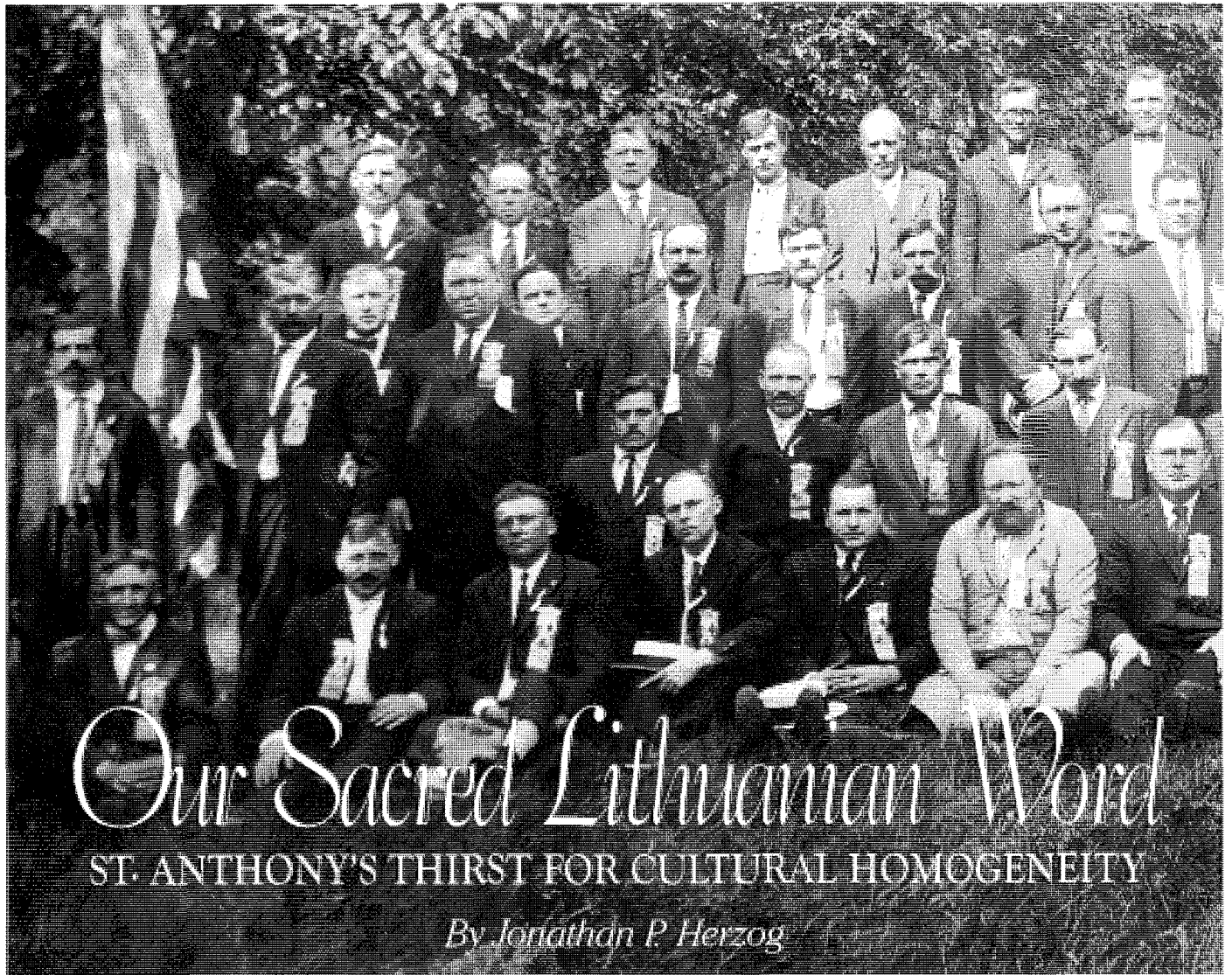
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The bishop's decision was dramatic. On April 26, 1933, Bishop Joseph F. Rummel informed Mother Xavier of the Ursuline Sisters that she and her staff were relieved of their duties at St. Anthony's school in Omaha. After nine years of faithful service, the nuns were to leave, and the St. Casimir Sisters from Chicago would take their place.

Bishop Rummel was sympathetic to Mother Xavier: "I believe that it will be a source of relief to you and your community. It always would be trying to work in the parish when the Sisters were conscious of the [negative] sentiment

of the congregation." After commending the nuns for their noble and tireless work at St. Anthony's, the bishop explained the calls for their removal as "an evidence of the sentimental preference of the people for Sisters of their own nationality."¹ The Ursuline Sisters were not Lithuanian, and their welcome in the ethnic Lithuanian parish had finally worn out.

Bishop Rummel's decision was the culminating moment in five years of continual effort by St. Anthony's Lithuanian parishioners to achieve ethnic "purity" within the church. Native culture and the concealed but understood bonds it wrought were paramount.

In the United States, unlike their native countries, where the Catholic Church was an inseparable piece of the

national fabric, many immigrants were confronted by a strange land with no established national religion, but dominated by often-hostile Protestants. Consequently, most eastern and southern European immigrants placed increased emphasis on familiar cultural and spiritual institutions such as the church. But for St. Anthony's parishioners and, presumably, many other immigrant groups, the spiritual

Among the immigrants swelling Omaha's population at the turn of the twentieth century were those from Lithuania. Despite their relatively small numbers they soon established a church—for cultural as well as spiritual reasons. The St. Anthony Society, pictured here in 1920, was instrumental in founding the parish. Courtesy St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Omaha

Jonathan P. Herzog, a graduate of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, is currently pursuing his Ph.D. in American history at Stanford University.

ministrations of the church could not meet all emotional and cultural needs. Hence, the parishioners strove for culturally similar clergy even when their efforts disrupted church order. St. Anthony's was more than a physical building and a congregation centered on prayer. The church on Thirty-second Street was the lifeblood of the Lithuanian community, providing immigrants with an indispensable network of material, social, and cultural support.

The Lithuanian immigrants' insatiable cultural thirst repeatedly triumphed over the objections of the bishop and eventually culminated in the removal of their Polish pastor, expansion of their

thousands of immigrants seeking employment to South Omaha. Although the packinghouses paid only seventeen cents an hour in 1899, the mere prospect of steady pay attracted scores of workers.³

Since most immigrants to South Omaha came from Catholic countries in Europe, the diocese's ranks swelled with newcomers decidedly bent on giving the Church a prominent role in their lives. Catholic parishes proliferated. Twenty-three Catholic churches served South Omaha alone, several of them within mere blocks of each other.⁴ This apparently random clustering may appear inefficient to modern observers,

of Omaha, most remained in Omaha. This core of Lithuanians became instrumental in establishing St. Anthony's Church.

On January 26, 1901, Lithuanians in Omaha founded a chapter of the Society of St. Anthony of Padua to meet immigrants' spiritual needs, found a parish, and build a church. According to legend, in 1906 when the Lithuanian colony was large enough, St. Anthony Society members approached Bishop Scannell to inform the skeptical leader that they were ready to build a church. The bishop asked, "Why do you Lithuanians need a church all your own anyway? We Irish pray where we can. Isn't that enough?" Bernardas Maslauskas, a former coal miner and Lithuanian community leader, curtly replied, "You don't have your own language any more, either. Do you want us to lose ours too?"⁶

Scannell, moved by both this plea and a large petition signed by many Lithuanians, gave his consent, and St. Anthony's was incorporated on September 25, 1906. Though the dialogue in the meeting is probably apocryphal, it became part of church lore. The appeal to Scannell's native tongue purportedly conjured a deep bond between the two men, illustrating the subtle yearnings of the assimilated bishop for his native home. Appropriately, the founding members of St. Anthony's Church agreed to the pledge: "We resolve to worship God...only in the language of our fathers."⁷ The long battle for cultural preservation had begun.

Obtaining the bishop's blessing was a victory, but St. Anthony's faced many other obstacles in its early years. Lack of funds, along with constant bickering between the St. Anthony Society and early, non-Lithuanian pastors, threatened church stability and kept the parish under the jurisdictional control of nearby St. Mary's Church.⁸ The tension was not relieved until May 1, 1910, when Bishop Scannell traveled to Boston to ordain young Father George Jonaitis to serve as St. Anthony's first

***"Oh, Our Sacred Lithuanian Word,
Such a Long Night Suffered in Slavery,
Appear to Us Today Not as a Slave,
But Like the Free Wind of Spring."***

B. Brazdzionis

official church boundaries to include all Lithuanians in Omaha, and replacement of the long-serving Ursuline sisters with Lithuanian nuns from Chicago. After a tense decade of complaints and action, the people of St. Anthony's Catholic Church achieved most of their goals, but the passion with which they pursued their aims illuminates the importance of the church, the weight of culture, and the complexity of the immigrant condition that sought to balance American opportunities with Old World cultural traditions.

Fueled largely by a massive influx of immigrants moving onto the Great Plains, the Missouri River town of Omaha, Nebraska, experienced rapid growth in the late nineteenth century. Its 1880 population of 30,652 grew to an astounding 213,012 people by 1915.² The Omaha Livestock Exchange and several large meatpacking plants drew

but most churches served specific ethnic groups. The Italians had St. Francis Cabrini, the Irish St. Patrick's, the Bohemians St. Wenceslaus, the Croats St. Peter and Paul's, and the Lithuanians St. Anthony's. Churches were visible symbols of immigrant influence, resolve, and spirituality. Each stood as a rock-hard institution transplanted from the Old Country and built to stand the tests of temptation, cultural amnesia, and assimilation that so often assailed immigrants in America. St. Anthony's was no different.

Inaccurate census classifications prevent an exact calculation of Lithuanian immigration to the region, but by 1899 approximately ten Lithuanian families—about one hundred people in all—resided in Omaha, with another 314 settling in the area by 1914.⁵ Though some Lithuanians, such as the small group in Loup City, went on to farm west

Lithuanian Cultural Homogeneity



Lithuania, a small country on the Baltic Sea, emerged as a state in the early thirteenth century and rose to significant regional power by about 1600. It was incorporated into Russia in 1795, and did not regain its independence until 1918. In 1940 it was occupied by the Soviet Union. Lithuania declared its independence in 1990. Courtesy maps.com

ethnically Lithuanian pastor. With a suitable priest secured, the parishioners began to shape their growing church community according to their own religious and ethnic customs.

Father Jonaitis's dynamism injected a needed vitality into St. Anthony's, and the church continued to grow as news of the Omaha Lithuanian settlement spread throughout the region. Jonaitis was not content merely to minister to the spiritual needs of his flock. Imbuing his parishioners with Lithuanian nation-

alism, he rallied the church to the dual purposes of spirituality and cultural consciousness. In 1914, Lithuanians took to the streets of Omaha to protest Russian imperialism in their native nation, and in 1916, raised \$1,030 to commemorate President Woodrow Wilson's newly proclaimed Lithuanian Day.⁹

World War I forced many St. Anthony's parishioners to contemplate the conflict's effects on both their native and adopted countries. Father Jonaitis, acting on sentiments that resonated deeply within

the church, enlisted in the U.S. Army along with more than a hundred of his parishioners. Jonaitis served as chaplain with the 26th and 79th Divisions, was wounded four days before the armistice, and returned to America after the war.¹⁰ He never served St. Anthony's as pastor again. Although Father Jonaitis had presided over the church for only seven years, his fusion of religion and ethnic consciousness laid important groundwork for the years of conflict to come.

In addition to fulfilling spiritual and cultural needs, the church also looked after the parishioners' material well-being. In the first decades of the twentieth century most Americans had to be relatively self-reliant, but St. Anthony's provided the Lithuanian community with several basic collectivist mechanisms to lessen harsh economic conditions. The Sick Benefit Association, founded in 1906, cared for ill parishioners unable to survive independently.¹¹ The Lithuanian American Alliance Lodge 87 compensated workers who unexpectedly lost their jobs, and the Homeowners Improvement Club helped members better their living conditions through residential enhancements.¹² Collectively, parishioners could shield themselves from some of the harsh realities of the immigrant experience. These organizations illustrate St. Anthony's role not only as a spiritual provider but also as a material one. The small Lithuanian population in Omaha at the turn of the century had built a well-rounded community.

The 1920s began inauspiciously for St. Anthony's when fire gutted the church on October 5, 1920. Though the cause of the fire was never explained, further investigation during a renovation in 1963 indicated that the inferno might have been started in three corners of the church, pointing to the possibility of arson.¹³ In addition, declining wages in the South Omaha meat packing industry, large-scale Lithuanian repatriation after the war, and the allure of larger cities contributed to a period of stagnation in the parish for much of the decade.

Arriving in this time of uncertainty, Father George Mikulskis became pastor on September 7, 1922, and immediately set to work. Father Mikulskis believed the church could not survive without a school to draw in local Lithuanian children, and after convincing the bishop that a school was economically feasible, Father Mikulskis began work on a four-classroom building beside the church, and invited the Ursuline Sisters to teach.

Enrollment in St. Anthony's school reached an acceptable level, and the church took on an increasingly important role in the Lithuanian community, but the parishioners' thirst for cultural homogeneity became insatiable. Father



Stella Kriscunas celebrated her first communion in 1920, probably in a service conducted in part in Lithuanian. Father George Jonaitis, St. Anthony's first ethnically Lithuanian priest, had come to St. Anthony's in 1910. Serving the parish for seven years, he injected a needed vitality—and cultural familiarity—into the life of the church. Courtesy St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Omaha

Mikulskis, though dynamic, was Polish. At first most parishioners welcomed their new pastor, but as the years passed, fissures between the priest and the church community developed.

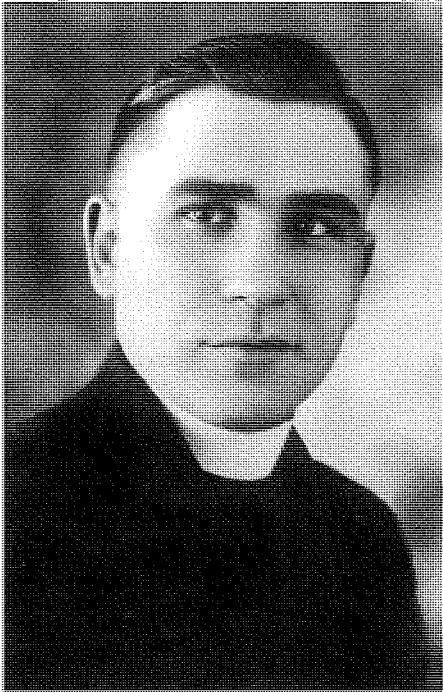
The first documented signs of discontent between Mikulskis and the Lithuanian community surfaced in a candid 1930 letter from the pastor to Bishop Rummel. A feud along ethnic

lines had developed between Father Mikulskis and Father Jonaitis, the Lithuanian priest who had preceded Mikulskis and continued to visit his old parish regularly. Mikulskis accused Jonaitis of slandering his name, "instigating people on the point of national prejudice," and encouraging the parishioners to read "anti-Catholic" Lithuanian literature. Defending himself, Mikulskis cited his contributions to the parish: "I did whatever humanly possible to them both spiritually, materially, and nationally. Many hours I have spent seeking employment for them."¹⁴ His efforts were not enough.

The relationship between pastor and flock became increasingly bitter in the coming year. In the summer of 1931, a group of prominent St. Anthony's women wrote to the bishop declaring their disappointment with Father Mikulskis and other English-speaking priests serving the parish. Directly condemning their pastor, the women declared: "We cannot understand why our present pastor...works against us. As there are many of us who cannot understand the English language, we leave the services with tears in our eyes, for we did not understand the sermons."¹⁵ By that time Father Mikulskis had already been expelled from St. Anthony Society meetings, and tensions were reaching a fever pitch.¹⁶

Two months later, St. Anthony's parishioners sent another letter to Bishop Rummel, praising him for allowing a Lithuanian priest to serve the church temporarily during a brief absence of their pastor, and once again denouncing Father Mikulskis. Of the mass said by the Lithuanian priest parishioners wrote: "We were very grateful, for we prayed with all our hearts and minds...and enjoyed every moment. While to our pastor's sermons we were usually bored to death." The letter ended with an open threat: "If nothing will be done, we will have to leave the parish brokenheartedly, and worship God in our homes."¹⁷ The rift between the Lithuanian parish and the Polish

Lithuanian Cultural Homogeneity



Father Joseph Jusevich arrived in 1932 after Jonaitis's successor, Father George Mikulskis, left the parish embittered by his struggle for acceptance. Mikulskis led the church in difficult times, founding a Lithuanian school, and learning the Lithuanian language, but he was of Polish origins, and could not meet the parish's cultural expectations. Courtesy St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Omaha



Father Jusevich invited the Sisters of St. Casimir, above, to replace the non-Lithuanian Ursuline Sisters, who had served St. Anthony's for nine years. It was the final step in a bitter, emotional struggle for ethnic and cultural homogeneity in the parish, and it suggests the power of language and ethnicity even in a spiritual context. Courtesy St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Omaha

priest had become irreconcilable.

Succumbing to the pressure and threats, Bishop Rummel wrote to a fellow clergyman in Chicago to obtain a Lithuanian priest for Saint Anthony's. Bishop Rummel explained the situation: "The sore point seems to be the fact that Father Mikulskis is of Polish nationality... he feels that he cannot continue to cope with it much longer." In the letter, the bishop, showing great respect for Father Mikulskis, stated, "The difficulty has not interfered with his zealous efficiency, for he has administered the parish successfully for a period of ten years, having in the meantime acquired a rather perfect knowledge of the Lithuanian language."¹⁸

St. Anthony's pastor had led the

church through stagnation and the first two years of the Great Depression as best he could, and he was able to speak Lithuanian, but the campaign against Father Mikulskis raged on in spite of his good record. The parishioners' apparent irrationality underscores the intangible yet overpowering forces of cultural similitude. Mikulskis was able to minister materially and spiritually, but not culturally, and culture, above all else, was most craved by his parishioners.

When Father Mikulskis learned that a suitable Lithuanian replacement priest had been found, he declared: "If all is true about him, I consider it is a good opportunity for the Lithuanians of Omaha to have their own, and I think it is for the best for St. Anthony's parish...it

is impossible for me to stay any longer."¹⁹

Although Father Mikulskis' contributions to the parish were notable, a thirty-thousand dollar debt and a 60 percent decrease in baptisms from the previous decade still plagued the parish.²⁰ In March 1932, the embittered pastor finally left St. Anthony's. Father Mikulskis later equated his tenure at the church to being robbed of eleven years.²¹ The years of ethnic conflict had worn him down.

Three months before his departure, the parishioners had won another victory in their struggle for ethnic homogeneity by persuading the bishop to make St. Anthony's a "national church," thereby allowing the parish boundaries to extend throughout the city of Omaha

to “only the Catholics of the Lithuanian nationality.”²² National churches became common in the early twentieth century as bishops recognized immigrants’ intense desire to worship with parishioners of like nationality. By 1940, 105 Lithuanian national churches had been established in the United States along with forty-three Lithuanian parochial schools.²³ The precise motivation of the parishioners in securing extended boundaries, whether for cultural expansion or mere survival, is unclear. But, with a newly acquired Lithuanian pastor and a church mandate officially naming St. Anthony’s a national church, the stage was set for the final cultural transformation.

Father Joseph Jusevich assumed pastoral duties at St. Anthony’s on March 15, 1932, and like Father Jonaitis he immediately began ministering to the parishioners materially, spiritually, and culturally. Born in Kalesninkas, Lithuania, on November 12, 1899, Father Jusevich inherited a static church, its building in disrepair and the parish carrying a sizeable debt. Plans were made to reconstruct the original church building damaged by fire in 1920, and the new pastor clamped down on needless spending, even raising the chickens for church dinners behind his residence.²⁴ Despite the exigencies of the Great Depression, Father Jusevich’s presence revitalized St. Anthony’s. Within months of his arrival, fifteen new families joined the parish, and payment on the parish debt was underway.²⁵ The ethnic parish had yet to address the non-Lithuanian Ursuline Sisters, who like a subtly vexing specter stood between the parishioners and their goal of cultural homogeneity, but with the help of Father Jusevich their removal became inevitable.

Less than two months after taking over St. Anthony’s, Father Jusevich wrote to the Lithuanian St. Casimir Sisters, whom he knew well while stationed in Chicago, inviting them to teach at the new parish school. A quick response from the St. Casimir Academy



The 1933 graduating class of the St. Anthony’s School, with Father Jusevich standing at the far right. The school attracted Lithuanian immigrant families attending other churches, and St. Anthony’s took on an increasingly important role in the Omaha Lithuanian community. Courtesy St. Anthony’s Catholic Church, Omaha

confirmed their desire to teach at St. Anthony’s: “Indeed, it will be a pleasure for us to work under your care, for we cannot forget your sacrifice and kindness. We miss you at the hospital.”²⁶ The sisters assured Father Jusevich that they could easily obtain Nebraska teaching certificates, and only the Bishop’s approval was needed to complete the transfer.

Bishop Rummel refused. In a stern rebuke, the Bishop of Omaha concluded that dismissal of the Ursuline Sisters was inadvisable. Rummel warned Father Jusevich against his ethnic agenda: “Care must be taken not to emphasize any nationalistic tendencies...At your church services it will also be necessary to make all announcements in the English language.”²⁷ Wary of the nationalistic turn taken by the new pastor, Bishop Rummel’s refusal was a setback for those seeking greater ethnic purity. Removal of the Ursuline Sisters would mean direct defiance of the bishop’s decision, but the parishioners’ unquenchable ethnic cravings continued in spite of their disruption of church order.

Though faced with apparent defeat at the hands of Bishop Rummel, the issue did not die. In early July, parishioners took the extraordinary step of submitting a petition to the bishop signed by over 90 percent of the congregation demanding the immediate replacement of the Ursuline Sisters with their Lithuanian-speaking counterparts.²⁸ Publicly, Bishop Rummel stood behind his decision, but privately, during the following school year, he began to rethink it. The removal of the Ursuline Sisters might fan the flames of ethnic nationalism, but Father Jusevich had promised that the Lithuanian nuns would bring in dozens of additional children who were presently attending public schools and other parochial schools. During the Great Depression, economic solvency was not assured, and maintaining an elaborate web of churches largely supported by poor laborers proved frustrating. After learning that the St. Casimir Sisters were available, American-born, and trained in accredited schools, Bishop Rummel slowly made up his mind.²⁹ The Ursuline Sisters had to go.

Lithuanian Cultural Homogeneity



The St. Anthony's tug-of-war team captured the Omaha city championship at the 1933 Pageant of Nations Competition. Father Jusevich is seated on the left. Courtesy St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Omaha

Although Bishop Rummel privately concluded that the change was advisable, the parishioners of St. Anthony's were unaware of his reconsideration, and their pressure became relentless. On March 17, 1933, Father Jusevich conducted a parish vote revealing that 147 of 149 families wanted the Lithuanian-speaking St. Casimir Sisters immediately.³⁰ Overwhelming support for the new sisters was undeniable.

Exacerbating the already tense times, Father Jusevich, earlier in the month, had accused the Ursuline Sisters of

conspiring to delay reassignment of the St. Casimir nuns from Chicago. Sister M. de Chantal, head of St. Anthony's School, wrote Bishop Rummel to express her dismay at both the harsh accusation and the apparent ungratefulness of St. Anthony's parishioners for the sisters' years of faithful service. The nun reminded the Bishop what she relinquished in coming to St. Anthony's: "It was a great sacrifice for me to leave Sts. Peter and Paul's where all was peace and harmony to come to this 'Babel'...just give me time to pack

my trunk."³¹ Like Father Mikulskis before them, the Ursuline Sisters, emotionally fatigued from fighting a losing battle along cultural lines, were ready to surrender.

Father Jusevich summed up the cultural argument for the St. Casimir Sisters in a lengthy letter to the bishop on March 25, 1933. The pastor's chief justification for installing Lithuanian sisters was their fundamental role as spiritual saviors wrought through the invisible bonds of language and ethnicity. Jusevich wrote: "It is sad that



St. Anthony's, at Thirty-second and S Streets in South Omaha, has changed little since renovations were completed in 1936. Courtesy St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Omaha

some of our people have fallen away from the Catholic Church. They have no use for religion, yet they love the Lithuanian language." He continued: "The people will be satisfied. They will realize that nobody wishes to Americanize them and their children by force. They will love their church better, attend to their religious duty better, and lastly support the church and school better."

Painting South Omaha as a morally confusing modern Sodom, Jusevich went on to argue that Lithuanian teach-

ers with a cultural connection to the young could turn the tide of decadence, and he noted that with the promise of new sisters the parishioners were already beginning to cooperate spiritually and materially. More important, Jusevich assured the bishop that school attendance would swell when the St. Casimir Sisters were installed. He ended his letter with a promise: "There will be peace and harmony in this parish."³²

Bishop Rummel delivered his final decision in April 1933, and all sides seemed relieved. After minor squabbling

over the Ursuline sisters' possessions, the parish bade them farewell and welcomed their Lithuanian counterparts.³³ St. Anthony's minute cultural battles were taxing, insubordinate, and time consuming. The campaigns against Father Mikulskis and the Ursuline Sisters required constant struggle, over time, against the will of Omaha's bishop, and modern observers might wonder why the parishioners bothered to fight for cultural homogeneity at all. Why? What facets of the church community and the immigrant condition contributed to this

Lithuanian Cultural Homogeneity

emboldened spirit?

The Lithuanian immigrants' greatest fear was cultural amnesia, and the church was the chief preserver of ethnic heritage. Serving the dual roles of community anchor and social club, St. Anthony's kept the cultural bonds between parishioners strong. Most major Lithuanian meetings and gatherings were held at the church. The powerful St. Anthony Society, the Knights of Lithuania, the Citizen's Club, and the Choral Club all conducted regular meetings in the rectory. Clubs not only kept parishioners in touch with one another, but also reinforced a shared cultural legacy. Parish dinners and celebrations brought the Lithuanian community together in a social setting where connections could be made, friendships forged, and heritage remembered. Most church celebrations, like the annual St. Anthony's picnic, featured native dancing and games, and, if only for a brief time, participants could imagine themselves back in their homeland. Open to the general public, these events were extremely popular and attracted hundreds.³⁴

The parish school met the basic educational needs of Lithuanian children, but beyond simple learning, the church served the community as cultural educator. Instruction in Lithuanian language and history during the school day was a tantalizing prospect for parents witnessing the perceived corrosive effects of Americanization. A Polish priest and American nuns could not deliver the culturally charged moral punch desired by the parish community.

The church already served the educational needs of adults. Guest Lithuanian speakers were welcomed regularly, and every weekend the church showed Lithuanian movies, giving the community a fleeting glimpse of their beloved homeland. The Lithuanian Folk Dance Group and the Drama Club produced native-language productions, usually performing to packed audiences, and keeping parish-

ioners in touch with their cultural roots.³⁵

The Omaha Lithuanian community was not fighting merely for a building where mass was held daily; they were struggling for something far more abstract. To the parishioners, life revolved around the modest place of worship on Thirty-second Street, and St. Anthony's was worth fighting for. Beyond its function as a spiritual beacon, the church was a steadfast anchor in the swirling world of South Omaha, and St. Anthony's played many roles: community base, social club, educator, and economic safety net. The recognizable institution of the Catholic Church became increasingly important as it reassured and comforted immigrants.

Yet, even playing these added roles, the familiar Catholic Church alone could not satisfy the needs of Lithuanian immigrants. They yearned for something more. Language, tradition, and way of life were at stake, and the parishioners were not ready to submerge themselves in the turbid whirlpool of modern America. Who can blame them? Those precious few years three generations ago may seem of little consequence now for, in the end, the school closed in 1980 and church attendance has shriveled. But at the time culture was worth fighting for even if it meant sacrifice, recalcitrance, and strain. St. Anthony's was not only a church but also a portal to a different land, away from the hustle of South Omaha, out of sight but never forgotten.

Notes

¹ Rummel to Mother Xavier, 26 April, 1933, Archdiocese Archives, Omaha, Neb. (hereafter cited as Archdiocese Archives).

² *Omaha Herald*, July 1, 1880, 4:1; *Omaha Herald*, February 13, 1915, 6:7.

³ Benediktas C. Sulskis, *We Lithuanians* (Omaha: Taylor Publishing Co., 1984), 60.

⁴ Determined from a three-mile radius around 24th and N streets in the heart of South Omaha.

⁵ Jeronimas Cienas, *Lithuanians of Omaha* (Omaha: The American Lithuanian Centennial Committee of Omaha, 1955), 160, 222.

⁶ Marvin Katilius-Boydston, "Lithuanians of St. Anthony's Parish, Omaha," *The Observer*, 4 (Nov.-Dec. 1987), 6.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Bob Vodoril, unpublished manuscript, Archdiocese Archives, 11-15.

⁹ Cienas, *Lithuanians of Omaha*, 225.

¹⁰ Katilius-Boydston, "Lithuanians," 8.

¹¹ Father Joseph Jusevich, personal scrapbook, St. Anthony Church Archive, Omaha, Neb. (hereafter cited as St. Anthony Archive).

¹² Sulskis, *We Lithuanians*, 324.

¹³ Vodoril manuscript, 24.

¹⁴ Mikulskis to Rummel, July 9, 1930, Archdiocese Archives.

¹⁵ Frances Bazis et. al to Rummel, June 9, 1931, Archdiocese Archives.

¹⁶ Parish Census Report, 1931, Archdiocese Archives.

¹⁷ St. Anthony's Parishioners to Rummel, August 24, 1931, Archdiocese Archives.

¹⁸ Rummel to Reverend Draugelis, June 23, 1931, Archdiocese Archives.

¹⁹ Mikulskis to Rummel, Dec. 1, 1931, Archdiocese Archives.

²⁰ St. Anthony Annual Reports, 1910-1930, Archdiocese Archives.

²¹ Mikulskis to Rummel, June 14, 1933, Archdiocese Archives.

²² Archdiocese Decree, January 3, 1932, Archdiocese Archives.

²³ James Stuart Olson, *Catholics Immigrants in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1987), 123.

²⁴ Katilius-Boydston, "Lithuanians," 8.

²⁵ Jusevich to Rummel, May 21, 1932, Archdiocese Archives.

²⁶ Sister M. Rita to Father Jusevich, May 12, 1932, Ibid.

²⁷ Rummel to Jusevich, May 20, 1932, Ibid.

²⁸ Barisas et. al to Bishop Rummel, July 7, 1932, Ibid.

²⁹ Ostdiek to Rummel, February 18, 1933, Ibid.

³⁰ Jusevich to Rummel, March 17, 1933, Ibid.

³¹ Sister M. de Chantal to Rummel, March 4, 1933, Ibid.

³² Jusevich to Rummel, March 22, 1933, Ibid.

³³ Mikulskis to Rummel, June 14, 1933, Ibid.

³⁴ Jusevich scrapbook, St. Anthony Archive.

³⁵ Sulskis, *We Lithuanians*, 247, 313.