

The Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Roman Catholic Parish of Toronto: Nine Decades of Evolution

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Tibor Horváth S.J. (1927-2008) of Toronto's Regis College, and later also of the University of Toronto's Saint Michael's College, was a noted theologian, distinguished teacher, journal editor, and a tireless organizer. When he started his Hungarian church history project a quarter century ago, he was thinking very much in terms of an encyclopaedia that included among other things entries on the individual parishes of Hungarians in the Magyar homeland and in the Hungarian diaspora. The compilation of such dictionary of Hungarian church history however would have been an extraordinarily time-consuming task. For this reason the book project I inherited from Father Horváth became a different undertaking: it transmuted into a synopsis of the literature that has been published on the Christian churches of the Hungarians. Accordingly our project became not an encyclopaedia but a historical synthesis with the title *Church and Society in Hungary and in the Hungarian Diaspora*. Nevertheless, in deference to Father Horváth's original ideas, we had at first planned to include in this book a chapter on the history of one Hungarian parish, written not — and not only — from the existing secondary literature but also from archival sources. The choice as to which parish to select for such a case study was easy: there were good reasons for selecting the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish in Toronto. First of all it was this parish that Father Horváth, during the decades he spent in Canada, had been associated with most — though not in an official capacity. More importantly however we thought of this parish because today it is probably the largest and most active of the Hungarian overseas diaspora's religious institutions. These were our plans,

until we heard from the editors of our book's would-be publisher, the University of Toronto Press, to the effect that they did not want any parish histories in the volume they would produce for us. So, we included a few paragraphs about the story of Toronto's Hungarian Catholics in the chapter the book has on Canada and we decided to publish the history of the St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church in Toronto separately, in fact in the present volume of the *Hungarian Studies Review*.

The Origins of Toronto's Hungarian R.C. Community

The Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish serves Roman Catholic Hungarians of the metropolitan area of Greater Toronto in Canada's economic and cultural heartland. Today's Toronto is a bustling city that is home to the largest urban population in Canada and occupies an enormous area, over 5,600 square kilometres. Toronto also serves as capital city of the Province of Ontario, Canada's most populous province.

Relative to the age of capital cities in Europe, or even in some cases on the North American continent, Toronto is a newcomer. Quebec City, the capital of the neighbouring province of Quebec, is nearly two centuries older. Toronto's roots may not go very far back in time, but they are interesting. During the French regime, it was a trading post located on the northern shores of Lake Ontario near the mouth of the Humber River. The early days of British rule witnessed its birth as a very small settlement, originally named York, within the fledgling British colony that emerged in the interior of British North America after the British were ousted from their traditional colonies in the War of American Independence. The future Toronto got a big boost when Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe made York the capital of Upper Canada — because it was not so close to the American border as was for example the larger village of Niagara-on-the-Lake. Some two decades later the town still had a population of only about 700 people, but the settlement kept growing and still two decades later, when it was incorporated as the municipality of Toronto, it had 9,000 inhabitants. Toronto's growth continued, especially as it gradually became an important industrial and financial centre.

The First World War resulted in the expansion of some of the city's existing industries and the birth of new ones. Large-scale meat-processing came to Toronto as did the manufacture of munitions. Although the latter activity declined steeply after the war, meat-processing remained and manufacturing in general expanded during the prosperous second half of the 1920s. The Great Depression hit Toronto too, but proportionately

less severely than it impacted many other Canadian cities. The Second World War led to a further acceleration of economic activity in the city, especially in the manufacturing of precision instruments, electronics, and in particular, military aircraft. In the post-war years Toronto's economy continued to expand, bolstered by the post-war baby-boom and the influx of tens of thousands of immigrants. By 1951 the population of Greater Toronto had reached over a million. Soon the city would overtake Montreal as the premier commercial and manufacturing centre of Canada.

A Hungarian community was slow to emerge in Toronto. At the turn of the last century Winnipeg acted as a centre of Hungarian cultural and political activity in the country. Some twenty years later it was Hamilton, Ontario, that was considered the "Hungarian capital" of Canada; but by the second half of the 1920s, Toronto's Hungarian community began growing, mainly as the result to two developments. One of these was the trans-migration of earlier Hungarian immigrants — or, more likely, their children — from Canada's prairie provinces to the manufacturing centres of Central Canada, and the other was the fact that many of the immigrants who came to Canada starting with 1924 found only disappointment in the Canadian West and in a few short years relocated to cities such as Toronto where economic opportunities were more plentiful. We can suspect that, for the growth of a Hungarian community in Toronto, this second phenomenon was more important than the first. We do not know for sure what percentage of the post-1924 arrivals ended up in Toronto, but we know that by 1931 nearly two-thirds of them had migrated from the rural districts they had been directed to originally, to live in urban centres.¹

The members of the post-1924 immigration wave of Hungarians were probably not the first Hungarian-speakers to settle in the city. Before the war, and even possibly before 1900 a few craftsmen had come, as well as Jewish shopkeepers and tradesmen. After the introduction in the wake of the First World War of the American quota laws that kept Hungarians out of the United States, Toronto might have been a way-station for those people who wanted to get into the United States one way or another, legally or illegally. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that organized life for Hungarians in the city was slow to emerge. After the middle of the decade, however, it did start to appear. In 1926, for example, the Presbyterian Church of Canada established a mission for members of the Hungarian Reformed Church living in the city and its environs. Their visiting pastor was the Reverend Ferenc Kovács of the already established Hamilton congregation. The move was followed two years later by the Lutheran Church of Canada and the United Church. Soon Catholic priests

from already established Hungarian parishes in the Niagara regions of the United States and Ontario also began visiting the Roman Catholic families of Toronto, and occasionally celebrating mass for them in homes or rented premises. Among these itinerant priests were István Nyíri and Jermos Hédly, the first and second pastors respectively of the Hungarian R.C. parish of Welland.²

The Beginnings of a Parish

One Hungarian family that had been living in Toronto for some time was that of István Leskó Sr. His Canadian-born son István Jr. became a dentist and established a practice in Toronto. In 1925 he attended a lecture by the visiting Hungarian elder-statesman Count Albert Apponyi. At the lecture he met a couple of recent Hungarian newcomers and learned from them that there were several Hungarian R.C. families living in town. Soon Leskó Jr. became one of the community leaders of Toronto's Hungarians. He approached Archbishop Neil McNeil of the Toronto Archdiocese and got him interested in the plight of the city's Hungarians and their hopes for religious services in their own language.³

These aspirations were not entirely an unrealistic ones as other ethnic groups in the city, in particular the Italians and the Poles, had pioneered the creation of ethnic parishes in the Archdiocese of Toronto. The Our Lady of Saint Carmel parish had been established in 1908 and was followed by the founding of the parish of Saint Agnes in 1914. Both were Italian. The city's Polish immigrants established the Saint Stanislaus parish in 1911 and the Saint Mary's parish three years later. Both of these Polish parishes were served by members of the Oblate Order. In the inter-war years the creation of ethnic churches in Toronto continued. Among the groups that were the recipients of this privilege were the Lithuanians in 1932 and the Slovaks two years later.⁴

In the spring of 1928 Archbishop McNeil wrote to Jusztinián Cardinal Serédi, the Prince Primate of Hungary, asking him to send a priest to Toronto to serve as the spiritual leader of Toronto's R.C. Hungarian community. Serédi was unable to find a priest for the task, but he recommended a seminarian by the name of László Forgács who was close to completing his preparation for the priesthood. Forgács arrived in Toronto late in September of the same year and resumed his studies of the priesthood at the city's Catholic Seminary. At Christmas time Archbishop McNeil summoned Forgács and told him that he should start serving his

countrymen in the capacity of a missionary — even though he had not quite completed his preparations for the priesthood.⁵

Forgács went to work immediately. As a result of his efforts — and of others including István Leskó Jr. and a Hungarian priest living in Toronto, Kelemen Burka — in 1929 Toronto's Hungarian Catholic Club was established. By this time Forgács had completed his theological studies. Not having a church building of their own, for the purpose of church services the members of Toronto's Catholic Club had to be satisfied with renting houses or, whenever possible, the buildings of non-Hungarian parishes. From 1930 on, the Club operated in a large home on Beverly Street and began using it for the celebration of masses — as well as for various social and cultural activities. The place served as a mission to Toronto's Roman Catholic Hungarians. It also became an important focal point for the social and cultural life of the city's entire Hungarian community. Later the club's premises were moved to a house on Grange Road, still in the heart of Toronto's immigrant neighbourhood. By this time the deepening economic recession made life for the fledgling Hungarian Club difficult. As one contemporary commentator put it, only the dedication and sacrifice of a few R.C. families managed to save the Club from disintegration.⁶

According to official church records, by 1928 a Hungarian parish had become part of the network of Roman Catholic ethnic parishes in the Archdiocese of Toronto. The date of its establishment was given in some documents as 19 March 1928, a time when the community was still being served by visiting priests from elsewhere. Mass was celebrated in various R.C. churches, or premises rented by the Hungarian Club, for a long time. The parish might have been founded in 1928, but it was apparently not recognized officially until 1933, when Father Forgács (who by then had Anglicised his name to Forgach) announced its official establishment — and the recognition of the Hungarian Club as its lay sub-unit.⁷

In the mid-1930s the Our Lady of Hungary parish in Welland, one of the oldest and largest Hungarian R.C. parishes in Southern Ontario, started to experience problems when no Hungarian priest was found to replace its parish priest, Father Olivér Horváth. To solve the crisis in December of 1935 Forgach was transferred to Welland and the Toronto parish was left without a priest. The following year the parishes' problems escalated to such extent that at a meeting of the parish council in September the members present offered to resign and dissolve the parish. At the October meeting, however, the decision was reversed. The council also decided to appeal to the Archbishop again and to ask him to help them find

a Hungarian priest. Soon the parish members' wish came true when a new priest by the name of Vilmos Szöllőssy was assigned to the parish. A crisis was avoided and the parish resumed its usual routine: holding Sunday masses that now became well-attended, as well as organizing picnics in the summer and dinners and theatrical performances at other times. Unfortunately this renaissance did not last long for in 1938 Szöllőssy decided to abandon the priesthood. Once again the parish was left without a Hungarian pastor. A compromise was found that saw John V. Harris, the Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Toronto, becoming the official pastor, and a young priest-in-training, József Horváth, visiting regularly from Montreal and celebrating mass in Hungarian. The arrangement lasted till mid-1939 when Horváth was transferred to Welland to replace Forgách who in the meantime had also abandoned the priesthood. At that time a Canadian priest, the 25-year-old Leo Austin, was appointed pastor of the Toronto parish, even though he couldn't speak Hungarian. In all probability, his appointment was seen as a stop-gap measure, to last until a Hungarian-speaking priest could be found, but with the outbreak of the Second World War bringing a pastor from Hungary became a difficult proposition and Father Austin's tenure lasted for an entire decade. With his appointment a new and eventful chapter started in the parish's history.⁸

At this point it might be appropriate to ask the question why priests such as Szöllőssy and Forgács abandoned the priesthood. The sources are reticent about this issue. At the time it would have been considered bad manners for anyone to suggest in public, let alone in writing, that a young pastor could have fallen in love with a woman. And such a development may not have been the cause. We really don't know what the reason or reasons were for these priests' abandonment of the priesthood. But, Forgács's reminiscences give a hint. While serving in Welland, for example, he received no salary, not even any money for out-of-pocket expenses, from either his parish or the mother Church. "Not a cent" — as he recalled later. He had lodging in the pastor's residence but had no money for food. What kept him from starving was the fact that every day (almost every day?) he was invited to one or another of the families associated with the parish for a meal.⁹

By the time Father Austin had assumed the spiritual leadership of the parish in Toronto, conditions were more auspicious. The economic depression that did not strike Toronto with the vicious force that it hit many other Canadian cities, began lifting. The outbreak of the Second World War had some traumatizing impact on the city's Hungarian community, but it also resulted in heightened economic activity — and the

abatement of the misery that the depression had caused. By 1942 the very high unemployment of the 1930s had given way to nearly full employment — as well as higher wages especially for skilled workers. It was under such conditions that the parish received notice that it had to vacate its premises on Grange Road. This development precipitated a search for a real church building for the parish.¹⁰

A Church Building for the Parish

After a few months' search the leaders of the parish set their sights on a church building that went up for sale near the city's immigrant quarters and in walking distance of its Hungarian neighbourhood — in fact just a few blocks west of several of the rented premises the city's Catholic Hungarians had used for church services and social activities during the previous decade. The building in question was Saint Philip's Anglican Church, located at the intersection of two major arteries in downtown Toronto, Spadina Avenue and Dundas Street West.

St. Philip's Church had a distinguished history. Its historic roots went back to the times when militia-colonel George T. Denison (1839-1925) was a key figure in Toronto's social circles and city politics — he was, among other things, Toronto's chief police magistrate. Denison was also part of Canada's political and intellectual establishment. Among his achievements was a prize he won from the government of Tsar Alexander II of Russia for a book he wrote on military tactics. Denison and his son Robert B. Denison were also involved in Toronto's organized religious life. They were the founders of Saint Stephen-in-the Fields Anglican Church on Bellevue Avenue. When the Denisons had a disagreement with the church's rector and the city's Anglican ecclesiastic establishment, they had Saint Philip's Church built on the corner of Spadina Avenue and Dundas Street. The main part of the church was completed late in 1883 and services were started in early 1884.¹¹

This part of Toronto already had four Anglican churches and the addition of a fifth was a risky undertaking. Nevertheless for some time Saint Philip's was a success. Being a "low" Anglican parish it catered to a different clientele than the other Anglican parishes and for a few decades it prospered. The Toronto of the times was predominantly British and Protestant, and it was famous for its great many churches. The first pastor of Saint Philip's, James Fielding Sweeny, was one of the most influential Anglican priests in the city. He served till 1909 when he became the Anglican bishop of Toronto. In the second and third decades of the new

century, things began to change. Many residential homes especially south of Saint Philip's were demolished and were replaced by shops and textile factories. Immigrants from Eastern Europe began moving in, and the previously mainly Anglo-Saxon residents moved to newer, quieter and nicer areas. Their parish followed them. It was resurrected under the new name Saint Philip the Apostle Church in the city's northern outskirts, on Caribou Road near the intersection of Bathurst Street and Lawrence Avenue.¹²

Once the Hungarian Catholics of Toronto decided to put in a bid on Saint Philip's Church downtown, they launched a major fundraising campaign. The lion's share of these efforts can be credited to the newly arrived (from Stockholm, Saskatchewan) nuns: Sisters Columba and Sylvia. Sister Mary Schwartz of the Hamilton R.C. parish also assisted. Father Austin went on a fundraising tour that included stops in some of the more prosperous American R.C. parishes. The campaign was expected to yield at least \$10,000, an amount that was to be matched by the Archbishop. The building's purchase price was \$23,000 and after the monies collected were applied to it, the parish was left with a debt of \$9,300, owed to the Bank of Commerce. The figures suggest that neither the parish nor the Archbishop was able to raise the amount of money originally contemplated. To make the situation more difficult, soon after the building's purchase, it became evident that expensive repairs were needed, the most serious being the need for a new heating system. The renovations started not long after the transfer of ownership. To help out, many parish members donated their time and labour. The spruced-up church was blessed by Archbishop James C. McGuigan on March 19, 1944. It should be mentioned here that the purchase of a church building by Toronto's Catholic Hungarians served as inspiration for those of Hamilton. There too efforts were started to form a separate, Hungarian parish and to purchase a church building. At first they had to convince the city's sceptical church hierarchy that they would be able to achieve their aim. Their quest was successful, although the Hungarians of Hamilton took a long time to see it through. The Saint Stephen's Church of the city became a reality only in 1949.¹³

The fact that Toronto's Hungarians established a Catholic Parish complete with a church building before their brethren in Hamilton were successful in doing so speaks volumes about the evolving place of these two cities in the evolution of Canada's Hungarian community. In the 1930s Hamilton was the city in Canada with the largest and most influential Hungarian community. Toronto's Hungarian colony at the time served as a kind of a satellite of other, older Magyar colonies such as

Hamilton's. Pastors came to visit Toronto from places such as Welland and Waterloo. The Hungarian fraternal sick-benefit associations of Brantford and Hamilton had branch offices in Toronto. All this would change by the 1950s, and the transition had started in earnest already during the war. As historians of Toronto point out, during the second half of the World War II the city experienced a huge expansion in manufacturing that resulted in thousands of new jobs being created. The new economic climate brought prosperity to many immigrant Hungarian families and no doubt resulted in Hungarians flocking to the city in greater numbers.

This growth in economic prosperity also had some detrimental impact. The upturn in economic activity did not benefit all members of the Hungarian community equally: some families prospered while others were bypassed by the new wealth. As a result socio-economic divisions among Toronto's Hungarians increased. Furthermore, these developments helped to destroy the residential concentrations of Hungarians in Toronto, just as they promoted the disintegration of the neighbourhoods of other immigrant groups. What happened was that families that prospered tended to leave the immigrant ghettos, in particular the one that had existed for many years just east of the new Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Church. The better-off families bought homes in the more prestigious Madison Avenue-Bedford Road-Huron Street area just north of the city's main east-west commercial artery, Bloor Street. The area was still in walking distance of the new church, but not in easy walking distance, especially for the elderly and families with young kids. In the meantime the poorer members of the community continued to live in the immigrant ghetto. It is difficult to estimate to what extent and in what ways this socio-economic and residential differentiation in the community impacted the organized religious life of Toronto's Hungarians.¹⁴

While the war had mainly indirect impact on life of Toronto's R.C. Hungarian community, the post-war years had greater impact, some of which was direct and long-lasting. This would be the result of the coming of two more waves of Hungarian immigrants to Canada. That process, however, didn't start till the late 1940s and until then two memorable events took place in the life of the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish. One of these was the visit in July of 1947 of the Prince Primate of Hungary, József Cardinal Mindszenty. He came to Canada for a world congress of Roman Catholics that was held in Ottawa that year, and he made a side trip to see the Archbishop of Toronto, as well to visit the city's Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish. It was on this occasion that he is alleged to have made an unflattering remark to the parish's pastor. He told

Father Austin that he had no business to lead a Hungarian spiritual community if he didn't learn Hungarian. The remark, if indeed the leader of the Hungarian church could utter such statement, suggests that Mindszenty was ignorant of the situation of Canada's Hungarian Roman Catholics, in particular of their inability to attract Hungarian-speaking priests. The Cardinal seems also not to have been aware of the fact that most people, even those with a good education, were unable to learn a language so different from English as Hungarian. Despite these remarks, if they were indeed ever made, Austin soldiered on with serving his parish, and probably also with his in the end unsuccessful efforts to learn the Magyar language. In December of the same year, a ceremony was held in the church where the document of the parish's debt was burned after all debts incurred in the building's purchase and renovation had been discharged.¹⁵

The Coming of Jesuit Priests

The year 1948 would bring another change in the parish's history. Archbishop McGuigan must have been aware of the problem at Saint Elizabeth's and was probably anxious to remedy it. He learned from Sister Mary that in Boston, MA, in the New England Province of the Jesuit Order, there were a few Hungarian Jesuits — and he requested a pastor. In Boston the choice fell on a young visiting priest by the name of István Békési. He was told to go to Toronto and help the parish priest there. Békési arrived in November and began celebrating mass, in his native Hungarian, very soon after. In July of the following year he assumed the parish's spiritual leadership.¹⁶

These were propitious times for the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary church. The Second World War, unlike the First, was followed by general economic prosperity in Canada, especially in Toronto. The unemployment and misery of the 1930s was long gone and had been replaced by "good times" for most of Toronto's Hungarians. Still more important was the fact that the immigration of Hungarians to Canada resumed in the late 1940s. The newcomers were the refugees of the war who in 1948 began to be admitted to Canada from European refugee camps. These were the so-called "displaced persons" or DPs, and they came by the thousands. During the 1948-49 fiscal year, 1,400 of them came and in the following fiscal years more and more of them arrived. In 1951-52 some 4,500 of them reached the country. Unlike the previous wave of immigrants from Hungary most of whom began their Canadian lives in the Western Provinces, the latest newcomers ended up in Central Canada, most of them in Ontario's cities.

According to the 1951 census, Toronto received by far the largest influx, some 1,100 people. Hamilton got far smaller contingent, a fact which sealed the competition between these two cities as to which one would be the “Hungarian capital” of Ontario. Eventually Toronto would surpass even Montreal as the home to the largest number of Hungarian Canadians.¹⁷

As has been explained in the previous chapter, as a group the DPs were different from previous waves of Hungarian immigrants. More of them were of middle- and in some cases even upper-class origin and members of the skilled trades and of the professions were more common among them. Although initial contacts between the new arrivals and the members of the “old” immigrations were cordial enough, as time passed relations often became strained. The tables had been turned on Hungarians. The poor immigrants of earlier ages were now often living comfortable lives, while the newcomers, former members of Hungary’s upper and upper-middle classes, were the impecunious new arrivals. The situation was not conducive to friendly cooperation between the two groups — and, indeed, relations were not always amicable, especially as far as the newcomers’ participation in Hungarian immigrant institutions was concerned. The fact was that the newcomers, rather than joining the organizations of the old immigrants, tended set up clubs and institutions of their own. Organized religious life was an exception to this trend.

In one respect the members of the new wave of arrivals were no different from those who came in the 1920s, or in fact before the First World War. Most of them were no doubt keen to resume their religious lives, and even attendance at churches that had been interrupted for them when they left Hungary. Undoubtedly too, they preferred to do this in their own Hungarian cultural environment. For the Roman Catholics among the DPs, this could be done only in the already existing religious organizations of the “old” Hungarian immigrants, in the case of Toronto, in the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary church.

What was an even more important development for Hungarian Canadians in general and for this parish in particular was the fact that among the thousands of DPs there were several priests. Their arrival would help to reduce the scarcity of spiritual leaders in Hungarian-Canadian society. In a short time the situation in this respect got even more promising for Hungarian R.C. parishes in this country: by the late 1940s the persecution of the churches in Hungary had gotten progressively onerous. As a result in the spring of 1949 the Superior General of the Jesuit Order issued a call to all young members of the order in Hungary to

leave the country. In the months following dozens of these young men made their way to Western countries. As a result by the mid- or late 1950s several of Hungarian Canada's R.C. parishes would come under the leadership of recently-arrived Jesuit priests.

In the meantime the active community life in Saint Elizabeth Parish that members had become accustomed to during the last years of the war continued. On Saturdays there were Hungarian classes for children, on Sundays there was mass celebrated in the morning and recreational activities took place in the afternoon. In the evening there could be a dance where music was provided by a live band. This was unusual as in Toronto of the times no public entertainment was allowed on Sundays; however, churches were permitted to host such events. Completing the community life around the church were the Catholic Club and a few other lay organizations.¹⁸

In 1951 Father Békési took leave to do missionary work overseas and he was replaced by a more experienced pastor, Father Mihály Szeder. During his tenure the house next to the Church on Dundas Street was purchased and became used as a rectory: parish office and quarters for the pastor and his assistants. The property filled a great need as by this time the number of priests serving the parish had increased first to two and then to three. Improvements were made to the church building as well. Some windows were replaced by stained-glass depicting notable episodes told in the Bible. The collection a funds was also started for the purchase of a new organ. Next Békési returned to serve another stint as parish priest. Soon thereafter another property was purchased, this time on the outskirts of the city near the village of Streetsville (now in the city of Mississauga). It was named Mindszenty Park and was used from the spring to the autumn for picnics, camping trips and other outdoor activities. During the tenure of the next parish priest, György Simor (pastor from 1953 to 1958), the life of the park was enriched by the creation of a swimming area in the creek that ran through the property. Weekend activities in the park were popular with members of the parish and their children.¹⁹

The Arrival of the Refugees

The years 1956 and 1957 brought great changes in the life of the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, just as they wrought a huge transformation in the evolution of most Hungarian-Canadian communities. This was the time of the arrival of the largest wave of Hungarian immigrants to Canada, the refugees of the 1956 revolution in Hungary. The coming of the refugees

resulted in the increase in the size of most Hungarian-Canadian communities. This was especially true of Canada's cities where more than 90 percent of the refugees settled. By the time of the next census nearly half of them were found living in Ontario. Among the Canadian cities that received the refugees Toronto got the largest contingent, nearly 8,700 individuals. Montreal was second with little over 7,000 newcomers, and Vancouver was a distant third. This influx of newcomers resulted in the doubling, tripling and even in some cases the quadrupling of the Hungarian communities of these and other Canadian cities.

Almost from the very outbreak of the revolution in Hungary, Toronto's Hungarian churches, including the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, became beehives of activity. In response to the news from the old country, Toronto's Hungarians undertook various ventures, ranging from organizing protest demonstrations to the collection of funds to be sent to Hungary in aid of the country's population. Or, people just congregated to discuss events and receive news from Hungary. When it became obvious that the revolution would be crushed by the Soviets, efforts to help the revolutionaries were transformed into attempts to aid the refugees who were flooding across the Austro-Hungarian border. The collection of funds and clothing was continued. Soon the first refugees began arriving in the city. From this time on the parish became a veritable aid agency. The refugees were helped to find food and lodging — as well as in filling out English-language forms needed to start their Canadian lives. It was about this time that the parish received a fourth priest. The number of church attendees increased so much that four masses had to be scheduled each Sunday morning to accommodate everyone.²⁰

Although as time passed Canadian authorities took over much of the work of helping the refugees, many tasks remained in which the parish was able to assist the newcomers. The refugees needed loans to pay for the purchase of large items such as appliances, cars and, eventually, houses. To help in this the parish was instrumental in establishing a credit union independent of the parish but still under its umbrella. The institution paid higher-than-usual interest to depositors and it gave loans and mortgages to those members of the parish who needed them. The increase in the number of families with children in the parish required an expansion of school facilities. For this purpose still another nearby house was purchased, this time on Spadina Avenue, and was converted into a school complete with an auditorium.²¹

In the meantime important events were taking place in the parish's leadership. In 1958 Father Simor was transferred to the Jesuit Order's New

York head office. He was replaced as parish priest by Lajos Horányi, under whose guidance the enhancement of the parish's complex of properties at the Dundas Street and Spadina Avenue site continued. He in turn was replaced in 1964 by József Bieleck who remained at the parish's helm for seven years. During his time it became necessary to replace the old rectory on Dundas Street next to the church with a modern building. This project, along with some of the others before then and later, resulted in an increasing the parish's debt burden. The cost of the new rectory alone amounted to over \$120,000.²²

Still another event of significance in the early 1960s was the purchase by the Jesuits of a large recreational property near the village of Orono. Although nearly an hour's drive east from Toronto the place was easily accessible via major highways (nos. 401 and 35). Named Loyola Park, the property was made available to the parish and its various social and youth organizations. It also hosted local and international scouting jamborees. A few of these were attended by scouts and scout leaders from all over North America and even overseas.²³

In 1971 Father Bieleck was followed as parish priest by another Jesuit, István Király. Improvements to the church, the rectory, and the adjacent parking lot continued — and the parish's debt continued to grow and eventually amounted to nearly quarter million dollars. Király made efforts to reduce this debt (during his tenure one of the church's properties on Spadina Avenue was sold) and, more importantly, he restructured the parish's administration and streamlined the role of the various lay organizations played in the parish's life. By this time the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish had started functioning according to the guidelines issued to all R.C. parishes by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).²⁴

The Church's leading administrative organ was the Parish Council. It had 24 members and was in charge of planning, directing and supervising the parish's activities. Its members were elected from the parish community. In the case of the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Church, the Council of Catholic Men, the Council of Catholic Women, the Married Couples Club, the parish school, the scouts and the Youth Club attached to the church, and the Altar-boys' Club each had a representative on the Council. The rest of the members were elected by the membership at large. The priests assigned to the Church were ex-officio members. There were provisions for the removal of council members (by a 2/3rds majority), for example for neglect of duties or inappropriate behaviour — as well as for appeals against such decisions. The Council's chief official was its president. There was also a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer and a mar-

shal — all elected by the Council's membership. The president presided over the Council's meetings and, in consultation with the parish priest, determined the council meeting's agenda. The Council had to meet at least three times a year.

The Parish Council had seven regular committees, each consisting of three to five council members. One of these was in charge of pastoral matters, others respectively of finances, property maintenance, recreational matters, charitable activities, youth activities and communicating with the membership at large. The pastor also had important functions. He reported to the Council, communicated with the Archbishop, and approved — or did not approve — the Council's decisions. There was also a nominating committee that set up a list of members who were eligible to be elected by the parish's members, as well as an election committee that oversaw the election of those members of the Council who were not entitled to be Council members as representatives of the clubs and other groups associated with the parish. Elections were held every December. If a parish priest died or left the parish, the Council was suspended and the newly appointed pastor could either re-activate it or call for the election of a new Council.²⁵

A New Era in the Life of the Parish

The mid-1970s were times of new developments in the parish's life. In 1973 Hungarians celebrated the millennium of Hungarian Christianity. The occasion was the 1000th anniversary of the birth of St. Stephen, the first Christian king of the Hungarians. The celebrations coincided with another visit to the parish by Cardinal Mindszenty. This visit happened two years after Hungary's Prince Primate had left the American Embassy in Budapest. The visit was part of an extended pastoral tour by the Prince Primate that included England and North America. It was intended, according to the Cardinal, "to bring comfort and encouragement to Hungarians in foreign lands;"²⁶ and his visit did bring joy and happiness to the members of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish. A procession was organized from Toronto's city hall to the nearby Saint Michael's Cathedral. Along the way the masses of Hungarian and other Catholics sang religious hymns and on arrival in the Cathedral, celebrated high mass. In the evening a dinner was held that was attended by prominent churchmen and civic figures.²⁷

In the meantime mundane problems kept intruding into the parish's life. During 1973 it became obvious that the 300 chairs the church had purchased in 1954 were defective and new ones, and a greater number

of them, had to be ordered, at the cost of nearly \$4,000. The matter of a new organ was also still hanging over the Parish's leadership. The estimated cost of this update was \$55,000. The Parish was short on cash for such a large expenditure and a loan of \$30,000, had to be sought — to be paid back in three years. The loan was approved in the summer of 1977.²⁸ Father Király also saw to it that the Parish's school building was enlarged. By this time it was becoming increasingly obvious to some members of the Parish's leadership that the present church was too expensive to maintain and was not large and modern enough for an ever more populous congregation. A debate emerged that saw those who were inclined to look for another, a larger church building, pitted against those who favoured renovating and updating the present one. The debate ended this time in the victory of the latter group. As a result further funds were expended for the renovation and re-decoration of the church at Dundas Street and Spadina Avenue. About this time Father Kiraly helped to organize a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in which many members took part. This would not be the last of such pilgrimages sponsored by the Parish. Unfortunately for everyone, in 1976 Father Király fell ill and died early in the following year.²⁹

Király was followed as parish priest by Balázs M. Jaschkó. He had come to Toronto in 1970 from the United States where he had been teaching since his arrival there in the mid-1950s. From 1971 he had been associate parish priest at Saint Elizabeth. One of his priorities as parish priest had been the enhancement of the school programs associated with the Parish. An important event, or series of events during the early phase of his tenure was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Parish' beginnings. The golden jubilee mass was held on 19 March and was presided over by Bishop Paul McHugh. A gala dinner was also held. There was so much interest in this event that it could not be accommodated by the Parish's own hall but had to be held on the much larger premises of the new Hungarian-Canadian Cultural Centre at 840 St. Clair Avenue West. 700 people were in attendance, including Bishop (later Cardinal) Aloysius Ambrozic who represented Toronto Archbishop Philip F. Pocock (1906-1984). The celebrations were a gentle reminder that perhaps the Saint Elizabeth Parish had outgrown the facilities at the corner of Spadina Avenue and Dundas St. West.³⁰

It was at this time that the "old" church at Spadina and Dundas received its new organ, with 1120 pipes. In the quest to acquire this organ important role was played by György Zadubán, a highly-trained musician and conductor who had been the church's organist almost since his arrival in Canada in 1957. Zadubán was also responsible for establishing and

training the parish choir that put on special performances in the church on high holidays such as Christmas and Easter.³¹

A New Church for the Parish

It may be recalled that a debate in the mid-1970s about whether the existing church facilities should be renovated or a search for a new church building should be started ended in the decision to keep the old church. In the years following it was becoming more and more obvious that the existing building and, especially, the parking facilities around it, were inadequate. In the meantime the exodus of Hungarians from Toronto's downtown area continued. It must have been also increasingly evident that the existing premises, being located near the city's rapidly expanding Chinatown commercial district, would fetch a handsome price. As a result, the question of selling the old church and acquiring a larger one elsewhere re-surfaced during the second half of 1983 — and soon a decision was made to look for a building site where a new, bigger church could be built. A committee was struck to take on the task of selecting a site. Beginning with January, 1984, Father Jaschkó, along with his advisor, the Reverent Nicola De Angelis the Vice-Chancellor of the Archdiocese, began visiting various sites around the city that were available for purchase.³²

Several sites were considered. Six building lots were available for sale at the corner of Yonge Street (Toronto's main north-south thoroughfare) and Finch Avenue. The site was quickly rejected by the committee as being too busy and noisy and because there was very little chance of expanding the property on a future occasion if conditions required such expansion. Another site was also on Yonge Street, at the intersection of York Mills Road. Here four building lots were available, and the price was \$1,200,000. This site too, had a number of disadvantages: a part of the lot was on a hill, there was a creek on the property, the entrance to the lot was somewhat hidden, and the city's building codes required a large set-back from the street. Obviously this site also didn't recommend itself highly for the committee. Still another available site was on the corner of Dufferin Street and Lawrence Avenue. Here 2.75 acres were available at the hefty price of three-and-a-half million dollars. Aside from the high price there were two objections to this site. One was that its location was "not central" to the Hungarian community, and the other was that it was too close to another Roman Catholic church: Saint Charles.³³ In the end the site that was selected in June of 1984 was a large building lot on Sheppard Avenue East (nos. 430-432), a block-and-a-half west of Bayview Avenue. It was

large enough to have a courtyard as well as a fair-sized parking lot, accommodating well over hundred cars. Access to this property was convenient and there was public transportation on both Sheppard Avenue and Bayview Avenue. Much later the site would also be served by a subway line along Sheppard.

Four construction companies submitted bids for the building of the church, along with parish offices, a hall and other facilities. The lowest (not by a wide margin) came from Delaney Construction and it was accepted and work on the site soon started. According to the records, the architect was Domenic Amato. Before the year was out, "Invoice No. 3" arrived from the company: it was for \$185,386.62 (about a tenth of the eventual cost). By the end of July of next year, the move from the Spadina/Dundas premises was completed. At one point in August the "old" church was no longer available for Sunday services while the new one could also not be used as there was a delay with the inspection of the church for fire safety. In early September the fire inspection was completed. The church was consecrated on October 5. The new Archbishop, Emmett Cardinal Carter officiated, assisted by Bishop László Irányi representing the Hungarian Roman Catholic Diaspora.³⁴

It is not easy for an outsider to get an accurate grip on the financial aspects of the move of the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish from downtown to the Sheppard and Bayview site. According to one internal memorandum of the Archdiocese the proceeds from the sale of the old church amounted to \$5,800,000.00. Of this sum \$4,000,000.00 were applied to the purchase of the new site and the construction of the new church and affiliated structures. The transaction left a difference of \$1,800,000.00, and it was felt by the leaders of the Archdiocese that this "profit" should not entitle the Hungarian community for special consideration. After all, the Archdiocese had promised only to replace "their facilities" with new ones, and in fact, the new facilities were a third larger than what the Parish had before. In other words, 70 percent of the proceeds from the sale of the old church were applied to the purchase and construction of the new one, and 30 percent were left for covering the Archdiocese's "other needs".

Soon after the new church building's opening it became evident that the church's parking lot was inadequate and pastor Jaschkó suggested that a part of the balance of the proceeds from the sale of the old church be applied to the acquisition of additional land for the purpose of parking. The Archdiocese ruled any such deal "absolutely out". In fact, Father Jaschkó was advised to remain silent on the matter of the financing of the transfer of Saint Elizabeth Church to the new site. He was told that over-

flow parking should be diverted to the parking lot of the “nearby” (not-so-nearby ?) Saint Gabriel Catholic School. The memorandum on this subject concluded that the whole deal with the Hungarians had become a “scandal” in the eyes of other communities in the diocese that were obviously unable to understand why the Hungarians received such a favourable deal, i.e. why so much money was lavished on them by the mother church.³⁵

The opening of the new church revitalised parish life. According to one document, attendance at some church functions went up by almost 100 percent — no wonder parking became a problem. Everything was larger than in the old church. Especially important was the hall in the church’s basement where now social and cultural functions could accommodate several hundred people — far more than in the old church. There was also the new, large and modern school building. Then there was the courtyard between the two — where those who had attended mass could congregate, linger and gossip after church services. In fact the school facilities soon proved too small and a third floor had to be added to the structure.³⁶

The 1970s and 1980s were the true “Golden Age” of the Hungarian community of Toronto. The masses of Hungarian immigrants who had arrived in Canada in the 1950s were still young, or at least not too old to give up active life. Their children were growing up and many of them remained in contact with immigrant institutions, including the churches. The city was prosperous, a truly cosmopolitan centre where immigrants could feel at home. By this time Toronto had definitely become the “Hungarian capital” of Canada. It had surpassed Hamilton a long time ago and Montreal more recently. In fact there was an influx of Hungarians from the latter city where Hungarians, especially those who had not learned French, sometimes felt ill-at-ease with rising Quebecois nationalism. There was also an influx of new Hungarian immigrants from Transylvania where Hungarians, and just about everyone else, felt being oppressed by the regime of Nicholas Ceauşescu.

Under these circumstances the people of the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish could feel confident and comfortable. In 1989 they received another boost to their pride when Pope John-Paul II selected a priest from Toronto, Attila Miklosházy, a professor of theology and past rector of St Michael’s College of the University of Toronto, as Bishop of Hungarians in the Diaspora. He would be the last of such bishops appointed by a pope. After his retirement a decade-and-a-half later his “successor” would be named by the by then free Catholic Church hierarchy in Hungary.

The freeing of the churches from communist domination in Hungary was a mixed blessing for the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish — and in fact for other Catholic parishes in the Hungarian diaspora. While it assured freedom of travel and communications between them and the Church in Hungary, it also resulted in the departure for the mother country of many individuals who had been serving them, in cases where a greater need was seen for their services and talents in the new, democratic Hungary.³⁷

The 1990s witnessed several other important events in the Parish's life. In October of 1993 the members of the Parish celebrated the golden jubilee of the acceptance into the order of the Society of the Heart of Jesus of Sister Columba. She had been serving the Parish's people since the 1940s and had earned the respect and love of a great many of them. A year later a different event transpired. It was the publication of a historical monograph dealing with the Parish. Its author was historian Sándor Kostya. Although the book's title talked about the history of the Parish, the work itself touched on a great many themes including the history of the Jesuit Order, the story of Hungarian Catholic priests in Canada, and the activities of Bishop Mikósházy in the years after his appointment by Pope John-Paul II. In 1997 Csaba Cabafi was ordained as a priest of the Saint Elizabeth Church. This was only the second time a priest was ordained in the new building, and the event called for celebrations. In 1997 he became associate pastor and three years later he assumed the role of the church's pastor.³⁸

The new century would see a continuation of the trends of the 1990s. In the life of the Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Parish not much would change for the time being. Celebrations, anniversaries and special events would continue. In 2002 the 17th World Youth Congress of the Catholic Church was held in Toronto. A quarter million participants took part in it, coming from all parts of the world. Some 180 of these pilgrims came to from Hungary and the Hungarian-inhabited districts of Romania. The people of the Parish coordinated the hosting of these participants. A year later the Parish celebrated the 75th anniversary of its beginnings. Many events were held and still another parish history was published, this one full with colour illustrations. In 2006 the then parish priest Cabafi was transferred to Hungary to assume a high position at the headquarters of the Jesuit Order in that country. He was replaced by László Marosfalvy. Under him the Parish celebrated the 800th anniversary of the birth of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. Then Marosfalvy was replaced by Szabolcs Sajgó as parish priest.

The Parish's everyday life continues today. There are Sunday masses, weekend school program, meeting of the various lay clubs associated with the Church, weddings, baptisms and funerals — and more funerals.³⁹ In the meantime, the community the Parish serves continues to age. The immigrants keep getting older and their children and grandchildren are less and less inclined in participating in the Hungarian community's institutional life. Still the Parish remains the most active of the R.C. parishes in North America — and has been free of the problems that have plagued some of the much older and more famous Hungarian parishes in the United States.⁴⁰

NOTES

¹ See my article "Immigration and Re-migration: The Changing Urban-Rural Distribution of Hungarian Canadians, 1886-1986," *Hungarian Studies Review* 13, 2 (fall 1986): 20-41, in particular p. 26. For the pre-World War I arrivals this particular figure was about half of what it was for the immigrants of the 1920s.

² Jenő Ruzsa, *A kanadai magyarság története* [History of the Hungarians of Canada] (Toronto, by the author, 1940), 156-7.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8. See also Nándor Dreisziger *et al.*, *Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 104.

⁴ "Parish History," undated manuscript, in a file entitled "canonical documents," in the Records of the St. Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, part of the record collections of the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (hereafter ARCAT), in Toronto, Ontario.

⁵ The recollections of László Forgács, made in an interview, printed in *Hungarians in Ontario*, ed. Susan M. Papp, a special double issue of *Polyphony, The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario*, 2, 2-3 (1979-80): 33-5. Forgács's interviewer is not named but we know that it was Carmela Patrias

⁶ Some of the houses rented also served as the homes for impecunious members of the city's Hungarian community. See *ibid.*, p. 33. See also Ruzsa, *A kanadai magyarság*, pp. 158-60.

⁷ Emma Perlaky and László Perlaky, eds. *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet Egyházközség/ St. Elizabeth of Hungary Parish* (Toronto: St. Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, 2003), 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-26. Ruzsa, *A kanadai*, p. 160. See also a typed history of the parish by an unknown author [ca. 1978] entitled "Our History", in the file "St. Elizabeth Hungarian Parish," at ARCAT.

⁹ Forgács left the priesthood and took a job. See Forgács's recollections, *cit.* (note 5 above), pp. 34-35.

¹⁰ “Our History” *cit.* What must have happened was that the rent the parish was paying for the Grange Road property had increased beyond what the parish could pay.

¹¹ Edward Jackman, “Notes Concerning the Anglican Heritage of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Roman Catholic Church,” mss, 9 March 1978, file on the St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church, ARCAT.

¹² *Ibid.* Jackman notes that by the time the parish moved, its neighbourhood, known by then as Kensington market, had become mainly Jewish. Interestingly, a few decades later, the new Philip’s Anglican Church found itself on the edge of the city’s new Jewish district. Today the Spadina-Dundas area is part of Toronto’s Chinatown, while the neighbourhood of the new Philip’s Church is close to Forest Hill, one of the city’s ritzy residential areas full with multi-million dollar homes.

¹³ Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, p. 27. Dreisziger, *Struggle and Hope*, p. 180. Also, “Our Church,” *cit.* On the financing of the purchase of the church see the memorandum by L.J. Austin, 26 October 1943, in the file “Financing the purchase of St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church,” in the church’s records, ARCAT. Apparently the parish raised only \$8,000 and the Archbishop, as of October 1943, contributed only \$6,000. In his memo Austin estimated the cost of renovations to be about \$7,000, said that he could borrow \$5,000 “from Hungarians” interest free, and asked for the balance (\$4,000) of the monies promised by the Archbishop. We found no record as to when these were paid to the parish.

¹⁴ Dreisziger, *Struggle and Hope*, pp. 182-3. Some of the families were attracted to the Madison Avenue-Huron Street area by the fact that homes there were much more spacious and could be turned into rooming houses. The appearance of rooming houses in turn caused the neighbourhood’s remaining “old” owners, mainly WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants) to flee to suburbs “uncontaminated” by immigrants from Eastern Europe. This trend depressed property prices in the area further — and made the move of more Hungarians to the neighbourhood easier.

¹⁵ Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házy*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31. Also, Sándor Kostya, *A torontói Árpád-Házi Szent Erzsébet Egyházközség és Plébániatemplom története* [The history of the St. Elizabeth of Hungary parish and church of Toronto] (Toronto: St. Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, 1994), 444. Father Austin became a parish priest in the nearby town of Whitby.

¹⁷ Dreisziger, *Struggle and Hope*, pp. 195-6.

¹⁸ “Our Church,” *cit.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Also, Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, pp. 32-3. The purchase of a property on the city’s outskirts testifies to the increasing prosperity of the parish’s members. By then most Hungarian families living in the city had automobiles. Mindszenty Park was later sold. Its role was taken over by Loyola Park, a large property the Jesuits purchased in 1962 near the town of Orono, some 80 kilometres east of Toronto.

²⁰ Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, p. 33; Dreisziger, *Struggle and Hope*, pp. 204-08.

²¹ Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, p. 33. The parish's credit union functioned till 2003. By then few members needed help with their financial arrangements.

²² Various memoranda, including a "final report" 10 Dec. 1969, in the file "Construction of a new rectory, 1967-1969", the financial records of the St. Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, box 2, ARCAT. Cited hereafter as "financial records". The old rectory was apparently deemed to be a hazard by city authorities.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 33. In the meantime the parish's previous, smaller recreational property west of Toronto was sold.

²⁴ On Király's efforts to expand the school and reduce the parish's debt see especially the document "Our History," *cit.* (ARCAT).

²⁵ A 7-page memorandum in Hungarian in the file Guidelines of the Parish Council, in the records of the parish, ARCAT. An appendix to the document names the 12 associations functioning within the parish: 1. the men's club; 2. the association of women; 3. the club of married people; 4. the Mária Congregation (of women); 5. the prayer group; 6. the members of the Third Order of St. Francis; 7. the school and the daycare; 8. the Altar-boys Club; 9. the girls scouts; 10. the boys scouts; 11. a committee for scout activities; and 12. the youth club. The St. Elizabeth of Hungary Credit Union was independent of the Parish and therefore had no representation on its council.

²⁶ József Mindszenty, *Emlékirataim* (Tirol: Thaur, 1988), 250. For an English version of Mindszenty's memoirs see Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, *Memoirs* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1974), p. 243.

²⁷ Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házy*, p. 34.

²⁸ Notes in the file "Furnishings", the records of the Parish, ARCAT.

²⁹ "Our History" *cit.* Father Király was buried in the Hungarian cemetery of Saint Ladislav Church of Courtland, the by then traditional burial ground of Hungarian Jesuit priests in Central Canada.

³⁰ See Edward Jackman's notes on the pamphlet published for the occasion by the Parish, in the Records of the St. Elizabeth Parish, Canonical Files, ARCAN. Also, Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, p. 35.

³¹ Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, pp. 35-6.

³² File on the construction of the new church, box 2, Records Relating to the St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church, ARCAT. Among the members of the committee György Birinyi focused on matters of construction while Rudolf Vlassák on those concerning finances. Kostya, *A Szent Erzsébet*, p. 118.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*; Perlaky and Perlaky, pp. 36-38; also, Kostya, *A Szent Erzsébet*, pp. 118-19.

³⁵ Internal memorandum by L.J. Wall, 29 January 1986, file: Further land acquisitions for parking lot, Records Relating to the St Elizabeth of Hungary Parish, ARCAN. Despite the negative response to his early pleas for the solution

of the parking problem, Jaschkó kept returning to the issue with appeals for further funds to solve the problem. The Archdiocese's response to these continued to be negative. Parking remained a problem at St. Elizabeth for a long time. On Sundays and other occasions cars inundated nearby streets raising the ire of local residents who had been already at odds with the neighbouring People's Church — whose parking lot was also often overflowing.

³⁶ See documents in the file listed in the previous note. Also, Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, p. 38.

³⁷ The case that comes to mind is that of Rita V. Göcsei. She had come to Canada as a child with her family after the 1956 revolution. In 1990 she joined the Society of the Heart of Jesus Order and began serving the people of Saint Elizabeth parish. Two years later she returned to Hungary — and soon became the leader of her order there. See the *Országos Katolikus Névtár*, 2 (Budapest, 2001), 111-14, and the internet bulletin *Hirös Naptár* (Kecskemét), 7 January 2012, http://www.hirosnaptar.hu/index.php?oldal=cikk&cikk=vallomasok_gocsei_rita

³⁸ Kostya, *A Szent Erzsébet*, pp. 136-37 (re. Sister Columba). See also Perlaky and Perlaky, *Árpád-házi*, pp. 140.

³⁹ See the Parish's monthly reports. In recent times these are distributed mainly via the internet — and Father Sajgó has taken to using e-mail. On one occasion I sent him a question in the middle of the night (was it at 4 a.m.? I don't recall precisely) — and received his answer within a few minutes.

⁴⁰ I discuss the recent problems of one American-Hungarian Catholic parish, the Saint Emeric Church of Cleveland, Ohio, in chapter 13 of my book *Church and Society in Hungary and in the Hungarian Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).