Secret Sisters: Women Religious Under European Communism Collection at the Catholic Theological Union

by Vincent P. Tinerella

ABSTRACT: After the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, Pope John Paul II asked Catholics around the world to assist members of the Church who had suffered under the yoke of communist oppression as a result of their commitment to Catholicism. Sr. Margaret Savoie and Sr. Margaret Nacke, Sisters of St. Joseph, Concordia, Kansas, decided that the experiences of Catholic women in religious communities—"surviving sisters"—was an important story that needed to be documented, preserved, and made available for future generations and researchers. In 2003, Sisters Mary and Margaret began their research, recording the plight of Catholic sisters in eight countries, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and the Ukraine, from the rise of Stalin until the collapse of European communism. Over 200 testimonials now reside at the Paul Bechtold Library at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago under the auspices of the library's archivist, Dr. Kenneth O'Malley, C.P., and their work has been made into a nationally distributed award-winning documentary film.

"God places the heaviest burden on those who can carry its weight." —Reggie White, Former NFL Pro Bowl Defensive End and Evangelical Minister

INTRODUCTION

... They came to arrest me ... I was searched until 3:00 a.m. They came in at least 20 cars and surrounded the hospital shooting as if they were coming to arrest a thief, or some traitor ... They searched everything ... one of them said "I have seen a lot of poverty, but never have I seen anything like this." I told them that this was our life as religious. We are poor. —Sr. Josefa Erdes (Romania)¹

During the forty years of Soviet domination over Eastern Europe (1949-1989), Catholic schools, convents, hospitals, and motherhouses were seized without recompense. Nuns were harassed, driven underground, and imprisoned by communist governments because of the fear that they would contaminate the population with their religious beliefs. They were exiled, tortured, and deported to Siberia; stripped of their licenses and credentials if they refused to teach Marxism; forced into labor camps, and to work in factories, mines, collective farms, and in mental hospitals; forbidden to work in the "helping" professions; compelled to live secretly and to meet undercover; denied the right to assemble, to wear habits, or veils; and segregated in state-expropriated convents.²

Vincent P. Tinerella is Public Services Librarian at Ross Pendergraft Library, Arkansas Tech University, Russellville, Arkansas.

¹ Kenneth O'Malley, compiler, *Women Religious under European Communism*, "Sr. Josef Erdes, Sister Oblates of the Assumption, Romania," vol. 5, 2008, Special Collections, Catholic Theological Union, Chicago.

² Sisters of St. Joseph, "Interrupted Lives, Catholic Sisters under European Communism," <u>http://www.interruptedlives.org/overview.</u> <u>php</u>.

Sr. Margaret Nacke and Sr. Mary Savoie, Sisters of St. Joseph, a pontifical institute (under the auspices of the Holy See) of women religious of the Roman Catholic Church from Concordia, Kansas, decided to respond to Pope John Paul II's urgent plea to help the Church in Eastern Europe after the fall of communism. The sisters came to the idea that the experiences of women religious living under the oppression of the communist states in Eastern Europe—Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and the Ukraine—comprised a valuable and important story that would contribute significantly to the preservation of the Catholic intellectual tradition and the recording of a critical period in Catholic Church history.³ Based on sixteen years of work and still ongoing, *Women Religious under European Communism* (compiled by Kenneth O'Malley, C.P, Chicago: Paul Bechtold Library and Archives, Catholic Theological Union, 2008) tells in their own words the stories of the sisters of Eastern Europe who have collectively made great sacrifices for the Catholic Faith, and who inspire us all with their devotion and courage.

THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH

"...Soviet nuns well know that in the past, hundreds of their sisters labored and died in Siberian camps." —Sr. Grace Swift (Russia)⁴

The Sisters of St. Joseph was formed by Father Jean Pierre Medaille, S.J., in 1650 in the village of LePuy, France. Their mission was to live in community with God and minister to the sick, the homeless, orphans, and the dying. The congregation grew rapidly until the French Revolution, when five of their members were executed, and the congregation was disbanded. After the revolution, the Sisters reorganized, and ultimately flourished. In 1836, six sisters went from Lyon, France to St. Louis, Missouri, establishing a school for the deaf on the American frontier. Their congregation quickly spread throughout the United States. In 1883, Mother Stanislaus Leary, superior of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Rochester, New York, moved the congregation to the diocese of Bishop Louis Fink, Leavenworth, Kansas, establishing schools in Newton and Concordia, Kansas, where their motherhouse still resides. During the first half of the twentieth century, the congregation experienced its largest expansion. Today, the Sisters of St. Joseph continue in their traditional apostolic role of serving schools, hospitals, homes for the elderly, and orphanages.⁵

Between the years 1993 and 2000, Sisters Savoie and Nacke made several trips to Romania to assist the Catholic sisters during the initial years after the fall of communism. During these trips, they heard many stories from sisters about their suffering in Communist Europe between 1949 and 1990. In 2003, they began documenting the stories of Eastern European nuns living under the oppressive yoke of communism, hoping to learn the fundamental values of the "surviving sisters" and to find ways to incorporate those values into modern Catholicism.⁶ Travelling all over Europe, the two colleagues began their project by identifying the countries they thought needed the most help. Next, they obtained consent from convents and sisters; raised funds; made acquaintances, purchased recording equipment; paid interviewers and translators to conduct, record, and transcribe testimonials; and even sponsored a conference in Lviv, Ukraine, in July, 2006, bringing together sisters from all over Eastern Europe.⁷ Since that time, Sr. Savoie and Sr. Nacke have devoted their lives to studying the experiences of these women.

³ O'Malley, "Introduction," vol. 1.

⁴ Sr. Grace Swift, O.S.U., "Soviet Convents, Russia," vol. 19.

⁵ Sisters of St. Joseph, "History," <u>http://www.csjkansas.org/about/history/</u> (accessed August 1, 2010).

⁶ Sisters of St. Joseph, "Interrupted Lives," <u>http://www.csjkansas.org/category/interrupted-lives/</u>. (Well qualified as researchers, Sr. Mary Savoie, C.S.J., holds an M.S. in Nursing Education and a D.Ed. in Adult Education from the University of Toronto, and Sr. Margaret Nacke, C.S.J, earned a doctorate in Adult Life Transitions from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.)

⁷ O'Malley, "Introduction," vol. 1.

At the same time, the Sisters began searching for an appropriate repository that would be best suited to serve as a home for their work. After consulting with a number of Catholic research centers, archives, and universities in the United States, they decided the best place to preserve these documents would be at the Paul Bechtold Library and Archives at the Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, Illinois, where the narratives were compiled by and now reside under the supervision of the library's former director and long-time archivist, Fr. Kenneth O'Malley, C.P.⁸

COMMUNISM AND RELIGION

Government harassment was not long in the beginning Certainly things could not have gotten much worse A clear threat of confiscation of property appeared on August 6, 1949, when all religious orders were asked to register and compile reports in response to a questionnaire regarding minute particulars . . . Between 1950 and 1955, all possibility of teaching was taken from the religious, to keep boarders, work in hospitals, or to have contact with young people Crucifixes were removed and thrown into pits and cellars where the sisters tried to rescue them . . . teaching of catechism was permitted only inside the church building to three or four simultaneously and without heat even though the cold reached many degrees below zero The Catholic press was suppressed All of Catholic Poland struggled against this oppression . . . many ended up like Cardinal Wyszinski, imprisoned in 1953. —Anonymous (Poland)⁹

The Soviet Union was the first modern nation to seek to eliminate all religion and replace it with "*gosateiz*," state atheism. Based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology that proposes that religion is the "opium of the people" and a force used in exploiting the working classes, the Soviet regime sought to eliminate religious beliefs altogether.¹⁰ Thus, while Article 24 of the Soviet Constitution promised "freedom of religious worship," it also guaranteed freedom of anti-religious propaganda.¹¹ In Hungary, for example, Soviet duplicity became apparent; the constitution expressly guaranteed freedom of speech and assembly, a free education, and language and cultural rights for minorities, but it pointedly excluded "former exploiters and certain others" (i.e., non-Marxists). Marxist atheism manifested itself in a vigorous anti-religious propaganda campaign, extensive harassment and persecution of churches, and the closing or expropriation of seminaries, convents, and schools. In 1945, for instance, the Roman Catholic Church lost its property in the Soviet Union's first post-war land reform, the majority of Catholic religious orders were disbanded, and schools were taken over by the state. In 1950 alone, one-quarter of Hungary's monks and nuns were deported.¹²

Religious devotion and centuries of tradition are difficult things to extinguish by fiat, however. "We were brainwashed, scolded and threatened if we didn't convert [to Orthodox]. But we would never convert. [One of the guards] said we were the most stubborn women in the world," observed one Russian nun.¹³ For a time, the Soviets realized that it was in their best interest to reach an accommodation with the Catholic Church, based largely on Stalin's desire for a united front during World War II. A few seminaries and convents were allowed to reopen, and

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ O' Malley, "Anonymous (History), Sister Adorers of the Blood of Christ, Poland," vol. 10.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ William F. Settles, *Life Under Communism* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1969), 111-118.

¹² Stephen R. Burant, ed., *Hungary: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989), <u>http://countrystudies.us/</u> <u>hungary/28.htm</u> (accessed August 1, 2010).

¹³ J. Michael Parker, "Catholic Sisters under European Communism Lead Interrupted Lives," *Today's Catholic*, November 20, 2009, <u>http://www.satodayscatholic.com/InterruptedLives.aspx?print=Y</u>.

religious books and magazines to be published. By 1964, the state and the Vatican reached a formal agreement, which rested upon an uneasy toleration of the Church by the Soviet regime, rather than any approbation.¹⁴

SECRET SISTERS

... I was very sick for several years and I was not able to walk During this time I was alone at home praying the rosary—because I could not walk—I was in bed My tonsils were affected and they effected [sic] my legs I started to pray and I got the call I was eighteen. When I entered the community, I was twenty-one Every month when I entered we came together secretly at one of the houses ... the secret police interrogated me They wanted me to be a spy for them I was very, very afraid I was asking to put me in prison and make me a martyr I was trembling. I could not tell my mother I worked in a print office. It was very, very hard. I became sick and at TB because of the conditions. I was very tiny—Sr. Maria Kremlicska (Hungary)¹⁵

Despite this agreement, all signs of public religious life were forbidden, and religious resistance was dealt with harshly. Communist officials controlled nearly every aspect of the lives of sisters in the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe, forcing most Catholic congregations underground. Bureaucrats were careful to deny nuns positions of influence, sending them to work most often on farms and in factories, and ordinarily in harsh living and working conditions. Denied the right to accept or train new members, sisters were forced to live and worship in secret, trying hard not to attract attention by living together and pretending to be relatives.¹⁶ "We couldn't meet openly," says one sister. "The people we lived with never knew we were sisters in the same congregation."¹⁷

Maria Kremlicska took her vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience as a Sister of the Social Service in 1973 in a plain ceremony in secret. Contact between sisters and potential recruits was forbidden at the time. Nonetheless, Kremlicksa knew she wanted to be a nun from the time she was eighteen years old, although few could join the order during these years.¹⁸ The number of recruits that convents could accept was very limited, and there were many pressures for those who wanted to join. Because sporadic ceremonies had to be held in secret, it was a difficult process to take vows, and it often took years to complete. Forced to lead double lives, nuns like Sr. Kremlicska had to deceive their friends and families for their own safety, denied even the simple joy of sharing their life work with their loved ones. "I did not tell anybody," says Sr. Kremlicska, "because it was a sweet experience for me. The sisters told me I could not talk about it because if they interrogated anyone, your parents would not know."¹⁹

Considered enemies of the state, Catholic nuns were constantly under surveillance, harassed, interrogated, and imprisoned on false or trumped-up charges. They were frequently moved from place to place for no apparent reason, often in the middle of the night.²⁰ "Sisters were completely suppressed unless they joined orthodox groups which were cloistered," says Monsignor George Sarauskas, former director of the United States Bishops' Collection

¹⁴ Settles 111-118; Burant.

¹⁵ O'Malley, "Sr. Maria Kremlicska, Sisters of the Social Service, Hungary," vol. 2.

¹⁶ Parker.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Kathleen Hendrix, "The Secret Sisterhood," *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1992, in O'Malley, vol. 2.

¹⁹ Parker.

²⁰ Sisters of St. Joseph, "Interrupted Lives, Catholic Sisters under European Communism," "Rude Awakenings," and "Labor," <u>http://www.interruptedlives.org/awakenings.php</u> (accessed August 1, 2010); "Labor," <u>http://www.interruptedlives.org/labor.php</u>; <u>http://www.interruptedlives.php</u>; <u>http://w</u>

for the Church in Central and Eastern Europe.²¹ Between the years 1945 to 1956, the Soviets began arresting and deporting nuns who refused to convert to the Orthodox Church, not recognizing the full extent of the Catholic sisters' fierce loyalty to the Pope.²² When threats and intimidation did not convince nuns to renounce their faith, officials sometimes offered amenities—jobs and apartments. When that tactic failed, nuns would find themselves in court, without counsel, and sent to prison in cold, overcrowded cells and under deplorable conditions.²³ Sister Swift reflects, "Considering Soviet history, it is quite remarkable that these convents endure at all."²⁴

THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL UNION

"Imagine if nobody had written down the stories of the Gospel and the Lives of the Saints; we wouldn't have them today." —Sr. Mary Savoie.²⁵

That the Sisters of St. Joseph's chose the Catholic Theological Union (CTU) at Chicago as the repository to compile and maintain their archives should come as no surprise. CTU has the distinction of being one of the premier theological graduate schools in the Midwest. Forward-thinking Passionists, Servites, and Franciscans decided that they would work together to create a seminary that would be based on a model of collaboration. By 1967, the three orders came together to share resources. They decided to pool their efforts in order to offer courses in Catholic theology to meet the requirements of the priesthood by establishing a new seminary alongside one of the best secular universities in the country, the University of Chicago.

On October 1, 1968, CTU opened its doors, and soon afterward the school began accepting lay students.²⁶ CTU has since grown into the largest Roman Catholic graduate school of theology and ministry in the United States. The founding spirit of ecumenism is alive and well at CTU. The school educates students from all over the world in the Catholic faith and in other Abrahamic faiths. Men from thirty-two religious communities also receive instruction. Today, one in every six religious-order priests ordained in the United States is a CTU graduate, with 3,500 graduates serving in the United States and in sixty-five countries worldwide.²⁷

THE NACKE-SAVOIE WOMEN RELIGIOUS UNDER EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISM COLLECTION AT THE PAUL BECHTOLD LIBRARY

These are the gospel stories of today Who is collecting their stories? Just to honor their stories and to make them available to other people for our day and in the future. Their stories are so inspiring. —Sr. Margaret Nacke.²⁸

CTU owns one of the most focused Catholic library collections in the United States. The school has a longstanding relationship (since 1968) with the Association of Chicago Theological Schools (ACTS), an ecumenical association in which all of its members are accredited by the Association of Theological Schools (ATSAS), and the

²¹ Parker.

²² Ibid.

²³ Sisters of St. Joseph, "Interrupted Lives."

²⁴ O'Malley, volume 19.

²⁵ Parker

²⁶ Paul I. Bechtold, C.P., *Catholic Theological Union at Chicago, The Founding Years, History and Memoir* (Chicago: Catholic Theological Union, 1993), 5, 6, 19.

²⁷ Catholic Theological Union, "Our Story," <u>http://www.ctu.edu/About_Us/Our_Story</u>.

²⁸ Ibid.

American Theological Library Association (ATLA). In addition, CTU was a charter member of the Consortium of Academic Libraries in Illinois (CARLI), the first eighteen libraries to be automated in Illinois and the only theological library to be included. Bechtold's collections are arguably the strongest on religious life in the United States. The library holds 150,000 volumes, including 500 current periodicals, with special collections in mission studies, history of religions, homiletics, and religious education.²⁹

The archivist and the compiler of the Nacke-Savoie Collection, Fr. Kenneth O'Malley, is a long-time and wellrespected member of the library profession, having served as the past president of the Catholic Library Association (CLA), where he continues to contribute as a member of the CLA Executive Committee. A native of Detroit, Michigan, Fr. O'Malley entered the Passionist seminary in 1954 and was ordained in 1964. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and is the former director of the Paul Bechtold Library and Archives, a position he held for thirty-nine years. Researchers and interested readers will find the collection under Fr. O'Malley in good hands; Father O'Malley is an expert on library management, having served on a variety of accreditation teams for the Theological Library Association and as a consultant to libraries. ³⁰

At the present time, the ongoing Nacke-Savoie Collection is comprised of over 200 testimonials, compiled and preserved on acid-free paper as they are received. The documents are compiled rather than edited, a decision made by Fr. O'Malley, so that they may be made available as soon as possible to researchers. The result of this decision is a simplicity and an authenticity to the narratives which otherwise might have been lost. The narratives are collated by country and arranged alphabetically by interviewee within each volume, ensuring their user-friendliness. CTU intends to digitize the collection so that they may be both preserved and made available to researchers and interested readers on the World Wide Web.^{31, 32}

INTERRUPTED LIVES

"I lived alone. When I came out of prison I had to look for a place to live. I came here as Mrs. Erdes, and I am still identified that way" —Sr. Josefa Erdes (Romania)³³

In 2006, acting as executive producers, Sisters Savoie and Nacke hired NewsGroup Media of South Bend, Indiana, to create a documentary film about the plight of the "Secret Survivors" based on their years of research and the many relationships they had built. The result is an award-winning one-hour broadcast documentary, *Interrupted Lives—Catholic Sisters under European Communism*. Released in September 2009, the film was originally aired nationally as part of ABC's "Vision and Values" series. The film received the 2010 Gabriel Award, created by the Catholic Academy for Communication Arts Professionals in 1965, and given to those who have "uplifted and nourished the human spirit."³⁴ "Interviews with Eastern European scholars as well as sisters offer a powerful testimony to the faith, courage, and endurance of these religious women. Their own stories raise awareness of those

²⁹ Catholic Theological Union, "Library," <u>http://www.ctu.lib.il.us/</u> (accessed August 1, 2010).

³⁰ Catholic Theological Union, "Faculty Biographies," <u>http://www.ctu.edu/Our_Faculty/Biographies/Kenneth_OxMalley.html</u>; "O'Malley, "Course Syllabus, GSLIS LS 778: Theological Librarianship," Dominican University, 2006.

³¹ O'Malley, "Introduction," vol. 1.

³² For information about any of the collections or to arrange a visit, contact Bechtold's director, Melody Layton McMahon, <u>mmcmahon@ctu.edu</u>, 5401 South Cornell Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60615-5698, 773.324.8000.

³³ O'Malley, "Sr. Josefa Erdes, Sister Oblates of the Assumption, Romania," vol. 5.

³⁴ Catholic Academy for Communication Arts Professionals, "News," <u>http://www.catholicacademy.org/</u>.

who still today undergo persecution for political or religious beliefs," observes the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB).³⁵

Written and produced by Judy Zielinski, a Sister of St. Francis, Sylvania, Ohio, *Interrupted Lives* tells the story of "Sister Survivors"—Greek Byzantine Rite and Roman Catholic nuns of Eastern Europe—and their imprisonment, beatings, exile, deportation, confiscation of their property, deprivation of their ministries, forced labor, and the expulsion from their convents. The documentary was filmed on location in Ukraine, Lithuania, Slovakia, Hungary, and the United States.³⁶

"Imagine after 40 years of suppression, everything needed to be done at once," Sister Judy said. "Catholic schools were closed, dirty, empty, or had been used for military barracks and warehouses. There were no desks, no school libraries. Seminaries had been blockaded or torn down. Hospitals and convents and monasteries were seized and closed or were used for different purposes. Religious had scattered everywhere."³⁷

Sisters Zielinski, Savoie, and Nacke travelled all over Europe, originally taping forty-two interviews, before returning to film more.³⁸ Sister Zielinski made two trips to Eastern Europe in 2007, interviewing sixty nuns in Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Lithuania and conducting interviews in eight languages.³⁹ Since its release, Sisters Savoie and Nacke have toured the country showing their film and telling their story through educational talks and through the presentation of a two-day colloquium entitled *Interrupted Lives: Catholic Sisters under European Communism—Exploring Truths and Lessons for Religious Life Today.* The program is intended to explore the "effects of communist oppression on the lives of Roman and Byzantine [Rite] sisters featured in the documentary, and to relate this information to contemporary religious life."⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

"Today it is very difficult to speak about all that happened. Whoever didn't live through it, cannot comprehend it. We were constantly held together by our love and fidelity to God, to the Church, and to our congregation." —Sr. Maria Imberta Sinska (Slovakia)⁴¹

Undeniably, it is hard to comprehend. But because of the dedication and hard work of Sr. Nacke, Sr. Savoie, Sr. Zielinski, and Fr. O'Malley, we have the opportunity to be witness to the courage, devotion, and faith of those who have experienced what few of us can barely imagine. To be fully appreciated, each narrative must be read in its entirety. The stories are heart wrenching, inspiring, and beautiful in their honesty and straight-forward simplicity. A visit to CTU is well worth the effort. Certainly the narratives contained in the Nacke-Savoie Collection and in *Interrupted Lives* can provide us with a deeper appreciation of those who muster the dedication and nerve to stand up and fight for their beliefs, no matter the cost. Surely the secret sisters are true heroes, worthy of our veneration and respect.

³⁵ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Interrupted Lives, Story of Nun Heroes, Distributed to ABC TV," <u>http://www.usccb.org/comm/archives/2009/09-166.shtml</u>.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ David Yonke, "Nuns Recall Life under Communism in Film," ToledoBlade Online, June 19, 2010, <u>http://www.toledoblade.com/</u> <u>article/20100619/NEWS10/100619620</u>.

³⁸ Sisters of St. Joseph, "News Release," May 13, 2010, <u>http://www.sistersofsaintjosephfederation.org/interruptedlives2010.html</u>.

³⁹ Yonke.

⁴⁰ Sisters of St. Joseph, "Interrupted Lives, Colloquium," <u>http://www.interruptedlives.org/news.php</u>. For information, e-mail <u>cjsdev@nkcn.com</u>. The film is aired on the Eternal World Television Global Catholic Network (EWTN) from time to time, <u>http://www.ewtn.com</u>. To order the DVD, call 1.800.235.8722. In the Washington metro area or from outside the U.S., call 1.202.722.8716.

⁴¹ O'Malley, vol. 6.

... I was investigated by the police ... taken to the Court of Justice, and condemned to a year in prison As a political prisoner ... I was deprived of my personal rights I sewed mattresses and did some hand work When I returned from prison our Sisters had already been taken away from our convents and placed in "concentration convents" They gave us the dirtiest work In every way, the supervisors made our lives as difficult as they could—Sr. Maria Imberta Sinska (Slovakia)⁴²

Fortunately, few of us are ever going to have to make a similar decision—renounce our faith, or suffer years of degradation. But obvious questions remain: What would *YOU* do for the Faith?

... In 1951 we were told that we would now be a military hospital and take orders, not from the provincial, but the state ... we received NO salary for two years and we were granted only room and board, living in our OWN hospital. Needless to say, the food was meager ... harvesting sugar beets was the most strenuous and tiresome labor ... our hands often bled We were transported to and from work in a manure wagon, but had to return home on foot, exhausted and cold ... there was little or no help if we were sick. —Sr. Evelina Guttmanova (Slovakia)⁴³

Speaking of Sr. Nacke and Sr. Savoie, Fr. O'Malley muses, "The Sisters are great, aren't they?" Indeed, they are. How can we use the hard work of the chroniclers to benefit from those who survived in the name of principle, and who have managed the courage to relive those horrific experiences for us through their personal recollections? How can we incorporate into our daily lives those fundamental values that allowed the surviving sisters to endure incredible hardships for the Faith? How can we use this work and this example to become better Christians, better people? This is our challenge so that the dedication, the suffering, the courage, and the unwavering trust in God isn't for naught.



⁴² O'Malley, "Sr. Maria Imberta Sinska, School Sisters of Notre Dame, Slovakia," vol. 6.

⁴³ O'Malley, "Sr. Evelina Guttmanova, Vincentian Sisters of Charity, Slovakia," vol. 7.