Past and Present Problems of Polish Ethnic Groups in America (Analyzed Primarily Through the Example of the Baltimore Community)

Tadeusz Przeciszewski
Senior Fellow from Poland
Spring Semester 1975
Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Md. 21218

August 1975
# Table of Contents

**Note From the Author**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter I</th>
<th>Introduction (Theoretical premises of the study, its sources and aims)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Selected questions of social prognostication and social planning on the whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Discussion about general ethnicity problems in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Sources and aims of the study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter II</th>
<th>A short history and specific features of the Polish ethnic group in America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Generalities (of a historical and statistical character)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>What did the Polish immigrants bring with them to America?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Ways and means of a successful Polish settlement in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>New tendencies after World Wars I and II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter III</th>
<th>A detailed analysis of the Polish community in Baltimore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>A short history and some general data on &quot;Little Poland&quot; in Baltimore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Polish churches, church organizations and parochial schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Major social, cultural and coordinative organizations and institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Polish press, holidays, customs and meals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Economic status and outstanding personalities in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>New tendencies within the community in the 1970's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter IV</th>
<th>Summary and conclusions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Summary of the findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Conclusions (referring to general problems of ethnicity in the United States and to the Polish community here)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Annexes**


Note From the Author

I came to the United States on January 30, 1975, invited by The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore for a four-month stay. In Poland I am a professor of economic planning and policy at the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, involved primarily in research in the field of social planning dealing with such issues as housing, economics of higher education, and culture.

It was suggested at the beginning of my stay that I write a case study of the Polish community in Baltimore. After examining the local data, I decided that a study dealing exclusively with Baltimore would not be appropriate and that the best way to make the research correspond to my personal theoretical training was to enlarge the topic to include a comparative study between local problems at the Baltimore level and nation-wide problems within the whole United States.

In order to properly appreciate the Polish community in the U.S., I found it worthwhile to study it from the perspective of other ethnic groups and American society as a whole. The Polish community is similar to other ethnic groups, while maintaining its own characteristics.

Another initial observation refers to the scope and meaning of this study. Due to time limitations and the scarcity of sources, this study must be viewed as an introduction to a more detailed study of the Polish-American community to be completed in the future by as yet unknown researchers. I hope that this paper will acquaint American readers with some of the basic problems of the Polish community. I would also like it to serve as a source of information to a limited degree, as an inspiration to the Polish ethnic group, particularly its younger generation. I would like to stress the need to evoke a feeling of national pride among the young people. They are sometimes deeply depressed by "Polish jokes" and other discriminatory practices, so this pinch of optimism is absolutely necessary for them. Writing about the achievements of the Polish people, I tried to cite the attainments of Polish-Americans rather than those of Poles in their native land.

I would like to stress that I came here in an unofficial capacity and that the opinions expressed are my personal ones.

Ending this personal note, I would like to pass to the acknowledgements. In my case they are not a simple act of courtesy, but an expression of deep gratitude to institutions and persons who made this study possible.

First, I would like to thank Dr. J.C. Fisher, Director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research, for inviting me to be a fellow, for financing my work, and for helping me during its implementation.

Second, I would like to thank the Polish community in Baltimore and in particular Mr. Louis Chudy-Williams, for helping me collect the necessary sources and statistical data. Without this valuable help the study could not have been done in such a short time.

And last but not least, my acknowledgements to native Polish institutions such as my own university, Maria Curie-Skłodowska in Lublin, its rector, Prof. Dr. Wiesław Skrzędło, the dean of my faculty Prof. Dr. Ryszard Orlowski, as well as the representatives of the Polish Embassy in Washington, particularly Mr. Andrzej Szyć, who provided valuable technical assistance during the last stage of the study.

Having invested so much time in preparing this study, I began to treat not only as a scientific project but also as a patriotic contribution to the
Table of Contents (cont.)

3. Parish organizations of St. Stanislaus' and Holy Rosary Parishes in 1925 (reprint from Mary Laura Swanson, A Study of the Polish Organizations in the Polish Community in Baltimore. Master of Arts degree dissertation at The Johns Hopkins University, June 1925, p. 42-57. 93

4. An extract from the Polish National Alliance By-Laws from 1971, dealing with organizational problems of the Alliance at a national, intermediate and local level. 99

5. Information referring to the history of the Polish Press in Baltimore (a letter written on November 12, 1935 to Mr. J.W. Foster, Enoch Pratt Library, by A. Bartosz, Editor of the Jednosc Polonia). 102

6. Notes from the East Baltimore Guide reflecting the everyday life of the Polish community in Baltimore 104

7. A personal note about the author 107
betterment of the American Polonia, as well as to the favorable development of the overall relations between People's Poland and the United States of America.

Baltimore
May 24, 1975
Chapter I. Introduction (Theoretical premises of the study, its sources and aims)

Selected questions of social prognostication and social planning on the whole

Questions of social forecasting and social planning are considered prior to ethnic problems because ethnicity is only one of numerous factors shaping the future of a given society and of mankind in general.

The idea of a "systematic thinking about the future" is of ancient origin. Putting aside the disputable character of different "utopias" in former centuries, many authors regard the theories of Malthus, elaborated in the 19th century, as the first attempt to determine future development trends of human society. His was a pessimistic hypothesis, dealing with the disparity between a predicted high rate of population growth and a much lower increase in the production of food.

This rather pessimistic line of reasoning was continued in the period between the two World Wars with the so-called stagnation theory, formulated by the American economist, A. Hansen. According to Hansen, three factors lead to economic stagnation:

a) decrease in the birth rate of the population;
b) exhaustion of possibilities for further geographical expansion;
c) decrease of the capital accumulation ratio because of lower capital intensiveness of new inventions.

These factors did not hold in the period after World War II: there was a continuing increase in population figures, especially in the third world. Economic growth continued to rise and the demand for new capital goods did not decrease. Therefore predictions after World War II were rather optimistic in nature. For example, the West German scientist Fritz Erede forecast, in 1960, the victory of socialism and the absence of food shortages.

In 1967, a report of U Thant, Secretary General of the U.N., pointed to new negative phenomena, such as the pollution of the natural human environment and the exhaustion of natural resources. The famous treatise "Limits to Growth," published in 1972 by a group of scientists from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, working under the leadership of E.L. Meadows, made very dire predictions about the economic and environmental future of the earth.

An essay by Daniel Bell, President of the Commission on the Year 2,000 of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, avoids outlining the future in the form of any single formula. Bell states that, "there do not exist today any reliable methods of prediction or forecasting (even in technology)..." Therefore, in his Commission...the serious effort is devoted not to making predictions, but to the more complicated and subtle

---

art of defining alternatives. Characterizing the period of the last 50 years (as a counterpart to the thirty years dividing us from the year 2000), the author underlines the centralization of the political system in the U.S. This process was caused, in part, by the development of transportation facilities and media. Simultaneously the economy shifted in the direction of the so-called 'post-industrial' society and the sources of innovation from industry to universities and research organizations.

Trying to define future trends, Bell states that "more and more we are becoming a 'communal society' in which the public sector has a greater importance and in which the goods and services of the society - those affecting cities, education, medical care, and the environment - will increasingly have to be purchased jointly." As a consequence, the free market mechanism will have a decreasing role in decisions taken by different public bodies. In the institutional framework these growing tasks of society will be performed by public corporations and manifold units of a regional and non-profit character. The second tendency is to be bound up with the continuation of the "servicization" of the economy - in the sense of the growing importance of so-called "human capital" - education - in comparison with the traditional financial capital.

The author of this study confirms the validity of the general trends outlined above, especially in the increase of non-market factors in American practical policy during the last decade.

In April, 1965, the author participated in a scientific meeting organized by the International Economic Association in Ditchley-Park, Great Britain, on the topic: "The Theory and the Policy of Housing." The division between participants was quite clear: the representatives of European countries, no matter what their socioeconomic system, expressed themselves in favor of an active role of state intervention or planning in the field of housing as a major component of general social policy and planning; while the Americans still believed in the predominant role of a free market mechanism.

Quite a different impression was obtained in January, 1974, during the Session on Urban Problems and Planning, held at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies (Austria). There the author had an opportunity to listen to a brilliant lecture by Professor Nathan Glazer of Harvard University, on social policy in American cities since 1960. During the last decade social policy and social planning have developed in America, although often in a different institutional framework than in Europe. This does not represent a consistent and centralized system, starting from the federal government, but a diversified mosaic of different public assistance acts and city-level policies. Nevertheless, the volume and proportion of means redistributed by all financial-budgetary channels and administrative levels do not differ very much from European conditions.

Professor Glazer pointed out that the satisfaction of society's material needs in the form of food, clothing, housing, transportation, and others does not lead automatically to a higher level of social stabilization, equilibrium, and psychic integration.


2Ibid., p. 645.
leading role was attributed to predictions regarding science, education, demography, and social welfare (consumption patterns, leisure time, etc.).

From the material point of view it meant a shift from current prevailing economic planning and policy to the more valid socioeconomic factors which have a leading role in the social side of development.

Many social and human problems are undoubtedly bound to every branch of the social sphere of national economy and public activity, such as housing, education, health protection, use of leisure time, and so on. In practical terms the field of the economics of culture was introduced to the system of national economic planning in socialist countries very early, but it became the object of a more profound and systematic scientific study in the late 60's.

The turning point in the study of this subject was the organization of a scientific conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in December, 1969. The participants in this meeting came mostly from socialist countries, but there were also some representatives from the west. A specialized research institute dealing with the problem had already been organized by the hosts.

As a result of the conference, Poland organized a special section for Economics of Culture in April 1970 within the framework of the Polish Economic Association in Warsaw. Parallel research and discussions of a more sociological character were carried on in the Commission for the Elaboration of a Long-Range Prognosis of the Development of Culture (an advisory body to the Ministry of Culture and Arts). Numerous representatives of non-economic disciplines, such as sociologists, pedagogues and theoreticians of culture were also active within the section for Economics of Culture.

For a brief summary of the findings of these conferences and research work during 1970-74, the author will rely particularly on his two essays on the subject. Abstracting from the shadow question of terminology, definitions, and classifications, as well as from the practical internal problems of culture, as a branch of national economy, it seems necessary to outline first of all the most important links between the development of culture and overall economic and social strategy and planning.

The point of departure was a critical evaluation of the existing path of economic and social development in the most advanced Western capitalist countries. The next crucial question referred to our own path of future development: as a repetition of the existing one in Western countries or as a new one, a partly new one, since some increase in the satisfaction of elementary material needs is a necessity, no matter what the social and political system of the country.

General trends in the evolution of consumption and production patterns in highly developed Western countries may be characterized by an excessive

---

1For the last 3 years the author of this study acted as chairman.

2 a"Problems of Economics of Culture (an attempt to formulate basic notions and classifications)." Report presented at the opening of the conference on financing of culture, Radziejowice Castle near Warsaw, April, 1973, published in "Problems of Organization and Economics of Culture."


3 Embracing all enterprises (as publishing houses, printing offices, etc.) and institutions (libraries, houses of culture, clubs, etc.) producing goods and rendering services of a cultural character.
satisfaction of seemingly unnecessary and unreasonable goals, from the social point of view, bound with the general need for "conspicuous consumption" by some high-income families. Among low-income families there exists an obvious reverse situation of poverty and lack of satisfaction of some fundamental needs. On the global scale it leads to a strategy of development, characterized by excessive involvement and even waste of materials and transportation facilities. We named this overall strategy of economic and social development "material and transportation intensive," resulting in well-known external deficiencies, such as pollution of the natural environment, and exhaustion of a nation's material resources and energy.

As a remedy for this we suggest a culture-intensive strategy, preferring, from some level of satisfaction of purely material needs, an increasing rate of cultural services and products. This will lead to a better development of the whole human being. In the sphere of culture and art proper, there should be a steady transformation from the simple consumption of goods (for example, books and records) to personal participation in the arts.

As mentioned above, the culture-intensive strategy of development cannot exclude the attainment of some reasonably high level of material consumption. It cannot be regarded as a substitute to the material and transport intensive path. The problem increases in importance at higher levels of material satisfaction, when a growing proportion of the productive means and labor force ought to be directed to cultural consumption and creation, at the cost of the material sector.

This proposed strategy of development is not only a vision of a small group of intellectuals and artists, but to some extent has been a reality from the very beginning of the socialist system. The preference for culture has expressed itself in the form of price policy for books and other cultural goods (newspapers, musical instruments, etc.) and services (subsidized theater performances, concerts, etc.). But these existing instruments and incentives are only a beginning, possible at a relatively low level of general economic development. We want to strengthen this tendency at a higher level, when freedom of choice in society will be increasing.

Of course, the question can be posed as to how far the tendency may be influenced from above, for example through the educational system, and how far it will correspond to the consumer's current preference in any country. These questions will, of course, have to be discussed in further studies on the culture-intensive strategy of development.

1.2 Discussion about general ethnicity problems in the United States

Let us begin with some systematization of the question done by the Reverend Andrew M. Greely, an Irish priest specializing in ethnicity research in America.¹

Greely's basic statement, presented at the beginning as well as at the end of his study, concerns the very low level of research and the scarcity of

¹Rev. Greely is Program Director of the National Opinion Research Center, the University of Chicago. The essay in which he presented his experience on the subject is "Why Can't They Be Like Us? Facts and Fallacies About Ethnic Differences and Group Conflicts in America." Institute of Human Relations Press, Vol. 12. Edited by the Publication Service of the American Jewish Committee, New York, 1969.
written sources dealing with ethnic problems in America. The attention of the general public is drawn to it only sporadically, on the occasion of elections or some serious group conflicts.\(^1\) Wanting to close the gap between the real importance of the problem and its general recognition, A.M. Greely tries to assess existing knowledge about ethnic problems and presents his own views and proposals.

In the literature on the subject, some general approaches to the ethnicity problem exist. The first theory involves the conception of the famous "melting pot," according to which the ethnic groups would dissolve themselves in American society and there would soon be no problems. Although this theory was officially and generally rejected, it has had several influential followers.

The second theory represents a more subtle conception, relying on the principle of the "multiple melting pot."\(^2\) Its advocates assert that the numerous ethnic groups will be reduced in the long run to three super groups, referring to religious differences: Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. This conception is based on the close relationship between ethnicity, nationality, and religion. It may play an important role at the higher stages of ethnic assimilation which have been reached by the most assimilated groups in America, such as the Irish and the Jews. The third and most sophisticated theory, developed under the influence of S.N. Eisenstadt and Milton Gordon, distinguishes between acculturation and assimilation. Acculturation, or "cultural assimilation," means that immigrants are learning the manners and the lifestyle of a new society. Assimilation, or structural assimilation, represents a further step in identification with the general society, when family formation (choice of spouse) and friendship formation are carried on without any regard to ethnic differences. Analyzing the existing situation, the authors of this conception, Eisenstadt and Gordon, write that in reality one can notice acculturation, but not assimilation. This statement was confirmed, to a large extent, by empirical enquiries on intermarriage, cited by Greely at the end of his study. The last two theories regard ethnicity as a rather stable phenomenon of American life, but they see its essence in different ways.

D.P. Moynihan, N. Glazer, and H. Gans are inclined to treat ethnic groups as representatives of different interests of an economic and political character. There are others who acknowledge a broader idea of cultural pluralism on which American culture ought to rely.

Having described the different theories and conceptions of ethnicity, Greely passes to a short historical outline of the main groups of immigrants. One of his most interesting observations from the point of view of our study is that "The ancestors of the immigrants to the U.S. were, for the most part, peasants living in the agricultural communities of European post-feudal society."\(^3\) This referred to peasants in Ireland, Germany, Poland, or the Balkans. In their motherland they grouped themselves around family, church, and neighborhood as the main supports in times of difficulty. So it was quite natural

\(^1\)The two best-known examples of ethnic rivalry were the recent conflicts between Blacks and Jews in New York, and Blacks and Poles in Chicago.

\(^2\)It was first advanced by Ruby Joe Reeves Kennedy and made popular by Will Herberg (Greely, op. cit., p. 6).

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 15.
that, after having come to their new country, they began to look around for the same social institutions and groups, with particular stress on ethnic association. From the overall point of view of the emerging American nation, these tendencies were regarded at first as somewhat destructive. But the new society successfully survived its initial difficulties. Beginning with religious tolerance, it ended with ethnic tolerance as well, treating both as specific features of the United States of America.

Greely classifies ethnic assimilation in six stages. These six stages are: 1) cultural shock, provoked by the fact of immigration itself; 2) organization and emergent self-consciousness, with subsequent regaining of self-confidence in the new country; 3) assimilation of the elite; 4) militancy; 5) self-hatred and anti-militancy; and 6) emerging adjustment. (For details see Annex I.)

The classification, it seems, fits well to the reality, because it interrelates the process of long-run assimilation and adjustment with reverse processes in short periods of time and intermediary stages. Its only deficiency consists in the lack of consideration of the linguistic side of the problem.

Aside from this deficiency, Greely deserves our deep gratitude since he passes from theory to its practical application. These are his considerations on the subject: "If one were forced to cite examples of, let us say, the last three phases, one might guess that the American blacks are moving into phase four (militancy), and that the more recent Catholic immigrant groups, such as the Italians and the Poles, are in the middle of phase four and beginning to move beyond it. Irish and German Catholics began to move into phase five (self-hatred) at the end of the Second World War.... My own impression is that some of the American Irish in their twenties are moving into phase six (adaptation), and that large numbers of American Jews under forty are already in that phase."1 Particularly interesting for our further study is a definition of the development level of Poles, as having passed the summit of the so-called "militancy" and self-confidence and passing slowly to phase five, internal difficulties and differences, as the intermediary step to final adjustment.

Greely makes another application of his theory regarding the situation in some of the biggest ethnic institutions of America, such as the Catholic Church and the Democratic Party. Within the Catholic Church he sees two rival ethnic groups struggling for domination: the Irish, and the Polish, with the Irish decisively in the lead until now. The specific feature of the Irish attitude within the Church is a tendency to an acceleration of its linguistic Americanization, which evokes resistance from the Polish community (which has made a gigantic financial contribution to the existing network of Catholic churches and parochial schools).

Within the Democratic Party there exists a similar situation with more competing groups struggling for control. Here the strongest faction is formed by the cooperation of Irish and Italians, popularly called the Italo-Hibernian alliance. Other groups eager to increase their importance are the Jews and the Blacks, with the Poles near the end of this list.

A more favorable situation for Poles can be found within the framework of the trade unions, where "leadership, once Irish or German or Jewish, has recently shifted somewhat toward the Italians and the Slavic immigrant

---

groups."¹

A more general consideration is that of the stability, permanence, or transitory character of ethnicity in the U.S. In this respect Greely is rather cautious and realistic, formulating his point of view as follows: "There is no reason to think they (ethnic groups) will not continue to play an important role, at least for the rest of this century, despite the fact that the composition of the groups is changing as well as the kind of identification they provide for their members."² He opposes the theory that ethnicity will be liquified by intermarriage, because it takes place along some ethnic or at least religious traditions.

As to the current role of ethnicity, it becomes particularly important in special cases, such as: a) when the given group is especially strong in a definite locality (for example the Irish in Boston, Jews in New York and Poles in Chicago); b) when the group is small but very well organized in a given neighborhood (Jews, blacks); c) when the majority in the U.S. (white Protestants of Anglo-Saxon origin) becomes in certain circumstances a minority and must defend its interests.

Still more important is the second fundamental question referring to the positive or negative appreciation of the role of ethnicity in American life.

The existing division of society into different ethnic groups leads of course to the possibility of conflicts between them. The main areas of conflict can be listed as follows: a) conflict in political competition for power; b) conflict in housing settlements when blacks move into previously all-white neighborhoods; c) conflict in education over racial segregation and religious activities in public schools; and d) conflict in trade unions.

The author would like to underline, first, Greely's important statement that the most dangerous thing is not the existence of conflicts themselves, but the way they are carried on: within some rules of "fair play," or without regard for any such rules, resulting in destruction and injury to persons and/or property. Here one may see the importance of any study of the future development of ethnicity in America.

Another extremely important observation refers to the basic reasons for these conflicts -- whether they are really just pure ethnic conflicts or rather a reflection of some other fundamental divisions and disparities existing in the society as a whole. Here it is necessary to draw attention to the opinions of some progressive Democratic Party theoreticians who are inclined to see ethnic conflicts and problems first of all as a reflection of class division and controversies. One of the interesting representatives of this group is a young Democratic councilwoman of Baltimore City of Polish descent, Barbara Mikulski. In an emotional article, "Who Speaks for Ethnic America?"³ she made two important points: 1) the high degree of identity of the ethnic problem with the working class question; and 2) the tendency toward weakening and discrediting the white workers of ethnic origin by accentuating the differences and conflicts between them and Blacks; this view is held by many power groups in society, including "liberals" who often call the white

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²Ibid., p. 56.

working ethnics "racists." The problem is not of minor importance, since Mikulski estimates the number of white working class ethnics at about 40 million. They live primarily in 58 major industrial cities, and most of them originated in Central and Southern Europe.

One can say that conflicts representing the negative effects of ethnic division in America are rather overestimated because these conflicts reflect other basic divisions of society, by social class, religious group, and professional status.¹

Turning now to the positive role of ethnicity, it is necessary to underline, after Greely and others, two features:
   a) in micro scale, the support given to the immigrants, mostly former peasants, thrown into big cities without the stabilizing factors of a job, home, and general security; and
   b) in macro scale, as the factor enabling the organization of the political mechanism in the American electoral system. The best-known example of this is the problem of governing people in Los Angeles, where the ethnicity role is negligible, and the ease of appealing to public opinion in Chicago where ethnicity is powerful.

And now let us turn to the third general issue in ethnic evolution in America, the role of the mother language. There exist two opposite schools of thought: a) one that is not interested in language and analyzes rather the remaining identity symbols of ethnicity (like Greely, who at the same time stresses the changing character of these symbols); and b) one that focuses its attention only on the linguistic side of ethnicity, measuring even the role of ethnic bonds by the level of usage of the old language. An example of such an attitude is found in the study by Danuta Mostwin of the Polish immigrants after World War II.²

Regarding the role of language, two schools of general ethnic definition should be mentioned: a) a narrow one, linking ethnicity to the linguistic side of the problem, and understanding assimilation as the linguistic adaptation of the given national group to the global society; and b) a broader one, recognizing a vast field of other identification signs and functions performed by ethnicity and ethnic groups in general.

The author, who advocates the broader view, will return to the problem at the end of this study, after having presented detailed data referring to the so-called Polonia, as the Polish-American community is usually called. It may be mentioned that among Polish-American writers and leaders there are many who support this broader definition and tie it to the theory of "Cultural Pluralism" discussed in this section³

¹On this last subject, Greely writes that the most distinct examples of such an overlapping (between ethnic and professional groups) may be seen in the domination of Germans in the engineering professions, of Jews among intellectuals, and Irishmen among lawyers, political scientists, and diplomats. (Why Can't They Be Like Us?, p. 23.)


³Therefore the author does not continue here the general discussion on ethnicity, postponing it to Chapter IV, Summary and Conclusions. The content of the current §1.2 is conceived only as an introduction to this further, more detailed treatment of the subject.
Sources and Aims of the Study.

The nature of available sources affected the methods used, and, inversely, these methods had an impact on the collection of concrete data, publications, and other documents.

The first premise in the search for sources was restricted by a lack of good, reliable documents about the Polish Community in Baltimore. In such a situation the author was forced to make the general approach of the study comparative rather than purely descriptive and analytical.

The basis for comparison was seen in two sets of materials: first, in the data and problems relating to the American Polonia on a nation-wide scale. Baltimore City itself represents only a very small section of the Polish community in this country, so the different types of organization and their activities had to be studied at their primary source. Second, it was necessary to consider some general trends in the social evolution in America, and the broad role of ethnic problems. This method of approach has some additional merit from the point of view of the author's scientific specialization, which is more theoretical and more in tune with the macro-scale profile than with a micro-scale.

It was difficult to find reliable sources dealing with the general problems of social evolution (prognostication), social planning, and ethnicity presented in the two introductory paragraphs of Chapter I. It was not possible to study the American literature on general social evolution (prognostication) and social planning to any great degree. Therefore, two sets of material served as guidelines: a) the lecture and seminar given by Nathan Glazer at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, January 1974, entitled "Social policy and social planning in American cities from the 1960's on"; and b) "Social Planning," a monographic lecture given at the Marie Curie Sklodowska University in Lublin by the author.

The direct written sources play only a supplementary role. They come largely from two American publications: a) materials from a conference of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on the Year 2000, with particular reference to the summary of results, presented in an article by the President of the Commission on the Year 2000, Daniel Bell; and b) general information on economic, regional, and social planning in the U.S., presented in a book by Doris B. Holleb. The author's articles on the Economics of Culture, a new discipline emerging in socialist countries, were also utilized.

In the analysis of general trends in ethnicity in the United States the author made use of a book written by the Reverend A.M. Greely, who was a program director of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. Additional sources included two smaller contributions by Polish-American writers, both from the Baltimore area, Barbara Mikulski, a member of the Baltimore City Council, and Danuta Mostwin, who completed a doctoral dissertation on Polish immigrants after World War II.

Here again the author used his own life experiences and studies on nationality issues, conducted during his activity in the Polish Resistance movement during World War II.

An effort had to be made to collect corresponding data in connection with Chapter II, dealing with a short history and specific features of the Polish ethnic group in America. Of course, there were some materials, well-known to the author, relating to the Polish past and culture and the Polish contribution to world civilization. So he has referred in this area to the well-known book by van L.E. Norman, written in 1907, and two more recent sources, the Official Catalogue of the Polish Pavilion at the 1939 World's
Fair in New York, and Professor R. Dyboski's study on Poland in World Civilization, edited by L. Krzyzanowski in 1950. Because of the limited scope of this study, the author referred to the historical side of Poland's contribution to world civilization.1

Returning to the general sources of the data used in Chapter II, the author made use of the fundamental study of the Polish-American writers, W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki. The value of this study is increasing, for three reasons: a) the study is well-documented, embracing a wide range of references and primary sources; b) the authors are expert teachers of the American Polonia, indicating the best ways of future development and suggesting changes in her institutional framework; and c) they are masters of sociology. In this respect there are two statements in the book that merit attention. The first refers to the foundations of contemporary social planning, to the rule that one must belong to something. Formerly it was belonging to a large family; in modern times, it could be belonging to social clubs or professional groups. The second statement is tied to the conviction that the process of acculturation and assimilation must occur in groups of immigrants if it is to be a natural and not a forced and artificial process.2 This is the theory of cultural pluralism, to which Thomas and Znaniecki are the most important contributors.

A publication by Alphonse J. Volania, Librarian of Alliance College, entitled An Annotated Catalogue of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, was most helpful. This guidebook through Polish-American literature is a valuable source of information and also serves as proof of the Polish-American contribution to American culture and science. Because of the value of this publication, the author has reprinted a selection of its most valuable items as Annex 2 to this study.

Among the residual sources not embraced by the above catalogue, the following can be regarded as the most important:


b) Fundamental monographs and information about Polish-Americans. Most important is a complete social history of the Poles in America, written by a young representative of Polish-American writers, J. A. Wytrwal, who has continued with success many projects started by Thomas and Znaniecki. Among other sources it is necessary to mention a very well-known publication of the Polish-American Congress in 1958, Jamestown Pioneers from Poland, that includes very instructive articles including a reprint of an article by A.O. Maisel, "The Poles Among Us."

c) Within the residual set of sources about American Polonia, it is necessary to mention the Census Data of 1970; some items in the series of monographs published in the "Annals of the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum" (a study on Poles in Detroit by Sister R. Napolis); some

1These sources are readily available as they were issued recently in connection with the 30th People's Poland Anniversary. Other documents and publications are available in Polish, English, French, German, and Russian.

inted in "Poles in Michigan" dealing particularly with the Detroit center, several articles in "Polish American Studies"; "Polish Review"; and Richard Lake Center for Polish Studies and Culture," an article by the J.F. Chrobot, discussing the identity of a young Polish-American.

The author could not take into account all the valuable publications about the American Polonia but, on the other hand, he tried not to omit any that he could find in Baltimore libraries and private collections.

In Chapter III, which deals with a detailed analysis of the Polish Community in Baltimore, the situation has changed considerably. The author used only one monograph, the N.L. Swanson study of the Polish organizations in the Polish community of Baltimore (Master of Art Degree dissertation at The Johns Hopkins University, June 1925). Thanks to this very successful dissertation he could get a clear and concise image of the community, but unfortunately it was written 50 years ago. A more current image was presented in the early 1970's, in a series of theses, written mostly at Towson State College under the supervision of Ms. Scarpaci.¹ These contributions are of different value since they often repeat data from Miss Swanson's work and present little that is new. Nevertheless, they provide personal interviews with representatives of the Polish community in East Baltimore. Outside the Towson series can be added an analogous thesis by Barbara Mikulski, prepared during her graduate studies at the University of Maryland. This thesis, "Community Study of Highlandtown," has been reprinted by the East Baltimore Guide. It gives an overview of problems connected with the southeastern section of Baltimore City, but not a detailed analysis of particular ethnic groups living there. The author tried, of course, to look at the Census Data of 1970 for Baltimore, but they are very scarce and deal only with very limited considerations of foreign stock and mother tongue (discussed later).

The author had to refer to two additional sources of material. He tried to utilize any information found in newspapers and different kinds of jubilee publications, albums of Polish social organizations and parishes, and papers prepared to honor various individuals. These materials represent a different level of accuracy, but scientific authorities such as Thomas and Znaniecki show that all material can be useful to a critical research worker. Even material of little historical value can be treated as representative of the sociological point of view, as a "document of the time." The author also conducted interviews with leading individuals in the Polish community in Baltimore. These interviews were not completely successful as those questioned had had prior interview experiences related to the Towson State College series, etc., and were rather bored by the questions.

Through informal discussions and conversations with Polish-Americans in Baltimore, and through contacts at the Polish National Alliance, the author obtained valuable information. In this way he was able to supplement the existing literature and other written data with the actual situation in the Baltimore community.

He started his informal discussions and interviews with the modest goal of trying to verify the tendencies described in the literature on a nationwide scale and update the older data for Baltimore. During these personal

¹In connection with this series the author must express his thanks to the Maryland Division of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, Central Branch, whose workers, and particularly Dr. M.H. Pritchett, helped him to find the folders with materials referring to the Polish community in Baltimore.
and rather frank conversations with individuals he was able to pinpoint new problems, problems not yet included in the written sources. This individual method of research supplemented the written data and proved quite fruitful. Because of it, the author was able to follow more closely the careers of certain people, learn the opinions of modern Polish-Americans, and get some idea of the problems of existing organizations. The author was particularly indebted to two local women of Polish descent: Barbara Mikulski, who emphasizes links between ethnicity and social class divisions of society as a whole; and Danuta Mostwin, who discusses the problems of Polish immigrants after World War II.

Generally speaking, the aims of this study are twofold. Its first aim is to elaborate a concrete image of local ethnic groups, represented by the Polish community in Baltimore. It is based on the collection of existing written sources described above. Because of the obsolescence of many of the data, they have been broadened to some degree by personal contacts with people within the community.

The second aim of the study is to develop some practical conclusions. The firm conviction of the author is that without a confrontation with some other related phenomena any paper on Baltimore's Polish community would be only a compilation of many empirical data, not a reliable basis for practical conclusions. Therefore, the author would like to see a collection of some comparative data relating to the general situation of Polish-Americans on a nation-wide scale and an assessment of selected theoretical problems of ethnicity in the U.S., related to some global conceptions of social prognostication and social planning in America and in Poland's Poland. It seems that only on the basis of these two sets of more general data could one be able to draw any real hypothesis on general trends in Polish community development and make practical conclusions as to what can be done to increase the positive effects of ethnicity.

Rather than attempting to solve the very difficult and complicated problems of ethnicity in any paper of such a limited scope, the author hopes to be able to present some new approaches and ideas not always taken into account by existing experts on the subject. In such a way the study should act as a stimulus to further studies, possibly of a more institutional character, of general American and Polish-American scientific and social institutions.

The initial data collection process and the final aims of the study suggest a certain construction. First of all the author would like to draw attention to the division of the text proper and several supplementary annexes. The text is divided into four chapters. It begins with the general problems of social evolution (prognostication), social planning and ethnic questions on the whole (Chapter I) and passes to the image of the Polish-American ethnic group on the nation-wide scale (Chapter II). The core of the paper is represented by a detailed analysis of the Baltimore community (Chapter III) and its summary and conclusions (Chapter IV). The preface, annexes, and bibliography make up the rest of the paper, providing supplementary material for those interested in more detail.
Chapter II: A Short History and Specific Features of the Polish Ethnic Group in America

2.1 Generalities of a historical and statistical character.

The Polish community distinguishes itself by many specific features, which must be explained before passing to a more detailed consideration of further problems. An illustration of these particularities will perhaps be very useful. The following example represents the statistical data on immigration to the United States from different European countries in the years 1820-1929.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5881</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>2607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4629</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>4556</td>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
<td>4129</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3341</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for Europe</strong></td>
<td><strong>32128</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we see from these figures, there are no Poles among the major groups of immigrants. Most striking is a statement from the well-known monograph by Carl Wittke, that "Poland as a nation, of course, did not exist until after the World War."3 Although C. Wittke presents in his book many favorable opinions about Polish-Americans, examples of such misleading statements are common in the literature on the subject.

In this paper the author is neither able nor fully competent to explain such problems. But to some extent he cannot completely avoid some mention of them.

Polish experts in the history of Poles in America usually divide immigration to the U.S. into three stages:

a) Polish colonial immigration (or pioneer Polish immigrants);
b) Political immigration;
c) Economic immigration.

The first stage occurred during the years 1608-1776, but experts differ slightly on phase two; for instance, M. Haiman determines it for the period 1783-18654 while a younger historian, J.A. Wytrwal places it in the years 1776-1870.5

---

1 Figures of the U.S. Department of Labor, reproduced after Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (Western Reserve University Press; Michigan) 1963, p. XVI.

2 Includes Norway from 1820-1860.


4 *Polish Past in America* 1608-1865, p. XI.

5 America's Polish Heritage, p. 36.
The most justified final time boundary is perhaps the year 1865, which ends the era of great Polish national uprisings, and begins the period of modern Polish history.\(^1\)

The author does not intend to comment on the two earlier phases of pioneer and political immigration, except to observe that: a) during these two early periods Poles made great contributions to American history, in addition to taking part in the Revolutionary War;\(^2\) and b) these two earlier periods, although not important from the quantitative point of view, brought some outstanding representatives of the Polish nobility and "intelligentsia" to the U.S., some of whom helped to maintain specific Polish patriotic and social customs and institutions for the later immigrants, who were largely of peasant origin.

Although the main phase of Polish economic immigration started about 1865, it began as early as 1854. It was connected with a wave of overall emigration from Germany, provoked by an expanding agricultural crisis beginning in 1850, which was particularly severe in Prussia and incorporated some important Polish territories after the partition of Poland.

The father of Polish mass (predominantly peasant) immigration was Leopold Moczygemba (1825-1891), a Franciscan monk. He was sent to a religious mission in Texas in 1851 and discovered the existence of great opportunity for his compatriots. Being born in an Upper Silesian village (Wielkie Strzelce) he sent an invitation to his family and relatives to come here.

This first group embraced about one hundred families, approximately 800 persons, who chartered a sailing vessel and came here with their belongings, including a large cross from their parish church. After landing at Galveston, they went on foot into Texas, to the place which has since been known as Panna Maria (Virgin Mary), the first of the Polish settlements in the area.\(^3\)

A parallel movement started about 1876 in the central part of Poland, which belonged at that time to tsarist Russia. Again the immediate reasons for

---

1 This short period of time, 1865-1870, was extremely important, not only for the Polish people. Future trends of European history were shaped at this time. While 1865 meant the end of the big uprising era and with it of hope for freedom for most of Poland belonging to tsarist Russia, the year 1870-71 is tied to the Prussian victory over France and the reconstruction of the united German empire. For Poles it was the end of their hopes for an early liberation of Western Poland from Prussia. Only the intermediary year 1866, of the Prussian victory over Austria, contributed in a positive way to the Polish people in the sense of gradually getting a self-government in Austrian Galicia.

2 Polish American heroes such as Tadeusz Kościuszko and Casimir Pulaski are well-known. The author would like to refer the readers who might be interested in the early history of Poles in America to a very concise official document "Three hundred fiftieth anniversary of Polish Pioneers in America." Extension of remarks of Hon. Thomas J. Lane of Massachusetts in the House of Representatives. In Jamestown Pioneers From Poland, published by the Polish American Congress, Chicago, Ill., 1958. Produced by the Alliance Printers and Publishers, p. 39-52.

3 M. Haiman, Polish Past in America, op. cit., p. 160-161.
immigration were the meager crops, a crisis in the textile industry, and the introduction of universal military service in that year.¹

Gradually growing numbers of Polish immigrants began to move also from the third province of Poland, Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The wave of immigrants reached a peak in the 1890's.²

Haiman estimates the total number of Poles in the U.S. at the end of the period of political immigration in 1860 at about 30,000. During the decade 1860-70 the influx was not very large, amounting, according to the Federal Bureau of Statistics, to about 2,500, but it increased considerably in the next few decades. In the decade 1870-80 it was 35,000 and increased quickly in the next decade to 236,000. Two decades later, in the years 1900-1910, the figure was 875,000. Immigration reached its peak in 1912-1913, with 175,000 immigrants arriving on U.S. soil.³ About three quarters of a million Polish newcomers settled on farms, mostly in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Texas.

The distribution of newcomers from each of the three main parts of divided Poland changed over time. For a period of very intensive influx (when the total amounted to 664,800) from 1900-1907, it was estimated as follows:

a) from Central Poland (then belonging to tsarist Russia), 330,000;
b) from Southern Poland (belonging to Austro-Hungary), 301,000;
c) from Western Poland (belonging to Germany), 30,100.⁴

It is very interesting that in those years the Jewish emigration from Polish territories was always prevalent (736,700 persons).⁵

A more complete image is given by the data for a longer period of immigration, according to which the largest number of Poles came from Russian Poland, about 750,000 in the years 1899-1914. About 435,000 came from Austria-Poland, in a slightly shorter period of 1899-1910. The smallest contribution was that of Prussian Poland, because Poles from there were emigrating mainly to Western Germany.⁶

According to the National Census in 1930, there were 3,342,000 Polish Americans in the United States.⁷

---

²Ibid., p. 58
⁴The remaining number of 3,500 persons came from other territories inhabited by Poles.
⁶See T. Wytrwal, *op. cit.*, p. 129 and 139.
⁷Carl Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 421

-16-
The first official census after World War II in 1950 determined the number at 5,532,100, while in 1955 it was estimated at 6,133,000. Figures given in the Pocket Data Book for U.S.A., 1973, estimate population by ethnic origin in 1972 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>204,840 (thousands)</th>
<th>100.0 (percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. English, Scotch, Welsh</td>
<td>29,548</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. German</td>
<td>25,543</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Irish</td>
<td>16,408</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Spanish</td>
<td>9,178</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Italian</td>
<td>8,764</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. French</td>
<td>5,420</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Polish</td>
<td>5,105</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Russian</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>85,130</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Non-reported</td>
<td>17,556</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J. Wytrwal distinguishes between the ethnological and the cultural groups of Polonia. The ethnologic group represents all persons of Polish ancestry, no matter what their actual names or heritage; this is estimated at about 10 million people. The cultural ethnic group embraces persons who are manifesting their origin in some way, remaining under the cultural influence of Polonia. This last community is estimated at 5 to 6 million.

Among the states, the Polish-American cultural group is estimated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>740,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A relative division among large cities gives the following picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other cities that have large Polonia representations are: Newark, New Britain,

---

1 U.S. Department of Commerce, p. 51.

2 Analogous aggregated data for the religious status of the U.S. population bring the following information: 62% of the total population belonged to some church, with the following breakdown in 1971: 1) Protestants 71.9 million; 2) Roman Catholics 48.4 million; 3) Jewish 5.9 million; 4) Eastern Church 3.8 million. Ibid.

3 Op. cit., p. 100 and 101. The data relate to the late 50's.
Boston, Toledo, Jersey City, and Hamtramck, Michigan.

It is interesting to note the spatial shifting of American Poles in the period 1910-1960. Taking as a basis the data given in the Polish National Alliance Calendar for 1910, the states that improved their relative position are:

1. New York (from second place in 1910, 475,000, to first place, 1,200,000);
2. Illinois (from third place, 475,000, to second place, 750,000);
3. Michigan (from fifth place, 240,000, to fourth place, 500,000);
4. New Jersey (from eighth place, 120,000, to fifth place, 400,000);
5. Ohio (from seventh place, 200,000, to sixth place, 250,000);
6. Connecticut (from tenth place, 120,000, to ninth place, 200,000).

Among the states that increased their Polish population, with deterioration of their relative position, are Pennsylvania, dropping from first place to third, although with an absolute increase in the number of Polish-Americans from 500,000 to 740,000. Among the cities that improved their relative position and absolute number of population, one must count Detroit, Buffalo, and Cleveland.

Another important figure relates to the Polish-American church, which, together with parochial schools, represented for a long time the biggest strongholds of Polonia in the U.S. Although the stream of immigration was steadily decreasing, and after 1929 was quite negligible, the number of Polish parishes increased from 517 in 1910 to 830 in 1960. It is estimated that within these parishes there are about 3 million persons, while about 1.5 million belong to other parishes of mixed character. The number of Roman Catholic priests is about 2,000, while the Polish National Catholic Church, organized in 1904, has 150 priests. The number of religious sisters teaching in parochial schools increased from 1,678 in 1910 to 4,594 in 1949, while Polish schools increased from 303 in 1909 to 540 in 1950 and to 785 in 1959.

In conclusion, the author would like to present in Table 1 the membership in the larger American-Polish organizations in the late 1950's.

### TABLE 1: Membership in the Largest American Polish Organizations Since 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Poles of America, Cleveland Ohio</td>
<td>15,080</td>
<td>15,280</td>
<td>15,492</td>
<td>15,720</td>
<td>15,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Sons of Poland, Jersey City, N.J.</td>
<td>17,159</td>
<td>17,154</td>
<td>17,171</td>
<td>17,020</td>
<td>16,882</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Taken from P. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 61-62.
2. All the above data taken from J. Wytrwal, *op. cit.*, p. 102-103.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish Beneficial Assn., Philadelphia Pa.</td>
<td>24,547</td>
<td>24,663</td>
<td>23,820</td>
<td>24,763</td>
<td>24,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Falcons of America, Pittsburgh, Pa.</td>
<td>20,423</td>
<td>20,893</td>
<td>21,463</td>
<td>22,016</td>
<td>22,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish National Alliance of America, Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>337,829</td>
<td>339,401</td>
<td>339,945</td>
<td>339,295</td>
<td>337,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn, New York</td>
<td>20,652</td>
<td>20,431</td>
<td>20,410</td>
<td>20,064</td>
<td>19,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish National Union of America, Scranton, Pa.</td>
<td>30,570</td>
<td>31,105</td>
<td>31,512</td>
<td>31,517</td>
<td>31,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>175,502</td>
<td>174,405</td>
<td>173,246</td>
<td>171,643</td>
<td>169,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Union of America, Buffalo, New York</td>
<td>17,598</td>
<td>17,364</td>
<td>17,346</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Union of the U.S. of North America, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.</td>
<td>21,232</td>
<td>20,775</td>
<td>20,477</td>
<td>20,102</td>
<td>19,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Women's Alliance of America, Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>85,407</td>
<td>87,528</td>
<td>88,268</td>
<td>89,143</td>
<td>89,910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Passing to the second group of data, presented by the last National Census, it is necessary to stress that the more extensively used categories are "foreign stock" and "mother tongue."

According to the Census of 1970 the notion of "foreign stock" includes the native population of foreign or mixed parentage and the foreign-born population. The foreign stock is classified by country of origin. The category "mother tongue" comes from a question about the language, other than English, which was usually spoken in a person's home when he was a child, regardless of place of birth. The total number of the U.S. population belonging to the category "foreign stock" amounted to 33.6 million in 1970 and its distribution was as follows:¹

Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number (million)</th>
<th>Percent Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Italy
   4.2  3.9  0.3  0.0  12.6  13.5  7.7  4.1

2. Germany
   3.6  2.8  0.6  0.2  10.8  9.8  15.5  22.7

3. United Kingdom
   2.5  2.1  0.3  0.1  7.3  7.1  9.2  5.9

4. Poland
   2.4  2.1  0.2  0.1  7.1  7.4  5.3  4.3

Of what:

a) Foreign born
   0.6  0.5  0.1  --

b) Foreign or mixed parentage
   1.8  1.6  0.1  0.1

The real sense of the foreign stock category is related to the frequency of immigration in recent decades, one could say, with its "freshness," and therefore non-assimilation. Within this category the Polish-American community is in fourth position, after the Italian, German, and British.

The next category, "mother tongue," which differs in some ethnic groups from the number of "foreign stock" is, within the Polish group, the same, amounting also to 2.4 million. Its division according to the above lines is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number (millions)</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Native</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the two sets of data concerning the Polish community, one can state that of 0.6 million urban foreign born only 0.4 million have indicated Polish as their mother language, while the remaining 0.2 million indicate English. The number of 2.0 million natives speaking Polish (as understood by the Census Bureau) exceeds the number of "foreign or mixed parentage" by 0.2 million because a large portion of this last category did not indicate Polish as their mother tongue.1 So the rest are the former generations still using the mother language at home.2 But on the whole it is much less than the officially estimated total number of the remaining Polish ethnic group, which amounts to 2.7 million (5.1 million minus 2.4 million of foreign stock).3

---

1.0.4 million speaking Polish from the whole number of 0.6 million foreign born means that 67% of this category speak Polish. If we admit that, from the category "foreign or mixed parentage" there will be about 50% speaking Polish, they will represent 0.9 million.

2. According to our assumptions the number of former generations speaking Polish will be 1.1 million.

3. Thus 41% of 2.7 million.
With this general overview, historical and statistical, of American Polonia, we can pass to a more developed analysis of some important issues.

What did the Polish immigrants bring to America?

Even writers who are not too well disposed towards Polish people cannot deny that the first generations of immigrants settled themselves very successfully in America. Wittke writes that Poles were willing to work hard and to save, acquiring in short order a little house and a little plot of land. Their life centered around fraternal societies and parish churches, and their large federations were among the best organized.¹

One must remember Greely's statement, in 1.2 above, that Poles were not particularly different from other immigrant groups of peasant origin, such as the Irish, German, and Balkan peoples. In their mother lands, they all grouped themselves around family, church, and community. One must acknowledge, of course, that Polish peasants were on the average inferior to the Irish and German in level of education. Poles, however, were regarded as being more tied to their language than any other ethnic group in America.

Many writers, describing functions of the Polish rural family, refer to the brilliant work of William T. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki on "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America."² Non-Polish Americans, including Greely, viewed this publication as a major work in describing the Polish community in America. The rural family characterized itself by: a) the strong position of the family head, the father, who held decisive power over the children and his wife; b) the mother's great devotion to the family. The women not only performed most of the work, satisfying the communal needs of the family (preparation of meals, supervision of children, cleaning, washing, etc.), but were regarded as an important factor in the productive force on the farm; c) Before achieving full economic independence, children were subject to the absolute power of the father and from a very early age were introduced to farm labor.

Close family links and obligations referred not only to direct relations between children and parents, but were extended to the so-called large family; grandparents, siblings (brothers and sisters and their own families) and more distant relatives including in-laws. This extended family insured material support in difficult periods, such as deaths, bad accidents, sicknesses, etc. These profound family links were strengthened by severe social control and opinion from the neighborhood and local community on the whole.

Individuals not observing the above described duties and obligations were first morally condemned and afterwards forced to observe them by local chiefs, such as the "soltys" (head of a hamlet) or "wojt" (head of a village).

A further and still more effective guarantee of these rules, habits, and obligations was the active role of the church and priests. This was true in all Catholic countries, particularly in rural communities, but in Poland the role of the church was raised to a level not observed anywhere else.

¹We Who Built America, op. cit., p. 421 and 423.

This enables us to pass to the second part of this section, dealing with specific features of Polish immigrants of rural origin.

The important role of the church and priests in Poland resulted from a lower level of overall socioeconomic development and education, particularly in those areas of the country belonging (in the 19th century) to less developed empires, such as tsarist Russia and Austria. Because of the scarcity of educated people and professionals, especially in the countryside, the priests became the natural leaders of the peasantry. Reciprocally, the ecclesiastic career often gave to a peasant child a unique way of social promotion and advancement in education and material status. It must be stressed that in Poland there was an additional reason for the great importance of the church and priests, namely the character of our historical development and the patriotic feelings engendered.

The general historical development of Poland is largely unknown to most Americans and West Europeans. Poland has existed as a nation for more than 1,000 years, certainly since 966. This is the date of Poland's conversion to Christianity, a major event in Polish history, described in chronicles of that time. Between 1385 and 1686 Poland played a powerful role in Europe. In 1385 Wladyslaus Jagiello, the Great Prince of Lithuania, became king of Poland and the union of these two countries resulted in the brilliant rise of the so-called Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

At the end of the 18th century Poland lost its independence, and was partitioned among three absolute police states: Prussia, tsarist Russia, and Austria. But patriotic feelings among all social classes flourished to a high degree during the struggle for independence, beginning from the time of partition, when the fight was led by Tadeusz Kosciusko, the future Polish-American hero, through the Napoleonic Era, to the great uprisings of 1830-31 and 1863-64.

Our glorious history has found reflection in the works of great men in the fields of literature, poetry, painting, and music, such as the writers Henryk Sienkiewicz, J.J. Kraszewski, and E. Orzeszkowa; the poets Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Slowacki, Zygmunt Krasiński, Cyprian Norwid, and Maria Konopnicka; the painters Jan Matejko, A. Grottger, and J. Kossak; and the musicians and composers F. Chopin, S. Moniuszko, and J. Paderewski. This list includes masters of the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century whose works were strongly patriotic. Their creations found a deep resonance in Poland and were assimilated by the masses. Abroad they were read, watched, and heard particularly by representatives of Poland's smaller Slavonic neighbors, such as Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, and Bulgarians, who had long ago fallen under

---

1 Many traces of this phenomenon are to be found in the rich documentary materials included in the work of Thomas and Znaniecki. Here is one example: "During whole nights by the light of a small oil lamp, we peasants -- some 20 of us -- read together "With Fire and Sword," The Deluge," "Pan Wolodyjowski," "Quo Vadis" (note of the author: the above-mentioned works represent the greatest masterpieces of Henryk Sienkiewicz, Polish Nobel Prize winner) and many, many other works. We wish to know the works of God. We rejoiced that we are also Poles and Catholics...." (Volume IV, p. 166. From an unpublished letter to Zaranie, a popular weekly, radically democratic, published in partitioned Poland.)
foreign dominance and could not develop their own national history and culture.¹

A second interesting result of our specific past in Central Europe was the continuity of internal development, both social and cultural. In the central and western parts of Poland a prominent aristocracy did not exist; rather there was a small nobility, called "szlachta." There were even villages of "szlachta zagrodnica"² whose inhabitants did not differ from ordinary peasants in material status, but in level of education and historical tradition. This broad section of small nobility represented a natural intermediary link between the small number of aristocrats and the intellectual upper class on the one hand and the vast popular masses on the other. Thomas and Znaniecki write about the curious phenomenon that Poles became a nation in the modern sense very early,³ although they were independent of public authority, and maintain that it was due to the evolution of the internal situation in partitioned Poland. The nobility at that time was very large in number, and its behavior was governed by moral duties related to the mother-country, and not by formal requirements referring to the state (federation); the latter were very limited (taxes, military service only in the case of national defense, a narrow judicial system, etc.). The Polish nobility, not only as a group, but each nobleman or his family, too, could really say about himself: L'état c'est moi (I am the state) in the positive meaning of the phrase. So after the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th century, the real internal situation did not change very much. The nobility began to treat the struggle for independence as its ultimate moral duty. The unifying role, instead of the Polish state, was played then by Polish art, literature, and the church, whose national role was particularly strong in the frontier territories near Protestant Prussia and Orthodox tsarist Russia.⁴

Independently of the all-national traditions, each of the biggest parts of Poland, partitioned in the 19th century between three imperialistic neighbors, elaborated its own, more specific traditions.

The greatest part of divided Poland was represented by the so-called Congress or Polish Kingdom (the name coming from the Vienna Congress in 1815), belonging to tsarist Russia. The Kingdom survived a majority of all patriotic fights against foreign oppression, beginning with the Napoleonic Wars, through both great uprisings of 1830-31 and 1863-64. After each uprising there were

¹The wave of interest in Polish masterpieces of the 19th century was not, of course, limited to close neighbors. The vivid resonance of American opinion on this literature is to be found in the brilliant book of L.E. van Norman, Poland the Knight Among Nations, with an introduction by Helena Modjeska. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1907.

²Peasant nobility.

³Perhaps earlier than some major European nations, such as the Italians and Germans.

⁴Thomas and Znaniecki, Vol. IV, Disorganization and Reorganization in Poland, p. 306 on.
thousands of political exiles who emigrated to Western Europe, particularly France, and to the United States. Besides the great artistic achievements of these exiles, embodied particularly in the poetry of Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish poet, they began to organize unions and associations of a patriotic as well as a socially progressive character. The best known was the Polish Democratic Society, begun in Paris in 1832. Its continuation was represented by the program of the secret National Government during the uprisings of 1863-64 and of the next wave of exiles after it.

While the patriotic traditions of the Congress Kingdom mainly reflected the romantic and idealistic features of our national character, modern forms of it were developed in the remaining provinces of divided Poland; first in Western Poland embracing the Great Duchy of Poznan (Posen) or Great Poland, Silesia and Pomerania, belonging to Prussia.

In Western Poland, Poles had to confront the prevailing power of a well-organized Prussian state, which soon became the head of a united Germany after 1871. Earlier Polish endeavors to organize an uprising against Prussia in 1846, when the first hints of the so-called Spring of Nations of 1848 were felt, soon became a more sophisticated struggle against Bismarck's reunited Germany, then striving to dominate all of Europe. The Poles developed different kinds of cooperative associations in the towns and villages. They were borrowed from the enemy state, Germany, but their efficiency as technical instruments was doubled due to the strong patriotic feelings and unity of all social classes of the Polish population. Not only Polish laymen, but also many Catholic priests were leaders of these different associations. In the development of Polish cooperative associations, the biggest role was played by such leaders as Father Wawrzyniak and two laymen, Maksymilian Jackowski and Karol Marcinkowski. Thomas and Znaniecki state, in connection with the rapid growth of Polish cooperatives, that this movement was regarded by many Germans as the rise of a "Polish peasant republic" within the Prussian state. This was because of the high level of national consciousness existing in Prussian Poland. One can say that, after the decline of the nobility caused ultimately by the last national uprising in 1863-64, a new Polish nation emerged in

---

1 With the addition that some of the exiles were very progressive, elaborating plans for deep social reforms in the newly restored Poland.

2 In a publication issued in Chicago in 1918 by some radical Polish circles, it is written that: "All monasteries and cultural institutions, maintained by the clergy, were closed during the so-called Cultural War (Kulturkampf) -- the struggle of the Prussian government against the Catholic Church...During a sharp national defense...the clergy has gained an immense authority within the Polish population. As reasons for that one can see the former political and social activity of priests, their mostly peasant origin, and very reasonable social activity in recent years. Thanks to these conditions the clericalism developed in Poznan District still more than in the Congress Poland, independently of the higher level of education in this district." J. Grabiec: Wspolczesna Polska w Cyfrach i Faktach, Chicago, 1918, p. 63-68

3 Thomas and Znaniecki, Vol. IV, p. 316.
Western Poland, based on the national activity of all Polish classes, in particular the peasantry.

There were also some negative aspects of the great influence of the Church on the Polish people, as described by Polish-American writers. Paul Fox, a Protestant author of one of the earliest histories of Poles in America, stresses that one of the reasons for the poverty in rural areas was the great number of religious holidays, diminishing the work year of the peasant.¹ Thomas and Znaniecki also denounce the limitations of this influence. The Vatican sometimes made it difficult for patriotic priests to actively participate in the struggle for a national, economic, and educational promotion of the Polish cause in all the provinces of partitioned Poland because their international policy endeavored to organize coalitions with the reactionary emperors of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.²

The economic situation in Galicia, the last Polish province belonging to Austria, was the worst. After the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Poles gradually obtained a large degree of political freedom, with a local Polish Parliament in Lwow (Lemberg). Thanks to that, they could develop their Polish educational institutions (the two universities in Krakow and Lwow), their national culture, political parties, and purely national-patriotic associations which were kept secret in Prussian and tsarist-Russian Poland. Among these associations one must cite two: the Harcerstwo (Scouting) and Sokolstwo (Falcons). These youth organizations had their origin abroad; scouting in Britain, and Falcons in our brother slavonic countries, such as Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. In Galicia, Poles were freer and were able to develop the specific patriotic features of these organizations, which aimed at preparing young men for the future fight for national independence.

Polish immigrants, who began to come in bigger numbers to America after 1865, characterized themselves by the strong role of the Church and their equally strong patriotic feelings related to their attachment to the mother tongue.

In such a situation one must note, as many Polish-American writers do, that Polish mass immigration, begun in the second half of the 19th century, had not only an economic, but also a political and religious character. This was caused by national and religious persecution, existing in the two biggest parts of divided Poland; in Congress Poland, occupied by orthodox tsarist Russia; and in Western Poland, taken by Protestant Prussia. Because of this connection between national and religious oppression, the patriotic feelings of Polish people were closely bound with their attachment to the Catholic Church, a fact which was, and is still, often difficult for representatives of other national groups in America to understand.

The question often discussed in Polish-American literature is whether Polish peasants came here already fully conscious of their rich national tradition, or were mainly introduced to this heritage in the United States. There is no doubt that the peasants became fully conscious of their national tradition in the U.S., thanks to the activity of Polish associations. These associations of various kinds continued the best work of their predecessors in occupied Poland: political associations of exiles (mainly from Russian Poland) of a patriotic and progressive character; the cooperatives in Prussian Poland,

¹Paul Fox, The Poles in America, op. cit., p. 42

which focused on the social and economic promotion of larger masses of people; and Falcons, coming from Austrian Poland, who prepared directly for the struggle for independence.

On the whole, Polish immigrants to the United States included a relatively small number of political exiles and educated professionals, and a vast majority of uneducated, unskilled peasants, accustomed to a low economic level in their mother country. The first groups were fully aware of the important historical achievements, cultural traditions, and enormous sacrifices of the Polish people in the struggle for independence, while the peasants were concerned with social and economic advancement.

The major question is, how did this predominantly crude human material that came to America, change after several decades into a developed Polish-American community, developed in a material, as well as a spiritual, sense? The answer to this question is tied to a more profound analysis of the subsequent phases of Polish-American social history in the United States, which will be discussed in the next section.

2-3 ways and means of the successful Polish settlement in the United States

As Poles settled in this country mostly between the years 1865 and 1914, it seems useful to divide this period into three smaller sub-periods:

1) 1865-1880, the era of establishing the ways and means of settlement;
2) 1880-1910, the era of rapid material and spiritual growth, tied to a division and contest between the two major social organizations, the PNA and the PRCU;
3) 1910-1914 (with some continuation during the war years 1914-1918 and the first years of new Poland's consolidation, 1919-1920) when the main effort of the Polish community was focused on the direct struggle for independence of the mother country and assistance to it.

1865-1880

For the first newcomers, the most fundamental role was played by direct family links, limited now almost exclusively to the nuclear family. The initial difficulties of the immigrants involved finding work that would enable them to survive. Being mostly unskilled peasants, they had to begin with the simplest and most difficult occupations; they were paid below average wages. The greatest difficulty they had to surmount was their inability to speak English. But they were not afraid to work and none of them asked for public assistance; this was an old tradition in Poland that was maintained here. Poles often replaced workers of German or Irish origin who had arrived in the U.S. somewhat earlier, in heavy jobs. Little by little Poles advanced in their occupational status, gaining first permanent employment and then slowly climbing the social ladder. They found employment in basic industries such as iron and steel making, coal mining, construction work, copper mining, oil refining, etc. ²

¹This history was repeated in 1900, when Polish workers were replaced by Italians and Hungarians as Poles moved to better positions. See R. Napoliska, op. cit., p. 34.

²See J. Wytrwal, op. cit., p. 84-85
of the Polish immigrants continued their peasant occupation, beginning as farm
laborers and later becoming tenant farmers and farm-owners. Their total num-
ber was estimated at about 750,000.

Men were accompanied by their wives and children. The women became
domestic help, took lodgers and bred animals such as hens or rabbits. Boys
helped their families by working in factories, and girls by running sewing
machines or working as domestic help.

The next step in the family's social advancement was the acquisition of a
house with a piece of land for a garden. This goal was achieved through personal
sacrifice and hard work. In some parts of Poland, under the Prussian oppression,
the right to land-ownership was denied to Poles. All writers, Polish-
Americans as well as other Americans, agree that the proportion of home-
ownership became larger than in any other ethnic group, surpassing on the
average 75% of all families.

As broadly described in Polish-American literature, there were 4 pillars
of Polish community life: Church, parochial schools, fraternal organizations,
and press. Polish-Americans generally agree that the first step was
to set up an association, whose primary task was to organize voluntary insurance
and mutual aid. Some writers maintained that this kind of association took
over the task of the extended family which existed in the homeland. The
extended family helped its members who were suffering from accidents or sickness.
Here the financially stronger family members were not willing to be the only
source of help to relatives in need and decided that the problem could be
better solved through the operation of a mutual aid association. According

According to J. Wytrwal the first society of this kind was established in 1864 in
Chicago under the name of St. Stanislaus Kostka. Its objectives involved
visiting and helping the sick, burying the dead, and assistance to widows and
orphans, etc.

Gradually the tasks of such societies were enlarged to embrace more
general questions of Polish community life; organizing social clubs, leisure
activities, small reading rooms, information for new immigrants, etc. Parallel
to "mutual aid associations" were clubs of a more political nature. According
to J. Wytrwal, the first club of this type, the Kosciuszko Club, was estab-
lished in Philadelphia in 1871.

---

1. A proof of the very strong character of family links among Polish immigrants
   is the almost total absence of divorce.

2. According to the Report of the Immigration Commission, 35.8% of Polish
   families received their entire income from the husband, 37.7% from husband,
   boarders and lodgers, 8.5% from husband and children and 13.2% from non-
specified sources (See: Paul Fox, op. cit., p. 71).

3. See among others S.B. Stefan, Polonia and Its American Contribution: Poles

4. See M.L. Swanson, A Study of the Polish Organizations in Polish Community of
   Baltimore, op. cit., p. 16.

5. America's Polish Heritage, p. 156.

The second pillar involved the organization of a Polish parish, which later collected money for the erection of its own church. Early immigrants, mostly from Prussian Poland, usually knew some German and attended German churches. But these initially good relations between Polish and German Catholics soon deteriorated due to the oppressive anti-Polish politics of Bismarck, regarded with sympathy by most German-Americans. Another reason was the fact that later Polish immigrants came from parts of Poland where German was not known and so they could not participate in German parishes. Therefore the poor immigrants were forced to undertake a very expensive task, requiring new personal sacrifices following the individual acquisition of a family house. The decision to build a church created the need for a parochial school. This enormous financial task was undertaken eagerly because schools using the Polish language were denied to Poles in those parts of their territories belonging to Prussia and tsarist Russia.

It is simply impossible to comprehend and describe the enormous effort undertaken by the first generations of Polish immigrants committed to building churches and parochial schools in the United States. This effort would have been impossible without the existence of other factors: a) the creation of other associations of a financial character (building, saving and loan associations); b) the active assistance of Polish priests, mostly of peasant origin; and c) parallel and perhaps still more devoted help from Polish sisters working without any pay beyond physical subsistence at organizing and developing Polish parochial schools.¹

The organization of the entire Polish educational system may be regarded as perhaps the greatest achievement of the founders of the Polish community in America. Speaking about this it is impossible to forget the Reverend Joseph Dabrowski.² He created the 4th Polish School in the U.S. (after Milwaukee, Chicago, and Panna Maria) in 1874. He did this at the invitation of the first Polish Sisters from Galicia. Together with them he helped in organizing more schools, and prepared the necessary handbooks for them.

Because of a lack of Polish priests he later established a Polish Seminary, which was completed in 1887. He managed it until his death in 1903. After several years the seminary was transferred to Orchard Lake, where it still exists.

The expansion of Polish schools was very rapid. In 1870 10 parishes existed, for 50,000 Polish immigrants; in 1875, 50, for 200,000; in 1889, 132 churches, 126 priests and 122 schools; and 303 schools in 1909.

The role of Polish schools was enormous. Classes were taught largely in Polish, which aided in passing on the best traditions of Polish history and culture to the students. Thus, in America, a new generation of Polish people became fully conscious of their national origin, proud of their glorious past and contribution to world civilization.


The same task for the older generation was carried on by the social organizations, their clubs, and gradually by the emerging 4th pillar of Polish communities, the Polish press. Polish newspapers, dailies and weeklies, began to appear in the 1870's. They were not only sources of useful information, particularly for the newcomers, but they soon became the biggest educators of Polish-Americans. This education had two parallel goals: a) to acquaint masses of mostly uneducated immigrants with the history of the Polish people under foreign oppression and; b) to teach them how to be good citizens in their new homeland.

The process which crowned the development of the Polish community in the period 1865-1880 was the creation of organizations on a nationwide scale. Because the biggest effort, both material and spiritual, was directed toward building Polish parishes, including churches, schools and various social organizations, it was quite natural that the first attempt to create a nationwide federation of local societies took the form of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in America. It was initiated by Father Theodore Glieryk of Detroit in 1873, who became the first chairman. Its fundamental principle was religious unity; so the PRCU group includes only Roman Catholic Poles. The PRCU also stressed the development of parochial schools.

The PRCU emerged not only as a natural step in the positive evolution of Polish social and religious life in America, but also as an instrument to defend Polish interests within the Catholic Church in America. The Church was dominated from the beginning by Irish and German priests and bishops who were not very prompt in facilitating the development of Polish parishes and the nomination of Polish priests for the post of bishop. In such a situation the Polish clergy regarded the PRCU as an ally in the struggle for full rights in the ecclesiastic field.2

Rapid growth of the Polish community in the years 1880-1910

The new phase of development was bound up with the creation of a second national organization, the Polish National Alliance. It was set up in 1880 thanks to the initiative of Agaton Giller, a Polish exile living in Switzerland, who had been a member of the Polish National Government during the unsuccessful uprising of 1863-64. He wrote an article in 1879, in which he pleaded for the unification of Polish forces abroad "in order to promote the cause of Poland,

---

1The oldest Polish weekly publication was the official organ of the Polish National Alliance, Zgoda (Harmony), founded in 1878 in Milwaukee and transferred to Chicago in 1888. The oldest Polish daily was Kurier Polski (Polish Courier), founded in 1888 in Milwaukee by Michael Kruszka. At the time of Paul Fox (1922) the circulation of the various dailies was estimated at from 5,000 to 30,000 and of the weeklies from 5,000 to 120,000. The total number of copies was estimated at about 2,250,000 (Paul Fox, op. cit., p. 98).

2The protests against Irish and German domination in the Catholic Church of America took the form of the creation of a Polish National Independent Catholic Church. According to the organizers of this new church, its creation was bound also with other deficiencies in the internal functioning of Catholic parishes, namely, to a limitation of the influence of parishioners themselves on the disposal of parish ownership. The first parish of the National Church was organized in 1897 in Scranton. In this town other central institutions of the new church leadership, such as a theological seminary and a weekly paper, Straz, were organized gradually.
especially that of the restoration of her independence." The PNA was founded in 1880 by a body of Polish leaders in America, with Julius Andrzejewicz at its head. The PNA was based on a different philosophical principle than the PRCU, namely on the liberty of all religious creeds.

While the PRCU continued a natural course of internal growth in the Polish community, the setting up of the PNA meant another phase of development. The new organization had another main goal for all groups of Polish origin; the contribution to the restoration of Poland's independence.

This goal was regarded, of course, as the ultimate one, to be realized in the future. The path to it was seen in the rapid growth, material and spiritual, of the Polish community in the United States.

In line with their final goals, the leaders, and gradually also the masses, regarded the Polish community in America as a kind of Fourth Province of Poland. As a result the enemies and critics of Poles in the U.S. spoke of a clannish character in the Polish community, aiming at the creation of a "Polish state within the State" which was absolutely untrue.

The main guidelines of PNA were: a) to help immigrants to learn English and obtain American citizenship as a step to acquiring more influence in the American political system to help the interests of immigrants in this country and serve the Polish cause at the international level; b) to familiarize immigrants and their children with the Polish past, culture, and political situation in Europe, to preserve the Polish language, and support the Polish press and culture in the U.S.. The ultimate goal was to change the uneducated peasant newcomers into conscious Polish patriots, prepared to serve Poland in the U.S. and in the old country; c) to promote the material, economic, and social interests of Polonia by helping to create and develop a whole set of specialized associations and societies.

The PNA, as well as the PRCU, wanted to be the 'umbrella organization' for these local and specialized societies, whose total number was about 10,000.2

Besides PNA and PRCU two other Polish organizations were created: the Polish Falcons Alliance (1891); and the Polish Women's Alliance (1898). The first organization aimed at the physical and moral development of its members, mostly young people, preparing them for direct participation in the struggle for independence.3 The second concentrated on charity, relief to orphans and the patriotic education of Polish women in America.

Concentration on the struggle for Poland's independence and help to the mother country during the years 1910-1918

The competition between the PNA and the PRCU for domination within the Polish-American community was decisively won by PNA. The first Polish National Congress was held in 1910 in Washington, and was related to the unveiling of monuments to two great Polish-American heroes: Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski.

The year 1910 was important in Polish modern history because Poles in the old country and throughout the whole world celebrated the 500th anniversary of their victory over the Teutonic Knights, symbol of Prussian-German imperialism.

1J. Wytrwal, op. cit., p. 172.
2J. Wytrwal, op. cit., p. 171.
3The Falcon's Alliance was established first in Polish Galicia in 1864 as an athletic and sports association. It grew very quickly in all parts of partitioned Poland. "Of the 4,000,000 Poles in Galicia, 25,000 were members of the Falcon's Alliance. In Prussian Poland, 15,000 of the 4,000,000 were members. In Russian Poland the first branch was established in 1905 and in one year had 60,000 members." M.L. Swanson, op. cit., p. 36.
It is called the Grunwald year, as it refers to the historical battle in 1410 which was won by the common Polish and Lithuanian army. On the international scene the playing cards were already dealt. It was clear that the war in Europe between insatiable German imperialism (associated with Austro-Hungary) and the coalition of France, England and Russia was unavoidable. Polish leaders throughout the world were aware that during this war the future destiny of Poland would be decided.

The Polish National Congress held in Washington in 1910 was organized and inspired by the PNA. It was the first large-scale Polish Congress held since the time of Poland's partition and the short glorious period of the Napoleonic Wars, from which emerged the Great Duchy of Warsaw.

At the end of the Congress, the initiative passed to the hands of the Palen's Alliance, which began to prepare young men of Polish descent for the direct struggle for independence on the battlefield.

"Mutatis mutandis" (taking into account all differences), this era in the life of Polish community can be compared (for a young reader) to the efforts of the Jewish community more than 30 years later to create a national homeland once the British mandate in Palestine in 1948 had ended.¹

Nor did Polish-Americans neglect their duties as American citizens. As Paul Fox writes, "when on American entrance into the war President Wilson called for 100,000 volunteers, 40,000 of those responding were Poles. In view of the fact that they make up only 3.18 percent of our population, it is very significant that during the war there were 220,000 Poles² in the U.S. Army; that on the casualty list 10 percent are Polish names; that of the peoples of foreign birth or descent they are rated fourth in their contributions to the Liberty Loans with 67 million dollars."³

A second observation refers to the fact that the organizations of the Polish-American society were still acting as sovereign bodies, representing the interests of Polonia, and were not subordinated to any external power. This is stressed very firmly by Thomas and Znziecki, who wrote that in the beginning of 1913 a delegation of Polish political parties in Galicia, working under the leadership of J. Pilsudski, came to America with the aim of creating a "Committee for National Defense" (in Polish, Komitet Obrony Narodowej) to incorporate the leading organizations of Polonia. Although most of them

¹ Because of a lack of space, the author refers his readers to two publications in Polish, reflecting these important events: the Polish National Congress in 1910 and the Polish-American war effort in the struggle for Poland's independence: a) Memorial of Polish celebrations in Washington in 1910 (Pamietnik uroczystosci polskich w Waszyngtonie w r. 1910, wzniesienia i odsloniecia pomników Tadeusza Kosciuszk i Kazimierza Pulaskiego, Tudzie Polaczonego z ta uroczystoscia Pierwszego Kongresu Narodowego Polskiego). Chicago, Ill., 1911, pp. 650; b) Military contribution of the Polish community in America (Czyn Zbrojny Wychodztwa polskiego). New York, Chicago, 1957, pp. 815.

² Other sources put this number even higher, at 300,000 persons (see: A.D. Maisel, "The Poles Among Us", Reader's Digest reprint, p. 5).

³ The Poles in America, New York, G.H. Doran Co., 1922, p. 103
entered the "Committee" in its initial phase, the largest groups, the PRCU and the PNA, created their own groups during the war period (Polish National Council by PRCU and Central I Jef Committee by PNA). In 1915, when the United States was about to declare war on Germany and her allies, the representatives of the PRCU and the PNA created a new group within the Polish-American community, the Polish National Department; it was sponsored by opponents of the former Committee for National Defense, such as Padrewski and Dmowski. 2

The existence of this group proved that, aside from the struggle for Poland's restoration during World War I, the American Polonia always acted as a sovereign body and was well aware of its responsibility to the U.S.

2.4 New tendencies after World Wars I and II

Having described the settlement of Polish immigrants in America, the role of the family, personal virtues of Polish workers and the significance of the so-called four pillars (church, parochial school system, social organization and press), the author concentrated only on the main stream of events. These events were of a rather positive character, embodied first in the immense effort of building a new life in America, and later in the goal of helping Poland to regain her independence during World War I.

Polish immigrants were exposed to several waves of discrimination, directed not only against them, but also against other ethnic groups. The situation of the Poles was aggravated by the controversy that existed with German immigrants who had settled here earlier and achieved a larger degree of economic stability. There were many instances when Polish names, difficult to pronounce for persons speaking only English, were ridiculed. The majority of Polish immigrants survived this discrimination and the "Polish jokes." Many were leaving their communities, changing their names and trying to become "standard Americans" as quickly as possible, without any traces of a non-Anglo-Saxon origin.

After the enormous efforts of the early settlers in building churches, parochial schools, etc., as well as in helping Poland during World War I, a deep split occurred among Polish-Americans. Those immigrants who regarded Poland's development as the ultimate goal simply left America and returned home. There were about 100,000 of such enthusiasts and idealists, and among them about 3,000 were born in the United States. 3

The Polish-Americans who remained in this country soon realized that Poland, emerging after more than 100 years of partition and oppressions, had not become the ideal state they had dreamed of before the war. In Polish literature there was the notion of "glass houses" or "buildings of glass" (szklane domy), originating from a very popular Stephen Zeromski.

1. The delicate side of the "Committee for National Defense" was related to the fact that, representing Polish political parties in Galicia, it could be influenced by the Austro-Hungarian government, then an ally of Germany.


3. They came from circles of Polish opinion in the U.S. bound with the so-called "Committee for National Defense" described earlier, seeing the interest of Poland as the decisive motivation for Polish-Americans.

4. "For Spring" (Przedwiosnie) describing the family Baryka of Polish emigrants who settled southern pre-revolutionary Russia.
It described a vision of a new Poland, an example and model for other nations spiritually and in material, economic, and social development. Comparing post-war Poland, destroyed by the war and relatively undeveloped in many respects with the United States, a vast majority of Polish-Americans decided that their permanent home was America. They still wished to help their mother country from time to time, as well as their families living there, but they felt their efforts should be directed toward strengthening their position in the United States. This alternative was foreseen by Thomas and Znaniecki, who wrote that "...Polish-American society in the future will have to be a part of America, not a part of Poland." (Vol. V, p. 138)

It was also felt that the PNA as well as the PRCU were obsolete and should be replaced by organizations of a more modern type. The new organization ought to be closer to American life and to have more of a social-economic character. Thomas and Znaniecki return here to their beloved conception (developed in connection with the growth of Polish cooperatives in Prussian Poland before 1914) that this character should be close to the cooperative one.

The general situation in the Polish community after World War I was tied to another phase in the competition between the PNA and the PRCU. During the pre-war and war years the PNA efforts were concentrated on patriotic goals connected with the restoration of Poland. These efforts had the support of a majority of the Polonia. Afterwards, the leaders of the PNA simply declared that the ultimate goal of an independent Poland was realized, and that they could move to the next one: the further development of the Polish-American community in this country.

This shift in emphasis was tied to two positive developments: a) a universal demand for U.S. citizenship by those immigrants who had been encouraged to become Americans by the work of the umbrella organizations; and b) a further development of parochial schools, which had reached a peak enrollment at that time.

Both fraternal organizations regarded the promotion of Polish-Americans in the educational and professional fields as most important. One must remember that the PNA had created the first Polish College in 1912 (Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pa.). Continuing this effort, other Polish colleges, lay and clerical, were established and special scholarship funds set up for young people of promise.

The effects of these actions were, unfortunately, quite ambivalent. Although the number of Polish medical doctors in America increased to about 5,000 and the number of lawyers and other professionals increased, new graduates did not want to continue the community work of their fathers. They settled down outside the Polish sections and did not participate in their activities.

Another reason for the drop in Polish social activity was the cut in immigration, and the beginning of the Great Depression, which accentuated competition for employment and good posts. A positive feature of the period before 1939 was the creation of the first Polish-American institutions aimed at cultural and scientific development. The most famous of these institutions was the Kosciuszko Foundation, organized in New York in 1923-1926.

With this limited range of social activities, the American Polonia entered World War II, begun by the atrocious Nazi attack on Poland in September 1939. The Polish-Americans were of course deeply moved by this new tragedy to their old country and tried to help their compatriots in many ways. But when the Prime Minister of the Polish exile government in London, Gen. W. Sikorski, was in America seeking help for the Polish army in England, the answer given by the majority of Polish-American leaders differed from that of World War I. The organ of the PNA, Alliance Daily, declared then that "we have our own problems."1

1See J. Wytrwal, op. cit., p. 260 on.
The main goal for them was to strengthen the American Army and war economy, in preparation for playing an active role in the forthcoming war.1

The competition between the two Polish political centers of power, in London and in Lublin, was the reason for Polish-Americans to play a more active role by creating, in 1944, the Polish-American Congress. But in backing the Polish government in London, the Congress did not receive the necessary support of the American government. Because of this, it turned its attention to the program for helping displaced persons and war refugees of Polish origin to settle in America. According to official sources there were about 180,000 such people.2

After World War II, the Polish community returned to its own problems in the United States. The main phenomenon that gradually emerged in the post-war years was a gradual decline in the use of Polish in parochial schools and churches. The new generation of American Poles was tied closely to the language of their grandfathers, as was the generation before 1939. Another difficult problem was created by the passive role played in Polish community life by professionals and university graduates, not only native-born but those who had come as refugees from Western Europe.

This last topic was discussed more exhaustively by Danuta Mostwin in her article "The Profile of a Transplanted Family," published in 1974 in the Polish Review.3 She based her study on a sample of more than 2,000 responses, obtained from about 140,000 Polish post-war immigrants to this country. The social origin of these people was largely that of the middle class of pre-war Poland. They were mainly pre-war and war servicemen of governmental agencies, prisoners of war from Germany, insurgents from the Warsaw 1944 uprising, and various displaced persons from Western Germany. Only 16 percent of them were unskilled workers. Mrs. Mostwin studied the ethnic behavior of mothers within the sample of these later immigrants. The results of the study may be summarized as follows: "The higher the social status of the family, the lower is its ethnic commitment.... The higher the social status, the greater is the satisfaction derived from employment and the lesser the need for the self-expression through ethnic channels."4

The main deficiency of this study is its emphasis on the linguistic side of the problem and the formal links to the ethnic community. Another weak feature is the general nature of the sample, which was composed of people who as yet did not possess psychological equilibrium. So this study cannot be fully representative for all Polish immigrants after the war. But on the other side it reflects to some extent new phenomena within the Polish-American community in recent years, namely the decisive shift from the use of Polish to English.

1It is estimated that in World War II more than 900,000 Polish-Americans served in the U.S. Armed Forces, a very important fraction of the Polish community.

2See A.Q. Maisel, op. cit., p. 57.

3No. 1, p. 77-89.

4Ibid., p. 83.
The linguistic changes, as well as the process of suburbanization and new possibilities of spending leisure time (instead of being active in ethnic clubs as the Polish-Americans were before World War II) contributed to the beginning of a deep discussion about the future of ethnicity in the United States.

The views of the Polish-American community are contained in the work of two writers and intellectuals, Joseph Wytrwal, whose book appeared in 1961, and Rev. Leonard F. Chroboc, who published an article on the subject in 1971. J. Wytrwal deals in his brilliant study, America's Polish Heritage, with two sets of problems: a) empirical questions referring to a social history of Poles in America; and b) the general problems of ethnicity as they relate to Polish-Americans. Having made use of the empirical part of his book earlier, let us pass now to the theoretical and ideological portion, developed mainly in the introduction and the two final chapters: XII. Polish-American Cultural Relationships, and XIII. Jamestown Revisited.

In his introduction, Wytrwal says: "Assimilation is a psychological process dealing with the individual and personality, while acculturation is a sociological process dealing with the group and culture change." Assimilation is a deeper change, when the individual passes totally from one culture, language, and system of values to another. Acculturation means an interchange of cultural elements between two groups, thanks to which "elements of both cultures are combined into a new dynamic culture, which may include elements that are new to both interacting cultures."

At a more concrete level of consideration Wytrwal regards the history of the Polish-American community as a process of acculturation. In this process the leading role was played by two major Polish organizations, the PNA and the PRCU, which sponsored and facilitated this process; the PNA realized it through a system of secular associations and the PRCU through the Polish parish system. One of the most influential instruments of acculturation of Polish immigrants was the Polish-American press. The two official organs of the two major organizations were Zgoda (Harmony) of the PNA and Narod Polski (Polish Nation) of the PRCU.

At the end of the study Wytrwal refers again to the two opposite conceptions of "melting pot" and "cultural pluralism." He regards in the history of the Polish-American community a tendency to leave and return to former phases. While the first generation was mainly ultra-Polish and contributed heavily to the development of the community, the second one was often fleeing its Polish neighborhood, wanting to be regarded as soon as possible as 100 percent Americans. Again, the third generation often opposed its parents and returned to the position of its grandparents. The author regards an intermediate process between the melting pot and cultural pluralism concepts as an ideal. The ethnic groups sought to pass and in fact are passing from the old language of their ancestors to English. But, at the same time, the younger generation is beginning to be interested in the past and culture of the old country. Along with this fascination with the old culture, they must contribute to it as well. Their contribution should include elements of the new emerging American culture. Thus the process is not so much a continuation of the old Polish culture as a new component of the American culture.

---

2 This is the subtitle of the book.
3 America's Polish Heritage, op. cit., p. XIX.
4 Ibid.
Referring to the ceremonies organized by Polish-American leaders on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the first landing of Poles in America in 1608, Wytrwal is inclined to regard the year 1958 as a boundary between the past and future in the development of the Polish-American community. In the first era this community lived apart, trying to maintain the Polish language and the national character of its social activity, with particular stress on churches and parochial schools. Now Polish-American institutions of a more scientific and cultural character have been created that operate almost exclusively in English. Representative of these are:

1) the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York, organized in 1926 as an outgrowth of the Polish scholarship committee of 1923;
2) the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, also in New York, which evolved from the Kosciuszko Association of Polish Scholars established in 1940. The Institute itself started in 1941 and in the next year began to publish its quarterly "Bulletin of the Polish Arts and Sciences in America.";
3) the Polish-American Historical Association, organized in Chicago in 1942, which publishes the "Polish-American Studies" twice yearly;
4) the Council of Polish Cultural Clubs, endorsed at the meeting of representatives from 16 Polish Cultural clubs in 14 cities, held in Detroit in 1948.¹

Acknowledging Wytrwal's contribution to the social history of the American Polonia and its future development, it seems that some of his statements are debatable. Fortunately the weak points in Wytrwal's studies have been recently supplemented by L.F. Chrobot, a young Catholic priest at the Polish Seminary in Orchard Lake, and for some time Dean of Saint Mary's College. Chrobot is very knowledgeable about the problems of ethnicity. He wrote his Bachelor's thesis on this topic and developed it further into a doctoral dissertation. His personal credo on ethnicity, published in "Reflections" cited above, may be regarded as a manifesto in this field. Chrobot begins with the delicate problem of Polish jokes and different kinds of discrimination that existed until recently. He states quite courageously that the idea of melting pot and WASP² domination was ultimately broken only by the civil rights movement, brought about by American Blacks.

Rejecting nationalism and chauvinism, Chrobot subtly points out the difference between nationalism of the strong, such as the Nazis, and of the weak, such as ghetto dwellers. He writes: "Insofar as we have created a climate in which a person must change his name to merit our respect, we have violated the very principles upon which this country was formed."³

At the end of his essay, Chrobot develops ten precepts for young ethnics, particularly those of Polish-American descent. "The ideal Polish-American is convinced that the future of America and his own personal future must be nourished and sustained by the past.... The ideal Polish-American knows who he is.

¹Further interesting details are given in the article of Thadeus Slesinski: "Development of Cultural Activities in Polish American Communities." Polish American Studies, Vol. V, 1948, No. 1-2, p. 99-103. The initiative for that movement was given by the Polish Arts Club in Chicago, organized in 1926.

²White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

(He) ...loves his country.... He deeply respects the amount of blood, sweat, and sacrifice that was necessary to build it. (He) ...is warm and hospitable, because he springs from a tradition which welcomes a guest as one of his own. He respects the customs of his family..., because they embody real human values which have weathered the test of time.... He knows the language, literature, and culture of at least two nations and is therefore able to appreciate his own so much more.... And the next time he hears a Polish joke, he will sit back and smile at the ignorance of a people too shallow to share his inestimable heritage."

One can see in this a valuable contribution to the development of the modern ethnic identity in the U.S., which applies to Polish-Americans as well as to the representatives of other ethnic groups. Chrobot's experience is related to some extent to the creation of another scientific institution of Polish-American character, the Orchard Lake Center for Polish Studies and Culture. Although he remains within the limits of general theory and morality, the work of Chrobot must be regarded as an important step in the elaboration of a theoretical as well as a practical concept for the future.

---

1 On another page, the author underlines the deeply humanistic values to be derived from learning foreign languages, regarding "monolingualism" as an expression of the technological culture. (p. 11)

2 Ibid., p. 17-18. As a priest, Chrobot also stresses the links between ethnicity, personality, and religion, particularly strong in the case of the Polish people (p. 6).
Chapter III: A Detailed Analysis of the Polish Community in Baltimore

3.1 A short history and some general data on "Little Poland" in Baltimore

The history of Polish immigrants in Baltimore centers mainly in Highlandtown and Canton. The oldest section, now called Highlandtown, dates from the end of the 17th century, when it was called "Snake Hill." German immigrants came there first and in 1873 built the Sacred Heart of Jesus German Catholic Church. This area was annexed to Baltimore City in 1918 and given the name of Highlandtown.¹

Another area south of Highlandtown, known as Canton, was developed at the end of the 18th century by Captain John O'Donnell, master and owner of the East India Company; he chose the name in memory of Canton in China, from whence he came in 1785. In the first half of the 19th century the Canton Company was organized to develop this area of land.

The first Polish immigrants began to settle in the southeastern part of the city, or close to its boundaries, in the 1860's. They came to such places as Locust Point, Curtis Bay, and Fells Point. No precise data exist on these early settlers.² One of the most probable versions is that in 1868 a group of Polish political exiles embarked from the port city of Bremen in Germany and landed in Baltimore at the Broadway pier near Canton. The transport ship that carried them was the "Baltimore," and sailed under the auspices of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company.³ According to national Census Data the number of Poles in the state of Maryland increased during the decade 1860-70 from 66 to 145. About 1877 they established the first Polish association named St. Stanislaus Kostka. In 1880 the association invited a secular priest, Rev. Peter Koncz, a native of Wilno and a refugee from tsarist Russ'a, and one of the first Polish priests in America, to start the first Polish parish in Baltimore, also named St. Stanislaus Kostka. Religious services were originally conducted in a private house, located on the southwest corner of Bond and Fleet Streets.

Only some of the earliest Polish newcomers before 1870 were actual political exiles belonging to the nobility or educated upper class. Most Polish immigrants who came after 1870 were, for the most part, uneducated people of peasant origin. Despite this origin, very few of them continued to do farm work. Because of the many hardships of the long voyage from European ports to the Baltimore harbor, they did not want to continue their pilgrimage further. As a young Polish-American author says, "this long trip helped the Polish immigrants stay in Baltimore, because to reach farm land they would have had


²Souvenir Program in Commemoration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Restoration of Poland. Baltimore, 1928. Unpaginated.

to cross the Baltimore harbor by ferry. The idea of another sea voyage was too much for many, and they settled where they landed.1 Another reason for staying on the spot was simply a lack of money.

It was easiest to settle here and get a job for those Poles who came from Western Poland, then under Prussian occupation, because the majority of them knew some German and had finished German elementary schools. This dependence on Germans was conditioned by this group's strong economic position here. Germans at this time numbered about one fourth of the whole city population and owned many factories. The Poles who came from other parts of partitioned Poland were in a worse situation. The discrimination they encountered from German capitalists caused some Poles to change their names to German ones. In 1972, Audrey Bishop referred to this situation: "This explains why newspaper death notices today frequently carry double headings such as Schmidt (Schemanski) and Niemann (Niemirycz)."2

The experiences of the first Polish settlers in Baltimore were difficult. Due to their lack of education and skill, and their inability to speak English, it was not easy for them to find permanent jobs, and for this reason, some of them abandoned Baltimore for seasonal labor outside the city.

Kramer writes that the Poles who became migrant farm workers lived a very hard existence. They worked an eight- to ten-hour day of hard physical labor. To help supplement the small wages, the migrant worker usually brought his entire family with him to work. "Sturdy Polish men, women, and children of all ages from below Fleet Street in east Baltimore,...from late spring until fall follow the call of the 'row boss' through Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, picking berries, vegetables and fruits."3 After the picking season these workers would move back to their homes in the Polish community. During the winter, the family tried to pick up odd jobs. Usually these jobs were in packing houses or as oyster shuckers on the Baltimore docks.4 This seasonal migration was, of course, bad for the children as it interfered with their education.

The wives either accompanied their husbands or remained at home, working in the surrounding packing houses or tailor shops. Children staying at home with their mothers were often no better off, from the educational point of view, than those who traveled with their fathers, because many of them had to babysit while their mothers worked. The size of Polish families, which averaged 5.3 children in 1910, while native American families averaged only 3.1, made this necessary.

When they became teenagers, boys often worked for the packing houses or helped to load and unload ships. Girls worked also in packing houses or tailor shops. Working sons turned all their earnings in to the family until they were twenty-one; afterwards they paid board in their homes, keeping the rest of their pay for themselves. Daughters gave all their earnings to the family regardless of their age until they were married.5

---


4J. Kramer, op. cit., p. 3

to cross the Baltimore harbor by ferry. The idea of another sea voyage was too much for many, and they settled where they landed.\textsuperscript{1} Another reason for staying on the spot was simply a lack of money.

It was easiest to settle here and get a job for those Poles who came from Western Poland, then under Prussian occupation, because the majority of them knew some German and had finished German elementary schools. This dependence on Germans was conditioned by this group's strong economic position here. Germans at this time numbered about one fourth of the whole city population and owned many factories. The Poles who came from other parts of partitioned Poland were in a worse situation. The discrimination they encountered from German capitalists caused some Poles to change their names to German ones. In 1972, Audrey Bishop referred to this situation: "This explains why newspaper death notices today frequently carry double headings such as Schmidt (Schemanski) and Niemann (Niemirycz)."\textsuperscript{2}

The experiences of the first Polish settlers in Baltimore were difficult. Due to their lack of education and skill, and their inability to speak English, it was not easy for them to find permanent jobs, and for this reason, some of them abandoned Baltimore for seasonal labor outside the city.

Kramer writes that the Poles who became migrant farm workers lived a very hard existence. They worked an eight- to ten-hour day of hard physical labor. To help supplement the small wages, the migrant worker usually brought his entire family with him to work. "Sturdy Polish men, women, and children of all ages from below Fleet Street in east Baltimore,...from late spring until fall follow the call of the 'row boss' through Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, picking berries, vegetables and fruits."\textsuperscript{3} After the picking season these workers would move back to their homes in the Polish community. During the winter, the family tried to pick up odd jobs. Usually these jobs were in packing houses or as oyster shuckers on the Baltimore docks.\textsuperscript{4} This seasonal migration was, of course, bad for the children as it interfered with their education.

The wives either accompanied their husbands or remained at home, working in the surrounding packing houses or tailor shops. Children staying at home with their mothers were often no better off, from the educational point of view, than those who traveled with their fathers, because many of them had to babysit while their mothers worked. The size of Polish families, which averaged 5.3 children in 1910, while native American families averaged only 3.1, made this necessary.

When they became teenagers, boys often worked for the packing houses or helped to load and unload ships. Girls worked also in packing houses or tailor shops. Working sons turned all their earnings in to the family until they were twenty-one; afterwards they paid board in their homes, keeping the rest of their pay for themselves. Daughters gave all their earnings to the family regardless of their age until they were married.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} J. Kramer, Economic Aspects of the Polish Immigrant Community in Baltimore. Towson State College Series, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{2} Little Poland, Exodus to the Suburbs. News-American, March 5, 1972, p. 12-22.

\textsuperscript{3} The Baltimore Sun, July 11, 1973.

\textsuperscript{4} J. Kramer, op. cit., p. 3

This initial difficult period ended when the unskilled Polish immigrants found permanent jobs in construction, manufacturing, or shipbuilding, and could join their more skilled companions who had established themselves earlier. The second stage involved the ownership of a home with a piece of land. This was a goal to Polish immigrants, because the right to land-ownership had been denied to them in some parts of partitioned Poland, particularly the part under Prussian occupation. So they regarded home ownership as not only a private goal but to some extent as a patriotic one. Another reason for their desire for property and economic independence was related to their individual and national pride in not wishing to rely on public assistance, in any form. This pride led them to accept any job they could find. Even in old age, Poles were reluctant to stop working.

But since the bulk of Baltimore's Polish family heads worked in heavy industry, in steel mills, and in shipyards as stevedores, their earnings were not high enough to allow them to buy a home. So the entire family often worked. This was proof of the firm links within Polish families, their thriftiness and long-term desire for economic security and home ownership. Home ownership among Poles was higher than among other immigrant groups. By 1925, some 60% of the Polish families of East Baltimore owned their own homes. Only then did they begin to realize the need for their children to obtain a good education. This did not mean only elementary education, because this was obligatory in Baltimore City.1

In this third stage, when most of the children were attending school, the work of wives outside the home had to expand. At this stage Polish immigrants were advancing in their skills, becoming craftsmen and obtaining better paid occupations; several of them even started some small businesses of their own.

Other social and political goals were also being achieved by the immigrants. These included learning English, mostly at night schools, and applying for American citizenship. But many writers state that the process went on more slowly in Baltimore than elsewhere. "Studies taken of old Poles who immigrated with the 1885 and 1905 waves2 are indicative of this. For instance, from a study of 109 Poles in this classification, over half in 1940 still did not speak English and only 25 were naturalized citizens."3 At the same time the entire Polish community in East Baltimore was very close-knit, a real Little Poland. It was estimated in 1925 at 40,000 to 45,000 people, among whom in 1938 only about 10,500 were actually foreign born.4

So it may be stated that the process of Americanization occurred through the natural sequence of generations rather than through the immediate assimilation of the first immigrants, who remained resistant to new influences. This situation often led to conflicts between parents, children, and even grandchildren. Elderly parents and grandparents began to complain about

1S. Bell, op. cit., p. 5.

2This stress on the two waves of immigration in 1885 and 1905 relates to an intensification of the Polish influx to Baltimore, which was conditioned by the political situation in Poland. About 1885, a peak of political oppression occurred in Prussia and tsarist Russia; and in 1905 the first revolution took place in Russia.

3S. Bell, op. cit., p. 7-8.

4Ibid., p. 8.
being left alone by their children. "Of the 73 people, in the (above) group of 109, who had children in America, only 23 admitted to seeing their offspring occasionally. The rest seemed to have lost contact altogether. Of the 23 who did maintain relations, there were several who interpreted the visits as mere perfunctory gestures, carried out to placate the parents."¹ The reasons for this loosening of the formerly close family ties were quite diversified: intermarriages with partners from other ethnic groups, not accepted by parents; severe discipline in the early stages of family life depriving children of their earnings and free time; the rapid assimilation of children and their refusal to speak Polish, etc.

While a weakening of family links between parents and children occurred mostly during the 30's, 40's, and early 50's, when the second generation was growing up, it is interesting to notice a reverse phenomenon in the 60's, with the third generation. This process is often denoted in literature as the law that "what the father forgets, the son remembers." There are many interesting descriptions of the ethnic revival within the grandchildren of the third generation, one of which was contributed by Barbara Mikulski, entitled "Growing Up Ethnic Means Learning Who You Are." In a convincing way and in a very pleasant literary form, she tells about her early years in the Polish section of Baltimore. "Today it would be easy for ethnics of my generation -- those between 20 and 35 years of age -- to criticize our parents for their rush to assimilate. But most of us see that American society left them no other choice.... Today many of us -- the children of those English-speaking, first-generation Americans -- search our memories for clues to who we are and what made us that way. Though our parents raised us as 'real Americans,' to be unhampered by ethnic chains, we are rediscovering our ethnicity in the rich, existing communities our parents, perhaps unintentionally, helped to preserve. At the core of the ethnic community were the old people -- our grandparents."²

The boundaries of the Polish section of Baltimore are defined in slightly different ways by various writers. Audrey Bishop wrote in 1972 as follows: "From its original East Baltimore stronghold with outposts in Locust Point and Curtis Bay, the Polish colony has scattered all over the city and into Baltimore, Harford and Anne Arundel counties."³ In Baltimore itself one sees the core of a miniature Poland in the corner of the city bordered by Ellwood Avenue on the east, Caroline Street on the west, Eastern Avenue on the north, and the harbor on the south. "At one time half of the names on signs and shops in the area ended in 'ski' or 'wicz' and the blocks of Eastern Avenue immediately east and west of Broadway were known as Polish Wall Street. Polish owned groceries and taverns are still there and insurance offices and building and loan associations remain in the old financial district."⁴

In 1973 another American journalist, Weldon Wallace, defined the Polish section in a somewhat broader way. He stated that people of Polish background were scattered throughout Baltimore. "Many of the first settled at Locust

¹S. Bell, op. cit., p. 9.
²Redbook, October 1971, pp. 86 and 224-226.
⁴Ibid., p. 12.
Point, where they disembarked. In later times, settlements took shape in Graceland Park, north of Dundalk, while, particularly after World War II, many were lured to move 'out the road'—as they describe the area of Belair and Harford Roads.

The heaviest concentration, however, is to be found in an area that extends roughly from Fairmount Avenue south to the waterfront, between Broadway and the city line. Included are Canton and Highlandtown.\(^1\) In contrast to Bishop, Wallace omits the Polish section west of Broadway but extends it much farther to the north and to the southeast.

The main factor that contributed to a diminishing of the concentration of families of Polish descent within the boundaries of the old Polish section after World War II is their migration to the suburbs. This process, common in the U.S., particularly among young families, was accelerated here by expressway construction projects. The first step was taken in the neighborhood of the early Polish church, St. Casimir, in Canton, where about 200 houses were demolished and the families had to move, some of them quite far into the suburbs. The local weekly, The East Baltimore Guide, wrote on January 30, 1975, that attempts are being made to stop further highway construction from Clinton Street to Locust Point. Particularly active in these attempts is Barbara Mikulski, Councilwoman of Baltimore City, who is aware that the expressway will threaten the existence of the remaining parts of the Polish section. To give the reader an orientation of the proposed transportation project, the author includes a corresponding map reproduced from The East Baltimore Guide of January 23, 1975.

After many Polish-Americans moved to the suburbs, a parallel influx of other ethnic groups to the old Polish section took place, including Greeks, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. Among the older settlers are many German and Irish families, as well as some Ukrainians, Russians, Italians, and Norwegians who have their churches here.

The last subject of this section is the number of Americans of Polish descent living in Baltimore City and the surrounding area. The various estimates differ substantially between particular writers and social leaders. One of the Polish social activists in Baltimore, Lilian Ozazewski, stated in an interview given to Wallace, that the estimates of those in the Greater Metropolitan Area vary between 40,000 and 80,000.

Another Polish leader, Eddie Dabrowski, President of the Polish-American Citizens Committee, estimated the number of Americans of Polish descent in 1970 at 65,000 in Baltimore City and 77,000 in the state of Maryland. Audrey Bishop, dealing with the problem in 1972, writes that another factor that makes an accurate estimate difficult is the number of Jews, who are usually classified in the U.S. Census by country of origin. According to Dr. Moses Auerbach, curator of the Jewish Historical Society, from 40 to 50 percent of Baltimore's Jewish community of 106,000 is of Polish descent. That means about 45,000.\(^2\) Bishop also notes that names are no longer a clue to ethnic identity. Inter-marriage has produced Sullivans, Morsellis, and Seilers who are more Polish than they are Irish, Italian, or German. Nor are addresses of much help, because

\(^1\)The Baltimore Sun, May 28, 1973, p. 2.

\(^2\)Little Poland, op. cit., p. 12. "The Jews, most of whom arrived between 1880 and 1915, settled east of the Fallsway on Lombard, Lloyd, Watson, and Baltimore Streets." In recent times they have moved northwest.
the Polish community has scattered over the city and moved to the suburbs.

In such a situation we must refer to the three categories of Polish-Americans listed on the nation-wide scale in 2.1. As a figure corresponding to the largest category of the ethnological group of Polish ancestry, with the exclusion of the Jews, we may regard 80,000 as reasonable (although surely not for the city alone, but for the Greater Metropolitan Area, or even the whole state of Maryland)1. As a figure for the cultural ethnic group, embracing persons who manifest their national origin in any way, we may use about 60-65,000. And the most precise category, called Foreign Stock, numbered, according to Census Data of 1970, as follows:

a) about 40,000 in the whole state of Maryland;
b) about 28,000 in the Baltimore SMSA; and
c) about 14,000 in Baltimore City itself.1

The category of foreign stock embraces persons who came here most recently, either foreign born themselves or children of a foreign born parent. Again the Baltimore SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) embraces the city and its surrounding five counties (Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard, and Anne Arundel).

A detailed distribution of the foreign stock category within the Baltimore SMSA follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total SMSA</th>
<th>27,608</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Anne Arundel County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Annapolis</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Glen Burnie</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Balance</td>
<td>1,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Pikesville</td>
<td>1,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Randallstown</td>
<td>1,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Towson</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Woodlawn-Woodmoor</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Balance</td>
<td>3,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Baltimore County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Catonsville</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Dundalk</td>
<td>2,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Essex</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Parkville</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Carroll County</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Harford County</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Howard County</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Baltimore City</td>
<td>14,138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An initial conclusion to be drawn from the above Census Data figures is the fact that Americans of Polish descent are now scattered quite uniformly across the whole of Maryland, the City and its surrounding counties. The most active group, the so-called foreign stock, in Baltimore City represents only a bit more than one-third of the whole State population, and only half of those within the whole metropolitan area. We may assume that the same occurs with the residual group, less active in its ethnic feelings. Speaking in such a way about the Polish community here, it is impossible to limit oneself to the Polish section localized within the City boundaries, which becomes steadily less and less relevant to the real spatial area, although it is the seat of Baltimore's and Maryland's American Poles.

Returning to the size of the whole American Polonia discussed in 2.1, one may say that the Polish community in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area represents less than 1 percent of the Polish ethnological group on the nation-wide scale.

---

1970 Census of Population, Maryland, Table 141, "Country of Origin of Foreign Stock by Nativity and Race."
and a bit more than 1 percent within the cultural ethnic group and the most active ethnics (belonging to the foreign stock category). So it may be regarded as embracing a higher percentage of active ethnics than the total community of American Poles.

3.2 Polish churches, church organizations and parochial schools.

Audrey Bishop writes in 1972 that, "...the church meant everything to Baltimore's early Poles. They gave tremendous power to their priests and required in return that Polish be taught to their children." The meaning of church, parishes and priests in Baltimore was even greater than in some other Polish centers in America, where there were more secular leaders, who founded lay societies. As we saw in 3.1 above, the first association here was organized in the name of St. Stanislaus Kostka, which gave birth to the first Polish parish of the same name in 1880.

Because the Polish religious associations and parishes were organized in Baltimore before any major organizations of a secular character, it seems best to begin a detailed analysis of the Baltimore community with parishes and their activities; another reason for this is that there exist more written sources concerning parishes than secular organizations.

It must be remembered that the year 1880, when the first parish was established in Baltimore, represents the end of the initial period in the life of the whole American Polonia, and its passage to the second period characterized by rapid growth.

There do not exist any written data on relations between Poles and German Catholic immigrants, who came earlier to Baltimore and had already built their church in 1873. Based on the experience of other Polish centers in America, it may be assumed that early Polish immigrants initially attended this German church before organizing their own parish.

The proportions of different Polish parishes and churches in Baltimore corresponded in the main to the general proportions in the religious structure of the population in Poland. P. Fox characterizes this structure at the end of the 18th century as follows:

1. Roman Catholics 53.2% 6. Dissidents from Russian Orthodox Church 1.1%
2. Unitiates² 29.2% 7. Arminians 0.5%
3. Disunitiates³ 3.2% 8. Mohammedans 0.6% 4
4. Hebrews 10.5
5. Protestants 1.7%

In 1922 he defined the corresponding proportions in the following way:

1Little Poland, op. cit., p. 17.

2 They represented the part of the former Orthodox church, which joined the Union with Rome.

3 These were members of the Orthodox church who did not join the Union with Rome.

4 P. Fox, The Poles in America, op. cit., p. 53.
1. Catholics (Roman and Greek uniates) 79.4%
2. Hebrews 12.0%
3. Protestants 6.6%
4. Remaining denominations 2.0%\textsuperscript{1}

Returning to the reasons for the strong position of the Catholic Church within the Polish community, several factors must be noted that have already been described in a more general way in Chapter II:

1) a connection between national and religious persecution in the greater part of partitioned Poland, which before 1914 belonged to Prussia and tsarist Russia;

2) the social origin of many of the priests who had risen from the peasantry and who, thanks to that fact, knew the customs and way of life of the first immigrants and thereby were able to perform the role of their first social and national leaders;

3) a third reason for the importance of Polish ethnic churches and parishes lay in the parallel organization of parochial schools. Because education in Polish was denied in most of partitioned Poland, the early immigrants wanted to avail themselves and their children of this opportunity in America.

For these reasons, Polish parishes developed quickly in Baltimore, beginning with the St. Stanislaus Kostka parish, established in 1880. In the same year the cornerstone for the church building was laid at 710 South Ann Street. It was dedicated on June 26, 1881 by Archbishop Gibbons and Vicar General Edward McColgan. The founder of the parish and its first pastor, Father Peter Koncz, died on February 8, 1886 and his successor was Father John Rodowicz. During his pastorate the old church building was demolished and replaced by a bigger one, which still stands. When Father Rodowicz died in 1896, he was replaced by Father Thomas Morys, who contributed to the construction of the present rectory. In 1905 a new pastor came to office, Father Francis Pyznar, who organized a weekly Polish paper in Baltimore -- Jedność Polonia. He was the first Franciscan pastor, working in the parish with the help of his five assistants. A census in 1964 determined the size of the St. Stanislaus congregation at 1,368 families.\textsuperscript{2}

Being the first Polish parish in Baltimore, St. Stanislaus was also the first to elaborate a wide range of parochial religious societies. Mary Laura Swanson wrote in 1925 that all their members were required to come to confession and to communion once a month. A card was given to turn in to the organization leaders to show the requirement had been met. At this time all relief societies turned their funds into the church treasury, and relief was secured through the pastor at the recommendation of the head of the organization. Other societies gave a part of their income to the church relief fund. All bookkeeping was in the hands of the priests and the funds were at their disposal.\textsuperscript{3}

In 1925 the following societies existed:

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., the remaining denominations represent Russian Dissidents, Armenians, and Mohammedans.


\textsuperscript{3}A Study of the Polish Organizations..., op. cit., p. 42.
a) The Sacred Heart Society, embracing about 600 members, all married women;
b) The Holy Rosary Society, another organization for married women, numbering about 500 members;
3) The Young Ladies Sodality for young unmarried women;
4) The St. Adalbert's Society, mainly for men who had completed military service; it was organized before 1914 with the goal of assisting Poland in her struggle for independence. It had about 150 members;
5) The St. Stanislaus Cadets, for young men, forming a branch of the PRCU in America;
6) Several others of less importance, such as: the St. Peter and St. Paul Society (also a branch of the PRCU), the Holy Family Society, the St. Cyril's and St. Methodius Society, the St. Joseph's group of the PNA, the Young Men's Athletic Club, the Young Ladies Club, and the Children of Mary.

For readers who might be interested in the details of their activities, the author has prepared Annex 3, a reprint from M.L. Swanson's dissertation describing more completely the organizations of the two earliest Polish parishes in Baltimore, St. Stanislaus and Holy Rosary. We may summarize their main functions in 1925 as follows:

a) raising money for the repair and renovation of parish buildings;
b) tending the needs of the altar, supplying it with candles, candlesticks, linens and flowers;
c) aid during sickness and death;
d) religious education, involving the responsibilities of parents for their children, the duties of family members to each other, etc.;
e) guarding the church and particularly the sacrament during church processions and taking part in members' funerals;
f) participating in the activities of corresponding outside parish organizations such as the PRCU and the PNA;
g) physical and athletic activities for young people, encouraging their moral development;
h) participating in parish club activities, including maintaining a library;
i) organizing dances and dinners, the profits of which went for the needs of the parish;
j) collection of funds, in the form of regular monthly charges and occasional payments for the use of members in case of emergency.

The second Polish parish in Baltimore was the Holy Rosary Parish. It was organized in 1887 at 400 South Chester Street. Its first pastor was Father Peter Chowaniec, a missionary priest from Sanok, southern Poland (then Galicia). During his pastorate there were two important achievements: a) the building of a school and a convent for nuns, who came to teach in the school; and b) the acquisition of a parish cemetery. After the death of Rev. Chowaniec in 1892, Father Mieczislaus Barabasz was appointed as his successor. He was born in Poland like his predecessors and before coming here supplemented his education in Italy, Belgium and France. He was not only a priest, but also a very active social leader in charity services, in the economic field (he was a founder of one of the Building and Loan Associations) and as an editor (of a weekly called Home Friend, Przyjaciel Domu). He also contributed to the enlargement of the church and the school.

After the death of Father Barabasz in 1914, the parish was governed by Father Bernard Gebert, who resigned in 1916, passing the rule to a very young priest, born in America and a graduate of the Holy Rosary School itself, Father Stanislaus A. Wachowiak. He was born in Baltimore in 1885.
While Father Barabasz had contributed greatly to development of the parish, Father Wachowiak surpassed all of his predecessors, contributing to an enormous reconstruction of existing buildings and to the construction of many new ones, including a massive new church building. For meritorious service to his parish, Father Wachowiak was rewarded with many high distinctions, some of them coming directly from the Holy See in Rome. He ruled the parish for more than half a century, from 1916 to 1968, and retired at the age of 83. A big celebration took place in 1955 on the occasion of his forty years of priesthood and thirty years as Monsignor. A special Souvenir Album was published that is of some historical value. It contains important data concerning the range of activities and achievements of the parish during the years 1916-1954.\footnote{Anniversary: Forty Years of Priesthood, Thirty Years of Monsignorship. Rt. Rev. Stanislaus A. Wachowiak, Pastor. Holy Rosary Church, 400 South Chester Street, Baltimore, Md. pp. 132.} Parish expansion was culminated in 1953 by the erection of a new school and convent. As written in the Album: "The completion of the school and convent places them alongside the church and rectory -- in an unbroken line of buildings encompassing one full city block. The school itself is one of the best elementary schools to be found anywhere. Accommodating 1,000 students, its facilities are in harmony with the most advanced theories of modern education."\footnote{Ibid., p. 16.} This last construction was erected at a cost of 1.1 million dollars and all the parish buildings were valued at over 2 million dollars.

Although other Polish parishes are large, particularly the Sacred Heart of Mary, finished after World War II, the full complex of the Holy Rosary Parish evokes the impression that it is nothing but a small Vatican state,\footnote{Composed of four parts; the church itself, the rectory, the new convent, and a school with a chapel.} built in America by Polish Roman Catholics.


In both of these publications, from 1955 and 1964, we find data referring to social organizations in existence during those years. There are no descriptions of their activities, but only their names and the names of their leaders. It is useful to outline here some general information about these organizations. They may serve as a comparison with the data from 1925, presented in the work of M.L. Swanson:

A. Parishal Societies or Brotherhoods\footnote{Because of the existence of two sets of data, from 1955 and 1964, information is given with the corresponding years in brackets. When the years are not given, this means that the situation did not change.}

1. The Altar Boys Society
2. Blessed Sacrament Sodality (President, Marcella Zaleski)
3. The Catholic Youth Organization (President, Melvin Przybylski, 1955 and Paul Nowak, 1964)
4. St. Hedwig's Sodality (President, Laura Cyran)
5. Holy Name Society (President, Albin M. Blazucki 1955 and Adam Szczepaniak 1964)
6. The Ladies of Charity (President, Helen Drozdowski)
7. Holy Rosary Mothers' Club (President, Anna Skalski)
8. The Rosarian, published monthly by the Holy Rosary Church (Editor, Paul S. Mach, 1955)
9. The Sacred Heart of Mary Sodality
10. The Holy Rosary Sodality (President, Catherine Mazan)
11. The Third Order of St. Francis (President, Mary Dziwulski)
12. The Ushers (Marszalkowie, with head usher Michael Dobrzykowski)
13. Pulaski Brigade

B. Organizations or Local Groups of a Mixed Character

1. Polish Women's Alliance, St. Ann's Group 702 (President, Lilian Bernadzikowski)
2. Polish Women's Alliance, Group No. 763, St. Bernadette's Society (President, Victoria Lukaszewski)
3. Polish American War Mothers of Holy Rosary Church (President, Martha Jarosinski)
4. Polish Roman Catholic Union, Gr. 848, Society St. Martin's Cadets (President, George Dernoga)
5. Polish Roman Catholic Union, Osada 78 (President, Waleria Sobolewska)
6. Polish Roman Catholic Union, Holy Trinity Society 1137 (President, Frank Gorski)
7. Polish Roman Catholic Union, St. Stanislaus Kostka No. 527 (President, Andrzej Kraso)
8. St. Joseph's Auxiliary Club (President, Stephanie Sadowski 1964)

In more general terms the two Souvenir Books of Holy Rosary Church in 1955 and 1964 present a valuable source of information about Polish community organizations which were grouped around ethnic parishes, with Holy Rosary at the head. According to the last census, there were about 1,700 families in its congregation and about 85 percent were of Polish descent.¹

Passing briefly to information about the remaining Polish parishes, let us begin with St. Casimir, organized in 1904 and located at the corner of Kenwood and O'Donnell Avenues. Before the establishment of an independent parish, a church was built in 1902 as a branch of the St. Stanislaus Parish. Afterwards the Rev. Charles Kotlarz, from Upper Silesia, Poland, was appointed pastor. St. Casimir also printed a 50th Anniversary Souvenir Book, in both English and Polish. The consecutive pastors were: Rev. Joseph Dulski (1904-1906) and Rev. John Mard (1906). In 1907 St. Casimir's Parish was transferred to the administration of the Franciscan Fathers. The next pastors were: Father Josephat Bok

¹In 1968 Rev. S.A. Wachowick retired from his post as Holy Rosary pastor. One of his former assistants, Rev. Chester J. Mieczkowski, was appointed as his successor. Parish activity is declining, as can be seen in the number of school children, which has dropped by 400 pupils.
(1907-1920); Father Benedict Przemielewski (1920-1939); Father James Cholewa
(1939-1948); Father Aloysius Sobus; and, currently, Father Gerald Kedziora.

Each pastor had the desire to rebuild the church, parochial, school,
Sisters convent, and rectory, as in other Polish parishes in Baltimore. Data
collected in the Souvenir Book for 1902-1952 refer to the number of parishioners
and school children. In 1905, the St. Casimir Parish congregation numbered
200 families and 249 school children. It reached its peak in years 1950-
1934 with 5,311 parishioners and 1,008 school children. In 1951 these numbers
dropped to about 3,000 parish members and 500 children. The following quote
from the Souvenir Book refers to the decline of interest in the Polish language:
"We have noticed that the Polish tongue is disappearing in our school. As
reason of that is the fact that parents do not want their children to learn
Polish because it is a difficult language. The difficulty is caused by the
fact that parents do not speak Polish between themselves and even with their
children. It is not surprising that without an experience at home the Polish
becomes impossible to master. The more that a big number of marriages are
concluded with representatives of other nationalities, not understanding
Polish. In such a situation the child must speak a language which is under-
standable to father and mother. This is English. In Polish churches it is
already now necessary to deliver sermons in English, because the Divine Church
is for people and not the people for the church.... Young people concluding
marriages build their homes outside the boundary of the Canton district.
There they erect new parishes and the new generation belongs to them, because
they are closer. The Polish language does not attract them to St. Casimir's
Church...."

The fourth major Polish parish is the Holy Cross Polish National Catholic
Church, located at 208 South Broadway. The church itself was built in 1880,
but the parish broke with the Roman Catholic Church in 1898, and numbered
about 451 persons. As was pointed out in 2.3, the Polish National Catholic
Church was organized first in Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1897; its first priest
was Francis Hodur. He received in 1907 a nomination to be bishop in Utrecht,
Holland, from the Archbishop of the Old Catholic Church, which did not
acknowledge the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope that was accepted by
the first Vatican Council in 1871. The initial reasons for creating an indepen-
dent church was to maintain parish ownership under the influence of
parishioners themselves. This was done to counter the dominance of the
bishops who were at that time all of non-Polish origin. In the commentaries
to the Constitution of this church, accepted later, there is much attention
given to the idea of nationality in the religious succession. So the Poles may
have their national church too, "... as all creative nations had in the past
and have today." (p. 5)

In 1973 the Baltimore parish celebrated its 75th Anniversary and published
a small Souvenir Book. Unfortunately the scope of information about the
activities of the parish is very limited. The book contains some data about
the Polish National Union of America Spojnia, a counterpart of the Polish
Roman Catholic Union, with its seat in Scranton (the headquarters for all cen-
tral institutions of the P.N.C.C.). The management of District 9 of the P.N.C

---

1The constitution and Statute of the Polish National Catholic Church of

2Besides the names of parochial societies, similar to those existing in Roman
Catholic parishes.
is in Baltimore and is headed by Stanley Skowronek. The church has a Parish Committee with Henry Przybylowicz as president (in 1973). In Roman Catholic Polish parishes there is now a division for Masses and other religious services in English and in Polish. In the National Catholic Parish one service is now held on Sunday partially in English and partially in Polish.

An organization similar to the Polish Women's Alliance is the Maria Konopnicka Society, which includes women who belong to the Polish National Church. Its main purpose is an educational one, to develop a national, moral, political, and social consciousness.

The organ of this society is a quarterly Polka (Polish Women), while other periodicals, connected with the Polish National Church, are the weeklies Rola Bożej (Divine Field) and Straz (Guard).

Two additional parishes in Baltimore were built by Polish-Americans:

1) St. Patrick's Parish situated in the Polish section at 319 S. Broadway. Its congregation has always been mostly Polish, although it has never been regarded as a Polish national parish;

2) Sacred Heart of Mary, 6724 Youngstown Avenue, in Graceland Park, with 90 percent of its parishioners of Polish descent. It includes a large complex of buildings housing the church, parochial school, House of Sisters, and rectory.1

The actual situation within the Polish national parishes can be assessed as follows:

1) The Polish language has disappeared almost completely from the parochial schools. The reasons for this were discussed at the end of the Souvenir Book of St. Casimir's 1902-1952. There are occasional exceptions, such as at the Sacred Heart of Mary School, where the teaching Sisters keep up the Polish language instruction.2

2) Polish masses are offered in a more limited range than the English ones. There are two on Sundays in the main Polish ethnic church, Holy Rosary, one on Sundays in St. Stanislaus and St. Casimir's, a mixed one in Holy Cross of the National Church, and one a month in the Sacred Heart of Mary.

3) The situation of the parochial schools is financially difficult because of a lack of grants from the city, making it necessary for the parishes to subsidize them. The deficit in some cases amounts to 50 or 60 percent of their outlays, which represents a heavy charge for parishes and their members. One cause of rising costs is the declining number of religious Sisters and a growing proportion of lay teachers, who earn much more

1 In a Souvenir Book for the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Polish Home, 1918-1968, the Sacred Heart of Mary Parish is included in the category of Polish Roman Catholic Parishes in Baltimore in 1968. The names of the pastors of these four parishes include: Rev. Ch. Mieczkowski; at St. Stanislaus Kostka, Rev. Cypryien Sondej, O.F.M.; for St. Casimir's, Rev. Joseph Piasta, O.F.M. Conv.; for Sacred Heart of Mary, Rev. Leon K. Warchynski. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. S.A. Wachowiak retired with the distinction of "Our Spiritual Leader over 50 Years."

2 There exist some signs that this situation will change a bit in the next school year 1975-76.
(the proportion at Holy Rosary School is nine Sisters and six lay teachers).

4. The activity of parochial societies, in comparison with that outlined at
the example of St. Stanislaus 50 years ago, focuses more on social meetings,
dinners, and parties, the profits of which meet the needs of the church,
parochial school and charity. An "umbrella" body in every parish is
a Parochial Council which helps priests to cover the material needs of
the parish and develops better communication between priests and parish-
ioners in the satisfaction of their spiritual needs. Confession or
Communion cards are no longer required.

3.3 Major social, cultural and coordinating organizations and institutions.

The tendency to organize, to keep together, to be "clannish," as the
critics of the Polish community say, was a characteristic feature of early
Polish immigrants, in Baltimore and elsewhere. The first Polish social or-
ganization in America was founded in 1864 in Chicago and in Baltimore in the late
1870's. Both had a denominational character in that they were dedicated to St.
Stanislaus Kostka. The biggest Polish social organization became the Polish
National Alliance (PNA), 1 so our analysis of major social organizations in
Baltimore must begin with it.

The PNA has two main goals: a) mutual help, aid, assistance, and insurance;
and b) the realization of broad social, national, and cultural tasks, deter-
mined by PNA leaders.

To be more concrete and precise, let us begin our study of the PNA in
Baltimore with a direct reference to general PNA by-laws which were revised
in 1971. 2

The main principles of the PNA are formulated in the preamble to the
by-laws as follows: "When Poland lost its independence in the 18th century,
it became subjected to a threefold bondage by its invaders and its people
were divested of their rights to life and liberty. After several successful
uprisings, many proud and patriotic Poles, preferring exile to bondage, sought
refuge in a new, free land -- the United States -- and settling here found
freedom and equal rights of citizenship.

A group of these valiant exiles, ever mindful of their duties and obliga-
tions to their newly adopted country as well as to the nation of their origin,
meth together in Philadelphia in 1880 to found the Polish National Alliance
of North America. Among their purposes were the following: to form a
better union of the Polish people in this country, and to transmit the same
to future generations; to insure to them a proper moral, intellectual, eco-


1In Polish, Zwiazek Narodowy Polski (ZNP).

2By-laws of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North
America. Revised and reenacted at the 36th Regular Convention in 1971 in
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, pp. 121-49.

3Ibid., p. 1-2.
of its members; to foster fraternalism and patriotism among them; to provide... death, disability, accident and other benefits to its members and their beneficiaries; and to provide benefits on the lives of children as authorized by its by-laws," (p. 5). The Alliance is licensed in 36 states to transact insurance aid and to lead its residual activities.1

The author has elaborated an extract of corresponding by-laws in Annex 4. It is necessary to study the PNA by-laws because many other social and fraternal organizations formed by Polish immigrants follow the same or a similar pattern of internal structure and mechanism. What must be stressed in the by-laws is the general character of the Alliance, its formulation as a "fraternal benefit society." This means that its first task is to secure the material and social needs of members. It was wise of the PNA founders to realize the need to help, aid, and provide insurance for the immigrants, who could not afford another kind of insurance.

Developing a wide set of bodies and officers to manage corresponding organization units and their supervisory teams the founders of the Alliance established a firm institutional framework, on the basis of which the PNA could pursue its other activities of a fraternal, patriotic, educational, cultural, and philanthropic character.

The official organ of the PNA is Zgoda (Harmony), published on the first and fifteenth of each month. Usually 16 pages in length, the first half is printed in English and the rest in Polish. Zgoda publishes fraternal, cultural, sports, and general news.

In Baltimore the first PNA lodge (Group) No. 60 was established in 1886; it belongs now to Council 142. One of the old lodges is also Lodge 238, established in 1894 under the name of the Society of Jan Kilinski and Bartosz Glowacki. It too belongs to Council 142.2 Among other lodges existing in 1955, Lodge 339 was a society of Polish businessmen. The rest do not give any definition of their internal character.

At present there are two councils in Baltimore City: Council 21, with 11 lodges, located in its own building at 1627 Eastern Avenue; and Council 142, with seven lodges located in the Polish Home at 510 South Broadway in East Baltimore, the old Polish section of the city. Both PNA councils numbered about 4,000 persons in 1944 and now number about 3,000.

Written data about the history of the PNA in Baltimore are scarce. Besides the Souvenir Book from 1955 the author could find only one which dealt with it, namely a small thesis by Adam P. Mazurek, Jr., defended on November 19, 1974, at the University of Maryland.3

From the two existing councils, Council 21 gradually became the most prominent. As in most other Polish centers, the PNA in Baltimore was particularly

2 These details are presented from a Souvenir Book of the 75th Anniversary of PNA Councils 21 and 142 of Baltimore in 1955.
3 A new organization in Polonia, p. 19. It contains three personal interviews with some leading officers of Council 21 (Mrs. Sylvia Maloney, Mr. Ludwik Chudy Williams, and Mr. Ryszard Krzywicki).
active during World War I and in the years preceding it. The Baltimore PNA was very strong in 1907, because it was the seat of the Seventeenth National PNA Convention. At this meeting it was decided to convene the First Polish National Congress in Washington in 1910, on the occasion of the dedication of two monuments to two prominent Polish-American heroes, Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski.

After the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, the PNA was at the head of other Polish social organizations in Baltimore, soliciting and collecting funds and clothing necessary to help war victims in Poland and to raise a Polish army (first formed in Canada by Polish volunteers from the U.S.). This group later fought in France under the name of the "Blue Army" and was led by General Joseph Haller. The Polish Falcon's Alliance also sent its members to the pre-officer schools in Canada, and later to the one at the PNA Alliance College, in Cambridge Springs, Pa. Details and figures about this dramatic contribution by the American Polonia can be found in "Military Contribution of the Polish Community in America," a publication in Polish.

After the end of the war it was necessary to meet the needs of sick and hospitalized veterans, as well as to attend to the burial of those left without families. Another contribution to the development of the restored Polish Republic was the purchase of bonds issued by its government to help with post-war reconstruction.

During the 30's there was the heavy burden of coping with the Great Depression and during the 40's there was the new involvement in World War II, which created problems similar to those created by World War I. At the end of the war there were many committees set up in Baltimore to help the war victims and refugees (Doradnej Pomocy). The author saw many lists, published in Polish-American newspapers, containing hundreds of names of those who contributed to these aims. Other Polish organizations and the entire Polonia participated in this patriotic and humanitarian effort, but the role of the PNA was most important because of its size and its long-term interest in helping Poland.

Returning to the general characteristics of the PNA in Baltimore, the author would like to refer to Mazurek, who writes in his thesis that the pre-war, war, and post-World War II years were the most active years of the PNA, and of the Polonia in general, but a slow decline began to be felt. "The original groups which organized to form PNA in Baltimore had been separate men's and women's groups. Other groups were drawn up along occupational lines, with businessmen, stevedores, and others banding together. Although many of these distinctions faded away, some remained as distinct characteristics of certain groups.

Through the decade of the 50's, Council 21 still retained a healthy number of both the old and new generations. At the same time Council 142 had ceased, except in name, its cultural and educational activities. In 1956 Council 21 moved into a large four-story, former parochial school building... Despite an improved material base, Council 21 was not very active and was divided as to focus. Again Council 142 in the Polish home became more a "Polki..."

1P. Mazurek, op. cit., p. 8.

2It must be noted that in 1935 Baltimore was again the seat of a consecutive National Convention of the PNA (see Memorial of the 27th Convention of the PNA, in Polish, p. 107).

Center in Baltimore" than a real social center. What remained were the insurance groups and the occasional social meetings and dinner parties plus some dance groups and a not too active Polish language class. This picture of PNA activity in the early 1970's presented by Mazurek corresponds a bit to the situation across the nation.

Let us now study the social organizations in Baltimore, beginning with the PRCU (Polish Roman Catholic Union). Once of great merit, this organization is now generally unknown to circles outside of the parishes. The most recent data the author could find refers to the 48th Convention of the PRCU, held in Baltimore in 1962.¹ It contains some figures relating to the activities of the PRCU on a nation-wide scale. The group numbers over 175,000 men, women, and children, with assets of more than $45 million. Recently the former Archives and museum were incorporated and transferred to the Polish Museum of America and valued at almost $1 million. Its educational department paid out more than $500,000 to hundreds of needy students to help them defray the cost of higher education. Its youth department spent at least $750,000 for youth activities programs, including sports.

The Union is unique, not only among American secular societies, but also among Catholic societies, because of its remarkable success in blending three distinct objectives: Catholicism, Americanism, and loyalty to Polish culture. Polish-Americans have a record of patriotic achievement, of civic loyalty, and of generous and wholehearted sacrifice in time of their country's need, that is difficult to equal by any other ethnic group in America.

The organizational structure at the central level and the top officers of the PRCU are:²

Chaplain Rev. Anthony D. Jwuc
Vice Chaplain Rev. Anthony A. Balczyn
Vice Chaplain Rev. Leopold V. Prozny
President Joseph L. Osajda
Vice President Joseph A. Starosciak
Vice President Stella M. Nowak

Secretary General Edward G. Dykla
Treasurer Nicholas J. Nowicki
General Counsel Edward M. Koza
Medical Director Thaddeus J. Jasinski
Editor Joseph W. Zurawski

Two Marylanders are on the Board of National Directors, Stanley A. Jakubowski and Clara F. Jakubowski, both of Baltimore.

Its central organ is The Polish Nation (Narod Polski), published on the first and third Thursday of each month. The Editor-in-Chief is Joseph W. Zurawski. The office is in Chicago, Illinois, but it is published in Detroit, Michigan. Of its twelve pages, the first seven are usually printed in English, the last five in Polish. In a letter to the Editor, published in the issue of March 20, 1975, the author, A.L. Waldo, praises the new editor for transferring the English section from second to first place. As an argument for this change he underlines the fact that three quarters of the American Polonia neither speak nor read Poliah.

At the Baltimore level there is little written about the internal activity of the PRCU's local branches. It is generally known that they exist within the parochial structure, and are active in insurance work and aid to churches and parochial schools. The author has succeeded only in identifying five groups.

¹Pamietnik 48 go Sejmu Zjednoczenia Polsko Rzmysko Katolickiego w Ameryce, 1962, Baltimore, unpaginated.

of the PRCU in Baltimore: four of them were listed in connection with the Holy Rosary Anniversaries, and the fifth in the memorial of the 48th Central Convention. The last refers to St. Stanislaus Polish RC Union, Group 530 (president, Michael P. Lisek).

It is regrettable that nothing more can be said about an organization with such a long history of valuable achievements, not only within the parochial framework. 1

The third social organization is the Polish Women's Alliance. It is also a fraternal organization, consisting of about 100,000 women and children on a national level with about 1,000 in Baltimore. Juveniles may be active in the organization till the age of 16. The main goal of the PWA is concentrated around the family and the education of children. Teenagers are not only taught by elderly people, but also have the right to elect their own officers and representatives; they participate in round table discussions and may take part in arts and crafts activities. As the PNA and the PRCU, the PWA is based on insurance activity, combined with patriotic education and tradition. Young people may participate in a folk dance class held in the Polish Home. They often appear in Polish folk costumes, made by themselves or handmade in Poland. Every two years there is a debutante ball, organized for young Polish girls. 2

On the nation-wide level the PWA has among its leadership: Honorable President Adela Lagodzinska, President Helena Zielinska, Vice President Helena Wojcik, General Secretary Julia Stroup, Cashier Leokadia Bliksowa. The President of District XII, embracing Maryland and Washington, is Martha Welzant from Baltimore City.

The central organ of the PWA is the Polish Women's Voice (Glos Polek), published on the first and the third Thursday of each month. The editor of the English section is Adale Lagodzinska. The Polish Women's Voice is still one rare example of a Polish paper in which the Polish section is located at the beginning and contains more pages than the English one. It defends the use of the Polish language in a very delicate way and is full of emotional appeal through such slogans as: "Have you tried...speaking Polish with your family at least one hour each day?...Reading a Polish newspaper at least once a week? If you haven't, try it...you'll like it."

The leadership of the PWA Council 34, District 12 in Baltimore, includes Martha Welzant, as State President, District 12, and Victoria Lukaszewski, President of Council 34. Some groups exist within the framework of parochial organizations, such as the St. Bernadette's Group 763 (President, Victoria Lukaszewski).

The fourth major organization was traditionally recognized as the Polish Falcon's Alliance, founded in Lwow (Lemberg) in Polish Galicia as an athletic and patriotic organization, mostly for young people. It began in Baltimore in 1897, but was not successful and was reorganized once more in 1901. In that year Nest 16 was established; it published a Souvenir Book, in Polish, in 1960. 3 It contains many interesting observations concerning not

---

1 In the Howard thesis there is a short note on the PRCU, originating from a personal interview with one of its members: "The PRCU is a church-affiliated fraternal organization with most of its functions performed on a national level in Chicago and not on the local Baltimore level." op. cit., p. 14.

2 Howard, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

only the Falcon's Alliance but the whole Polish community in Baltimore: "The idea of establishing a Nest in Baltimore existed in the minds of Poles for many years, but forces were lacking to do so. Baltimore City is situated in such a way that it may be rightly considered a borderland of Polish settlements. Because of that the major part of educated people stayed in Baltimore only for a short period of time and then left for the bigger centers of the American Polonia. The few remaining people were charged very heavily to support the already existing Polish institutions. Even when the Nest was already organized, it could not develop, because the majority of its members consisted of people known for their national activity, and as such, they devoted a bigger part of their time to the work on other fields of national life...."  

The Falcon's Alliance in Baltimore began to develop rapidly after a nation-wide meeting in Williamsburg, Delaware, where the Baltimore Falcons won a prize for their athletic achievements. Thanks to that, the Convention of the first Falcon's district in 1909 was organized in Baltimore, increasing the prestige of its local Nests. In 1916 they managed to buy a big hall at 1735 Fleet Street for training purposes. After the declaration of war on Germany by the United States, they organized a Recruitment Committee for the Polish Army, which had been formed in France. The Baltimore Falcons participated heavily in this action which represented the peak effort of their organization. It is proudly stated in the Souvenir Book that "from the ranks of Falcons -- from this our Sokol's brotherhood -- takes its origin the 'Blue Army' -- the biggest achievement performed by the Polish emigration." After World War I their activity gradually began to decrease as other societies were formed with similar goals (athletics, gymnastics, and moral improvement). Now they number about 200 members, with their main function to distribute baskets to the needy at Christmas and to acknowledge requests of the Polish American Congresses.  

The President of the Polish Falcons of America, District XII, is Ben Sowinski. There are four branches (Nests) in Baltimore, one in Wilmington, Delaware, and one in Washington, D.C.  

The construction of a gigantic Polish Home (Dom Polski) may perhaps be regarded as the third major achievement of the Polish community, after the formation of national parishes and overall PNA activity. In its 25th Anniversary Memorial in 1943 it was beautifully written that "Dom Polski" was always the dream of early Polish settlers in Baltimore and elsewhere who sought to recreate the spirit and folkways of their homeland on foreign soil. After many preliminary meetings the Polish National Home Association of Baltimore was organized in 1906. The initiative was given by Władysław Urbanski and Rev. Mieczysław Barabasz. But the acquisition of a suitable building did not occur right away. The World War I years came and the Baltimore Polonia spent a lot of time on other patriotic goals: "$12,000 was given for the National Department, several other thousand dollars to the Citizen Committee for the Polish Army in France; afterwards there were collections of sums for Golden Books, for insurance, for hospitals for "our soldiers"; later it was collected for the hungry in Poland...  

1 In Polish the so-called "inteligentsia."  
2 Ibid., unpagedinated.  
3 Terri Howard, op. cit., pp. 5-6.  
4 This institution was described earlier in 2.3 as an emanation of the major Polish organizations in the U.S., established in 1916.
etc." The Home was finally completed after 12 years of common effort on the part of the whole community in August 1918.

In 1935 the Polish Home Club was incorporated and has served over the years Polish organizations and groups through social, cultural and recreational meetings. Again, Adam S. Gregorowicz wrote in the 1943 Souvenir Book that, "The name Dom Polski is an extension on foreign soil of the native idea of Swietlica, a lighted room, where village folk and town people, after a day's labor, gathered for recreational and cultural purposes."

In the constitution and by-laws of the Polish Home Club, Inc. (510-512 South Broadway), issued in 1951, we find in Article II that the aim of the Club shall be the maintenance of a suitable place as a center for social, educational, philanthropic, and recreational activities, which aim toward an improvement of our society, but not those of a political character. Article III states that meetings of the Polish Home Club will be held according to Robert's Rules of Order.

Members of the Club are divided into the following categories: a) honorary; b) general; c) delegates from Polish-American organizations, with no more than five from one organization; and d) courtesy.

Within the organizational structure of the Polish Home there exist: 1) the Polish Home Cultural committee, whose chairperson in 1968 was Gertrude Jankowiak; 2) the Special Arts and Crafts committee; and 3) the Polish Women's Circle.

According to a personal interview with Mr. Melvin Laszczynski, its president, the Polish Home numbers about 1,000 members. "It provides a meeting place, fashion shows, and folk dance instructions. It holds many political and social functions. It is a charitable organization and opens its hall for different groups. The hall is rented for Polish weddings and dances, and houses a tavern for its members. Although it holds political functions, it is a non-political organization, giving no endorsement to candidates. It is a civic-minded organization, devoting its time and energy to the functions of its community and to upholding their traditions."\(^1\)

Within its plans for the future, Mr. Laszczynski sees the creation of a college scholarship fund for students of Polish descent. Another goal is related to the organization of a reading room and library. The present leadership of the Polish Home Club, Inc., embraces the following people:

A. Officers

Melvin S. Laszczynski
Joseph Borzymowski
Gertrude Jankowiak
Theresa Krysiak
Helen Jankowiak
Thaddeus Cwalina
Harry Lipinski
Lilian Chrul

President
Vice President
Vice President
Financial Secretary
Recording Secretary
Treasurer
Sergeant-at-Arms
Honorary Vice-President

B. Board of Directors

Martha Lipka
Martha Jarosinski

Mike Lozosky
Stella Machen

\(^1\) Terri Howard, op. cit., p. 8
B. Board of Directors (cont.)

Joseph Dominiak
James Jankowiak
John Jakubowski
Theodore Ozarowski

Frank Rutkowski
Joseph Sempeck
John Pasko
Cecilia Lewandowski

The next institution is the Polish American Congress, Maryland chapter
(510 South Broadway, at the Polish Home). As we have seen in 2.4, this body
was created at the national level in 1944 as a result of the dramatic events
involving Poland at the time. Its aim was to coordinate the policy of all major
Polish-American organizations, as in World War I in the form of the Polish
National Department. According to a pamphlet published by the PAC in
Chicago, Illinois, its goal is to serve the American Polonia in many ways: ¹
in politics, at the local, state and federal levels; in education; in civic
projects; in the study of sociological problems; and in supporting cultural
institutions and subsidizing studies in Polish-American history. It "concerns
itself with the welfare of Americans of Polish extraction in political, national,
religious, social, and economic matters, with the view of encouraging the
growth of their fraternal, professional, ideological, civic and other asso-
ciations, by supporting and protecting their publications, schools and parishes,
which teach the Polish language, history, and culture and through general sup-
port of industry and trade in the United States, conducted by persons of Polish
extraction and to acquaint them with their rights, privileges, and duties
of American citizenship."

Mrs. John Pasko, President of the PAC Maryland Division, has enumerated
the following aims that this division has in mind:

a) transfer of non-periodical information to the member organizations;
b) preparation of a yearly survey, usually on the Polish Constitution Day,
   May 3;
c) the reestablishment of the Polish language in schools. They dispose of
   a scholarship fund and, if necessary, donate Polish classes; and
d) the elimination of Polish jokes, which discriminate against Poles and Polish-
   Americans.

The membership of the PAC is free, but a majority of Polish-American organi-
izations participate in it. A rather rare exception is the PRCU which limits
itself to social and religious problems within the framework of the parishes.
Another exception is the Union of Polish Professionals, about which there is
little information.

The leaders of the PAC, Maryland Division, include

A. Chaplain, Rev. Chester Mieczkowski
B. Honorary Vice President, Walter Szkabowski
C. Officers

John F. Pasko
Melvin J. Laszczyński
Genevieve Jaworski
John Krysiak
Joseph Borzymowski
Agnes Sito

President
Vice President
Vice President
Vice President
Vice President
Financial Secretary

¹Terri Howard, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
C. Officers (cont.)

Veronica Stachorowski  Recording Secretary
Taddeus Cwalina  Treasurer
Andrew Pliwinski  Sergeant-at-Arms

D. Board of Directors

Wiktoria Lukaszewski  Louis Chudy Williams
Lilian Bernadzikowski  Martha Jarosinski
Catherine Blazuski  Nancy Wisniowiecka
Lilian Chruł  John Jarosinski
Helen Darden  Gilbert Bielski
Bertha Fabiszak  Lorraine Laszczynski
Stephen Giernalczyk  Lilian Misiora
Bertha Golembieski  Anita Borzymowski
B. Gomulka  Theodore Ozarowski
Gertrude Jankowiak  Martha Welzant
Allen Rodgers  Theresa Kryziak
Stanley Ciesielski  Zbigniew Pietek

Additional organizations include:

1) Polish Progressive Alliance, Ltd. (Pres., Louis Chudy Williams);¹
2) Polish American Citizen's Committee (Pres., Edward W. Dabrowski);
3) Polish American Democratic Club (Pres., Marty Woyton);
4) Polish American Democratic Club of the Second Ward, Inc. (Pres., Chester Jasinski);
5) Ladies Auxiliary, 2nd Ward Democratic Club (Pres., Martha Jarosinska);
6) Polish Army Veterans Association, Post 112 and Ladies Auxiliary (Commander W. Krajewski);
7) Polish Veterans of World War II, Post 32;
8) First District Independent Democratic Club, Inc. (Pres., James Stankowski);
9) The Youth Committee of PNA, Council 21;
10) The Krakowiacy Dancers of PNA, Council 21;
11) St. Joseph's Auxiliary Club at Polish Day Nursery (Pres., Stefania Sadowski);

Because of the limited scope of this paper, it is impossible to describe all these organizations, societies, and institutions in detail. In addition to the six major organizations and institutions discussed above, there are 18 of a secular character. With the 22 societies of parochial and mixed character there are 40, not counting the six building and loan associations. It seems that the existing data about Polish organizations and institutions in Baltimore are sufficient to prove that Polish-Americans have a tendency to organize, not only on a nation-wide scale, but at the local level.

¹This will be discussed further in 3.6.
Polish press, holidays, customs, and meals

The author has stated in 2.3 that the Polish press was universally regarded as the fourth pillar of the Polish community in the United States. One aspect of its role was stressed by Sister M. Napolska, in her monograph about the Polish immigrant in Detroit to 1914. She said that it was difficult to write her study because before 1891 there was no Polish press.

The author tried to find some Polish periodicals in Baltimore but was not too successful. He did obtain, from the central branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, a document written in 1935, describing the history of the Polish press here; the document was signed by Adam Bartosz, editor of Jednoc Polonia. The first attempts to create a Polish periodical in Baltimore began in 1891.

The problem of the role of the Polish press in America is a very interesting one. The author would like to quote A. Bartosz and refer to his interesting article written on the 55th Anniversary of the Polish National Alliance. Bartosz describes a history of the first Polish social organizations in America prior to PNA, particularly of the "Society of Poles in America," established in 1842 in New York. About 1863, at the outbreak of the January Uprising in Poland, Polish immigrants in America had their own paper, Echo Z Polski (Echo From Poland) because these first pioneers knew that the Polish press is the soul of Polish life abroad.

At the end of his very impressive article, Bartosz, writing about the PNA, says that its biggest merit lay not in its wealth or death-benefits transferred to its members; but rather it in awakening the Polish conscience and keeping it a national consciousness and, thanks to this fact, contributing to the restoration of the Father land.

Because there is no local Polish press in Baltimore, members of the Polish community here are obliged to read Polish newspapers from elsewhere. The most important Polish papers in this country are:

1) Zgoda (Harmony), organ of the PNA central government in Chicago;
2) Narod Polski (Polish Nation), organ of the PRCU central bodies, also in Chicago;
3) Glos Polek (the Polish Women's Voice), published in Chicago also.

Besides other Polish newspapers and periodicals, as well as different American publications of this type, the Polish community in Baltimore has a local paper, The East Baltimore Guide. It was established in 1927 as the Shopper's Guide and serves the inhabitants of the area called Highlandtown. It publishes notes and articles concerning the life of different ethnic groups in the area. Among the five-member staff of the paper's editorial office:

---

1 See opinion represented in the contribution of S.B. Stefan, op. cit., in "Poles in Michigan."


3 This article was published in the Memorial of the 27th National Convention of the PNA, held in 1935 in Baltimore (in Polish).

4 In Polish, Towarzystwo Polakow w Ameryce.

5 Article on the occasion of the 55th Anniversary of the PNA, p. 23.

6 Ibid., p. 24.
there are two people of Polish descent, Mrs. Helen Przybylski and Mr. Bob Denning. The author has visited the editorial office of the E.B. Guide many times while searching through its yearly collections for news concerning the Polish community.

And now let us pass to holidays and customs, which are interconnected in such a way that it is sometimes difficult to isolate each component of this complex of related phenomena. Carl Witke writes in his well-known book that Polish customs seemed peculiar and their wedding and funeral ceremonies were regarded as curious manifestations of old world superstition.1

Of course they are part of a popular rather than intellectual tradition, but mass culture has already gained its position in the modern world and even, perhaps, predominates. It is true that the Polish community observes more particular holidays and customs than some other ethnic groups in America, with the exception of the Irish and the Jews, who have also developed a set of old religious and national customs. They have managed to maintain their national identity for many centuries because they adapted themselves to foreign languages (Irish to English and Jews to their country of settlement).

In 2.2 we followed the characteristic features of Polish immigrants here, seeing them first of all in a complicated synthesis of patriotic and religious feelings, with the role of the church predominant. These characteristics may be regarded in macro-scale, with the establishment of the Polish institutional framework in the form of the parochial system and social organizations. It seems that if we pass to the micro-scale, or family level, we find only customs, holidays, and meals. So we may define the specific set of Polish holidays and customs as a pattern of national and ethnic culture, that became an important component of family links and unity. So these habits expressed mostly in family life are at the same time part of Polish mass culture, as well as of patriotic and religious traditions. Their role is so important that they may represent a substitute, to some extent, of the mother-tongue itself as a sign of ethnic identity. In such circumstances the role of holidays and customs is in no degree negative or tied to superstition, or related to a lack of education. The proper designation is a kind of symbolism that refers to important national, religious, or family events.

Another general feature of Polish tradition in America, and one that is acknowledged by many writers, is that while conserving a major part of their old customs and habits, Polish-Americans acquire at the same time many of the new customs and habits related to their new homeland. This phenomenon suits the idea of cultural pluralism which is a characteristic feature of contemporary American society.

Writers in Baltimore generally acknowledge five holidays and customs as being predominant in Polish life: Easter, Christmas, Polish Constitution Day, Pulaski Day, and the Polish wedding. A minor holiday is the blessing of flowers on Lady Day which is the feast of the Assumption (August 15).

If we wanted to classify these five major holidays and customs into three categories, religious, patriotic, and family, the picture would change somewhat over time, particularly in reference to Easter and Christmas. These holidays began primarily as religious feasts, but Poles have altered them in such a way that they ultimately became family holidays, observed by unbelievers also. Again, Polish Constitution Day started primarily as a national holiday, observed during the era of Poland's partitions, from the end of the 18th century until 1918. But since the restoration of the Polish state after World War I,

---

1We Who Built America, op. cit., p. 423.
the Pope declared it a religious holiday also, of our Lady Queen of Poland. The five holidays can be described as follows:

1) Easter - primarily religious, an all Polish feast, observed by all families;
2) Christmas - the same;
3) Polish Constitution Day - primarily national, today also religious;
4) Pulaski Day - purely national Polish-American;
5) Wedding ceremony - religious as well as family feast.

A short description of these main holidays and customs will be given with reference to two contributions in the Towson State College series, written by Donna Merikken and Gloria Nelson,1 supplemented by the author's own experiences.

1) Easter Season. Easter season lasts several days. The week preceding Easter Sunday is called a Holy Week. On religious grounds, it is a commemoration of the biggest events in the Christian faith, namely of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The most important part is the resurrection, observed on Easter Sunday with its symbol an egg, embodying the newly resurrected life. Easter is, therefore, the most important holiday from a purely religious point of view, although secondary to Christmas as a family holiday.

The eggs are blessed on Saturday evening before Easter Sunday and are eaten for Sunday breakfast as a symbol of family unity. Family members take part of the egg and exchange greetings and best wishes. What is particularly characteristic of the Polish version of the holiday is the bringing of full baskets of food to the church on Holy Saturday to be blessed. The food that is blessed in the church is called in Polish "Swienconka,"2 which in English means "blessed."

Other Polish characteristics of Easter are: a) the printing of Easter eggs in a different way, specific to particular regions of the country; b) the observance of another custom on Easter Monday, the second day of the holiday in Poland, the Dyngus (Polish-American writers call it "Dinkusz"); c) the Easter ceremonial breakfast of homemade sausages, cured hams and festival cakes.

The custom of the "Dyngus" relies on using or spraying water or perfumes. In villages, young men simply poured buckets of water on the girls, usually at the wells; in cities cologne or perfume is sprayed. The right to pour water goes to the person who got up earliest. The historic source and symbolic meaning of this custom is rather difficult to explain.

At the altar Easter Sunday begins with a very early mass, called the Resurrection. In the churches religious hymns are sung, ending with Alleluia, a word expressing joy. Among Polish families the traditional greeting has the formula of Wesołe - go Alleluia (Happy Easter).

2) Christmas This is the second feast after Easter, from a religious point of view, but the first in family life. Its religious meaning is connected

1 Both writers utilized a rich set of published items and personal interviews with people in Baltimore. Due to a lack of space, the author of this paper refers only to the two main names, Merikken and Nelson. Readers or research workers who would like to continue their study of this subject are referred to the bibliography given there. Again, persons interested in a highly artistic literary description of Polish holidays, customs and meals in the form observed in the homeland should refer to the novel Peasants, written by a Polish Nobel prize winner, Władysław Reymont (English translation by H. H. Dziewicki, Knopf, 1925).

2 This is a phonetic transcription of the corresponding Polish word.
with the birth of Jesus Christ and its symbol is a Christmas tree. Two or three years ago there was a discussion conducted in the Polish press in Poland on the source of this custom. Historians have explained that it was introduced into Poland at the end of the 18th century, at the beginning of the era of partitions. The custom originated in Prussia and was brought to Warsaw after the third partition, when Warsaw was incorporated into Prussia. Afterwards it spread all over the country and became so closely tied to Polish life that it is now hard to believe that it was brought from Prussia, a major enemy of Poland.

For further details, see G. Nelson. December 24, the Wigilia or eve of Christ's birth is a busy day in a Polish home. The day is spent baking specialties such as "Chrusciki" and "Pierogi." The house is decorated with traditional mistletoe, greens and holly sprigs. The Christmas tree is erected on Christmas Eve. The tree with all its ornaments and lights is a symbol of the tree in the Garden of Paradise. Each little branch is a cross which is symbolic of the cross on which Christ died. Polish Christmas Carols are then sung.

It is a Polish custom to leave a vacant seat at the table for the Christ Child. This is to symbolize the willingness of the family to accept Him. Straw is also scattered under the table cloth to remind everyone of Christ's humble birth place.

Later in the evening dinner is served using the best china and silverware. All the lights in the house are "closed" and the only source of illumination are the lights on the Christmas tree and candles on the table. All family members stand for a prayer in Polish given by the head of the family. He then takes a "Peace Wafer" or "Oplatek" which is broken in bite-size pieces. The husband then moves around the table to each family member and gives them a piece. Good wishes and blessings for the coming year are exchanged and finalized by a kiss. After the "oplatek" is eaten, symbolizing unity or, some feel, the bread and wine offered at Mass, the dinner begins.

In this feast there are nine different dishes symbolic of the nine months before Christ's birth. Some families I interviewed served thirteen types of meatless food to symbolize Christ and his twelve Apostles. These foods include wafers, wheat bread, stewed prunes, oysters, fried mushroom and sauerkraut filled pies, figs, nuts, and cake. After the meal, more carols are sung and gifts exchanged in memory of the shepherds who brought gifts to the Christ Child. Preparation is then made for Midnight Mass where communion is celebrated.

3) Polish Constitution Day This is celebrated on May 3rd in commemoration of the Constitution, voted in 1791. This Constitution was one of the first in the world, introducing a democratic form of government and social reforms of a progressive character, giving some rights to the bourgeois middle class and

---

1G. Nelson, Polish Customs as Observed in "Little Poland." Baltimore, Maryland, Towson State College Series, September 1971, p. 60.

2This is only one interpretation of this custom. Another one refers to a poor person who may be invited to Christmas Eve by the family.

3The "oplatek" is a thin wafer usually baked at churches and convents. It is square or rectangular and imprinted with artistic holy symbols.

4In Polish, "Pasterka."

and the peasantry.

This anniversary is important to the Polish people because it is connected with a controversy between different historical schools which dispute the causes of Poland's fall at the end of the 18th century. One extreme school claims that the fall of old Poland and her partition were conditioned exclusively by the atrocious and hostile politics of her neighbors, Prussia and tsarist Russia. It was easy for them to destroy Poland's independence because it was a democratic country and its two neighbor states were autocratic monarchies.

The opposite point of view notes that Poland's fall was caused by her own faults: internal anarchy, lack of patriotism within the aristocracy, social and economic backwardness, and the excessive influence of the Church, in particular the Jesuits. This hypothesis was, of course, supported and developed especially by German-Prussian and tsarist Russian historians because it justified their intervention in Poland and her final partition.

It may be said that the idea of the Polish Constitution of May 3rd, 1791 represents some kind of intermediary interpretation of Poland's fall and partition. The followers of the Constitution agree that until 1791 the country had many faults and numerous vices. But attempts to improve social and political institutions had begun. From this point of view the invasion of our neighbors and the partition of Poland came not as a consequence of our faults and vices, but of our endeavors to recover and improve our internal situation. The enemies felt that Poland, reformed along the lines of the Constitution would be much stronger and better able to defend herself against aggression. It can be seen from this that the celebration of Constitution Day reflects an attitude about the Polish past and national abilities.

Such general ideas were associated with the Constitution of May 3rd during the era of Poland's partition until 1918. Afterwards the celebrations changed their all-national character and were used by different political factions to justify points of view.

In America, and particularly in Baltimore, this Polish National Holiday is observed very solemnly, not only at the ethnic level but in a somewhat broader sense. The ceremonies begin with a proclamation by the Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore City. In former years a parade from Broadway to Patterson Park was held. Recently there is a Mass held at the Holy Rosary Church in the morning, donated by the Polish American Congress, Maryland Division, and a big reception in the Polish Home in the evening. At this reception many official personalities and politicians participate, not only those of Polish descent.

4) Pulaski Day. This holiday is celebrated usually on October 24th to commemorate the death of General Casimir Pulaski at Savannah on October 12, 1779. While Polish Constitution Day on May 3rd has an internal Polish character, Pulaski Day serves to stress the common links between Poles and Americans.

Speaking of Pulaski, one must also recall Thaddeus Kosciuszko; both were important heroes in America's struggle for independence. They came here to participate in the American Revolutionary War and considered it a common cause. Pulaski is perhaps better known in the United States because while Kosciuszko returned to Europe, Pulaski died here defending American independence.

At this point it may be useful to include some information about the role of Polish fighters in the American struggle for independence:

---

1Gloria Nelson, op. cit., p. 4.
"In the American Revolution the Poles, with hardly an exception, joined the fight for independence. At least a thousand names of unmistakably Polish origin can be identified in the muster rolls of the Continental Army. The achievements of these Poles who were already Americans have been largely overshadowed, however, by the fame of two spectacular young volunteers from abroad, Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski. Both had been exiled from Poland for resisting the dismemberment of their country by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Even before the Declaration of Independence was signed, Kosciuszko—the first foreign officer to arrive here—offered his services to General Washington.

Pulaski...offered both his services and his sizeable fortune to America...He was heading a troop of cavalry at the time of Washington's Brandywine retreat and was credited with serving much of the Army by his slashing rear-guard ranks. Four days after the battle, Congress hurriedly voted him a generalship. His career was ended at Savannah where, charging the enemy, he was killed by grapeshot."\(^1\)

In Baltimore Pulaski Day is celebrated very solemnly, being proclaimed annually by the Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore City. The celebrations take place at Patterson Park, in front of the Pulaski Monument. The celebrations are usually sponsored by the Polish-American Citizen's Committee with the Pulaski Brigade in color.\(^2\)

The fifth Polish custom is the wedding ceremony. It is celebrated in a very picturesque way, with many meaningful and symbolic traditions. Readers who are interested in a detailed description of Polish weddings are referred to the theses of Gloria Nelson and Donna Merikken and to the literature they quote.

And now let us pass to the area of Polish meals. Some of them were already enumerated above in connection with holidays: homemade sausages, specially cured hams, festival cakes required at Easter, Chrusciki (a kind of cake), pierogi (close to Italian pasta in Polish), sauerkraut filled pies, etc., served at Christmas Eve. Besides the meals quoted above, there are the famous Golombki\(^3\) made of meat wrapped in cabbage, while pirogi may be made of meat or white cheese wrapped in paste. Details can be found in the theses of G. Nelson and D. Merikken and in their references.\(^4\)

It may be said on the whole that the four holidays and customs described in this section give a good idea of Polish life—private, religious, and public. Their observance does not reflect any superficial tradition, brought herefrom the old country, but is closely related to the Polish community's past, present and future in the United States.

---

1\(^{A.Q. \text{ Maisel, } \text{The Poles Among Us, op. cit., p. 2-3.}}\)

2\(^{\text{The East Baltimore Guide, October 18, 1973, p. 1.}}\)

3\(^{\text{Because it is difficult to write the proper Polish spelling (orthography) the author writes it in a Polish-American way, as with Swienkonka.}}\)

4\(^{\text{The thesis of D. Merikken is perhaps more interesting because it includes several personal interviews with aged family members who express their points of view concerning the general meaning of Polish customs.}}\)
Economic Status and Outstanding Personalities in the Past

5.1 Economic Status. Existing statistical data allow one to compare selected indicators, defining the economic condition of people living in three areas:

a) Baltimore SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) either including or excluding Baltimore City;

b) Baltimore City;

c) two districts comprising, more or less, the area inhabited by most Polish-Americans, Washington Hill (in the north) and Highlandtown (in the southeast). The data for a and b originate mostly from the National Census in 1970 and were published in Metro Center Newsletters; figures referring to c come from two separate studies:

a) The People of Washington Hill: Their Characteristics, Housing Needs, Attitudes;¹

b) Barbara Mikulski, A Community Study of Highlandtown.²

Besides the fragmented character of the data in the above two studies referring to the Polish sections of Baltimore, they have another detriment; while the Census Data present figures precisely for 1970, these two studies do not give their concrete time-reference. As both of them were published in 1970, one may only assume that their data come from an earlier segment of time. Taken as equivalent to Census Data for 1970, they underestimate to some extent the real economic situation of the areas representing the Polish section of the City.

Considering the two sets of data, the more representative of the Polish community are probably those given for Highlandtown, which overlaps with the Polish section more than Washington Hill. Unfortunately the study on Washington Hill is better equipped with concrete figures than the study of Highlandtown, which is of a more descriptive character.

Baltimore City can be characterized on the whole as a working class center, with the population living largely in row houses. Quite a lot of industry is located here, but very few principal offices of the related corporations. One can say that this definition of Baltimore refers still more to the Polish section within it.

The most comprehensive economic indicator is connected with family earnings or incomes. In 1969 the City male median earnings amounted to 6,757 dollars, while the Baltimore County figure was 9,005 dollars, and the SMSA figure was 7,901 dollars. The average income for Highlandtown was evaluated by Mikulski at 5,700 dollars per annum and for Washington Hill at 6,710 dollars by the other study.³

The median value of owner-occupied houses was, in 1970, $10,000 for the City, $17,400 for the County, and $15,000 for the entire SMSA. There do not exist any

¹ Research and Analysis Section, 1971. Planning Division, Department of Housing and Community Development. Baltimore City Council, p. 103.


³ For people who are employed only; from public assistance and other sources it was 1,719 dollars, and on the average $3,919.
analogous data for the Polish section. It is only known that there is a system of ground rentals, meaning that one purchases a house without acquiring ownership of the piece of land. This institution decreases the price of the house, making it accessible to working class families.

Median rents in 1970 amounted to $88 for the City and $113 for the county. Average rents may be regarded as an indirect indicator of home values. The contractual rent for Washington Hill was $66 monthly, while the gross rent (including central heating and utilities) was $71. Although Washington Hill is not fully representative of the Polish section, the rents there were rather lower than the average for the city, suggesting that home values are probably also below average there.

The educational level in 1970 was determined (for males 25 years and older) at 9.9 years in the City, with the County figure of 12.1 years. These indicators were decisively lower in the Polish section, represented by 3.4 years in Highlandtown and less in Washington Hill.

The general economic situation of the city can be said to be below the national level. Among other indicators is the automobile ownership ratio; 41 percent of City households had no automobile in 1970, when there were 1.4 cars to a household in the entire United States. Regarding occupational status the proportion of manual workers was higher in the City than in the County (43 versus 25%), while the situation of businessmen, professionals, and clerical workers was the opposite. The category of manual workers amounted to about 66% in Washington Hill, and nearly that in Highlandtown. In Highlandtown there still exist many small family businesses, both crafts and shops; however, their continued existence has been endangered recently by the large shopping centers, particularly Eastpoint Mall.

The majority of the working class in Highlandtown are employed in industrial plants, located on the spot or just outside the city boundary to the southeast, where there is a lot of industry (food, steel, port and harbor facilities, shipyards, etc.).

Factors that helped families living here to acquire homes and to survive the difficult years of the Great Depression were primarily the people's own financial institutions created here. As we saw earlier, the first financial help was rendered to Polish immigrants by their large social organizations (the PRCU and the PNA) which developed a system of mutual, accident, sickness, and death insurance. The next step in their economic promotion was realized through a system of Savings, Loan and Building Associations, which promoted home ownership as well as small private businesses. They were continuing the best traditions of the Polish cooperative movement in partitioned Poland; the first cooperatives of this kind were organized in the second half of the 19th century in Western Poland, then under Prussian occupation. The number of the S.L. and B. Associations reached 20 at one time, while today there are 6, with assets estimated at about $100 million. They are members of the Maryland Savings Share Insurance Corporation, being insured to $30,000. Some of the formerly existing associations liquidated; others merged. Because the majority of them were located on Eastern Avenue, rather close to Broadway, this part of the Polish section was formerly called the "Polish Wall Street."

+ Data received thanks to the courtesy of Mr. J. F. Pasko, member of the White Eagle Savings and Loan Association Management and President of the Polish-American Congress, Maryland Division. It is very difficult to get more precise data because there does not exist any common body embracing just Polish-American S.L. and B. Associations, but only a broader one at the City level for all such organizations in the City.
Here are the names and addresses of the existing S.L. and B. Associations connected with the Polish section of the City:

1) Kopernik Building and Loan Assoc., 2101 Eastern Ave.
2) Kościuszko Permanent Loan and Savings Assoc., 1635 Eastern Ave.
3) St. Casimir's Savings and Loan Assoc., Fait and Lakewood Aves.

White Eagle Savings and Loan Assoc., 1714 Eastern Ave.
5) Citizens Alliance Building Assoc., 1704 Eastern Ave.
6) Weekly Building Assoc., 2619 Fait Ave.\(^1\)

Polish-American S.L. and B. Associations could help the people here and survive the Great Depression without failure because they were very sound from the economic point of view. This was due to their personal character, lack of bureaucracy, and relation to the group, with family, friendship, and neighborhood links. Thanks to these features, they were not only pure financial institutions, but also to some extent centers of the social life and activities of the community.

As Barbara Mikulski writes in her thesis, difficulties affect not only small businessmen here, but also some part of the working class. This was and is due, first of all, to the automation process in production, causing a decrease in employment and making it necessary for workers to change their occupations. Those most handicapped by this process are workers over 40 years of age, those not particularly skilled or vocationally trained to have a good chance of being employed elsewhere.

Despite some difficulties, lately accentuated by the energy crises, Polish-Americans have almost never relied on public assistance. This attitude is reflected in the data referring to Highlandtown: for 26,000 inhabitants, only 389 of them are availing themselves of public assistance.\(^2\)

Mikulski describes in her thesis further socioeconomic features of Highlandtown, such as:

1) its political structure, within the framework of the First Legislative District, connected decisively with the Democratic Party;
2) a highly developed community spirit, embodied not only in the existence of many social societies and clubs, but also in the creation of some local "umbrella organizations" coordinating their activity and representing them before the City Council. One of the best-known of these is the South-eastern Council of Community Services;
3) effective community welfare services, represented by the network of schools, hospitals, and recreational centers.

On the whole the economic status of the Polish community in East Baltimore may be summarized as follows:

1) There is no formal difference in earnings and incomes in comparison with the city average, but as in the rest of the city non-white families prevail with incomes decisively lower than this average; one can thus say that

---

1. The original list, from M.L. Swanson, Baltimore, 1925, consisted of 13 units, but the author could only identify the 6 listed above.

2. Barbara Mikulski, op. cit., unpaginated.

3. According to the JHU Newsletter of Dec. 1973, the median income of all families in Baltimore in 1969 was $6,796 (mean=$8,084); the corresponding figures for black families were $5,590 (and $6,602). Families of Highlandtown were at an approximate income level of only $5,700.
the economic situation of the white families in the rest of the city was distinctly better than that of Polish-American families in East Baltimore.

2) The above hypothesis finds further justification in the remaining social and economic indicators, referring to the value of houses and amount of rent, level of education, and occupational status.

3) Besides being at a lower level economically, Polish-American families are more endangered by the automation process and energy crises, although they avail themselves of some positive aids, too, such as their Building and Loan Associations and the development of educational, health, and recreational facilities in their section of the city.

As can be seen from the above considerations, the overall situation and well-being of the Polish community here depended and still depends to some extent on the activity of some ethnic institutions of various kinds. Because the role of these institutions is conditioned, first of all, by leaders, creating them and standing at their heads, let us pass now to a short overview of outstanding personalities in the past development of the Polish community in Baltimore.

As was stated above, we do not have at our disposal any reliable data concerning either the first founders of the Polish community in Baltimore or the most prominent and devoted leaders in the years prior to World War I. We know only that there were very few highly educated Polish people here and even some of these left Baltimore for larger Polish centers in America.

In this situation we may refer only to some names beginning from the era of World War I. The author would like to be as objective as possible in this enumeration, quoting only those persons who were distinguished in the numerous souvenir books and in the articles written about the Polish community by American journalists.

It is necessary to quote, in the first place, Rev. Stanislaus A. Wachowiak who governed through more than half a century, 1916-1968, the biggest Polish national parish in Baltimore, the Holy Rosary. One may find such a definition of his role in the Souvenir Book from 1955. "Serving as Spiritual leader and organizer of all undertakings, he has been both the devout Priest and a competent advocate of our 'Polonia.'" ¹ His formal merits and achievements, at the parish level and to some extent within the community, were described somewhat in section 3.2. Not being able to find any further written sources, the author was obliged to ask the Polish-Americans in Baltimore how they appreciate the social role of Rev. Wachowiak within the community. The answers were mostly positive, underlining, first of all, his help to the unemployed and poor Polish people during the Great Depression, as well as to the newcomers after World War II, who sometimes found themselves in very difficult economic situations.

The next question is, who may be regarded as the most merited and popular personality among secular leaders and activists? Here also the choice was not very difficult to make; the overwhelming bulk of the written data and popular opinion point toward Mrs. Anastazia Swierczewska-Czyzger.

Her life symbolizes perhaps the greatest achievements of the PNA, as well as of other Polish-American social organizations in Baltimore. The following is some information, originating from two souvenir books, on the activity of

¹Forty Years Priesthood..., op. cit., p. 10.
this leader. Because the original texts are in Polish, what follows will be a free translation from them into English.

Mrs. Czygier immigrated to the United States in June 1905 and after some time began to work in Polish social organizations. She was active in the Recruitment Committee of Polish Soldiers, sending linen to Polish soldiers in Canada. She was Vice-President of the Circle of Polish Soldiers during World Wars I and II. For these activities she was awarded the Polish Order of White Eagle.

A second focus of her activity was the Women's Division of the PNA. She was one of the founders and first President of the Queen Hedwig Society, embracing women belonging to Group 2157 of the PNA. In 1931 Mrs. Czygier organized a juvenile division within this group. In 1956 the group numbered 471 members, with A. Czygier as its president.

Meanwhile in 1935 Mrs. Czygier was elected as the first woman Commissioner of the PNA for Maryland and the District of Columbia. She organized a Woman's Division in Baltimore and, thanks to her initiative, it introduced a Mother's Day, which is still observed. She was always active in all Polish community committees and in collections for the Pulaski monument. She sponsored the new post-World War II immigrants and helped them in finding accommodations and jobs.

Besides participating and presiding in the Polish-American organizations and committees, Mrs. Czygier developed her own field of social and charitable work, hardly noticed by others. It involved care for the elderly and young children.

As recorded in a souvenir book, the initiative was taken in 1915 by two other ladies, who began the work among the sick and aged in East Baltimore; Mrs. Czygier joined these women in the mid 20's in organizing a society known as S.A.M.O-POMOC, Inc. (Self Help). The society cooperated closely with the order of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, with Mother Provincial Mary Laurentia at their head. They established in 1924 the first St. Joseph's Home for the Aged in East Baltimore. After several changes in the development of this home, it was finally necessary to move outside the City to the newly built St. Joseph's Nursing Home in Catonsville, Maryland, the dedication of which took place in 1960. It now gives shelter and very good care to about 50 aged persons, cared for by 26 sisters and some lay personnel.

In the old location at 10 S. Patterson Park Avenue there still exists a Day Nursery, with 70 children and the help of the sisters and some lay-women.

Let me supplement these written sources with my own experiences, acquired in personal contacts with Mrs. Czygier. Besides her public activity she was always helping poor relatives in Poland.

The author had the honor to participate in the last banquet organized by her group on Mr. Czygier's 89th birthday in the beginning of February 1975. During this modest ceremony it became clear to what a high degree the life of

---

1Fiftieth Anniversary of the Women's Division of Polish National Alliance, 1906-1956 and Thirty-fifth Anniversary of Group 2157, PNA, Queen Hedwig Society, 1921-1956 (unpaged); Testimonial Banquet honoring Anastazji Czygier, Honorary President of Placowki 112, S.W.A.P., February 14, 1965 (unpaged).

2Dedication of St. Joseph's Nursing Home, 1222 Tugwell Drive, Catonsville, Md., 1960 (unpaged).

3It must be noted that Polish Sisters of different Orders have contributed greatly to the development not only of the Polish parochial educational system, but also to widespread charity work among the aged, sick, and children.
this simple and brave woman symbolizes the history of the Polish community in Baltimore since 1914.

Mrs. Czygier, of course, could never have managed so many activities if she were not supported by her friends and family members. Because some of these activities were carried out together with her daughter, Mrs. Sylvia Maloney, it is necessary to note her contributions also. Mrs. Maloney has been very active for many years in social activities within the Polish community in East Baltimore, being Vice-President of its Council 21. She participated in numerous charitable activities. What particularly merits notice here is her help to war veterans, war prisoners, and war refugees, not only in the form of collecting money for them, but also of their accommodation and care in her own home.

Her most important activity of this kind was the help given to Polish women who were objects of medical experiments in the Nazi concentration camps, called "Experimental Lapins." This case was described in The Catholic Review, Baltimore, April 10, 1959, in an article "Victims of Nazi's Polish 'Lapins' Welcomed Here," by Mike Greene (page 1). 300 women went through the experiments, but there were only 52 survivors. Two of them were invited to Baltimore before Christmas in 1958 for three months of intensive treatment at local hospitals. These were Mrs. Stanisława Bafia, wife of a professor of law at a Warsaw University, and Mrs. Jadwiga Kukiela. They belonged to a group of 27 Lapins brought to the United States by the Hiroshima Peace Center Associates, a Quaker organization, and helped by local Polish families, with Mrs. Maloney at the head.1

Having finished with the past activity within the Polish community in Baltimore, let us pass in the last section, 3.6, to its present problems, difficulties, and achievements.

3.6 New tendencies within the community in the 1970's

We have already considered general tendencies affecting Polish-Americans on the nation-wide scale in 2.4. They were and are similar to a large extent to those in Baltimore; there also exists here a difficult problem of an absence of professionals within the activities of the traditional Polish-American social organizations. A general shift to the suburbs, particularly of the younger generation, loosens the formerly close links existing within the community. In Baltimore this last problem is connected with a very controversial issue, that of highway construction, projected to pass through the former Polish section of the city. The community in Baltimore is also facing a crisis in terms of the social organizations, such as the PNA and the PRCU, that were established before World War I and are involved in activities that are no longer regarded as important, particularly by the younger generation. Their major activity is providing accident and death insurance to members; this is now available to the majority of employed persons through their employers. The general disuse of the Polish language, particularly among the young people, creates a barrier between them and the older generations. It is therefore more and more universally acknowledged that the old institutional framework, and to some extent its intellectual content, have become obsolete.

---

1 Mrs. Bafia said she was arrested at the age of 15. Flesh and bone were removed from her legs at the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. She was scheduled to be shot the day the American Army liberated Ravensbrueck prisoners. Mrs. Kukiela was gradually sterilized by radium treatments at Ravensbrueck in a program designed to prevent the propagation of the Polish race. She was scheduled to be cremated at Ravensbrueck on the day of her liberation.
J. Wytrwal, quoted in Chapter II, is inclined to regard the year 1958 as a boundary between the old and the modern era, seeing the seeds of the future in the development of Polish-American cultural and scientific institutions expressing and publishing their ideas almost exclusively in English.

It seems that the Polish community in Baltimore has participated quite actively in this search for something new in the 1970's. Sometimes imitating and repeating solutions created in other older and bigger Polish centers in America, it is now contributing much to the elaboration of the future shape of Polish ethnic life and of ethnicity in the U.S. on the whole. New ideas and conceptions are necessary to further revitalize ethnicity, as well as new forms for its expression. The author would like to refer to the contribution of Barbara Mikulski in this field. She is an outstanding scientific worker and politician of Polish descent, who belongs to a rather younger generation, and an associate professor at the Community College of Baltimore, where she teaches in the field of urban affairs. She has focused some of her scientific activity on ethnic problems, and was invited to participate in activities of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

Nancy Seifer writes that "She has never really left her roots and strong personal ties in Polish, Catholic, working class Baltimore. Her background in Catholicism - she spent 16 years in Catholic girls' schools - increased her preference for things concrete, and also shaped her world view." This philosophical and religious background did not hinder her in any way from coming to progressive and modern conclusions, connecting ethnicity with:

a) the prevailing working class social condition in America; and
b) preserving and strengthening family and neighborhood ties, representing the recent dominant tendency in sociology and other social sciences.

She started with point b in her thesis on Highlandtown, passing next to the broader connection between ethnicity and social class division in the whole society. This may be regarded as a development of the N. Glazer, H. Gans, D.P. Moynihan theory that ethnic groups become representative of different interests of an economic and political character.

Such a theoretical contribution creates a firm base for a somewhat different appreciation of ethnicity and its social role in the future life of the country. Instead of perpetuating the "ghetto" mentality, and the isolation from the general problems of the whole society; the ethnic social and cultural organizations are now able to become an important factor in the realization of social progress. At the institutional level they need to be more connected with consumer protection, social insurance, social assistance, and other main issues of social policy and social planning.

It seems that in the contributions of Barbara Mikulski there can be seen some important germs of such a future development of the ethnic problems in the U.S.

---

1 The 350th anniversary of the Polish Pioneers first landing in America.


3 Discussed earlier in 1.2

4 Barbara Mikulski is also deeply engaged in purely political activity within the Democratic Party. Because this paper rather excludes entrance into direct political issues, the author limits himself to this side of her activity.
A second valuable initiative, indicating new lines of this development, are the efforts made by a group of young people who organized in 1972 the Polish Progressive Alliance (Polskie Towarzystwo Postepowe). Let us quote some information about this initiative, taken from the already mentioned thesis of A.P. Mazurek:

"By its constitution and by-laws the new group sought to avoid the pitfalls that groups before it had encountered. Unlike PNA, it had but one purpose; the preservation and enrichment of Polish culture in the Baltimore community. Dedicated to the best and most progressive traditions of Poland, the group declared itself to be both cultural and educational. The group sought membership and was granted representation on the All Nations Foundation, a multi-ethnic association in Baltimore. All members continued to remain in PNA and the group was also admitted to the Maryland Division of the Polish American Congress. The Polish Progressive Alliance declared itself to be avowedly apolitical, and this provision carried with it two important ramifications. On the local level it would not, as a group, support any political candidates; this had become the custom of other groups, who were constantly sought out by conflicting 'mini-machines' in East Baltimore politics. On a higher level the group decided to seek whatever non-political and cultural materials it could from the Polish Embassy in Washington.\(^1\)

The first attainments of the PPA were a successful participation in the September 1972 Baltimore City Fair, and the creation of "The Adam Mickiewicz Award," to be given for significant contributions to the enrichment of Polish culture in Baltimore.

As Mazurek wrote in his thesis in 1973, 'The City of Baltimore had approached the All Nations Foundation with the proposal of co-sponsoring a series of summertime, weekend ethnic festivals in the Inner Harbor area of downtown, and the Polish Progressive Alliance accepted the responsibility for coordinating the Polish Festival. The Festival was held in August, 1973.\(^2\) It was a great success. Even more so was the Festival in 1974, with a major cultural arts exhibit sent to the United States from Poland. Mazurek writes about it as follows:

"The 1974 'Sights and Sounds of Poland' was a mammoth event, with 62 participating organizations, city, federal, and Polish agencies, private firms, churches, and even other ethnic groups. Also included were eighteen artists, featuring a concert pianist from Poland who was on an American tour. The festival was preceded by exhibition of part of the artwork at downtown theaters and office buildings, as well as the library, so that when the festival opened, much interest in it had already been generated. The opening ceremonies were attended by representatives of the Department of State, a U.S. senator and congresswoman, the Mayor of Baltimore, and local dignitaries, and by the Polish Ambassador to the United States.\(^3\)

The 1974 Summer Festival, besides being a success for members of the Polish Progressive and Polish National Alliances, was at the same time a very great personal achievement of its leader, Mr. Louis Chudy-Williams.\(^4\)

---

\(^1\) A.P. Mazurek, A New Organization in Polonia, op. cit., p. 11-12.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 13-14.

\(^3\) A.P. Mazurek, op. cit., p. 15-16.

\(^4\) President of the Polish Progressive Alliance, as well as of the Council 21 of the PNA from the beginning of 1975.
The author had occasion in Poland, before coming to the U.S., to acquaint himself with an interesting article on this Festival published in the Zycie Warszawy (Warsaw's Life) of August 7, 1974. Having described the whole Festival, the newspaper correspondent, Aloyzy Hclewski, writes at the end of his article (in a free translation from the Polish): "Chudy-Williams has understood what more and more Americans of Polish descent in the U.S. are only beginning to understand: that their position, as Polish-Americans, depends in a high degree upon the international position of their old country and upon the solidarity, with which they will demonstrate the 1000 years heritage of their great and hard-working nation."

What is most important in the initiative of the Polish Progressive Alliance may be summarized in the following issues:

1) that the cultural and educational development of the Polish community is now more important than the insurance activity led by old Polish-American organizations.

2) that the activity in these fields would be very meager without the help of the old country, beginning in such a way a process which, although perhaps long, is a unique way of contributing to the overall improvement of relations between the United States and People's Poland.

Before passing to the next tendency, let us stop for a moment to consider the activity of the All Nations Foundation, in which the Polish Progressive Alliance participates. The Foundation was established in 1951, but its activity was not widely visible until 1971, when the Foundation began to participate in the Baltimore City Cultural Festivals. In late 1973 it also undertook cooperation with the Maryland Historical Society. In a leaflet published by the Foundation in 1974 may be read its intention to continue this new path of activity, in order to help member groups in arranging meaningful programs which would enable them to achieve unity within themselves, with a resulting new respect and understanding for their own heritage, and to coordinate the events in the best interest of all ethnic communities and the City.

The Polish Progressive Alliance representatives are active in the All Nations Foundation, which may be regarded as the third characteristic feature of this new organization. In this way it supplements the old Polish slogan, "For our freedom and for yours," with a new one, "For our culture and for yours" in the spirit of friendly cooperation of all ethnic groups in Baltimore, aiming to enrich the local cultural life and ethnic identity.

It is not surprising that the initiative of the young men from the Polish Progressive Alliance has evoked a deep echo within the Polish community in Baltimore. Let us quote what Mazurek writes on this subject: "A further challenge to the group has appeared with the recent formation, among old intellectual and professional people, of the Polish Heritage Association of Maryland. Born apparently as a reaction to the Polish Progressive Alliance, this society deplores the image of Polonia that has recently been put forth, and it considers its purpose to be the rectification of this."

What is important from the point of view of this study is the fact that the new association embraces many intellectuals and professionals, until now rather outside the scope of activities of the Polish-American social organizations. The next meaningful phenomenon relates to the fact that one of the most outstanding scientific workers active in the social sciences has undertaken a

1A.P. Mazurek, op. cit., p. 16.
study on the last wave of Polish immigrants to the U.S. after World War II. This was Dr. Danuta Mostwin, whose work has already been quoted in 2.4. Underlining the usefulness of carrying out such a study, the author of this one has already expressed his criticism referring to two aspects of it:
a) too much stress laid on the linguistic side of ethnicity; and
b) half-baked, hasty generalizations of its numerical results, not fully representative of the whole group of post-war immigrants.

As a third deficiency of the study may be regarded a rather negative appreciation of self-expression through ethnic channels, considered as characteristic of people of low social and educational status.

It seems that, among other points meriting to be mentioned in this section, the first is the Polish Radio Program in Baltimore, directed recently by Barbara Miegon. She has held this position since the death of Mr. M. Kniejski in March 1972. Under her leadership the local Polish radio program has strongly improved the quality of its programming. Its two most important aspects are: a) a very good selected musical program presenting the best Polish composers and performers, and b) some interesting and useful information about Polish cultural and social phenomena, for example, the famous Polish women, the best-known Polish inns, explanations of Polish national holidays, etc. Supplementary aspects of the Program include information about activities of local Polish organizations, ceremonies, and meetings, as well as some unavoidable share of advertising. The program is transmitted only one hour per week, on Sunday from 10 to 10:30 A.M. and from 2:30 to 3:00 P.M.

Another problem to be mentioned refers to the results of the author's own discussions and informal inquiries about the revival of ethnic identity among Americans of Polish descent and the role of the Polish language in it. As was stressed above, the author had no access to any internal materials of the Polish social organizations here, so his sources, besides the published items, accessible universally, were several informal discussions. The result is that the analytical material of this study has a more social than institutional character.

The questions put by the author to his respondents were, generally, a) what is his opinion on the ethnicity revival on the whole and the Polish one in particular; and b) what is the role of the old country language in the preservation of ethnic feelings and identity. The respondents enumerated first some general conditions of American life affecting ethnic links, such as great mobility on the nation-wide scale, bound mostly with changes in employment, and an accentuated tendency of the exodus to the suburbs, loosening or even dissolving the old ethnic sections of the cities. Polish-Americans participate in these processes not less intensively than other ethnic groups, representing now a society that differs in many respects from the one of the early immigrants who lived almost exclusively in some kind of national ghetto.

Among young Polish-Americans there is still another motive for their absence from ethnic activity, namely the existence of Polish jokes that make some of them very reluctant to manifest in any way their national origin.

With the above limitations, a majority of respondents confirmed a revival of ethnic feelings, connected with two separate reasons:

---

1 She is at the same time a head of P.T. Miegon Agency, being a representative of the Polish Bank PRO from People's Poland and of American Express. Through this agency Polish-Americans can send money and parcels to their families in the old country, on very favorable financial conditions, as well as travel to People's Poland to visit their families or take tours.
a) a universal one, for all ethnic groups in America; and
b) a second, perhaps more specific to the Polish community, bound with con-
tradictions between consecutive generations. Because former generations
were exposed to more discrimination, the last one feels itself more free
to embrace its ethnic heritage.

Passing to the second issue, the role of language, one could observe a
wider variation of attitudes. It may be stated that altogether a slight major-
ity expressed a need for knowing Polish, at least in a passive way; this know-
ledge makes it possible to acquaint oneself with masterpieces of Polish liter-
ature and other kinds of cultural achievements. There existed also a consider-
able group that regarded several habits as necessary for keeping one's ethnic
identity: to know Polish greetings, to practice holidays and customs, and to
consume Polish meals.

As difficulties in learning and retaining the Polish language were denoted
such factors as its limited utility in everyday American life, and a lack of
good textbooks and teachers.

So, on the whole, some improvement in the search for ethnic identity,
origin, and even for the knowledge of the Polish language may be observed,
but this tendency may be regarded until now as not very strong. Its future
depends to a high degree on Polish-American institutions and organizations main-
taining and developing it.

This is the question that stands before the Polish-American community.
The new tendencies within the Baltimore Polish community described above lead
to some optimism in this area, because they are connected with a stress on
the educational and cultural side of the problem, with a predominantly positive
appreciation of ethnic feelings.

As a practical illustration of the actual forms of activity and the best
known events occurring within the Polish community in Baltimore, it will be
useful, it seems, to give at the end some notes from the East Baltimore Guide
reflecting the everyday life of the Polonia here. They are included in Annex 6.

Although they may seem to be a bit stiff in form, they represent a good
mirror of events, large and small, taking place in the Polish community. We
find there some issues we already well know and some new ones, indicating what
Polish social organizations were really doing in the years 1971-75. One of the
important issues is still a fight against the so-called Polish jokes, led by
representative of Polish-Americans in the City Council or State legislature.
In the "Community Calendar" we may again observe how similar is the activity of
different societies now, of a parochial as well as of a secular nature.

-75-
Chapter IV: Summary and Conclusions

Summary of the findings

It was underlined several times at the beginning of this study, that to characterize properly the local community in Baltimore it is necessary to add a supplementary chapter dealing with Polonia at the national level. The comparative method was stressed, as a way of enriching the local data. Now, at the end of this study, another side of the problem ought also to be exposed, namely the very substantial question of supplementation. If we want to learn something reliable about the Polis' community in the U.S., we must analyze the national, as well as the local data of a more concrete character. The reason for this is, that some problems are better recorded and analyzed on a nation-wide scale while others on a local one.

To satisfy both these needs, let us begin our summary with a more detailed, although fragmentary, study described in Chapter III, supplemented by the nation-wide data collected in Chapter II.

The establishment of a local community in Baltimore took place rather late compared to other centers. In 1877 the first Polish association was established here, while the first one in the U.S. was created in Chicago in 1864, and in 1873 the all-American organization, the PRCU, was formed.

A second characteristic feature of Baltimore was the lack of political exiles and intellectuals among the early immigrants; no names in this category were recorded among the founders of the community. It could also be the reason for the fleeting existence of the Polish press in this city.

Referring to the initial difficulties of the early settlers, we have data regarding discrimination by German immigrants. Here it manifested itself in the economic sphere, while in other centers there are recorded misunderstandings of a political character (American Germans supported the anti-Polish politics of Bismarck in Prussia).

Dealing with social and economic promotion of early immigrants, the Baltimore data record more details connected with their seasonal work on farms of the surrounding district.

Again, the process of obtaining American citizenship and learning English was slower in Baltimore than in other centers. This was perhaps due to the large proportion of uneducated workers. This last characteristic is reflected in the composition of the community in terms of the different ethnic subgroups; although comprising less than 1 percent of the total Polish ethnological group in the entire U.S., the Baltimore community surpasses 1 percent in the remaining, more active categories of cultural ethnic group and foreign stock.

While family characteristics and their social and economic furthering were quite similar, at the local and national levels, the building up of the Polish institutional system was again rather different. Not having many educated lay-readers, the local community became decisively more clerical, and the parochial social system played a bigger role here than in other centers. M.L. Swanson had access to some interesting data which describes the parochial societies 50 years ago. A detailed description of their activities is offered in Annex 3. Thanks to the existence of many different Souvenir and Jubilee Books, published in connection with anniversaries of parishes and their pastors, it was possible to obtain data relevant to more recent times. It was also possible to describe in a more detailed way the present situation within parishes, their churches and parochial schools. The major problem is the decline in use of the Polish language, characterized in an interesting way in the St.

-76-
Casimir's Souvenir Book.

The trends in the development of major social organizations may be regarded as quite parallel. In the light of local materials it was possible to reveal their external activities related to assistance to Poland and war victims. Local materials also describe community meeting places, such as the Polish Home, and the activity of the Polish-American Congress (Maryland Division).

It was easy to appreciate the economic status of the Polish community at the local level, because of the large proportion of manual laborers in Baltimore. The Polish community is rather below the average for white families in income indicators, and still more distinctly below in educational ones. Only, perhaps, in the house ownership ratio does it surpass other ethnic groups.

The topic of the Polish press was not thoroughly examined nationally or locally, mostly because of a lack of space and because in Baltimore it had a temporary character.

Polish holidays, customs, and meals were analyzed in Chapter III, connected with local affairs, but many additions were made by Polish-Americans in general and native Poles.

A crisis in the existing institutional system of Polish-American social organizations was reflected quite similarly in national sources, particularly in Wytrwal's monograph, as well as in the local data. As was stressed in both chapters, it resulted not only from reasons specific to the Polish community, but mostly because of the exodus to the suburbs and changing forms of spending leisure time. Quite the same refers to the isolation and lack of intellectuals and professionals within the ethnic group, although this last process may be more acute in the Polish community, because of the existence of Polish jokes of a discriminatory character.

Discussions about the future shape of ethnic development are forthcoming in other centers and in Baltimore. Wytrwal, for example, sees the future, first of all, in the development of institutions and societies of a more educational and cultural character, such as the Kosciuszko Foundation and the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York. At the same time Wytrwal does not care too much about Polish language and customs.

His program from 1961 was luckily supplemented and corrected by Rev. L. Chrobot in 1971. The latter appreciates the role of the Polish language, although as second to English, and he is proud of Polish holidays and customs and wishes them maintained.

It seems that the propositions of Wytrwal and Chrobot were supplemented and developed in a substantial way in Baltimore. They were described in 3.6 referring to the theoretical and practical activity of Barbara Mikulski and the Polish Progressive Alliance, and its leader Louis Chudy-Williams.

It may be said that while the propositions of Wytrwal and Chrobot had only a theoretical character, the initiatives in Baltimore show at the same time a theoretical and practical value. At the theoretical level, Barbara Mikulski, a politician, has made several written contributions dealing with ethnic problems. They are largely in the form of small theses or newspaper articles that draw the attention of the public to: a) the overall revival of ethnic feelings in America, particularly within the Polish community which Mikulski describes from her own ethnic experience in East Baltimore; and b) the important connection between ethnicity and the working class.

Circles of young people, grouping around the PPA (Polish Progressive Alliance) have contributed directly to the practical development of this new line of ethnicity expression. But their practical experience will have great meaning in the development of a theoretical background on this issue in the future.
The results of personal discussions and informal inquiries of the author of this study confirm an existence of a revival of ethnic feelings among Polish-Americans, and give full justification for a line of future development, outlined in the works of Mikulski and in the activity of the PPA.

The Polish community in Baltimore not only keeps pace with other Polish centers, but surpasses them in many respects.

The author at this point would like to express his deep gratitude, in the name of his homeland, for all the sacrifices and economic help rendered by the American Polonia to her country of origin. The most emotional moments experienced by the author in connection with this study were related to an awareness of the size of these sacrifices and the amount of help provided during World War I and, to a lesser degree, World War II and the post-war years. At the national level the book War Effort (Czyn Zbrojny) of the American Polonia (during World War I) was useful. At the local level the work of Anastazja Czygier and other local leaders, who helped Poland and Polish war victims, was helpful. Despite many disputes and splits within the Polonia, such concrete proofs of human compassion and generosity ought to awaken a firm belief that the Polish community knows how to act in moments of crisis.

The author would like to inspire young Polish-Americans with a bit of optimism, especially when they are depressed by Polish jokes or other discriminatory practices.

Another justifiable reason for ethnic pride are the achievements of the founders of the Polish community in America. Coming here as mostly uneducated, unskilled workers, with few intellectual and spiritual leaders, they managed, in a relatively short time, to prosper and adjust to their new country. From their small earnings they created an imposing system of ethnic parishes, churches, and parochial schools. Particularly this last achievement, the building of a giant Polish educational network, may be regarded as the biggest success of the American Polonia. It was this great common effort of the early immigrants, Polish religious Sisters, priests (predominantly of peasant origin) and lay leaders (continuing the best traditions of Polish political exiles after the last national uprising in 1863-64) that is worthy of praise.

Searching for sources of this enormous initial success, the author followed the mainstream of opinion, represented by Polish-American as well as native Polish historians of the traditional school. They regarded the specific spiritual features of Polish immigrants as a duality between religious feelings and patriotic feelings, the latter the result of a long struggle for national independence.

The second source of success were the more modern ways developed of leading this last struggle, which originated from Prussian Poland. Confronting the gigantic power of the whole German state, unified under Prussian domination, the Polish community had to invent new instruments to protect the national interest. These were connected with a modern cooperative economic system, which grouped vast masses of people under the leadership of patriotic priests and upper class laymen who originated from the patriotic minded former nobility. This modern system of social and economic advancement was applied in America, in the form of: a) insurance companies created within the framework of the biggest social organizations, such as the PNA and the PRCU; and b) Building, Loan and Saving Associations, representing a mutual aid banking system to help individuals, parishes, and other social organizations.

These institutions had a distinctly progressive character in that they embraced and helped the poorest faction of the immigrant population.

The third source of success may seen as the establishment of the whole set of Polish ethnic societies and organizations, as typified by the PNA and PRCU.
These three main sources of success may be regarded as distinctly progressive in their economic infrastructure, but at the same time rather traditional and conservative in their spiritual, ideological superstructure. Confirming this character of the superstructure, it may be said that the Polish community in the U.S. managed to exploit the best aspects of traditional ideologies and avoid their occasionally detrimental and negative features.

The author did not have the time to develop in his study the interesting problem of the disorganization and social pathology that threatened the masses of immigrants who were uprooted from their old-fashioned village life in Poland. We know what negative effects produce a mass migration from village to city today connected with rapid industrialization and urbanization. The two scientists and teachers of the Polish community in America quoted in Chapter II, Thomas and Znaniecki, were aware of this danger and described early manifestations of it that occurred within the Polish community.

While presenting in the main the positive effects of the traditional ideologies in the setting of the Polish community here, the author would like, at the same time, to criticize some of the weaker aspects of these ideologies. Two critical opinions by Polish-American writers are presented in the text related to excessive clericalism: a) P. Fox, a Polish-American Protestant priest, referred to a decisively abnormal number of church-holidays in Poland, particularly in former Galicia, which hindered peasants in their efforts to improve their economic status; and b) Thomas and Znaniecki referred to the international politics of the Vatican in the 19th century, which sought alliances with emperors rather than with the people themselves or their representatives.

After a long period of mistrust, the Polish people managed to create good neighbor relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, regarded, at least from the formal point of view, as a continuation of the former Third Reich, that did so much harm to Poland and Polish People. Now we are in a stage of establishing common commissions for a revision of school textbooks with an aim to eliminate the remnants of old prejudices in both countries. It would be absolutely inexcusable if the same process could not be initiated regarding representatives of Polish-American social organizations here and social scientific organizations in People's Poland, with the aim of revising Polish language textbooks and other educational materials to eliminate the remains of the teachings of the cold war.

The same refers to the relations between the Polish government and the Catholic Church, in People's Poland (at the Episcopate level) as well as in contacts with the Vatican. Both sides are spending considerable time and energy to eliminate the most controversial issues that hinder the process of normalization. It seems, again, that Polish-American clergy and laymen ought to try to participate in this important process, not allowing politics to have any bearing on religious feelings. Each individual has the right to possess any political opinions he desires and belong to any organization representing his point of view, and express such views within existing channels; but it is necessary to avoid situations when the opinions are divided and some individuals want to be "more Catholic" than others. There should be a general improvement in the overall relations between the U.S. and People's Poland as well as between social institutions and organizations in both countries, with a special stress on Polish and Polish-American ones.

4.2 Conclusions (referring to general problems of ethnicity in the U.S. and to the Polish community here)

In the first section of Chapter I some general trends in social prognostication and social planning in America (as an example of a highly developed
capitalist, western society) and in People's Poland (as a representative of a medium level developed socialist country) were shown. In the former, trends show the necessity for closer social links and social integration at the level of family, neighborhood, professional and social groups, and in the latter, reference is made to the internal content of these links under the form of the so-called culture-intensive path of an overall economic and social strategy. Relating these trends to ethnicity problems, one may come to the following conclusions:

1) The trend to a more pluralistic, more communal economy with social intervention and planning will increase the role of ethnic groups, as component factors of the power structure and political decision-making process in America.

2) A transition to an increasing role of human capital (human resources) would have opposite effects. For one reason, the highly professional circles stay within their own professional groups rather than within ethnic ones; for another, those more educated in humanistic and social disciplines will realize the extremely positive role of all fraternal links, leading to the integration of society and combating social pathology.

3) The growing consciousness of the insufficiency of material means to decrease social disintegration and social pathology will contribute directly to the promotion of ethnic links, although not necessarily in the old forms.

According to the classification of ethnic development of A.M. Greely, the Polish ethnic group ranks fourth in the militancy stage. The author of this study would be inclined to rank them in the fifth stage, self-hatred and anti-militancy. Such a conviction seems to be justified by the existence of the following main lines of division within the Polish community:

a) between the so-called old immigration, predominantly of an economic character, and the new wave that occurred after World War II, partly because of political reasons;

b) a division between vast masses of the Polonia, connected mostly with working class and popular circles, and intellectuals and professionals, both coming from the first group and from abroad after World War II;

c) a permanent split between the old and young generation, particularly with regard to the usage of the Polish language;

d) controversies between new social organizations, as was discussed in the study of Baltimore, between the rather left and progressive minded Polish Progressive Alliance and the rather right and conservative Polish Heritage Association of Maryland.

In such a situation, the Polish community in America seems to be closer to the final adjustment, as Greely in his book, written in 1969, maintained. The general lines of this adjustment were shown in Chapter II (referring to Nyrzwal and Chrobot) and Chapter III (referring to Mikuski and Chudy-Williams). Its main focus is connected to a greater stress on cultural and educational development, with an acknowledgement of English as the working language for all educated Americans.

It is now necessary to continue the discussion on three issues formulated by Greely, referring to the following ethnic questions:

1) Problem of its permanent or transitory character. While Greely is rather cautious about this, limiting his time-perspective to the year 2000, the author of this study would like to see ethnicity become a permanent phenomenon of American life. Of course it will be permanent only so far as it exists with steady changes in its internal character and kinds of identification. While traditionally language was regarded as the most important sign of ethnic identification, it will be necessary in future to recognize other signs, such as
national or ethnic culture, art, holidays, customs, etc. as more important.

2) Question of its mostly positive or negative appreciation. As mentioned in section 1.2, the overestimation of negative ethnicity features, connected with conflicts among ethnic groups, originates from the error of not seeing behind ethnic conflicts to the deeper sources. These sources are tied to the bonds between ethnicity and religion, class, racial, professional, and other controversies. If these deeper and really existing controversies are resolved the remaining differences between ethnic groups would be minor. Then also the positive role of ethnicity could be developed to a higher degree. Ethnic links could contribute more to defending individuals from social pathology. As noted by Thomas and Znaniecki, the fundamental principle of modern sociology, aimed at preserving individuals and small families from disorganization and crime, is tied to the precept, "belong to something." In the times of a predominantly rural existence it was the big family and narrow neighborhood links that protected people from becoming demoralized. Today there are social groups and societies that can perform this function. In American life these are, first of all, ethnic links. At a more practical level of social mechanism, the ethnic groups may play a still more important role in the electoral and governmental procedure, again, because of a weakening of other social groups of a local, neighborhood character.

3) The role of language. It was already noticed that other signs and kinds of ethnic identity will play a bigger role in the future than language. But this rule cannot be simply reversed. Chrobot has already noticed that the true idea of cultural pluralism requires a knowledge of at least two languages. In such a situation the conscious ethnic groups ought to promote the learning of their ethnic language, at least in a passive way, and perhaps a second one, closely connected with it, as for example, Latin or French in the case of Polish.

The continuation of some general ethnic problems was discussed in Chapter III, in connection with the corresponding contribution of Baltimore Polish-American writers such as Mikulski and Mostwin. From the purely formal point of view, the results of their studies are quite similar: ethnic activity and ethnic feelings are more intensive among the masses than among intellectuals and professionals. But the way of expressing this general rule is quite different, as expressed in the old Latin proverb, "Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem" (If the two are doing the same, it is not the same). Mikulski formulated this tendency in a positive way, showing the merits of an interconnection between ethnicity and the working class in America. Mostwin negatively designates the active attitude in ethnicity as a feature of a lower social condition and a lack of education.

It seems that this difference in approaching a similar phenomenon is not accidental. It is connected with the pre-war situation in Poland when the economic differences between white collar and blue collar families were considerable, becoming a barrier that was difficult to overcome. 1 The existence of such a pre-war attitude toward working class families on the part of old Polish professionals and white collar workers is the cause of one of the biggest lines of division within the Polish community in Baltimore. In turn, representatives of the masses refer to these pre-war professional and white collar

---

1 The ratio of family income per head in the pre-war Polish economic conditions, between working class blue collar families and white collar service men and professionals amounted then to 2.5-3.0; now in People's Poland it represents only about 1.3.
workers as "nobility" (in Polish, szlachta).

Appreciating the discussions conducted in American literature on ethnicity issues, the author would like to express one critical remark about them. They are limited only to American life and future, not dealing with the more universal meaning of the melting pot and cultural pluralism.

A study of ethnicity issues has been and is being made in Poland by scientists and social leaders who want to see Poland as a cultural bridge and cultural link between East and West. In divided Poland at the end of the 19th century (in 1887) the most well-known paper on this issue was written by Dr. Ludwik Zamenhof, a Polish intellectual of Jewish origin. He outlined an artificial language called Esperanto (in English, hope) which he regarded as a hope for mankind in its search for better communication. His example was followed by founders of other artificial languages.

Interested from a very young age in foreign languages and nationality problems, the author of this study has tried to contribute to the solution of this problem, also. His aim was a better understanding among peoples, with the development in the future of a situation close to the theory of cultural pluralism at the universal level. His solution is related to the natural and contractual (negotiated) selection among existing important languages, with several intermediary stages in the process. Noticing this more universal meaning of American discussion and practical evolution from the melting pot to the cultural pluralism theory, the author would like to refer readers interested in the problem to articles, published in Polish, on this topic.

There exists in People's Poland an official society named Liaison Society with Polish Community Abroad (in Polish, Towarzystwo Lacznosci Z Polonia, Zagraniczna). This society held its Fourth General Convention in May 1973 in Warsaw, honored by the participation of Prof. Dr. Henryk Jablonski, the Polish Head of State, and many other eminent personalities from Poland and abroad. In the opening speech Prof. Dr. Jablonski stressed that "all of those who are members of the Polonia abroad need a true knowledge about Poland, about the best traditions of our nation, about its contribution to the universal culture, done by those who were active in their home-country as well as by all those scattered all over the world, but originating from our ethnic roots.... They and us, we may and we ought to work commonly for an approachment of nations, for a service to the idea, that gains a recognition in the whole world - to the peace idea. The idea of a peaceful coexistence of all states and nations, for the success of which we are struggling with the same obstinacy as formerly for our national and social liberation, makes it possible for the Polonia abroad to be as loyal as possible toward the peoples among whom it lives, while maintaining liaison with the forefathers' country." 2

During the abovementioned General Convention there were many practical motions presented to further develop the relations between the Polonia abroad and People's Poland, and data given showing the progress made to date.

---


2The struggle for social justice is a common cause for all Poles. A sermon delivered by the Chairman of the Polish State Council, Prof. Dr. Henryk Jablonski. 4th General Convention of the Liaison Society with the Polonia Abroad "Polonia", Interpress Publishing House, Warsaw, 1974, p. 15-18. A free translation from the Polish by the author.
The author of this study would like to supplement these motions with some of his own propositions. He does not want, of course, to be treated as an authority or expert, but only as a participant in the discussion that is still going on.

The author is aware of the overall revival of ethnic feelings in America, expressed at the theoretical level in the form of the principle of cultural pluralism. This principle is founded on two grounds: a) on the acknowledgement of English as the mother-tongue of all educated Americans; and b) on the freedom of the expression of ethnicity in the cultural sphere.

Practical ways to achieve a better ethnic cultural expression, he feels, should include the following propositions:

1) greater stress on the cultural and educative side of the existing and newly established societies;
2) a broader introduction of Polish language classes to the socio-cultural ethnic societies and parochial schools, with an acknowledgement that the major ethnic languages should have the same rights as the more popular foreign languages taught in public school such as French, Spanish, or German;¹
3) a broader exchange between scientific, cultural, and social societies and institutions, American and Polish-American on one side and in People's Poland on the other.

There exists an old conviction that one source of unfavorable attitudes among individuals and social groups is caused by a lack of mutual knowledge and personal acquaintance. A broader exchange of students,² scholars, sportsmen, and artists would without any doubt contribute not only to better links between the American Polonia and the People's Poland, but also between our home-country and the United States on the whole.

¹This proposition has been achieved in several states.

²In a study exchange program it is necessary to underline the need, first of all, to take into account children from economically deprived families. In People's Poland special preference is given to children from such families at universities.
Annex 1

Classification of Consecutive Steps in Ethnic Assimilation


Phase 1. Cultural Shock In the first phase, the immigrant group has just arrived in the host society. The patterns of behavior that were established in the Old World are jolted and jarred. The old culture is felt to be under savage attack and the members of the immigrant group are frightened and disorganized. The leaders, such as they are, are not sure that they can hold their people together, and outside society keeps up a drumfire of criticism. Almost all the newcomers are poor, and they work (when they find work) at the most menial and poorly paid tasks. (This was the plight, for example, of the Irish arriving in New York and Boston after the great famine, of the East European Jews arriving in New York at the turn of the century, of the blacks arriving in the cities of the North after the First and Second World Wars, and of the Poles arriving in Chicago at the time they were studied by Thomas and Znaniecki in 1918.) Sheer survival is the only issue.

Phase 2. Organization and emerging self-consciousness In the second phase, the immigrant group begins to become organized; its clergy, its precinct captains, the leaders of its fraternal organizations, its journalists, become the key figures in the communities. The immigrants are learning the language and their children are becoming "Hibernicized" in the public schools (or if one happens to be Catholic, in the Irish Catholic schools). The newcomers are clawing their way up the economic ladder and becoming semi-skilled, occasionally even skilled, workers. Some of the brighter young people are embarking on professional careers. Having survived the first trauma of integration, the elite of the community now become concerned about whether that which is distinctively theirs is going to be lost in the assimilation process. The language, the culture, the religion of the Old World must somehow be preserved - although almost everyone agrees that the group must also become American. There is not much leisure and not much money, but enough for self-consciousness and ethnic pride to begin to assert themselves, and the political leaders of the community become skilled in bargaining for concessions in return.

Phase 3. Assimilation of the elite In the third phase of the acculturation process, ambivalence begins to emerge. The immigrant group has managed to climb at least partially into the lower middle class. Its members are store-keepers, artisans, skilled workers, clerks, policemen, firemen, transit workers, and militant trade unionists. Money is scrimped and saved to provide for the college education of promising young men and even of young women, who are expected to become schoolteachers. The group's pride increases; though it is still diffident toward the world outside, there is a tinge of resentment and anger beneath the diffidence. "We may be struggling to win acceptance," they say under their breath, "but some day you'll have to bargain with us on our terms."

At the same time, the more talented and gifted individuals begin to break out of the ethnic mobility pyramids and find their way into the mainstream. Those who make it find it very difficult not to be ashamed of their ethnic background. (Such writers, for example, as James T. Farrell and John O'Hara demonstrate this tense social awkwardness about their own minority relationship to the intellectuals of the University of Chicago and of the eastern Protestant
There are simply not enough others of their own background who have also made it for the ethnic arriviste to feel at ease. No longer a part of that from which he came, neither is he fully accepted by those among whom he has arrived; on the contrary, he may occasionally find himself displayed as an interesting objet d'art.

The degree of assimilation and alienation of elites at this stage varies from group to group, even from person to person. The Kennedy clan, for example, was more or less accepted by the Harvard aristocracy and the international cafe society of "beautiful people"; yet it does not seem that they were totally at ease in these worlds. But neither were they totally South Boston Irish; as a matter of fact, some of the most vicious criticisms of the Kennedys I have ever heard come from Boston Irish clergymen who view the clan as somehow unfaithful to their Boston Irish roots.

Phase 4. Militancy In the fourth phase, the immigrant group has become fully middle class and even edges toward upper middle class. It now is thoroughly, and at times violently, militant. It has sources of power; it has built up a comprehensive middle culture; it does not need the larger society (or so it thinks), and wants as little to do with it as possible. Its members are warned of the dangers of associating with the larger society, and simultaneously are urged to become better at everything that society does.

This is the time when a comprehensive structure of organizations is developed duplicating everything that exists in the larger society. Thus, American Catholicism has generated a Catholic lawyers' guild, a Catholic physicians' guild, Catholic sociological, historical, and psychological societies, Catholic hospital wings, and, indeed, Catholic versions of just about everything else to be found in the American culture. It is also the time of superpatriotism, when the immigrant group tries to prove it is not only as American as any other group, but more so. (This is when Moynihan's Fordham men begin to investigate the WASP Harvard men.) The successful immigrant group now throws its power around with little regard for the rights and feelings of others. "We were pushed around when we were powerless," its members argue, "now we're going to push back. It was their city, it's now our city, and we will run it our way, whether they like it or not." In the first three phases the immigrant group was the object of constant rejection; this rejection has been at least partially internalized, and now the group is overcompensating. It is busily demonstrating not only to the world outside, but also (especially) to itself that it is not inferior, and it is demonstrating this noisily, aggressively, and uncompromisingly.

Suspicion and distrust of the larger society and noisy, highly selective pride in the accomplishments of one's fellow ethnics are the order of the day. It is at this stage, one must note, that the ethnic group is most difficult to deal with and most likely to engage in conflict with other ethnic groups.1

Phase 5. Self-hatred and anti-militancy In the fifth phase, the ethnic group is generating a substantial upper middle and professional class. Its young people are going to college in larger numbers and many are becoming successful and economically well-integrated members of the larger society. There is no question, as in the case of the earlier elites, of these new and much larger elites' alienating themselves from the immigrant group; but from the perspective of full-fledged members of the larger society, they are acutely embarrassed by the

---
1For a detailed discussion of the methodology of this survey, see "The Education of Catholic Americans" by Andrew M. Greely and Peter H. Rossi (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).
militancy, the narrowness, the provincialism of their own past, and by the
developments of organizations which seem to have a vested interest in keeping
that past alive. Self-hatred, latent in the first three phases and hidden be-
hind militancy in the fourth phase, finally comes out in the fifth phase, and
devastating criticism is aimed at almost every aspect of one's own tradition
and almost every institution which strives to keep one's culture alive. Yet,
for most of the self-critics, there is no thought of abandoning the ethnic
community or its culture completely. There are intense, emphatic demands for
drastic and immediate modernization - demands which cannot possibly be met - and
intense ambivalence toward the ethnic group. The self-critics cannot live
with their ethnic background, and they cannot live without it.

Phase 6 Emerging adjustment Finally, in the sixth phase, another generation
appears on the scene, securely upper middle class in its experience and equally
secure in its ability to become part even of the upper class. Such a generation
is quite conscious of its ethnic origin; it does not feel ashamed of it and has
no desire to run from it, but neither is it willing to become militantly aggres-
sive over its ethnicity. It cannot understand the militant defensiveness of
the fourth phase or the militant self-hatred of the fifth, and sees no reason in
theory or practice why it cannot be part of the larger society and still loyal
to its own traditions. It is in this phase, one suspects, that Hansen's Law,
"what the father forgets, the son remembers" becomes operative. There is a strong
interest in the cultural and artistic background of one's ethnic tradition. Trips
are made to the old country, no longer to visit one's family and friends, but
out of curiosity and sometimes amused compassion at how one's grandparents and
great-grandparents lived. Many elements of the ethnic traditions survive, some
on the level of high culture, some in a continuation of older role expectations.
The younger members of the ethnic groups, indeed, delight over these differences
which they find so "interesting" and so much fun to explain to friends and
classmates of other ethnic groups.

It is about this time that the members of an ethnic group that has reached
the top begin to wonder why other groups, which have not moved as far along, are
so noisy, raucous and militant.
Polonica Americana. Annotated Catalogue of the Archives and Museum of the Polish
Roman Catholic Union. By Alphonse S. Wolanin, Librarian, Alliance College.

Selected Items

1. Barc, Franciszek, ed. 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w
   Ameryce, 1873-1938. 158 p. Nakładem Zjednoczenia PRK w Ameryce. Chicago, 1938,
   2A-bar

2. Barszczewski, Stefan, Polacy w Ameryce. Zarys obecnego stanu wychodzis-
   twa polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej. 89, III p.

   Polish immigrants in America. 2A-bie

4. Bojnowski, Lucjan, Historia Parafii Polskich w Diecezji Hartfordskiej w
   stanie Connecticut. 301 p. Druk. Przewodnika Katolickiego, New Britain,

5. Bolek, Francis, Osiedla Zołożone przez Polaków w Stanach Zjednoczonych.
   12 p. Odbitka z Polskiego Przegląd Kartograficznego, październik, 1930,
   Lwów, 1930. Towns and villages settled by Poles in the U.S. H-4-4

   Buffalo, 1946. 2A-bo1-6

   4 p. Buffalo, 1945. 2A-bo1-4

8. --Ruch Umysłowy wśród Polonii amerykańskiej. 15 p. Nakładem Czytelnik
   Polskiej, Buffalo, 1943. Same as the Intellectual Movement Among Polish
   Americans. 2A-bo1-8

   Greenville, 1940, Ill. A-bo1-2

10. Borkowski, Joseph A., Early Polish Pioneers in City of Pittsburgh and
    Alleghany County. 27 p. Central Council of Polish Organizations, Pittsburgh,
    1948. Ill, Bibl., map. 3A-bork

11. Borun, Thaddeus, ed., We, the Milwaukee Poles. The history of Milwaukeeans
    of Polish descent and a record of their contributions to the greatness of
    Milwaukee, 1946. Ill., 2A-boru

12. Bubacz, Stanislaw, Historya Unii Polskiej w Ameryce, Inc. w siedziba w
    History of the Polish Union of America, Inc. A-bu

13. Chodkiewicz, Joseph, Polacy w Ameryce Północnej. 52 p. Nakładem Wydawnictwa
    "Nasze Kościoły," Warszawa, 1914. Ill., map. A-cho*1

    submitted to the Faculty of the School of Canon Law of the Catholic University
    of America. VI, 178 p. The Catholic University of America Press Washington,
    1944 (1947). Ind., bibli. 3A-ci


-88-


42. Jednosc, publ., Rady i Wskazówki dla Nledzierzy Polskiej w Ameryce. II-V, 244 p. Nakladem i drukiem Jednosci, Baltimore, 1911. Counsel for Polish American Youth. 2A*je


46. Kalinowski, Feliks, Co Nas Boli? czyli obraz obecnie pamątających stosunków w Związku Narodowym Polskim. 32 p. 1935. 27th convention of the Polish National Alliance. 2A-kal


-90-


64. Osada, Stanislaw, Prasa i Publicystyka Polska w Ameryce... 96, XII p. Nakładem i drukiem Pittsburczanina, Pittsburgh, 1930. Ind., bibl. History of the Polish press in the U.S. H-4-14


67. POLISH ALLIANCE SOCIALIST PARTY, publ., Polish Memorial to International Socialist Congress to be held at Copenhagen, Denmark, Jan. 17, 1915, presented by the Polish Alliance of Socialist Party of United States of America. 28 p. Polish Alliance Socialist Party, Chicago, 1914. A factual sketch of Poland. A-polis


-91-


83. Włoszczewski, Stefan, History of Polish American Culture. 150, I p. Printed by the White Eagle Publ. Co., Trenton, 1946. Ills., bibl. 2A-w1


Baltimore, March 8 1975
Annex 3

Parish Organizations of St. Stanislaus' and Holy Rosary Parishes in 1925
(reprint from Mary Laura Swanson, "A Study of the Polish Organizations in the
Polish Community in Baltimore." Master of Arts Degree dissertation at The Johns
Hopkins University, June 1925, pp. 42-57)

1) St. Stanislaus Parish

St. Stanislaus Parish is the oldest Polish parish in Baltimore. As early
as 1860 mass was held in a Polish home on South Bond St. About this time some
of the societies for the adult members were organized. The early records have
not been preserved and practically nothing is known about their history. The
Franciscan monks have charge of this Parish, and are a very dominating influence
in its activities. Certain functions, such as financial and religious, seem
to have come entirely under the influence of the Priest. All members of organiza-
tions are required to come to confession and communion once a month. A card is
given them to turn into the heads of their organization, to show that they have
complied with this requirement. About three years ago all relief societies turned
their funds into the church treasury, and relief is secured through the pastor,
at the recommendation of the head of the organization. Other societies give
a part of their income to the church relief fund. All bookkeeping is in the
hands of the priests, and the funds are at their disposal.

a) The Sacred Heart Society is the oldest society for women, and was or-
organized in the early years of the church. It has about 600 members all of whom
are married. It has always been an important factor in the development and up-
keep of church property. In the past it has raised money for repairing and
renovating the building. It has had charge of the needs of the altar, supplying
it with candles, candlesticks, linens and flowers. During sickness mutual help
is given. Application for relief is made by a sick or indigent member to the
president of the society who asks one of the members of the relief committee to
visit and investigate. Other members may also visit. A report is made to the
president who then consults with the priest. If relief is to be given the
needy member is sent to the priest for a grocery order. In the past relief was
given directly by the president. It also has a death benefit. At the death of
a member, a special collection of 25¢ is made from the other members and given
to the family for funeral expenses.

The Sacred Heart Society meets once a month on Sunday afternoon. The
officers are President, Secretary and Treasurer. However, the president usually
performs the duties of all three offices. Once elected, she usually holds the
office for life through re-election. The meeting is opened by prayer. This is
sometimes followed by a talk by one of the priests on such subjects as respon-
sibilities of parents for their children, the duties of members of the family to
each other, and various problems of education. They plan for social events,
discuss the needs of the church, or hear the reports on sick members. Following
this the monthly dues of 10¢ per member are collected. The president appoints
three persons to collect the dues, and mark the books. If a member is absent she
pays all back dues the next time she comes. After the collection the meeting is
adjourned, but most of the women stay to talk to each other awhile. This is the
only social phase, except the balls and entertainments which are held for the pur-
pose of raising money for the church.

b) Holy Rosary Society is another organization for married women. It
averages about five hundred members. Around 1880 there was a rapid growth in the number of Poles in the parish. The Sacred Heart Society could not admit all those who wished to join because it would become too unwieldy so the Holy Rosary Society was organized. It was organized for the same purposes and functions in exactly the same way. The two societies are not rivals. They often have meetings together and assume joint responsibility for some need of the parish. This society has charge of the "upper church" or the church on the second floor of the church building, while the Sacred Heart Society has charge of the church on the first floor, or the "lower church."

c) The members of the Young Ladies Sodality are the young unmarried women of the parish. It was organized about thirty years ago for the purposes of holding the young women of the parish together, and of developing in them a sense of religious responsibility. It provides a means of expressing themselves in a religious and social way. They receive communion in a body once a month, and at times assist the women's societies in providing for the altar. They also have parties for themselves and for the public. The officers President, Secretary, and Treasurer, are elected annually. In the meetings they follow the same order as the women's societies. The monthly dues are also ten cents. At the marriage of a member they provide a kneeling bench, flowers and decorate the church.

d) St. Adalbert's Society for the men of the parish was organized in the early years of the Parish. It is a military organization. Its average membership is about one hundred and fifty. At the time of its organization and several years later, it was made up of immigrants who had had military training. In recent years it has accepted men without military training. Most of the members are very old and the organization has lost much of its former vigor. The members hoped to keep themselves in good physical condition and familiar with military drill so as to assist Poland if a chance came to regain her independence. They also consider themselves the soldiers of the church, and guard the sacrament while it is on the altar. They march in church processions in all their regalia. At the funeral of a member they march to the cemetery. They also provide pall-bearers, a hearse and limousines. They have a sick benefit the amount of which depends on the amount in the treasury. For an unusual sickness a special collection may be taken up.

The Society meets once a month on Sunday afternoon. The officers are Major, Captain, Standardbearer and Marshall. They always choose as captain and major persons who have had military training. The meeting is opened with prayer, the business discussed, and the monthly dues of twenty-five cents collected. They sometimes assist in arranging balls for the benefit of the parish. After adjournment of the business meeting, drill takes place.

e) St. Stanislaus Cadets is a branch of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. It is composed of about seventy young men. They meet once a month, on Sunday afternoon to pay their dues of twenty-five cents and discuss the business of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. These dues provide sick and death benefits under the regulation of the central organization. Besides its functions in connection with the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, it assists in local entertainments, and functions as a military organization of the church in the same manner as St. Adalbert's Society.

f) The St. Peter's and Paul's Society is composed of both men and women and is also a branch of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. It is not a military organization but in all other respects functions in relation to the parish
in the same manner as St. Stanislaus Cadets.

g) The Holy Family Society is composed of men and women and is a branch of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of Delaware. It has one hundred and fifty members. Besides its functions in relation to the central organization, it assists in local entertainments and parish activities.

h) St. Cyril's and St. Methodius' Society is another branch of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of Delaware. It is composed of men and has one hundred and eight members. It functions as the Holy Family Society.

i) St. Joseph's Society is one of the oldest of the men's societies. It is a group of the Polish National Alliance and has one hundred members most of whom are very old. It functions in relation to the parish as other groups of the Polish National Alliance do.

j) The Young Men's Athletic Club is composed of the athletic young men of the parish. There are at present one hundred and eighty members. This club was organized to develop strong healthy bodies for Poland, to bring together those who would represent the parish in athletics and to provide a wholesome recreation for the young men of the parish. Boys over seventeen who are clean morally and physically are accepted as members. A new member must first be recommended by an old member. A committee to inquire into the advisability of accepting him is appointed. A report is made at the next meeting. If favorable the applicant is accepted upon the approval of the majority of members. Unlike most church organizations, an elaborate and painful initiation takes place.

Although the club meets but once a month for dues, every night many members are to be found in the parish gymnasium which is open to them. Teams are organized within the society and come for regular practice. Basketball is the most popular game at the present. The officers are President, Vice-president, Secretary and Treasurer. They pay an initiation fee of 50¢ and weekly dues of ten cents. This is used for the upkeep of the gymnasium. If a member does not keep up to the standards of conduct of the organization he is warned twice and if he does not return to the path of virtue he is dropped from the membership roll.

k) The Young Ladies Club is a social and educational club composed of young unmarried women over seventeen. It has forty-five members. It has been in existence only a short time.

New members are admitted in the same manner as in the Young Men's Athletic Club. They have a club room in the parish Hall in which they meet three evenings a week. They have a small library of English and Polish novels and keep their tables supplied with magazines. They also have a radio set. Their evenings are spent reading, talking or listening to the radio. In conjunction with the Young Men's Athletic Club they prepare plays for parish entertainments. They occasionally have a party or organize an entertainment or dance for the parish. A business meeting is held once a month at which they pay their weekly dues of ten cents and plan for any deviations from the procedure of the regular evening meetings.

l) The Children of Mary is an organization to which the children of the parish belong from the time they make their first communion until they are sixteen years of age. There are two hundred members. Although they elect their own officers of President, Secretary and Treasurer and manage their own meetings, either a priest or a member of the Young Ladies' Sodality assists. The boys
and girls meet together for a conference and to hear a talk by a priest. They are then separated and taken in charge by a member of the Young Ladies' Sodality. They pay a monthly dues of ten cents which go to the church poor fund. They go to communion in a body, the girls always wearing veils.

2) Holy Rosary Parish

Holy Rosary Parish was organized in 1882. The Polish colony had increased to such numbers that all could not attend mass in the old St. Stanislaus Church. There was some trouble about the seating and the renting of pews so the parish divided. The new parish has grown rapidly and seems to have attracted particularly the younger and more Americanized members of the Polish community.

The six men's societies possess many features in common. They were organized in the early years of the parish, and as far as is known at the suggestion of the pastor of the parish. They have annual elections. All meet once a month, on Sunday afternoon. The meetings are opened by prayer. Business is discussed and plans for parish activities made. If the pastor wishes to obtain the opinion of the parish and the support of the parishioners on a subject, he takes the matter before these societies and later calls a conference of their heads to secure reports from them and give them further instructions. These instructions are carried back to the next meeting of the conference and acted upon. The pastor has found this to be the only way to secure the intelligent expression of an opinion or wise cooperation in any plan for parochial development. They organize balls and entertainments to secure funds for parish use. A person who wishes to join one of these societies, goes to a meeting and makes application for membership. His application is voted upon. If it is accepted, he pays an entrance fee of $1.25 and is then a full-fledged member. Each member pays monthly dues of twenty-five cents and one dollar at the death of a member. This is given to the family for funeral expenses. The organization also provides candles for the wake, supplies a hearse and limousines for members who are pallbearers. When the wife of a member dies, each member contributes fifty cents toward her funeral expenses. Dues may be paid monthly or yearly. In case of sickness, the chairman of the standing committee on relief is notified, an investigation is made by the committee and a report given at the next monthly meeting. Six dollars a week from the date the sickness began is paid and weekly payments of six dollars are continued until the member is well. It he is not well at the end of six months the payment is reduced to three dollars a week. At the end of a year of sickness the matter of relief is taken up at a meeting and pay is continued in proportion to the need. Each society has a reserve fund of two or three thousand dollars.

There are three military societies. The members wear uniforms to meetings and to all special church services and community celebrations. By marching in groups they lend color and dignity to parish affairs. At the funeral of a member they march to the cemetery. They meet once a month for drill. Although the purpose for which they were first organized, the deliverance of Poland, is no longer paramount, they maintain the organization because it fills a social need.

a) St. Ladislaus, with a membership of a hundred, is the oldest society. It was organized immediately after the parish was formed and for some years had a very large membership. At first only men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five were accepted as members. Now it accepts members of more advanced age. Most of the men are quite old but they keep up the regular military drill.

b) The members of St. Martin's Cadets are men between the ages of eighteen
This society has one hundred and twenty-five members.

c) Pulaski's Brigade is for men from eighteen to thirty-five. All but
en of the men in this organization were members of the American army during the
World War.

There are three non-military societies for men. They have no other functions
except those given in a general description of men's societies. The officers
are President, Vice-president, Secretary, Treasurer and a standing committee on
relief.

d) St. Adalbert's has two hundred and fifty members.

e) St. Dominick's has two hundred and eighty-five members.

f) Holy Trinity Society has three hundred and twenty-five members. Many
men belonging to the two smaller organizations have also joined Holy Trinity
because of the larger death benefit.

The three societies for women are organized in the same manner and have
the same functions as the men's societies. They were all organized in the early
years of the parish under the influence of the pastor. A few years ago the
membership was much greater than it is at present. They meet once a month on
Sunday afternoon. They follow the same order of business as the men's societies.
They give the same type of service to the priest and the parish. Besides this
they take a special interest in the interior of the church providing it with
lights and the altar with candles, candlesticks and linen. New members are en-
rolled in the same manner as in the men's societies.

These three societies collect monthly dues of ten cents from each member.
They pay twenty-five cents death benefit at the time of the death of a member.
Two hundred and seventy-five dollars is given to the family of the member for
funeral expenses at such a time, candles for the wake and the altar, a hearse
and two limousines for pallbearers are provided. They have no sick benefit or
relief fund but if a member is in need they will visit and help her in whatever
way they can. If the financial need is great they take up a collection at their
next meeting for her. They linger and talk after meetings and thus a social
need is met.

g) The Sacred Heart of Mary has six hundred and eighty members.

h) The Society of the Blessed Sacrament has four hundred and eighty members.

i) The Holy Rosary Society has four hundred and seventy-five members.

j) The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin has one hundred and fifty members.
It is composed of unmarried women over sixteen. It has existed since the parish
was organized. This society is conducted and organized in the same manner as
the women's societies. Its functions are the same but the social phase is much
more important. They frequently have parties and once a month are invited to
a dance given by the pastor for the young people of the parish. The monthly
dues are ten cents for each member. This is used to provide a hearse and limou-
sine at the death of a member and to give one hundred dollars toward funeral
expenses. When a girl marries they give her a wedding present. They arrange
entertainments and balls to raise funds for the church. The members of this
society who can sew are subject to call as volunteers to assist in conducting the
sewing club for young girls.

-97-
k) The boys and girls under 16 are organized into a Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. They are eligible for membership after they make their first communion. This society has one hundred and twenty-five members. They meet once a month on Sunday afternoon. The boys and girls meet separately. One of the parish priests assists at the meeting and gives a lecture on some religious, historic or educational subject. Monthly dues of five cents are collected from each member. The money is used to provide a hearse, two limousines and flowers for the funeral and to give fifty dollars toward funeral expenses when a member dies.

l) The school girls have a sewing circle which meets once a week in the evening. There are seventy-five members. They are taught sewing and millinery. The five cents which is collected monthly from each member is to provide food for the parties which they have frequently. This society was organized about three years ago by a social service worker from the Catholic Community House. Its purpose was to train the girls to sew and to give them an opportunity for expression through a social organization.

m) The Dramatic Circle is composed of about forty of the young men and women of the parish. It was organized about four years ago by the pastor. He wanted to unite the younger members of the parish to each other and to the parish and to form an organization upon which he could depend to provide plays for parochial entertainments. They hold a business meeting once a month but meet more frequently when rehearsing for a play. The monthly dues of five cents is used to provide food for their parties. They are also invited to the monthly dances organized by the pastor.

n) The organization of St. Stanislaus Society marks the beginning of what may prove a movement for a new type of benefit organization in the church. In the earlier years of the parish the membership of the societies was small, most of the members were young and deaths were few. Now the membership is very large in most instances and a greater proportion of the members are old and deaths more frequent. The dues are high for death benefits which provides for little more than a suitable burial. The Poles have become acquainted with American institutions and are joining the commercial insurance companies which are cheaper. This weakens the strength of their connection with the church. Since most parish activities are under the auspices of certain societies one who is not a member has no social responsibility in the church. The pastor noticed the manner in which the parish societies were dwindling, discovered the cause and is now trying to remedy it. For this purpose he promoted the organization of St. Stanislaus Society which is a branch of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. This organization provides life insurance and sick benefits at much lower rates than most commercial companies. Since this organization six months ago one hundred and twenty-five parishioners have joined. Men, women and children are eligible for membership and often whole families join. Its functions and purposes are those of the Polish Roman Catholic Union but it centers the interest in the local parish.
Annex 4


The organizational structure of the PNA embraces three levels of government bodies and member units:

1. The national level, at which there exist three bodies:
   a. Convention (Sejm), the supreme legislative, judicial and governing body;
   b. Supervisory Council (Rada Nadzorcza), the juridical, appellate and supervising body;
   c. Board of Directors (Zarzad Centralny), the executive and managing body.

2. The intermediary level is connected with two kinds of districts:
   a. a Commissioner's District (Okreg Komisarski), meaning a territorial area, from which commissioners (komisarze) are nominated for such district;
   b. a Director's District, again denoting a territorial area, which is entitled to representation by one or more directors.

3. The basic, local level, embracing:
   a. Lodges (Grupy), grouping individual persons (men, women, or men and women together);
   b. Councils (Gminy), an emanation of the lodges in a given area;
   c. Juvenile Circles (Kolko Mlodziezy), grouping a team of juveniles.

The general character of the Alliance is defined as "a fraternal benefit society" (Stowarzyszenie Bratniej Pomocy), which stresses its practical usefulness to the average member in everyday life.

In Article II further details are developed regarding membership and benefit certificates. Members are limited to age groups 17-64 inclusive. They must be of good moral character, physically and mentally sound, and, by birth, descent, or consanguinity, of Polish, Lithuanian, Ruthenian or Slovak nationality, or be the husbands and wives of members regardless of nationality.1

Members are of two classes; beneficial (ubezpieczeni), and social (nie ubezpieczeni). A beneficial member is a member on whose life a benefit certificate is in force. A social member is a member on whose life no benefit certificate is in force; social members have no voice in the management of the Alliance. The rest of Article II is devoted to several detailed regulations, involving dues, administrative taxes, member charges, their benefits and other financial duties and privileges.

---

1 The Board of Directors may, however, at its discretion, admit suitable and proper persons of other nationalities to membership. On the other hand, another paragraph stresses that the membership is closed to applicants who are or were members of a subversive organization, having for its object the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence.
This topic is continued in Article III, dealing with funds of the Alliance and investments. The fundamental fund is the Insurance Fund (Assekuracyjny), collecting all contributions paid by members for insurance purposes. The next important fund is the fraternal fund (braterski); this one serves the realization of other, non-insurance goals of the Alliance of a fraternal, patriotic, civic, and philanthropic nature. The right to establish the amount of money that might be transferred from the insurance to the fraternal fund belongs to the supreme authority of the PNA, the Convention. Article IV deals with the organization and structure of the Convention. It is composed of some of the highest officers of the Alliance and of representatives (poslowie). The representatives are elected by Councillors in the proportion of one representative for 500 members.

The Pre-Convention Committees (Komitety Przedsejmowe) may be regarded as important bodies. Some of them have an ordinary organizational character while others try cases on their merits. To this last group belong the Committee on Laws and By-Laws (Praw i Ustaw), the committee on New Membership field work (Nowych członków), the Alliance College Committee (Kolegium Związkowego) and the committee on Alliance Publications (Wydawnictwa Związkowe).

On the official language, it is written that: "The English and Polish language shall be the official language of the Alliance. The minutes (protokoty) of the Convention shall be kept and adopted in both languages, provided that in case of any conflict the English texts shall prevail." (P. 28).

Article V deals with the internal electoral procedure of the Alliance. Representatives to the Convention (posłowie na sejm) shall be elected and one nominee each for the male and female District Commissioner (po jednym nominacji na komisarza i komisarki okręgu) shall be nominated by the Electoral Assembly (Więc Wyborczy) of each Council (Gmina), which shall be composed of delegates (delegaci) elected by lodges (grupy) belonging to each Council, in proportion of one delegate for each twenty-five members...provided that each lodge shall be entitled to at least one delegate.

In Articles VI-XIII are described detailed functions of different kinds of officers and governmental bodies at various levels of the central administration of the Alliance, which is not of particular interest from the point of view of this study. The only data from this part of the By-laws that may be useful are the names of some officers. One group is connected with the Supervisory Council (Rada Nadzorcza). It is composed of the cenzor (cenzor), Vice Cenzor (Wicecenzor), and a District man and woman Commissioner from each Commissioner's District (Komisarzy i Komisarek z Kazdego Komisarskiego Okręgu). The second group of officers involves the Board of Directors (Zarzad Centralny). The Board of Directors shall consist of the President (Krajowy Prezes), two Vice-Presidents (Krajowa Wiceprezeska, Krajowy Wiceprezes), Secretary (Krajowy Sekretarz), Treasurer of the Alliance (Krajowy Skarbnik), and ten Directors (Krajowych Dyrektorow), as provided in Section 76.

The Cenzor shall be the Chairman of the Supervisory Council; temporary Chairman of every Convention; the President of the School Commission, and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the School Corporation (przewodniczacy Rady Szkolnej).

The remaining officers are: General Counsel (Rzecznik Krajowy), Medical Director, Controller, Director of Insurance Sales, Director of Public Relations,

---

1As, for instance, the Committee on Credentials (Mandatow), on Petitions, Grievances, and Complaints (Prosb, Skarg i Zazalen), and on Budget and Finance (Budzetu i Finansow).
Manager of Mortgages and Real Estate Department, and Publications.

The next articles refer to local organizational structure; Article XIV describes the Councils (Gminy). Each Council shall be a federation of local lodges, assigned to it by the Board of Directors, which shall designate each council by a number. Whenever the number of adult members, in good standing, of the lodges constituting a council shall exceed 5,000, the Board of Directors may upon written petition of one-third of the lodges belonging to such council, divide it into two or more councils, with due regard to local distance and conditions.

Each council disposes of its assembly (izba gminna) consisting of delegates elected by the several lodges belonging to it. Each lodge shall be entitled to one delegate for every twenty-five adult members. The first meeting of the assembly of each council shall elect a president, a secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as it may deem necessary.

New lodges are constituted in such a way that they must send a petition for charter (zalozenie) and acceptable applications for membership to the Board of Directors, which makes decisions in these matters. The Board of Directors shall designate each lodge by a number and shall give it such a name as may be selected by it and approved by the Board of Directors, and shall assign it to a specified council. The officers of a lodge shall be the president, vice-president, woman vice-president, recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer, sergeant-at-arms (marszałek) and doorkeeper.

The next two articles (XVII and XVIII) refer again to the central level of government, embracing the Commissions and the School Corporation. The President of the Alliance shall appoint the following commissions:

a) The Educational Commission manages the library and historical museum of the Alliance and engages in such activities intended to promote education and culture among the membership of the Alliance, as the Convention shall authorize;
b) The Youth Commission directs the youth movement in the Alliance, having as its object the physical, moral, and cultural education of the Alliance youth, in a spirit of patriotic citizenship according to the principles of the Alliance;
c) The School Commission supervises the activities and the operation of Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania; and

d) the School Corporation has the purpose of maintaining and directly operating Alliance College. The education of the students in Alliance College shall be conducted in a genuinely civic and patriotic spirit, and shall involve the unification of the best of the American and Polish cultures.

The actual PNA leadership at the central level includes the following persons: Cenzor Kazimierz Lotarski, Buffalo, New York; Vice-Cenzor Alfred Ulman, Hamtramck, Mich.; President Alojzy A. Mazewski, Chicago, Ill.; Woman Vice-President Helena Szymanowicz, Chicago, Ill.; Man Vice-President Josef H. Gadja, Chicago, Ill.; Secretary Władysław Kubiak, Chicago, Ill.; Treasurer Edward J. Moskal, Chicago, Ill.


The Baltimore PNA organization belongs to the 6th Commissioner District, composed of Maryland, the District of Columbia, Delaware, the southern part of Pennsylvania, and the town of Camden, N.J. The man Commissioner for this district is August Gorski, Philadelphia, and the woman Commissioner is Aniela c. Turochy, New Castle, Delaware.

1 Taken from the Zgoda of April 15, 1975, p. 10.
Annex 5

Information Referring to the History of the Polish Press in Baltimore

12 November 1935

Mr. J.W. Foster
Enoch Pratt Library
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Mr. Foster:

Referring to our phone conversation, I am sending you a short account of Polish Press in Baltimore.

Polonia (Latin for Poland) - the first issue published on December 31, 1891; Władysław Welsant (father of former Assistant State's Attorney, George P. Welsant), Dr. Juljan Czupka, editor. Dr. Czupka was one of the early Polish newspapermen in this country, a talented writer both in prose and poetry. One of his verses was once a very popular song among the early settlers in which they were praising America as "a rich wondrous land, with abundance of everything a true Paradise," tho it was never a paradise for Dr. Czupka.

Dr. Czupka edited Polonia for four years, and when he left, his post was filled by an equally able editor Joseph Bernolak, but two years later, when the publisher met with some financial misfortune, the publication ceased and this was followed by several attempts at establishing another newspaper. And here's the list:

Przyjaciel Domu (Friend of the Hearth) - published by Rev. Dr. Mieczyslaw Barabasz, pastor of the Holy Rosary Church in 1898-1899. A friend of mine once showed me two copies of this weekly paper, but when I asked for them now, he told me they were somehow destroyed.

Nowiny Baltimorskie (Baltimore News) - a daily published in 1900 but only for three months. No copies of this publication can be obtained.

Ojczyzna (The Fatherland) - a weekly published by Joseph Bernolak, editor of Polonia, from 1905-1907.

Mucha - a humoristic weekly, published in 1905 for about four or five months.

Prawda (The Truth) - weekly paper, started in January 1907 and failed in July of the same year.

Jednosc (Unity) - established by Władysław Urbanski, Peter Toczkowski and John Augustyniak, at 1712 Eastern Ave. Karol Mieczkowski was its first editor, later it was edited by Witold Rylski and John Jasinski. One of the publishers, Peter Toczkowski, died two days before the paper was published and the first number came out in mourning. Three years later the paper was bought by Rev. Frank Pyznan of St. Stanislaus Church, and published by him until the year of 1914, when Father Pyznar left Baltimore. The publication was suspended for two months and was renewed by Adam F. Bautro, who once edited Polonia in 1897. Mr. Bautro (now a real estate man in Baltimore) moved the plant from Aliceanna and Ann Sts., where it was located under Father Pyznar's management, to 1712

-102-
Eastern Ave. and in 1917 thought that it would be advisable to combine the old name of Polonia with that of Jednosc, but this did not seem to produce more profit and in the latter part of the same year he sold the paper to Wladyslaw Urbanski, who moved the paper to 414 S. Bond Street, and in 1919, in October, sold it to its present owner, Mr. Frank Markiewicz. Since that time it was published without interruption, being edited by the undersigned since August, 1921. The circulation increased, business improved and in September 1926 we moved to a larger place, at 1727 Fleet Street, where it is now located.

In addition to the papers mentioned above, we had the following publications in Baltimore:

Wedrowiec (Wanderer) - published monthly by Rev. Stanislaus Wegnerowicz from 1909 to 1912. Single copies of this publication are still in our office.
Miesiecznik Polski (Polish Monthly) - published in October, November and December of 1913 by Mr. Adam S. Gregorius, a prominent Polish attorney (2 E. Lexington St).
Pospel (Advance) - a literary monthly magazine, published by Rev. Dr. Paul Fox, a Polish Presbyterian pastor, from July 1916 to December 1920. A complete file of this publication is in my possession, the only complete file in existence.
Rekord Tygodniowy (Weekly Record) - a weekly paper published in 1928 and 1929 by Stanislaus Lyśakowski, a printer, 1622 Fleet St.

Together with this I am sending you a photographic facsimile of the first page of Polonia's first number. The date shows only December 31st, but in the last column we read that the publisher is offering a calendar for 1892 as a premium with an annual subscription of $2.00, and below there is a letter to the editor, dated Dec. 22, 1891. This indicates the year of 1891. The paper was an eight page affair, 12 by 18 inches.
This is about all I can give you about the Polish papers in Baltimore, but should you need more information, I will be very glad to do anything I can.

Very truly yours,

Editor of Jednosc-Polonia

Adam Bartosz
1727 Fleet Street
Baltimore, Md.
Annex 6

Notes from the East Baltimore Guide reflecting the everyday life of the Polish community in Baltimore.

1. Graduates of the Polish Language School of the PNA. They are shown with their teacher, Mrs. Janina Kozinski (27 persons). June 24, 1971, p. 1

2. Book presentation. John F. Pasko, President of the Polish-American Congress, Maryland Division, Mrs. Lilian Chrul, Chairlady of the Cultural Committee with members Mrs. Wanda Zamecki and Mrs. Theresa Krysiak presented copies of the book He Who Saves One Life to Edwin Castagna, Director of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, in ceremonies of the main branch. The book is the tribute to Polish people who, through acts of personal heroism and under threat of death, were responsible for the saving of thousands of lives during the Nazi occupation. December 9, 1971, p. 1

3. Polish American Congress presents books to Baltimore Hebrew College. In a gesture of brotherhood, appropriate to the holiday season, the Cultural Committee of the Polish American Congress has presented copies of the book He Who Saves One Life, to the Baltimore Hebrew College.

Presentation of the book, the complete documented story of the Poles who struggled to save Jews during World War II, was made to Rabbi Leivy Smolan of the Joseph Myers Hebrew Library.

The author, Kazimierz Iwanek-Osmecki, was on the military staff of the Polish government in exile during the war. December 30, 1971, p. 1

4. The new officers of the Polish Home Club, installed by Walter Orlinsky at their recent meeting, are H. Lipinsky, Sergeant-at-arms; T. Cwalina, Treasurer; T. Krysiak, Financial Secretary; G. Jankowiak, 2nd Vice-President; M. Laszczynski, President; T. Ozazowski, 1st Vice-President; L. Chrul, Honorary Vice-President; and J. Misiora, Recording Secretary. February 24, 1972, p. 1

5. Barbara Mikulski states position on Expressway. "I am totally against any Expressway going through Canton and Fells Point." April 13, 1972, p. 1


Thursday June 15 "Polish Night" Sauerkraut, Homemade Sausage, Stuffed cabbage.
Friday June 16 "Irish Night" Homemade crab soup, crab cakes, codfish cakes and crab cake platters.


7. Visitors from Poland. Five Polish mayors who are touring American cities were honored at a dinner at the Polish Home Club during their stop in Baltimore; Zygmunt Binkowski, Warsaw; Czeslaw Alaszewicz, Szczecin; Pawel Podbiel, Katowice; Dr. Stanislaw Cozas, Poznan; and Jan Emil Rejus, Rzeszow; Melwin Laszczynski, and John Pasko of the Polish Home Club; and Tadeusz Konarski, Torun. June 22, 1972, p. 1

8. Honored guests. Mr. and Mrs. George Miegon and Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski were guests at the gala holiday ball held recently by the Polish Students' Association of Baltimore. Isabella Mecinski was chairwoman of the annual event which attracts many Polish American professionals who are former members. Jan. 18, 1973, p. 1

9. Karwacki named associate judge. On Friday, October 5, Robert Karwacki was sworn in as Associate Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore. Judge Karwacki is the first person of Polish descent to be accorded this honor. October 18, 1973, p. 1

10. Mikulski Commission adopts new delegate selection rules. The Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Structure of the Democratic National Committee,
chaired by Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara A. Mikulski, unanimously adopted new rules for the selection of delegates to the 1976 Democratic Convention at its recent meeting. December 20, 1973, p. 1

11. Festival to feature "Sights and Sounds From Poland," Baltimore's second annual Polish Festival brings a "first" to Baltimore and the United States. A fascinating and unique exhibition direct from Poland will complement the July 27 and 28 festival. The exhibits from Poland are courtesy of the Polish Embassy. Festival coordinator Louis Chudy-Williams promises an exciting two-day extravaganza with over 75 Polish organizations from Baltimore with many out-of-town groups participating as well as the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

The exhibition is arriving on the M/S Franciszek Zubrzycki July 12. Five full length feature films will show movieland Polish-style, all with English subtitles.

This particular festival is held under the auspices of the Polish American Congress and coordinated by the Polish Progressive Alliance. July 25, 1974, p. 1

12. Mikulski protests ethnic slur. Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski announced a victory over a public ridicule of General Casimir Pulaski. Hallmark Cards is discontinuing and withdrawing from the market a puzzle which depicted a stupid-looking clumsy football player as its central figure, "Dodo Pulaski." Jan. 2, 1975, p. 1

13. PNA installation. The Polish National Alliance Council 21 of Baltimore held their installation of officers at a gala party on January 26, attended by more than 300 guests, including foreign, federal and local government officials, representatives of Polish organizations in the city and Andrzej Szyc, First Secretary of the Polish Embassy, who served as M.C. Elected to serve for the coming term are: Terry Podbielski, treasurer; Richard Kryzwicki, secretary; Bertha Golombielska and Lenny Andrzewski, Vice-Presidents; Louis Chudy-Williams, president; Anastazja Czygier and Lilian Misiora, honorary commissioners; Stanley May, past president; and Janina Kozinska, vice-president. February 6, 1975, p. 1

14. Former P.S. No. 3 at Montford and Eastern Avenues has been offered by the city administration for lease to the Polish Progressive Alliance. The vacant, boarded-up building will be renovated by the Alliance under terms of an agreement approved by the Board of Estimates and will be used as a cultural center emphasizing the Polish language, dance classes, exhibits, and performances by the non-profit cultural organization. February 6, 1975, p. 6

15. Letter to the editor. The members of the Polish American Congress, Maryland Division, wish to express their thanks to all those in the community who wrote or called to make known their displeasure with an article in the local newspapers several weeks ago. The article concerned remarks made by a member of the state legislature which were derogatory and insulting to the entire Polish community.

The Polish American Congress as well as other Polish organizations, has labored for several years to abolish the so-called Polish joke and to create a true, accurate, and admirable image of all Poles. Comments such as those made by this person serve only to nullify all the fine work done by many dedicated individuals.

We are confident that voicing objections to such improper statements will most definitely deter others from making such thoughtless, frivolous remarks. Signed John F. Pasko, President Polish American Congress, Md. Division. February 20, 1975, p. 2

16. Community calendar. Sunday, March 9. St. Stanislaus' Miraculous Medal Society will hold a chicken dinner and bazaar on Sunday, March 9, noon to 5 p.m. in the Parish Hall, Ann and Aliceanna Sts.
Tuesday, March 11. Ladies of the Holy Family of Sacred Heart of Jesus parish will sponsor a luncheon and games party on Tuesday, March 11, noon to 4 p.m. in the church hall, Highlandtown and Foster Aves.

Tuesday, March 11. St. Brigid's Sodality will hold a luncheon and games party on Tuesday, March 11 beginning at noon in the school hall, Hudson St. and East Ave. Tickets available at the door.

Wednesday, March 12. Group 763 Polish Women's Alliance will hold a games party on Wednesday, March 12 at Polish Home Hall, 510 S. Broadway, beginning at 8 p.m.

Sunday, March 16. Holy Name Society of Holy Rosary Church will hold a bull and oyster roast on Sunday, March 16, 1 to 6 p.m. in the school hall with music by Lenny Adams. Call 675-6215 for tickets. March 6, 1975, p. 14
Annex 7

A personal note about the author

Professor Dr. Tadeusz Przeciszewski
Senior Fellow at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore
Head of the Chair Economic Policy and National Planning
M. Curie-Sklodowska University, Lublin, Poland

He was born on March 2, 1922, in the small town of Sierpc, in the Warsaw district, Poland. After having finished his secondary school in June 1940 (the last year secretly under Nazi occupation), he at once joined the Resistance Movement in the ranks of the Home Army (Armia Krajowa); he was active predominantly in journalistic, and youth organization activity. Meanwhile he studied law at the Secret Warsaw University and economic sciences at the Main Commercial School in Warsaw.

Shortly after the end of World War II he received the master of arts degree in law at the Catholic University in Lublin (in December 1945) and the diploma of the Main Commercial School in economic sciences (in July 1946).

He began his scientific work in October 1945 as research assistant in the Institute for the National Economy (Instytut Gospodarstwa Narodowego) and in the next year he got a parallel post as an assistant in the Chair of Political Economy at the Faculty of Law, Warsaw University. In 1948 he received the doctor's degree in economic science based on his dissertation, "The Theory of Monopolistic Competition and the General Theory of J.M. Keynes."

In 1956 he began doing research at the Institute of Housing (Instytut Budownictwa Mieszkaniowego) and joined the faculty of Political Economy, Warsaw University in 1957. In 1963 he received the degree of the habilitated docent, based on his dissertation, "Housing Expenditures and Preferences of a Population Considered at the Background of the Central Economic Policy."

In 1964 he was directed to the Lublin State University, where in 1965 he became one of the founders of the new Economic Faculty, receiving there the post of Head of the Chair of Economic Policy and National Economic Planning. In the same year, 1965, he participated in the scientific conference of the International Economic Association on the Theory and Policy of Housing, held in Ditchley Park, Great Britain, in the Anglo-American Conference Center. He presented a paper on "The Place of Housing Expenditure in the Total Consumption of a Population, published in The Economic Problems of Housing, Macmillan, New York, 1967, pp. 161-175.

In the field of research work he went in 1966 to the Institute of Higher Education as its scientific advisor in the sphere of economics of higher education. At the end of 1966 and the beginning of 1967 he spent four months as a junior fellow at Paris University, studying the economics of education and also collaborating with the International Institute of Educational Planning, part of the framework of the central staff of UNESCO.

At the platform of social and public activity Dr. Przeciszewski performed during the 1960's the function of the Deputy Chairman in the Section for Scientific Workers, part of a large Trade Union of Polish Teachers; for several years he represented Polish Scientific Workers in the activities of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, founded after World War II by Prof. Joliot-Curie.

In 1972 he received the title of full professor based on the dissertation "Housing Economy in the National Economy." From then on he has been busy also in the field of economics of culture, as chairman of the Section on Economics of
Culture in the Polish Economic Association. In 1973, after having been a long-time member of the Scientific Council of the Polish Central Union of Housing Cooperatives, he was elected its President.

After more than 20 years of research in different branches in the sphere of non-material services, he has been working for some time upon the general conception of the so-called Social Planning as the common theoretical base for all branches of that sphere, ranging from housing through health protection and education to culture. The majority of his more than 150 publications refer to selected branches of social planning. He has also published items dealing directly with the theory and methodology of social planning on the whole. He regards social planning as a parallel discipline to the economic planning in the short run and as a broader discipline in the long run, where the ultimate goals are determined and their most general means of realization bound with the human factor. Social planning may be regarded too as the component of economic planning at the lowest levels of government, in cities, communes, and housing settlements, where direct social needs are being satisfied through allotment of corresponding services, in physical and monetary terms.

During his stay at The Johns Hopkins University's Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research, Dr. Przeciszewski is working on a paper dealing with the problems of the Polish community in Baltimore. Because of the interconnection existing between this subject and several broader questions, of social evolution, ethnicity and social history of the Polish ethnic group in the United States as a whole, he is analyzing the problem in a vast comparative way, trying to come to some generalizations and conclusions that might be useful as well to other ethnic groups in America. The end of his stay in Baltimore is foreseen for May 31, 1975.

Baltimore, April 21, 1975