A HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE

by

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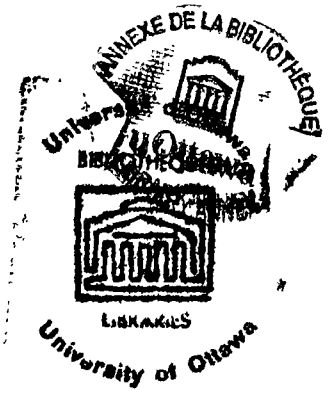

OTTAWA, CANADA,

1953.

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INTRODUCTION

The Polish Americans of today are an integral part of the American nation's population. They no longer need to be grudgingly tolerated because they have earned this right of equality by the flow of their blood for the freedom of the United States and the ballot box.

The road to this American equality has not been easy. The kind of aliens who can accept without resentment some of the things to which those of foreign birth and speech have been subjected to within our borders during quite recent times, are not fit to be Americans -- but the Poles have never failed to meet the challenge of events.

Adventuring in a dark universe, suffering the assaults of destiny, but never finally defeated, the Poles cleared before them the tangled paths, overgrown with weeds of misinformation and misinterpretation, to reach the great highway to American freedom, equality, justice and brotherly love.

Alone, and without an organization sufficient in numbers and influential in action, the Poles tended to segregate themselves within nationalistic walls as a primitive form of protection. This voluntary isolation and/or ostracism

drove the Poles deeper and deeper within themselves and away from the spiritual, cultural, and social centers of America to which they should have been contributing their best talents and traits.

This dissertation will show that there was a definite need for organizations to which Polish immigrants could turn for material, social, and cultural benefits, and that it was important that such institutions should be organized on nationality and linguistic lines in order that the immigrant could communicate his needs and receive a feeling of security, a sense of belonging, and so that he could perform concrete acts of charity -- and sacrifice, when it was necessary -- for his mother country.

The history, growth, and development of the Polish organizations are so interwoven with the history, growth, and development of the Polish community that it is quite impossible to separate the two currents. To review the history of any one of the Polish super-territorial organizations would be an enormous task -- fascinating, but forbidding within the limits of this dissertation.

The writer chose to highlight those events in the largest Polish American organization which would reflect

the growth and development of the Pole from an impoverished, uneducated immigrant to a progressive, thrifty American citizen whose high regard for education won national recognition for him.

The present writer chose to use the Polish National Alliance as the medium by which to show the social evolution of Polonia because the Polish National Alliance represents one half of the total membership in all the major Polish American organizations, and because it does not restrict membership to any particular religious denomination, occupational or professional class, social group, or political party.

To accompllsh this purpose, the writer wished to make an examination of the following:

1. The types of emigration of Poles to the United States; the assimilation processes of each type.
2. The background and character of the specific immigrant group which founded the Polish National Alliance.
3. The need for a national organization, the founding of the Polish National Alliance, its aims and purposes.
4. A historical outline of the major achievements in the growth of the largest Polish American fraternal organization.

5. The development of the Polish National Alliance in relation to the changing needs of its members and the times.
6. The part played by the Polish National Alliance in orientating the immigrants to the customs and practices of their adopted country, and eventually helping them to become American citizens.
7. The efforts of the Polish National Alliance in preserving the spirit of nationalism and the Polish language.
8. The work of the Polish National Alliance in the re-establishment of the new Republic of Poland.

The Polish National Alliance of America is the largest Polish American fraternal benefit organization in the world with a current membership of 334,681, gross assets of $65,118,521.53 and $237,597,668.00 of insurance in force. It is also the eighth largest fraternal organization in the United States, superceded only by the Woodmen of the World, Modern Woodmen of America, Aid Association for Lutherans, Royal Neighbors of America, The Maccabees, Knights of Columbus, and the Lutheran Brotherhood.

Although the official organ, Zgoda, has the largest newspaper circulation of all Polish American papers, it

reaches mostly its own members and especially those who read the Polish language. In recent years, with the election of native born Americans to the principal offices of the organization, the Polish National Alliance has been more widely recognized. Otherwise, very little recorded and systematic data has been made available to the general English reading public.

With these facts in mind, the writer felt a definite need for such research for the following reasons:

1. This study is one aspect of Polish American life about which the writer can obtain full and accurate information on account of active participation in the Polish National Alliance over a period of years, first as a youth leader, then an office holder, and more recently as delegate to the quadrennial Convention.
2. This study is of practical value because the Polish National Alliance will shortly observe its seventy-fifth anniversary, and the research done for this report has suggested many ideas which may serve for comparative analyses, statistical tables, educational papers, and feature articles as an extension of knowledge which may be particularly applicable during the anniversary observances.

3. The writer believes this study has educational value in that it may stimulate other students to enlist in this important but neglected field of historical research which gives some comprehension of the importance of the immigrant theme in the development of American life. By bringing to light some of the rich sources of historical study lying dormant in the Polish immigrant and his super-territorial organizations, this dissertation may also serve as an aid in suggesting related fields of research.

4. The writer hopes that this historical outline of the Polish National Alliance, which reflects so much of the live and activity of the Polish American Community, will help to bring about a corrective point of view based upon a more complete knowledge of Polish American orga--nizations, and more specifically the Polish National Alliance and its members whose "duality of allegiance" has been frequently challenged by those who have misinterpreted the limited available information, and who, as a result, have drawn conclusions which stress the negative aspects of Polish American activities to the discredit of their positive qualities.

5. This study will show that the original animosity between the two largest Polish American fraternals has subsided almost completely, but not entirely as this would eliminate the value of keen competition which is so necessary for the continued growth and development of an organization as well as a community.

The writer has made an exhaustive search for previous related studies in as many available sources as possible, including the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives and Museum which has the largest collection of Polish and Polish American books in the United States; the Polish National Alliance Library in Chicago, and the Alliance College Library in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania.

As far as this writer was able to ascertain, there has never been a comprehensive history of the Polish National Alliance written in the English Language. Historja Zwiazku Narodowego Polskiego, written in Polish in 1905 by Stanislaw Osada takes into account only the first twenty-five years of the existence of the Polish National Alliance. Further, S. Osada has transferred his affiliation from organization to organization freely so that his account of activities of the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Falcons, or the Polish

Roman Catholic Union were undoubtedly colored by his sympathy for the particular organization by which he was employed at the time of writing. Since W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, draw freely from Osada, their book, volume five of The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, contains the same biased opinions as Osada in many cases. This becomes an unending circle since it has been observed that R. A. Schermerhorn, H. H. Fischer, Carl Wittke, William Seabrook and others draw their information from Thomas and Znaniecki, etc.

Whenever it was possible, the writer searched for two kinds of references -- those authored by people who could be expected to write in favor of the Polish National Alliance like S. Osada and K. Piatkiewicz, and those like Mieczyslaw Haiman, K. Wachtl and F. Barc, who, as members of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, would be opposed to the Polish National Alliance. Thus the writer tried to arrive at a neutral and objective point of view.

For extensive survey and analysis of the progress made in recent years by Polish and Polish American institutions, the writer compared the information contained in

the official organs of the leading Polish American fraternals, such as Zwiazkowiec, Sokol Polski, Zgoda, Czas, Narod Polski, and Straz. All of these sources served a useful purpose, but they did not treat the subject from the point of view of this dissertation.

It is the aim of this writer to show that the Americans of Polish descent especially with the aid of their organizations, have earned for themselves a place on an equal footing with the old immigration. By their efforts, they have proved that they are intensely loyal to America, and as law-abiding as any other nationality group.

Accordingly, the subject has been approached in a chronological manner, as far as possible. For a background, it is useful to know the background and history of the early immigrants, since this will indicate their defensive attitude, and their tenacious loyalty to religion and language, both of which were hindrances to assimilation and caused a delay in Americanization and naturalization. This will be discussed in the first two chapters.

In the third to the sixth chapter, inclusive, the writer will attempt to show:

1. that the church is the heart of all Polish activities, and that other types of institutions are usually founded after the spiritual needs of the community are satisfied.
2. that consciousness of kind and the need for mutual assistance were the important factors which favored the founding of fraternal societies.
3. that the Polish National Alliance before World War I emphasized the necessity for a free and independent Republic of Poland.
4. that the Polish National Alliance has exemplified itself as a loyal American institution by giving freely of its time, money, and personnel wherever it was in the interest and welfare of the American people.

In the conclusion, the writer will attempt to tie up the various distinctive activities of the Polish National Alliance to show that it has made a valuable contribution to the progress of this country. It is hoped that the outlined achievements of the Polish National Alliance, as brought out by the best efforts of the writer, will create an interest, primarily among the English-speaking and English-reading public, in an effort to appreciate more fully the work of

this important Polish American institution which speaks for so many Americans of Polish descent; and secondly, that the report of this research will help second, third and succeeding generations to work themselves out of their various nationalistic and linguistic complexes by a fuller knowledge of their Polish background and their time-honored and time-weathered heritage.

The materials for this report of research have been based upon a survey and historical data as supplied by the central office of the Polish National Alliance in Chicago; the statistical reports of membership growth, educational and charitable contributions, etc. as recorded in the histories of the major Polish American fraternal societies.

The task of gathering this data presented a difficult problem because only meager sources were available, and secondly, whatever sources were available were usually inadequate and accessible only with considerable difficulty.

To add to this problem, the writer discovered that the material available was written almost entirely in the Polish language, thereby necessitating considerable translation at the very outset.

To supplement this material, the writer arranged for personal interviews with many leading lodge and council officers, and made visits to more than fifty different PNA lodges and councils in the United States. Correspondence was forwarded to those lodges which observed their 50th anniversaries to acquire valuable data from their memorial souvenir booklets.

Finally, since this topic for research was originally intended for a Master's thesis and delayed because of its depth and breadth, the writer had four years time in which to accumulate, evaluate, discard, and re-evaluate much data before beginning the report of this research.

Since abbreviated titles are as popular in the Polish American community as were Roosevelt's A-B-C committees, the writer frequently uses PNA or ZNP to designate the Polish National Alliance; PRCU or ZPRK to mean Polish Roman Catholic Union; and PWA or ZPA to designate the Polish Women's Alliance.

The word "Convention" shall mean the Supreme legislative and governing body of the Polish National Alliance, while Sejm will indicate the same function for the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The words "Supervisory Council" shall

mean the judicial, appelate, and supervising body. The words "Board of Directors" shall mean the executive and managing body. The words "District", "Council" or "Lodge" shall mean a subordinate body of men, women, or men and women. The Lodge is the local autonomous unit in the Polish National Alliance, and several Lodges compose a Council; many Councils constitute a District, and fifteen Districts make up the Polish National Alliance.

It is not the intention of this writer to glorify or exploit the achievements of the Polish National Alliance over any other group, but a choice of a single medium had to be made in order to stay within the limits of this dissertation.

Even a brief discussion with Théophile Martin, assistant secretary of L'Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, and correspondence with Victor Zaremba, manager of the Sales Promotion Department of the Aid Association for Lutherans, for example, clearly indicated that what the Polish American institutions have done for the Polish group, the Union St-Jean-Baptiste fraternal association aims to do for the French group, while the Aid Association for Lutherans works in the interest of Lutherans of the Synodical Conference. All have a

singular aim: to make their members better Americans by insuring to them a proper moral, intellectual, economic and social development. The subject of this dissertation is to show how the Polish National Alliance accomplished this specific purpose.

CHAPTER I

POLISH EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

The leading Polish American historian, Mieczyslaw Haiman, in his book, Polish Past in America,[1] divided Polish immigration to America into three periods:

1. Colonial immigration (1608 - 1776) which brought artisans and adventurers to America.

2. Political immigration (1776 - 1865) which brought soldiers, noblemen, writers, and political exiles.

3. Economic immigration (1865 - 1929) which brought to America the largest number of Poles from all walks of life, but chiefly peasants and unskilled workers.

For the purpose of clearer analysis, the writer wishes to discuss the various elements of these groups in order to show the characteristics of the immigrants who came bearing different kinds of bouquets of intangible gifts in the form of varying levels of culture. This analysis will show further that consciousness of kind, that inherent spirit in Poles, impelled

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1. Mieczyslaw Haiman, Polish Past in America, 1608-1865, Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union, 1930 p. 1.

the earliest immigrant groups to form organizations among themselves.

Poles throughout the world like to believe that a fellow-Pole, Jan z Kolna, arrived on the shores of Labrador in 1476, sixteen years before the discovery of America by Columbus. Some historians describe Jan z Kolna as the captain of a Danish ship, while other writers tell about Jan z Kolna being set adrift in a small boat off the coast of Denmark, to be left to the mercy of the elements, eventually to be certain of death, as a penalty for a committed crime.

However, German, Danish, and Norwegians also claim the legend of Jan z Kolna, referring to him as Scolnus.[2]

The national origin of Jan z Kolna, or Scolnus, is still a subject for debate, as are the names Zborowski and Zaborowski, more recently reduced to Zabriskie. Dr. Wachtl in his book, Polonja w Ameryce, writes that after Samuel Zborowski was beheaded for entering into suspicious foreign relations against King Stefan Batory, his descendants came to America about 1562.[3]

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2. Karol Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia, Polish Star, 1944, p. 25.

3. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 26.

This date in itself indicates an error since the reign of Stefan Batory does not begin until 1575 when he was elected to the throne of Poland after the return of Henri de Valois to France. Professor Halecki gives the date of the execution of Zborowski as 1584.[4]

M. Haiman, after conducting a very thorough research, proved quite conclusively in his book, Polacy Wsród Pionierów Ameryki,[5] that there is no connection between the name Zborowski and Zaborowski, which name appears earliest as a witnessed signature (Albricht Zaborowskij) on a bill of sale dated July 15, 1679 for the purchase of land on the banks of the Passaic River, where the Zaborowski family (now called Zabriskie) own large estates in New Jersey.

All Americans know of Captain John Smith and how he founded our first colony in Virginia. All Americans know how Pocahontas saved him from being beaten to death by the Indians,

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4. O. Halecki, A History of Poland, New York, Roy, 1943, p. 137.

5. M. Haiman, Polacy Wsród Pionerów Ameryki, Chicago, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, 1930, p. 14.

but few Americans know that Captain John Smith had four Poles with him.[6] The oldest ancestors of the Polish Americans can be historically traced to the pre-Mayflower settlement in Jamestown, where a number of Polish artisans arrived in 1608,[7] simultaneously with the first white women, to make the first "foreign colony" in America.[8]

These artisans, skilled in making pitch, tar, and soap-ashes, organized when it was necessary to voice a unified protest on July 31, 1619, to secure an equal right to vote in the first Parliament in America.

After the departure of John Smith, the colonists regarded the Poles as inferior foreigners and attempted to exclude them from the Representative Assembly in the House of Burgess in

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6. Rupert Hughes, "The Polish Right to An American Welcome", article in The Polish Review, vol. 9, issue of May, 1949, p. 3-4.

7. L. C. Taylor (ed), Narratives of Early Virginia 1606-1625, New York, 1907, quoted by Joseph Swastek in "What is a Polish American", article in Polish American Studies, vol. 1, no. 1, issue of July 1944, p. 34.

8. Mary McLellan (ed), Within Our Gates, New York, Harper, 1940, p. xv, introduction. Cf. R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People, Boston, Heath, 1949, p. 265.

Jamestown, Virginia. The organized Poles refused to work unless they were given the right to vote with full equality with other colonists.

These Poles were the first to voice precepts of freedom and social equality for more than a hundred and fifty years before the Declaration of Independence, and their organized resistance was the first political upheaval[9] in America, and it ended successfully by extending these rights to the common man. It was also the first labor strike on American soil,[10] but it was not a strike for material gain, but rather an effort to secure equal political representation.[11] The value of organization has never since been underestimated by the descendants of these pre-Mayflower Poles.

Polish emigrants settled in Delaware as early as 1650. They were also among the first settlers of new Holland and New Jersey. They settled among the Swedes in New Sweden and among

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9. Louis Adamic, A Nation of Nations, New York, Harper, 1945, p. 287.

10. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 27.

11. M. Haiman, "The Polish Contribution in the Historical Development of the United States", article in Promien, issue of March 1947, p. 56.

the early Quakers in Pennsylvania. The renowned Sanduskis (Sadowski) were among the first whites to penetrate into Ohio (1728),[12] Kentucky, and Tennessee. Finally, because they were numerically so few, the Poles dispersed throughout the thirteen colonies and became thoroughly assimilated with the surrounding populace.[13]

The partitioning of Poland in 1772 and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in America marked a change in the type of Polish emigration to America which was now largely one of soldiers and political exiles. Having so recently lost their own freedom, they offered their services, their wealth, and their lives to the Americans in the struggle for freedom and independence. Two names stand out most prominently among these soldier-emigrants: Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski.

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12. M. Haiman, Polacy Wsrod Pionierow Ameryki, Chicago, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, 1930, p. 61.

13. Antonine Bochenski, "Our Youth and Its Polish American Heritage", article in The Polish American Studies, vol. 1, no. 1, 1944, p. 45.

Kosciuszko's brilliant mind and successful studies of military art attracted the attention of Prince Adam Czartoryski who made Kosciuszko a second lieutenant in the Corps of Cadets and sent him, successively, at his own expense, to France, Germany, and then to Italy to study engineering and military fortification. It was not surprising, therefore, that after receiving unjust and cruel treatment from the rich overproud Hetman Sosnowski, to whose daughter Kosciuszko had lost his heart, that he should decide, after seeing her married to Prince Lubomirski, "to forget his own heart sorrow and give his best energies to the hearts of a young people fighting for that which he really most loved, Liberty".[14]

By his military engineering genius, ~~he~~ gained, at the expense of Prince Czarotyski's generosity, Kosciuszko laid the foundation for the future of West Point, and helped to win the vital battle of Saratoga.[15]

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14. Tryphosa Bates-Batcheller, "Kosciuszko, Hero of Two Worlds", article in The Polish Review, vol. 6, no. 13, issue of August 15, 1946, p. 7-8.

15. Rupert Hughes, op. cit., p. 3.

Sixty-five years before Lincoln's Emancipation Act of 1863, Kosciuszko openly sponsored freedom for Negroes, and in his famous testament which he placed in Jefferson's hands, he willed all his American fortune ($20,000), for the liberation and education of slaves so that they might become "good neighbors, good fathers and mothers, defenders of their liberty and country and of the well-being of the commonwealth".[16]

Count Pulaski organized the first cavalry (1777) our army ever had --and paid for it himself-- and died of battle wounds in the siege of Savannah in 1779. His memory remains quite vivid in Polish communities in the United States where his name has been attached to at least twenty-five American geographical localities.[17]

Both names, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, have been very popular choices for the names of autonomous lodges of the Polish National Alliance.

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16. M. Haiman, Kosciuszko in the American Revolution, New York, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1943, p. 47.

17. Ladislaus Siekaniec, "Pulaski, U.S.A.", article in Polish American Studies, vol. 7, no. 1-2, issue of January-June, 1950, p. 39.

In addition to these two outstanding heroic figures, it must be stressed that there were many other prominent Poles who served in the War for Freedom---Maurycy Bieniowski, Major Jan Zielinski, George Uzdowski, Count Michael Grabowski, Joseph Baldeski, Julian Niemcewicz, Lt. Michael Kowacz, Karol Litomski, Jan Polereski, Major Maciej Rogowski, Kotkowski, Jerzmanowski, Terlecki, Pawelski, Kajetan Wegierski, Count Lowinski, and Kraszewski or Krassowski, in addition to the more than 650 volunteers who came directly from Poland to serve in Pulaski's Legion or with the French Army of Rochambeau.[18]

It is interesting to note at this time that at the Polish American Congress Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, the principal speaker on May 30, 1952, was United States Senator H. Alexander Smith (Republican, New Jersey), who said:

> Because of my knowledge of and admiration for the Polish people and their love of freedom and the contributions they have made to the freedom of the United States, I know that beyond the hopes

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18. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 30.

> and aspirations of the Polish people, there lies, because of their deeply religious spirit, that faith in the guiding hand of Almighty God, which led our forefathers to freedom and to the true greatness of our own United States of America.

The Senator spoke these words from personal conviction because, as the writer learned afterwards, H. Alexander Smith is a fourth generation descendant of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Kosciusko's aide-de-camp.

Dismembered Poland was not without influence, though indirect, on the outcome of the American Revolutionary War. Historians hitherto never stressed the fact that it was Poland who then occupied the attention of Russia and Prussia, the two most dangerous powers in the world, and perhaps prevented them from giving aid to the British against the Americans. Had Prussia and Russia not been embroiled in Polish affairs, the history of the Revolutionary War might have been very different, indeed.[19]

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19. M. Haiman, Poland and the American Revolutionary War, Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union, 1932, p. 1.

After Poland disappeared from the political map of Europe in 1795, each of the three states which had absorbed it (Austria, Russia, and Prussia) began to carry out its own policy in the annexed territory. In Prussia, all church lands were confiscated and the clergy as a body were made answerable for the political crimes of individuals.[20]

The tyrannical despotism existing after the final dismemberment of Poland gave impetus to a new emigration wave of disillusioned intelligentsia, political exiles, and soldiers, including Kosciuszko who returned to America in 1796 after another desperate disappointment in love.

Russian Emperor Alexander previously endeavored to persuade Kosciuszko to accept a command in the Russian army without success. Napoleon offered him similar commands in the French army, but Kosciuszko rejected these offers by saying, "If I am not fighting for Poland, I no longer need a sword

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20. F. T. Seroczynski, "Polish Immigration", article in Catholic Encyclopedia, 9th ed., vol. 12, p. 209.

since I no longer have a country".[21]

These emigres, seeking refuge abroad from the persecutions of hostile governments, settled for the most part in France, England, Switzerland, and Italy, where they could most effectively work by all the means at their disposal for new uprisings, or for a diplomatic intervention of the Western Powers in favor of Poland.

Armed uprisings for freedom in Poland which were undertaken from generation to generation in spite of costly defeats, in order to throw off the triple enslavement by the countries that partitioned her, cast many homeless political exiles to the shores of America. The greater majority were refugees of the November 1830 insurrection, who were destined to be highly influential in the development of American intellectual life and political ideas.

Among the thousands who emigrated from Poland to America after the failure of the 1830-31 uprising was a group of 230

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21. Tryphosa Bates-Batcheller, op. cit., p. 8.

political prisoners who were given $40, probably from their own confiscated property, and put aboard two Austrian frigates. After a storm-tossed journey of four months and ten days, the group put in at the port of New York.[22]

Immediately they organized and then authorized Leon Baczkiewicz, Martin Rosienkiewicz, Adalbert Konarzewski, and others to write a letter to the Congress of the United States, requesting the assignation of some land where they might settle to earn a living and become useful citizens of the United States.

On June 30, 1834, President Jackson affixed his signature to the legislative act which designated a section of pulbic lands in Illinois for settlement by these exiled soldiers. Each was assigned 500 acres which he was to cultivate for ten years, after which the land would be his upon the payment of a minimum fee for each acre.[23]

In a few months, one of these exiles, Martin Rosienkiewicz published a twenty-two page text, Dialogues to Faci-

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22. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 50.

23. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 51.

litate the Acquisition of the English Language by the Polish Emigrants in 1834.[24]

Several prominent names from this band of soldier exiles have been historically recorded: Kazimierz Gzowski became a distinguished lawyer and a member of the New York legislature; Sobokarski was a judge in the Illinois courts; Truskolaski served as a government surveyor of lands in Louisiana and Utah; Felix Wierzbicki became a doctor by his own efforts, and later, as a wealthy magnate, published in 1849 at San Francisco his California As It Is, the first English book printed west of the Rocky Mountains.[25]

Very few traces are left of the thousands who emigrated to our shores after 1830-31, except some documents which refer to an association they founded -- the first Polish association in this country. Records show that the

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24. Alphonse Wolanin, Polonica Americana, Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union, 1950, p. 196.

25. M. Haiman, Polish Pioneers of California, Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union, 1940, p. 42.

first meeting of the Towarzystwo Polakow w Ameryce (Association of Poles in America) was held at the home of Rev. Ludwik Jezykowicz[26] at 235 Division Street in New York City on March 20, 1842, and was attended by sixty-three soldier-exiles. At this meeting, the members set forth the purposes of the organization to be fraternal assistance to every other member. "To die for Poland" were the watchwords of the organization.[27] Every Polish emigrant, regardless of his occupation, or religious belief, could become a candidate for admission to this organization.

The secretary and guiding light of the first Polish association in America, national in character, was Dr. Henry Kalussowski (Kaluszowski, from city of Kalusz in E. Galicia), who later became the founder of the Polish National Alliance

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26. Stanislaw Osada, Historya Zwiazku Narodowego Polskiego, Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1905, p. vii.

27. F. T. Seroczynski, "Poles in United States", article in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, New York, Encyclopedia Press, Inc., p. 204.

Museum and Library, the first Polish library in America.

A pamphlet, published in Paris, titled simply November 29, 1844, contained the text of speeches which were made by representatives Foresti, Stalkerecht, Harings, W. Howe, Wierzbicki, and Henryk Kalussowski on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the unsuccessful insurrection of 1830.[28]

This is another indication of the nationalistic character of this first Polish association in America.

In 1852, probably the second Polish organization in the United States was founded in New York under the name Towarzystwo Demokratycznego Wygnancow Polskich w Ameryce[29] (Democratic Society of Poles in America). This is believed to be the first political organization of Poles in America.

In 1854, there were over 200 members in this ardent anti-slavery organization, but there are no records of its activities beyond 1858.

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28. L. Krakowski, Dzieje Polski, Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1934, p. 235.

29. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 8.

During this time, tyranny in Prussian-occupied Poland was becoming unbearable. The clergy especially were persecuted in Prussian-held Poland. One of them, Reverend Leo Moczygemba emigrated with one hundred families from Upper Silesia and founded a Polish settlement in Texas in 1854. Here their first act was to cut down an oak tree to make a crucifix to mark their settlement which they named Panna Maria[30] in gratitude to Our Lady for a safe journey to a free world.

They brought with them all their possessions, their tools and their ploughs---indeed even the bell and great cross from their village church in Poland were brought to the New World.....and these still remain in the church of Panna Maria, Texas, as lasting memorials of the faith of the early Polish pioneers.

This crucifix, staked at Panna Maria, laid the foundation for Polish Catholic institutions in the United States which numbered in 1943 about 831 churches, 533

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30. Emily Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1910, p. 228.

elementary schools, 71 high schools and six colleges in which 250,000 pupils have been taught annually by about 5,000 teachers; fourteen orphanages, thirty-four hospitals and 146 other institutions.[31]

Meanwhile, the Poles rose once more against Russia in 1863. A secret revolutionary government was formed with Romuald Traugutt at its head. With great difficulty, the Czar suppressed the Polish insurrection and bloody punishments were inaugurated, tens of thousands of Poles being executed, among them Traugutt, who died August 5, 1864. Thousands more were deported to Siberia. Henceforth, Poland was treated with the utmost ruthlessness, no effort being spared to Russianize and Germanize the Polish nation.[32]

This next political emigration, following the defeat of the 1863 insurrection in Poland, had a much

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31. S. Targosz, Polonia Katolicka w Stanach Zjednoczonych w Przekroju, Detroit, 1943, p. 67.

32. Statkowski, Joseph, Poland the Country of Your Fathers, Warsaw, M. Arct, 1935, p. 21. Cf. O. Halecki, A History of Poland, New York, Roy, 1943, p. 240.

deeper influence on Polish American life. There were small Polish colonies of workmen already scattered throughout America. To these people, the political exiles of 1863 imparted their idealistic slogan of the 19th century: Za Wolnosc Nasza i Wasza.....For Our Freedom and Yours.[33]

Significantly, Poles bore arms all over the world wherever nations fought against oppression. Polish soldier-exiles distinguished themselves in military expeditions to free Texas and Cuba. Colonel Gustav Schultz, (Szulc) a Pole from New York, led the Battle of the Windmill, the most important battle in the upper Canadian insurrection. He died on the gallows December 8, 1838, paying with his life for having secured liberal reforms in Canada's government.[34]

Poles fought gallantly in the ranks of the Union and Confederate armies. General Vladimir Krzyzanowski[35]

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33. M. Haiman, "The Polish Contribution in the Historical Development of the United States", article in Promien, issue of March, 1947, p. 57.

34. M. Haiman, Polacy Wsrod Pionierow Ameryki, Chicago, Dziennik, Zjednoczenia, 1930, p. 305.

35. Congress appointed Krzyzanowski as the first governor of Alaska at the close of the Civil War.

distinguished himself at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, while General Joseph Karge was one of the most capable cavalry officers of the Union army. About 500 Poles in blue uniforms and a hundred in gray uniforms died on the battlefield during the Civil War,[36] even though they would have preferred to have fought and died with their brethren in the bloody insurrection of 1863 in Poland.

Characteristic loyalty of the Polish soldier was demonstrated when none of the soldier exiles serving in the Union or Confederate armies during the Civil War deserted the States' cause for their first love, Poland. Lieutenant Zychlinski, even when granted a sick leave from the Union Army, used this leave to organize, drill, and lead units of insurrectionists in Poland from June to December 1863.[37]

After the uprising of 1830, 1848, and 1863, the three partitioners drew the reigns of control tighter and

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36. M. Haiman, "The Polish Contributions in the Historical Development of the United States", article in Promien, issue of March 1947, p. 58.

37. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 38.

tighter in an effort to subjugate, dominate, and de-Polonize their victims completely. This resulted in the greatest wave of Polish emigration which began about 1865 and became most numerous in the fifteen years before the World War.

Father Kruszka in his first volume of Historya Polska w Ameryce[38] records the Polish population in the United States in 1870 as 50,000 and 200,000[39] five years later, with 20,000 of them in Chicago which, as early as 1866 had become and still remains the metropolis of this, the fourth division of Poland, as the Polish community in America is called by the Poles.

By 1890, there were 800,000 Polish immigrants in the United States. This number increased each year, so that during 1904-1913, at least, 1,009,054 more Poles were admitted, with the largest number, 174,365 arriving in the banner

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38. Waclaw Kruszka, Historya Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Courier Press, 1905-1908, vol. 1, p. 71-75.

39. This figure is given as 150,000 by Rev. F. T. Seroczynski, in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 205.

year, 1912-1913.[40]

Prescott Hall in his book, Immigration and its Effects upon the United States, quoted much lower figures, with 147,440 Poles in United States in 1890 and only 383,407 in 1900.[41] This difference in numbers was probably due to the difficulty in counting Poles, many of whom were classified as Russians, Austrians, and Germans, depending on the part of partitioned Poland they came from.

Hall went on to "prove" that the most illiterate immigrants, which he pointed out to be Poles, (28.39% in 1899) brought a corresponding small amount of money per capita. For the Poles, this was $10.37, as compared with the British amount of $29.51, or the French $31.97. This, claimed Prescott, was the reason why those who brought little money were tied to the Atlantic seaboard. This information raises the

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40. Joseph Okolowicz, Wychodztwo i Osadnictwo Polskie, Warsaw, Gebethner and Wold, 1920, p. 23. Cf. I. A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor, New York, Putnam, 1912, p. 14.

41. Prescott Hall, Immigration and its Effects upon the United States, New York, Holt, 1906, p. 72.

question in the writer's mind: How did the 20,000 Poles get to Chicago---and why was New England predominantly English for so long?

Dr. Wachtl writes in his book, Polonia w Ameryce,[42] that "w okresie od 1876 roku do 1911, przybyło do Stanow Zjednoczonych zgóra 10 miljonów naszych wychodzców" (between the years 1876-1911, ten million Polish emigrants came to the United States). This figure seems far out of line since it would mean at least 285,000 Poles would have had to enter the United States each year for the 35 years between 1876-1911, and statistics just shown tell us that 175,365 Poles were admitted to the United States in the peak year 1912-13.

Statistics do show, however, that the bulk of Polish immigration came after 1865, and that this was definitely an economic emigration, composed chiefly of peasants and unskilled workers who came "za chlebem" (in search of bread).

During these years of greatest migration, the Polish nation was existing as a society, without the framework of a

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42. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 57.

State, surrounded by peoples of various degrees of cultural development--Germans, Austrians, Bohemians, Ruthenians, Russians, Lithuanians. At the same time, within her own territory, Poland had the highest percentage of the most unassimilable of races, the Jews.[43] Thus Poland was fighting for the perservation of her racial and cultural status at every moment. The struggle assumed many and various forms:[44]

1. Self-defense against oppressive measures of Russia and Germany in the interest of their respective races and cultures.
2. Self-defense against the comparatively peaceful intrusion of the Austrian culture in Galicia.
3. The problem of the assimilation of the German and Russian colonists.
4. The political fight against the Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia.

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43. F. Znaniecki and W. Thomas, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918, vol. 1, p. 74.

44. F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 84.

5. Peaceful propaganda and efforts to maintain the supremacy of Polish cultures on the vast territory between the Baltic and the Black Seas, populated mainly by Lithuanians, White Ruthenians, and Ukrainians, where the Poles constitutes the cultivated minority of estate owners and intellectual bourgeosie.

Added to these general motives, there were other more immediate causes for emigration which differed according to the ownership of the dismembered Polish State.

1. In Prussian Poland, the linguistic and religious persecutions, especially in 1870--80, resulting from Bismarck's Kulturkampf policy, were a strong impetus to migrate while the freedom to move lasted.

2. In Russian Poland, Empress Catherine gave orders to her military commanders to "destroy forever the Polish name and race".[45] This Russification of all subjects of the Czar resulted also in the emigration of large numbers of

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45. Frank Julian Warne, The Immigrant Invasion, New York, Dodd, 1913, p. 41.

Stundists and Doukhobors from the Finnish provinces.[46]

The crop failure, the unemployment brought about by the crisis and lockout in the textile industry, and the introduction of military service in 1876[47] were especially strong motives for male emigration from Russian Poland.

3. The inhabitants of Austrian Poland (Galicia) were subject to the economic and general causes already noted.

Since the economic motive was the strongest "push" for the mass migration of the Polish peasant to other lands, and especially to the United States, it is also important to know the status of his economic condition in his homeland.

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46. Prescott F. Hall, Immigration and Its Effects Upon the United States, New York, Holt, 1906, p. 20.

47. J. W. Jencks and W. Jettlauck, The Immigration Problem, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1912, p. 14.

Paul Fox in his book, The Poles in America,[48] draws upon sources in Wychodztwo i Osadnictwo Polskie[49] and Emigration and Immigration[50] to give these general causes for the poor economic condition of the Poles:

1. Small landholdings--each peasant owns a strip of land, inadequate to give him sufficient support. The average peasant's holding is six acres, when thirteen acres are needed for sufficient support. These holdings are divided among the children of the household and this tends to make them smaller with each succeeding generation.
2. Small productiveness---the result of primitive agricultural methods, viz: lack of agricultural intelligence; inadequate agricultural tools and machinery; insufficient fertilization of the soil and poor agricultural credit facilities.

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48. Paul Fox, The Poles in America, New York, Doran 1922, p. 39-42.

49. Joseph Okolowicz, op. cit., p. 22-26.

50. Leopold Caro, Emigration and Immigration, Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1909, p. 77.

3. High taxation---the peasants had to bear the lion's share of the burden of taxation, national, provincial and local.
4. Lack of industrial development---the peasant had to supplement the product of his own farm by doing outside work. This employment was seasonal and migratory; the long winter season of unemployment brought many hardships.
5. Antipathy to trade and industry due to high taxation, national and local; inadequate transportation facilities; high cost of transportation; too much red-tape in starting any enterprise; lack of capital, causing commerce and industry to be poorly developed.
6. Low wages and few working days---numerous Church holidays. In 1870, in thirty-four Galician countries, there were 100-120 Church holidays; in twenty-two countries, 120-150 Church holidays; in sixteen countries, 150-200 Church holidays. In this last case, there would only be left five months of the year for work. "This surely afforded the Galician peasant an inevitable and unsurpassed opportunity

for fasting as well as for praying".[51]

If economic need (some writers disdainfully call it economic greed) was the principal cause or the "push" for emigration from the homeland, there were also several equally strong factors which "pulled" the emigrant in the direction of the United States.

1. The chain-letter system has been recognized as probably the most powerful single factor in causing immigration. The arrival of a message from across the sea created an impression which is almost impossible for an American to understand. The letter of inducement would be passed from hand to hand so that it was impossible to know how many people it had influenced before it was returned

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51. Paul Fox, op. cit., p. 42. The writer thinks this is a gross exaggeration by Paul Fox who was a Protestant minister with a biased mind. Throughout this book, P. Fox levels all the ills---excessive retardation of pupils in Catholic schools, low standard of living, lack of culture, delayed assimilation---against the Polish Catholic because of his loyalty to the Pope in Rome.

to the addressee.[52]

The importance of the chain-letter was well illustrated in the two most recent Italian elections. Catholic clergy in the United States used the pulpit to ask their congregations to write to their friends and relatives in Italy to urge them to vote against the Communist candidates. The victories of the anti-Communist parties in both elections show, to a certain degree, the value of letters of inducement from America.

2. In 1863, President Lincoln urged a law to be passed to encourage immigration. On July 4, 1864, he signed a bill authorizing the President to create a Commissioner of Immigration under the State Department, and permitting the importation of laborers from Europe under contract. The act permitted contracts for twelve months labor to pay off the expenses incurred in the payment of passage to America. Several companies were at once organized to handle immigration contract labor which was,

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52. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigration - A World Movement and Its American Significance, New York, Macmillan, 1925, p. 159.

legally, of short duration because protests against the character of immigrants arriving under the contract system caused the repeal of the law in 1868.[53]

The investigation of the Commission in Europe did not cover any actual contracts involving promises of employment between employers in America and laborers in Poland, but it is quite certain that under the liberal construction of the law, Polish immigrants came to America with a good knowledge where they would go and what they would do if admitted.

3. In 1866, Virginia passed an act to encourage immigration and appointed General Kasper Tochman, a Polish rebel of 1830 and illustrious Confederate soldier, as one of its agents to bring in new Polish blood for the reconstruction of the South.[54]

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53. Carl Wittke, We Who Built America, New York, Prentico-Hall, 1939, p. 512.

54. Carl Wittke, op. cit., p. 109. Cf. Karol Wacht, op. cit., p. 54.

4. The Illinois Central Railroad carried on one of the most vigorous colonization programs of any railroad in the United States. After 1870, it employed General John Basil Zurchin, a Russian engineer who had fought in the Civil War, to organize the Agencja Polskiej Kolonizacyi (Polish Colinization Agency) to bring Poles into Illinois.[55] Zurchin was successful to an unexpected degree in developing Polish agricultural and mining colonies.

5. With the change in the 1860's from sailing ship to steamships, the steamship companies carried on an extensive campaign, using most unethical means for financial gain. Many times those males who emigrated to America to avoid compulsory military conscription were forced to pay for their steamship fare twice over, and more. By forming a network with newspapers, petty officials, innkeepers, and retail store owners, the steamship agencies built vast fortunes at the expense of the emigrant. Worthless card advertisements were sold as steamship tickets to those who

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55. Paul Gates, The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, p. 318. Cf. Carl Wittke, op. cit., p. 112.

were illiterate, and alarm clocks were wound to ring at an opportune moment to simulate a telephone call from the steamship agency indicating room for "just one more passenger".[56]

The cheapness of transportation, like the cost of a stripped car, and the propaganda by the steamship ticket agents were among the most important immediate causes of emigration.

6. In the homeland, the Polish peasant's one supreme ambition was to own a piece of land and a home. When it was learned that forty morgs of land could be bought cheaply in Brazil, this hunger for land was so strong that there was a real fever of emigration in 1911-1912. In response, almost the entire communities of Siedlce and Lublin[57] forced themselves to overcome

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56. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 68.

57. F. Znanienki and W. Thomas, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 191.

attachment to their country and the fear of the unknown to undertake a two months' journey and indescribable hardships upon arrival in order to satiate this desire for land.

Maurice Hindus, in his book Magda, vividly describes the attraction for land thus:

> Remember, Michael, the immortal words of our beloved novelist, Ladislas Reymont: 'A man without land is like a man without legs; he crawls about and cannot get anywhere!' So go out to the land in free America and plant yourself in it as though you were a tree, and in time the good Lord will bless you with the sweetest fruit you have ever tasted.
>
> The land will liberate you from your sorrows and frustrations, for even in our cruelly ruled fatherland, the man with land can sleep in peace, eat butter with his bread, and feast on meat as often as he chooses. So tarry no longer, and go to the land, and the land will make you free and happy. [58]

7. After the great fire of 1871 in Chicago in which two hundred and fifty people lost their lives, and equipment and buildings valued at $196,000,000 went up in smoke, conditions in Chicago were greatly changed in every respect.

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58. Maurice Hindus, Magda, New York, Doubleday, 1951, p. 8.

The city began to be feverishly rebuilt. In all economical fields intense activity manifested itself; there was much work and a great demand for workers. In the influx of immigrants there were many Poles, the greatest number of them settling in the northwestern part of the town in the neighborhood of St. Stanislaus Parish. Today the largest Polish settlement is still in Chicago and exceeds 500,000. Chicago has ten Polish judges and claims to be the second largest Polish city in the world. It is also the home of the largest Polish American organization, the Polish National Alliance.[59]

8. America needed settlers for the western lands, laborers for the canals and railroads that were being built, and hands to keep the factory wheels whirring.

9. In time, it was a matter of relatives following the refugees; then relatives' relatives coming to join them in this Land of Promise.

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59. William Seabrook, These Foreigners, New York, Harcourt, 1938, p. 244.

And so this economic emigration came, drawn by the magnets of the American way of life---freedom and opportunity. Some came in the spirit of adventure, others with chiefly materialistic motives, or because they were lured over by American industrialists.

Most of them, however, were escaping from oppression and terrorism; from army service and from economic or personal frustration. It was as if they had read, in advance of seeing the Statue of Liberty, the lines inscribed on its pedestal:

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free;
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
> Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tost, to me;
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door. 60

They came bearing the plain marks of the Old World economic and social oppression--healthy frames, and low degraded faces with many stamps of inferiority, dependence

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60. These lines by Emma Lazarus were inscribed on the Statue of Liberty in 1886.

and servitude on them. Many were so poor that they came in old army suits, all their belongings tied up in a bundle.

On landing, they were shipped by the carload to the coal-fields in the East or the railroads and factories in the West. They travelled by polluted rivers and over green mountains made by God, and past slate black mountains made by man. Edward Steiner describes their arrival thus:

> They saw the glare of a thousand flaming ovens where coal was being baked into coke, and in their shadows they saw besmirched and bedraggled towns, now clustering, now trailing along, now glowing again in the lurid light of giant flames pouring from huge furnaces. They saw day turned into night by smoke, and night turned into day by unquenched fires, and they knew not whether it was day or night, or heaven or hell to which they had come. 61

The outbreak of World War I in Europe caused a decided drop in the number of Polish immigrants to our shore as the Poles returned from the scattered regions of the world to rejoice in the independence of their country which had endured 123 years of foreign subjugation.

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61. Edward Steiner, The Immigrant Tide---Its Ebb and Flow, New York, Revell, 1909, p. 36.

Abject poverty, not patriotism, was at the bottom of any Polish emigration after the War and up to 1929 when the gates of the United States were virtually closed to all immigration. Memories of European economic conditions were an important factor in causing these latter emigrating Poles to forget any intention they may have had of returning to the mother countries.[62]

The Immigration Law of 1924 was passed by Congressmen of the 1920's who were convinced that English and Germans could adjust to life in the United States and that Italians, Greeks, Poles, etc., could not. These convictions were based on the fact that American civilization was the work of the white-Protestant-Anglo-Saxon branch of the great Nordic or Aryan family. Immigration from northern or western Europe was desirable in moderation but the addition of inferior Latins or Slavs, "beaten men from beaten races" was dangerous, they thought.

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62. F. T. Seroczynski, "Polish Emigration", article in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 205.

Between 1890 and 1920, a whole generation of social workers and sociologists accumulated data to show that all the worst features in American life had their source in the wrong type of immigrant. The most exhaustive study appeared to be the forty-two volume report of the Immigration Commission in 1911 which seemed to prove conclusively that the "new" immigrants from the Mediterranean and Slavic lands were inferior to the "old" Nordic immigrants.[63]

The Immigration Act of 1924, permitted 153,929 immigrants annually to enter the United States. It was selective, however, by providing admission of 2% of the number of foreign-born individuals from that country who were residents in the United States according to the census of 1890. Obviously, it intended to favor German and British immigration which reached its peak in 1882 and 1888, respectively.[64]

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63. Oscar Handlin, "We Need More Immigrants", article in Atlantic Monthly, issue of May, 1953, p. 27.

64. J. Jencks and W. Jett Lauck, The Immigration Problem, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1912, p. 424.

In 1920, forty percent of the white population in the United States was of British or North Irish origin, sixteen percent was of German origin, and eleven percent was of Irish Free State origin. By 1940, of the 11,500,000 foreign-born whites in the United States, the largest national groups were German, Italian, Polish, Russian, and English, in that order, which indicates to some extent that the English were reluctant to take advantage of the special legislation designed for their benefit in the Immigration Act of 1924.

World War II again cut off whatever immigration still reached us during the intervening years, and the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Neutrality Act, passed in June, 1952, but still based on the law of 1924, allows for 65,000 British immigrants annually, less than 6,000 from Italy, and about 30 from Greece--[65] figures which are inconsistent with the number of displaced persons in D.P. camps who really need to come to the United States and who were allowed a too short period of relief under the Displaced Persons Act.

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65. Oscar Handlin, op. cit., p. 31.

Analyzing the emigration of Poles to America, it is conclusively evident that the largest group---which was also to become the most influential one,---was composed of the poorly educated and impoverished masses in which was germinating the seeds of organization out of which would grow the Gmina Polska, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish National Alliance, and other diverse associations with amazingly similar ultimate aims.

CHAPTER II

THE POLISH IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA

Of the three major types of Polish immigration to America--1) colonial, 2) political, and 3) economic--which were discussed in the previous chapter, it was observed that the most numerous immigrants were of peasant stock, at least thirty percent of which were illiterate.

Lured by the promises of this golden land and the virtues of political and economic freedom, they subjected their bodies, weakened by ship fever and malnutrition, to the crude efficiency and uncompromising decisions of Ellis Island's official inspectors, after which they were caught up in the swift pace of America's expanding industrial growth to live their lives at "fighting weight with a minimum of food and a maximum of toil".[1]

The proportion of Polish immigrants with higher education was always very small, for America did not offer

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1. Horace M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States, New York, Boni and Liveright, 1924, p. 76.

as great opportunities of economic advancement to them as to the manual workers, and those who were forced to emigrate for political reasons found nearer havens of refuge in Western and Southern European countries. The intellectual's prestige, therefore, was rather low and even if he could maintain his standard without proper and social encouragement, he still had to adapt himself to the demands of the masses, on whom he was most often economically dependent, instead of imposing his ideals upon them. In most cases, the intellectual became an isolated individual, exerting little influence in setting the pattern for developing Polish American society.

When the Polish peasants left their homeland, it was usually with the desire to earn as much money as they could, as quickly as possible, in order to return home to buy their economic independence in Europe with American earnings. Towards this end, these people were docile enough to put up with almost anything, as they looked upon it as a temporary hardship which they thought would result in permanent wealth in their homeland.

A new immigrant in a strange country, unacquainted with the language, customs, and conditions of the land, with no resources but his immediate earnings to depend upon for his daily bread, in season of employment and out of season, did not have many choices left as to the kind of work he would do, the amount of pay he must have for it, and the kind of community he would live in.[2] By inevitable necessity, he was forced to take whatever work he could get; he had to be satisfied with whatever wages his employer was willing to pay him, and he had to be content with such food and such shelter as his wages allowed him, leaving a small margin of saving against emergencies. He had to remain poorly clothed, poorly fed, and poorly housed "as long as his American Christian employer had the conscience to pay him the lowest possible wage for his labor saying, 'they're glad enough to get work'".[3]

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2. William P. Shriver, Immigration Forces, New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1913, p. 27-28.

3. Paul Fox, The Poles in America, New York, Doran, 1922, p. 71.

But exploitation of the alien was neither a modern nor an American invention. Even when corrupt politicians and lax laws protected the exploiters, upon the one hand, they protected themselves on the other by importing contract labor from abroad.[4] By doing so, they were able to keep their workmen fairly submissive. Always at hand was the threat of breaking up any strike by employing men too illiterate, too helpless, and too accustomed to a low standard of living to raise much of a protest, whatever might be the treatment they received.

After the Homestead strike in 1892, Carnegie began to employ a type of worker who was not likely to give trouble so that by 1907, seventy-five percent[5] of the workers in the steel industry were foreign born, and a majority of these were, and still are, Poles.[6]

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4. Theodore Maynard, The Story of American Catholicism, New York, Macmillan, 1941, p. 423.

5. Theodore Maynard, op. cit., p. 424.

6. Writer's interview with J. Kawecki at Homestead Steel Plant, Homestead, Penna., July 14, 1950.

The chief economic effects of immigration to the United States had been the settling of new portions of the country; the exploiting of its industries more speedily; the development of the factory system, stimulating the invention and use of machinery requiring no great knowledge or skill for its operation.

During this rapid time of growth and expansion, America was too busy with her industrial revolutionary progress, too absorbed by other things, to be concerned with the Polish immigrant. At that time he was not a "problem", because America needed his hands and muscles to develop the United States into one of the foremost industrial and agricultural nations in the world.

As soon as the fever of expansion died down, there were discernible cleavages between the Old Immigration[7]

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7. J. W. Jencks and W. J. Lauck, The Immigration Problem, New York, Funk and Wagnall, 1912, p. 424.
More than three-fourths of the immigrants up to 1880 were Canadian, French, Dutch, English, German, Irish, Norwegian, Scotch, Swedish, and Welsh. Eastern Europe (Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia) furnished less than 1%, but in 1907 this 1% changed to over 70%.

and the New Immigration.[8] The earlier immigrant began to regard the Pole suspiciously, now that he had time to observe that the new immigrant expressed his thoughts by unfamiliar vocal sounds and inflections, practiced customs of clothing, eating, marriage, and religion different from his own.

It became popular to criticize the new Polish immigrant for living in slum areas in segregated nationalistic colonies. It was a current idea that extreme uncleanliness characterized the majority of immigrant homes, overlooking the fact that the slum is a condition, not a place, and will crop up in any place whenever community vigilance is relaxed. It wasn't because the Pole preferred to live as he did. It was in many instances, out of self-sacrifice so that he could send some of savings to relatives and friends in order that they, too, could come to America to

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8. Prescott F. Hall, Immigration and Its Effects Upon the United States, New York, Holt, 1908, p. 38.
The new immigration includes the Armenian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Magyar, Polish, Portuguese, Rumainian, Russian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Syrian, and Turkish peoples. In 1907, the year of largest immigration (1,285,349) seventy percent of these (883,126) came from Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Russia.

earn some money with which they could return to buy a piece of land in their homeland.[9]

Much harm was done by two-minute speakers who told the Polish immigrant what America had done for him; that he should learn English; study the Constitution; adopt American ways and become like other citizens without question or delay. These efforts at instantaneous Americanization[10] were resented by the men and women who were doing their best to keep body and soul together.

But books and periodicals have been perhaps the greatest single force in denuding the Pole of his dignity and worth by deriding his religion, nationality, and unpronounceable name, and by spreading misinformation. This potent and crushing force can best be shown by a few illustrative excerpts.

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9. Theodore Maynard, op. cit., p. 287.

10. Znaniecki and Thomas, Polish Peasant in America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 136.

Louis Adamic, in My America, writes:

> .....One day in the late autumn of 1933, I picked up a back number of the Saturday Evening Post which contained a lengthy leading editorial, probably written by the late editor, George Horace Lorimer (died 1932) on the subject of immigration, or more exactly, "the hordes from southern and eastern Europe" that had entered the country since 1880. Most of these foreigners, it appeared, were evil, lawless individuals of unassimilable blood strains who made it necessary for good old-stock Americans to maintain ever larger police organizations, and no end of jails. Worse yet, these foreigners had a tendency to procreate at a terrific rate, and decent well-to-do native citizens were forced to pay ever higher taxes for schools and other institutions in which they had to feed, wash, and disinfect the immigrants' nasty, unsound progeny, lest it contaminate the clean, healthy children of more fortunate origin. [11]

The priceless heritage of a name was lost to many a Polish immigrant even when he had no wish to change it. The census of 1790 (Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States in 1790) published by the Department of Commerce and Labor in Washington in 1908, lists four

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11. Louis Adamic, My America, New York, Harper, 1938, p. 191.

names under Polander as heads of families--Adam, Frederic, Henry, and John--living with their wives and families in the county of Northumberland in the area new Stroudsburg, Pa.[12] Polander, meaning "from Poland", must have been an easier substitute for a distinctly Polish name.

Sister M. Accursia, O.S.F., relates in her paper, Polish Miners in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, that the Susquehanna Coal Company records for 1896 show changes of names thus: Louis Hajdukiewicz to Louis Douglass; John Sosnowski to John Poland; Wojciech Wegrzynowicz became George Wintergreen; others were recorded by their Christian names with the pseudonym Friday or Monday attached to them. The surname depended on the day the miners with the unpronounceable names began to work.[13]

Horace Kallen, in his book, Culture and Democracy, ironically demonstrates his own undemocratic attitude thus:

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12. M. Haiman, Polacy Wsrod Pionierow Ameryki, Chicago, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, 1930, p. 32.

13. M. Accursia, Polish Miners in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania in Polish American Studies, vol. 3, no. 1-2, issue of January-June, 1946, p. 6.

> The Poles are an instance worth dwelling upon. There are over 3,000,000 of them in this country, a backward people, prolific, brutal, and priest-ridden---a menace to American institutions. Next to the Jews, the unhappiest people in Europe, exploited by both their own upper classes and the Russian or German master, they have resisted extinction at a great cost. They have clung to their religion because it was a mark of difference between them and their conquerors. [14]

Prescott Hall, like Paul Fox, strikes the Pole's most vulnerable spot by implying that his Catholic religion is responsible, at least in part, for making "the Slavic immigrant the most difficult problem with which we have to deal".

> The Poles are intrinsically a warlike and progressive people.....Five-sixths of the male Polish immigrants are unskilled and practically all are Roman Catholic. In general it may be said that this Slavic immigrant furnishes probably the most difficult problem with which we have to deal. [15]

Edward Steiner adds this nut-shell conclusion for the misfortunes of the Poles' homeland:

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14. Horace Kallen, Culture and Democracy, New York, Boni and Liveright, 1924, p. 106.

15. Prescot Hall, op. cit., p. 63. Cf. Roy Garis, Immigration Restriction, New York, Macmillan, 1927, p. 213.

> In the great game of politics, the Slav has given his soul as a pawn, with which popes and patriarchs have gambled. Poland's national life has been lost, not so much by corruption from within, as because the Pole was used as a tool by the Roman Curia in the game of world politics she was playing, and plays unscrupulously. [16]

Another illustration, and that from the book, The Poles in America, written by one of their own, rubbed salt into their religious wounds:

> The ignorant, unreasoning, credulous class of Poles is not the class of people that Protestantism can do anything for..... These people are perfectly contented in the Roman Catholic Church; they are staunchly loyal to it; they are inaccessible to the Protestant influence. To disturb them would be neither wise, nor profitable. [17]

Stripped of his name, derided for his devotion to his Catholic religion, and classified as unassimilable and a socio-economic problem, it is no wonder that the Pole was bewildered. The task of adapting himself to American

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16. Edward Steiner, The Emigrant Tide-Its Ebb and Flow, New York, Revell, 1909, p. 120.

17. Paul Fox, The Poles in America, New York, Doran, 1922, p. 118.

culture was full of contradictory elements: it called for economic initiative at the same time that it demanded hasty relinquishment of his peasant role. Thus the problem was obscure and indefinite, requiring a more veiled technique.

Compensations for this inner conflict were many. They took such multiple and diverse forms as blatant Americanism to hide one's past origin; old country nationalism which the native American could not share; social climbing; nostalgia for the past, hypercriticism, obsessive goals, detachment, and feelings of inferiority which left indelible marks on his sensitive progeny who still suffer, though to a progressively lesser extent, from a characteristic inferiority complex.[18]

Not wishing to draw any more unfavorable attention to himself than it was possible, the confused and lonely Pole withdrew from the barrage of uncomplimentary adjectives

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18. R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People, Boston, Heath, 1949, p. 472.

and the blanketing criticism which indicted everyone with a cz, sz or -ski in his name. He sought peace, solace, comfort, security, and kindred camaraderie in the association of his fellow-immigrants within the nationalistic walls of his protective colony.

Even should he try to avoid segregation, the American neighbors did not permit it, because as soon as the immigrants moved into a section, the native Americans moved uptown or into the suburbs, leaving the immigrant settlements solidly foreign. Thus, there was little contact or association with other Americans beyond that rendered absolutely necessary by business or working relations.

Being left to themselves, the Polish immigrant communities, by necessity, had to develop a social life of their own. The Poles' intense social and hospitable nature found expression, pleasure, and satisfaction in frequently "getting together".[19] The strangeness of new

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19. C. Phillips describes the Pole thus in "Portrait of a Pole", in Paderewski, Story of a Modern Immortal: The Pole--a puzzling mixture of human contradictions. (See page 55) .....

surroundings emphasized his kinship with the people and the things he left behind.

Before long, individuals from the same provinces began to draw together in nucleated centers which gradually developed into an organization of the Polish American Community in each city which was referred to as the Polonia.[20]

With the realization that the partitioned homeland furnished a very remote possible haven for nostalgic desires, the Pole realistically began to organize those

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19. (Continued from page 54) ..... As a fighter, he is terrible; yet he can be happy only in friendliness. He is a poor hater; yet he is humbled utterly before the shrine of human liberty. Fortune deserts him; but, deserted of fortune, he goes to work. Want haunts his steps, but no man on earth can share so graciously with others the hospitality of an empty cupboard. He is crushed under hopelessness, yet he hopes. One might continue drawing the portrait of the paradoxical Pole on interminable parallels of contradiction. He is unequivocal, yet indirect. He is romantic, and a stark realist; he is an innovator, and a traditionalist... A Pole has Occidental energy and Oriental perseverance.

20. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 67.

institutions or agencies which would give him cultural stability and a rich social life: parishes, schools, organizations, and the press.

Without organization, the immigrant would be completely lost. The religious communities, the national fraternal associations, and the foreign language press gave him the strongest feelings of home ties, and his life began to revolve around these institutions which at once helped him to adjust himself to American conditions. For their own preservation, naturally enough, they saw to it that he did not completely give up his language, customs, and traditions.

CHAPTER III

THE PARISH INFLUENCE IN POLONIA

The Pole is a Catholic by national instinct.[1] "Bound by Orthodox Russia and Protestant Germany, Poland's best friend has been Catholic France, rather than Protestant England,"[2] so that being a Pole and a Roman Catholic are to him one and the same. Therefore, the most important institution to him is the Church. It was the first Polish American institution to be established in the New World, and its centralizing power is beyond dispute. The Roman Catholic Church continues to play a leading role in the unification and organization of every Polish American community, not only as a religious force, but also as an

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1. F. T. Seroczynski, "The Pole in America", in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 182: "Prince Mieszko (962-992) considered himself the vassal of the Pope and as such paid him tribute. From this time on the church contributes so much to the national development that it will be impossible to trace intelligently the political history of Poland without following its ecclesiastical development".

2. Horace Kallen, Frontiers of Hope, New York, Liveright, 1929, p. 452. Cf. Paul Fox, op. cit., p. 111.

important social agency as well.[3]

The establishment of a parish, opened new fields of social activity, widened the sphere of interests, and called for more and better social cooperation.

All the religious needs of the community could have been satisfied as well, and at much less expense, by joining the already existing local Irish-American parish. But the Polish colony wished to establish a parish not merely for religious services, but the adjacent parish hall served as a community center of its own. The Irish-American church could never become anything more than a religious institution for the Polish American community,

Polish churches are founded by free cooperation and established exclusively by their own funds, usually at a great sacrifice to its organizers and members. The American Catholic bishop usually appointed a priest for the church in the Polish colony because a number of Poles who

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3. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 46.

met such opposition, broke away in 1897 to form a Polish National Catholic Church,[4] whose founder and head, until his death in February, 1953, was "Bishop" Francis Hodur[5] of Scranton, Pennsylvania. This sect, the largest of the four major Polish independent church movements in the United States, numbers approximately 60,000 in 118 parishes and maintains a Seminary in Scranton, Pennsylvania.[6]

As soon as a sufficient number of Polish immigrants had settled in a locality, they built a church in which they could worship God according to the customs of their forefathers in the homeland.

Around the Church, and stimulated by it, the Polish colonies continue to grow. From its humble beginnings in

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4. "Swieto Niepodleglosci", article in Straz, official organ of the Polish National Union in America, vol. 57, no. 27, issue of July 2, 1953, p. 1, col. 2.

5. Stanislaw Bajko, Kosciol Narodowy-Hudorowcy, Cracow, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1948, p. 7.

6. Carl Wittke, We Who Build America, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, p. 425.

Panna Maria, Texas, founded in 1854 by Rev. Leopold Moczygemba and his band of emigrants from Strzelce and Gliwice in Upper Silesia,[7] the Polish Roman Catholic parishes in the United States increased to 964 in October, 1952, with 3,294 priests who preach in the Polish language at least once during a Sunday Mass.[8]

The additional 133 new parishes since 1942 indicates that the second, third, and fourth generation Polish American, together with the estimated number of 75,000 Polish displaced persons,[9] still clings tenaciously to the religion of his ancestors.

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7. Karol Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia, Polish Star, 1944, p. 66.

8. Sigmund J. Sluszka, AATSEEL Report for 1953, delivered at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., March 28, 1953.

9. The Polish American Journal, vol. 61, no. 17, issue of April 26, 1952, states that the Displaced Persons Commission announced that 154,556 DP's, or 45.5% of all DP's admitted to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act, came from Poland, but Polish American experts estimate only about 1/2 of these are actually of Polish origin, and the rest are either Ukrainian or Jewish displaced persons.

The next important Polish social institution was the Polish parochial school. This institution owes its origin to the instinct of self-preservation. During the struggle for independence from Germany and Russia, their language and their religion became symbols for freedom,[10] and therefore the Polish immigrants became deeply religious and nationalistic, and insisted on Polish parochial schools.

An actual example of the desire for a Polish parochial school is observed in the growth of St. Stanislaus Kostka School in Adams, Massachusetts. A newly constructed school opened January 2, 1913, with 400 pupils enrolled. So great was the enthusiasm of parents to have their children taught in the parish school that the unprecedented number of pupils seeking admission during the first week, which occurred in the middle of a school year, found the teaching staff of four Felicians nuns from Buffalo very inadequate. Three classes remained without instructors.

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10. Theodore Maynard, The Story of American Catholicism, New York, Macmillan, 1941, p. 521.

The church organist took over temporarily while Father Kolodziej succeeded in obtaining the services of three more nuns. Enrollment in succeeding years reached 645.[11]

Herbert Adolphus Miller[12] made a very special study of immigrants' children in Cleveland schools. In reference to children of Polish immigrants, he observed that 99% of them were Catholics and that one-half of the Polish children in Cleveland attended the Polish parochial school, "and that the Polish children were the only ones who drew juvenile library books in their native language for their own reading".[13]

The provincial self-satisfaction which many teachers felt in their Americanism did not help them to make good Americans out of their foreign pupils. They

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11. Adams, Massachusetts, Town Report, 1943, p. 17.

12. Herbert Adolphus Miller, The School and the Immigrant, Philadelphia, Fell, 1916, p. 47.

13. In Fullerton School, Cleveland, (1915) out of a total enrollment of 780 pupils, 684 spoke Polish in the home, according to Miller's investigation.

sometimes feared that if any affection for foreign tradition and ideals was retained, the child would be less American in his sympathies. Nothing could be farther from the truth. There is the closest relation between the central idea of Americanism--freedom and liberty--and the principal motive underlying the abandonment of his native land by the immigrant.

The education which was usually inflicted upon children of immigrant parents failed to make Anglo-Saxon Americans out of them, while their schoolmates (and sometimes teachers too, the writer recalls from experience) made fun of their names and constantly made them feel like outsiders who were more or less tolerated.

Children attending public schools frequently became completely estranged from their immigrant parents. As they grew older, the children began to grasp at superficial American ways, repudiating their Polish origin, and Anglicizing their unpronounceable names which old-time Americans found so amusing.

This mutual lack of understanding between children and parents resulted in unsatisfactory home life, personal

tragedies of all kinds, maladjustments and social pervisities.[14]

The Polish parochial school, in a large measure, prevented this estrangement,[15] not only by making the children acquainted with their parents' religion, language, and national history, but also because it inculcated respect for these traditional values and for the nation from which they came.

The Polish parochial school system, embracing, as it did in 1942, over 533 elementary schools,[16] 71 high schools, and six colleges in which 250,000 pupils were taught by 5,000 teachers,[17] succeeded to a marked degree

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14. Louis Adamic, My America, New York, Harper, 1938, p. 213.

15. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 61.

16. Dr. Sigmund J. Sluszka, in his report at the AATSEEL annual meeting in Rutgers University, March 28, 1953 gave these figures, based on the Catholic Directory, as 568 Polish parochial grammar schools with a total enrollment of 231,871 pupils in October 1952.

17. S. Targosz, Polonia Katolicka w Stanach Zjednoczonych w Przekroju, Detroit, 1943, p. 67, quoted by Rev. J. Swastek in "What is a Polish American", article in Polish American Studies, vol. 1, issue of July, 1944, p. 38.

in making its students proudly conscious of their national background and heritage, and gave them a sense of continuity and a feeling of belonging to, and being a part of, America as is evidenced in the foreword from Eleanor E. Ledbetter's compilation, Polish Literature in English Translation:

> .....behind the compelling personalities of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, there has been a great multitude of average people, of simple humble folk who became adjusted as cogs in our industrial machinery, bought homes, built churches, raised families and attracted outside attention only when something went wrong.
>
> But high and low, all hold one thing in common. From the proudest to the humblest, a straightening of the shoulders, a lifting of the head accompanies the statement: "I am a Pole". Teachers who have Polish children in the classroom, social workers whose problems bring them in contact with Polish families, librarians in Polish communities, have long been interested in the "racial characteristics" which lie behind this statement, and which seem to have their origin in the experiences of the Nation rather than in the life of the individual. [18]

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18. Thaddeus Mitana, foreword in Eleanor Ledbetter's (ed) Polish Literature in English Translation, New York, Wilson, 1932, p. I.

The continued and rapid growth of Catholic educational institutions indicates the success of their teaching program through the years. However, Paul Fox in his book, The Poles in America, introduced an interesting subject for further investigation and refutation. He wrote:

> The highest percentage of retardation was found among the South Italian pupils in United States public schools, 48.6%; the Poles were next highest with 48.1 % retardation. Best of all were the Finnish, 27.7%; Swedes, 28.7%; Dutch, 31.1%; Welsh, 32%; and English, 33.7%. This makes it perfectly evident that the children of Catholic parents are the ones that show the highest percentage of retardation, while children of Protestant parents show the lowest percentage of retardation. [19]

Fox's claim that Catholicism is the cause for pupil retardation, it appears, has withered to a natural death while Polish parochial schools have continued their progress in educating better Americans to build the best kind of America through devotion to God and Country.

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19. Paul Fox, The Poles in America, New York, Doran, 1922, p. 96.

In opposition to Fox'[20] and McClures'[21] prediction that "a religion of external forms based on ignorance, superstition, and fear cannot hold its ground", and that "sooner or later it is bound to fail a prey to inevitable disintegration and decay", the writer believes the Polish parochial school system will be in a position to draw its proportionate share of commendation, within the next two generations, for participating in Catholicizing Protestant-Anglo-Saxon America.

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20. Paul Fox, op. cit., p. 110.

21. Archibald McClure, Leadership of the New America, New York, Doran, 1916, p. 78.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY ORGANIZATIONS IN POLONIA

As time went on, and after the establishment of a parish satisfied the initial need of his spiritual life, the Polish immigrant felt the need of a "society" which would assume the social interests of the group by arranging picnics and dances; of its intellectual interests by staging theatrical representations, inviting lecturers, and by subscribing to periodicals.

Group life among Polish peasants was very strong; national consciousness intense; and patriotism very ardent. Commonly, Poles are regarded as individualists of an extreme type. The fact is overlooked that they act in groups, and no enterprise or undertaking may look for success unless it takes their group-life into account.[1]

It is difficult to ascertain when the Polish immigrant began to organize for mutual assistance, but this

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1. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 49.

probably occurred in the 1860's with the founding of Towarzystwo Bratniej Pomocy (Society of Fraternal Assistance) and under the patronage of St. Stanislaw Kostka, which was organized in 1864[2] by about thirty families living in a Polish settlement in Chicago. Its organizers were Antoni Smarczewski-Schermann (the first permanent Polish settler in Chicago) Piotr Kiolbassa, Jan Arkuszenski, and Andrzej[3] or Pawel[4] Kurr.

It is also quite possible that the idea of a fraternal aid society originated with Rev. Leo Moczygemba who came from Texas to Chicago to hear the Easter confessions of the Poles in 1864,[5] at the same time as the society was forming.

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2. K. Piatkiewicz, Pamietnik Jubileusowy Z.N.P., Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1940, p. 99.

3. M. Haiman in Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union, 1948, p. 75 gives the name Andrzej.

4. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., on p. 67 use the name Pawel as does W. Kruszka in Historya Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, Press, 1908, vol. 8, p. 136.

5. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 67.

In June, 1866, after its constitution was accepted, the society revived so thoroughly that it grew to be quite important, and has remained, up to the present, the first permanent union of the Poles in Chicago and the founder of the largest Polish parish in America.[6]

The Society of Fraternal Assistance was organized in order to bind with brotherly love all the Polish Roman Catholic nation; to exemplify charity, and good will, and assistance by visiting the sick; burying the dead; aiding widows and orphans; and maintaining fraternity, harmony and unity.

As such, the Society of Fraternal Assistance was not only the pioneer of the Polish American system of fraternal aid, but it even preceded the Ancient Order of United Workmen, which was founded by the "Father of American Fraternalism",[7] John J. Upchurch in 1868.

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6. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 99.

7. Charles W. Ferguson, Fifty Million Brothers, A Panorama of American Lodges and Clubs, New York, Farrar and Rhinehart, 1937, p. 43.

Other Polish communities began to copy the format of the organization of the Society of Fraternal Assistance. In 1865, the political immigrants in New York founded the Towarzystwo Kosciuszko (Society of Kosciuszko) with an extension of the general aims to include loans to embryos in commercial enterprises.[8]

Gmina Polska, organized in Chicago October 7, 1866, by Michael Michalski and Julian Lipinski, was the first large organization founded on national and political aims. Although local in nature, Gmina Polska attempted to establish and federate other Polish "gminy" in the scattered Polish settlements of the United States.[9]

During the next several years, Ignacy Wendzinski, S. Kociemski, Michal Majewski, F. Gryglaszewski, Major

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8. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 25.

9. K. Piatkiewicz, Kalendarz Illustrowany, Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1950, p. 83-85. Cf. W. Kruszka, Historja Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, 1905, vol. 3, p. 140.

Zaremba and poetess T. Samolinska (all of these were later active members of the Polish National Alliance) were responsible, in a large measure, for the growth of Gmina Polska so that by 1873, this organization maintained a library and a reading room, arranged patriotic celebrations, staged amateur dramatic performances, and paid out death benefits to beneficiaries of its members.

The program of Gmina Polska for the year 1873-1874 listed twelve major events, including the annual manifestation on October 29, (1873) to commemorate the fallen heroes of the insurrection of 1831. Gazeta Polska, published by a member of Gmina Polska, Wladyslaw Dyniewicz, wrote a detailed account of this manifestation in which he told how the Rev. Zwiardowski, when called upon to speak at the commemorative service, objected to the slogan of the Gmina Polska on its standards---Lud zbawi Polske---(Common folk will save Poland). "Cud - nie lud- zbawi Polske," ("A miracle of God, not the people will save Poland",) he said.[10]

10. S. Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1905, p. 65.

A sharp exchange of words followed, which ended by dividing Polonia henceforth into two camps--religious and national--which today are still represented by the Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko -- Katolickie, (Polish Roman Catholic Union) and Związek Narodowy Polski (Polish National Alliance).

Membership and activity in Gmina Polska waned. Frequent aspersions to its irreligious nature, and the unpractical system of voluntary contributions for its fraternal benefit assistance were two of the principal reasons which caused this first super-territorial organization, embracing twenty affiliated societies, scattered throughout the United States,[11] to dissolve as such in 1880 and to come within the national scope of the Polish National Alliance where it exists in Chicago to the present day as Gmina Polska, Group 2 of the Polish National Alliance.

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11. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 37.

A copy of Projekt Ustawy Zjednoczenia Polakow (a Project to Establish a Union of Poles) indicated already the existence of a Związek Narodowy Polski, w New Yorku (Alliance of Poles in New York) in 1870.[12] A meeting was called at the headquarters of this organization, 218 East 2nd Street, for the seventh of August, 1870, at which time a temporary executive committee was appointed.

Dr. Mackiewicz, Chairman; Dr. Marcinkowski, Julian Drozdowski, Edward Kulikowski, Jan Krezalek, Fr. Latyczewski, Ant. Kopankiewicz, Teodor Janicki, and Ig. Szczepanowski were members of this temporary executive committee which formulated the plans for a Union of Poles in America. Their good intentions to "concentrate the entire Polish emigration; to organize dramatic and choral groups; to extend fraternal benefit assistance, etc." by far surpassed their practical experience or organizational ability, and ten years later the Polish National Alliance picked up these same threads for the basis of its own organization.

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12. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 39. Cf. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 29.

The Society of St. Joseph, Group 62 of the Polish National Alliance, takes first place among the oldest associations grouped around the Church of the Holy Trinity in Chicago, Illinois. This society was organized July 1, 1871, by F. Jankowski; Jan Marach, Andrzej Budzbanowski, St. Budzbanowski and Fr. Pepkowski.[13]

In 1872, the Society began to build a church which brought upon it much animosity. When the church was closed, the Society bought it, took care of it, and defended it against a sale to strangers up to the time of ultimate victory after a delegation was sent to the Holy Father in Rome.[14]

By 1905, the records in the files of the Polish National Alliance showed that the 91 members of the Society of St. Joseph, Group 2, were contributing regularly to the Skarb Narodowy (Polish National Treasury), and that they

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13. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 648.

14. Quoted by W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 145, from the Album of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Chicago.

had already contributed $238. for educational purposes; $385. for monuments; $217.86 for patriotic celebrations; and had given $869. to the Holy Trinity parish. It had already paid out $14,225.50 for fraternal assistance and had a balance of $547.10 in its treasury.[15]

After the great fire of 1871, conditions in Chicago were greatly changed in every respect---and these changes were for the better. The city began to be feverishly rebuilt. Repairing and reconstruction to replace the tremendous property losses demanded a great number of workers. Many Poles came during this period, the greatest number to settle in the northwestern part of the town in the neighborhood of St. Stanislaus parish.

The panic of 1873-1879[16] with its accompanying unemployment era found many Poles without any means of sustenance. Even if they could make themselves understood in English, an appeal to American charitable institutions

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15. From the files in the Museum of the Polish National Alliance, Chicago.

16. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 20.

was considered a social disgrace, not only to the recipient Pole, but also to the whole Polish colony.

The depression era hastened the organization of many local mutual help associations. At first, collections were made from the community at large for the benefit of the family or individuals in distress. This meant the more settled and well-to-do members of the community were naturally expected to bear the brunt of the burden by contributing larger amounts in proportion to their income. With more and more demands on their generosity, it was natural that they should be eager to substitute for this irregular voluntary collection of contributions. The establishment of an association with an organized system of regular payments for sickness, insurance, and death benefits would diminish the risks by dividing it proportionately.

The individual's own tendency to have a fund assured for himself and his family in case of sickness or death assumed more importance as social opinion required that every individual be adequately insured.

The "society" founded in a new colony was much more than a mutual insurance institution. It also brought the

scattered members of the colony periodically together, thus actively encouraging an exchange of ideas, and seeking a solution for their common problems. The society assumed its most important function as the source of all initiative and it was the instrument for the realization of all the plans which were initiated.[17]

The Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Wygnancow Polskich (Democratic Society of Poles in America) in 1852, the Gmina Polska in 1866, and the Zwiazek Polakow w Nowym Yorku (Alliance of Poles in New York) in 1870---all had previously attempted to organize the scattered local "societies" into a unified super-territorial organization which would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

This idea was once again proclaimed by Rev. Teodor Gieryk[18] of Detroit who made a special visit to Chicago to

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17. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 40.

18. Karol Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymskiego Katolickiego w Ameryce, Chicago, Winiecki, 1913, p. 62.

sound out other society leaders and priests on the idea of a super-territorial organization.

Jan Barzynski, editor of Pielgrzym (The Pilgrim) in Union, Missouri, is credited with the actual preparation for the acceptance of this idea. He prepared the first realistic, practical plan for a nation-wide Polish American organization. Through the columns of his paper, Pielgrzym, he was able to reach many communities and individuals who accepted the plan, published in October, 1873, so whole heartedly, that within six months, he received 360 applications for affiliation with this super-territorial organization, which he named simply Organizacja Polska w Ameryce (Organization of Poles in America).

Jan Barzynski of Missouri was its first president with Piotr Kiolbassa of Illinois, Stanislaw Krzeminski of Pennsylvania, Teofil Konopnicki of New Jersey, Wlodzimierz Budziszewski of New York, Leon Chilchen Zalewski of Rhode Island and Jan Iwaszkiewicz of Indiana serving as executive directors of Organizacja Polska.[19]

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19. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 30.

Rev. Gieryk felt that Jan Barzynski had stressed the nationalistic characteristic too strongly in the Organizacja Polska, which had succeeded, in a measure, to unite the commonfolk. It had failed, however, to unite the clergy on whom the communities depended so greatly for leadership and direction.

As a result, the first convention of Poles from all parts of the United States was planned, presumably for a reorganization of Organizacja Polska, which took place in June, 1873, in Detroit with Rev. Leopold Moczygemba presiding. The nationalistic elements withdrew, not wishing to cooperate with the clergy, and out of this conference evolved the Polish Roman Catholic Union[20] which is now the second largest Polish American organization in the world, with a total membership[21] of 178,604, making it the eleventh

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20. K. Wachtl, Dzieje Z.P.R.K., p. 62. Cf. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 33.

21. "Fifty-four of the Largest Fraternal Beneficiary Societies," article in Fraternal Field, vol. 59, no. 5, issue of May, 1951, p. 10-11.

largest fraternal organization and the sixteenth wealthiest fraternal organization in the United States, with assets[22] of $31,087,007.59 in May, 1951.

The initial aims of the Polish Roman Catholic Union were to preserve the Roman Catholic faith and Polish national culture; to render fraternal assistance; and to promote cultural development. Primary projects to effect these aims were proposed as follows: 1) building higher institutions of learning; 2) establishment of a Polish Bank, with branches all over America; 3) establishing a training school for teachers; 4) establishing libraries, and 5) founding a Polish hospital.[23]

It was resolved: 1) that the name Organizacja Polska be changed to Zjednoczenie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce

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22. "Assets of 150 Millionaire Societies", article in the Fraternal Monitor, vol. 62, no. 10, issue of May, 1952, p. 32.

23. S. Osada, Historia Zwiazku Narodowego Polskiego, Chicago, Alliance, 1905, p. 65.

Cf. Karol Wachtl in Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymskiego Katolickiego w Ameryce, Chicago, Winiecki, 1913, p. 79, claims that S. Osada "introduced a handful of new aims", although M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 33, quotes the exact six aims as does W. Kruszka, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 32.

(Polish Roman Catholic Union of America); 2) to admit all Catholics already members of the Organizacja Polska and then, to admit only Catholics in the future; 3) to transfer the Pielgrzym (The Pilgrim) to Detroit and publish it there as Gazeta Katolicka (The Catholic Newspaper).

Each member of the Polish Roman Catholic Union (referred hereafter as PRCU) was assessed $1.00 and these proceeds were to be used to put into action the proposed plans of this first Convention which elected Rev. Teodor Gieryk as president and Jan Barzynski as secretary. The watchwords, Bog i Ojczyzna (God and Country) have always indicated the specific aims of this organization down to the present time.

Within a year's time, the PRCU gained much strength through the formation of local organizations in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana---which were represented by sixty delegates at the second Convention of PRCU in Chicago in 1874.[24]

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24. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 36.

In 1874, Rev. Vincent Barzynski,[25] of the Resurrectionists came to St. Stanislaus parish in Chicago to become one of early Polonia's greatest and most prominent leaders in civic, as well as spiritual, life. From his arrival in Chicago in 1874 until his death in May, 1889, there was never a dull moment in Chicago's Polonia. He was an outspoken critic but an indefatigable worker, especially in God's vineyard.

The third Convention of PRCU held in Milwaukee June 8-9, 1875, was unusual in that much stress was given to the fact that Poles were weakening their moral and material benefits by crowding into the cities when their natural inclination was towards farming.

Action was not immediate, but in 1877, the Rev. Klawitter and Jan Barzynski led a group of Poles to the

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25. Both Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 71, and K. Wachtl, Dzieje Z.P.R.K., p. 58, give credit to Rev. Barzynski for proposing the idea of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

rolling farm country of Nebraska.[26] Although these 350 Polish families in Nebraska reported economic progress, there was no real mass migration and the United States Census showed that there were only 4,445 foreign born Poles in Nebraska in 1940.

To carry out the aims laid down at the founding of the PRCU, the Sejm (Diet) assessed each member another $1.00 to create a building fund for the proposed Polish American college.

Of greatest importance to Polonia, however, was the burning question: Should the PRCU remain an organization composed exclusively of parish groups, or should it revert to the principles of the Organizacja Polska w Ameryce (Organization of Poles in America) which permitted the admission of all local societies without questioning their religious affiliation?

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26. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 46.

The question had fairly equally divided "pro" and "con" sides. Not only were the lay people divided, but the question had split the ranks of the clergy as well.[27] The opposition felt that the PRCU should be an organization embracing all Poles without regard to their religion, contending that the constitution of the PRCU was contrary to the Constitution of the Third of May, 1791. According to this fundamental law, the Catholic religion remained the dominant religion of Poland, but the dissidents were granted complete civil equality and protection of the law.[28]

Limiting membership to Polish Catholics, they said, "would exclude societies having a national character; it violates the principle of religious tolerance, and that in the "new" PRCU, the preservation of the Catholic religion would always come first and the good of Poland second".

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27. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 40. Cf. S. Osada, Historia Z.N.P., Chicago, PNA, 1905, p. 255, wherein he incorrectly states that several priests quit the PRCU and shortly afterwards, the organization ceased to exist.

28. F. T. Seroczynski, "Poland", in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 187.

Those societies which were indifferent to religion would have to be guided by the majority which would unquestionably be Catholic (since most Poles are Catholics) and in time the indifferent members might be influenced to the Catholic faith.[29] A federation could then be effected wherein PRCU would realistically embrace Polonia as an entity.

The PRCU promoters, spearheaded by Rev. Barzynski, who won this all important issue, preferred to remain a small organization, if necessary, rather than give up the principles upon which the Polish Roman Catholic Union was founded.

The issue was definitely decided at this third Sejm in 1875, but the subject was a bone of contention for many, many years. As an aftermath, the membership of PRCU was reduced considerably, with even its president, Rev. Teodor Gieryk leaving its ranks with Rev. Dominik Majer

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29. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 41.

who had proposed the crucial motion.[30]

By February 6, 1879, the Holy Father gave His approval for the establishment of a seminary for which members of the PRCU had been making annual contributions. These donations, plus the money earned from the sale of farmlands in Nebraska, amounted to $4,000.[31] and with this amount, Rev. Joseph Dabrowski began to build the SS Cyril and Methodius Seminary in Detroit in 1884.[32]

In the short space of thirteen years, the PRCU had made great strides in the development of Polonia. True, it had failed to create a super-territorial organization which would embrace all Polish American. It had even failed to unite all the parishes, or its clergy, but

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30. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 65.

31. A. Syski, Ks. Jozef Dabrowski, Orchard Lake, SS Cyril and Methodius Seminary, 1942, p. 144. Cf. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 53, who gives a figure of $8,000.

32. Z. J. Peszkowski, "Proboszcz w Polatanej Sutmannie", article in Kultura, Paris, vol. 4, no. 7, issue of July, 1953.

this kind of unity has never yet been reached in America, although it is the one aim more desired than any other.

However, the Polish Roman Catholic Union had already laid the foundations for building orphanages, a convent, and a seminary for the benefit of Polonia. It had pioneered Polish settlements in Nebraska, Minnesota, and Kansas.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union under the protection of the Sacred Heart[33] supported the purpose for which it was founded: "to protect the immigrants from the loss of his Catholic faith or the loss of his Polish nation culture; to educate the youth in a Polish spirit in Catholic institutions; and to federate a strong organization of Poles on whom Poland could depend in her hour of need.[34]

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33. This is the complete title of the organization as given by F. T. Seroczynski in the article, "Poles in the United States" in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 208, to distinguish it from other organizations with similar names.

34. K. Wachtl, Dzieje Z.P.R.K., Chicago, Winiecki, 1913, p. 75.

Nothing shows more clearly the difference between the old organizations which existed in Poland and the new trend in the Polish American system than the fact that the same phenomenon--ignoring or dropping the inefficient or misadapted--which in Poland was a sign of weakness or moral decay within the organization, is here a mark of strength and growth. The moral reason by which the Polish American community justifies its apparent egotism is found in the very basis of its organization which is, socially and economically, an organization for self-help. Its purpose is to prevent the individual from becoming a burden to the community, but the individual who does not choose to take advantage of the opportunity which the organization offers to him voluntarily resigns all claims to the help of the group.[35] This principle gave impetus to the growth not only to those societies strengthened by federation, but even to the numerous local independent units which were forming all over the United States during this era.

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35. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 53.

This fever of organization indicated a willingness to blend individual desires for a solution which would be most effective for the common good of the majority, but the interpretations of the "common good" created many avenues leading to the same objective.

Secessionist groups existed in every community, since the subordination of all social life to the parish system always met some opposition, particularly since it lead "to the supremacy of the clergy".[36] The reason for opposition was more or less a matter of principle, but personal antagonisms contributed to its development.

Without forswearing his religious cultural ideals, the Poles wished to exert themselves to attain a certain ideal, and they insisted on doing it in their own way. They made heroic sacrifices for their church and their priests, yet they stood ready to defy religious authority

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36. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 65.

if it infringed upon their "alleged rights and prerogatives",[37] and they proceeded to organize independent units all over the country until now there are over 300 central associations, national or semi-national in scope, and these in turn have approximately 40,000 branches throughout the United States.[38]

The first successful Polish American organization of a national character was organized in 1880. With a membership of approximately 326,000 and assets of sixty million dollars,[39] in January, 1953, it is the largest and most influential Polish American institution in the world.

The Church is the soul of Polonia and the organizations are its body. The growth and development of the organization is so interwoven with the growth and development of Polonia that it is impossible to separate the two

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37. W. Kruszka, Historya Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer Press, 1937, vol. 1, p. 154.

38. Allen H. Eaton, Immigrant Gifts to American Life, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, p. 20.

39. J. Jargosz, Pamietnik Sejmowy Z.N.P., Buffalo, PreConvention Committee, 1951, p. 1.

elements.

Since it would be beyond the limits of this dissertation to analyse the existing 300 central associations in this country to show the development of Polonia, the writer wishes to accomplish this purpose, in a limited measure, by reviewing the growth of the largest of these organizations, the Polish National Alliance, in the following chapters.

Before proceeding with that project, the writer feels this is the most opportune point to mention in chronological order, the founding of those organizations which exerted the longest, if not always the strongest, influence in Polonia, by maintaining existence up to the present time as fraternal benefit organizations with religious and/or national characteristics predominating.

1887 - Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie pod opieka Matki Boskiej Czestochowskiej, Królowej Korony Polskiej (Polish Roman Catholic Union under the protection of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Queen of Poland)-- Chicago, Illinois.[40]

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40. K. Wachtl, Dzieje Z.P.R.K., Chicago, Winiecki, 1913, p. 64.

1889 - Unia Polska Rzymsko-Katolicka (Union of Polish Roman Catholics) Chicago, Illinois.[41]

1890 - Unja Polska (Polish Union of the United States of America), Polish Union Building, 53-59 North Main Street, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania. In 1953, it had 22,334 members in 238 lodges, and $4,340,721.31 assets with members in Delaware, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.[42]

1892 - Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Michigan (Polish Roman Catholic Union in Michigan)--Bay City, Michigan. This organization had a membership of 10,000 in 1944.[43]

1894 - Zwiazek Sokolow Polskich (Polish Falcons of America) was consolidated in Chicago on the pattern of

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41. Id ibidem, p. 64.

42. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, Rochester, Fraternal Monitor, 1951, p. 161.

43. Karol Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, p. 176.

the local Czech organization. Its organizers were Kazimierz Zychlinski, (who later served the Polish National Alliance as its president from 1913 until his death in 1927) Szczesny Zahajkiewicz, Leon Mieczynski, Maksymiljan Baranski, Jan Bauer, and Juljusz Szczepanski.[44] In 1905, the Polish Falcons joined the Polish National Alliance but individual difference led to a separation in 1909 when there were two Falcon organizations, one in Chicago, the other in New York. Both camps joined forces again in 1912, but the Falcons did not become a recognized fraternal agency until July, 1926. It now has a home office at 97-99 South 18th Street, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania with jurisdiction in Massachusetts, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. As of January 1953, it has 19,650 members in 202 lodges with assets of $2,398,321.54.[45]

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44. S. Osada, Sokolstwo Polskie, Pittsburg, Falcon, 1929, p. 31.

45. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, op. cit., p. 154.

1895 - Stowarzyszenie Polakow w Ameryce, Polska Rzymsko-Katolicka Organizacja pod opieka Sw. Trójcy (Polish Association of America, a Polish Roman Catholic Organization under the protection of the Holy Trinity), 3068 South 13th Street, Milwaukee, 15, Wisconsin has 7,327 members in 166 lodges in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Wisconsin; assets as of 1953 were $1,425,995.12.[46]

1897 - Macierz Polska (Polish Alma Mater) originated through the efforts of Rev. Francis Gordon as the youth department of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.[47] Difficulties in incorporating this department into the PRCU Constitution caused Macierz Polska to form a distinct and separate unit which commenced business as a fraternal order May 4, 1910. It maintains a home office at 1645 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago 47, Illinois, and has 7,263 members in 104 lodges in

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46. Id. ibidem, p. 164.

47. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 167.

Illinois and Indiana, with assets of $1,127,948.67.[48]

1898 - Zwiazek Polek[49] (Polish Women's Alliance of America) was organized by women who desired to take an active part in the social life of the immigrant Poles in America.

Its organization in 1898 served to make the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Polish National Alliance extend membership to women in 1898 and 1900, respectively. It maintains a home office at 1309-15 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, 22, Illinois. Miss Adele Lagodzinski is president, and Mrs. Mary A. Porwit, general secretary. As of January 1953, the Polish Women's Alliance has 82,346 members in 1,190 lodges[50] in California, Connecticut, District of Columbia,

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48. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, op. cit., p. 152.

49. Edmund G. Olszyk, The Polish Press in America, (M.A. Thesis), Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1940, p. 17, incorrectly gives the date of organization of Polish Women's Alliance as May 22, 1900, since the organization observed its Golden Jubilee Year in 1948.

50. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, 1951, p. 174.

Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wisconsin with assets of $13,979,317.08, making it the 25th largest fraternal society[51] in the United States and the 38th out of 150 millionaire[52] societies from the standpoint of wealth.

1900 - Stowarzyszenie Kasy Sw. Jana Kantego (Polish Beneficial Association) Orthodox and Almond Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has 24,412 members in 132 lodges in Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,[53] with assets of $3,184,321.06 in 1953.

1903 - Stowarzyszenie Synow Polski (Association of the Sons of Poland, 665 Newark Avenue, Jersey City, 6,

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51. Irene Bird, The Fraternal Field, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Fraternal Field, issue of May, 1951, p. 10-11.

52. A. Hamilton, The Fraternal Monitor, Rochester, New York, The Fraternal Monitor, issue of May, 1952, p. 32.

53. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, 1953, op. cit., p. 165.

New Jersey has 17,221 members in 122 lodges in Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York,[54] with assets of $2,844,158.45.

1905 - Zwiazek Narodowy Polski w Brooklynie (Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn) 155 Noble Street, Brooklyn, 22, New York, has 19, 979 members in 152 lodges in Connecticut, New Jersey and New York,[55] as of 1953, and has assets of $3,795,957.69.

1908 - Polska Narodowa Spojna (Polish National Union of America) 1002-04 Pittston Avenue, Scranton, Pennsylvania, was organized in 1908 for members of the Polish National Catholic Church. It has 28,746 members in 240 lodges in 17 states, but mainly in Illinois (3,109), Massachusetts (1,688), New York (3,607), Ohio (1,362), Pennsylvania (11,929) with the remaining membership scattered in 12 other states. As of January, 1, 1951, its assets were

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54. Id. ibidem, p. 73.

55. Id. ibidem, p. 168.

$4,150,669.77. The Polish National Union of America maintains a home for aged and disabled members, awards educational scholarships, provides a library and gives aid to needy members.[56]

1913 - Federation Life Insurance of America,[57] 2329 South 13th Street, Milwaukee, 7, Wisconsin, was organized in 1913. Its officers as of January 1, 1953, are Joseph B. Swiderski, president; Albert Pawlak, secretary; Peter Szeflinski, treasurer, and Dr. A. Krygier, medical examiner. As of January 1, 1953, it has 5,438 members in 38 lodges in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.[58]

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56. Michal Roman, "Polska Narodowa Spojna", article Pamietnik Sejmowy, Buffalo, 1951, p. 92.

57. Edmund Olszyk, op. cit., p. 20, in 1940, described this as "a leading Polish fraternal organization" but in 1953 it still has only 5,438 members.

58. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, p. 109.

1917 - Unja Polska (Polish Union of America) 761 Fillmore Avenue, Buffalo, 12, New York, has 18,003 members in 164 lodges in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.[59] As of January 1, 1953, its assets were $3,525,544.02.

1932 - Unja Polek w Ameryce (United Polish Women of America) 1200 N. Ashland Avenue, Chicago, 22, Illinois, has 3,971 members in 54 lodges in Illinois with assets of $528,807.68, as of January 1, 1953.[60]

It is almost an impossibility to continue with an investigation of other organizations such as Stowarzyszenie Weteranow Armii Polskiej w Ameryce (Polish Army Veterans in America), the Polish Legion of American Veterans, the Alliance of Polish Singers, the Polish Arts Clubs---there are too many to continue.

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59. Id. ibidem, p. 171.

60. Id. ibidem, p. 210.

The variety of organizations, even when classified, by type, would seem to indicate exactly that which Edward Steiner presumed when he wrote "where there are three thinking Poles, there are always three quarrels".[61] However, if a total membership figure for all the Polish American associations in the United States were available, the writer estimates this figure would be at least three times the accepted figure of 7,000,000 Polish Americans in the United States. This would rather indicate that hospitality ceases to be a virtue with the Poles. Generous to a fault, they turn a deaf ear to no petition for assistance, giving willingly of their time, effort, and money, while social opinion makes it just about mandatory for every Polish American to belong to a religious and a fraternal organization and to an organization--cultural, professional, occupational, or a purely charitable one--is more or less left as a choice to the individual, but active membership in three organizations seems to be a minimum,

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61. Edward Steiner, The Emigrant Tide - Its Ebb and Flow, New York, Revell, 1909, p. 121.

if one is to be considered a contributing force to the development of Polonia.

The writer has had an opportunity to read the constitutions of most of the organizations outlined above and notes the striking fact that whatever may be the variety of their political, social, and religious tendencies, all the associations can be divided in one of two categories--[62] either they follow the lines of the Polish Roman Catholic Union or the Polish National Alliance. Even here, it is impossible to draw a definite line of demarcation---the question of religion leaves no large gap, since Poles are 93% Catholic, and this leaves both organizations with one official purpose in common, namely, the preservation of the Polish nationality among their members.

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62. This will naturally exclude the Polish National Union whose membership consists of those who belong to the Polish National Catholic Church which is not Catholic in the sense that it is not Roman Catholic, but rather comes under the ultimate jurisdiction of the Rev. Albert Larned, Canon of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John, New York City.

CHAPTER V

PNA ACTIVITY BEFORE WORLD WAR I

The decision of the third Sejm of the PRCU to remain an organization exclusively for Polish Catholics brought a revival of the idea--no longer new--to federate all societies--religious and/or national in character--into one real super-territorial organization.

Polonia thus had a torch--she needed only a flame, which came in the form of a letter from Agaton Giller, a political emigré of 1863 who, with a group of colleagues, gathered around certain political and cultural institutions, Liga Narodowa, (The Polish National League) and the Skarb Narodowy (Polish National Treasury in Rapperswill, Switzerland. Separated from Poland by physical distance, these political exiles endeavored to concentrate and organize the social forces outside of Poland for the continuance of her struggle for liberation.[1]

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1. K. Piatkiewicz, Pamietnik, Jubileuszowy, Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1940, p. 36-40.

In 1879, the New York Polish weekly Ogniwo (The Link) and Gazeta Polska (The Polish Newspaper) of Chicago both printed Agaton Giller's message, An Open Letter to Poles in America. Translated excerpts from this letter, which gave impulse to the foundation of the Polish National Alliance, follow:

> .....Since emigration exists and constitutes a great power--a fact which cannot be denied--it should be the task of a well understood patriotism to make it as useful as possible for the national cause. This can only be done through an organization which will unify the scattered numbers and control them in such a way that they will not be wasted, but will be preserved for the fatherland....
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> .....National consciousness originates spontaneously in every Pole who finds himself in a foreign country, as a result of the striking difference between his speech, his customs, and his conceptions from those of the people around him....
>
> .....the numerous masses must be surrounded by those conditions which will prevent them from losing their nationality.....it is absolutely necessary to unite the isolated individuals into more or less numerous associations.
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> When the mass of Poles, in America is morally, nationally, and economically raised by this process of unification, it will render great service to Poland, even by the mere fact of representing the Polish name well in America. These services can gradually become more considerable when the Poles begin to exercise an influence upon the public life of the United States; when they disseminate among

> American adequate conceptions about the Polish cause and information about the history, literature, and art of our nation; and when finally they become intermediaries between Poland and the powerful Republic so as to foster sympathy with our efforts for liberation, and develop it into an enthusiasm which will express itself in action.... We do not need to put forward those benefits which a large organization of Poles in America could bring at the decisive moment when the future of our fatherland will be at stake. [2]

The European initiators of this plan understood very well that the majority of Poles in America would never return, but that they would adapt American conditions and become American citizens. However, they continued to think that Polish American society would remain an integral part of the Polish nation, even while actively taking part in America's social life and remaining politically loyal to it.[3] Adam Mickiewicz in his Pan Tadeusz explained this idea by which the unity of the Polish nation could be preserved by becoming essentially spiritual. "Poles were supposed

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2. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 148.

3. H. H. Fisher, America and the New Poland, New York, Macmillan, 1928, p. 58.

to remain Poles for all time, regardless of their place of habitation, not only ethnically, but also nationally by their consciousness of solidarity and their willingness to work for Poland".[4] The Polish National Alliance was recognized in Poland as the official representative of what the nationalists liked to consider the fourth province of Poland.[5]

Giller's letter was very timely, for on February 15, 1880, ten dissenters met in the home of Juliusz Andrzejkowicz in Philadelphia. They had been members of Towarzystwo Bratniej Pomocy im. Kosciuszki (The Kosciuzko Fraternal Aid Society) in Philadelphia, and had broken away from it when a motion had been passed at the April 17, 1879, meeting to forego the annual commemorative observance

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4. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 112. This idea is not at all new or unusual. The British expressed it forcibly by seizing American seamen in the War of 1812. In 1952, it was the theme of the nationwide Franco-American Convention in Quebec, June 1952.

5. H. H. Fisher, op. cit., p. 58.

of the Third of May.[6] The dissenters arranged their own observance and thereafter met informally.

The business at hand on February 15, 1880, was a project to collect contributions in order to aid their brethren who were starving to death following a disaster in Slask, (Silesia) Poland. The need for an organization embracing many societies, by which they could reach more Poles for greater contributions was felt most keenly at this particular moment. This brought on a discussion of Agaton Giller's letter urging Poles in America to organize. The result was the immediate formation of a local association, now known as Lodge 1 of the Polish National Alliance, with Juliusz Andrzejkowicz, Jan Szonert, Julian Lipinski, and Juliusz Szajnert president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary, respectively, in this new organization[7] founded in Philadelphia, cradle of American liberty, and city of brotherly love.

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6. S. Osada, Historia Zwiazku Narodowego Polskiego, Chicago, Polish National Alliance, 1905, p. 115.

7. K. Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia, Polish Star, 1944, p. 167.

Immediately, plans were formulated to reach other associations by publishing in Ogniwo in New York and Gazeta Polska in Chicago the news of the formation of the Polish National Alliance. They further requested all clubs, societies, and Polish parishes to submit names of their secretaries to whom a circular describing the fundamental principles and aims would be sent.

Response was immediate from thirteen associations from Chicago, New York City, Brooklyn, Shenandoah, and Nanticoke in Pennsylvania, Grand Rapids in Michigan, Berea in Ohio and even California. September 15-18, 1880, were announced as the dates of the first Convention of the Polish National Alliance which would be held in Chicago since the greatest number of Poles lived there.[8]

Former members of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, Rev. Dominik Majer and Ignacy Wendzinski were perhaps the best advocates of the new organization. Their reasons were very probably personal antagonisms with leaders of

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8. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 120.

the PRCU, but their intense activity was, in part, responsible for the first major obstacle which confronted the new organization which was denounced as masonic, heretical, and socialistic. The clerical group went so far as to induce an American bishop, Rev. Francis Krautbauer, to issue a pastoral letter July 7, 1880, in which he forbade Polish Americans in the Green Bay diocese to assist, or take part in any way, in the formation of the Polish National Alliance.[9]

The first Convention of the Polish National Alliance was held in Chicago as scheduled, except that the opening Mass had to be held in the Czech parish of St. Wenceslaus since the Polish parishes were not permitted "to assist in any way" by the directive of Bishop Krautbauer.

The first Convention instituted a system of death benefits for male members only and set a salary of $300. for its secretary who was instructed to render informative

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9. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 121.

assistance to all Poles seeking those services, without regard for the fact that they were or were not members of the Polish National Alliance.[10]

The aims for which this organization was founded were as follows: 1) to spread friendship, unity, and true Christian love among the members; 2) to help members and their families in cases of physical disability, sickness, accident, or sorrow; 3) to pay benefits after the death of members provided these have obeyed the constitution, rules, and laws; 4) to develop patriotism among the members as loyal citizens of the United States; 5) to raise and strengthen intellectually, socially, morally, and materially all that part of the population of the United States which was born in the lands of Poland, Lithuania, and Ruthenia through the establishment of Polish Homes, schools, and benevolent institutions; 6) to maintain the proper observance of Polish national holidays.

Since Roman Catholicism is the faith of an overwhelming proportion of the Polish nation, therefore it is

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10. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 151.

our obligation to assure its proper place and respect, not permitting any violation or transgression against its cardinal rules and principles.[11]

The first constitution of the Polish National Alliance further provided for monetary assistance to those religious associations which requested it upon their federation with the Polish National Alliance.[12]

Clearly, such a tolerant, all-embracing Constitution undermined the efforts of those clergymen who did not wish to see a rival organization in opposition to the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

Since its intention was to unify all the American Poles outside the church and independently of religious interests, it needed some general idea to oppose the theocratic ideal of the clergy, and Polish patriotism fulfilled the function of the Polish National Alliance whose main objectives were, in a concentrated form, these two purposes: 1) to aid in winning a free and independent

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11. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 151.

12. M. Haiman, Zjednoczenie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Chicago, PRCU, 1948, p. 63.

Poland; and 2) to help the immigrant in every necessary phase of his life in America.

The Polish National Alliance was founded as a super-territorial system with the local lodge as the unit of association. Each lodge selects its own name, write its own constitution, elects its own officers, and is free in the management of its own society affairs, but its constitution and by-laws are subordinate to the by-laws of the constitution of the Polish National Alliance.[13]

The local lodge gives each individual the opportunities to satisfy both his desire for recognition and his desire for response. In most cases, the lodge is small enough to permit every individual to know every other individual; to be interested in the affairs of his brother-member; and to arouse their interest in his own affairs. However, the lodge is large enough to make the individual feel its recognition or lack of recognition as an important matter.

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13. K. Piatkiewicz, "Co Kazdy Zwiazkowiec ZNP Wiedziec Powinien", article in Dziennik, Zwiazkowy, no. 239, issue of October 9, 1948, part 3, p. 1.

The local association is never entirely absorbed economically into the super-territorial system but preserves some independent function of its own. It handles the matter of assistance in sickness, aid to poor or unfortunate members, and other purely local matters which the highly centralized organization cannot efficiently attend. In case of death, the lodge president is immediately notified and he in turn assigns available lodge members to be of assistance to the bereaved family. If the family requests it, lodge members serve as pall-bearers too. The local lodge gives immediate financial help, if necessary, for funeral expenses which is often very much appreciated since there must necessarily be some delay before the beneficiary can receive payment of the life insurance.

In the first year of its existence, the Polish National Alliance attempted to establish a Polish agricultural colony in North Dakota,[14] but this project was not even as successful as the PRC Union's colonization project

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14. Karol Wachtl, op. cit., p. 60.

in Nebraska. The United States Census for 1940 showed only 2,128 foreign born Poles living in North Dakota.

Differences of opinion between adherents of PNA and PRCU simmered down somewhat in less than a year's time. Upon the occasion of the observance of the 50th anniversary of the Insurrection of 1831, in November 1880, the members of PNA and PRCU marched together during a two hour parade led by Piotr Kiolbassa, president of PRCU, and then attended a memorial observance "en masse" which was directed by Edward Wilkoszewski of the PNA.[15]

This joint observance demonstrated their desire for concerted action along the principles of their common purpose: the preservation of the Polish national culture.

Relations between the two major organizations were such that by the time of the second Convention in Chicago in September 1881, the PNA members were privileged to hear Mass in their own parish of St. Stanislaus, Stanton and Forsyth Streets.

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15. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 67.

The most important business conducted at this second Convention was the decision to publish the Zgoda (Harmony) as the official organ of the association, and $694.00 was pledged by the delegates that same day to put the decision into action.[16]

The Zgoda (Harmony), published November 23, 1881, at 152 E. Houston Street in New York,[17] in its first issue writes: "The PNA should use the power of its organization to maintain an organ, a progressive periodical which will enlighten and instruct the immigrant". It went on further to urge the establishment of a Polish library in each community where the "more educated will give lectures to their fellow countrymen".

The rapid growth of the Polish National Alliance in its earliest years is probably due to the exceptional editorial policy of E. Odrowaz, its first editor. So well

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16. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 167.

17. Jozef Okolowicz, Wychodztwo i Osadnictwo Polskie, Warsaw, Emigration Dept., 1920, p. 59, gives the date and place of publication of Zgoda as 1878, Milwaukee. Paul Fox in The Poles in America, New York, Doran, 1922, p. 98, makes the same error. A reprint of the first Zgoda, November 23, 1881, appears in Osada's Historia ZNP on page 169.

did he present the purposes of the Polish National Alliance, that Haiman[18] calls attention to it by stating that the tone and slant of the Zgoda was more Catholic than the Polish Roman Catholic Union's own organ, Gazeta Katolicka.

The Zgoda, like all other official organs which are obligatory by insurance statutes, primarily serves the interests of the organization by explaining and defending its purposes and policies. It also contains official information and accounts of the meetings held by the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Council as well as news of meetings of the various Districts, Councils, and Lodges. The Zgoda further contains other official organization information, such as a register of assessments paid by the different societies, death benefits paid out, notice of forthcoming meetings, accounts of local lodge celebrations and commemorative observances, contributions to national disaster relief, or other charitable causes, and such other information as members could not otherwise get in any

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18. M. Haiman, Zjednoczenie PRK w Ameryce, Chicago, PRCU, 1948, p. 65.

other publication.[19]

More recently the Zgoda page devoted to activities of the Youth Department is published in English for greater interest of the whole family.

The Zgoda, like the Gazeta Katolicka and later the Narod Polski[20] (The Polish Nation) of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, and the Glos Polek[21] of the Polish Women's Alliance, and other official organs, served their most important function in the early days of organizational activity before their members were conversant in the English language. Not only was it a potent organ in the cultural subsystem, but it also served to introduce the newcomers to wider world which he first discovered in the pages of the Polish newspaper which informed immigrants of their duties to the United States. It urged upon him the necessity to learn the English language and American ways and helped to make the transition which fitted them for a larger

19. Edmund Oszyk, The Polish Press in America, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1940, p. 5.

20. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 159.

21. Jadwiga Karoliczowa, Historia Zwiazku Polek w Ameryce, Chicago, Polish Women's Alliance, 1938, p. 42.

place in the surrounding American civilization.

It was the link between societies which brought news from one community to another and facilitated the growth of the parent organization.

The Polish language newspaper was an indispensable avenue of communication through which those who had not yet mastered the English language could be reached most effectively, as well as those who were able to understand American ideas and views more clearly only by reading the Polish newspapers.[22]

Accounts of social events in other local associations of the same organization offered a challenge to other communities to emulate the same kind of activity. Seeing one's name in print for participating in some particular lodge activity has a satisfaction of its own. In this relationship, the Polish language organ was the intimate symbol of association and its warmest and most significant base.

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22. Allen H. Eaton, Immigrant Gifts to American Life, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, p. 22.

The Zgoda, however, ran into financial difficulty in New York, operating with a deficit of $607.61 in its first year. One instance illustrates the popularity of the Zgoda and the desire to see it continue: twenty members of Towarzystwo Narodowe (National Association) in Bay City, Michigan collected among themselves $130. at a single meeting[23] and sent this voluntary contribution to the PNA central office to help defray the deficit of operation. The balance was covered by similar contributions in other cities, after which the Zgoda was published in Chicago.

The negative aspect of this transfer lay in the proximity between the editors of the official organs of the rival organizations, Zgoda and Gazeta Katolicka, and the immediate "battleground". Many times the organization as a whole suffered for the sins of omission and commission of an over-ambitious editor. Ignacy Wendzinski, formerly a member of the Board of Directors in the Polish Roman Catholic Union was especially venomous in his attacks upon the

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23. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 182.

clergy while he edited the Zgoda from 1882-1885. Such an editorial policy prolonged the strife and hurt both rival organizations.

The third Convention of the Polish National Alliance was held in Chicago, September 21-24, 1882. This time the clergy again refused a request of the PNA to say a Mass in their intention.[24] Strangely enough, this anti-PNA feeling of the clergy was not shared to any great extent in other cities or states beyong the Chicago area. Succeeding conventions in Milwaukee, La Crosse, Bay City, St. Paul, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, etc., were always graciously received by the priests of Polish parishes, and the pre-Convention Mass was always a part of the PNA Convention schedule following the oldest of Poland's proverbs: "Bez Boga ani do proga" (Not even the threshold can be crossed without God).

Convention members were agitated because they were forced to begin their session without the customary religious service. It was not, however, until 1887 that the

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24. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 198.

relations became so strained that a grievance against the action of the Polish American clergy was drafted and then published in several hundred copies which were circulated and returned to the PNA Board of Directors with 2470 signatures and forwarded to the Holy Father in Rome,[25] along with a copy of the Constitution of the Polish National Alliance for a comparison and eventual verification of the grievance. Copies of the grievance were forwarded also to Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore, Archbishop Feehan of Chicago and one to Rev. W. Barzynski, Chaplain of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.[26]

The next several years were difficult for both rival factions. For the PRCU, it was a "waiting-out" period in which the death knell of the PNA was expected to toll any moment,[27] especially since the PNA was a nationalistic patriotic organization. Nationalistic interests or influence,

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25. Romuald Piatkowski, Pamietnik Kongresu Polskiego w Waszyngtonie, Chicago, Alliance, 1910, p. 26.

26. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 286.

27. Hieronim Derdowski, "Uspienie Zwiazku.....", article in Wiarus, issue of May 23, 1889, p. 4, quoted by M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 66.

because of the human element, waver or even change sides, so that the foundation of the PNA was literally unstable.

On the other hand, the PRCU, based on the parish associations, had a definite foundation of permanence and solidarity and could well expect to be the only strong Polish American super-territorial institution.[28]

The PNA went through a period of "trial by fire", especially the years 1882-1885 during which time many Polish priests who were sympathetic to the national cause were removed from the parishes they helped to found and establish.[29]

Under threat of excommunication, many PNA members were forced to make a choice--between church membership or PNA membership. To a Pole, this is no choice at all..... it is an ultimatum, and the PNA membership dropped to its lowest ebb with 295 members[30] in 1885 while president Piotr

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28. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 26.

29. Romuald Piatkowski, op. cit., p. 24.

30. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 73. Cf. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 214.

Kiolbassa announced to the PRCU delegates at their twelvth Sejm in Grand Rapids, Michigan, August 25, 1885, that the PRCU membership[31] had reached 5,000.

The year 1885 was a crucial one for the PNA. Its very foundation seemed to collapse when six deaths[32] occurred in one year, requiring the payment of $500. for each for a total of $3,000. which left the treasury with a deficit of more than $2,000.

The censor, Francis Gryglaszewski, went on an inspection tour the following year with the intention of strengthening the PNA financially, numerically, and morally. The growth was phenomenal.....in a year's time, the PNA had six times as many members (1,893 in 44 lodges) as it did in 1885, and from this point on the members continued to increase.[33]

By 1886, two priests, Rev. Dominik Majer of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Rev. Konstanty Domagalski of Parisville,

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31. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 69.

32. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 214.

33. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 73. Cf. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 235.

Michigan, came as delegates to the sixth Convention of the PNA in Bay City, Michigan, in 1886. This was the first appearance of the clergy as delegates at a PNA Convention. It appeared that the strife between national and religious interests had waned, but this was only a momentary lull before the storm.

At a previous Convention (1884) the famous Article III was removed, so that the Constitution of the PNA no longer had any reference to qualification of religious or political affiliations for admission. This omission is credited, to a certain degree, for the rapid growth of PNA during the two years 1884-1886.[34]

Now, however, the question was raised again, and through the efforts of the two priests-delegates, the Convention voted to re-insert into its Constitution the clause which permits members to follow their own religious convictions but the PNA as an organization adheres to the Roman Catholic faith. It added another clause which excluded from membership those who were members of any kind of "socialistic,

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34. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 105.

anarchistic or nihilistic associations".[35]

The two clergymen were not content, however, to rest on their laurels after winning the bout and returned to the Buffalo Convention in 1889 with a motion to exclude Jews and atheists.[36] Since the PNA had in its ranks some Jews who had accepted the Christian faith and had been working in the best interests of the organization,[37] the motion failed to pass. The clergymen quit the Convention hall and shortly thereafter, the Rev. D. Majer organized the Unja Polska w Ameryce (Polish Union of America)[38] in Buffalo which has grown to a membership of 18,003 in 164 lodges in nine states.

A division in the ranks of the PRCU occurred when Rev. John Radziejewski announced the formation of the Zjednoczenie Rzymsko-Katolickie pod obrona Matki Boski Czestochowskiej, (The Polish Roman Catholic Union under the protection of Our

35. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 73. Cf. Osada, op. cit., p. 237.

36. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 106.

37. Ignacy Morgensztern was even then serving the PNA as Executive Secretary.

38. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 93. Cf. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 303.

Lady of Czestochowa)[39] in 1887 in the parish of St. Adalbert, Chicago.

The struggle for supremacy in Polonia was renewed with greater vigor. Any more details would fail to serve any purpose. Suffice it to say that the two oldest and most powerful Polish super-territorial organizations with diverging, and sometimes conflicting purposes has led to a most interesting and hectic chapter in the history of Polonia. Old country partisanship or policies and philosophies regarding nationalism and religion arose within, and between, the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Polish National Alliance--all of which led to "bitter strife, raging conflict, and much ill-feeling",[40] as well as contributing toward improvement and progress among Polish Americans by the pressure of competition between the two organizations.

The Rev. Waclaw Kruszka describes the bitter factionalism of these two groups in the following manner:

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39. Id. ibidem, p. 85.

40. Edmund Olszyk, op. cit., p. 10.

> For sometime neither Catholic nor Pole existed in America, but only Unionists (PRCU) or Alliancists (PNA); who was not a member of the Alliance, him the PNA did not regard as a Pole; while whoever was not a member of the PRCU did not regard as a Catholic. Whoever wanted to be a Catholic and a Pole in America, usually found himself between the hammer and the anvil; if he joined the Union, the Alliance adjudged him as a non-patriot; if he joined the Alliance, the Union spurned him as a non-Catholic. And so in the partisan heat, they mutually condemned or rather 'damned' each other. [41]

This strife between the PRCU and the PNA, both of which are fraternals by statute, has been, ironically called fratricide. But fratricide or not, it has made Polonia more keenly conscious of her Catholic faith and Polish national heritage. The controversy brought about a more rapid development in the social evolution of the Polish immigrant through forced competition, giving Polonia these richer values: a feeling of unity, love of fatherland, desire for education, the need of the press; greater interest in libraries, citizenship, and American political institutions.....there is nothing so bad that does not have

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41. W. Kruszka, Historja Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer Press, 1905, vol. 4, p. 32.

some good in it.

Neither the PNA or the PRCU had a very stable form of life insurance up to this time. Both organizations found dissatisfaction among their members when numerous deaths in any particular year caused a deficit in the treasury.

In 1886, both organizations started on the path to becoming fifth (PNA) and eleventh(PRCU) largest fraternal societies[42] in the United States by adopting a pro-rata system of life insurance systems. The PNA system allowed benefits of $500. for men and $250. for their wives, while the PRCU, "hoped to beat the competition"[43] with $600, life insurance certificates for male members and $300. for their wives.

In both cases, these pro rata certificates proved very beneficial by enhancing larger memberships, and other

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42. "Fraternals Continue Increase", article in Fraternal Monitor, issue of May, 1952, vol. 62, no. 10, p. 33.

43. Quoted from M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 75.

Polish American organizations followed this same pattern. Almost every society now depends on some form of mutual insurance to establish stability and to extend a social cohesion which would otherwise manifest itself only irregularly.

This insurance principle, however, does not constitute the main power of the organization, but serves only as its formative principle. Mutual insurance is not a basis of association, but, rather a system of organization because it gives a minimum of rational order to those social relations which are the essential factor of the racial cohesion of American Poles.[44]

It introduces a regularity and continuity into the successive meetings; it gives a definite purpose for each meeting and it calls for a division of work. Of most importance, however, is the fact that it prevents personal disagreements from breaking up the association and counteracts very efficiently individual indifferences since a member cannot cease to participate even temporarily in the

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44. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 109.

association, without approval in exceptional cases, without losing his right to benefits and privileges as well as the contributions he has already paid in to the association.[45]

The fact that the mutual insurance has come to perform a social function among the American Poles out of all proportion to its economic significance is probably due to its very simplicity and the small risks it involves on the part of any one individual. The risk becomes even smaller as the society increases in membership which induces the members to recruit new adherents which in the case of Polish National Alliance shows the following annual increases from 1944-1953; 6,174; 6,282; 6,785; 5,436; 5,576; 7,020; 7,043; 6,882, and 4,204.[46]

Insurance in force is an indication of the widespread service this organization is rendering to the American of Polish descent. Total insurance in force in the

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45. As financial secretary for four years, in a fraternal society serving over 400 members, the writer has observed this binding influence of mutual insurance in the association of people with diversified interests.

46. Statistics, Fraternal Societies, 1952, Rochester, The Fraternal Monitor, 1952, p. 165.

PNA at the end of 1952 was $237,597,668. a very favorable increase of $18,980,088. for the year, which reflects the mounting usefulness of the organization to the territory it serves in thirty-two states.[47]

An independent report, compiled by the Standard Analytical Service in 1947, is perhaps the best way to compare and evaluate the financial stability of the Polish National Alliance with that of the twenty largest and best known insurance companies in the United States.

Assets for each $100. of Liabilities, December 31, 1946.

Aetna Life	$110.83	Mutual Life, N.Y.	$107.03
Bankers Life Co. Iowa	106.32	New England Mutual	106.83
Conn. Geneva Life	108.20	New York Life	106.09
Conn. Mutual Life	106.46	Northwestern Mutual	107.67
Equitable Life, N.Y.	106.62	Penn. Mutual	105.66
John Hancock Mutual	111.78	Provident Mutual	106.64
Lincoln National	108.84	Prudential Insurance	105.61

47. Dunne's Insurance Report, The Largest Policyholders Service in the World, Chicago, 1953, p. 3.

Mass. Mutual	106.22	Sun Life of Canada	106.95
Metropolitan	106.71	Travelers Insurance	111.70
Mutual Benefit	104.40	Union Central	104.31

The average for these twenty largest companies was $106.94, while the Polish National Alliance had $111.89 of assets for each $100. of liabilities.[48]

Assets of sixty-five million dollars show how the Polish National Alliance has progressed in its 72 years of successful operation, but cold figures do not show the trials and tribulations of the early beginnings or the human effort that was expended to create such a commercial enterprise.

In 1886, when this pro rata system of life insurance was put into effect, the average worker earned $1.75 a day,[49] and he was counting his contributions in pennies.[50]

The Rev. Joseph Dabrowski was building his Polish Seminary in Detroit with just such contributions, and he

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48. An Independent Comparative Report, 1947, St. Louis, Standard Analytical Service, 1947, p. 2.

49. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 20.

50. Members of the Polish National Alliance contributed a penny a month for a period of years for the Polish National Treasury.

was overjoyed when he learned that the 1,893 members of the Polish National Alliance had pledged themselves to contribute fifty cents a year for two years[51] for his cause and this netted the good Father a sum of $3,472. It was all the more appreciated because the "anti-religious" PNA was first to assess its members for the benefit of the Seminary, when, technically, that was the duty of the PRCU.[52] Personal differences between Rev. Joseph Dabrowski and Rev. W. Barzynski of the PRCU hindered, for a time, the work of that association in favor of the Seminary, but PRCU has more than made up for this misunderstanding by contributing over $75,000. in the last 25 years.[53]

Up to this time, the women had little to say in any mutual aid association although they were indirectly blamed for some of the financial reverses in the embryonic

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51. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 372.

52. F. T. Seroczynski, "Poles in America", article in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 207.

53. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 133.

organizations. Both the PRCU and the PNA permitted only the wives of members to be beneficial members. The unmarried men complained that they were paying "for other men's wives"; other unscrupulous members were making a business of speculation by signing up their wives on their deathbed in order to collect the insurance benefits.

The women of Polonia took matters into their own hands, by rallying around Stefanja Chmielinska[54] to found the Polish Women's Alliance in Chicago in 1898. Jadwiga Karlowiczowa,[55] in preparing a summary of the work of the Polish Women's Alliance after forty years of commendable service in the interests of the United States, Polonia, and Poland, writes: "Jak Zwiazek Narodowy Polski, tak i ten Zwiazek Polek pragnie sluzyc Ojczyznie na tej obcej ziemi". (Like the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Women's Alliance dedicates itself to the interests of the fatherland).

54. Maria Porwit, 50-letnia Rocznica Zwiazku Polek w Ameryce, Chicago, Polish Women's Alliance, 1948, p. 6.

55. Jadwiga Karowiczowa, Historia Zwiazku Polek w Ameryce, Chicago, Polish Women's Alliance, 1938, p. 32.

The writer observed the tactful omission of any qualifications for religious or political affiliation for admission to the Polish Women's Alliance. This showed that the women had benefited from the errors of the Polish National Alliance with its in-and-out religious clause which had caused only strife and bitter feeling between the PNA and the PRCU.

On the contrary, despite the similarity--or even identity---[56] in the purposes of the PWA and the PNA, the women's organization always enjoyed amicable relationship with the PRCU, which indicates, the writer believes, that most of the misunderstanding between PNA and PRCU in the early years, was a clash, not so much of principles, as it was a clash of personalities.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union had opened its ranks to the membership of women on a limited basis only the year before,[57] but this offer was by-passed in favor

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56. Jadwiga Karlowiczowa, op. cit., p. 40.

57. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 121.

of organizing an independent women's super-territorial institution.

The formation of the Polish Women's Alliance was just the kind of provocation the PNA needed to prod it into permitting women--married, widowed, or single--to join the PNA in 1900. Within a year, the PNA membership doubled--from 15,000 to 29,000--and the women have made it a point to remind the male members of the PNA of this fact as a winning argument to prove their right to a department of their own (1906), to membership in the Board of Directors, and even the office of first vice-president, which event occurred in the most recent PNA Convention held in Buffalo, N. Y., September 23-29, 1951 with the election of Mrs. Frances Dymek to this important post.[58]

An attempt at unification of all the various associations and societies into one over-all organization was foreseen as a cure for the wave of decentralization which had attacked both rival factions like an epidemic of

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58. "Charles Rozmarek and His Staff Re-elected by PNA", article in Fraternal Monitor, vol. 61, no. 10, issue of October, 1951, p. 28.

"Chicagophobia", and small independent associations were forming in Pittsburg, Scranton, Detroit, Milwaukee, Bay City, Buffalo, Jersey City, New York, and Cleveland.[59]

Credit is due to Erazm Jerzmanowski,[60] for his initial venture in trying to coordinate Polonia's organization into the Liga Polska w Stanach Zjednoczonych (Polish League of the United States).

Jerzmanowski had already done a magnificient job of dotting the eastern seaboard with PNA lodges shortly after 1886, and he was also the hub of the Central Committee of Charities affiliated with the PNA. Through the efforts and business contacts of Jerzmanowski, the only Polish millionaire in the United States at that time, much good work was accomplished for the Polish immigrants debarking in New York. Several hundred found employment through his influence, even when there was a general industrial recession throughout the country.

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59. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 152.

60. S. Osada, Jak Sie Ksztaltowała Polska Dusza Wychodztwo w Ameryce, Pittsburgh, Falcon Press, 1930, p. 20.

Not only did he contribute an estimated $60,000.^{00}$ of his own fortune, but he also paid the salary of the committee's secretary, and maintained an immigrant's information bureau in his own plant. The gratitude of the New York Poles encouraged him to greater philanthropic measures and he rented for them a separate building at 228 East 30th Street, encouraging them to spend their free time after work in this "Polish Home" where all library facilities were at their disposal.[61]

Despite Jerzmanowski's personal appeal, and the powerful support of Rev. W. Barzynski, the Polish League never realized its aim because of lack of cooperation from the other organizations. The Polish National Alliance, particularly, prevented its organization by maintaining a stand-off position, although technically, they had a logical reason.

The Polish League aimed to unite all Polish associations in order to elevate the standard of Polonia in the patriotic, material, moral, religious, economic, and

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61. J. Mierzynski and W. Nalecz, Polacy w New Yorku, Chicago, PRCU, 1910, p. 85-87.

cultural fields; and to organize a system of regular contributions for the Polish National Treasury.[62] The PNA claimed these were identical with its own purposes; and that by joining the Polish League, the PNA would cancel the reason for its own existence.

Jerzmanowski quit the League himself in a few months (November 1894) and shortly thereafter returned to his estate in Poland where he died February 11, 1909, willing his entire multi-million fortune to the Jagellonian University in Cracow, Poland.

The failure of the Polish League, the writer believes was another demonstration of false pride, personal ambitions, and the most detrimental of Polish characteristic--stubbornness.

The PNA, however, redoubled its efforts to encourage its local associations to make regular contributions to the Skarb Narodowy. In 1905, there were 212 PNA lodges making

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62. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 140. Cf. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 388.

regular contributions of a penny a month per member to this Polish National Treasury.[63]

The PRCU, on the other hand, pointed to the large numbers of children attending the Polish parochial schools. "This", said the PRCU official organ, "is our Polish national treasury".[64]

The year 1905 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Polish National Alliance. Numerically (42,782 members in PNA; 8,111 in PRCU) and financially ($264,768.12 in PNA; $9,821.71 in PRCU) the PNA had outstripped its rival's progress for the same number of years. The records of 514 of the 621 PNA groups existing in 1905 showed that its members had contributed the imposing sum of $212,990.07 for national and religious purposes, out of which the lion's share of $154,990.67 was used for building parochial schools and churches.[65]

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63. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 621.

64. A. Kowalski, "Mlodziez, Szkola, i Kosciol, To Nasz Skarb Narodowy," article in Narod Polski, issue of October 3, 1900, p. 4.

65. The figures for PNA are for the year 1905 (1880-1905) taken from S. Osada, op. cit., p. 618; the figures for PRCU are for the year 1898 (1873--1898) from M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 541, in order to compare growth of each over the same number of years.

This last figure gave visible proof that the PNA was not an anti-Catholic organization. This fact, plus the growing conservative influence in the PNA itself has ameliorated the situation between the two groups to a great degree and for the first time in the history of the two rival factions, the entire Executive Board of Directors of the Polish National Alliance accepted the invitation of the Polish Roman Catholic Union to attend a special theatrical presentation which was a feature of the PRCU's 29th Convention. The PNA directors attended "in corpore" and were received most graciously. This same general good-will feeling extended down the line to the smallest local associations on both sides.[66]

The elevation of Rev. Paul Rhode from parish priest to bishop in June, 1908, was cause for a week's celebration in the Polish section of Chicago.[67] The elevation of Bishop

66. K. WAchtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenja Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, Chicago, Winiecki, 1913, p. 214.

67. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 237.

Rhode was the biggest boost to the Polish American spirit since the days of its earliest immigration. It was the first recognition of eminence ever received by any Pole born in the United States, and the Poles meant to take advantage of this "first" as a pathway that would lead them to many, many "firsts".

From all parts of the United States, laymen and religious came to attend the Consecration Mass. Three archbishops, nineteen bishops and 800 priests, 500 of which were Poles, took part in the religious service. Thirty thousand Poles marched through gaily decorated streets in the Polish section of Chicago[68] to celebrate the event.

Within a year's time, Bishop Rhode was again a central figure in his efforts to organize a Zwiazek Jednosci[69] (Alliance of Unity) which would speak for all Polonia. It appeared that this time the dream of a unified Polonia could become a reality. But the selfish interest

68. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 239.

69. Karol Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia, Polish Star, 1944, p. 158.

of a sensitive reporter, Strzembosz of Dziennik Zwiazkowy, (The Alliance Daily) broke the spirit of harmony and cooperation fostered by Bishop Rhode. Despite the efforts of the PNA Board of Directors to apologize for the tactlessness of their employee, matters became worse instead of better, and the dream was replaced by halucinations.

Another opportunity for complete unification presented itself in 1910 during the unveiling of the Pulaski and Kosciuszko monuments in Washington, D. C. Several years before, Colonel Smolinski of Washington gave the initiative for the erection of a Pulaski monument in Washington.[70] Lodges, societies, and associations heaped petitions upon their Congressmen to support the Congressional bill relative to the Pulaski monument. Overwhelmed with petitions, the Congressmen voted in favor of their constituents and plans were furthered for the Pulaski monument.

This was an era of monuments--almost every Polish community forced the non-Poles in their settlement to take

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70. Karol Piatkiewicz, Pamietusk Jubileuszowy ZNP, Chicago, Alliance Press, 1940, p. 110.

notice of the contributions of their two heroes of two worlds by erecting monuments of Pulaski and/or Kosciuszko to grace their city parks--but Pulaski, Father of the American cavalry, was always a mounted statue, while plans for the Pulaski monument in Washington showed him as a standing figure.

Another avalanche of mail--but this time protests! If Congress would mount Pulaski on a horse, the Poles would contribute enough money to erect a standing figure of Kosciuszko on Lafayette Square in the space previously reserved for the Pulaski monument.

The contributions, almost exclusively from PNA members, amounted to $76,836.86, which included a $500. gift from Paderewski. Expenses amounted to $45,661.86, and so the 18th PNA Convention[71] voted to use one half of the balance of the money toward a Polish American high school and the remainder as a reserve fund toward a future home for the aged and disabled PNA members.

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71. Romuald Piatkowski, Pamietnik Uroczystosci Polskich w Waszyngtonie, Chicago, Alliance, Press, 1911, p. 92.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, President W. H. Taft was presented the following declaration:

> We, the undersigned officers of the Polish National Alliance.....in behalf of all Americans of Polish extraction, do hereby tender to the people of the United States the monument to General Thaddeus Kosciuszko situated.....in Washington, D.C., erected by and at the expense of the Polish National Alliance, as an expression of our loyalty and devotion to our adopted country, for the liberty of which Thaddeus Kosciuszko, nobly and gallantly fought, and for the welfare and safety of which we Poles in America are at any time ready to shed our blood, as those two, illustrious Poles and our predecessors, Kosciuszko and Pulaski did. [72]

The ceremony of unveiling the two monuments in the Nation's Capitol was a significant event for which thousands of Poles from all parts of the United States assembled to bask in the glory of this historic monument.

Former president Theodore Roosevelt, visiting in Germany[73] where he was to be honored with a university doctorate degree, sent a telegram of congratulations on this occasion from Berlin which read:

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72. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 147.

73. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 116.

> Accept my congratulations to all Americans of Polish descent or origin on the dedication of the two monuments to the two great Polish heroes, Kosciuszko and Pulaski whose names will be forever associated on the honor roll of American history.

The Poles were pleased with this expression; but Theodore Roosevelt was quietly asked to leave Germany immediately, without any degrees, for his sympathy with Germany's arch-enemy, the Poles.

In the presence of President W. H. Taft and Secretary of War Dickenson, the elderly Julius Szajnert, the only living founder of the PNA, pulled the ribbon which unveiled the Kosciuszko and Pulaski monuments--at this moment, more than ever, the heroes of two worlds.

The next day, the assembled Poles met to organize the first Polish American Congress, planning it to be a permanent institution working in the interest and welfare of Polish Americans in the United States. Many lofty ideas were read, printed, expressed; and resolved---but like the Liga Polska and the Zwiazek Jednosci, the Polish American Congress gave way to more immediate demands. It never met again.

The candidacy of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 caused considerable comment in Polonia, and none of it was good. Wilson had written a five volume work, "A History of the American People",[74] in which he made these unfair derogatory statements about the immigrant Poles:

> .....but now there came these multitudes of men in the lowest class.....men of the meanest sort out of Hungary and Poland, men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the South of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population; the men whose standards of life and work were such as American workmen had never dreamed of hitherto.
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> The people of the Pacific Coast had clamored many years against the admission of immigrants out of China.....yet the Chinese were more to be desired as workmen, if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the Eastern port.....The unlikely fellows who came in at the Eastern ports were

74. Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, New York, Harper, 1902, vol. 5, p. 212-214.

> tolerated because they usurped no place but the very lowest in the scale of labor. 75

Attorney Nicodemus Piotrowski, who was an outstanding Polish leader in the Democratic party, felt Wilson should know why he could not hope to get the Polish vote. In the years that followed the publication of his History of the American People, Wilson had learned, from statistical reports, if not from his own observance, that he was wrong about the Poles' "lack of energy or initiative". After Piotrowski's meeting with candidate Wilson, a public apology appeared in the leading newspapers of the country, explaining that Wilson had not intended to condemn the entire Polish community; the description of Poles in his history was meant to reflect on only those

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75. After reading the five volumes of Wilson's A History of the American People, it appears to the writer that Wilson's knowledge of Poland or Polish Americans was very meagher at the time when he wrote this history. Outside of the quotation which appears above, there was little other mention made of Poles. In the entire five volumes, Kosciuszko accomplishments are described in a single line in volume 2, page 282; Pulaski doesn't even rate a line, though he is photographed in volume 2, p. 302. In volume 4, p. 59, we learn that the Klu Klux Klan was founded at Pulaski, Tennessee. "Poland" or "Polish" does not even appear in the index to the five volume work.

few who comprise an undesirable element in every nationality group.

Wilson narrowly won the election, and he felt sincerely obligated for the Polish American vote which, to some degree, had won for him this margin of victory. When a committee of Polish American organization leaders including Piotrowski, called on the president a few months later, he asked how he might repay the obligation, to which they replied, "The Poles in America want nothing--they need nothing--but we beg of you to keep Poland in mind when the opportunity comes".[76]

There is little doubt that credit for Wilson's famous 13th point--a free and independent Poland--was due to Polish American influence and Paderewski's close friendship with Colonel Edward House, Wilson's chief advisor.

With war clouds in Europe growing darker every week, there was much work for Polonia to do here in America. Many of the organizations, following the example of the Polish National Alliance, had pledged themselves to work for a free

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76. K. Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia Polish Star, 1944, p. 194-196.

and independent Poland. Towards this end, in any eventuality, large sums of money[77] would be needed, and the time for collecting contributions was at hand--tomorrow might be too late.

Towards this end, the Polish Falcons of America initiated plans to form a Komitet Obrony Narodowej (Committee of National Defense). All Polish-American organizations sent their delegates to Pittsburg for the meeting December 12, 1912.

The Committee for National Defense (KON) presented its appeal idealistically, but their Socialistic tendencies, infiltrated by Alexander Debski and Bronislaw Kulakowski, were soon discovered. The Committee was intended to be a subordinate agency of a provisional revolutionary government established in Poland. Its aims, of course, bore exclusively on the Polish situation in Poland.[78]

77. S. Osada, Jak Sie Ksztaltowala Polska Dusza Wychodztwo w Ameryce, Pittsburg, 1930, p. 71.

78. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Badger, 1920, vol. 5, p. 131.

After only six months, the Polish Roman Catholic Union left the KON, protesting the entire neglect of all local Polish American problems and organized its own Polska Rada Narodowa[79] (Polish National Council).

On January 11, 1914, the Polish National Alliance quit the KON, forming its own Wydzial Niepodleglosci (Department of Independence).[80] Shortly thereafter, the Polish Women's Alliance also withdrew from active participation in the KON, organizing its own Fundusz Bojowy[81] (Battle Fund), while the Polish Falcons created their Fundusz Kosiuszkowski[82] (Kosciuszko Fund).

In the beginning of 1913, the political parties of Poland were preparing a Polish national uprising under the leadership of Joseph Pilsudski in connections with the

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79. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 267.

80. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 126.

81. Jadwiga Karlowiczowa, op. cit., p. 84.

82. S. Osada, Sokolstwo Polskie, Pittsburg Falcon Press, 1929, p. 41.

coming war. Some of their delegates were sent to America with the purpose of obtaining the aid of American Poles, and it was these delegates who were successful in organizing the KON, assisted by the well-meaning Falcons.

The PNA, long known for its independent action, was unwilling to subordinate itself to orders from the delegates from Poland instead of playing a political game of its own, and for that reason quit the KON.

As soon as war broke out, the latent opposition between the Polish American groups led by the PNA, and the remainder of the Committee for National Defense crystallized into a decisive breach, culminating in the organization of a Centrala Komitetu Polskiego w Ameryce,[83] (Polish Central Committee) which was a supervisory council in charge of all the independent "Polish national treasures" of the various organizations.

In 1916, under the influence of Paderewski, Dmowski, and other European leaders, all the groups which opposed the

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83. S. Osada, Jak Sie....w Ameryce, op. cit., p. 94.

Committee for National Defense joined together to form a political organization under the name of Polish National Department, whose chief aim was to promote the cause of Poland's independence by financial, diplomatic, and later also, military activities. This Polish National Department was in no way counting on the assistance of Germany or Russia; rather it depended entirely on the Allies.[84]

Despite their apparent differences of opinion, the various Polish super-territorial organizations exerted themselves far more than anyone realized was possible. The Polish Central Committee in the few years of its existence, had sent 20,000 letters to various publications and newspapers throughout the length and breadth of the United States; 11,000 letters were mailed to Polish parishes soliciting financial contributions; 1,100 letters reached the millionaires of America, and 19,000 letters were sent to ministers of Protestant congregations. It was interesting to note in the secretary's report that contributions

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84. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 133.

from three groups netted several thousand dollars, but not a single response came from the Protestant clergy.[85]

January 1, 1916, was designated by President Wilson as Polish Relief Day. All contributions collected on this day were turned over to the American Red Cross for relief in Poland--and each Pole had pledged to give at least a day's pay.[86]

Without going into any further detail, the final results speak for themselves. John Smulski, president of the Polish National Department[87] reported in 1921 that contributions of Poles in America, from all sources, for the Polish cause was over $200,000,000.00, exclusive of the $67,000,000.00 which the American Poles had purchased in Liberty Loans.

Aside from its share in amassing such a fortune, the Polish National Alliance did as much as any purely American

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85. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 87. The writer searched diligently for an explanation in Paul Fox's The Poles in America to no avail.

86. S. Osada, op. cit., p. 119.

87. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 132.

Institution in fostering the recruiting of volunteers and in the sale of Liberty bonds and war stamps.

With the entrance into World War I, President Wilson called for 100,000 volunteers--40,000 of those responding were Americans of Polish descent.[88] The Poles made up only 31.8% of the population, but during the war there were 220,000 Polish American doughboys in the service of Uncle Sam.[89]

Yet this number accounts for only those Poles who were citizens of the United States. There remained a large group of recent immigrants who could not acquire citizenship before first fulfilling the five year residence requirement, so President Poncaire's announcement on June 4, 1917, of the formation of a Polish Army[90] in France was their reveille to action.

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88. Paul Fox, The Poles in America, New York, Doran, 1922, p. 103. Cf. William Seabrook, These Foreigners, New York, Harcourt, 1938, p. 297.

89. Jean Piper, "Poles Gave Over 200,000 Soldiers for the United States in World War", article in Brooklyn Daily Eagle, issue of October 31, 1926, p. 14, col. 2-4.

90. S. Osada, Sokolstwo Polskie, op. cit., p. 46.

No other national group participated so zealously in Red Cross and Liberty Bond campaigns as the Poles--few had as much at stake as the Poles. In the words of Paderewski, the Poles "fulfilled their duty more than threefold; they showed themselves to be not one hundred but three hundred percent Americans".[91]

The organization of this Polish Army of America was directed by the Polish Falcons; the recruiting was almost entirely directed by the PRCU, while the Polish National Alliance paid the entire cost of that part of the military training program which took place at Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania.[92] Other troops were trained at Niagara-on-the-Lake in Canada and at Fort Niagara in New York. Early in June, 1918, the Polish troops were ready to take their place in the lines on the Western Front. After July 13, they were commanded by General Joseph Haller[93] who had, in the meantime, made an adventurous escape from Austria.

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91. M. Haiman, "The Polish Contribution In the Historical Development of the United States", article in Promien, issue of March, 1947, p. 56.

92. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 129.

93. H. H. Fisher, America and the New Poland, New York, Macmillan, 1928, p. 105.

The Armistice, signed November 11, 1918, was a day of rejoicing for all Americans, but for Poles it marked the end of 123 years of enslavement under the three provinces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria---and the "fourth province", the Poles in America, were in a large measure responsible for the freedom and independence of the land of their forefathers.

Owing to a unique combination of influences, the war gave a brilliant though temporary realization to the dreams of the Polish National Alliance and other similar nationalistic groups in this country. Poland's independence became an international problem which was formulated most clearly in this country by our President Wilson. The interest in Poland, already aroused by the personal connections of many immigrants with war sufferers in their fatherland, was further developed by the prominence which the political situation of Poland assumed in American opinion. For once, to claim allegiance to Poland gave some kind of prestige.[94]

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94. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 115.

The war in general marked a crisis in the evaluation of the super-territorial system of Polish American society by bringing to full expression the Polish national tendencies, and by realizing the goal of these tendencies in the independence and unity of Poland, there was no longer any definite object for Polish patriotism in this country.

Many Polish American organizations thus lost their raison d'être, but most of them like the Polish National Alliance, now bent all their energies to "forming a more perfect union of the Polish people in this country, insuring to them a proper moral, intellectual, economic and social development".[95]

95. Quoted from the Preamble of the Constitution of the Polish National Alliance.

CHAPTER VI

PNA AS AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

The crisis brought by the war greatly diminished, or obliterated completely, the second principle of Polish American super-territorial organizations. Since the independence of Poland became a fact, those in whom Polish patriotism was really strong, could now return to Poland, if they wished; whereas, those who did not wish to return no longer had any justification in proclaiming themselves Polish patriots, nor did they have any right to say they could not return to Poland for political reasons. There no longer was the feeling of duty connected with the preservation of Polish patriotism.

The establishment of a free and independent Polish Republic and the consequent official distinction between Polish and American citizenship made the principal of dual patriotism difficult to maintain. A Pole who foreswore his allegiance to Russia, Germany, or Austria in order to become an American citizen did not, as a consequence, impair his moral allegiance to Poland. Now, however, by accepting American citizenship, he could not forswear his allegiance

to the Polish state and maintain without contradiction that he was a loyal member of the Polish nation. A choice had to be made, and the American Pole choose: 1) to stay in this country, for the most part; 2) to accept American citizenship, and 3) to remain irrevocably loyal to this country.

That not Poland, but the Polish American group, is the ultimate object of interest of the Polish National Alliance is indirectly shown by the growing place which American loyalty assumed in the activities of this organization. It is necessary to call attention to the use of the word loyalty in this connection rather than patriotism. The attitude of loyalty which is expressed toward America is one of duty rather than one of enthusiasm--probably because there has been no feeling that America needed anything more than normal loyalty, whereas Poland needed sacrifices.

This loyal, physical allegiance to America never conflicted with patriotic spiritual allegiance to Poland. Since America always stood for freedom, it might be expected to help Poland regain and preserve her independence. By

fostering American interests, Polish interests would be indirectly fostered too. The duties toward America were, and are, willingly assumed because America gave Polish institutions the right to develop freely here.

With the freedom of Poland no longer a specific aim, the contacts between Polish American colonies and Poland were weak and sporadic. Poland was absorbed in her own local struggles, and could not be very much interested in Polish American life, while Polish patriotism was no longer a vital matter with the American Poles. The Polish National Alliance, long considered a Polish national institution because by its official proclamations and tendencies, now changed its policy, merging toward the political standpoint which the Polish Roman Catholic Union had taken from the beginning--that of a Polish American institution for the cultural, religious, moral, economic social, and educational development of Polonia. The slogan now was *Wychodztwo dla Wychodztwo* (America for Americans).[1]

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1. S. Osada, Jak Sie Ksztaltowala Polska Dusza Wychodztwa w Ameryce, Pittsburg, Falcon Press, 1930, p. 204.

In the interval between America's participation in the war and the making of the peace, public opinion echoed almost to a man that immigrants should be required to forget their past and cut themselves off from their present connections; that they must learn English and be naturalized or expelled from the country. This was directed first at the aliens (Germany) but the Poles, Jews, Czechs, Italians and Greeks became the subject of intriguing considerations too. Their foreign language publications were coerced, controlled, or suppressed. On the other hand, their social organizations and linguistic facilities were being drafted to sell Liberty Bonds and thrift stamps and to recruit soldiers for the army of the Star Spangled Banner. So effective was the propaganda of the nationalistic organizations that one third of the United States draft army was foreign-born.[2]

The conflicting demands of the American public completely confused the Poles who had become keenly conscious of their nationality as a result of ruthless Germanizing and Russianizing policies which they had previously endured.

2. Horace M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States, New York, Boni and Liveright, 1924, p. 133.

Forced Americanization instantly recalled to mind all their unpleasant experiences under German and Russian rule. It stirred up in them all the old fears and resentments and placed them unnecessarily in an antagonistic position to the influence of their new environment with the result that 400,000 Poles returned to the country of their origin, preferring Poland in destruction to the "lynching bees of government departments, newspapers and 100% Americanist mobs".[3] Shipload after shipload carried back not such a few who left our land "beaten by many stripes, if not the stars, poor and sick and ready to die".[4]

The assimilation of the immigrant, his adaption to American customs, ways, and thought, are to a marked degree, even his economic and social status, depend on

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3. Horace Kallen, op. cit., p. 136.

4. Edward A. Steiner, The Immigrant Tide - Its Ebb and Flow, New York, Revell, 1909, p. 18.

his ability to read and speak the English language. Nearly every disadvantage under which he labors during his first years in this country can be traced in the last analysis to ignorance of English.[5]

An examination of the activities of the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish Women's Alliance, etc., showed that from their very beginnings, all these super-territorial organizations had urged their members to learn English and to acquire American citizenship, since this in no way interfered with their patriotism to Poland. Up to now, these attempts at Americanization had been sporadic, organized wherever local initiative requested the help of the national organizations. Hundreds of thousands of Poles had travelled on their way to citizenship over the strong bridge constructed by the mutual aid organizations which had used the mother tongue as the indispensable means of

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5. Herbert Adolphus Miller, The School and The Immigrant, Philadelphia, Fell, 1916, p. 15-16.

of communication until the rudiments of English were mastered.

With the emphasis on the "night school", the organizations urged their members to take advantage of the American privilege of free education. Describing a typical night school scene, Kallen says: "Very often, the wistful, confused, and nervous groups of foreigners came together for instruction. Instantly and contemptuously, they were stripped of their heritage of racial pride, traditions, customs, folk lore and music".[6]

As a result of some unthinking, over zealous Americanization teachers, night school attendance in many schools showed a continual decrease. Herbert A. Miller had this to say about the night schools for adults in Cleveland:

> The tragic part of the situation is that every year thousands of earnest and hopeful foreigners flock to the night schools in keen anticipation of learning English, and after a

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6. Horace M. Kallen, op. cit., p. 141.

> few weeks become discouraged and drop out because the teachers do not meet their needs.
>
> These immigrants are interested only so long as they can use each day what they learned the night before. This is why they cannot be interested in inflections and tenses, and why they are not gripped or thrilled by reading about the beautiful posies and pretty birds. 7

To overcome this difficulty of the American night school, or even to supplement it, the Polish National Alliance, as well as the other Polish super-territorial systems, organized Americanization and naturalization classes in their local associations throughout the country.

The resolution passed at the PNA Convention in 1891 cited that the PNA "should encourage all Poles to become naturalized American citizens of the United States since the Constitution of the United States in

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7. Herbert Adolphus Miller, The School and the Immigrant, Philadelphia, Fell, 1916, p. 99.

way interferes with your efforts in behalf of Poland or your love for the fatherland".[8] Each Convention since that date has echoed the same idea.

Naturalization and Americanization classes became especially popular in PNA circles after World War I. These classes were the main function of the local lodges for many years, and they have continued to the present time wherever the need exists. The PNA has been helpful, not only in providing trained instructors, but it has also come to the aid of its members by preparing a booklet of fifty questions which are most often asked of the applicant for American citizenship. This booklet, Podrecznik Naturalizacyjny, (Naturalization Handbook), may still be obtained from the PNA for the nominal fee of thirty-five cents. In addition, these fifty questions are re-printed in almost every annual almanac (Kalendarz Związkowy) which is published by the PNA.[9]

8. P. P. Yolles, "Historja Polonji w Zwierciadle Zwiazku Narodowego", feature article in Nowy Swiat, New York, vol. 54, no. 229, issue of September 24, 1951, p. 3, col. 3-7.

9. K. Piatkiewicz, Illustrowany Kalendarz Związkowy narok 1949, Chicago, Alliance, 1949, p. 24-27.

The Naturalization Handbook contains information about the legislative, judicial, and executive departmental functions of the United States; duties of the President, members of the Cabinet, and the members of Congress, etc., functions of the city, state, and federal governments. All questions and answers are in English and Polish.

The writer has had experience in preparing several hundreds of Poles for the naturalization examination and can verify that the serious application of the adult examinees and their knowledge of the U. S. Constitution by far overshadowed the average high school student's knowledge of his native country's government.

After women were given the right to vote, (1919) the women's division of the PNA expanded its activities in naturalization and Americanization classes tremendously. The Polish Women's Alliance and the women's division of the Polish Roman Catholic Union similarly took on this activity zealously, and in the years 1921-1925, these organizations were responsible for a major share in the naturalization of 12,000 Poles annually.[10]

10. K. Piatkiewicz, Pamietnik Jubileuszowy, ZNP, Chicago, Alliance, 1940, p. 178.

Immigration by country of origin, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, shows that in the decade 1921-1930, there were 227,734 Poles admitted to the United States; in 1931-1940 due to the depression, among other factors, the immigration figures dropped to 17,026; the decade 1941-1950 showed a further drop of Polish immigrants because of World War II, so that during this time only 7,571 Poles reached our shore.[11]

That the Americanization and naturalization work continues in the Polish American organizations is evidenced by the fact that 3,793 Poles became citizens in 1950.[12]

As far back as 1899, the PNA has been publishing the U. S. Constitution in English and Polish and distributing these periodically to all its lodges for the benefit of its members.

In order to acquaint Americans with the reason for observing certain Polish national holidays, the PNA has

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11. John Kiernan (ed). Information Please, Almanac 1953, New York, Macmillan, 1952, p. 135.

12. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, "3,793 Poles Become U.S. Citizens in 1950", article in Polish American Journal, Scranton, vol. 60, no. 42, issue October 10, 1951, p. 4, col. 2.

mailed out thousands of copies of "Outline and Significance of the Constitution of the Third of May to all Congressmen, political figures, and outstanding Americans in all fields.[13]

Between 1890 and 1920 a whole generation of sociologists laboriously turned out data to show that all the ills of American life had their source in the wrong type of immigration. The "new" immigrant has been thought to breed crime, promote illiteracy, create conflict by separateness, and swell unemployment. The least misstep on the part of the Slavic immigrant became ground for exclusion or deportation. The burden of proof was to be always upon him. Potentially dangerous, he was not to be welcomed, but grudgingly tolerated.

Kallen, in his book Culture and Democracy in the United States, again showed his lack of appreciation for cultures other than his own, when he wrote this passage in 1924, the year of the Immigration Act:

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13. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 106.

> .....because they have been taught to love liberty, they have made their language a thing of literary importance in Europe; and their aspiration, (impersonal and disinterested as it must be in America), to free Poland, to conserve the Polish spirit, seems to be the most helpful and American thing about them -- the one thing that stands actually between them and brutalization through complete economic degradation. It lifts them higher than anything that in fact America offers them.....even if you can't change your own grandfather, you can modify your great grand-child's by choosing for him a great-grandmother of another stock than your own. That people are hardly ever know to marry out of consideration for their great grand-children does not seem to have occurred to the Poles. [14]

Thirty years of experience have dissolved the old prejudices such as those epitomized by Kallen in the previous quotation. No respectable scientist now accepts the racist dogma of inherent biological differences among men. The ideas such as the Klan once peddled with ease are now everywhere regarded with disgust.

Notions of increased crime, unemployment, and subversive activities, formerly laid at the door of the

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14. Horace M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States, New York, Boni and Liveright, 1924, p. 158.

"new" immigrant have many times been proven wrong. In the United States, the immigrant - though not his native born American children, who suffer the real growing pains of adjustment - commits far less than his share of crime and for education he has a high regard.

In an industrial economy, immigration is highly sensitive to the business cycle: the business cycle follows its own laws, and the immigration adjusts to it, not it to immigration. Whatever causes depression, it is not a surplus of workers in either good times or bad.[15]

The American public now knows more than the old commission did of the part immigrants played in the making of America. In particular, it has been shown that people from every cultural background are capable of leading creative lives within the free institution of the United States -- Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, Italians, and Poles -- as well as Germans, Swedes, and Englishmen.[16]

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15. Harry Jerome, Migration and Business Cycles, Washington, Economic Research Inc., 1926, p. 256.

16. Oscar Handlin, "We Need More Immigrants", article in Atlantic Monthly, Boston, issue of May, 1953, p. 27-31.

Careful studies have shown crime and cupidity to be the failings of no particular group in American life -- that Luciano was no more typical of Italians than Dillinger was of native Americans; further, it has been proven that the most literate group of our population is not that of the native-born whites of native-born parentage, but that the native-born whites of foreign or mixed parentage is the most literate group.

If there was any substantial difference between the "older" races and the "newer" races, it was in favor of the latter. The differences as exist among races is not an inherent racial quality, but a difference between the political, social, and economic conditions at the time of migration in the country of origin. The controlling factor in the political absorption of the immigrant was the length of residence, while the social and economic conditions in this country affected the individual's desire for citizenship in a proportionate measure. Those who were employed in the more poorly paid industries showed a slower

desire for citizenship.[17]

The years between the wars were used by the Polish American super-territorial organizations to improve the standing of their members, morally, spiritually, economically and intellectually in order to prove that the Polish immigrants, though their material possessions were modest, did not come to America empty-handed. They brought with them valuable cultural contributions to the land of their adoption.

Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior in President Wilson's Cabinet, described the desires and aspirations of the foreign born beautifully. It is especially applicable to Polish Americans, who at the urgent pleas of their organizations, willingly surrendered their Polish allegiance for American citizenship thus:

> At the Altar of America we have sworn ourselves to a single loyalty. We have bound ourselves to sacrifice and struggle, to plan and to work for this land. We have given that we may gain; we have surrendered that we may have victory. We have taken an oath that the

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17. John P. Gavit, Americans By Choice, New York, Harper, 1922, p. 252.

> world shall have a chance to know how much good may be gathered from all countries and how solid in its strength, how wise, how fertile in its yield, how lasting and sure is the life of a people who are one. [18]

Emphasis on education has always been a significant factor in all the Polish American organizations. There is strong evidence "that the more highly educated the citizen, the greater the likelihood of a successful and prosperous Nation and of the development and maintenance of a high level of living".[19] Toward this end. the PNA had initiated a Wydzial Oswiaty[20] (Department of Culture and Education) as early as 1895.

The work of this department has been very extensive and varied. The basic purpose of this department is to help needy Polish American students to enter universities and colleges of their choice by assisting them with

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18. Franklin K. Lane, an address at the Book of America's Making Exposition, in 71st Regiment Armory, New York, Oct. 29, 1921.

19. Address at Commencement Exercises, Bryant College, Providence R.I., August 10, 1951, by Earl James McGrath, U.S. Commissioner of Education.

20. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 187.

financial loans without interest; to organize and conduct supplementary schools in the various lodges where English is taught to Poles and Polish is taught to American-born children of PNA members; to establish libraries; and to promote intellectual and cultural activities in Polonia as widely as possible.

In the first two years of its existence, the Education Committee met sixty-three times to lay a permanent and progressive foundation for this important department. Letters were mailed to all locallodges explaining the purpose of the Department, and offering its assistance in promoting culture and education on the local level.

In 1896, Professors Siemiradzki and Kurcjusz of Poland were engaged by the PNA to make a lecture tour of the Polish American communities and to organize educational services in the PNA lodges. Within two years, the Wydział Oswiaty had given $725. for scholarships.[21] Since that time, the Department loand $12,000. to $21,000. annually

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21. S. Osada, Historja ZNP, Chicago, Alliance, 1905, p. 437-468.

to deserving students who appreciate this kind of financial aid since no interest is charged, and the student is not required to repay the loan until ten years later when his education is completed and he is gainfully employed.

In those communities where no parochial school exists, or where there is a sizeable number of Polish American children attending the public schools, the Wydzial Oswiaty has organized supplementary schools to teach the children of its members not only the Polish language, but also to help them acquire a knowledge of, and pride in, their own heritage and make-up. This consciousness of nationality gives them a sense of continuity and belonging by recognizing that as self respecting and constructive citizens on the pattern of their own natural cultures, they will enrich and deepen the cultures of this New World by the racial and cultural backgrounds which they inherited from their immigrant parents.[22] By 1940, there were 195 supplementary schools conducted by the PNA, with 14,000 children benefitting annually from these instructions.

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22. Louis Adamic, My America, New York, Harper, 1938, p. 222.

The Pole, by becoming an American citizen, lost nothing. Rather, he preserved all that was good in the Pole and added the good qualities of an American, and vice-versa: the Pole's native-born American child lost nothing by learning of his heritage and background. Rather, he became a better American through appreciation of the efforts it was necessary for his parents to expend to become American citizens and he learned that:

> .....he is an American, who leaving behind him all ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new modes of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted [sic] into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. 23

With the introduction of teaching the newer languages in the public high schools, the PNA urged its members to use their influence in incorporating the teaching of Polish in the regular high school and college curriculums on the same basis as French, Spanish, and German.

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23. Allen H. Eaton, Immigrant Gifts to American Life, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, p. 41-43.

The PNA, assisted by other Polish American organizations has been instrumental in introducing Polish language literature and history courses to the point that in 1953 there were 48 colleges and universities, and 32 public schools teaching Polish, in addition to the 63 Polish parochial high schools and 568 Polish parochial grammar schools who have always taught Polish as part of their regular curriculum.[24]

The most serious problem was that of adequate textbooks which could be used to teach Polish to Polish Americans, since most Polish language textbooks were aimed at a level for use in Poland. This problem was solved by a special handbook, prepared and published by the Polish National Alliance. On the basis of this textbook, the high schools of Chicago, as well as other communities, including the writer's own locality, have been successfully organizing Polish language courses.

To prepare adequately trained teachers for these Polish language courses, the PNA has contributed generously

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24. Sigismund J. Sluszka, Polish Language Teaching in the U.S.A., paper presented at Rutgers University, Brunswick, N.J., March 28, 1953.

to the University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University, De Paul, etc., in order to establish a Polish chair in these institutions.[25]

In addition, beginning in 1938, concentrated courses in the Polish field have been held intermittently at Alliance College for lawyers, doctors, and other professional people who found the use of Polish valuable to them in their work, as well as for teachers for high schools and supplementary schools. Up to January 1, 1940, the Polish National Alliance had expended $553,286.21 for scholarships, Americanization classes, and supplementary schools.[26]

The Polish Roman Catholic Union has equally as fine a record in assisting Polish American students to obtain an education. The year 1895 was the 100th anniversary of the enslavement of Poland, and to suitably mark the occasion throughout the year with special

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25. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 188.

26. K. Piatkiewicz, op. cit., p. 141.

observances would have been a costly project at a time when poverty and unemployment stalked the U.S.

At the suggestion of Rev. W. Barzynski, members of the Polish American communities, and more specifically, the PRCU, were advised to forego all public demonstrations marking this 100th anniversary. Instead, the Rev. Barzynski suggested that the men wear a white ribbon binding on the collar of their suitcoats, and that women wear black dresses throughout the year as signs of mourning for their lost fatherland. Further, the communities should abstain from all frivolous or hilarious forms of entertainment. The money thus saved would be a more fitting memorial by its use in establishing libraries, and scholarship funds.[27]

Thus was founded the Educational Department of the PRCU which has contributed $322,375.63 for scholarships since 1907. That the PRCU is truly a fraternal

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27. M. Haiman, Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Chicago, PRCU, 1948, p. 169.

organization with a purposeful aim to promote the cultural growth of its members is evidenced by its generosity for educational purposes, especially in the depression years 1928-1941 when 2,611 individual students were aided by $167,281.69 for the continuation of their studies in the years when the U.S. was weathering its greatest economic crisis.[28]

The crowning achievement of the PNA Department of Education was the founding of Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania. The idea of a PNA institution for higher learning was initiated at the PNA Convention in Wilkesbarre, Pa. in 1903 when the members were assessed a penny a month to create a fund for such a school.

In 1905, this penny-a-month obligation was raised to two cents a month per person. The Kosciuszko Monument fund had a balance of over $45,000. one-half of which was poured into the school fund, so that by 1911 there was already $75,000. for the school building. At this opportune moment, the

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28. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 551.

the Rev. Seweryn Niedbalski of Erie brought to the attention of Censor Anthony Schreiber the fact that the magnificient Vanadium Hotel was available for the bargain price of $175,000.00. The Censor immediately invited the members of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Council to Cambridge Springs to look over the colossal hotel with several hundred rooms, situated atop a hill overlooking the city. The purchase price included not only the hotel, but a campus of 160 acres of woodlands, pine forests, several ponds, and all the hotel furnishings.

On December 4, 1911, the Vanadium Hotel was purchased and the president of the Polish National Alliance, Marian Steczynski, resigned from this office to personnally look after the physical changes and renovations which would be necessary to convert the hotel to an educational institution.[29]

The first faculty included professors Piwowarski, Dolewczynski, Fijalkowski, Janusz Ostrowski, and others

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29. K. Piatkiewicz, Illustrowany Kalendarz na Rok 1953, Chicago, Alliance, 1953, p. 41.

who were under the direct supervision of Romuald Piatkowski, a world reknown pedagogue. The school was officially opened October 26, 1912, with 326 enrollees. The Polish American organization was especially honored to have the President of the United States, W. H. Taft, participate in the opening ceremonies.

In 1915, a Technical Institute was added as an incentive for students to become skilled mechanics, tool designers, electricians, etc. The war years took their toll and attendance dropped to 169 in the College, and 68 in the Technical Institute, but 500 additional young men were being trained on the campus for the Polish Army of America.

The U.S. Department of War next sent 220 American soldiers to be trained in the Technical Institute which required provisional structures for housing the additional number of students. The following year there were more soldiers (245) than civilian students, and after the war, many veterans returned to Alliance College to complete their education.[30]

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30. Polish National Alliance, Zarys Historji Kolegjum Z.N.P., Cambridge Springs, Alliance, 1932, p. 11.

Alliance College had served the interests of Polish American civilian students, officers of the Polish Army, and American soldiers -- and now a group of 48 Polish orphans, rescued from the wastes of Siberia after the war, were emigrated to America under the sponsorship of the PNA. The orphans were fed, clothed, and educated at Alliance College until they were ready to enter the competitive world on their own.[31]

With more and more American students of Polish extraction seeking admission to the Polish American institution, it became necessary to change from the use of Polish language for all lecture courses to English for practical purposes. Conflicts between ideology and practicability resulted in the resignation of Professor R. Piatkowski and the subsequent appointment of Waclaw Gasiorowski who held the appointment of rector for seven years.

In 1925, a Junior College was added and this was followed by expansion in all directions -- new biology

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31. K. Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, Philadelphia, Polish Star, 1944, p. 147.

and science laboratories, enlarged library facilities, and a large modern fire-proof dormitory. Even before the completion of the dormitory, a short circuit in the top floor of the converted hotel caused a major catastrophe. Fanned by a spirited wind, the fire consumed all the school property on January 20, 1931, including 12,000 precious books and other memorialia in the PNA Archives and Museum which was then located on the school property.[32]

Thanks to the kindness of local citizenry, school sessions were not interrupted. On the second day after the fire, classes were held in the interiors of the single Catholic and four non-Catholic churches in the town. The dormitory was completed shortly, and a provisional wooden building was set up for classes. This latter building was replaced by a magnificient Colonial structure in 1934 to match the architectural design of the dormitory.

Professor Stephen Mierzwa, initiator of the Kosciuszko Foundation, was president of Alliance Junior

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32. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 439.

College during the program of expansion. He was followed by E. Kuberski, the first alumnus of Alliance College to assume directorship of the school. This marks the time when Alliance alumni begin to take an increasingly important part in the affairs and life of the school which today is a full four-year liberal arts college.

Women were admitted to the College in 1948, and last year three women received Bachelor of Arts degrees from Alliance College[33] which is a member of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and is fully accredited by the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the Middle States Association. Graduates from Alliance College are eligible for admission to the nation's leading medical, dental, and law schools, and may continue their training in engineering or in graduate work at universities of their choice. In the four years that Alliance has granted a baccalaureate degree, a number of alumni have made distinguished records in large

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33. "Alliance Holds First Co-ed Commencement", article in Alliance News, Chicago, vol. 70, no. 12, issue of June 15, 1952, p. 4, col. 1.

university graduate divisions, including Columbia University, University of Chicago, University of Wisconsin, University of California, and John Hopkins University.

Career possibilities for young people are offered at Alliance College in the following fields: government service, business administration, biology, chemistry, mathematics, pre-medical, pre-dental, pre-nursing, pre-law, pre-engineering, fine arts, writing, and education.[34]

Over 23,000 well selected, up-to-date volumes, reinforced by a comprehensive reference collection, constitute the library's basic resources. Receipt of over one hundred and fifty magazines, and of leading American and Polish newspapers, contributes to the rapid growth of the periodical files. A special Polish room contains more than 4,000 volumes in the Polish language, among them many rare books. Professional librarians help to direct reading and research for the Alliance student.

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34. A. P. Coleman, Alliance Bulletin 1952-1953, Cambridge Springs, Alliance College, vol. 3, no. 3, issue of July 1952, p. 10.

Tuition fees at $310. a year plus $480. for room and board do not meet the necessary expenditure for the education of each student, but the purpose in founding Alliance College was to offer a well-rounded education to all children of PNA members at the lowest possible cost. The PNA adds several hundred dollars annually for the education of each Alliance student through a four-cent assessment per month per member.[35] In addition, students who have been members of the PNA for three years are allowed a reduction of $150. a year on their board and room fees. The same reduction is allowed to students whose parent or guardian has been a member of the PNA for three years, if the student joins the Alliance at the time of registration.

Students who have good scholastic records but who may require financial assistance in order to undertake a college program are eligible for financial assistance by a scholarship loan up to $800. Approximately $55,000. worth of student aid has been authorized for the school year

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35. Stephen Mierzwa, "Schools for Democracy", article in The Kosciuszko Foundation Monthly News Letter, N.Y., vol. 6, no. 53, issue of November 1951.

1953-1954.[36]

In an effort to convince Polish American students that Alliance College offers the best in education, Censor Blair Gunther's twin sons are students at Alliance, though they had the choice of going to any university or college in the country.

With the opening of Alliance College next term, among the student body will be Lt. Franciszek Jarecki, the famous Polish flyer who escaped in a MIG plane from behind the Iron Curtain this past March 5, 1953, and who has been recently given permanent status in the United States by a special legislative act of Congress.[37]

With immigration practically shut off after 1929, all the Polish American super-territorial organizations realized they must depend on their youth to replace the old guard in the thinning ranks of the adult members. Alliance College aroused interest in a few hundred young

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36. A. P. Coleman, Student Aid at Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Office of the President, July 14, 1953.

37. News release from A. P. Coleman, President of Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pa., July 14, 1953.

people each year by offering them splendid opportunity for a liberal art education or a skilled trade in its Technical Institute, but the need for interest in the PNA was more far-reaching. It was necessary to initiate a program which would reach, not hundreds, but thousands of the Polish American youth.

Toward this end, the PNA in 1931, initiated the Harcerstwo, a youth training program which was among the most progressive and far reaching in the nation, designed as it was to foster more sport clubs, choral societies, amateur dramatic circles, folk dancing groups, and to conduct summer camps for boys and girls patterned after the Boy Scout system.[38]

The idea was a success from the very beginning and the Polish American youth crowded to the Polish Homes for their weekly lessons to learn signing, dancing, first-aid, Morse and semaphore code, Polish literature and history. Each meeting was well organized and planned in

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38. Frank S. Barc, "The Polish National Alliance", article in The Polish Review, New York, vol. 6, no. 7, issue of April 11, 1946.

advance by the Chairman of the Youth Department in the Chicago headquarters. Realizing the benefits that would come from an organized and well-disciplined youth movement, the PNA has generously spent $939,559.45 from 1932-1951,[39] and the results were already observed at the 1947 and 1951 Conventions -- former youth leaders were already taking an active part in the leadership of the PNA.

To maintain high interest among the PNA members who are beyond the teen-age and Boy Scout stage, the Polish National Alliance sports program was inaugurated thirty years ago, and has continually supported such athletic activities as baseball, basketball, bowling, softball, tennis, volleyball and track and field meets. At the present time there are over 400 PNA Lodges conducting sports programs for their members in one or several of the above mentioned sports.

Prior to World War II, the PNA sponsored annual National Basketball Tournaments (Senior Division), but

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39. Albin Szczerbowski, "Analiza Wydzialu Naloletnich", article in Zgoda, Chicago, vol. 69, no. 18, issue of September 8, 1951.

the loss of thousands of its young athlete members to the Armed Forces, and inability to secure adequate housing facilities for the usual 22 to 30 clubs participating in these contests has forced the PNA to suspend these tourneys. However, there are over 100 PNA basketball teams (Junior and Senior) operating during the winter time, including several PNA basketball leagues.

The PNA sponsors the annual Chicagoland Basketball Tournament for teams hailing from Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, at Holy Trinity High School in Chicago, Illinois, which have developed into some of the outstanding teams in the country.

Stanley Szukala, former all-American from De Paul University; Joe Frywalski, Southwest Conference All-Star from Baylor U.; Dick Starzyk, teammate of George Mikan's (De Paul U.); Johnny Niemiera, formerly of Notre Dame, are only some of the players of national repute who made up the Chicagoland Tournament championship teams of 1949-50-51-52.

Major league baseball clubs saw their rosters undergo several revisions during May, 1952, as a result

of the rule which forced them to pare down their playing personnel to the maximum of twenty-five people. The revised rosters disclosed that there were still twenty-five Polish American players remaining on the reduced rosters, with sixteen displaying their talents in the National League and nine in the American League.

Bob Borkowski and Ed Kazak of the Cincinnati Reds; Dave (Kozlowski) Koslo, New York Giants; Stan (The Man) Musial, the greatest player in baseball today and manager-player Ed Stanky of the Cardinals; Johnny Wyrostek of Philadelphia Phillies; Clem Koshorek and Ted (Wilczek) Wilks of the Pittsburg Pirates; Cass (Kwietniewski) Michaels, ex-White Sox and Senators; Tony (Pietruszka) Piet, former Pittsburgh Pirates and Chicago White Sox star; Hank Borowy, ex-New York Yankees and Chicago Cubs star; Hank Majewski of Philadelphia Athletics; and Joe Ostrowski, member of the New York Yankees mound staff, are some of the PNA boys who made good in the Major Leagues. Another was Al Piechota, formerly with the Yankees and Braves, who pitched in the Chicago PNA Baseball loop.

Steve Lach, who starred as a catcher in the Cambria County (Pennsylvania) PNA Baseball League, won All-American

honors as a gridder at Duke University.

Bowling is the most important sport activity so far as PNA men and women members are concerned. A total of 128 teams and over 1,000 bowlers participated in the 1952 National PNA Bowling Tournament at Buffalo, N.Y. There are over 100 PNA Bowling leagues in operation (twelve of them in Chicago) at the present time, involving over 5,000 PNA members. In addition to this there are over 200 teams composed of PNA members competing in independent loop play. All told there are over 20,000 PNA members active in the bowling game.

Softball is engaged in by some 125 PNA teams throughout the country, and has shown a rapid growth, particularly in the 16-inch, slow-pitching division.

The last National PNA Basketball Tournament, staged at Duquesne University (Pittsburg) in the winter of 1942, attracted 22 teams from seven States and eighteen Cities. The annual Chicagoland PNA Basketball Tournaments, inaugurated in 1943, have been attracting an average of twelve teams per year.

The PNA Youth Commission aids its sports clubs and leagues by issuing complete sets of uniforms, (once every

two years) for the following sports: baseball, softball, basketball and volleyball. It also offers the champions and second place teams in each league handsome trophies. Tournament champions, second place and third place teams also receive trophies, as do the individual champions.

All PNA sports clubs and leagues are invited to submit their results of games and tourneys to the Sports Department of the Polish Daily and Twice Monthly Zgoda, for publication in its English edited columns. The Polish Daily Zgoda devotes one full page daily for the news of PNA and Polish American independent sports clubs and leagues.

It is estimated that there are over 50,000 members of the PNA active in one sport or another sponsored by the PNA, for which the PNA contributes twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars a year.[40]

It has been observed that the trend of the Polish National Alliance after World War I has been constantly

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40. The above information on the PNA sport program and major sports has been verified by Joseph Kowal, sports editor of the Polish Daily Zgoda.

emphasizing the American -- or more specifically, the Polish American -- aspect in contrast to its previous emphasis in working for the interests of Poland.

The absolute change from a Polish institution to an American institution was a reality with the election of Francis X. Swietlik, Dean of Marquette Law School, to the post of Censor of the Polish National Alliance in 1931. With his election to this supervisory position, the organization steadily became more conservative in its elements, and more progressive in its action, making it a better organization in every way.

His very first action was recorded as a historical moment in Polonia. Within a few days after his election, Censor Swietlik appeared at the Convention of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in October 1931 and in his opening remarks invited the PRCU to make suggestions for a coordinated program by which the two organizations could work together for the good of Polonia.[41] At this same meeting

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41. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 407.

it was Swietlik who initiated the idea for an over-all super-territorial organization on the idea of a Congress of Polish Organizations in America,[42] which eventually took the form of a relief agency, American War Relief for Poland, out of which also evolved the idea for the political organization, the Polish American Congress Inc.

The year 1934 marked the complete independence of Polonia from Poland and the "revolt" was led by Censor Swietlik. That year, Poland was host for a Swiatowy Zjazd Polakow z Zagranicy (Worldwide Convention of Poles outside the Boundaries of Poland). The purpose of this Convention was to establish a political organization in which each minority group of Poles living outside the borders of Poland would obligate itself to follow instructions from Poland for the direction of its political action and propaganda.[43]

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42. F. X. Swietlik, "Musimy Zjednoczyc Nasze Sily Wychodzce", article in Dziennik Zwiazkowy, issue of October 10, 1931.

43. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 425.

The Polish American group, comprised of forty delegates from leading Polish American institutions, realized this was an important decision to make. A single false move would undo all the hard work of Polonia of the last sixteen years in establishing the organizations of Polonia as American institutions.

The Polish American group met several times, and then delegated Swietlik, Censor of the PNA, as their spokesman who declared the position of Polonia to be thus: in as much as the statutes for this Convention of Poles outside of Poland were drawn up with the specific thought in mind that it would embrace minority groups living outside of Poland, the Polish American Delegation could not participate in the activities of the new organization for two reasons: 1) the Poles in America did not constitute a minority group; and 2) the Poles, in accepting American citizenship, no longer could be bound by any directives or instructions from Poland. Finally, the delegates informed the Convention that they were not Poles, technically, any longer, but rather Americans of Polish descent, and that Polonia was willing to remain linked with Poland by cultural

ties alone.[44] Whatever political attitude Polonia wished to assume toward Poland was a decision for Polonia, not Poland, to make. This declaration of independence of Polonia was a national orientation of the Poles in the United States and left no room for doubt, that the Polish American organizations are purely American institutions whose duties are undivided loyalty to America and development of Polonia in every field of endeavor.[45]

The years that followed this declaration of independence found all the Polish American organizations putting their own houses in order since the economic crisis had taken a heavy toll in members as well as assets. The years of independence were all too few as the outbreak of World War II demanded the help of Polonia to come to the aid of Poland financially, even if only for the sake of humanity.

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44. M. Haiman, op. cit., p. 429.

45. K. Wachtl, op. cit., p. 385.

History repeats itself, for again the PNA members voluntarily submitted to a five cents a month assessment per member for the Polish War Relief Fund which amounted to $786,307.29 according to the PNA treasurer's report in April, 1951.[46]

According to statistics released in Washington, D.C. in 1951, approximately one million Americans of Polish descent served in the Armed Forces during World War II.[47] Of this number, 34,819 men and 938 women carried PNA membership cards.[48] The PNA was one of very few insurance organizations which did not insert a war clause in its certificate at the outbreak of war -- or at any time to date -- and families of the 1,017 PNA members killed in action received $621,776.70

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46. M. Tomaszkiewicz, "Na Fundusz Ratunkowy", news release in Zgoda, Chicago, vol. 61, no. 8, issue of April 15, 1951, p. 2, col. 3-4.

47. "One Million Pol-Ams Served in W. War II", press release in Polish American Journal, Scranton, vol. 40, no. 29, issue of July 21, 1951, p. 2, col. 4.

48. "War Activities of PNA", article in Fraternal Field, Cedar Rapids, issue of September, 1947, p. 9-11.

in full death benefits.[49] Wounded in action were an additional 4,730 PNA members, while thousands more are now serving in the Armed Forces on the Korean front.

On the home front, the Alliance contributed to the war effort by purchasing U.S. War bonds for $14,500,000. and contributing $160,000. to the American Red Cross. These figures do not include purchases of bonds and contributions for relief purposes made by the individual PNA members in their local lodges and councils.[50]

The Alliance and its members were active in Red Cross work, blood banks, collection of clothing and medical supplies for Polish victims of war, and they took part in many community campaigns and numerous drives, including a proportionate share in the collection of $30,000,000.00 for the American War Relief for Poland, which was directed by President of the American War Relief, Francis Swietlik, who was also Censor of the Polish National Alliance up

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49. Report of the Executive Board of Directors at Polish National Alliance Convention, August 29, 1947, in Cleveland, Ohio.

50. Id. ibidem, p. 11.

to 1951.[51]

In 1946, three hundred and sixty children who were orphaned when the Soviet Union swept millions of Poles into prisons and concentration camps, arrived in the United States under student permits. They were part of a group of Polish refugees who were transported out of Russia in 1942 under an agreement with England whereby Russia in return was to receive lend-lease aid. They came out through Iran and eventually arrived in a Polish refugee camp in Santa Rosa province, Mexico.

From this group, fifty boys were later sent to the PNA academy and college at Cambrdige Springs while fifty girls were placed in Catholic boarding schools in the Chicago area. The PNA obligated itself to provide all the necessities of life for these 360 orphans for the eight years during which they would be allowed to remain in this country[52] under the student permits.

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51. "$30,000,000. Wynosila Pomoc Rady Polonj Am. Dla Wchodzcow Polskich", article in Everybody's Daily, Buffalo, issue of November 24, 1951, p. 2, col. 1-3.

52. P. Kozlowski, "Refugees From Reds Cheer U.S.", feature story in Promien, Chicago, issue of June, 1946, p. 26.

With such a background of achievements it is no wonder that the Polish National Alliance was the first to initiate steps toward the organization of the Polish American Congress, Inc. which was founded in Buffalo, May 28-30, 1944. The Convention was called by an organizing committee of representatives of the Polish American fraternals, business, professional, industrial, cultural, educational, religious, and ideological societies, and included leaders in all walks of life.

Since the fraternal societies play an important part in the life of Americans of Polish descent, their chief officers were selected to head the Congress. Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish National Alliance was elected president of the Polish American Congress, Inc., while Joseph L. Kania, president of the Polish Roman Catholic Union became its first treasurer, and Honorata Wolowska, president of the Polish Women's Alliance was the first secretary.[53]

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53. First Polish American Congress Convention in Buffalo, N.Y., May 28-30, 1944, at which the writer was present as a delegate.

Out of the Polish American Congress came the American Committee for the Resettlement of Polish D.P.'s. This committee has been instrumental in resettling 16,000 Polish displaced persons and ex-Polish soldiers from England in this country. The Polish Immigration Committee of New York, to which the Polish American Congress pays a monthly remittance, has been successful in bringing in 12,500 more Polish D.P.'s to begin life anew in a free world.[54]

Headed by Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress, delegations have met with Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower to plead the cause of a free and democratic Poland and to oppose the terms of the Yalta agreement; presented the cause for an independent and integral Poland to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in the fall of 1945; Rozmarek and three other members of the executive board of the Polish American Congress attended the Paris Conference in 1946 and personally

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54. Report of President Charles Rozmarek at Third Convention of Polish American Congress, Inc., Atlantic City, May 30, 1952.

conferred with leaders and diplomats of democratic countries in Paris and London where they presented the viewpoint of Americans of Polish origin.

Mr. Rozmarek, speaking on behalf of the Polish American Congress, has testified before Congressional committees considering legislation to admit displaced persons into this country, which helped the formulation and passage of the U.S. Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the amended D.P. Law of 1950.[55] The Polish American Congress has also worked for the creation of the Congressional Committee for the Investigation of the Katyn Massacre.

Most recently, Mr. Rozmarek, the eleven Polish American Congressmen, and Rt. Rev. Msgr. Felix Burant, President of the Polish Immigration Committee have been instrumental in influencing the passage in the Congressional subcommittee of the emergency immigration legislation which would permit the admission of 240,000 immigrants above quotas to relieve the refugee problem in Western Europe

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55. K. Piatkiewicz, "The PNA 5th Ranking Fraternal Organization", article in Zgoda, Chicago, vol. 69, no. 22, issue of November 1, 1951, p. 2, col. 8.

and to ease the problem of overpopulation. It is believed a major share of the 240,000 quota would permit thousands more Polish displaced persons and soldiers who risked their lives Za Wolnosc Wasza i Nasza (For Your Freedom and Ours).[56]

From its inception as an organization, the PNA has proved itself to be an American institution, furthering American ideals of sound business and fair play, fostering in Americans of Polish origin pride in the culture and history of the Poland of their forefathers in accordance with the purposes of the founding of the Polish National Alliance, in 1880, at which time the founders declared in the preamble of their first Constitution:

> "These valiant pilgrims, ever mindful of their duties to their newly adopted country and their own nation, founded the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America for the purpose of forming a more perfect union of the Polish people in this country, insuring to them a proper moral, intellectual, economic, and social development; preserving the mother tongue as well as the national culture and customs; and promoting more effectually all movements

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56. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Felix Burant, Statement to the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, New York, P.I.C., 1953, p. 1-4.

> tending to secure, by all legitimate means, the restoration and preservation of the independence of the Polish territories in Europe. 57

On January 6, 1953, the PNA received national recognition for its philanthropic gifts to American education, by the following statement which was inserted in the Congressional Record by Hon. Thaddeus Machrowicz of Michigan:

> In connection with the recent movements in many States to stimulate American cooporate giving, the experience of the Polish National Alliance is interesting. Founded in Philadelphia in 1880, the Polish National Alliance, a fraternal benefit insurance corporation, now doing business in 32 States and the District of Columbia, went far beyond the stage of relatively modest gifts to education..... From 1912 through December 31, 1952, the Polish National Alliance has given to education the sum of $3,979,548.08. With the Polish National Alliance, the new coorporate giving-to-education program is very old indeed, and has been in practice for many years. If only America had more such corporations. 58

In reviewing its past, it has been demonstrated that the Polish National Alliance ranks with the highest of

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57. Constitution and By-Laws of the Polish National Alliance, Revision of 1951, Chicago, PNA, 1951, p. 1.

58. Arthur P. Coleman, "Philanthropic Giving by One American Corporation", statement in the Congressional Record, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953.

of American institutions which honor their foreign background without detracting anything from their intense devotion and loyalty to America.

CONCLUSION

The bulk of Polish immigration arrived in the United States before the first World War in a quest for economic improvement, not a haven of refuge from political persecution as was the case in the first half of the nineteenth century. This great influx of Poles after 1865 consisted of peasants and laborers who were employed as the lowest class of labor, and it was a time when "Polack" was used as a derogatory term. This, of course, tended to create among the Poles inferiority and a feeling of insecurity.

The second generation, born to an uneducated and impoverished family, was sensitively conscious of its status and frequently ashamed of its ancestry. Many of them changed their names and tried to sever every link with their antecedents. This is not an exclusive trait of the Poles. It is a trait inherent in all classes of lower culture.

The third generation, however, is definitely beginning to assert itself and there is much less tendency to change their Polish names and many young Poles today are

beginning to be proud of their nationality. They are becoming interested in Polish history in an endeavor to establish racial continuity. It is due to the fact that all of us are interested in "belonging". A Pole cannot identify himself with the Protestant Anglo-Saxon past and tradition. Hence, in order to establish his continuity, he has to discover something about his own race which will give him this self confidence and assurance.

It is amazing how many prominent Americans of Polish descent are being noticed in the press as participants in various social activities all over the country. The United States is made up of the contributions of all nationalities in the world, and if it is great, it owes its greatness to this very fact. The Poles undoubtedly have had a part in the making of this country and they can exercise a still greater influence if their faculties are released from racial inhibitions and insecurity.

Towards this end, the church, the school, the organization, and the press have been instrumental in leading the descendants of the pitch-burning Poles of the Jamestown Colony to become legislating Congressmen of the United States. The path has been long and circuitous.

As the largest Polish American organization in the world, including in its membership Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians without regard for their religious or political affiliations, but excluding those who are or have been members of any subversive agency, the Polish National Alliance has played an important part in orientating the immigrants to the customs and practices of their adopted country.

Historically, the Polish National Alliance dates back to the time when six societies -- four from Chicago, one from San Francisco, and one from Shenandoah, Pa. -- responded to the call of a patriotic Pole, Julius Andrzejkowicz, and got under way at its first convention in Chicago on September 20, 1880.

The first fraternal effort of the newly formed Polish National Alliance, voted at the initial convention, was the introduction of a death benefit department providing for the payment of $300. upon the death of a member and a similar sum in the event of the demise of a member's wife.

The principal result of the second convention, at which nine groups were represented, was the pledging of $659. for the creation and establishment of an official PNA organ,

Zgoda, which not only contained official organizational information, but it also brought news from one community to another and facilitated the organization of societies.

During this same convention, steps were undertaken, in agreement with the U.S. federal immigration office, to afford improved protection to the large number of Polish immigrants who were coming to the United States at that time. Beginning in 1911, a full time PNA employee was on duty at Ellis Island, and thousands of immigrants spent their first night in this new land in the Polish Immigration Home at 180 Second Avenue in New York City, which the PNA maintained from 1911 until just two years ago when the Home was sold to three PNA Councils in that area.

The gregarious Poles, seeking protection, solidarity, and friendship, formed thousands of societies, divided mainly by the emphasis on nationalism or religion in attaining a common goal. The Polish National Alliance represented the nationalistic element, while the Polish Roman Catholic Union and other societies with the same aims restricted their membership to Polish Catholics.

Old country partisanship on policies and philosophies regarding nationalism and religion arose within and between

the PRCU and the PNA which led to bitter strife, raging conflict, and much ill feeling, as well as contributing toward improvement and progress by keen competition. Since more than 90% of Poles are Catholics, this division is not a distinct cleavage; it appears to be more like a formality than an actuality, since the same people are members of one and the other organization at the same time, and officers and editors have been known to exchange their positions without any drastic change in their activity or thinking.

Original animosity between the PRCU and the PNA has now subsided almost completely. Both organizations are pledged to the support of Polish affairs, organizations, and personnel, both have libraries, administration buildings, and summer camps, both have extensive youth programs and they provide scholarships for students who need financial assistance for education. The PNA maintains a college while the PRCU has a museum.

Up to World War I, the Poles made contributions of political, financial, and military aid to Poland through their organizations, and this weighed heavily in favor of Polish independence and post-war reconstruction.

After the establishment of a free and independent Polish Republic and the consequent official distinction between Polish and American citizenship, the principle of dual allegiance and patriotism was difficult to maintain. A choice had to be made. Those in whom Polish patriotism was very strong returned to Poland, but the majority elected to stay in this country, accept American citizenship, and remain ardently loyal to their adopted country.

An examination of the activities of the Polish National Alliance after World War I showed that this organization has expended great efforts toward forming a more perfect union of Americans of Polish descent, insuring to them a proper moral, intellectual, economic and social development.

The field of education received a lion's share of attention from the PNA. Americanization, naturalization, and supplementary schools played an important role in giving the Pole a feeling of self confidence and assurance, while Alliance College has been the outstanding educational achievement. The Polish National Alliance points with pride to Congressman Thaddeus Majchrowicz; Walter J. Laska, president of Polish Falcons; Dr. Richard Bugielski at University of Buffalo;

Dr. Walter Podbielnik, at University of Rochester; Judge M. Gronczewski in Hamtramck, Michigan; Attorneys Joseph and Norbert Turek (father and son) of Elizabeth, N.J.; Dr. Schubert of Erie; Myron Steczynski, engineer of Chicago; Dr. A. Mallek of Pittsburgh; Dr. John Dziob of Providence, R.I.; Dr. John Kalin of Chicago; Joseph and Robert Wattras (father and son) of Monessen, Pa.; Joseph Furtek, Stnaley Borsa, H. Gonet, J. Mielcarek, M. Fronczak, Edward Bojarski, Joseph Koscielniak, Henry J. Kruszka, Henry Kwasnowski, Edward Lajca, Bernard Nowak, John Swalec, Edward Szatkowski, Edward Wienski, John Wolkowicz, and to the rest of the 10,000 alumni who received their educational background at Alliance College and who are now bringing credit and national recognition to Alliance College, to the Polish National Alliance, and to Polonia in general.

In the political field, the Polish National Alliance, affiliated with the Polish American Congress which it initiated, has been ably assisted by the eleven Congressmen of Polish descent. Americans have expressed their faith and confidence in these sons of Polish immigrants by electing John D. Dingell to Congress for his eleventh term; Thomas S. Gordon, Alvin E. O'Konski for the sixth time; Anthony Sadlak for the

fourth time; Clement Zablocki for the third time; John Kluczynski, John Lesinski, Thaddeus Majchrowicz, Edmund Radwan, and Alfred Sieminski for the second time, and added one more American of Polish descent by electing Edward J. Bonin to the U.S. Congress for the first time in the most recent national election.

It is a great pity that Americans had eyes that refused to see and ears that refused to listen when the PNA and the Polish American Congress warned our authorities in Washington against the diabolical treachery of Moscow. When the PNA warned against entering into any pacts with Communist countries, and when it warned against the subversive activities of foreign agents, and pointed out the tragic consequences of the Yalta and Potsdam Pacts, the PNA was maliciously smeared as Facist sympathizers. The day of awakening is here with its painful consequences. On the hills and fields of Korea, tens of thousands of our young men have died, and in America, foreign spies, because of American indifference, succeeded in stealing right from under our nose the secrets of our defense. These are the consequences of infamous pacts.

The history of the Polish National Alliance indelibly proves that the United States can always rely on the devotion and loyalty of its sons and daughters of Polish descent. The Poles are better versed by reason of their tradition, their history, and the knowledge of the psychology of the Nations that border upon Poland. The Americans of Polish extraction can't disassociate themselves from those Poles under Russian control because the same blood flows in their veins, and they have a feeling and an intuition which can be relied upon when dealing with the age old enemies of Poland like Russia. This good sense and judgement is available at any time to our government for the protection and safeguard of the United States.

No other country in the world is better suited to be the repository of all the world's cultural and material gems than the United States of America. To this most practical democracy ever developed by man came the Polish adventurers, political emigres, soldier-exiles and impovereished peasants. Fate planted them here and here they were destined to spread their roots, drawing from the soil of their adopted country all the nutrition it supplied, and giving their best in return.

The United States and its Allies won the war, but lost the peace at the diplomatic table -- hence, the future functions of the Polish National Alliance and the Americans of Polish descent is clearly outlined: to support the United Stated Government in its efforts to win a just and lasting peace in accord with the principle and freedoms expressed in the Atlantic Charter -- and the Poles are thoroughly experienced in fighting for freedom!

This, then, is the writer's report of research on the outstanding achievements of the Polish National Alliance and its accompanying reflection upon the life and activity of the Polish American community. In this treatment, imperfect and incomplete though it must be, the writer tried to outline the wide scope of interests and activities of many men and women of Polish descent, showing that the early Polish immigrants and their descendants are united in a common effort, inspired by a lasting devotion to their country of origin and to its great tradition, and at the same time sincerely desiring to make a constructive and loyal contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of the United States.

After reviewing the histories of the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish Women's Alliance, and the Polish Falcons, the writer ventures to make a suggestion for the coordination, not subordination, of all Polish American organizations into one Organization of Americans of Polish Descent. The writer would divide the major functions of these organizations thus:

Each organization would retain the core of its existence -- the mutual insurance system -- and conduct this commercial enterprise in as efficient and economical a method as possible, thus keeping the spirit of competition alive.

The Poles, as Catholics, can show no higher patriotism, strike no lustier blow for freedom than by laboring for the reign of Christ in our institution. To the Polish Roman Catholic Union, with its available source of priest-scholars and nun-teachers, this writer would delegate the intellectual, educational, and cultural aims of Polonia. This would include all the educational institutions, scholarship loans and stipends, arts and crafts exhibits, libraries, etc.

To the Polish Women's Alliance, the writer would assign the maintenance of charitable institutions, relief funds, campaigns, and drives. Orphanages, homes for the aged, hospitals, and all philanthropic endeavors would benefit greatly by the delicate and intuitive sense of women of all the super-territorial organizations who would work together in a concerted effort under the guidance of the Polish Women's Alliance.

Every Polish American organization has drawn its youth leaders, at one time or another, from the experienced ranks of the Polish Falcons. Therefore, the writer suggests that the training and development of the Polish American youth be delegated to the Polish Falcons who would organize the children and young adults into sport divisions, athletic teams, dramatic workshops, and choral societies.

To the Polish National Alliance would be left the enormous task of looking after the economic welfare of Polonia's members, and representing its political attitude. The PNA's share of work in this suggested coordinated program would be wide and varied, but by its long years of successfully protecting, assisting or representing its members in all fields of endeavor, the PNA is well qualified

to work for the economic development of Polish Americans in all professional and occupational levels.

By coordinating the political activity of all Polish American institutions under the helm of the Polish National Alliance, Polonia could exert a political influence that no candidate for public office would even think of by-passing.

To provide for the maintenance of these major divisions, a definite and uniform loading fund would have to be paid by each and every member, since all would be eligible to the same benefits in every field excluding the mutual insurance program which remains within the sole jurisdiction of the organization of origin.

The writer believes that Polonia would benefit in every way through a coordinated program of this type. Instead of each super-territorial Polish American organization attempting to maintain an educational institution, an orphanage, or a home for the aged by its own efforts, much more can be accomplished by concentrating the efforts and contributions of all the organizations toward one larger, more complete goal which will benefit the individual concerned, the Polish organizations, and Polonia.

It is further suggested that provisions be made to incorporate the activities of all the Polish American organizations with these four major divisions. In this way, Polonia will really be assured religious, moral, intellectual, economic and social development.

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ABSTRACT

The Polish National Alliance, eighth ranking American fraternal organization in both certificate holders and total insurance in force, was founded in 1880 in Philadelphia for two specific purposes: 1) to secure, by all legitimate means, the restoration and preservation of the independence of the Polish territories in Europe, and 2) to help the immigrant in every necessary phase of his life in America.

Today, the organization maintains 1651 subordinate lodges throughout thirty-two states and the District of Columbia, excluding only Alabama, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Montana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, North and South Carolina, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont and Wyoming.

The Alliance is more than a fraternal insurance society. It offers Americans of Polish descent a broad opportunity for social, civic, patriotic, humanitarian, and educational activities.

The Alliance also offers its youth facilities for athletic and sport development. It likewise sponsors folk

dancing, dramatic, literary and singing groups. It supports Polish language, history, and literature courses in several American colleges and universities. Many Polish National Councils and Lodges have their own community homes, halls, libraries, gymnasiums, bowling alleys and recreation facilities, as well as summer camps for boys and girls.

It maintains the Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, a four-year co-educational college, where members may obtain a college education at a nominal cost. Graduates from Alliance College are eligible for admission to the nation's leading medical, dental, and law schools, and many continue their training in engineering or in graduate work at universities of their choice. In the four years that Alliance has granted a baccalaureate degree, a number of alumni have made distinguished records in large university graduate divisions, including Columbia University, University of California, University of Pittsburgh, and Georgetown University.

The Polish National Alliance has organized and conducts evening English, Polish, and naturalization classes

throughout the country for its members. Educational loans are granted to members and their children, enabling them to obtain an education in any of the universities they may choose.

The seventeen leading Polish American fraternal societies in 1951 had 780,501 members; the Alliance, with 327,116 members in 1951, represented nearly one half of this total membership. The assets of the same seventeen societies amounted to $129,984,098. in 1951 and the Alliance again possessed almost half this amount with $60,688,243. In terms of youth membership, which is so important to the continuance, growth, and development of an organization, the Alliance with 54,965 juvenile members had more than half the total membership of 109,501 juveniles in all seventeen Polish American fraternal societies.

With such a background of achievements, it is no wonder that the Polish National Alliance was the first to initiate steps toward the organization of the Polish American Congress which was founded in Buffalo in 1944. And out of the Polish American Congress came the American Committee for the Resettlement of Polish Displaced Persons.

This committee has been instrumental in resettling 16,000 Polish displaced persons and ex-Polish soldiers from England in this country.

Members of the Polish National Alliance are extremely active in both of these organizations. There is not a single activity for a Polish cause that the Polish National Alliance does not participate in. The Alliance, however, does not forget that it is primarily an American organization. It works, therefore, towards civic betterment wherever its lodges exist and participates in all Red Cross, Community Chest and similar campaigns. The Polish National Alliance has given over ten million dollars to charitable and humanitarian causes.

In the forefront of all its laudable activities in recent years, stands its crusage against Communism. Led by its president, Charles Rozmarek, who is also the titular head of the Polish American Congress, and by its Censor, the Hon. Blair F. Gunther, Judge of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania and chairman of the American Committee for Resettlement of Polish Displaced Persons, the Polish National Alliance is leading Americans of Polish descent in the fight to preserve the American way of life. It is being ably

assisted in this struggle by Congressmen John Dingell, Thomas Gordon, Alvin E. O'Konski, Clement Zablocki, John C. Kluczynski, John Lesinski, Thaddeus Machrowicz, Edmund P. Radwan, Alfred D. Sieminski, Edward J. Bonin and Anthony Sadlak, all of whom, with the exception of the last two named, are members of the Polish National Alliance.

From pitch-burner in the Jamestown Colony to Congressman in the 83rd Congress of the United States in less than four centuries is an envious record, and the Polish National Alliance rightfully claims its share in this crowning achievement.