FIRST HALF CENTURY OF THE POLISH [illegible] IN CHICAGO, 1865-1915

by Stanley S. Jados

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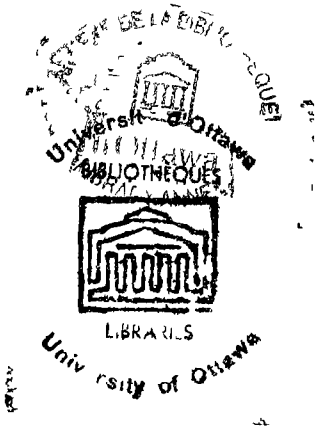

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INTRODUCTION

The half century between 1865-1915 marks the beginning of the Polish settlement in Chicago. The first part of this study is devoted to the Entrenchment Period 1865-1890. The pioneer Polish colony was established on the near northwest side of Chicago - a neighborhood of factories, tanneries and railroad tracks. It was a slum area even at that early date.

As Catholicism was a vital force in the life of the immigrant Poles, their primary concern was the establishment of a parish. The founding of their first parish in 1867 provided the necessary stimulus for concerted religious, social, political and cultural activities. The guiding hand in these endeavors was a group of intellectuals who had emigrated from Europe because of political or economic difficulties. Since almost all of the early immigrants considered America a place of temporary refuge, they felt the need for a supra-parish organization as a medium for preservation of Polish culture and nationalism. From these early parish social and fraternal units established in every Polish settlement throughout the nation, there arose in time a number of strong federated national societies, which are described in the second chapter.

The establishment of pioneer educational institutions for the youth and the adult cultural centers is discussed in

the third chapter, while chapter four is an exploration of the political consciousness and orientation of the Polish immigrants. In the last chapter of part I, the determination of the immigrants to attain economic stability is studied and analyzed.

Part II is concerned with the problems and processes of assimilation of the Polish immigrants. The first chapter is devoted to the examination of the contributions of the Polish press. While espousing civic enterprise and stimulating political participation, it simultaneously attempted to prevent assimilation and Americanization of the immigrants. In the following chapter, the emergence and development of the Polish-American society is explored as is its gradual social stratification. Since the Socialist and the Labor movements aroused genuine interest of Polish workers, they are included in this work. The Poles had a traditional love for the theatre, music and other aesthetic endeavors, therefore an effort is made to give a vivid picture of their cultural life. The last chapter is a study of the problem of dual allegiance and the participation of Poles in national issues. The attempts of the Polish-American segment to arouse American public opinion in support of the creation of an independent Polish state during the Russo-Japanese War and at the beginning of World War I is also examined. The

thesis concludes with the evaluation of the contributions of the Polish element to the growth and progress of Chicago.

PART I

THE ENTRENCHMENT PERIOD 1365-1890

CHAPTER I

FOUNDING OF PIONEER POLISH PARISHES

To the European immigrants Chicago, symbol of America's phenomenal growth, offered political and religious asylum and economic salvation. Clanish, ignorant of American language and customs, they established a settlement for all purposes isolated from the rest of the community, almost oblivious to the environmental surroundings. The Poles, like the Germans, Italians, Scandinavians and Asiatics, constituted islands of humanity in the sprawling, unwielding city of Chicago. Psychological, political and idealistic changes had difficulty in penetrating the walls of resistance.

Determination to preserve their nationalistic spirit, overpopulation, scarcity of land and low wages were responsible for large emigration from Polish territories[1]. The subtly worded advertisements of the American railroads, land companies and European steamship agencies further stimulated this mass exodus[2]. In addition many peasants had been

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[1] Report of the Immigration Commission, Senate Document, No. 747, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 12, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911, p. 56.

[2] J. E. JENKS and J. LAUCK, The Immigration Problem, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1911, p. 81. In Galicia alone, 500 to 600 agents representing two leading steamship lines solicited passengers to America.

dispossessed from their land.

> The fear of falling from the social position of a peasant to that immeasurable inferior of a day laborer was the great spur which drove over the seas alike the Slovak, the Pole and the Ruthenian[3].

Political insecurity and obscurity were but minor factors.

The first Polish immigrants arrived in Chicago about 1833. Election returns indicated that two Polish votes were cast in the mayoralty election five years later. By 1865, the Polish population had increased to approximately 1,500. Prior to World War I, 79.1 percent of Polish immigrants were of peasant stock while 20.9 percent were of urban environment. Their backwardness, lack of culture and stubborn resistance to new environment were due to this predominantly peasant background[4].

> In the Polish colonies in America, there was no educated class; the proportion of immigrants with higher education was always small, for America did not offer a great opportunity of more advancement to them as to the manual workers (...) definite pattern of immigration exists between small farms where a peasant must add to his income by outside work, while in highly industrial districts there is very little or no emigration to America[5].

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[3]E. J. BALCH, "Immigration from Galicia", in Charities, Vol. 16, issue of May 5, 1906, p. 179.

[4]Mieczysław SZAWLEWSKI, Wychodztwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy Ossolinskich, 1924, p. 16.

[5]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1918, Vol. 5, p. XII.

The rapidly expanding local industries welcomed the arrival of European peasants. Thus their economic status had improved[6]. However, they could find no outlet for their social, religious and cultural expression in this new and strange environment. In 1864, the local ecclesiastical authority provided a place of worship for them at Halsted and Dekoven Streets. The Poles were reluctant to attend this church, now designated as a Slovanian Parish, as it was some distance away from their settlement. Some months later the Saint Joseph parish near La Salle Street and Chicago Avenue was established. It attracted a number of more prominent Poles including the Dyniewicz family who had founded the first Polish publishing house in Chicago. A Jesuit, Father Szulak, had been assigned to this church to administer the religious needs of the Poles. The Chicago Poles had heard of Father Leopold Moczygęba, pastor of the first Polish parish in the United States at Panna Marya, Texas. Through the determination of Peter Kiełbassa, a former Texan, they were able to persuade Father Moczygęba to come to Chicago in 1864. It was agreed that he would stay only long enough to hear Easter confessions.

The absence of a Polish priest in the community had brought about a marked demoralization among the immigrants.

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[6]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Loc. cit., Vol. 5, p. 19.

The activities of the Masons had made a noticeable change in their religious zeal. To the peasants, the political freedom of the new environment connoted religious and moral license. Unlike in Europe, there were no priests here who disciplined them for neglecting their religious duties[7]. It must be added that a priest among the Poles was not only considered a religious leader but a teacher, economic and political advisor, disciplinarian and protector as well.

The leaders of the local Polish colony were determined to establish a permanent parish of their own. In the founding of the pioneer Polish parish actually two parishes must be studied since they came into existence by the determined efforts of a single group of immigrants and constituted the whole history of the early Polonia[8].

It must be understood that the pioneers of Saint Stanislaus parish came from three different parts of partioned Poland and represented three levels of culture or decided lack of it; hence much of the friction and disunity

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[7]Mieczysław SZAWLEWSKI, Op. cit., p. 42-44.
An average of 3.53 boarders were living with 48.4 percent of the families. This in addition to gambling and intemperance increased demoralization.

[8]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Chicago, Dyniewicz, 1912, p. 65.
"Since the parish is the basis of all or any organization, the priest must be well educated, lead examplary life by which he could influence moral being of the people. He must be tolerant, he must be a leader, should be a supporter and friend of Democratic ideals and not mix into politics".

was due to a feeling of sectionalism and the superiority complex of each group. Those from Russian Poland had been subjected to the indoctrination of the Orthodox Church, restricted in the use of their mother tongue, and denied educational opportunities for over half a century. Their lukewarm attachment to Catholicism was understandable. The higher degree of education had made it inevitable that the Austrian and Prussian Poles would early assume leadership in the Polish colony. These geographic factors were chiefly responsible for much disorganization in the period studied.

In 1864 under the leadership of Peter Kiołbassa, the more conservative element organized a Saint Stanislaus Society for the purpose of establishing a parish. Two years later, it was reorganized into a mutual benefit insurance group. The unanimity of purpose lacking among the Poles was manifested when the less conservative element simultaneously established the Gmina Polska, modeled upon the old Slavic commune. Friction based on misconception of purpose was responsible for much misunderstanding between these two groups. Since the local bishop could not provide a priest to organize and administer their parish, Peter Kiołbassa in the name of the Saint Stanislaus Society began correspondence with the Superior General of the Resurrection Congregation in Rome. In a letter written in 1869, Kiołbassa summed up the

condition of the Polish immigrants here:

> Many Poles are tradesmen, some are common laborers unloading boats and trains and earn $1.50 to $3.00 per day. They all live in one (sic) neighborhood, and 100 families have their own homes. The immigrants from Wielko Polska calling themselves Szlachta Polska do not care for the Catholic religion and call us stupid peasants and bigots. They are forming an organization called Gmina Polska with 10 members. Saint Stanislaus Society was organized on June 3, 1866, with 20 members and now we have 60 members. $4.00 is paid each member in case of illness and we buried two members at the cost of $45.00 each. We bought a flag; on one side is a picture of Saint Stanislaus while on the other there is a picture of a sick person with a priest at his bedside. The flag cost us $300. The land for the Church cost us $1,700 of which we have paid $650 already and must pay the balance in four years. Everything would be well if we had a priest[9].

Although the Saint Stanislaus parish was organized in 1867, the building of the church did not begin until two years later. The church designed by a local Polish architect, Joseph Petruszek, was built of wood, forty feet wide, eighty-five feet long and had an eighty-five foot steeple. It was an imposing structure for the poor community and was completed on November 15, 1869, at a cost of $6,865.00, excluding plastering and painting. Temporarily Father Szulak was appointed administrator of the new parish. During the next month Bishop Foley, Diocesian Ordinary, appointed Reverend Joseph Juszkiewicz, pastor of Saint Stanislaus

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[9]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, 1905, Vol. 8, p. 142.

Kostka parish. The blessing of the new church together with confirmation of thirty parishioners was performed by the Bishop on June 18, 1871[10]. The occasion was not only of great importance to the Polish community but did much to reduce the factional strife in the colony.

Misunderstanding over the finances and the direction of the new parish developed almost immediately. The founders of the parish believed that they and not the pastor were to control the finances of the parish. Proper evaluation of this controversy was impossible since no system of accounting was maintained. Much information gained by the writer from interviews of descendents of the founders was biased and based on hearsay. The pastor was accused of fraternalization with a select group and misappropriation of money[11]. There was evidence that Father Juszkiewicz was performing his priestly duties toward the complete satisfaction of Bishop Foley. It appeared that the dissatisfied element was led by some members of the Unina Polska, certain saloon keepers who were retained by the Masons to foment disloyalty to the

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[10] Album Pamiątkowy: Złoty Jubileusz Najstarszej Polskiej Parafii św. Stanisława Kostki w Chicago 1867-1917, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1917, p. 10.

[11] Wacław KRUSZKA, Op. Cit., Vol. 9, p. 11-12. The pastor had been accused of misappropriating $2,000 dollars. It is possible that some of this money was donated to Bishop Foley without the knowledge of the parishioners.

Church[12]. The ill feeling reached climax one night when Father Juszkiewicz was brutally beaten by a group of unidentified assailants. Although the police investigated, the culprits were never apprehended. Collapse of the parish seemed imminent and with it the progress of Polonia. Fortunately at this time, Father Adolph Bakanowski, a missionary of the Resurrection Congregation who had worked among the Poles in southwestern United States, arrived in Chicago on his way to Rome. Reluctant to become involved in the misunderstanding at Saint Stanislaus parish, he resided in the Stasch family home some distance from the turbulent scene. Due to the persistant refusal of the parishioners to retain Father Juszkiewicz, the bishop requested Father Bakanowski to assume temporary administration. To prevent more serious consequences and to pacify the people, he agreed. In due time, acceptance of Saint Stanislaus as a Ressurection Mission was received from Rome, and with it permission for Father Bakanowski to remain in Chicago. At first the new pastor appeared to be no more successful than his predecessor.

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[12]The Polish saloon keeper was a man of great importance to those in the community. Not only was he considered a well-informed person whose advice was heeded, but he also acted as banker, political oracle and interpreter. Many immigrants entrusted money to him so that he could arrange transportation for some of the immigrants' relatives who were still in Poland. Sometimes the saloon keeper did this through a New York Bank, who paid him a commission, but sometimes he deposited the money to his own account and informed the immigrants that negotiations had failed.

Heated arguments and unreasonable suspicions attended every parish activity. Some members of the parish had begun to boast openly of their Masonic affiliation, ridiculing all efforts of the more docile to maintain and expand the parish. It appears that while some of them had been employed by the Masons to cause dissension, others were given free intoxicants by saloon keepers who feared the moral influence of the priest. Among these agents of hate and dissension was a teacher of English, a Pole educated in England, who although a Catholic had become a Protestant and an avowed enemy of Catholicism. Ignorant of his religious convictions, Father Bakanowski retained him as personal tutor. The lessons in English soon led into discourses on philosophy and theology. Impressed by the Pastor's piety and forceful exposition of the dogmas of the Church, the tutor revealed his true religious convictions and with the help of the priest renounced Protestantism. The tutor's deathbed conversion and christian burial incited the Masons to stronger action. Inasmuch as the many threats did not silence Father Bakanowski, he was offered twenty dollars a month to discontinue his anti-Masonic attacks. Since he could not be bribed or intimidated, his life was threatened. On one occasion he unexpectedly appeared at a secret Masonic meeting and warned those present that he would resort to use

of firearms if any attempts were made upon his life. He strengthened his position by display of a loaded revolver. The plan succeeded admirably and for the remainder of his stay in Chicago he was unmolested[13].

A change in the direction of the wind spared the Polish community from the Chicago Fire of 1871. The parish cared for over three hundred fire refugees. The smallpox epidemic which followed the fire, seriously affected the community. The situation would have become more disastrous had it not been for the untiring work and sacrifice of Father Bakanowski, who not only administered religious comfort but aided the only Polish doctor in the community in arresting and preventing the spread of disease.

The number of parishioners increased so rapidly with new arrivals from Poland that the superiors in Rome sent Reverend J. Wołłowski as assistant. Early in 1872, plans were discussed for the enlargement of the church or construction of one that could accommodate all parishioners.

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[13]Adolph BAKANOWSKI, Moje Wspomnienia, Lwów, Drukarnia XX. Zmartwychwstańców, 1913, p. 74.
The dying tutor called his daughter to his bedside and exacted a promise that she would inform his Mason associates of his dying wish for a christian burial. After some difficulty, the priest secured protection of police at the funeral since he invited the Masons providing their customary insignia were not worn. Their absence at the cemetery and funeral was used to show people that Masons desert their own. After he was transferred to London, two attempts were made on his life during Mass. When a bomb planted inside a candle failed, an armed assailant fired thrice but missed. An American Mason was believed to have engineered the plot.

The matter was left in the hands of two parish organizations, the old Saint Stanislaus Society and a newer organization, the Saint Joseph Society. After many meetings punctuated with bitter discussions and lengthy deliberations, it was finally decided that another parish was the solution to the overcrowded conditions. These plans were temporarily postponed when Father Bakanowski was recalled to Rome in January of 1873 until a permanent pastor, Reverend Vincent Barzynski, was appointed a year later.

With Father Barzynski a new era began for the Poles. A man of exceptional organizational ability, untiring in his efforts, motivated by patriotism, love of the people and a desire to firmly entrench the Resurrectionists in this locality, he became an important factor and a stimulating force of Polish progress not only in Chicago but throughout the United States[14]. The Illinois Staats Zeitung, a Chicago German newspaper, compared him to Pope Gregory and Emperor Augustus because of his iron will, complete fearlessness and unbelieveable energy[15]. His outstanding abilities were without doubt responsible for the inauguration of significant religious and nationalistic achievements among the Poles.

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[14]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Loc. cit., Vol. 1, p. 71.

[15]Wacław KRUSZKA, Op. cit., Vol. 3, P. 56-57.

His determination to dominate Polish Catholics and extend the control of his religious community over them became the basis of inter-parochial struggle for over two decades which almost precipitated a significant desertion of Poles from the Roman Catholic Church. A contemporary, Peter Kiołbassa, explained the situation that existed and which was partially responsible for the struggle between Father Barzynski and the movement for non-Resurrectionist controlled parishes:

> People are common and uncultured. The intelligentsia a rabble, a street mob which only blasphemes and demoralizes the people. We can add to this group priests like Wieczorek, Szlorszy and Konsorty. No wonder a good priest has a hard time of it (...) In America priests are of a very low calibre except Fathers Barzynski, Dąbrowski, Moczygęba and Zwiardowski[16].

He failed to add, however, that it was precisely this common and uncultured element which Father Barzynski used so skillfully and often underhandedly in his attempt to control the Chicago Poles. Nothing escaped the attention of this remarkable person. Every activity, religious, educational and economic was undertaken to promote the interests of the Resurrection Community and the Chicago Polonia, in that order. His newspaper greatly publicized these ventures[17].

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[16] Wacław KRUSZKA, Loc. cit., Vol. 3, P. 22.

[17] Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 195, 326.
Scandal attributed to mismanagement of $400,000 deposited in the parish bank caused his superiors in Rome to recall him to explain his conduct. In 1897 a special commission came to examine the church records. Bishop Foley told them, "Whatever he does is good. It is my business".

In a single year, 1874, he built a rectory, a school and quarters for the Nuns of the Notre Dame who were entrusted with the education of the children[18]. Since these nuns were not Polish, there was much apprehension, initiated by Father Barzynski, that the children would learn too much English. This was an example of his enterprising intellect whereby he kept alive the ideals of nationalism.

The Polish community in the vicinity of Ashland Avenue and 16th Street had a mission church served by the priests from Saint Stanislaus. This settlement was large enough to support a parish priest and in 1875, the new parish of Saint Adalbert was organized for them by Father Barzynski. In the years that followed, he established five new parishes as the need arose.

Soon a new Saint Stanislaus Church, one of the largest and most imposing structures in the city, was erected at an expenditure of over one hundred thousand dollars[19]. The parish grew so rapidly and became the largest parish in the United States, requiring the services of fourteen priests. The religious disposition of the

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[18] Album Pamiątkowy Parafii Św. Stanisława, Op. cit., p. 15-16.

[19] Wacław KRUSZKA, Loc. cit., Vol. 9, p. 69.
Father Kruszka listed the parish financial report of 1875 showing an income of $3,263 and an expenditure of $2,716. In view of the small income, it is difficult to understand how all these parochial activities could be undertaken.

people is best described by a Jesuit missionary who participated in a religious revival at Saint Stanislaus Parish.

> Our greatest mission took place in Chicago in the church of Saint Stanislaus. This lasted from the 7th to 23rd of November, 1885. The Superior General was Father Alexander Mathaushek (sic) and I was his sole companion. At the sermons from 10,000 to 12,000 people were present. There were 25 Polish secular priests helping us in the confessional. We heard confessions up to eleven o'clock at night. Nearly all the confessions were general and counted over 10,000. All the priests declared that they had never witnessed so great a mission. Through the grace of God many remarkable conversions were made both from sin and apostacy. The Most Reverend Archbishop visited the mission three times. He came twice for the administering of Confirmation, conferring that sacrament on 2,000 men. He came the third time to give apostolic benefiction[20].

In 1889, the construction of a ninety-five thousand dollar school began at Saint Stanislaus. It was a four story building containing sixteen classrooms, four large meeting halls and the largest parochial auditorium in the city, seating about four thousand people. To encourage secondary education, Father Barzynski founded the Saint Stanislaus College the following year. The institution was really never more than a high school. Another school building was added later to accommodate the increased enrollment.

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[20]L. SEBASTYANSKI, Labors Among the Poles and Bohemians, the Woodstock Letters, Howard, Nebraska, Kelso, 1886, Vol. 15, p. 75-76.

On May 2, 1899, death interfered with future plans of Father Barzynski. The parish had lost its great leader and the Poles in America lost a man who had done much to advance Polish culture and ideals. As had been stated at the beginning of this chapter, the Saint Stanislaus Parish served not only as a religious center for Chicago Poles but had been the fulcrum of all Polish activities. The former pastor of Saint John Cantius parish, Reverend John Kasprzynski was named the new pastor. The Resurrection Congregation selected Father Francis Gordon, a young man of exceptional abilities, to replace Father Barzynski as builder and organizer.

A gymnasium was erected in 1900 for the young people of Saint Stanislaus parish but because of the urgent need for more classrooms, it was converted into a school in the following year. Additional classrooms were needed in 1902, so the old school was rebuilt at a cost of $22,650, making a total of twenty-four classrooms available for elementary education. Father Gordon organized the People's University during the next year and lectures were given on Polish History, Polish culture, religion and citizenship. Members of the Resurrection Congregation, leading Polish journalists and other professional men conducted the classes. The demise of Father Barzynski did not retard the growth and progress of Polonia. In fact his death removed much of the factional friction and opposition to the Resurrectionist Fathers.

When Father Francis Gordon was appointed pastor of Saint Stanislaus, another era of progress was inaugurated. From all indications it was even more progressive and more constructive than the Barzynski period. A serious fire delayed the building program planned by the new pastor. On December 21, 1906, fire destroyed the large modern school building , the library containing over one thousand volumes, and all records of early parish activities. The parish suffered a loss of over one hundred fifty thousand dollars for uninsured property. Over three thousand children were without educational facilities. Classes were conducted in the upper and lower churches. The nuns were temporarily housed in Saint Mary's Hospital building while the church societies held their meetings in the college building and in the offices of the Polish daily Chicagoski. By March 20, 1907, construction of a new school, convent and auditorium began. Led by Father Gordon, the parish societies began feverish activity to raise the necessary funds to finance this new project. In August, the nuns were able to move into their new home and in December even their private chapel was completed. The school building five stories high contained fifty-four classrooms, three large meeting halls and other accommodations. Fully equipped the school cost two hundred sixty thousand dollars. Generosity of the parishioners can

ascertained from the fact that a single collection to rebuild the school amounted to $40,079.54. In 1908, the new auditorium, the finest in the city, was completed. The buildings were dedicated by Archbishop Quigley and by the Vice-President of the United States, Charles Fairbanks, who came to Chicago for this occasion[21].

When the need for strong aggressive leadership had arisen in the Immaculate Heart of Mary parish, its organizer Father Gordon was transferred there in 1909. Saint Stanislaus continued to serve as the heart of Polonia under the pastorage of Father Rogalski. New buildings and improvements were added yearly; new interests and activities developed. In 1914, the parish school became one of the first to introduce a two year commercial course. During the following years Father Francis Dembinski became pastor and inaugurated war time activities designed to strengthen the cause of Poland's independence. At Saint Stanislaus as in all Polish parishes, plans were formulated to collect large sums of money to be used when Poland was liberated.

The Holy Trinity Parish established in 1873 was located only a few blocks from the pioneer parish. As had been mentioned earlier, this parish developed as a result of

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[21] Album Pamiątkowy Parafii Św. Stanisława, Loc. cit., p. 23-29.

overcrowded conditions at Saint Stanislaus[22]. The plan of organization was undertaken by the Saint Joseph Society with the approval of the bishop. A plot of land was purchased for ten thousand dollars and the land was deeded to the Society. Due to the proximity of the two churches friction developed which eventually led to bodily assaults between the members of Saint Stanislaus and Saint Joseph Societies[23]. Inasmuch as Bishop Foley favored the establishment of a new parish, Father John Wołłowski of Saint Stanislaus aided the Saint Joseph Society in the collection of funds for the new church. Members of the founding Society constructed the church themselves since they could not afford the services of professional builders. Bishop Foley blessed the new church privately in order not to increase the ill feelings between the two parishes. As a matter of record, the church was never publicly blessed. With the exception of two parcels of land retained to meet unexpected expenses, the Saint Joseph Society turned the deed of the property over to the Bishop in conformity with the ruling of the Baltimore Council[24].

Although it was a separate entity, the new parish was considered a mission church by the priests and parishioners of Saint Stanislaus. The underlying cause of

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[24] J. A. BIRKHAUSER, History of the Church, New York, F. Pustet, 1888, p. 727.

all misunderstanding was the division in authority over the parish finances, the responsibility being shared by the pastor and the parish treasurer. Each had control of specific sources of income and the true situation of the parochial finances was unknown. This resulted in accusations against both treasurer and the priest. All attempts of Father Barzynski for reconciliation met with rebuff and suspicion. These apprehensions were based on common knowledge that Father Barzynski considered the new parish merely a mission and planned to control it. The Saint Stanislaus faction called for closing of Holy Trinity Church and the building of one large new church to accommodate all. This plan was supported by some members of Holy Trinity but it appeared that they were primarily new parishioners who had contributed nothing to the organization and building of the church. Adding to the confusion was a petition circulated by Father Barzynski demanding the dissolution of Holy Trinity as a separate parish. It had been signed by most of the parishioners of Saint Stanislaus and many of those from Holy Trinity. Simultaneously the opposition circulated a petition demanding complete autonomy. It was further stipulated that as long as their pastor was a member of the Resurrection Congregation all parish finances would be entrusted to a parish treasurer elected by the parishioners

and he alone would be responsible for the finances[25]. In the meantime, Father Barszynski had made plans to move Holy Trinity Church to Bradley Street and convert it into a school building. He failed due to the reluctance of civil authorities to issue a permit effecting such a transfer of property. Had he succeeded, he would have precipitated a major riot. Defeated in this attempt, he tried to convince the real estate firm of Sheldon and Bow, the mortgagee, that Holy Trinity parish would no longer exist and that the firm could dispose of the property. It was listed for auction in the English language papers as payments had been in arrears to the extent of one thousand five hundred dollars. To prevent legal complications, the realtors notified Andrew Kurr, president of the Saint Joseph Society, and offered to withhold the auction if the amount due was paid immediately. They promised to issue a clear title to them upon completion of all payments[26]. Kurr and other interested parishioners were able to raise the necessary sum and agreed to meet the remaining payments promptly. For the moment it appeared that normaley had returned. Unfortunately this was only a prelude to the tragedy that followed.

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[25] Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 14-17.

[26] It is impossible to explain the promise made by the realtors since the property had been assigned previously to Bishop Foley by the Saint Joseph Society.

Since the parishioners had assumed responsibility for the financial solvency of the parish, it was decided that all financial matters would be entrusted to the parish treasurer. On the first Sunday in Lent, 1874, the parish treasurer, Joseph Grajczyk, took possession of the weekly church collection. Informed by Father Barzynski of this latest development, the Bishop ordered the church closed. This precipitated a riot and many of the more informed members of Saint Stanislaus Church supported the position of Holy Trinity. It was one thing for the Poles to fight among themselves but they could not tolerate an outsider, even a bishop, interfering with what they considered their private affair.

Holy Trinity gained sympathizers not only among the Polish element but also other Catholic groups. The Bishop remained steadfast and the church remained closed for fourteen months. In the interim some parishioners attended the Saint Stanislaus Church where they were harangued by the Resurrectionist priests trying to defend and justify their position in this degrading episode. Many joined the adjacent German parish of Saint Boniface while some abandoned the Catholic Church in utter contempt. The closing of the church had a sobering effect upon most Poles. They realized that only through unity and solidarity was progressive action possible. The two factions decided to forget their differences

and work in unison for the welfare of the immigrant community. Besieged by delegations to reopen the church, the Bishop agreed as soon as he found a suitable priest to administer the parish. The negotiations between them became stagnant due to the insistance of the Bishop to give the parish to the Resurrectionist priests while the parishioners refused to accept them[27].

While this impasse occurred, Father Albert Mielcuszny from New York was visiting in the home of an influential Pole, publisher Dyniewicz. Some of the Chicago Poles had known Father Mielcuszny in Europe and they asked him to remain in Chicago. A new committee was dispatched to the Bishop suggesting that he appoint Father Mielcuszny as pastor of their parish[28]. Promising to consider the matter, he instructed the group to return the following day with the priest. Father Mielcuszny accompanied by the committee called upon the Bishop and presented his credentials. After a cursory examination, the Bishop dismissed the group saying

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[27]Wacław KRUSZKA, Loc. cit., Vol. 10, p. 38.

[28]Father Mielcuszny, born and educated in Prussian Poland, was ordained in 1860. He had been imprisoned for nine months by the authorities there for insulting the royal family. Because of his unrelenting opposition to the Prussianization of Poles, he was constantly moved about by church authorities, probably at the suggestion of the civil government who feared his influence over the subjugated people. To escape further persecution, he came to America. As pastor of a Polish parish in New York, he had some difficulty over the nationalistic tone of American hierarchy.

bruskly, "I do not know Father Mielouszyk and do not wish to know him[29]".

Rebuffed, the parishioners appealed to the Holy See. Three cables were dispatched before a favorable reply was received authorizing Father Mielcuszny to say Mass until such time as the ecclesiastical authority could conduct an investigation and terminate the issue. On April 24, 1877, the church was reopened. In a letter to his mother in Poland, Father Mielcuszny gave the following account of the incident:

> Having traveled 1,000 miles from New York, I stopped in Chicago. There are many Poles here who knew me back home. They have three churches here. The Bishop decided to close and destroy one of them. The Poles would not permit this to happen since it had cost them a lot of money and since it was built only two years ago. They asked me to help them and I agreed and caused a misunderstanding between the Bishop and myself. I reopened the church on Palm Sunday by the permission of the Pope. At least 1,000 people attend Mass each Sunday. They pay me $50.00 per month plus incidentals. I have been here two months. I have a choir here as good as the one in the Cathedral at Gniezno, but I do not know how the Holy Father will decide this issue. The Bishop considers me and my parishioners as fallen away from the church while I protest this and it is a source of trouble between us. The people are solidly behind me since the Bishop harmed them and would cause them to lose $20,000. Many parishioners have made loans to the church which they would lose, therefore, there is complaint, crying and cursing of the Bishop and one of the priests (Barzynski) who is helping the Bishop against me and my people[30].

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[29] Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 21-23.

[30] Ibid., p. 23-24.

The parish prospered, the mortgage was paid, the church redecorated, two new altars purchased and a new rectory was erected. The parish school which had been established in 1879 was in session although the enrollment suffered due to the unfair criticism of the opposition. The parents also feared that the parish would be dissolved at any time.

As a prerequisite to any settlement of the Holy Trinity question, the new prelate of Chicago, Archbishop Feehan, withdrew the privilege of hearing confession from Father Mielcuszny and ordered him to do penance. When this occurred in January of 1881, the priest refused to obey the Archbishop and was determined to gain complete control of the church property. The property had been deeded to the Bishop of Chicago, the parish committee, and Father Mielcuszny in equal shares. His conduct angered many of his parishioners who insisted that he renounce his legal claim to the parish property. His refusal resulted in civil litigation. Not to be outdone he instituted civil action against the parish. This matter was never adjudicated since Father Mielcuszny died of apoplexy on June 2, 1881. Although rumors of poisoning were widely circulated, the civil authorities were satisfied his sudden death was from natural causes. In order to prevent any incidents, the funeral was held at Saint

Adalbert Church with episcopal permission[31].

With the death of Father Mielcuszny, negotiations were reopened between the Archbishop and the parishioners. A pastor acceptable to the people was promised as soon as a clear title for the property in the name of the Catholic Bishop of Chicago was issued[32]. When the papers were ready, the Archbishop refused to accept them unless they would allow the church and rectory to be converted into an orphans' home or an annex of Saint Stanislaus Parish. He claimed his predecessor Bishop Foley had signed a ninety-nine year contract with the Resurrection Congregation. The provisions of this contract were never revealed. Father Szulak temporarily administered the parish. The parochial school was continued under the direction of Anthony Mallek with the approval of the Archbishop. The opposition from Saint Stanislaus continued to interfere and intensify the bad feeling between the people and the ecclesiastical authority. Another appeal was directed to the Pope. The first letter to Rome was dispatched on October 22, 1882, followed by the second on January 16, 1883. Both had been written by a Chicago attorney of Italian extraction. Receiving no reply to their solicitations, they prepared a petition signed by the

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[31] Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 25-28.

[32] Pamiętnik Parafii Świętej Trójcy: 1893-1918, Chicago, Komitet Jubileuszowy, 1918, p. 11.

outstanding citizens of all nationalities, sixty members of the state legislature, the governor of Illinois, the mayor of Chicago, and the United States congressmen from Illinois. It was accompanied by a letter from the State Representative of the thirteenth District, G. A. Klupp, and mailed on May 15, 1883, to William W. Astor, United States Ambassador to Italy, who would personally deliver it to the Holy Father. The Secretary of the American Legation, L. Richard, replied on June 27, 1883, acknowledging interest in this matter.

> In the temporary absence of Mr. Astor, I wish to inform you that the documents for the Holy Father have been forwarded unofficially through the rector of the American College to be delivered in person[33].

The Holy Trinity question began to interest the American press. Klupp succeeded in having the reporter of the Chicago Times examine the situation at first hand and a different viewpoint than had been given by the opposition appeared. Two days later, however, under the title Priest and People a new attack was launched against Holy Trinity. The matter was temporarily resolved when the priests of Saint Boniface supported Holy Trinity. Over three months

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[33] Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 31-32. The attempt to involve the Ambassador of the United States in this matter was undertaken foolishly. It would have been impossible for him to undertake the mission officially as this was a local church matter which in no way involved the relationship of America and the Vatican. At this time no official diplomatic representation existed between them.

had elapsed since an appeal was made to the Pope and no word had been received. Petitions were dispatched to the church dignitaries seeking their intercession. Many parishioners had come from Galicia, hence a memorandum was sent to the Papal Nuncio in Vienna. He promised to intercede for them with Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda. A committee called on Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee who was leaving for Rome. He promised to intercede.

Archbishop Feehan had been in Rome in 1883 and upon his return reopened the Holy Trinity issue. He was willing to reestablish the parish on two conditions; acceptance of a member of the Resurrection Congregation as pastor, and acknowledgment that the parish was only an annex of Saint Stanislaus Church. These conditions were presented at a special meeting called by the Archbishop and presided over by Vicar General Conway on April 23, 1884. The parishioners voted unanimously against both proposals. The status remained unchanged for the next five years. Archbishop Feehan again reopened negotiations. A week later on January 11, 1889, a clear deed to the parish property was given to him and he promised to assign a priest acceptable to the people of the parish[34]. Opening of the church was scheduled for March.

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[34]Perhaps his intentions were sincere, but due to pressure of the Ressurectionists, his promise was abandoned.

The expectations of the parishioners were changed to disappointment when they discovered that their new pastor was a Resurrectionist, Father Simon Kobrzynski. They had been duped. The new pastor was unpopular from the very beginning. The objection was not to his person but to the Congregation of which he was a member. Such mental attitude precluded any amicable relationship. He informed the people that money expended in past negotiations would not be liquidated by the parish treasury. This provoked resentment among those who had advanced loans and had been promised repayment from the normal parish income. In a sermon one Sunday in August, the pastor threatened to decorate the entrance with mourning bunting to humiliate the parishioners if they did not become more cooperative and submissive. Only the quick thinking of the teacher-organist, Anthony Mallek, prevented a serious riot in the church and bodily harm to the pastor[35]. The Archbishop ordered the church closed for the third time, and ignored all appeals for its reopening.

In November, a committee consisting of Anthony Mallek, and Joseph Gillmeister left for Washington, District of Columbia, to see Archbishop Satolli, the special representative of the Pope sent to America to officiate at the

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[35] Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy, Loc. cit., p. 36-37.

dedication of the Catholic University of America. From a Chicagoan of Italian descent, they had received a letter of introduction to the Italian Consul in Baltimore and through him they met Prospero Schiaftino, a relative of Cardinal Jacobini, an influential Roman Prelate. Through intercession of Schiaftino and the good offices of Cardinal Gibbons, they received a promise from Archbishop Satolli that he personally would present their grievances to the Prefect of the Propaganda. For the next seven months no word was heard[36].

It was now determined to send a committee directly to Rome. The more prosperous contributed necessary funds and a committee of Jabłonski and Orajczyk left for Rome early in 1890. They met with Cardinal Jacobini who accused them of lukewarm attachment to their faith. Cardinal Simeoni was sympathetic but explained that the Propaganda did not wish to interfere with matters which should be settled by the local bishop. The Pope was too ill to see them and Cardinal Ledochowski was not seeing anyone. The mission proved fruitless.

In the meantime Archbishop Satolli returned to the United States as Papal Legate and another committee was dispatched to see him. He promised to come to Chicago to

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[36] Pamiętnik Parafii Świętej Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 14

examine the situation. On June 5, 1893, Archbishop Satolli arrived at Holy Trinity, celebrated Mass and by this act officially reopened the church. The struggle was over. The persistence and determination to fight for what they knew was a just cause had won them independence from the Resurrection Congregation. At the direction of the Papal Legate the parish was entrusted to the Holy Cross Fathers of South Bend, Indiana.

Father W. Czyżewski was appointed temporary administrator to examine the condition of the parish and appoint a responsible parish committee. His findings indicated that the parishioners were loyal and moral people and that the indebtedness of the parish amounted to approximately ten thousand dollars. This had been expended in an attempt to win autonomy. At the suggestion of Archbishop Satolli, Father Casimir Sztuczko of the Holy Cross Congregation was appointed pastor[37].

The new pastor did not make a favorable impression. He was a very young man, ordained only two years earlier, small in stature and frail. The opposition began to circulate stories that the parish would be closed in a few weeks.

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[37]Father Sztuczko was born in Poland in 1867. He arrived in America at the age of fifteen, was educated by the Holy Cross Fathers and ordained at Notre Dame in 1891. He was the antithesis of Father Barzynski. Father Sztuczko was a man of great piety, humble, charitable, completely devoted to his calling. The Polish Independent Church would have absorbed many dissatisfied Poles had it not been for his aid.

In a short while, however, the parishioners found this young, inexperienced priest energetic and pious, an exceptionally gifted administrator, a man whom everyone learned to love and respect. One of his first important decisions, which gained general approval among his parishioners and other Poles, was to extend an invitation to the Polish National Alliance to hold its convention at Holy Trinity parish. The Polish National Alliance composed of more liberal and progressive immigrants had been considered a leftist organization because of malicious propaganda. The gravity of these misrepresentations was evidenced by the fact that the Ordinaries of two dioceses had forbidden Poles to join this organization under paid of excommunication[38]. The convention composed of delegates representing all Polish communities in the United States brought much valuable publicity to the Holy Trinity parish.

A number of parish societies for the youth and the adults was organized by the pastor. The parish was a beehive of activity, providing social intercourse for the people and monetary aid to the church. In April, 1894, the parish committee determined to build a new school[39]. Because only

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[38]Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 45-48.

[39]Unlike other Catholic Churches in Chicago, Holy Trinity Parish Committee decided all important parochial issues and expenditures. It does so even to this day.

four thousand dollars had been collected for this purpose, the Archbishop refused to permit its construction. Father Sztuczko appealed to his parishioners and in three days an additional three thousand dollars were collected. Permission for construction was granted with the provision that the parishioners would individually assume financial responsibility. The three story building provided accommodations for 720 students in its twelve classrooms plus other facilities. It necessitated an expenditure of six thousand dollars. The school enrollment increased so rapidly that in five years additional facilities had to be provided.

In May of that same year, Archbishop Feehan paid an official visit to the parish and was satisfied that the people were orderly and their pastor a man of virtue. In 1895, the parish committee agreed to undertake remodeling of the church. Each of the twenty-six societies assumed responsibility for financing some part of the project. One purchased a new bell, another new vestments for the church, each in like manner completed its share of the undertaking. These church societies were the backbone of the parish[40].

During the following years, Father Sztuczko was invited by the Polish National Alliance to dedicate its new home. This was a great honor extended to so young a priest.

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[40] Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 53-74.

In his dedicatory address he referred to this organization as the heart of Polish culture and spirit in America. He described their new home as a focal point of all Polish activity. Although severly criticized by the Polish Roman Catholic Union adherents he had made a significant impression on the more liberal element and regained many Poles from the Independent Polish National Church. In 1900, the parish had to pay $7,500 which was claimed by some parishioners as money advanced to the parish during the period of interregnum. This was actually only half of the amount which the Apostolic Delegate ruled must be paid. The other half was paid by the Saint Stanislaus Parish[41].

Four years later the parish was host to a convention of delegates representing all Polish parishes in the United States. The call was issued after the Bishops of the Milwaukee and the Marquette Dioceses ordered English language used in Polish churches and in the teaching of catechism. It was Father Sztuczko who took the initiative to prevent this attempt at nationalistic extinction rallying others to action. The plan succeeded and the Polish language was retained[42].

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[41] Pamiętnik Parafii Świętej Trójcy, Op. cit., p. 30.

[42] Zygmunt STEFANOWICZ, Złota Księga Pamiątkowa Związku Rzymsko Katolickiego 1873-1923, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1923, p. 32.

By 1902, the parish was debt free and plans were made for construction of a new church. Improved real estate had to be purchased as vacant land was not available, necessitating an expenditure of forty-three thousand dollars. Excavation began in April, 1904, and the structure cost an additional $183,873.49. A loss of five thousand dollars was suffered when a local bank in which the church funds were located collapsed. The parish served as nerve center for the Polish Catholic Congress which was expressly organized to petition for Polish Bishops. The consecration of Father Paul Rhode as Bishop in 1908 was the direct result of pressure exerted by this organization[43].

The building program continued under capable leadership of the pastor. The construction of a new school was begun in 1908. In addition to all these parochial activities over fifteen thousand dollars were collected that year to aid flood victims and orphans in Poland. The parish donated seven thousand dollars toward the founding of the Polish orphanage of Saint Hedwig. Two years later, twenty-nine thousand dollars were appropriated to purchase property to house the newly established Holy Trinity High School and in 1911 the Kosciuszko Public School was purchased from the city

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[43] Wacław KRUSZKA, Siedm Siedmioleci, Milwaukee, Drukarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 380, 415-416, 443-445, 449, 670, 788, 814, Vol. 2, p. 700.

for thirty thousand dollars to provide more space for the rising enrollment of high school students. Three years later a new rectory and a parish club house were completed representing an outlay of approximately ten thousand dollars. The final achievement of this period was the erection of the new school building completed in 1916 at a cost of over a quarter million dollars[44].

With the beginning of World War I, the parish cooperated with regional and national Polish organizations in every activity which would help the rebirth of the Polish State. Parades, theatricals and patriotic manifestations were means used to raise money. Political leaders were contacted, public opinion cultivated and every possible means was used to arouse interest of the American public in the Polish Question[45].

The disagreement between the two pioneer parishes had produced many unexpected consequences. It accelerated the desire of many immigrants to move to new localities in the city thus exposing themselves to forces of assimilation. A more serious consequence was the alarming increase of membership in the Polish National Catholic Church stimulated by the

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[44]Pamietnik Parafii Świętej Trójcy, Loc. cit., pp. 81-82.

[45]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Op. cit., p. 93.

disunity, inter-parochial strife, hate of American ecclesiastical hierarchy and the sheer stupidity of the immigrants. The movement was encouraged by lay and clerical opportunists who made an excellent living from the Independent Church Movement. Barszczewski reported that there were four Independent Polish parishes in Chicago and one Baptist mission in 1902, and:

> In addition to the priest in the full meaning of the word, there are many who left Europe gladly released by their bishops, many of whom were dismissed from European seminaries and were ordained in the United States. There were also men of no religion who came here to make money as priests[46].

In some cases the parishioners began agitation for an Independent Church because of the dissatisfaction with the bishop. The Baltimore Council had decreed that bishops alone possess legal title to all church property. This decision had caused sufficient misunderstanding in few Polish parishes to renounce their affiliation to the Roman Church. Finally the language issue was decisive in some instances. The organizers of the Independent Church substituted Polish for Latin in church services, inducing many confused and uninformed people to join their movement.

> The Independent Bishop of Chicago was Father Kozlowski ordained in Southern Italy ad solam missam and

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[46] Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy W. Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 38.

> consecrated bishop by the Old Catholic Bishop Herzog in Switzerland. The leaders of the Independent Church Movement in the United States are people of no principles completely degenerated while their priests constitute the dirtiest examples of Polish priests in America[47].

In one instance the American bishops added to this confusion by sending Irish clerical students to seminaries in Poland in order that they learn the language and replace the Polish priests in their diocese. This was discovered by Reverend F. Cwikała of Cleveland who received a letter from his brother, a member of the faculty of Lwow Seminary.

> To our seminary are arriving *omnes gentes* so that we can call our seminary *asylum gentium*. Four American students arrived for the first year course. They are English or rather Irish. They have strange names; Thurman, MacKee, King and Book. The first two have attended a seminary in Detroit for two years and converse in Polish. They have excellent memory. Once they hear Polish words they remember them[48].

The loyalty of many Poles to their parish priests at times approached fanaticism. If the priest was justly reprimended by his bishop for some infraction of rules, he would accuse his superior of anti-polish activity and lead his parishioners into the Independent Church. If it was necessary to erect a new church, he could depend on many Protestant sects for monetary support. Finally the

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[47] Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, *Polacy W Ameryce*, *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 48-49.

poisonous elements of the Polish press were responsible for encouraging the Independent Movement by circulating falsehoods, superstition and hate.

> Any butcher or saloon keeper became a publisher, sent his paper all over the United States because of inexpensive mail charges, fomented trouble and disorganized the people. Some priests to satisfy their ego and promote their own interests also publish papers[49].

The Independent Movement was without doubt the most disorganizing factor among Poles in Chicago and in other parts of the country. Its growth became so rapid that American bishops called upon Jesuits from Poland to contain it. The opposition to the Jesuit missionaries was summarized by their chronicler:

> Our Polish missionaries are meeting almost everywhere with great opposition. The National Church has taken hold of the people's mind in a vague but alarming manner. Priests themselves - suspended priests of course - have sown the tares of schism. Not willing to relinquish their parishes and their high living, they tell the people that the Irish bishops hate the Poles, that they care for nothing but money, that therefore the Poles should have some bishops of their own. It was in keeping with this desire of having bishops of their own that two Polish priests, Kaminski and Kozlowski, went so far as to ask and obtain the Episcopal consecration at the hands of a schismatical bishop...
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> From this, it is easy to understand that our Polish missionaries, Fathers Matauskek (sic), Beigort, and Znenk when opening a mission in the neighborhood content with great difficulties. Entire towns are thrown into commotion. One would think that the times

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[49]Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 53.

> of the Reformation had come back again. The newspapers in the service of the National Polish Church spread terrible reports about the missionaries, while caricatures representing the missionaries as criminals of the darkest dye are spread every day before the people to gaze upon[50].

In founding their community, the Polish immigrants had overcome their own weaknesses. It was natural that the environmental differences of the Russian, Prussian and the Austrian Poles would clash in this densely populated settlement. In the solution of their problems they found a mutual media in Catholicism. Out of the social chaos and fraternal struggle, there grew a significant group with determined purpose and hope for the future. The growth of Chicago from a number of isolated immigrant communities into a thriving metropolis in the first half century was symbolic of the immigrants' progress. From a few immigrant families in the first settlement, the Polish population increased to almost a quarter of a million souls distributed throughout many localities in the city. They emerged as a vital force among the other European immigrants in the melting pot of the world. The Polish immigrants had contributed immeasurably to the rapid growth of Chicago.

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[50] P. N. SCHLEGHTER, From Our Polish Missionaries, The Woodstock Letters, Howard, Nebraska, Rome, 1956, Vol. 25, p. 104-105.

CHAPTER II

GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONS

The next step in the development of the Polish element in Chicago was the rapid growth of societies organized to satisfy their special needs. As had been the case with the establishment of the Polish parishes, these organizations developed because of the reluctance of the immigrants to avail themselves of the existing fraternal, religious and protective institutions controlled by other immigrant groups. Actually the furtherance and preservation of their nationalism was the main factor in this activity.

There were over one thousand Polish benevolent, religious, cultural, economic, social, political, and professional groups in Chicago during the period preceding World War I[1]. Since many of these had passed out of existence before the end of the period covered in this paper, the author selected only the most important and representative organizations in each field of activity. Cultural and educational institutions will be discussed in the next chapter; Chapter IV will be devoted to analysis of Political and economic endeavors.

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[1] Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Chicago, Polish Pageant, Inc., 1937, p. 6.

To one unacquainted with the problems of the Polish immigrants, such special Polish organizations appear unnecessary duplications of similar American institutions. It must be stressed that before 1915, the Chicago Polonia considered itself apart from the American society. Probably one of the causes for its isolationism was due to the fact that the Poles were not readily admitted to American institutions. Converts and seminaries dominated by the Irish and German elements discouraged Polish applicants. There were no orphanages to care for the Polish children. Polish parochial education had overemphasized use of the mother tongue to the detriment of the native born students whose proficiency in the use of English language was not a significant improvement over that of their immigrant parents. Polish was spoken exclusively in the community and inasmuch as most immigrants planned to return eventually to Poland with their children, they saw little need for learning to speak English.

The parish was the focal point of each Polish community and as an instrument for the unification and organization was unsurpassed. Parochial organizations all religious in character failed to satisfy the cultural, sociological and economic needs of the people and attempts at supra-parochial organizations broadened the aims of the

Polish immigrant to include all fields of social life[2].

The social problems arising in the growing Polish colony could only be solved by its own organizations since a Pole who would accept aid from an American institution not only disgraced himself but also disgraced the entire community. This psychological factor is obviously responsible for the functional nature of the early organizations[3].

> The society founded in a new colony is much more than a mutual insurance institution. Not only does it bring the scattered members of the colony periodically together, thus actively encouraging special intercourse, but it becomes the social organ of the community, the source of all initiative and the instrument for the realization of all plans initiated. It is a center of information for newcomers, visitors, travellers; it sends to the press news about any opportunities which the locality may offer the Poles. All important campaigns by they political or humane are waged by these societies[4].

The first successful attempt in supra-parish organization was the founding of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America in 1874 by Father Vincent Barzynski. The original plan was to form a federation of all parish organizations to foster Catholicism, build institutions of higher education,

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[2] Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska w Ameryce Północnej, Chicago, Dyniewicz, 1912, p. 26.

[3] William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1918, Vol. 5, p. 38-49.

[4] ibid., p. 39-40.

establish a general Polish bank for all United States, found a Polish teachers' college, libraries, and hospitals[5]. From its inception, the organization had been primarily a religious society controlled by the clergy. It was not until 1886 that the death benefit insurance plan was added, and after 1893 no group would be admitted to the federation unless it agreed to subscribe to the insurance. In the oldest issue of the constitution of the organization the aims were listed as mutual aid, dissemination of ideals of mutual trust, maintenance of Polish culture and support of Christian civilization and morality[6].

The organization did not develop as rapidly as had been anticipated since membership was limited to Roman Catholics and because of pronounced resentment to its clerical control. In time its aims were broadened to include all political and national movements, education of the youth and general welfare of the Poles. Its official publications served as an excellent media for recruitment of new members and constituted a bulwark of defense of Catholicism, Polish culture and nationalism. The attempts of women to gain administrative offices in the federation were futile until

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[5]Stanisław OSADA, Op. cit., p. 64.

[6]Zygmunt STEFANOWICZ, Złota Księga, Chicago, Zjednoczenie, 1949, p. 6-7.

1899 when under a threat of secession a special women's section was organized[7]. Units of the Union in each state were under supervision of a director and after 1899 a state director for women was added. At various times the Gazeta Polska Katolicka, Wiara i Ojczyzna and Naród Polski served as its official organ. However, in 1921, the Dziennik Zjednoczenia published by the organization in its own plant made its appearance[8].

The Union grew from 32 groups of approximately 760 members in 1874 to 832 groups with 87,118 members in 1915[9]. In death benefits alone the organization disbursed over two million dollars between 1908-1915 while maintaining assets of almost two million dollars. In order to encourage the

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[7]Franciszek S. BARÓ, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia, Chicago, Zjednoczenia, 1938, p. 66.

[8]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, 1905, Vol. 5, p. 19, 57.
However, statement that the Resurrection Congregation founded DZIENNIK ZJEDNOCZENIA is made by Leonard LONG, Geneza i Rozwój Zmartwychwstańców, Diamentowa Rocznica, Chicago, Zjednoczenia, 1942, p. 16.

[9]Franciszek S. BARÓ, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia, Op. cit., p. 84.
A secession which had taken place in 1895 seriously effected the membership. At the national convention held by the Union at South Bend, Indiana, the Milwaukee delegation led by Thomas Wesołowski was defeated in its attempts to move the headquarters to Milwaukee. Accusing the administration of irregularities and malfeasance in office this faction organized the Alliance of Poles in America which in 1915 reached a membership of approximately nine thousand in ten states.

attainment of higher education among the Polish youth, the Union established special scholarship funds. It supported the establishment of the Polish Seminary at Orchard Lake, Michigan, where many young men were prepared for priesthood. By 1915, half a million dollars had been expended to aid Polish students, orphanages and other humanitarian endeavors[10].

In its youth program inaugurated in 1903, the Union developed athletic activities and organized a Polish Scout Federation which grew to number 7,440 boys and girls in 238 units throughout the United States. At the expenditure of over $300,000, a library was established in 1912, which in time became the finest research facility in the field of Polish history and culture in America. Its activities also touched the political and social aspects of the Polish element. In 1898, the organization waged a successful fight against Senator Lodge of Massachusetts who had introduced legislation designed to curtail additional Polish immigration. Few years later it was instrumental in defeating congressional action which would forbid entry of Illiterate persons to the United States[11]. When few members of the Catholic hierarchy attempted to curtain use of the Polish language in

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[10] Zygmunt STEFANOWICZ, Złota Księga, Op. cit., p. 14

[11] Ibid., p. 16-31.

religious and educational activities in Polish parishes, the Union was most forceful in opposing this measure and dispatched a special delegation to the Holy See. Supported by other Polish groups, it was successful in defeating this disgraceful attempt in nationalistic extinction. It also pioneered the struggle for consecration of Polish priests which resulted in the elevation of Father Paul Rhode to the Auxiliary Bishop of the local diocese[12]. From the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, its main objective became the rebirth of free Poland. Finally the Polish Roman Catholic Union actively participated in every political, propagandistic and humanitarian program designed to further Polish independence movement[13].

The Polish National Alliance, the second national federation, was founded in 1880, at a Chicago convention with delegates from Polish colonies in San Francisco, California; Shenadoah, Pennsylvania; and Chicago, Illinois. The animosity to this group by the clergy controlled Polish Roman Catholic Union was in evidence from the beginning. Although Saint Stanislaus Parish was the logical site for such a convention, the meetings were held on September 15-13 at the Saint Wenceslaus Polish-Slovak parish. The 109

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[12]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 1., p. 388-416.

[13]Zygmunt STEFANOWICZ, Zlota Ksiega, Op. Cit., p. 32.

delegates led by the organizers, Julius Andrzejkowicz, John Blachowski, Julian Lipinski, John Popiolinski and Julian Szajnert laid foundation for an institution that would work for the material and moral amelioration of the Polish element in the United States[14].

The seed of such a federation was planted by Agaton Giller, a Polish historian, former member of the Polish Revolutionary Government of 1863, who in 1870 had written to Gazeta Polska suggesting steps be taken by the Poles for its iniation. The need of a national federation controlled by the laity and admitting all Poles regardless of their religious affiliation had been awaited by many of better educated Polish immigrants. Patriotism, desire to serve the native country, mutual aid in America were the general motivations of the group. "If we are to live, let us live for Poland, and if we are to suffer and die, let us do so for Poland. Let us shake hands like brothers[15]".

From a modest beginning of 9 groups with approximately 280 members in 1880, the alliance increased its membership in the next decade to 113 groups of 3,426 members. By 1890, it was able to pay death benefits of $22,250. In

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[14]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 4., p. 36. Also substantiated by Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 148.

[15]Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 149.

1900, its membership reached 451 groups totaling 28,358 members[16]. In the fifteen year period preceding the first World War, its membership had grown to 110,736 with assets of $2,930,606.55. Death benefits in the year 1915 totaled $578,649[17].

Although the organization had welcomed all Poles, it refused membership to Polish Jews due to the anti-semitic disposition of the immigrants. Had they been admitted, the alliance would have increased its membership significantly and the special skills and aggressiveness of the Jewish element would have accelerated the social, political, educational and economic progress of the Poles[18]. The rapid growth of the organization broadened its aims and responsibilities:

> It hoped to maintain and develop the intellectual, moral, aesthetic and religious bond unifying the immigrants with Poland, and of actual social contacts between the colonies and the mother country; the former sending back individuals, particularly of the second generation trained in commerce and industry,

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[16] Romuald PIATKOWSKI, Polacy i Samorzad, Chicago, Związek Narodowy Polski, 1911, p. 34-35.

[17] Personal interview with Mr. Ignace Pawłowski, Chief of Statistical Department, Polish National Alliance, April 4, 1952.

[18] Henryk SIENKIEWICZ, Pisma Ulotne, Warszawa, Gebethner i Wolff, 1906, Vol. 40, p. 28-29.
While in America during 1876, this famous Polish author was approached by many Polish Jews who were not allowed to join organization because of the anti-semitic sentiment of immigrants and discrimination by many Polish priests.

> the latter sending out intellectual leaders and organizers. The economic, social and political progress of the Polish-American colonies themselves, for precisely they were treated as an integral part of Poland[19].

The Polish National Alliance had been successful in its plans for it was able to:

> form a large number of American Poles into a self-conscious body whose main official political bond added to social bonds, is a commonly acknowledged alliance to Poland, but whose ultimate aims are the prestige, security and solidarity of the Polish-American society[20].

The organization entered every phase of Polish activity. In 1897 when a number of Poles were murdered in Latimer, Pennsylvania, a special fund of one thousand dollars was alloted to apprehend and prosecute the criminals. The Alliance initiated special schools where Polish immigrants could be trained in the rights and duties of American citizenship and where they could acquire democratic ideals which they hoped to introduce into their native country when she regained her independence[21]. Youth movement was

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[19] William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5., p. 113.

[20] Ibid., p. 120.

[21] Niedziela, Vol. 4, No. 41, issue of Oct. 14, 1894, p. 653, col. 4, reported that through the efforts of Attorney M. Drzemata there were sixteen evening schools established by the Polish National Alliance. Some of the subjects offered were American History, English, and Citizenship. It also was a splendid media for social contacts.

intensified, libraries were opened, numerous reading rooms were established in small Polish communities to raise the cultural level of the Polish immigrants. Its official organ, the ZGODA, circulated new ideals and political convictions among its members[22]. From the very beginning the leaders of the Alliance realized the need of well educated youth. In working for the welfare of the Polish state, the Alliance tolerated all political, social and religious ideals among its members in order to end the fraternal strife and further its objectives. Since the Poles in Europe could do nothing openly to aid their own cause, it was deemed necessary to organize an Institute of National Defense for Poland in the United States. Every effort was made to educate Polish youth, secure for it strategic political positions so that it could be influential in furthering the Polish Question and arousing sympathetic public opinion[23]. When the Polish Army was being formed under General Haller in 1912, this association did not of course remain untouched by the popular enthusiasm and many of its members joined[24]. All Poles were cautioned that in order to fulfill their duties as

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[22]Romuald PIĄTKOWSKI, Polacy i Samorząd, Op. cit., p. 287-296.

[23]Stanisław OSADA, Sześć Odczytów O Stronnictwie Demokratyczno-Narodowem I Lidze Narodowej, Chicago, Zgoda, 1908, p. 113.

[24]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 100.

American citizens, they should be members of a parish, a religious organization, the Polish National Alliance, and also belong to some organization interested in American politics[25].

In 1910, the Alliance organized the Polish National Congress in Washington, District of Columbia, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Pulaski and Kościusko monuments by President William Taft. The Congress, a federation of all important Polish organizations, became the backbone of concerted energy for the Polish Question. In 1912, at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, President Taft officiated at the opening of a special high school and a Technical Institute founded by the Alliance. Conscious of the rising Polish electorate, the American politicians were becoming interested in the Polish independence movement.

In the first three decades of its existence, the Alliance expended about $400,000 on its youth movement, $3,500,000 on libraries and books for Polish schools and $2,500,000 for patriotic, charitable and educational purposes. Through the Polish National Congress, the Alliance had been a decisive factor in the appointment of the great Polish pianist, Ignacy Paderewski, as candidate to head the new

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[25]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska w Ameryce Północnej, Op. cit., p. 93.

Polish State[26].

> A good example of an organization whose own growth has become its only purpose to the exclusion of the purposes for which it was created is the Polish Alma Mater. At the time of its foundation in 1897, its aim was the social education of boys. In the course of its evolution, it has become a mutual aid association, including men, women, and children; and the main task of every member is the recruiting of new members (for which they are paid). The growth of the organization is the only purpose ever mentioned in its proclamations and meetings except for the usual vague generalities about unification of Poles and the preservation of their language, mores and religion[27].

The organization came into existence on the initiative of Father Francis Gordon, member of the Resurrection Congregation, on September 10, 1897, as another parochial activity of the Saint Stanislaus Church. There was a definite need of such an organization since the juvenile deliquency was a real problem in the densely populated Polish colony. The organizer realized later the potentiality of a federation of such parish societies and steps were taken in that direction by incorporating the federation in 1910. Its growth was rather spectacular as it actually was duplicating many of the aims of the Polish National Alliance and the Polish Roman Catholic Union. Unlike most Polish organizations it was administered so well that it maintained solvency of 109.12 per cent. In spite of this, it became a fraternal

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[26]Robert E. PARK, The Immigration Press and Its Control, New York, Harper, 1922, p. 154.

[27]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 141.

insurance organization when the original aims were no longer able to bind its twenty thousand members and its new aims were:

> To transmit to America the cultural advantages of Ancient Poland, to keep the mother tongue alive for more rapid transmission of the good from old to new; to indoctrinate the Poles in United States with the spirit of America; to teach thrift and self reliance through fraternalism; to foster the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church; to encourage civic pride and patriotism, so as to build a better United States of America[28].

An organization exclusively for women had been attempted many times in the early period. In 1887, there were two Polish women's societies in Chicago, the Gwiazda Zwycięstwa and the Towarzystwo Centralne Polek, while a third the Klub Patriotycznych Polek was founded in 1895. On May 22, 1899, on the initiative of Mrs. Stefanie Chmielinska, these three clubs united to form the Polish Women's Alliance of America which became the largest women's fraternal insurance association in the United States. Founded for the purpose of establishing an organization which would unite all women of Polish origin or conviction in social and civil work, it endeavored to preserve Polish ideals by acquainting its members with Poland's history, art, literature, science, music and folklore. It would guard dignity of

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[28] Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 72.

womanhood and develop a spirit of independence among its members, aid them in acquisition of higher education, promote good government in this country and help their native land in realization of its independence[29]. Chartered in 1902, it began to organize member units in all states containing Polish communities. By the following year twenty-eight groups with membership of 1,406 belonged. The report of the Tenth Annual Convention in 1914 indicated an existence of 190 groups with a membership of 14,445 and assets of $166,699.04. After the first World War its adult membership expanded to 103,000 while its youth group numbered over 20,000[30].

The participation of the Polish Women's Alliance in national matters and Polish problems had been exemplary. A large library in Polish and English was maintained in Chicago in addition to a mobile library which reached all the units. Large sums of money had been raised for the Polish National Committee in France during World War I and much aid had been expanded to Poland in the post war period. In the later years, an excellent social welfare agency was organized to aid the Chicago Poles.

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[29] Jadwiga KARŁOWICZ, Historia Związku Polek W Ameryce, Chicago, Związek Polek, 1938, p. 23-26.

[30] Ibid., p. 33.

The organisation published and circulated a weekly, Głos Polek, an informative, pro-Catholic newspaper which not only contained general news of the organization but featured data of special interest to women[31].

The Polish immigrants like most other Europeans had given much of their leisure time to physical exercises and gymnastics. First evidences of organized activity of this nature among Poles in Chicago appeared at the parish of Saint Adalbert in the early 1880's. About 1867, Felix Pietrowicz of Chicago, wrote to the Sokól headquarters in Lwów, Poland, for information and the constitution of the Falcons[32]. By 1894, there were only twelve active nests of Polish Sokóls in existence in the United States, seven of which joined the Union of Polish Falcons. By 1915, however, there were 344 male and female nests consisting of 11,551 members in the nation federation of which number 240 nests with 8,353 members were located in Chicago.

The main purpose of the Falcons was the development of a healthy body and rigorous morals. Military training so necessary in the minds of the leaders for future use in

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[31] Jadwiga KARŁOWICZ, Historia Związku Polek W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 83.

[32] Edmund MYZY, Pamiętnik Sokolstwa Polskiego W Ameryce, Chicago, Sokól, 1933, p. 13-14.
Additional comments may be found in Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 53.

Poland was added to the regular program in 1910. Two years later the Falcons established a special Military College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to train Polish youth for military service in Europe. The success of this school prompted the organization of two additional military colleges, the organization having expended over $100,000 to equip its military units during this two year period. A military camp was founded in Canada (since United States was still neutral) to provide field training to the young men who formed the cadre of the Polish Army[33]. The official publication of the Union of Polish Falcons in America was the Sokól, edited for a time by Stanislaw Osada, probably the best informed journalist of the American Polonia.

The Falcons' ideals of brotherhood, discipline, subservience of private interests for the general good, equality of rights and obligations within the nation, character development, physical and mental hygiene program, and consciousness of civic duties did much to safeguard future Polish generations[34].

As had been stated in the first chapter, military training had been part of the curriculum for boys attending

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[33]Edmund HYZY, Pamietnik Sokolstwa Polskiego W Ameryce, Chicago, Sokól, 1933, p. 79-87.

[34]Mieczyslaw HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 159-161.

Saint Stanislaus School in the 1870's. Even at this early date the Poles had been anticipating need of trained military personnel in the event of Poland's struggle to regain her independence. Many parochial societies organized military units of which the largest was the Polish Military Alliance[35]. Federation of all military organizations occurred on September 4, 1905, under the name of Pulaski Legion of America. The moment was very propitious. The Russo-Japanese War had demonstrated the weakness of Russia and the Chicago Poles believed this to be the opportune moment for action. Their plan called for creation of an alliance whose spirit would be militaristic and whose training in military tactics would prepare the members for a mass movement to regain the independence of their native land. The amalgamation resulted in a membership of over four thousand in 1915.

The Pulaski Legion was the first organization to openly advocate creation of a Polish Army in the United States to be attached to the regular American Army. Since the American government could not approve such a venture and retain its neutrality in the European war, the organization opened its own recruiting office in Chicago. Fully sixty per cent of the young men enrolled in this office joined the regular United States Army when the government issued a call for volunteers.

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[35]Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 159-161.

The Pulaski Military Alliance Battalion trained with the Illinois Volunteer Training Corps fully equipped from funds of the organization. By the time the war in Europe came to an end, the Alliance had a second battalion trained and equipped for service in Poland. In addition, many young men were recruited for service in the Polish Army in France. Those unable to serve in the armed forces devoted their energies to propagandizing the Polish Question and the collection of funds for the Polish soldiers[36].

Not unlike the American negro, the Polish peasant found solace and happiness in musical expression. With the organization of a Polish parish, a choral society became a source of gratification and entertainment for the parishioners. Local choral societies had existed since 1866. In order to develop more interest in Polish songs and music, Anthony Mallek, organist of Holy Trinity, called a conference of all Polish choral society representatives on May 13, 1889. A federation was formed and in time included 243 choral units in Ohio, New York, Michigan and Pennsylvania. The organization was divided into ten districts numbering over 5,000 members. Although each district had local officers, the general administration was lodged in Chicago. Participation

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[36] Stanisław OSADA, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodztwa W Ameryce, Pittsburgh, Sokół Polski, 1920, p. 36-42.

in regional and national choral contests was encouraged by the organization. The concert given by the Chopin and Wanda choral societies in February of 1897 aroused much public interest and favorable comment in the American press. The organization gained much preminence in its earlier appearances at the Chicago Exposition of 1893. Due to the untiring efforts and devotion of its organizer and director, Anthony Mallek, this organization brought much happiness to the Polish immigrants and a respectful appreciation of their talents by the American public[37].

There had been no interference with the many Polish organizations mentioned in the preceding pages since they had not encroached upon any other nationalistic group. However attempts at unionization presented a new aspect. Since the number of skilled workers among the Poles was very small, and the contemporary American union movement did not include unskilled labor, not much interest was shown by the Polish wage earner in labor organizations. The situation was completely revewsed in the majority of highly skilled Poles[38]. They eagerly joined all union activities in order to improve their economic status.

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[37]Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 57-58.

[38]Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", 38th year, issue of Mar. 14, 1888, p. 3, col. 4.

The first Polish labor organization was composed of the printers working for the Polish newspapers. In 1892, Jan Migdalski, owner of a small print shop organized the Polish Union Printers Association of Chicago. The members were employees of the Telegraf, a Smulski controlled daily; the Dziennik Chicagoski, largest pro-Catholic daily founded and edited by the members of the Resurrectionist Congregation; Zgoda, the official organ of the Polish National Alliance; and the Gazeta Katolicka, another pro-Catholic journal published by a Polish corporation.

Much opposition to this attempt came not only from the newspapers which would be affected but also the International Typographical Union which did not want to tolerate independent union activity in the trade. Due to the outside pressures and partisan politics among the members, it was reorganized two years later. In November of 1895, it became amalgamated with the International Typographical Union becoming the Chicago Polish Typographical Union No. 358. During the following year five printing establishments were under the jurisdiction of this union. In 1897, however, the Polish local left the mother organization. Realizing that they had greater prestige and bargaining power as a member of a powerful organization, they rejoined the international organization in 1902 as Local Unit No. 546.

Periodically the organization published a trade paper, Drukarz, which carried news items and information pertinent to the trade. Although the organization was small it performed great service in the labor field aiding others in their attempts to unionize. Often the members gratuitously contributed their skills to all nationalistic movements and were instrumental in founding a school for printers in Poland[39].

Due to a pronounced lack of a professional class, there was little need for an organization at that level[40]. Probably the oldest of these was the Polish Medical Society of Chicago founded by few Polish physicians on August 29, 1896. According to their constitution, it came to life for the purpose of bettering their material status and professional development, to uphold the spirit of good fellowship, tolerance, unity and professional ethics among the physicians and surgeons.

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[39] Mieczysław HALMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 162-163.

[40] Romuald PIĄTKOWSKI, Polacy i Samorząd, Op. cit., p. 350-358.

Przyjaciel Ludu, Chicago, Drukarnia Narodowa, 1876, p. 11, col. 4, listed only two attornies and one physician; Kalendarz dla Ludu Polskiego, Chicago, 1906, listed eight doctors and dentists, one of whom was Dr. Takla Maturzynska, the first Polish woman dentist in the United States, six attornies, four druggists, three orchestras, several teachers, an airplane inventor and a bullet-proof cloth inventor.

The Polish Dental Society of Chicago was organized and chartered in 1908. In addition to participation in all Polish affairs, the organization published in the Polish press articles on dental hygiene, provided scholarships for needy students and aided in founding and equipping the Polish Institute of Dentistry in Warsaw, Poland. Later the two medical societies joined forces and constituted a chapter of the American Medical Association. The organized efforts of the legal, teaching, engineering and pharmaceutical professions did not reach organizational status until after the date covered by this work[41].

A number of very important religious-humanitarian institutions came into existence to satisfy the particular needs of the immigrants. Without doubt, the most important of these was the Saint Mary of Nazareth Hospital, organized in 1894, to care for the Polish immigrants in this community who had until then been without proper hospital facilities. Although there was a county institution, the Poles shied away from it because commitment there connoted poverty and because of their inability to speak English. Although Alexian Brothers Hospital had Polish speaking personnel, it only administered to the male sex. The hospital had a twenty-four

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[41] Anthony C. TOMCZAK, Poles in America, Chicago, Polish Day Association, 1933, p. 231-234.

bed capacity and was staffed by the Nazareth nuns. According to its articles of incorporation, it was to be:

> an asylum for the sick and the infirmed and an institution which shall attend to the visiting and care of the sick and the disabled, and the doing of other works of an eleomosynary and charitable nature[42].

In 1899, its facilities were extended to provide care for forty-five patients. Three years later a large modern building was constructed and with additions in 1914 and 1926 the space was increased to three hundred beds. In order to train Polish girls for the nursing profession, a nursing school was opened by the hospital in 1903.

Its importance and contribution to the Polonia was summed up in a congratulatory letter from Bishop Paul Rhode:

> Among the edifices that sprung in the United States as a result of the initiative and persevering labors of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, the foremost place is undoubtedly conceded to their hospital in Chicago[43].

The hospital became one of the finest in Chicago and its staff included outstanding medical men of all nationalities. It had been approved by every important Medical Association in the United States. It must be remembered that the hospital was established without founded endowment. From the very beginning, it was self-sustaining. Donations from the more

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[42] Jubilee Memoir, Chicago, Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, 1944, p. 21.

[43] Ibid., p. 167.

wealthy Poles had made it possible for the Sisters to enlarge their free clinic and provide for many thousands of charity patients[44].

Early attempts were made to establish a home for the destitute aged immigrants. Scarcity of money and lack of proper personnel prevented the realization of this objective until 1894 when the Franciscan Sisters of Blessed Kunegunda opened the first Polish Old Peoples' Home in the heart of Polonia. Three years later land was purchased for a larger establishment some distance away in the vicinity of the newly organized parish of Saint Hyacinth. Father Vincent Barzynski who had helped to found the parish also assisted the Sisters in this endeavor. The new building housed the aged, was the Mother House of the Blessed Kunegunda Community and also contained the Saint Vincent Orphanage from 1899 to 1911.

To satisfy the growing need for the care of Polish orphans, Bishop Paul Rhode, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, called upon the pastors of Polish parishes of the diocese to support a plan for a proposed large orphanage which would serve this purpose and eventually accommodate seven hundred children. A tract of twenty-five acres was purchased in Niles, a suburb of Chicago. Father Francis Busch was appointed its director, a position he held for forty years.

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[44]Anthony TOMCZAK, Poles in America, Op. cit., p. 206.

The new Saint Hedwig Orphanage received its first wards in 1911 from the Saint Vincent Orphanage. The institution has grown to include ten large buildings, including dormitories, chapel, gymnasium, infirmary, printing and bindery shops. In addition to receiving primary education, the boys received training in trades, while girls were prepared for clerical work and trained in domestic science. The Felician Sisters of Saint Francis have ably conducted the institution. In accordance with the state law, two separate corporations have been chartered, the Polish Manual Training School for Boys and the Saint Hedwig Industrial School for Girls. The institution has been supported by donations, profits from the printing and bindery shops, state aid and the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese[45].

Dual charitable functions had been carried on by the Saint Elizabeth Day Nursery and Dispensary organized by Father Andrew Spetz of the Resurrection Congregation, in 1904, in the center of the original Polish settlement. The Sisters of Blessed Kunegunda not only sheltered the children for the working mothers but attended to the minor medical necessities of the poor. This institution too was supported by the donations and small fees charged the parents. A similar but much larger institution, the Guardian Angel Day Nursery and

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[45]Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 115.

Free Dispensary, was founded in 1914. It was located near the Saint Mary of Nazareth Hospital and provided shelter for the children and free medical aid for the destitute. The dispensary contained four consultation rooms, an x-ray room, a pharmacy and in addition to the Sisters of Blessed Kunegunda was staffed by three physicians, two pharmacists and one optometrist.

Another problem which confronted the immigrants was that of unmarried young women who came to America without a family and were exposed to many moral and physical dangers. In order to provide clean, respectable living quarters for such girls, Father Louis Grudzinski in 1912 established the Guardian Angel Day Nursery and Home for Working Girls on the south side of Chicago. The project was supported by the three Polish parishes in the immediate neighborhood; Saint John of God, Sacred Heart and Saint Joseph. The Sisters of Blessed Kunegunda provided opportunity of expert care for the children of working mothers while fifty girls living in wholesome environment were also given instruction in home management, sewing and cooking[46].

Every effort had been made by the immigrants to provide all social services for their own group. Although

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[46]Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 116-119.

extremely beneficial, these activities delayed assimilation of the Polish immigrant. Actually he could have obtained similar services from numerous American governmental and private institutions. On the other hand the determination of the immigrants to solve all communal problems themselves had taught them self-sufficiency and need for continued collective action if they were to achieve progress. Outspoken Polish leaders advocated creation of one national federation which would include all Polish organizations regardless of their character. It was to be modeled upon the federation of German organizations and would unify all activity, centralizing control of all Polish societies and federations[47]. Such a national confederation would have greatly accelerated their economic progress and they would have constituted a major political force. The overabundance of individuality possessed by the older Poles and the rapid Americanization of the younger element were largely responsible for the failure of this plan.

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[47]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 32.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The task to convince the adult immigrant to provide his children with a higher degree of education was difficult. The illiterate did not see the need for it since one could eat well in America without attaining any degree of intellectual superiority. The peasants looked upon education as a prelude to snobbishness among their offspring. Their children would be ashamed of the parents once they received an education and would be unwilling to live in the old slum community. The rising generation subjected to assimilation forces began to condemn many of the old customs and ideals. The large family of the poor immigrant prevented in many cases a chance for higher education for the children.

All educational activity in the Polish settlement found its inception in the parish. The Resurrectionist Fathers, the Fathers of the Holy Cross, Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, Felician Sisters of Saint Francis, and Sisters of Saint Francis of Blessed Kunegunda pioneered in this field[1].

The educational requirements of the community were twofold. The immediate needs of the children were satisfied

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[1]Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy W Ameryce, Warszawa, M. Arct, 1902, p. 42-43.

by the establishment of the parochial schools. However, in order to impart some culture to the adult masses special cultural centers were founded by parishes, regional and national federations of Polish organizations. To the literate minority the local newspapers and parochial publications were of immense aid in the process of orientation in the new environment[2]. It must be added that the influence of the immigrant churches and parochial schools in emphasizing and maintaining racial and denominational distinctions was in some respects detrimental to the early social, political and economic progress of the Polish element[3].

The national federations mentioned in the preceding chapter were vitally instrumental in the cultural progress of the immigrant. The sole purpose of the American Nationalization Committee, the American Naturalization League, the Interstate Council of Immigrant Education and the University Settlements was to Americanize the Poles. Their attempts failed due to the persistance with which the Poles resisted

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[2] Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem: A Study of American Immigration, Conditions and Needs, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1911, p. 35.

From 1899-1909, there were 713,753 Poles over fourteen years of age admitted to America. Of these, 35.4% or 263,177 could neither read nor write. This was lower than the Italians with 54.2%, Lithuanians with 46.8% and Russians with 38.5%, while the Scandinavian group had only .4%.

[3] Ibid., p. 363.

assimilation. Not until they gradually realized that their economic progress was dependent upon their intellectual level and closely related to their acquisition of American culture, did this resistance abate and subside[4].

In addition to parochial schools there existed private institutions conducted by educated Poles. Probably the earliest of these was a school operated by Agatha Kadkowska in 1871[5]. The procedure for establishment of Polish elementary schools seldom varied. As soon as a new parish was organized steps were taken to provide for the education of the children. Various congregations of Sisters conducted the schools although the property of the parish was controlled by the Diocesan Board.

In 1885, through the efforts of Father Vincent Barzynski, eleven Nazareth Sisters arrived from Poland to take charge of Saint Josephat parochial school. As soon as more nuns arrived teaching assignments were given them in other parish schools in the city[6]. In addition the Nazareth

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[4]Mieczysław [illegible], Wychodztwo Polskie W Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Warszawa, Nakład Narodowy Ossolinskich, 1924, p. 233.

[5]A. T. ANDREAS, History of Chicago From Earliest Period to Present Time, Chicago, A. T. Andreas, Vol. 2, p. 117.

[6]In 1885, Saint Adalbert; 1888, Saint Hedwig; 1893, Holy Trinity and Saint Michael; 1895, Saint Ignatius; 1903, Saint Ann; 1910, Saint Francis of Assisi; 1915, Immaculate Heart of Mary; and in 1918, also Ladislaus.

Sisters supplied teachers to eight schools located in the suburbs of Chicago[7]. Realizing the dire need for secondary education, the Sisters of Nazareth established the Holy Family Academy in 1907. Although founded primarily as a school for girls, both boys and girls were admitted. The enrollment for 1904 showed registration of 143 girls and 43 boys, an insignificant figure in comparison to the large local Polish population. Most immigrants believed that girls did not need higher education and that boys should seek employment as early as possible to attain financial independence and contribute to the family's support[8]. It was a matter of common pride for the peasants when their children preferred employment to schooling. In many instances however it was an economic necessity since the low income of the parents was insufficient to provide for the large families. These factors were responsible for the low level of intellectual attainment among the Chicago Poles.

In order to prepare Polish girls for the convent, the Nazareth Sisters in 1909 established a special high school in their Mother House in Des Plaines, Illinois. In addition to

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[7]Golden Jubilee Memoir, Chicago, Nazareth Sisters, 1935, p. 27-38.

[8]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, 1905, Vol. 3, p. 45.

their schools for Polish children and hospital work, these Sisters pioneered in the education of the colored children in the southern section of the United States[9].

The Nuns of the Resurrection Community arrived in Chicago in 1900. The following year they were assigned to the Saint Casimir school on the south side of Chicago. Several years later they were appointed to teach at the Saint Mary Magdalene school. The Sisters opened their American Novitiate in 1902 in Chicago. Due to lack of funds they were unable to provide proper housing facilities for their novices and their Novitiate was closed by ecclesiastical authority. In 1905, however, the Holy See permitted them to proceed with their original plan. Upon advice of the local Bishop, the congregation purchased a large tract of land in Norwood Park, a suburb of Chicago, where a new convent and high school for girls was opened in 1915. Their major educational and humanitarian activities occurred after the period covered by this paper[10].

Although the Pelician Sisters of Saint Francis arrived in America in 1874, they did not come to Chicago

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[9] Golden Jubilee Memoir, Op. cit., p. 45-47.

[10] Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Chicago, Polish Pageant Inc., 1937, p. 104.
Interesting account can be found in: Polish American Studies, Orchard Lake, Michigan, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, p. 99-105.

until 1888 when they were given charge of Saint Joseph School. Because of their pioneering in progressive elementary education, ten additional schools were entrusted to their care by 1915[11]. The establishment of secondary schools by the Felician Sisters and their other eleemosynary activities occurred after that date[12].

The Sisters of Saint Francis of Blessed Kunegunda primarily engaged in day nursery work had been given control of Saint Stanislaus Bishop and Marytr school in 1909.

The Sisters of Saint Francis (German Congregation from Milwaukee, Wisconsin) had been given three parochial schools by 1914.

The Sisters of Notre Dame (Irish origin) were the pioneer teachers of Polish parochial schools appointed to Saint Stanislas school in 1874 and Saint John Cantius in 1903. Inasmuch as they lacked knowledge of the Polish language they found that the need for their services was limited[13].

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[11]Saint Peter and Paul, 1903; Holy Innocents, 1906; Saint John of God, 1907; Good Shepherd, 1910; Saint Mary, 1910; Sacred Heart, 1910; Saint Hedwig Orphanage, 1911; Saint Wenceslaus, 1912; Saint Helen, 1914; and Saint James, 1915.

[12]Pamietnik - Diamentowego Jubileuszu Zgromadzenia 1855-1930, Milwaukee, Nowiny Polskie, 1930, p. 17-35.

[13]Mieczyslaw HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 96-114.

The rapid growth of the parochial school system among the Poles was due primarily to the desire of the people to maintain in their children a source of nationalism and Polish culture. "The parochial school even a bad one is better than a public school for a Pole. No Polish leader of the early period was educated in the public school[14]". Perhaps a contemporary American author best summarized the attachment of the Polish immigrants to their parochial educational institutions:

> The Catholic clergy are the preservers of the national language, literature and of the national traditions. They keep ever present the hope that Poland shall yet be a nation. They deem it the highest patriotism to preserve their mother tongue and as the priest is at the same time the protector and teacher all Poles regard him with affection and esteem. So intent is the Chicago Pole in keeping up with the traditions of his country, so dominant is the patriotic idea, that he is taught the language in the church school and only about 10% attend public school and learn the principles os creed and patriotism in the mother tongue[15].

All catholic educational institutions particularly the Polish schools which continued the use of their native tongue as medium of instruction were considered archaic. It was believed that parochial educational facilities were inferior to the American public school system and dangerous to

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[14]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Chicago, Dyniewicz, 1912, p. 75-76.

[15]Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", 38th year, issue of Mar. 14, 1886, p. 3, col. 4.

the welfare of the country since they trained children in foreign culture, language and ideologies[16]. There was no doubt that the parochial schools were overcrowded and the level of instruction at times was rather low but on the whole no lower than the prevailing system in the contemporary public schools. It had been successfully demonstrated that the Polish child received training not only equivalent to that of his neighbor attending public school but had actually received a more advanced elementary indoctrination[17].

Not all this criticism against Polish parochial schools eminated from anti-Catholic sources. Much of it was initiated by few American priests and bishops who were only interested in ending the Polish immigrants' resistance to Americanization. They believed that the Polish schools could be easily assimilated into the general parochial system when the linguistic bond between the priest and the people was severed. An observer reported that:

> After the Church interest, the Poles socially considered, seemed to be mostly concerned about their schools. I visited the school of the 20th Ward in the heart of Poland and found it well ordered, well attended and progressive; but there were only few in attendance. Nearly all the children went to the parochial school of Saint Joseph one or two squares away. This though it was under the charge of Sistors of Mercy (should be Felician) I made free to enter; knocking at

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[16] Sidney G. FISHER, "What Immigrant Contributes to Industry", Forum, issue of Jan., 1893, Vol. 14, p. 615.

[17] Emil Kandank DUNIKOWSKI, Wśród Polonii W Ameryce, Lwów, F. Starzyk, 1893, p. 64.

> the door of Klassa IV was met by the intelligent and modest lady in charge. She spoke English very well. She told me that in the different departments the three languages, English, Polish and German were consistantly taught together[18].

The only existing Catholic secondary educational institutions which Polish children could attend were controlled by the German and Irish elements. This situation disturbed the Poles who desired a school of their own. With the support of Polish clergy and lay leaders, Father Vincent Barzynski proposed the establishment of Saint Stanislaus College. After many obstacles were removed and necessary finances provided, the new institution came into being in 1891[19]. It was actually a high school conducted by the Resurrection Congregation with a faculty of priests and lay teachers. The first principal was Father Joseph Haller. In order to provide accommodations for students from Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Nebraska, a dormitory was constructed. The enrollment was small, gradually increasing to 160 students in 1909 when a Junior College was added extending course of study to six years. When interest waned and lack of funds prevented employment of desirable faculty, these courses were abandoned. Saint Stanislaus school was the first to introduce

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[18] J. C. RIDPATH, "Mixed Populations in Chicago", in Chautauquan, issue of Jan., 1891, Vol. 12, p. 490.

[19] Ksiega Jubileuszowa, Chicago, Zjednoczenie, 1915, p. 37-42.
Also Waclaw KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 49-69.

evening business training in the city. Many of the early Polish leaders and professional people received their education in this institution[20].

To provide secondary educational opportunities for the children of his parish, Father Casimir Sztuczko, pastor of Holy Trinity Church founded the Holy Trinity High School in the building formerly occupied by the Dyniewicz publishing enterprise. Thus by coincidence the cradle of Polish journalism housed the first diocesan high school in America[21]. Brother Peter of Holy Cross Congregation became its first teacher and principal. It was coeducational and provided a general secondary education with emphasis on Polish history and Polish language. Two years later in 1912, the Kosciuszko Public School was purchased from the city to accommodate the increased enrollment. Although started later than the Saint Stanislaus High School, it prospered much faster because the Poles finally realized that education was a prerequisite to economic advancement[22].

In their daily contact with the immigrants, the Polish social workers stressed the need for education and convinced them of the importance of academic training. Although there

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[20]Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 129.

[21]Pamiętnik Wyższej Szkoły Świętej Trójcy, Chicago, Zgoda, 1940, p. 16-20.

[22]Ibid., p. 21-24.

was no mass movement for secondary and advanced university training, statistical data available indicated progress[23]. Other media of propaganda were the eighteen daily and weekly Polish newspapers whose pages were filled with encouragement and advice to immigrants on progress through education. These publications also did much to awaken the interest of Poles to obtain citizenship and to participate in local and national political issues[24]. It was difficult for the leaders to convince the masses that knowledge of the English language was an absolute necessity if they wished to progress socially and economically. The average peasant lived in a community where the English language was practically considered a foreign tongue. His religious, educational, social and economic activities were all conducted in Polish. Even at his place of employment there was little need for the use of English since interpreters were easily provided. His settlement was indeed Little Poland[25].

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[23]J. F. HIGGINS, Proceedings of Board of Education of City of Chicago, Chicago, Board of Education, 1906, p. 42,1106.

[24]Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy W Ameryce, Warszawa, M. Arct, 1902, p. 63.
Henryk SIENKIEWICZ, Pisma Ulotne, Op. cit., p. 36, gives much credit to the Polish press for raising the intellectual level of the People.

[25]Emil Habdank DUNIKOWSKI, Wśród Polonii W Ameryce, Op, cit., p. 64.
In Deering and other industrial areas the foreman would look at the heels of the applicants. The immigrants wearing shoes with higher heels were motioned to and an interpreter would speak to them about terms of employment.

Through the promotional work of the Polish National Alliance, there had been a number of special community centers established which afforded opportunity for young and old alike in intellectual improvement. The civil authorities had been prevailed upon to maintain a number of evening schools for the immigrants. These, however, were of inferior character. The classes were conducted by poorly prepared teachers whose kindergarten level of instruction often ridiculed rather than educated the immigrant[26]. The most successful were the private school conducted by educated Poles which not only indoctrinated the individuals in basic rudiments but also prepared them for citizenship. High tuition prevented the attendance of many immigrants.

The contributions of the dramatic societies cannot be overlooked in the educational progress of the immigrant group. As in all other activities the parish was the source of all theatricals. It was within the parish that many of the amateur and professional dramatic groups were first developed. The stage like the press became a force in the intellectual development of the Poles. As early as 1873 there was a Polish theatre group in the city. It was significant that their first presentation was a drama advocating

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[26] Julian KARSKI-GROVE, Polish Group in America, in Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 93, Issue of Jan., 1921, p. 155.

the emancipation of women. This perhaps was the first attempt of the immigrant group in the female suffragist movement[27].

Jan Kochanowski organized the Nowe Życie Choral and Dramatic society and for over a quarter of a century successfully conducted a school of drama in which many Polish actors were trained. The well known Polish journalist and author, Karol Wachtel, was instrumental in establishing another successful theatre group. In 1908 several young men and women formed the musical literary society Promień which provided much entertainment for the immigrants. There were eight Polish theatres in Chicago in 1914 but due to gradual assimilation of the younger element and their general lack of interest and support, the theatres were forced to close[28].

The forces of assimilation gradually touched each facet of the immigrants' esthetic activities. Even those who outwardly were staunch supporters of old world culture and traditions were slowly accepting the inevitable Americanization of their institutions.

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[27] Jan BARZYNSKI, Kalendarz na rok 1873, Union, Missouri, 1873, p. 28.
In this same issue on page 58 appears an advertisement of the Dyniewicz book shop with an impressive list of novels, history and literature books in addition to religious articles.

[28] Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 67, 91-92.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

The realization that preparation for citizenship and political participation were of utmost importance if the Poles were to rise in importance in America was early manifested by local Polish leaders who tried to inspire the masses to civic action. The language barrier formed an obstacle to be overcome before any success could be attained.

The early Polish immigrant totally unschooled in political participation, devoted his whole energies to economic pursuits and was not particularly interested in American politics. The organization of the Gmina Polska in 1864 with ten members appeared to be the first attempt in founding a socio-political society in the early Polish settlement[1]. This organization did not constitute a political party as there were very few Poles at that time who could vote. In addition to this political immaturity, the Germans and the Irish were determined to prevent all attempts of political solidarity among the Poles.

The early parochial organizations which had grown into national federations although not primarily political in nature were instrumental in developing political consciousness

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[1] Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska w Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, 1905, Vol. 8, p. 142.

in their membership. Even the Socialist party unintentionally aided the Poles in their political development. It advocated American citizenship, classifying a vote as the modern weapon of the proletariat, considerably more powerful than any other method for immediate action[2].

The Polish Grant for President Club was organized in 1872. This was the first real attempt in articulate political expression and was but a step in the direction of forming a strong local political organization whose objectives would be election of Polish candidates and eventual control of city and state politics[3]. The official reason given for the founding of this club was the love of freedom that Grant had manifested in recognizing the Republic of France created after the Franco-Prussian War. It was actually based on the hope that in the future Poland might be given the same consideration. Thus it was not the interest in local political issues but that of their native country which stimulated their political behavior. The candidacy of Peter Miodbassa for the State Assembly in 1877 aroused much interest and was responsible for creation of many parochial political clubs.

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[2]Polish Alliance Socialist Party, The Polish Socialists and The Struggle for Independence of Poland, Chicago, Socialist Party, 1915, p. 25.

[3]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 129-130.

> We have the Saint Stanislaus Society with 193 members, the Saint Joseph with 78 members, Saint Adalbert with 75 members, the Kościuszko Guards with 175 members, therefore, we too can have political parties[4].

While the Polish Club for Grant with sixty members boasted of controlling at least five hundred votes, they had been accused by the Polish Club for Greeley, supporting another presidential candidate, of having members who were not citizens and hence unable to vote.

The political potential of the growing Polish element was accurately projected by the Gazeta Polska. In May of 1876 it issued a call for the establishment of the Towarzystwo Narodowo-Polityczne which would be an amalgamation of all local political clubs. It was hoped that eventually it could be formed into a national federative body resembling the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The plan was never realized[5].

The chief proponents of Polish political orientation in the early period were the Polish clergy of whom Father Vincent Barzynski was most eminent. The parishioners were urged to become naturalized and to select from among their own people candidates worthy of public office. The Polish organizations instructed their members in parliamentary procedure, democratic process of election and expounded the

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[4]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska w Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 130-134.

[5]I. WENDZINSKI, Przyjaciel Ludu, Chicago, Drukarnia Narodowa, 1876, p. 39.

doctrine that freedom in America did not mean unbridled individualism which would keep them politically disorganized and weak. "The Polish National Alliance did all it could to change the mere racial solidarity into political idealism[6]". Lastly, the Polish press was extremely successful in inculcating the political ideals of America and the potential of organized Polish electorate. It published political information, prepared manuals of citizenship and provided speakers at political meetings. On the other hand, however, a few unscrupulous Polish publishers deliberately disseminated misinformation and created political disunity. Generally these individuals were compensated for their efforts by American politicians[7].

In view of the incohesiveness among the Polish political leadership the vote of the immigrants was not as decisive as could have been expected. The American political bosses referred to the Polish electorate as "voting cattle" and paid little attention to them after the election. The Polish communities were always last to receive any street improvements, additional police protection, playgrounds and

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[6]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1918, Vol. 5, p. 117.

[7]Robert F. LESSEL, Poles of Chicago, Chicago, Polish Pageant Inc., 1937, p. 21.
The most intelligent analysis of political issues for the period 1897 to 1906 can be found in the Naród Polski, the official organ of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

parks for their children or public appointments[8].

The political affiliation among the Polish element was almost equally divided between the two major political parties. They as a rule supported candidates who promised improvements in the local government and although often misled by the American politicians and some of their own leaders they began to contribute in a modest degree to civic progress.

> The Poles as they continue to acquire property will carry themselves on the side of good government. They do not seem greatly ambitious for political honors and political offices. About six Poles are in the Police Department, six in the Fire Department and six clerks and inspectors in the various departments of the city, county and federal government[9].

In time the interests of the immigrant group transcended the two party system. It began to seek political affiliation with any group that would offer most in patronage. In January, 1894, when the economic depression had seriously threatened the welfare of all Americans, the local Polish community eagerly formed a unit supporting the newly organized Coxey program of social legislation. The Gazeta Robnicza published in Chicago by John Rybakowski for circulation among Polish farmers in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana, fostered Coxey's demands for higher pay, shorter working day,

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[8]Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy w Ameryce, Warszawa, N. Arct, 1902, p. 31.

[9]Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", 38th year, issue of Mar. 14, 1886, p. 3, col. 4.

public works program, and free distribution of public lands. However, such a program did not find much support in the urban community and the unit collapsed four months later[10].

The American Press directed much criticism at the Polish community for the manner in which political campaigns were conducted. The main attraction at these gatherings was an abundance of free food and beer. Few came to hear an intelligent discussion of contemporary political issues. Inasmuch as these meetings were but vote buying schemes, the more respectable element refused to attend and thus the unscrupulous politicians had no opposition in securing votes of the uninformed masses[11]. It was not unusual to purchase votes for an agreed price. Another practice was to visit all the saloons in the community and recruit citizenship candidates. The procedure was very simple and few immigrants suspected its illegality. Candidates were taken to the office of the local alderman who administered the oath and issued a fraudulent certificate of citizenship. The artistically engraved document issued without the prescribed examination and waiting period distorted the importance of the local politician. The corrupt election officials on the payroll of the political bosses honored these certificates and permitted the immigrants

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[10] Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska w Ameryce, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 72.

[11] Naród Polski, 10th year, issue of Nov. 14, 1906, p. 4, col. 2-3.

to vote. Obviously no statistics were maintained but it was estimated that few thousand Poles had been victimized in this manner. This procedure was quickly abandoned when the leaders became conscious of the political demoralization it had caused among their people. A special program of civic education was inaugurated. Under the auspices of the Polish National Alliance schools were established to prepare Poles for citizenship, to provide proper political orientation and to educate them for strategic political positions. The underlying objectives of this program were the political progress of the American Poles and the conditioning of American public opinion for sympathetic approach to the Polish Independence movement[12].

Their next step was to wrest control of local politics from the German element. The struggle lasted for many years and aroused much interest in the American and European press[13]. The Germans, well grounded in politics and more Americanized, dominated both major political parties locally. The political animosity between the Poles and the Germans weakened them both and was responsible for the rapid rise of the Irish who seized control. Had the Poles and Germans amalgamated, their

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[12]Romuald PIĄTKOWSKI, Pamiętnik Wzniesienia I Odsłonięcia Pomników Tadeusza Kościuszki i Kazimierza Pułaskiego, Chicago, Związek Narodowy Polski, p. 204-206.

[13]Emil Habdank DUNIKOWSKI, Wśród Polonii W Ameryce, Lwów, P. Starzyk, 1893, p. 61.

combined vote would have easily dominated city and state politics. A bond of sympathy developed between the Poles and the Irish. It was based on their mutual loyalty to Catholicism and political similarity of their European backgrounds.

The efforts in political education bore fruit. Under a more progressive leadership, the Poles responded in greater number to their civic responsibilities. Like the other nationalistic groups, the Poles were able to use their vote to gain political appointments and other favors from any political party in power. The political patronage increased in ratio to the monetary contribution of Polish organizations[14]. Traditionally, a particular public office was awarded to a specific nationalistic group and to do otherwise would create serious political repercussions. Patronage was conditional upon the number of votes leaders of each nationalistic group could guarantee in an election[15]. The Chicago Tribune presented an intelligent analysis of the political importance of the nationalistic groups claiming that in 1891 the Mayoral election was decided by the Poles, Bohemians and Germans[16]. All political issues were closely observed by the

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[14]Polish Alliance Socialistic Party, The Polish Socialist And The Struggle For The Independence Of Poland, Op. cit., p. 25.

[15]J. DEWEY, "Autocracy Under Cover", in New Republic, Vol. 16, issue of August 24, 1918, p. 103-106.

[16]Philip KINGSLEY, The Chicago Tribune; Its First Hundred Years, Chicago, Tribune, 1945, Vol. 2, p. 256.

Polish leaders and every effort was made to use the Polish vote most advantageously. In 1902 when Prince Henry of Prussia was to visit Chicago, over one hundred thousand Poles organized to protest the Prussian control of Poles in Europe. Such public demonstrations of political unity created much sympathy among many influential Americans and shortly thereafter when a petition demanding freedom of Poland was circulated over six hundred thousand signed it.[17]

The organization of parochial political clubs was accelerated although they seldom had purely political purposes. In order to avoid accusation of complicity of church in politics, these organizations fostered charitable and educational activities. Worthy examples of such societies were the Citizens Club of Thaddeus Kościuszko, organized by Father Francis Gordon of Saint Stanislaus and the Father Joseph Barzynski Citizens Club of Saint Hedwig parish organized by Father J. B. Obyrtacz[18].

The foremost Polish political figure in the early period was Peter Kiolbassa, elected to the State Assembly in 1877. In the campaign of 1891, he was elected City Treasurer by an eight thousand vote plurality over his German and Irish opponents. In order to accept this office he had to provide

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[17] Naród Polski, issue of Jan. 29, 1902, 6th year, p. 1, col. 2-3.

[18] Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Chicago, Polish Pageant Inc., 1937, p. 141.

a bond of one million dollars which he accomplished in two days by direct appeal to the Poles. This was a public testimonial of his popularity and showed the material progress of the immigrants since the amount accepted from any individual could not be under twenty-five thousand dollars. If it had been necessary, a sum two or three times larger could have been as easily subscribed[19]. Peter Wm Zbansa was the first and only City Treasurer in the history of Chicago to return to the city interest earned on all municipal funds. It had been a practice for the City Treasurer to retain this income as part of the political spoils system.

The first Pole elected to the City Council was A. J. Kowalski in 1888 who later was appointed to the position of Superintendent of Water Extension Bureau, a very important office in view of the patronage it carried. The first School Board appointment was given to a Polish attorney, Maximilian A. Drezmal in 1894. Later he was succeeded by Julius Śmietanka and Walter Puflowski. The only Pole during this period to receive a diplomatic appointment was Edward Z. Brodowski, former editor of the Zgoda, as American Consul to Solingen, Germany, in 1897.

John F. Smulski represented the political leadership among the Poles during the later period. Appointed City

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[19] Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska w Ameryce, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 129.

Attorney in 1903, he became renowned for his ability and three years later was elected State Treasurer. Like Peter McGowan he was the first to return to the state, increased interest from deposits. In 1904 two more Poles were elected to the City Council, while in 1912 Poles were elected as members of the Board of Assessors and Clerk of the Municipal Court. Later Poles obtained county judgeships as well as other judicial and administrative offices. To numerous to mention here were all the Poles who served in elective and appointive city, county, state and federal offices during this first fifty year period.

Although the number of Polish public officers had been significant, greater political progress would have resulted had they made further gains in education and had there been less resistance to assimilation. Lastly had there been less partisan strife among them, they would have emerged as the strongest electoral element in Chicago.

CHAPTER V

ATTEMPTS AT ECONOMIC STABILITY

Accustomed to bare existence by centuries of exploitation, The Polish peasants looked forward to economic independence in the new environment. They had heard of the equality of opportunity in America but soon realied this was only possible for Americans or foreigners who had been completely Americanized. They had not come to the United States without reasonable assurance of a job. Most of them had been promised employment by their friends or relatives who had aided them in emigrating. Some had been recruited by agents representing American mining, lumber and manufacturing interests. Few arrived with small savings and were dependent upon employment agencies and Polish organizations to secure occupations for them[1].

The immigrants were exposed to exploitation in every direction. There were unscrupulous Americans who profitted from their ignorance and poverty. Even more disgraceful was the avarice of some of their own countrymen. They were overcharged for any services rendered. The work obtained for them was usually misrepresented in character, permanency and

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[1] Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem: A Study of American Immigration, Conditions and Needs, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1911, p. 175.

remuneration. In many instances the immigrants were promised employment some distance from Chicago. Arriving at their destination they learned that little or no work existed. Stranded in a strange community, they realized they had been duped by the labor agent who was only interested in the fee he collected. Strangely enough, the local authorities did not interfere with this abuse as they seldom paid heed to the immigrants' complaints[2]. The land companies, mining interests and railroads were eager to procure immigrant workers for the establishment of mining and farming communities. The Illinois Central Railroad established the Agencja Polskiej Kolonizacji in Chicago under the direction of General John Zurchin, a former Russian engineer, to dispose of land in Southern Illinois. The location, quality of land, climate and typography

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[2]Grace ABBOTT, The Immigrant and the Community, New York, Century, 1921, p. 36.

The author is personally acquainted with one victim of theemployment agent. This immigrant arrived in New York in 1896. He paid the labor agent a fee of three dollars for the job of blacksmith in a neighboring town. After traveling the nine mile distance to this location, he sadly discovered that no such job existed. Penniless he was unable to pay for the return fare to New York.

Some townsmen informed him that by following the railroad tracks he could reach Chicago, where workers were in great demand. After much hardship and many sieges of hunger he arrived in Chicago three months later having walked all the way.

Here he found that the labor agents operated in the same manner. However as jobs were plentiful for highly skilled mechanics, he had no difficulty in establishing himself and in time acquired a small fortune.

were completely misrepresented in order to induce the peasant element to migrate there. These misrepresentations in the American and Polish press described Southern Illinois as the most desirable area in America. Fabulous profits were assured from resale of the land since the immigrants were told that the national capitol would be moved to Saint Louis, Missouri, which was located across the river from the property advertised[3]. Although the immigrants were uninformed and gullible, these fraudulant schemes failed because most peasants were too poor and unwilling to venture away from their own community.

The Polish immigrants sought the society of their own nationality where the norms of behavior were similar to theirs and where there was no difficulty in oral communication. Usually the unmarried men and women found living accomodations with a Polish family. The average Polish immigrant family lived in a two story frame building built to accommodate two families but occupied by three or more. The furnishings were poor and purchased on time payments. They did, however, have a plentiful supply of food, surpassing anything they had in Europe[4]. The Poles lived in a densely populated community, as

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[3]Paul W. GATES, The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work, Cambridge, Harvard University, 1934, p. 319. A large advertisement appeared on this in Jan BARZYNSKI, Kalendarz Polski na Rok 1873, Union, Missouri, 1873, p. 63.

[4]Mieczysław SZAWLESKI, Wychodstwo Polskie W Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy Ossolinskich, 1924, p. 65.

did the Italians and Chinese and lacked the basic sanitary conveniences. Profiting on the clannish characteristics of the Poles, landlords charged them unbelievably high rents, while as early as 1887, land owners sold twenty-five foot lots for $1,600 to $3,000. This same size lot outside their community would sell for approximately half that price[5].

> They rent the lots on which their shanties stand from a person named Venne or Wendt at $50.00 per year. The Polish house owners refuse to make sewer or water connections fearing that they may be confiscated or to make other improvements demanded by proper sanitary regulations. The landlord has been prosecuted for not making the improvements, but the law was made to protect and not to punish him. He got free. His tenants are fined in some instances[6].

It was almost impossible for the immigrants to find protection in the American courts, and the contemporary social agencies were unable to protect him from the exploitation of the propertied class. The exterior appearance of these homes however did not reflect the traditional cleanliness of the Poles. Reliable reports indicated that their homes were neat and clean although sparcely furnished.

The slum district in which they lived was on the itinerary of visitors to the city. The poor native born population did not fare much better and very often lived

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[5]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer, 1905, Vol. 3, p. 122.

[6]Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", 38th year, issue of Mar. 14, 1886, p. 3, col. 5.

in worse circumstances. The only solution was to move to a better locality but such a change presented economic difficulties impossible for most of the poor to overcome. A visiting English professor compared the Polish community to the slums of London:

> Our rookeries are bad enough but they are at least built out of stone or brick. Here, however, the low tenements are mostly of wood and when the wood decays or breaks away the consequences are more deplorable than anything we have in London...The worst places in the city are inhabited by native Americans. These poor conditions exist in spite of all civil ordinances. The proprietors of the worst class of property in Chicago are leading men of the churches...The Poles poor as they are and ignorant do want to lead a decent life[7].

The economic and social level of the Polish immigrant reflected the general conditions which prevailed in the city. The abnormally fast growing city was object of moral decay, exploitation and speculation. The City Directory for 1870 listed 148 saloons and 1,056 grocery stores. This ratio, abnormal in itself, did not represent the true situation. The liquor sold in hotels, restaurants and private clubs is not included in the above statistics[8]. In the Polish community there were three saloons which not only dispensed liquor but were information centers, gambling dens, and centers of political and anti-clerical agitation. From the

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[7] F. H. STEAD, "Civic Life of Chicago", in Review of Reviews, Vol. 8, issue of July, 1893, p. 94.

[8] Philip KINGSLEY, The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years, Chicago, Tribune, 1945, Vol. 1, p. 115.

various sociological surveys made, it was evident that some of the Polish immigrants spent a large percentage of their earnings for intoxicants. In a survey made among the Slavic group in the Stock Yards district of Chicago, it was concluded that:

> There can be but one opinion as to the economic wastefulness of saloon patronage, whatever its virtuos. The laborers invest their poor wages there prodigally and they certainly do not get an economic equivalent. The only feasible substitute would be proper food[9].

Fortunately the majority invested their savings in homes.

The thrift of the overwhelming majority of the Polish immigrants was evident, contrary to the opinionated journalists of that period. The Chicago Tribune in a special survey conducted in the Polish settlement discovered that as early as 1886, approximately fifty per cent of the families owned their own homes and their combined real estate holdings were valued over ten million dollars[10]. The value of their parochial establishments and the wealth controlled by their local and national organizations was not included in this data. In time the wealth of the Poles exceeded that of all other Slavic groups.

The prejudices delaying their employment in many of the industries subsided when more accurate reports about the

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[9] C. J. BUSHNALL, "Social Aspects of the Stock Yards", in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7, issue of September, 1901, p. 121.

[10] Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", 39th year, issue of Mar. 14, 1886, p. 3, col. 5.

Polish community and its people were published in the American newspapers and periodicals. An astute observer of social problems, J. C. Ridpath, made a special study of the Chicago Polish community and commented:

> I was prepared to expect in the Polish Quarters, as in the Bohemian area, the evidences of squalor, illness, and crime. We have heard so much about the ignorant and vicious Bohemians and Poles that our prejudice on entering these foreign cities is firmly fixed. But the prejudice is warranted by the facts. In the first place the marks of industry and I think frugality are seen on every hand. Your senses are not offended with the presence of filty and the significant signs of contagious diseases are everywhere absent. A majority of Polish men no doubt are common laborers, as are the great mass of all foreigners in Chicago. But the pursuits of the Poles are multifarious to the extent of giving a kind of completeness and independence to the town where these people live. I believe that the same economic disposition and the same anxiety to own their own homes prevail among the Polish inhabitants as among the Bohemains - a symptom of the common life with which a thoughtful American can but be well pleased[11].

Their economic status improved even more rapidly with the immigration of a large number of highly skilled workers. Whether employed at menial tasks in the lumberyards or meat packing plants or in some highly skilled tasks, the Polish workers had gained reputation for their loyality to the employer, hard work and ability to get along with other workers. Gradually they replaced the Irish and German workers in many industries that heretofore were reluctant to hire them[12].

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[11] J. C. RIDPATH, "Mixed Populations of Chicago", in Chautauquan, Vol. 12, issue of January, 1891, p. 490-401.

[12] C. J. BUSHNELL, "Social Aspects of the Stock Yards", Op. cit., p. 168, 234.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, sixteen Polish communities were located in different parts of the city. In the Stock Yards district, the rise of population was so rapid that a number of additional Polish parishes were founded. On the far south side of Chicago, the steel industry employed a large number of Poles. Having acquired greater industrial skill, the Polish workers demanded and received renumeration equal to that of native workers in all industries[13].

Another influential factor in their economic progress was their membership and active participation in labor organizations. Their timidness had disappeared. The exploitation had ended and the forces of assimilation had begun. Although widely known for its advocacy of labor reform, the Socialist party actually did little to aid the Poles in this struggle. The local Socialist movement was organized and controlled by the German element; the few Poles who were members came from Prussian Poland. In the infamous Haymarket Riot of 1886, caused by the stupidity and corruptness of the local police and politicians, few Polish names appeared among those

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[13] Mieczysław SZALEWSKI, Wychodstwo Polskie W Stanach Zjednoczonych, Op. cit., p. 146.
According to the reports of the Immigration Commission, the immigrant workers received twenty to thirty per cent less pay than the native worker in American industries did for performing the same type of work.

arrested and convicted[14]. The Polish branch of the Socialist party was organized in 1895. Its primary purpose was not economic reform but preparation of Polish leaders for the revolution in Europe when the moment of liberation was at hand. Their plan called for seizure of authority and the establishment of a Socialist state in Poland. Thus political and not economic motivations induced a small minority of Poles to found a Socialist organization in Chicago[15].

Two reasons had been advanced for the desire of the Poles to establish their own businesses; inability to converse in English and the desire to maintain a self-sufficient Polish community. Because they lacked capital and were unschooled in American business methods, the immigrants opened small and modest shops. They were located in the community and catered exclusively to the Poles. Notable exceptions were a custom shoe shop maintained by Joseph Bilski in the fashionable section of the city and a bicycle factory established by F. F. Zawadzki in a non-Polish community[16].

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[14] Michael J. SCHAACH, Chicago Haymarket Conspiracy, Chicago, Michael J. Schaach, 1889, p. 62-67.

[15] Polish Alliance Socialist Party, The Polish Socialists and the Struggle for Independence of Poland, Chicago, Socialist Party Press, 1915, p. 23.

[16] A survey of the Przyjaciel Ludu published by E. Wendzinski in 1876 and the Miedziola, a weekly publication, for the year 1894 revealed very few advertisements of Polish business establishments outside of the Polish settlements.

There were no significant attempts however to establish any large industries. Probably the first Polish enterprise in the settlement was the Dyniewicz Publishing House and Bookstore which provided the local immigrants with Polish literature and religious articles. Peter Kiołbassa however reported that some Polish businesses were established as early as 1864. Depressions of 1873, 1883, and 1893 discouraged many commercial attempts. Operating on limited capital, the Polish establishments were first to be affected by these business cycles and bankrupted.

One of the original aims of the Polish Roman Catholic Union was the establishment of a central Polish bank with branches in all Polish communities. The profits of this banking institution were to be employed in founding Polish commercial enterprises and charitable institutions. The plan failed to materialize. It is interesting to note that in the later period all large Polish fraternal organizations established real estate departments which provided amortization funds for those who wished to purchase homes or commercial property[17]. The income from these investments was responsible for the amassed wealth of these organizations. The earliest Polish financial institutions had been the parochial savings

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[17]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Chicago, Dyniewicz, 1911, p. 64.

and loan associations. The Chicago Tribune in 1886 reported six exclusively Polish Savings and Loan Associations with 2,200 depositors[18]. The growth of these financial institutions corresponded to the increased immigration and home ownership among the Poles. In 1904 there were eighty-one Polish-Bohemian building, loan and homestead associations with a capital of $6,200,000, and a membership of 28,000[19].

Many reasons had been advanced for the failure of the American banking institutions to gain the confidence of the immigrants. The primary causes were the immigrants' suspicion of these establishments and the many additional facilities which the Polish institutions offered[20]. This situation was partly overcome by the establishment of the Postal Saving System in 1911 for the immigrants had faith in the federal government.

In 1871, Prince Adam Sapieha, scion of one of the most powerful Polish noble families, established a bank in Chicago. It was not located in the Polish settlement and did not serve the immigrants. Not one contemporary Polish newspaper mentioned this institution and evidently most of

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[18] Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", Op. cit., p. 3, col. 5-6.

[19] Paul FOX, The Poles in America, New York, Doran, 1922, p. 79.

[20] Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem: A Study of American Immigration, Conditions and Needs, Op. cit., p. 108.

the Chicago Poles were not aware of its existence.

Through the efforts of John F. Smulski, Theodore Królik and M. Helinski, the North Western Trust and Savings Bank, a state chartered institution, was opened in the heart of Polonia in 1906. Capitalized at $200,000, it facilitated the establishment of many new local commercial ventures[21]. In the first decade of the twentieth century, there were thirty-nine bakeries, fifty-eight shoe stores, eighteen drug stores, five dry goods stores, one hundred seventy-five groceries, three hundred saloons, one picture frame factory and one lumber yard to serve the needs of over 150,000 Poles[22]. Probably the most unusual Polish business venture was the organization of the Polish Gold Syndicate in 1894. Although identity of all stockholders had never been revealed Father Vincent Barzynski, Father J. Grutza, M. A. La Buy and Doctor M. Midowicz were its directors. The mine was located in Shasta, California. The operation had been clothed in secrecy and only scant and incomplete data had appeared in the Polish press. Persistant rumors indicated that the clergy held controlling interest. Soon after mining operations

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[21] Naród Polski, 10th year, issue of Nov. 28, 1906, p. 4, col. 5.

[22] Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 92-93.

began the treasurer of the syndicate received a three and a half pound nugget of pure gold as sample of the richness of the mine and productivity of the gold vein. A short time later an American mining firm offered the stockholders one-half of a million dollars for this property[23]. Nothing can be gleamed from the sources available as to the final disposition of the mine.

In the decade preceding the First World War, few corporations, wholesale distributing companies and cooperatives were started but because of insufficient working capital and business acumen, they were generally unsuccessful.

Without doubt, the material gains made by the Poles in Chicago surpassed the gains made in more esthetic endeavors. This was greatly due to the over-evaluation of wealth on the part of poverty stricken European peasants. Determination to secure economic wealth meant sacrificing other important attainments and it did not raise the cultural or educational level of the first generation Poles much over their immigrant parents.

Their thrift and industriousness, however, made them desirable neighbors. Their economic self-sufficiency extended beyond their communal boundaries thereby greatly contributing to the growth of a greater Chicago.

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[23] Miedziela, 4th year, issue of December 30, 1894, p. 330, col. 4.

PART II

THE ERA OF ASSIMILATION 1890-1915

CHAPTER VI

THE POLISH PRESS

To achieve self-sufficiency and to provide informational and educational media for the community, the Chicago Polonia founded its own press. Prior to this, the only Polish newspapers available in Chicago were published in New York City, New York and in Saint Louis, Missouri.

The development of the Polish press in Chicago can be divided into three stages; the genesis, period of stabilization and period of expansion and progress[1]. Judging from the short life of most of the early newspapers, it can be assumed that one well-edited publication would have sufficed. At first many illiterate Poles did not appreciate these journalistic efforts but as they gradually learned to read, their interest was stimulated.

To justify its existence and receive proper support from the public, the Polish press had to be the media of social, political and economic life of the immigrant; preserve loyalty to Catholicism; propagandize the reestablishment of the Polish State; and circulate among the immigrants the customs, practices and ideals of America. Instead of circulators of news, the early newspapers were organs of

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[1]Karol H. WACHTEL, Dziennikarstwo Polskie W Ameryce, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1894, p. 34.

fraternal organization, church ventures, means of advertising for Polish businessmen or money making schemes. Seldom were newspapers issued as an idealistic venture directed at the illumination of the masses[2]. Unfortunately some of the early Polish papers caused much disagreement and initiated many religious and social movements of dubious value. The caliber of the editors often represented the lowest element among the immigrants. All of these papers had nationalistic and nationalistic-religious leanings[3].

> Any butcher or saloon keeper became a publisher. He sends his paper all over the United States because of cheap mail charges, disrupts people, foments trouble, may last a few months or years, usually until he has succeeded in starting some trouble. Another group of papers are edited by priests usually to satisfy their egotism and promote their own interests[4].

The selfish interest of the publishers, the lack of sufficient working capital, absence of trained journalists and the indifference of the uncultured masses made the existence of Polish papers very precarious. The publishers found it impossible to satisfy the political and social ideas

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[2]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1918, Vol. 5, p. 60-61.

[3]Henryk SIENKIEWICZ, Pisma Ulotne, Warszawa, Gebethner i Wolff, 1906, p. 25.

[4]Stefan BARSZCZEWSKI, Polacy W Ameryce, Warszawa, M. Aret, 1902, p. 55.

of the Austrian, Prussian and Russian Poles. It is difficult to understand why so many individuals and organizations published papers simultaneously when the number of potential readers was small. As early as 1886 there were four weekly Polish papers in Chicago, the largest of which claimed a circulation of eight thousand[5]. These in addition to the many parochial papers distributed freely among the people caused more confusion.

> These newspapers, however, were of prime importance in the community for they partly reorganized the degenerated and disorganized social opinion which had been the main factor of unity and control of the primary group in the country[6].

The diversity of opinion expressed by the publishers, who were considered well-informed by people generally heeding their advice, was responsible for the intellectual chaos and lack of unanimity in political, religious and social issues[7].

While primarily concerned with the religious status of the immigrants, the newspapers published by the clergy did much to rally support for political candidates approved by them. They stressed nationalism strongly hoping to develop strong church affiliations and support of parochial institutions. Their political direction was always conservative and leaned heavily toward the Republican Party.

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[5]Chicago Tribune, "Our Polish Citizens", 58th year, issue of March 14, 1886, p. 3, col. 5.

[6]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., p. 62.

[7]ibid., p. 64.

The lay publishers in their political analyses favored candidates and causes, and formulated political policies without regard to truth or any attempt to aid the misguided people. Generally this was solely a business arrangement with them as they were rewarded for this service by political patronage, monetary awards or both. This was especially true of newly founded publications which appeared only for the duration of political campaigns. Some of these publishers received subsidies from the Russian, Prussian and Austrian Governments to minimize and ignore the publication of the true conditions of the dominated Polish territories[8]. In matters of national and international scope, it appeared that the Polish newspapers in Chicago were attempting to formulate policies for the European Poles while they in turn tried to dictate the editorial policies of the Polish press in America by supplying it with trained journalists. Probably the outstanding example of this was the attempt of the Polish National Alliance through its organ, the Zgoda, to foist its own candidate as president of Poland. The opposition press raised such a furor over this attempt to dictate political matters to the Poles in Europe that the plan failed. Many organizations had been involved in such

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[8]Robert E. PARK, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, New York, Harper, 1922, p. 433.
The Telegraf Codzienny accepted a $700 subsidy from the Austro-Hungarian Consul.

unorthodox practices[9].

The Polish Socialist Party locally publishing two papers contributed to the political illumination of the skilled workers who constituted its main support. Its political outlook was purely socialistic and its educational and informational material generally consisted of an indoctrinating nature. Its stress on civic education and the value of a vote was genuine but it would have made greater inroads among the Poles had it not been for the opposition of the clergy-controlled press which constantly referred to the socialists as anarchists of the most dangerous type[10].

In time there evolved more respectable Polish publications which attempted to correct many of the evils caused by amateurish attempts in journalism. The situation had become so deplorable that in 1911 an organization of Polish writers and journalists, the Towarzystwo Literatów i Dziennikarzy Polskich, was founded to bring about a necessary reform. Its aims were noble and successful to a large degree. Ethical code was established in the profession; unwholesome matter was deleted; nationalism was stressed; and harmful, political and fraternal competition was avoided[11].

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[9]Robert E. PARK, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, Loc. cit., p. 194.

[10]Emil Hadbank DUNIKOWSKI, Wśród Polonii W Ameryce, Lwów, P. Starzyk, 1893, p. 58.

[11]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 16.

Stanisław Osada, probably the most gifted Polish journalist, argued that the Polish press from its inception had solely and primarily the function of news dissemination and must retain that identity in order to accomplish its aims. Thus it would appeal successfully to the great majority of Polish readers especially those of American birth. Since that time much had been accomplished in improving the tone and quality of the Polish press[12].

Although the press had been responsible for much of the political and intellectual progress of the Polonia, it was guilty of retarding the process of Americanization of the immigrants. The contents of the Naród Polski, Gazeta Katolicka and the Zgoda were of pro-nationalistic nature. They stressed perpetuation of Polish culture and customs, accented continued teaching of Polish language to the children, and warned against marrying into other nationalistic groups. Conscious of the encroachment of assimilation of the younger element, the press attempted to circumvent it[13]. It took upon itself the function of providing more direct contact between the Poles in Europe and in America, by glorification

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[12]Stanisław OSADA, Prasa i Publistyka Polska W Ameryce, Pittsburgh, Pittsburganin Press, 1930, p. 5.

[13]Henryk SIENKIEWICZ, Pisma Ulotne, Op. cit., p. 31. On his visit to America, this world renowned author observed that he had not met one Pole married to an Irish or German woman whose children spoke Polish. This was a definite sign of progress of assimilation.

of Polish history and by acceleration of the struggle for the reestablishment of the Polish state. The Polish press was determined to provide proper leadership for the utilization of energy which the immigrants possessed and divert it from the channels of assimilation[14]. All attempts in this direction failed. The younger element was quickly becoming an integral part of American society, participating in national sports, social activities and political development. The American born Poles refused to be indentured to old traditions which stigmatized them as a foreign element and impeded their social and economic activities. Progress through assimilation was uppermost in the minds of the young Poles.

The Polish press of the early period caused irreparable damage to the morale and unity among the many factions of the local colony. As the press had no special issues to champion, it created few. Differentiating between the Poles on the basis of religious and political affiliation, its partiality had sown the seeds of disunity and fraternal strife among them. It became involved in many petty local political, religious and economic issues to the dishonor of the Poles and the ridicule of the Americans. All those selfish attitudes had to be erased if the press was to

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[14]Romuald PIĄTKOWSKI, Pamiętnik Wzniesienia I Odsłonięcia Pomników Tadeusza Kościuszki I Kazimierza Pułaskiego, Związek Narodowy Polski, 1911, p. 35.

achieve its goal - education of the immigrants. Instead of trying to prevent assimilation, it should have guided the movement, thereby rendering valuable service to the community and to the people themselves[15].

Since most of these publications were of nationalistic-religious nature, it was impossible to separate them into distinct categories. Since, too, these papers were circulated among one racial and religious group and supported by the church, fraternal organizations and business interests closely identified with the community, their tone and quality did not differ much[16]. There were few exceptions. The Polish Independent Catholic Church issued a paper the main objective of which was the religious disorganization of the Poles through attacks on the Irish hierarchy and advocation of emancipation from Italian popes. The Socialist party published two papers aimed at training Socialist leaders among the Poles and agitation for the independence of Poland. The official organs of the two largest Polish organizations, the Polish National Alliance and Polish Roman Catholic Union, preached nationalism and loyalty to the

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[15] Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 110.

[16] Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem: A Study in American Immigration, Conditions and Needs, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1911, p. 118.

Catholic Church while recruiting members. The only exclusively patriotic publication was the Free Poland, issued in the English language, whose sole purpose was the stimulation of American public opinion in favor of Polish independence.

The first Chicago Polish weekly was the Pielgrzym later renamed Gazeta Katolicka. Its first issue appeared on March 29, 1872, under editorship of Jan Barzynski, brother of the pastor of Saint Stanislaus Church, Father Vincent Barzynski, who in all probability financed this venture. The paper was completely Catholic in tone and nationalistic in appeal. After a few months it was discontinued because of the high cost of publication and the small number of subscribers. The following year Władysław Dyniewicz one of the original settlers in Chicago founded the Gazeta Polska. Like the first Polish newspaper, it also was pro-Catholic and nationalistic in scope but failed to stimulate sufficient interest to insure continued publication. It was discontinued a few months later. His second attempt in journalism occurred in 1885 when another weekly Tygodnik Naukowo-Powieściowy devoted to the presentation of better literature appeared for a few months. Such a periodical could only attract the more educated minority among the Polonia.

The Przyjaciel Ludu, a literary monthy edited by I. Wendzinski and J. Rudnicki, appeared in 1876. Shortly

thereafter it was changed into a weekly and continued with some measure of success for the next eight years. The editors believing that the ever-growing number of publications in the city would curtail their circulation decided to publish their paper in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The quality and tone was too advanced for the Milwaukee Poles and the paper went out of existence in 1884[17].

The Smulski family who had pioneered in many social and economic activities in the local settlement also entered the publishing business. A weekly devoted exclusively to economic matters was founded and edited by W. Smulski in 1874. The average immigrant showed little interest in the financial matters of the country and in three months the Ziemianin was abandoned. His second attempt came in 1885 with the publication of Gazeta Katolicka which was followed by Kuryer Chicagoski two years later. Each lasted only a few months[18].

The newspapers published by the fraternal federations were more successful inasmuch as all members had to subscribe to the official publication. This obviously assured its large circulation and permanency. The first of these was the Zgoda. It had been published as a private venture by

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[17]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Milwaukee, Kuryer Polski, 1905, Vol. 4, p. 113-117.

[18]Stefan BARSZSZEWSKI, Polacy W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 61.

Z. Brodowski in New York and Milwaukee before it was transferred to Chicago in 1884. The Polish National Alliance had provided the necessary financial backing for its establishment here and adopted it as its official organ. It carried the usual informational material but was used primarily as a propaganda vehicle by the organization and as a means of recruiting members. It initiated many important nationalistic, social, educational and political programs not only locally but throughout the United States. For some time it was the only Polish language newspaper enjoying national circulation. In time the control of the paper passed completely into the hands of the organization. Its name was changed to Dziennik Związkowy and publication has continued uninterrupted to the present date. It has done much to crystalize the political opinion of the Poles and to further their education[19].

Perhaps the best example of a purely business venture into journalism was the weekly Gazeta Chicagoska founded in 1885 by J. Klupp and edited by the former editors of the Zgoda, M. I. Sadowski and Z. Brodowski. The paper informational in tone, was specifically devoted to exploitation of the real estate operations and colonization schemes. Although advocating economic progress and social improvement in his paper, the publisher owned some of the worse slum housing units for

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[19]Karol PIĄTKIEWICZ, Pamiętnik Jubileuszu Związku Narodowego, Chicago, Zgoda, 1940, p. 83.

which he collected exorbitant rents. Many immigrants had been fleeced of their life's savings by the cleverly worded advertisements in this paper and in others of this type[20].

The Żiarno, a publication devoted to lovers of music and singing, was established in 1886 by Anthony Mallek, the renowned organist of Holy Trinity Church. Although it was continued for seventeen years, the publisher suffered a personal loss. He had hoped to perpetuate Polish music in America. However, his advanced age and reduced capital had forced suspension of this idealistic venture in 1903. It was indeed a great loss to the music lovers among all Chicago Poles[21].

A local physician, M. P. Kossakowski, well acquainted with the superstitions and ignorance of the Poles in medical matters pioneered with the first publication devoted exclusively to personal hygiene and medical information. The Lekarz Domowy appeared in 1886. Although a need for such a publication was quite evident, it was abandoned a few months later after failing to receive proper backing from the many Polish organizations.

Displeased with the journalistic efforts of others, S. Slisz began publishing a weekly the Kropidło in 1887. As

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[20]F. H. STEAD, "Civic Life in Chicago", in Review of Reviews, issue of July-December, 1893, Vol. 8, p. 94.

[21]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Loc. cit., Vol. 5, p. 17.

its title indicated it was a punitive reform sheet. It disagreed with any and all ideals espoused by the other Polish papers. The vitriolic controversies developing between the Kropidło, the Zgoda and the Wiarus almost resulted in civil litigation. Although the paper's new attitude interested the people at first, its biased presentation of information and its lack of truth resulted in decreased circulation forcing its untimely demise.

The Wiara i Ojczyzna a private weekly established in 1887 was adopted as the official organ of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. Twelve years later it was renamed Naród Polski. Eventually it became a daily under the name Dziennik Zjednoczenia. Like the Zgoda, it reached all members of the organization[22]. Pro-Catholic and very nationalistic in outlook, it has remained to the present day a valuable educational media for the Polish element. It defended all Polish issues and aided in the struggle for recognition and elevation of Polish clergy to episcopal sees. In the question of Polish Independence, it vied with the organ of the Polish National Alliance to arouse the Poles to action[23].

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[22]Zygmunt STEFANOWICZ, Złota Księga Pamiątkowa, 1873-1923, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1923, p. 23.
Also see: Leonard M. LONG, Geneza i Rozwój Zgromadzenia Księży Zmartwywstańców, Chicago, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, 1942, p. 15-31.

[23]Anthony TOMCZAK, Poles in America, Chicago, Polish Day Association, 1933, p. 259.

The Głos Wolny, 1889-1890, originally was published in Buffalo, New York, by P. Zawiesz. When the publication moved to Chicago it received financial aid for a short while from the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The editorial policy of the newspaper changed from a conservative to radical, became unpopular with the people and soon was forced out of business. The physical assets were purchased by a number of Polish businessmen from the south side of Chicago who had inaugurated the weekly Nowe Życie under the editorship of H. Nagiel and S. Osada. Because of the paper's socialistic attitude, its circulation was too small to warrant continued publication more than a few months[24].

In 1890, a group of influential Poles organized the Spółka Wydawnictwa Polskiego with Father Vincent Barzynski as the guiding spirit. A weekly Polacy W Chicago, edited by S. Szwajkart and H. Nagiel was founded. In a few months it was renamed Dziennik Chicagoski and in time it became the the best known Polish daily in America. Controlled by the Resurrection Congregation, its success was assured from the beginning. Its first issue enumerated its official policies. It promised to be non-partisan in politics. It defended its support of the democratic party at the moment because the paper believed this party could do more for the Poles and

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[24]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 57.

Poland. It promised to further Polish immigration, respect for the law of the United States and help to create strong Polish action. It would advance educational progress, take active part in all political issues and defend Catholicism[25].

The Reforma one of the vilest radical papers began as the parochial publication of Saint Adalbert's Church edited by A. Chrostowski. From its inception it fomented discord. Openly supporting the Independent Polish Church, it created trouble. Its advocacy of religious and political anarchism prevented its distribution by mail. Faced with mounting opposition, it was rescued from bankruptcy by three influential members of the Polish National Alliance who then engaged H. Nagiel as its editor. They intended to make this paper the official organ of their powerful federation. A change in the administration of the Polish National Alliance prevented realization of this plan. Failing to gain support of the organization, the paper was discontinued in 1892, two years after it began. Later the same group published the Lud as the organ of the Independent Polish Catholic Church under the editorship of G. F. Biba. When the movement of the Independent Church subsided a few years later, the paper went out of existence[26].

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[25]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 61.

[26]Paul KUZNIK, Polish National Catholic Church in America, Pittsburgh, Slavia Printing Co., 1924, p. 1-12.

Founded in 1892, the daily Telegraf financed by a group of Polish commercial interests enjoyed wide circulation for a few years. H. Nagiel and J. Rybakowski served as its editors. Later it was acquired by a Polish printer, J. Pettkowski, and continued as a weekly for some time.

The depression of 1893 presented many opportunities for new ventures in journalism. One most notable was the Gazeta Rolnicza founded in January, 1894, by S. Zawiesz. It was intended primarily for circulation among Polish farmers in Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan. It embraced the Coxey program of social and economic reform and was responsible for the organization of the local Polish unit of Coxey's Army. Its socialistic doctrines and opportunistic political outlook found little support in the urban community and it was discontinued four months later[27].

Another attempt in journalism was the Dziennik Polski, 1895-1896. The income from advertisements carried by this paper was the only reason for its publication. The editor was perhaps the best educated man to ever attempt publication of a local Polish paper. Educated in Europe, Doctor I. Machnikowski had been invited to Chicago in 1888 by Father Vincent Barzynski to serve on the faculty of the Saint Stanislaus College. While at the Kollegium Romanum where he specialized in Hebrew classics, he had been awarded

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[27] Wacław PRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 70-71.

a special citation by Pope Pius IX for his scholarship. The paper did not enjoy a long existence and its editor turned to the study of medicine. Later he taught at the Polish Seminary at Orchard Lake, Michigan.

The first attempt at publication of a periodical devoted to youth was the Przyjaciel Młodzieży, 1895-1897. It was pro-Catholic and strove to present material which would be of interest to the younger element. Its nationalistic policies alienated many young people who preferred to rely upon the American papers for news, information and entertainment[86].

The Polish Gold Syndicate introduced the Dziennik Narodowy in 1899 as a general informational daily. It was, however, primarily interested in promoting real estate operations of the Syndicate in California and after two years of stiff opposition presented by the two powerful organs of the national federations, the Dziennik collapsed.

Two humor periodicals appeared in 1900, a weekly Komar edited by S. Zahajkiewicz and the Kuryer Świąteczny, a monthly published by N. K. Złotnicki. Both failed in a few months because of mutual competition and lack of interest among the people. The latter was reorganized in 1903 as Dzwon Niedzielny a weekly but it lasted only two years.

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[86] Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska w Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 74.

The Maciers Polska a monthly organ of a group of the same name was organized by Father Francis Gordon in 1899 to carry news of the activities of the federation and also to feature general pro-Catholic material. Its circulation increased with the membership and continues to be published to the present day[29].

Another organizational organ the Głos Polek, official spokesman for the Polish Woman's Alliance of America, has been a weekly publication since 1900. It has been pro-Catholic, nationalistic and devoted to the education of the Polish women. Its circulation has reached over 50,000 since all receive a copy as part of their membership. It has made a worthy contribution to the Polish press in America and has aided in the illumination of its members. Together with the other important fraternal organs, it has participated in all vital Polish issues and had rallied its members in support of the Polish Independence movement[30].

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Polish Socialist Party began publication of the Dziennik Ludowy. The paper was subsidized by the American Socialist Party, the mother organization. The Socialist press suffered from the attacks of the clergy and the opposition

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[29]Wacław KRUSZKA, Historya Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 79-83.

[30]Jadwiga KARŁOWICZ, Historia Związku Polek W Ameryce, Chicago, Zjednoczenie, 1938, p. 32-38.

of the more conservative papers. Officially the main issue was the Independence of Poland but its real purpose was the furtherance of the Socialist doctrines among the Poles in Chicago[31].

The Free Poland, a bi-weekly publication, was established by the Polish National Council in 1914 for the express purpose of creating propaganda and formulating the American public opinion in favor of Polish Independence. It was published in English under the editorship of F. T. Modwecki and intended for circulation among Americans and the younger Polish element. It was extremely successful in reaching its objective. When this was accomplished, publication was suspended.

The American press controlled generally by vested interests feared the rising influence of the Polish press. Unable to dictate its editorial policies, it could not prevent the immigrant press from releasing information inimical to American trusts and monoplies. Many local political issues were totally dependent upon the attitude of the Polish press. Through it, the Poles constituted a decisive independent element difficult to control during a campaign[32]. During the period prior to the First World War,

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[31]Emil Hadbank DUNIKOWSKI, Wśród Polonii W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 58.

[32]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 28.

the Polish press devoted much of its energy to the struggle for the autonomous existence of their native land. Following the war, the emphasis was on the rehabilitation of Poland. The service of the Polish press in the education and political orientation of the people cannot be over estimated. Because of the assimilation and restrictions of immigration the Polish press in the later period could not compete with the American press for the attention of the readers. It failed to achieve competitive standards with the American press due to the poor quality of its editors, its lack of capital, the Americanization of the youth, opportunism of the publishers and the confusion it spread during the early period[33]. The Polish press had, however, helped to educate the immigrant serving as a source of his political orientation, acquainting him with the customs and traditions of his new environment and was vitally instrumental in coordinating and directing his energies into an organized program for social and economic progress.

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[33]Karol WACHTEL, Polonja W Ameryce Dzicje i Dorobek, Philadelphia, Polish Star, 1944, p. 320.

CHAPTER VII

EMERGENCE OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN SOCIETY

The Polish immigrants in contrast to other immigrant groups had been able to retain to a high degree their culture patterns within the new environment. Catholicism had been the most powerful force of unification among them[1]. The expanding American industry and the availability of cheap farm land began to stimulate assimilation.

Their ability to earn a steady income strongly influenced their decision to remain in this country permanently. Much had been written about the emigration of the Europeans from America as soon as they were able to accumulate a modest sum of money[2]. This had not been the situation among the Poles in Chicago. At no time did the number emigrating reach over thirty per cent and the average for the first half century studied does not exceed fifteen per cent[3]. There were many reasons for this. From the earliest period the

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[1] Joseph S. ROUCEK and Francis J. BROWN, Our Racial and National Minorities, New York, Prentice Hall, 1937, p. 227.

[2] The Polish National Alliance issued a special informational monograph for those returning to Poland to orientate them with the changes that had taken place there.

[3] Frank J. WARNE, "Assimilation and Governmental Regulation", in Annals of Academy of Political and Social Science, issue of January, 1921, Vol. 93, p. 185.

immigrants had shown a stronger tendency toward urbanization than the native population. As the immigration increased, this tendency appeared more pronounced among the illiterate than among those who possessed rudimentary education. This was in some respects disadvantageous to the immigrants who lived in crowded slum areas yet to a degree it was beneficial to the rapidly expanding American industrialization. It can be safely stated that the phenomenal growth of industries and transportation systems was achieved primarily with immigrant labor. The social problems created by the rapid increase among the immigrants necessitated creation of many governmental and private agencies to aid and protect them and to safeguard for all the American standard of living. Solution of these problems however was not resolved until the beginning of the twentieth century[4]. The decision of the immigrants favoring permanency of residence in America was due to the indirect method of assimilation. Forces of the physical and social contacts and intermarriage with native or other immigrant groups aided the trend toward Americanization. Other important assimilative tendencies were:

> Practical identity of the social environment for all...Absence of class environment...Absence of awe and reverence for any person or class...Diffusion of consciousness of kind...Individual or unorganized character of the elements to be assimilated...

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[4]H. P. FAIRCHILD, "Distribution of Immigrants", in Yale Review, issue of November, 1907, p. 296-310.

the slight impulse for the custom of imitation and the prevalence and ease of mode imitation[5].

The influence of the immigrant churches toward segregation, premanency of residence, naturalization and interest in public affairs cannot be minimized. Generally they retarded assimilation since they encouraged the Poles to remain in the community and support their own church and the parochial activities. Thus the wall of segregation isolated them from the language, traditions and behavior patterns of the natives. There was much prejudice on the part of the native population toward the immigrants[6]. Their ignorance resulting from their lack of education and peasant origin made new adjustments difficult as they had neither the inclination nor the desire. The influence of the immigrant churches and organizations in emphasizing nationalistic traditions, racial distinctions and the preference of the Polish language added to this isolationism. No matter how hard the immigrants tried to evade the forces of assimilation, they were present at every step. Their employment in American industries forced them into contact and associations with

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[5] S. E. SIMONS, "Social Assimilation of the Immigrants", in American Journal of Sociology, issue of November, 1901, Vol. 7, p. 386-404.

[6] Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem: A Study of American Immigration, Conditions and Needs, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1911, p. 314-315.

native workers whose culture patterns were different from their own. The employment of immigrant women as domestic servants brought them directly in contact with the family life of the Americans. The mastering of the English language was probably of most value since through it the immigrant was able to get acquainted with the American press and was slowly initiated into the American way of life[7]. The knowledge of the native language made available additional avenues of employment thereby increasing the immigrant's income.

The Polish peasant in America unable to think for himself had continued to live according to tradition patterns established for him by the cultured class of his native country. The end of the unrestricted immigration created a Polish-American Society with its stratifications.

> The fundamental process which had been going on during this period is the formation of a new Polish-American Society out of those fragments separated from Polish society and embedded in American society. This Polish-American Society as a whole is indeed slowly evolving from Polonism to Americanism as is shown by the fact that its members, particularly those of the second generation, are continually acquiring more American attitudes and being more influenced by American civilization...It is this Polish-American Society, that constitutes a social milieu into which the immigrant who comes from Poland becomes incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself...Such an evolution has evidently been socially unavoidable. The immigrants must

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[7] Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem, Op. cit., p. 363-364.

> of necessity change their ideals, customs to conform to the new society in which they found themselves[8].

Acquaintance of the English language did not cause the Poles to reject their music, art, customs, language and traditions. There actually had been degrees of assimilation among them. Each one of these groups had its place and its share in the Americanization of the foreign born.

> Without the first group the organizations and the institutions established by the early immigrants would go to pieces before their period of influence is past. The second proves that the assimilation is possible but not always desirable. The third group emphasizes the cultural contributions which our immigrants can make to America. The fourth suggests that these people through their ability can accomplish when their handicaps are removed. The last group shows that the process of assimilation can be worked out if those capable of leadership could be given the opportunity to prepare themselves for their responsibility[9].

Inasmuch as the immigrants had come from a class society environment, this tradition remained with them in moderation in America. Wealth and educational superiority were prerequisites to the upper strata in the Polish-American Society. Not unlike in Europe, the cultured minority ignored and ridiculed those of peasant origin except when such associations were profitable. They controlled most of the

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[8] William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, Chicago University, Vol. 5, p. ix-x.

[9] T. SLESZYNSKI, "Second Generation of Immigrants in the Assimilative Progress", in Annals of Academy of Political and Social Science, issue of January, 1921, Vol. 93, p. 161.

housing facilities and commercial enterprises and often through exorbitant rents and excessive prices for their commodities exploited the less fortunate members of the community. The clergy who as a group possessed the highest education had little social contact with the uncultured parishioners. Their association was generally limited to those who had reached higher educational or economic level. The small professional class of Poles occupied the pinnacle of honor and prestige among the immigrants. This group too with few exceptions used the immigrants for selfish gains rather than indoctrinate the masses with some culture and orientate them with their new responsibilities. The traditional respect of the Poles for education was greatly responsible for the social stratification among them.

The immigrants from Austrian and Prussian Poland had acquired some degree of primary education and had experienced many progressive measures such as labor organizations and agrarian cooperatives. The individuals from Russian Poland had no such opportunity as the government restricted any type of intellectual and social activity fearing precipitation of another revolutionary movement. This group had the greatest difficulty adjusting itself to the new conditions. Although capable of long hours of hard work, they were not qualified for any but the most menial tasks. Many American employers

having come in contact only with this group were reluctant to employ Poles at tasks which required alertness and ingenuity. Inasmuch as the American organized labor movement did not include semi-skilled and common labor within its ranks, most Poles in the local colony evidenced little interest in any program of labor reform. The highly skilled Polish printers, machinists, iron workers and other tradesmen were quick in appreciating the attempt at unionization of any occupation and responded by enrolling within its ranks. In the clothing industry the Chicago Polish workers were in preponderance and aided greatly in the formulation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union[10]. Timid and unable to converse in the language of the country, they seldom assumed leadership in the unions they had helped to found. Similar situations had prevailed in the lumber, iron, tanning, and meat-packing industries[11]. This lack of properly trained Poles in the field of labor relations had a deplorable effect on the whole union movement since unscrupulous element not even connected with the industry often gained control of the union by force. The union movement in the United States had been a disgraceful chapter in the history of social

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[10] Report of the Immigration Commission, Senate Document 747, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Washington, United States Printing Office, 1911, Vol. 12, p. 271.

[11] Ibid., p. 19.

progress of the nation.

The Polish Socialist Party did much to arouse the workers of the necessity of joining all labor organizations. It also helped to introduce modern concepts of unionism into many local labor organizations. In 1913, it established and maintained a labor school in the city and a correspondence school in political and social science to acquaint the Polish workers outside of Chicago with the contemporary labor and political situation. These attempts were constantly attacked by the Polish press and clergy who did little to give any social education to their people. Over two hundred thousand books and monograms were distributed by the Socialist Party among the Polish workers in an attempt to gain their attention and interest in the labor movement. Although the Poles were eager to accept any aid to improve their working conditions, they were reluctant to follow the political precepts of the Socialists. The Socialist organ, Dziennik Narodowy, accused the Polish National Alliance organ, Dziennik Związkowy, of spreading falsehoods and defending the policies of political and social autocrats like the Czar of Russia[12].

In time other Polish publications began to encourage the immigrants to join unions and assume leadership. It was an established fact that although in some industries the

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[12]Polish Alliance Socialist Party, The Polish Socialist and the Struggle for Independence of Poland, Chicago, Socialist Party Press, 1915, p. 26-32.

Polish workers constituted as high as seventy per cent of the employees, the direction of their union was in hands of other nationalistic groups[13]. Much of the blame for this condition had to be accepted by the Polish press which was late in advocating such measures. The Polish press generally dominated by the clergy had been too conservative in its outlook and had failed to aid the immigrants through labor reform. Economic justice was late in reaching the Polish immigrant in Chicago.

Much accusation had been directed against the Poles and other immigrants for low morality and tendencies toward criminal behavior. The public opinion aided by the American press presented a biased picture of the situation blaming the immigrant class for the great increase in crime locally. Every crime commited was attributed to the newcomers although they were innocent of the greater percentage of the infraction of the laws. While it was obviously true that the mores of the immigrants differed from those of the natives, there was nothing criminal in their makeup. In the matter of deportation of undesirable aliens for criminal acts, the Polish immigrant occupied an insignificant position in comparison with the more assimilated groups who enacted and

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[13]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Chicago, Dyniewicz, 1912, p. 168-172.

enforced the American legal and judicial code[14]. In the report compiled by the Chicago Council Committee on Crime in March of 1915, a concensus was reached:

> The popular belief that immigration is a cause of crime is largely due to a comfortable theory that we are superior to the people of Europe, and to a desire to shift the responsibility for our shortcomings unto other people. The immigrant who forms 46.7 % of the city's population furnishes only 35.3 % of the arrests[15].

These statistics are even less accurate when the number of those arrested under false pretenses is subtracted from the total. It was a common practice for the Chicago police, mostly of Irish and German element, to falsely arrest the immigrants in order to retain the bail bond posted in order to guarantee their appearance at the trial. Obviously the trial was never held and the money never returned. Most frequently the immigrants were charged with public drunkenness and if they even verbally resisted such injustice they were charged with an attempt to assault the officer of the law. The local courts ignored the complaints of the immigrants. Elected and controlled by political bosses, the judges generally were more interested in maintaining

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[14] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, U. S. Printing Office, 1914, p. 105-108. Persons deported for every 1,000 admitted in 1913-1914 were French 2.5%; English 2.0%; Irish 1.0%; Poles .4%; and Jews .3%.

[15] Grace ABBOTT, The Immigrant and the Community, New York, Century, 1921, p. 111.

friendly relations with their political sponsors than in the administration of justice. When a minor case involving an immigrant reached the courts, the court procedure was a sheer burlesque. Since there were no official interpreters attached to the court, anyone present at the hearing who could speak Polish, would be asked by the bench to act in that capacity. It often happened that the interpretation did not correspond to the version given by the defendant. Expediency dictated the conduct of the court[16].

Unless related to the problem of Polish Independence movement, the Polish intellectual leaders and the press did not encourage the Poles to participate in national issues. When the immigration limitation statutes were proposed in the national legislature, the Poles presented a united front of opposition. When the call to arms was issued in the Spanish-American War, the Poles were first to volunteer. To them the issue represented a determination of another people to free themselves from political enslavement. They were eager to help others secure freedom since this was their foremost hope for their native land. In any case where the American foreign policy was even remotely connected with the Polish Question the response of the Poles was instantaneous. In other national issues, Poles did not show any pronounced

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[16] Grace ABBOTT, The Immigrant and the Community, Op. cit., p. 123-127.

interest. Although many were American born, this mental segregation continued to label them as foreigners[17]. Lack of intermarriage prevented a greater degree of Americanization. The national census of 1910 showed that ninety per cent of the second generation Polish American children were of pure Polish parentage. In each immigrant group, the attitude prevailed that marriage with other nationalities was degrading. The group exhibiting stronger feeling than the Poles against intermarriage was the Greek element[18]. Lack of intermarriage into other nationalities prevented introduction of new ideas, customs and culture patterns. The second and third generation American Poles continued to cherish the old Polish traditions especially those connected with religious festivals and observances. Their conscious attitudes lagged behind actual practice in regard to the assimilation of American ways. They have not been impervious to American custom and behavior modes but rather faced with cultural dualism. Although they had been able to acquire a large degree of American traits, this had not resulted in a

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[17] J. C. RIDPATH, "Mixed Populations of Chicago", in Chautauquan, issue of January, 1891, Vol. 12, p. 490.

[18] Mieczysław SZAWLEWSKI, Wychodztwo Polskie W Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy Ossolonskich, 1924, p. 94.

Census of 1910 revealed that out of 740,327 persons of second generation born in United States, there were 668,535 or 90% of persons whose both parents were Polish while 56,455 or 7.6% of Polish father and 17,337 or 2.4% of Polish mother.

corresponding loss of Polish culture and traditions[19]. Many of them had refused to admit that changes had taken place. They had become aware of their dualistic cultural position for they considered themselves neither Americans nor Poles but Polish-Americans or American Poles. The older element continued residence in the original Polish settlement where the English language was seldom heard, where all the old traditions and ideals remained alive and where the forces of assimilation found an impenetrable wall. They no longer spoke the Polish they had brought with them from Europe but a mixture of Polish and phonetic English, using neither correctly. A new dialect developed. The new European arrivals found it difficult to understand this mixture of the two languages - a most unintelligible gibberish to the cultured ear. The younger element preferred to speak the English language.

> Every child is more at home in the English language than in the Polish for everywhere the atmosphere is American. The children not only speak English better than Polish, but they prefer to speak it, if they are together just as may be noticed with young people of other nationalities. Hence the Polish clergy and the same applies to clergy of other nationalities, cannot make the parochial school an adequate hindrance to the general Americanizing tendency[20].

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[19] Miles CARPENTER, Poles in Buffalo, Buffalo, University Press, 1920, Vol. 7, p. 23.

[20] Joseph LA FARGE, Polish Missionary Work in the United States, Woodstock Letters, Howard, Nebraska, Kelso, 1909, Vol. 38, p. 357.

The assimilation of the Chicago Poles differed radically from any other group. It was accomplished on an individual basis and without pressure.

> The assimilation has in consequence been accelerated in accordance with the law that the greater the extent and identity of the social environment, for all the members of any group, the more rapid will be the assimilation in that group. The social environment of the immigrant in the United States is more prosperous than that in the land from which he came and realizes a more liberal standard of life. Hence it has a great effect on him and thransforms him quickly. American worship of progress soon infects the immigrant, and is a powerful aid in helping him fling off precedent and accept new ideas of his new environment. Custom imitation is superceded by mode imitation, and rapid assimilation is the result[21].

The economic prosperity which surrounded the immigrant as soon as he was orientated appealed to him. The force of public opinion gradually penetrated his segregated settlement and awakened in him economic, social and political interests. He firmly believed in the American doctrine of equal opportunity for all - natives and aliens alike. Through work and education he could aspire to any level of society he desired. He learned through experience that political and social advancement came to him through imitation of American customs and work patterns. He realized that in order to compete with the natives he had to adopt the American quickness and energy. His desire to engage in the proper and prosperous

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[21] C. J. BUSHNELL, "Social Aspects of the Stock Yards", in American Journal of Sociology, issue of November, 1902, Vol. 7, p. 395.

life of the community and his hope of a better future for his children than they could have enjoyed in Europe had been a powerful factor in the decision of the Polish immigrant to accept at least a partial assimilation.

By 1915, it was evident that the descendants of the permanent Polish residents of Chicago would become completely assimilated and would form an integral part of the city as had the descendants of other immigrant groups.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DILEMMA OF THE DUAL ALLEGIANCE

When the typical Polish immigrant arrived in Chicago he expected to stay only long enough to save a little money and return with it to Europe to improve his economic status. However, he was so profoundly affected by his new environment that he found himself reluctant to leave.

> It is inaccurate to speak of the immigrant population as being only temporarily in this country. It is true, no doubt, that most of the recent immigrants hoped at first to return some day to their native land, but the whole history of immigration showed with the passing years and the growth of the inevitable ties, whether domestic, financial or political, binding the immigrant to his new abode, these hopes declined and finally disappeared[1].

The better educated Poles from Western Poland were more easily assimilated and thus fewer of them cared to return to their mother country. The portion of those returning never exceeded thirty per cent even in the periods of depression[2]. In the period from 1908 to 1915, the average annual emigration of Poles reached slightly over 17,000, however, many of them reentered the United States after a short stay in Poland unable to readjust to the conditions as they

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[1] Isaac A. HOURWICH, Immigration and Labor, New York, Putnam, 1912, p. 74.

[2] William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1918, Vol. 5, p. 29.

found them[3]. The personal freedom they had experienced in America was absent in the dominated Polish territories. The freedom of speech and press to which they had become accustomed in the United States was non-existent in Russian Poland. They were again subjected to official pressures to join the Russian Orthodox Church and because of the acquired wealth they had brought with them from America, they were the prey of the countless Russian functionaries who constantly extorted money from them. Those who had returned to Prussian Poland found the German discipline especially rigorous compared to the freedom of action they had experienced in the United States. In Austrian Galicia, they were comparatively free but the economic conditions were adverse. The younger element upon return to Europe was subjected to military service. These obstacles proved too great to overcome. They were subjected to examinations and special governmental surveillance in Europe while in America they had been free to go about their way with the minimum of interference. As long as they did not break the law, no one paid any attention to them.

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[3]Jeremiah W. JENKS and Jett LAUCK, The Immigration Problem; A Study of American Immigration, Conditions and Needs, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1915, p. 676.
Data on Polish emigration - 1908, 46,727; 1909, 19,280; 1910, 16,884; 1911, 31,952; 1912, 37,764; 1913, 24,107; 1914, 35,028; 1915, 7,912.

The matter of dual allegiance had been considered an impossibility but such was the case with the Polish immigrants. Their claim to dual loyalty while factual was really only indirect[4]. Their relationship with their native country had been mostly economic and spiritual. The ties that had bound them to their native land slowly disappeared and only fond memories remained. The situation was especially acute since they did not have a country they could call their own for Poland was still enslaved by the three European powers. Their interests and energies were therefore slowly transferred to the new country which had received them so humanely and accepted them without question. Nationalism in America had always been a private matter. They satisfied their expression of loyalty to both countries by observance of the national holidays of both with the same degree of patriotism. Since they did not work too hard at either, both loyalties were accepted as part of daily life[5]. Had they devoted more energy to American ideals they would have been more quickly assimilated. Had they maintained the desire to perpetuate their nationalism and ideals, they would have been able to retain them to the present date. There, however, was no

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[4]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasants in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. xiv.

[5]Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Chicago, Dyniewicz, 1912, p. 55-61.

desire at revival and stimulation of their nationalistic ideals until the political events in Europe presented a new incentive for the Chicago Poles to exhibit their love and devotion to their native country. Many of the Polish journalists called upon the Polish National Alliance to rally the Poles around their official slogan, "We owe service to our native country, let us perform it"[6].

Some members of the Russian Revolutionary Movement of 1905 had emigrated to the United States. These men in some measure revived among the American Poles the interest in the armed strength for Poland's independence. The majority of them belonged to the Polish Socialist Party, a half nationalistic and half socialistic organization, and these Russian emigres initiated the party's program for the development of Polish Socialist leaders in America[7]. The Socialists' element made hurried preparations to enlist as many Poles within its ranks as possible in order to train a cadre of Polish Socialists to wrest control in Poland and to establish a Socialist state there. The manifesto of the party was widely circulated among the Poles who were eager to support any plan or organization which offered reasonable

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[6]Stanisław OSADA, Szesć Odczytów O Stronnictwie Demokratyczno-Narodowem I Lidze Narodowej, Chicago, Zgoda, 1905, p. 116-117.

[7]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 4.

solution of the Polish Question.

> The Polish Alliance of Socialist Party regards the liberation of Poland from political slavery and the abolition of any oppression of any nationality as one of the most essential demands of the Polish proletariat and binds itself to support this demand...We will do everything to help Polish workers in Galicia, Russia and Prussia...While fighting for freedom against Russia which consists of 87% of illiterate peasantry, Polish Socialists hope, that the liberation of Poland from Prussian and Austrian rule will come in a peaceful way, through the powerful influence of socialist parties in those countries, as those parties acknowledge emphatically Poland's right to independent political existence[8].

The plan was partially successful. When the independence of Poland was finally achieved, the Polish-American Socialists actually helped in the organization of the new Polish state. Had there been more socialists trained the new Polish government would have been more democratic.

The Polish press, all parochial organizations, and national federations began feverish activity toward restoration of Poland. A new publication expressly issued to propagandize this ideal was founded by the Committee of National Defense, an amalgamation of all Polish organizations in the country[9]. Printed in the English language the Free

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[8]Polish Alliance Socialist Party, The Polish Socialists and the Struggle for Independence of Poland, Chicago, Socialist Party Press, 1915, p. 24, 36.

[9]William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 111. Committee of National Defense and National Department were two exclusively political and antagonistic confederations superimposed on all Polish religious, fraternal and political societies. Although their goal was identical, each had a different plan for the new Poland.

Poland, a bi-weekly, was intended for circulation among the younger Polish element and the American public. Many Americans were influenced by it as it printed contributions by American authors and reproduced pro-Polish editorials that had appeared in the leading journals of the country. The sympathy of American public was gained and many leading Americans were publicly supporting Polish Independence. The Chicago Poles served as the nerve center in all these activities. Money, food, weapons and uniforms for the Polish Armies forming in France were collected. Medical personnel and materiel were supplied. In Canada, a military training camp was established to train a Polish Army. American born Poles, inspired by their foreign born parents, eagerly volunteered for the Polish Armies in France. A misunderstanding developed between the Polish leaders in the United States and the Polish leaders in France and Switzerland. The European leaders contended that the American Poles so far removed from the scene should not interfere with political matters in Europe. Only financial aid and cultivation of pro-Polish attitude in America was expected from them. The American Poles fully intended to dictate the political organization of the new Polish state when the moment of deliverance was at hand. The Polish National Alliance with the aid of outstanding Chicago Poles headed by banker John Smulski tried to foist its own candidate, the renowned pianist Ignacy Jan

Paderewski as the head of the Polish State. The plan failed due to the opposition presented by the other Polish elements[10]. They argued against interference of American Poles in internal matters of another nation. Although the actual amount of money contributed by the Chicago Poles to the preparatory action for Polish freedom had never been ascertained, it did amount to many millions. The Chicago public was deeply moved by the display of patriotism and the monetary sacrifice of the Poles to aid their native land. The Polish press rallied all Poles to action. Parades, theatrical performances and other activities were undertaken to raise money for the cause. The Polish parochial school children had a special fund raising campaign to aid the children in Poland. The female members of the many societies were engaged in making bandages, knitting sweaters and socks for the Polish soldiers and supplying Polish units with flags. The differences that existed among the many Polish groups in Chicago and other parts of the country were abandoned. All were urged to common action, to help those who stood upon the threshold of a new chapter in European history[11].

The American press aware of the fervor among the Poles and conscious of Polish political strength in many

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[10] Robert E. PARK, The Immigration Press and Its Control, New York, Harper, 1922, p. 194.

[11] Free Poland, Vol. 1, issue of September 1, 1914 to December 18, 1914.

localities began to support the Polish Question editorially. Perusal of the Chicago native press reveals very pro-Polish editorial opinion and daily comments of the local citizens in the Vox Populi columns over signatures of other nationalistic societies and individuals. Because of their love of freedom, the Americans sympathized with the Poles who were fighting to regain their independence[12]. Many Americans generously contributed to help the cause. The participation of President Taft in the dedication of the Kościuszko and Pulaski monument in the national capital and in the dedication of the Polish National Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, influenced many important Americans to support this issue. Remarks made in the United States Congress by members who were not dependent upon Polish electorate for their positions were evidence of sincere interest in the destiny of the European people whom liberty had eluded so long[13].

The Catholic Church hierarachy encouraged all of the Catholics to lend a helping hand to the people who had remained steadfast in loyalty to their religion in spite of many adversities and pressures to separate them from the

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[12] Free Poland, Vol. 2, issues of January 6, 1915, to May 1, 1915.

[13] Romuald PIĄTKOWSKI, Pamiętnik Wzniesienia I Odsłonięcia Pomników Tadeusza Kościuszki i Kazimierza Pułaskiego, Chicago, Związek Narodowy Polski, 1911, p. 518-525.

Church. In Chicago the Polish Question was discussed by many outstanding American business and educational leaders in open forums which attracted large American audiences and helped to formulate public opinion. This in turn had a profound effect upon the American Congressmen who were demanding solution of the Polish issue. Time accelerated these demands and bore fruit when the free state of Poland rose out of ruins of Europe after over a century of political enslavement[14].

The contribution of the Poles to the growth and the progress of Chicago during the first half century of their residence had been many and varied. In the field of education they had founded and maintained successfully over thirty elementary and three secondary schools, saving an inestimable amount of money to the local taxpayers. The public funds which of necessity would have had to be used for the education of the children of the Polish immigrants could be diverted for other civic purposes. To take care of their aged and infirmed, orphans and homeless children, they had maintained orphanages, home for the aged and special institutions for the prevention of juvenile waywardness. The Chicago Poles of the twentieth century were able to find solution to all their problems through the efforts of social organizations maintained and financed by the Polish colony. The Polish

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[14] Free Poland, Vol. 2, issues of May 16, 1916 to September 1, 1916.

Women's Alliance was outstanding in the social field, while the Polish National Alliance and the Polish Roman Catholic Union were engaged in many welfare activities which benefited all Poles. These organizations were greatly responsible for the progress made by the Poles.

The efforts of the Polish National Alliance to maintain nationalism and help to educate and orientate the Poles and the determination of the Polish Roman Catholic Union to forestall all attempts to separate the Polish immigrants from the Catholic Church had been a glorious chapter in the history of the local Polonia[15]. The Polish youth encouraged and subsidized by these organizations began to attend institutions of higher learning thus increasing the ranks of the Polish professional class. Financial statements of the Polish parochial and fraternal organizations indicated that large sums of money had been devoted to help Polish youth in its attempt to secure advanced academic training[16]. Largely because of this aid enough doctors, pharmacists and attorneys were trained to provide necessary professional services for the local immigrant group. The establishment of many private

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[15] Zygmunt STEFANOWICZ, Zlota Ksiega Pamiatkowa 1873-1923, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1923, p. 34-38.
Mieczyslaw HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago, Chicago, Polish Pageant Inc., 1937, p. 15, reports that over 35,000 children attended Polish parochial schools in 1915. Church property was valued over ten million dollars.

[16] Ibid., p. 111-117.

evening schools conducted by Poles did much to raise the cultural level of the adult population. By 1915 there remained only a small percentage of illiterate Polish immigrants.

The Polish press perhaps more than any other agency had served the Poles by adapting them to the political and social institutions in their new environment. It crystalized public opinion among them and taught them to support American political and social ideals[17]. It had instructed them in the customs of their surroundings, called upon them to remain loyal to the United States, castigated them for their indiscretions and strove to maintain unity among them. The issues of the Naród Polski, Głos Polek, Dziennik Związkowy and Dziennik Chicagoski contained wise counsel, religious indoctrination, nationalistic reminders, stressed the glory of American culture, gave legal and economic advice, interested the Poles in health hygiene, analyzed political issues and championed for solidarity. They stressed the gravity of the immorality among the youth, encouraged higher education and pointed out the social and political obligations and responsibilities of the Poles in local and national matters.

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[17] William I. THOMAS and Florian ZNANIECKI, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 82-85.

For a long time the Polish press was the only means of information and orientation for the people in the Polish settlements.

The press was perhaps the most influential single factor in the political, social and moral development of the local Polish colony[18].

In the field of trade and commerce, the progress was significant but not spectacular. The Poles constituting the largest nationalistic group locally failed to reach the attainments of the smaller German and Scandinavian groups. This was due to lack of sufficient capital, poor education and lack of business acumen. Although there were over four thousand Polish business houses in Chicago by 1915, they primarily were small owner-operated establishments and only a very few employed more than two or three people. There had been a marked absence of manufacturing and wholesale distributing interests[19]. The reason advanced for this was lack of capital. It would have been more accurate to state that the Polish characteristic of individuality and lack of cooperative spirit plus lack of trained personnel were chiefly responsible for the failure of the many attempted large commercial ventures[20]. The organization of the Palatine Department Store was an excellent example where great

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[18] Stanisław OSADA, Sprawa Polska W Ameryce Północnej, Op. cit., p, 17, 110-130.

[19] Mieczysław HAIMAN, Poles of Chicago 1837-1937, Chicago, Polish Pageant, 1937, p. 15.
Real property held by Chicago Poles amounted to over $300,000,000.

[20] Kaiega Pamiątkowa, Historia Polskiego Handlu i Przemysłu W Ameryce, Chicago, Polish Business Association, 1929, p. 127-135.

ambition was not an adequate substitution for skilled personnel and able business administration. Had this venture been properly managed it might have gorwn into a large commercial enterprise paralleling the German and Anglo-Saxon institutions of this type. In the highly competative commercial and industrial endeavors, the Poles were unsuccessful. Other even more pretentious attempts in automobile manufacturing and allied fields fortunately did not extend beyond the blueprint stage. There was no technical ability among the city's Poles to facilitate such ambitious schemes. Mieczyslaw Haiman reported that by 1015 the Poles controlled six per cent of all real property in Chicago. This was a decline in percentage but not value from the early period. The smaller German and Scandinavian groups, however, controlled about seventy per cent of the total wealth of the city[21].

In the field of politics, the ratio of Polish votes to the number of political jobs held by them was greater in the earlier period. Throughout the fifty year era studied, much of their political energy and civic participation had been misspent because of poor leadership and lack of unanimity. The less cultured element was rather slow in obtaining citizenship. All political participation had been

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[21] Ksiega Pamiatkowa, Historia Polskiego Handlu i Przemysłu W Ameryce, Op. cit., p. 140-146.

a novelty to them. Politically they could be compared to the emancipated American negro. Given new political power they were unable to harness it in cooperative civic expression. Many hundreds of Poles held elective and appointive political offices in the period studied. A great majority of them, unfortunately, merit little credit. In a traditional American manner, most of them had risen from "Ward Heelers" to aldermanic or other public positions. Their behavior while in public office left much to be desired. They did not actually represent the better Polish element since the upper class of Poles, like the other nationalistic groups, paid little attention to politics and shied away from political offices. This had unfortunate consequences since many believed those Polish politicians were indicative of the caliber of the average Pole.[22]

There had been few outstanding Poles in the political life of the city. Notable among these were John Smulski and Peter Kiełbassa of the early period, and Judge Edmund Jarecki of the later period, whose tenure in public office reflected favorably upon the Polonia. The more constructive period in political progress of Chicago Poles postdates this work.

Closely allied to their political participation and orientation but unreflective to any degree was their loyalty

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[22] M. S. SZYMCZAK, Poles in America, Chicago, Polish Day Association, 1933, p. 93.

to the country of their adoption. During the Civil War they eagerly volunteered for service in the Union Army. The war represented an attempt of separation reminiscent of the Polish partitions. In the Spanish-American War they also were among the first to answer the call to colors. During the Russo-Japanese War, the Chicago Poles were sympathetic with the aims of Japan and maintained close contact with the Poles who had been forced to serve in the Russian Army and had been captured by the Japanese. It was believed that the defeat of Russia would result in the freedom of Polish territory under the Czarist domination. The Political events of Europe in 1914 was the final chapter of Polish enslavement. Out of the first hundred thousand Americans who volunteered for service over forty thousand were Poles. Their loyalty to the cause of freedom could not be questioned[23].

The local Polish population shared in the progress of art and sculpture in Chicago. Thaddeus Zukatynski who had arrived in 1888 had became famous for his fresco work in many churches in Chicago and other parts of the United States and was widely acclaimed by the American Press. The fame of another Polish Chicagoan as religious painter, Sister

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[23] J. S. Skibinski and Zella WOLSAN, Poles in America, Chicago, Polish Day Association, 1933, p. 28.
Frequency of pro-Polish editorials was accelerated as the war progressed. Chicago Journal, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Evening Post, Chicago Evening American and Chicago Herald Examiner revealed gradual pro-Polish sentiment in the issues studied for 1914-1916.

Stanisia, pupil of Zukatynski began in the period following the great war. The art work of Walter Krawiec, Theodore Roszak, John Szynalik and Anton Rogalski represented the small number of Chicago Poles who had contributed in large measure in the field of art. Polish contributions to the field of sculpture and architecture in Chicago reached some importance after 1915. [24]

Music and signing had always been characteristic of the Poles. The early immigrants established parochial theatres, choral societies and musical organizations for their personal enjoyment. Count Napoleon Ledochowski came to Chicago and established a Conservatory of Music in 1870. A graduate of Sorbonne University, he had studied music there with a pupil of Chopin. The oldest American choral society, The Apollo Musical Club of Chicago, employed him as soloist in many of their concerts. Although the Polish musical and theatrical endeavors were primarily on parochial amateur level, Poles from as far as six hundred miles away were attracted. The distinguished Doctor Felix Borowski in 1896 produced the Russian Sonata which won him wide acclaim and commendations from such renowned musicians and composers as Grieg, Rosenthal and other contemporary artists. The following year he was invited to join the faculty of the Chicago

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[24] M. C. GŁOMSKI, Poles of Chicago, Chicago, Polish Pageant Inc., 1937, p. 57.

Musical College, later becoming its president. He also served as the music critic for the Chicago Evening Post and the Record Herald, two leading contemporary journals[25].

In the later period there have been a number of attempts to organize Polish professional theatrical groups. Due to the encroachment of assimilation among the Polish youth and lack of interest of the older element, this enterprise was soon abandoned.

To stimulate interest among the Poles in social work the Polish Social Workers Club was founded in 1913. The guiding spirit in this movement was Father Andrew Spetz of the Resurrection Congregation. Many outstanding Polish clergy and laity, one of whom was Florian Znaniecki who collaborated with William I. Thomas in a sociological study of the local Poles. To the present time, this voluminous work has remained an outstanding contribution.

The Polish element bound by their parochial and fraternal organizations and church affiliation alerted by their press constituted a formidable political and social element of the local population. Although much rivalry and competition existed among them in their communal organizations, they slowly learned that cooperation was essential to their progress. Countless individuals of Polish birth and extraction

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[25]M. J. GROMSKI, Poles of Chicago, Op. cit., p. 58-63.

through the first half century of Chicago had given their support unselfishly to made the city great. These patriots of the past generations have set a pattemand traditions for the future generations to follow. They had played an important part in the growth of Chicago. They comprised the largest foreign nationality group in the city. They were able to establish and maintain more churches and parochial educational institutions than any other immigrant group. A large part of Chicago was built by them as much of the progress depended upon Polish labor. They had participated in every important religious, civic, social and economic development. They had earned their citizenship and the right to its privileges. They had been a great asset to the community. Loyal, hard working, and dependable, they aided in the growth of Chicago by their unceasing toil, desire for self-improvement and determination for progress.

CONCLUSION

The polarization of Polish immigrants in Chicago in the first half century studied was enhanced by the employment potentialities offered them. As could be expected the early settlers who had achieved some degree of economic stability and experienced complete political freedom were eager to share these opportunities with their friends and relatives in Europe, encouraging and aiding them to emigrate.

The parish was the unifying agent and served as source of all the immigrants' religious, cultural, political, social and economic activities. Socially, the parish-commune was a self sufficient unit. Since the Poles were primarily of Roman Catholic conviction, the church served as the vital bond of brotherhood in the early period. The parish priest not only ministered to their spiritual needs but acted as their political and economic advisor and protector. The misunderstanding over the establishment of the pioneer parishes was due primarily to the attempt of the Resurrection Congregation to gain control of the local Polish element. With the establishment of the parish and parochial organizations, the immigrants' needs for social intercourse were temporarily fulfilled.

In order to provide special services and to preserve their nationalistic and cultural ideals, national federative bodies were developed. They were generally fraternal mutual benefit insurance organizations. These federations also

served as information centers. The establishment of economic institutions, such as building and loan associations and banks, was undertaken because contemporary American institutions did not provide special facilities needed by the immigrants. To prevent denationalization, the immigrants established parochial educational institutions. Religion, Polish culture and history were emphasized in the curriculum. To enlighten the illiterate adult masses evening schools and cultural centers were founded which in time had a profound effect upon the intellectual attainments of the local immigrant colony.

Disinterested, politically inexperienced and unschooled in the ideals of American democracy, the early Polish immigrants were reluctant to participate in American politics. Their civic consciousness was stimulated, however, by the determined efforts of their national organizations which maintained special schools for citizenship training. Generally their political outlook was conservative in the early period leaning toward the Republican party but later oscillated between the two major political parties dependent upon the amount of political patronage promised them. Significant economic strides had been made. From a humble beginning of few retail establishments in their own communities they eventually controlled a few thousand commercial ventures and owned approximately ten per cent of all

the real property.

While the Polish press had played an important part in the prevention of assimilation of the immigrants and had fomented much friction among them, it acquainted them with democratic ideals, crystalized their political opinion, defended them against attacks from other foreign groups and American bigots, acted as the media for advertising their commercial endeavors and served as the coordinator in all important religious, social, nationalistic and political movements. The era of assimilation created the Polish-American society with its stratifications based primarily upon educational attainments and economic progress. Since there were very few intellectuals among the immigrants, the influence of this class upon the masses was not as effective as could have been expected.

The rapid growth of the city's industries was attributed in a large degree to the plentiful supply of cheap labor which the Polish community furnished. Although the Poles were among the first to join the union movement and in many industries constituted the majority of workers, they seldom assumed leadership because of their timidness, their inexperience in such matters and their inability to speak English. The immigrants generally considered themselves apart from all national issues except when these issues were connected however remotely with the Polish independence ideal.

Stimulated by their press and organizations, they rallied to support such issues. The cultural progress made by the Polish element was evidenced in their schools, theatres, paintings, sculpture, music and singing. Many organizations devoted to these esthetic pursuits were founded. It is significant that in 1915 only about four per cent of the Poles in Chicago were illitorate.

The plans of the immigrants to return to their native country were generally abandoned because of the advantageous living conditions in America. Their economic position had improved so noticeably that return to their former level of peasant in Poland was unthinkable. The agitation for independence of Poland united the many factions into a well organized, disciplined people with one objective - an autonomous Polish state. They were able to exert great pressure upon American politicians and succeeded in turning the American public opinion in their favor.

The contributions of the Polish element to the growth and progress of Chicago were many and genuine. They had developed sixteen large communities, maintained over thirty educational institutions and parochial establishments, supplied much of the labor for expanding local industries and had contributed much to the political and cultural maturity of the city. Not only did the Polish element constitute the largest foreign group in the city but their contributions

were proportionately greater than those of any other foreign group.

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Official organ of the Alliance of Polish Young Men of America. Material rich in local news and activities of Polish youth.

Lokański, H., Sokół, 3rd year, issue of 1910, p. 2-176.
An organ of the Polish Falcons Society listing their activities, membership and aims.

Medwecki, F. J., Free Poland, Vols. 1, 2, Sept. 1914-Sept. 1916.
A bi-weekly newspaper published by the Polish National Council of America, a federation of all important Polish organizations. The Council was organized to prepare the American Poles for the moment of liberation of their native land.

Wachtel, Karol H., Naród Polski, Vols. 6-10, Jan. 1902 - June, 1906.
This newspaper was the official organ of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. Its issues contain priceless information on the growth of this important organization and the Polish colony in Chicago.

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One of the earliest of Polish newspapers. It contained not only pertinent information on the Polish element, but the advertisements constitute evidence of its business and commercial progress.

PERSONAL DOCUMENTS

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La Farge, J., Polish Missionary Work in the United States, from Woodstock Letters, Vol. 38, dated 1870-1876, 1910, p. 350-364.
An interesting account of the Jesuit missionary who worked among the Poles in the United States.

Schlechter, P. N., From Our Polish Missionaries, from Woodstock Letters, Vol. 28, dated 1899, p. 106-108.
The author describes the confusion created by the Polish Independent Church among the immigrants. Father Schlechter gave missions in areas most in danger of falling away from Rome.

Sebastyanski, L., Labors Among the Poles and the Bohemians, from Woodstock Letters, Vol. 15, dated 1886, p. 75-76.
Description of a successful mission given in a Chicago Polish parish.

Reports of the Immigration Commission, Sen. Doc., No. 747, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 12, Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1911, p. 110-642.
The first scholarly publication of the United States Government on immigration and its problem and its significance to American well being.

OTHER SOURCES

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Anniversary memorial of the founding of the Polish Falcons in America. Complete history of this organization.

Karłowicz, Jadwiga, Historja Związku Polek W Ameryce, Chicago, Związek Polek, 1931, 350 p.
History of the Polish Women's Alliance dating from 1887. Valuable for contributions of women to Polish culture and traditions.

Maksymus, Brother, C. S. C., Pamiątka Złotego Jubileuszu Kapłanstwa Wielebnego Ks. K. Sztuczki, 1831-1941, Chicago, 1941, 87 p.
Valuable since Father Sztuczko did more than any other person to stem the wave of heresy among the Poles who were falling away from Rome.

Piątkiewicz, Karol, Pamiętnik Jubileuszu Związku Narodowego, Chicago, Zgoda, 1940, 367 p.
A History of the most powerful Polish organization in the United States. Every important activity of the Polish immigrants was dependent upon this organization for its success.

Stefanowicz, Zygmunt, Złota Księga Pamiątkowa 1873-1923, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1923, 152 p.
Golden Jubilee Commemorative of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in United States. As this organization ranks second to the Polish National Alliance, its chronology and activities cannot be overlooked in this study.

Wargin, Sister Lucille, The Polish Immigrant in the American Community, 1870-1930, Chicago, 1948, Unpublished Master's Thesis, De Paul University, ii-179 p.
Not too reliable. Contains some data on Chicago Poles.

Album Pamiątkowy: Złoty Jubileusz Najstarszej Parafii Św. Stanisława Kostki, w Chicago 1867-1917, Chicago, Dziennik Chicagoski, 1917, 371 p.
This was the mother of all Polish parishes in Chicago hence this album contains much valuable information about the early period.

Dzieje Parafii Św. Trójcy: 1873-1898, Chicago, 1898, 112 p.
Account of the second Polish parish in Chicago. Rich in information of the early period.

Golden Jubilee Book - St. Hyacinth Parish, 1894-1944, Chicago, Leander, 1944, 82 p.
With the establishment of this parish, we see an attempt to get away from the slum area into a newer and more wholesome locality a few miles away from the heart of Polonia.

Golden Jubilee Book of the Establishment of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth in America, Chicago, 1935, 79 p.
The Nazareth Sisters were among the early Polish teaching nuns in Chicago parochial schools.

Jubilee Memoir - Saint Mary of Nazareth Hospital - 1894-1944, Chicago, 172 p.
The establishment of this first Polish hospital in Chicago was an eventful moment in the history of the Chicago Poles.

Kalendarz dla ludu Polskiego, Chicago, 1906, 480 p.
An annual issue called a calendar but actually a Polish almanac containing much useful information on Poles in Chicago.

Ksiega Pamiątkowa Historji Polskiego Handlu i Przemysłu w Ameryce, Chicago, Polish Business Association, 1929, 167 p.
Some valuable information on economic progress of the Chicago Poles.

Pamiętnik Prowincji Matki Bożej Dobrej Rady Z Gromadzenia S. S. Felicjanek Z Okazji Diamentowego Jubileuszu Zgromadzenia, 1855-1930, Chicago, 1930, 136 p.
Felician Sisters had been teaching in Chicago parochial school since 1880's and had contributed much to the educational and spiritual life of the Poles

Pamiętnik Parafii Swietej Trójcy w Chicago, Illinois, 1893-1918, Z okazji 25 tej Rocznicy Otwarcia Kościoła przez Jego Eminecje Kardynała Gatolli, Delegata Papieskiego, Chicago, Jubilee Committee, 1918, 364 p.
Cardinal Gatolli had been dispatched to the United States to investigate the Church difficulties among the Poles. This memorial commemorates his reopening of the Holy Trinity Church which had been closed for some time due to much unnecessary misunderstanding.

Pamiętnik Złotego Jubileuszu Kościuszko Building and Loan Association, 1882-1932, Chicago, the Stanek Press, 1932, 138 p.
History of the growth of one loan association showing economic growth of Chicago Poles.

Weber High School - 50th Anniversary Edition, 1890 - 1940, Chicago, 1940, 218 p.
Weber High School was the old former Saint Stanislaus College which served such a vital part in the education of the Poles in Chicago.

TABLE I.-

Polish Immigration by Numbers[1].

1860	1870	1880	1890[2]	1900	1910	1915
1,164	42,927	120,770	342,106	270,902	873,600	170,000

[1] Tables Showing Arrivals of Alien Passengers and Immigrants in the United States from 1820-1888, Washington, Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, 1890, p. 157-186.

[2] Mieczysław SZAWLEWSKI, Wychodztwo Polskie W Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy Ossolinskich, 1924, p. 16.

TABLE II.-

Polish Immigration by Percentage[1].

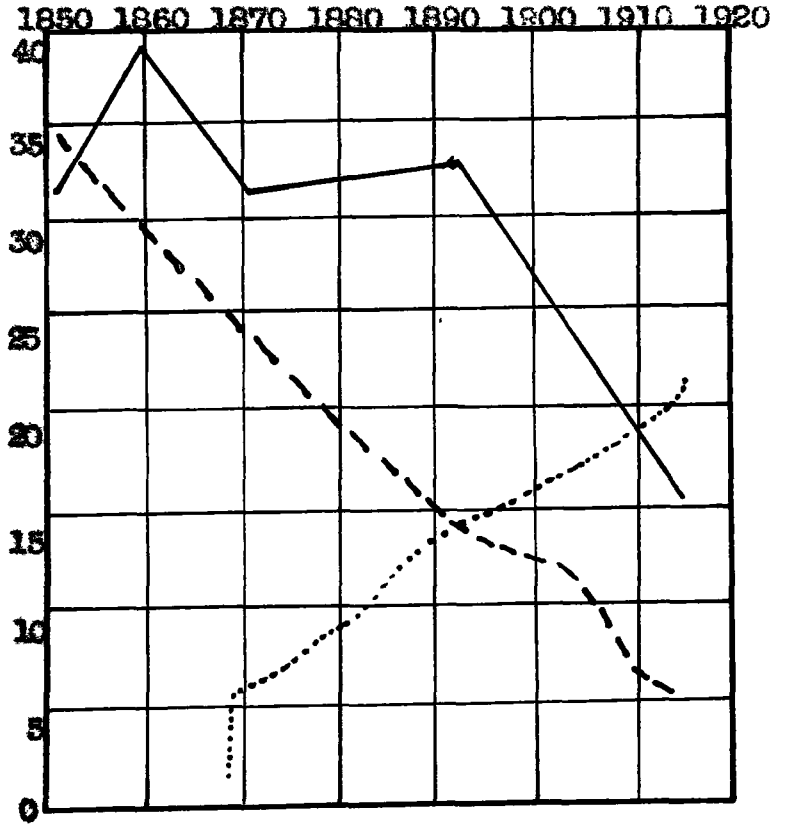
1860	1870	1880	1890	1900[2]	1910	1915
.11	2.06	4.1	5.8	11.7	7.9	13.4

[1]United States Census Reports for 1860-1920, Washington, U. S. Census Bureau, 1922. As many of the totals are compilations from several tables, it is impractical to list specific page references.

[2]C. J. BUSHNELL, "Social Aspects of the Stock Yards", in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7, issue of September, 1901, p. 284-297.

TABLE III.-

Percentage of Poles Among Foreign Born in Chicago[1].



Legend:

Poles -.....

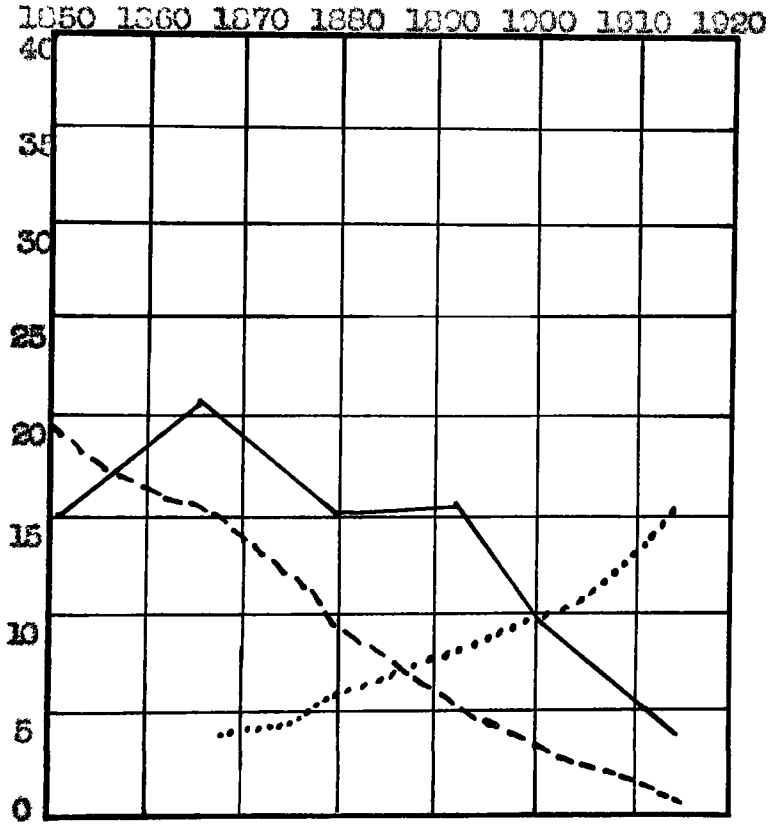
Germans -———

Irish ------

[1]Compiled from Chicago city directories and publications of nationalistic organizations. Statistics are approximate since much confusion existed in recording the nationality of immigrants, generally classified by surnames. Many Poles had Russianized and Germanized names and were usually classified with immigrants of these countries.

TABLE IV.-

Percentage of Poles in the Population of Chicago[1].



Legend:

Poles -·····

Germans ————

Irish - - - - -

[1]Compiled from Chicago city directories and publications of nationalistic organizations. Statistics are approximate since much confusion existed in recording the nationality of immigrants, generally classified by surnames. Many Poles had Russianized and Germanized names and were usually classified with immigrants of those countries.

TABLE V.-

Distribution of Polish Immigrants According To Religious Convictions-1915[1].

Roman Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Russian Orthodox	Lutheran	Other
94%	2%	2%	1%	1%

[1]These approximations were taken from the available United States Immigration Commission Reports covering this period and from local directories.

TABLE VI.-

Geographic Sources of Polish Immigration to 1915[1].

Austrian Poland	Russian Poland	Prussian Poland
700,000	600,000	300,000

[1] Tables Showing Arrivals of Alien Passengers and Immigrants in the United States from 1820 to 1868, Washington, Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, 1870, p. 137-138.

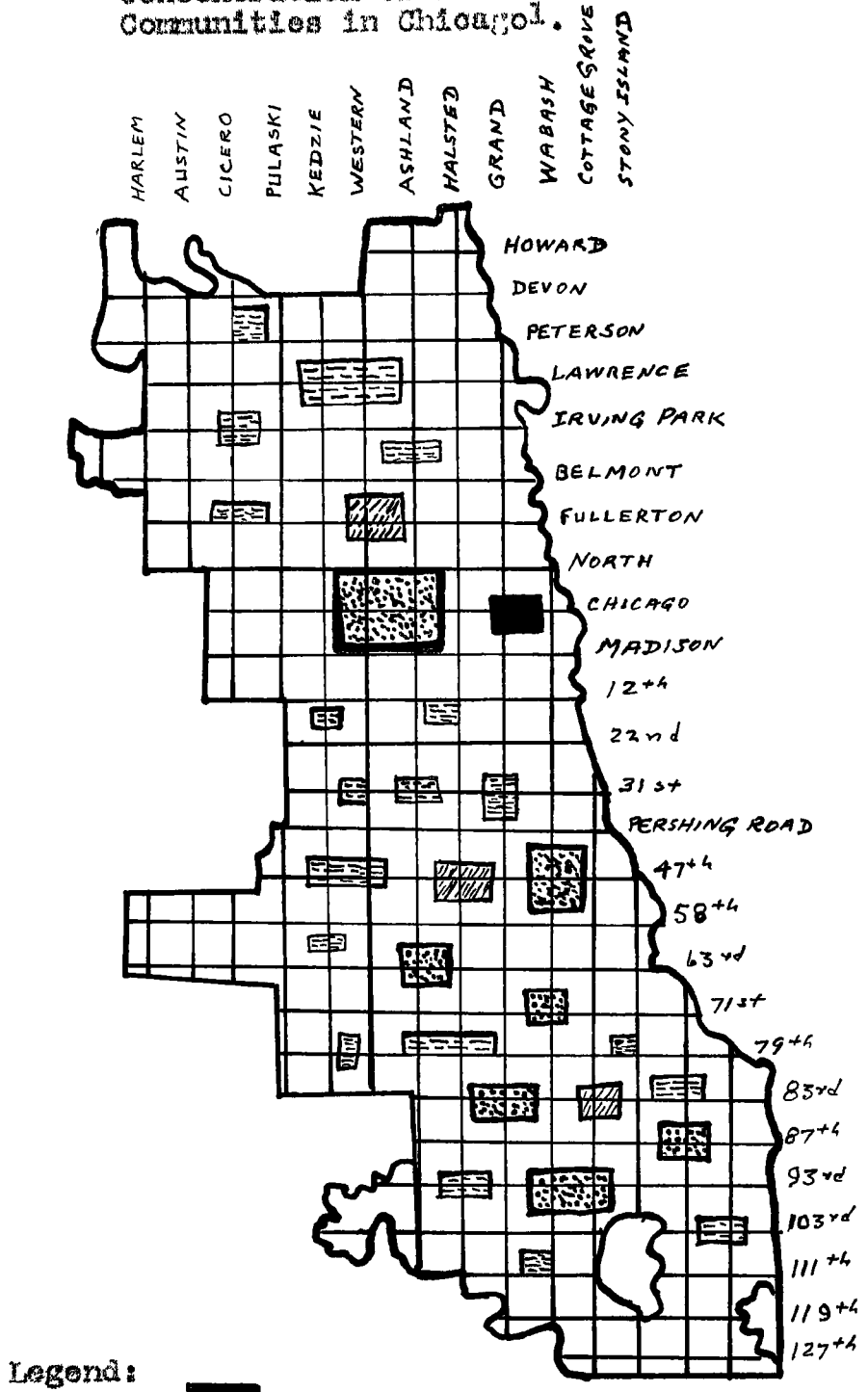
For figures showing immigration after 1868, the following sources were consulted:

H. H. FISHER, America and the New Poland, New York, Macmillan, 1928, p. 56-61.

Mieczysław SZANIE...KI, Wychodztwo Polskie W Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Warszawa, Zakład Narodowy Ossolinskich, 1924, p. 16.

TABLE VII.-

Concentration of Polish Communities in Chicago[1].



[1]Compiled from the available city directories and municipal maps covering these periods.

APPENDIX B

ABSTRACT OF

First Half Century of the Polish Element in Chicago 1865-1915[1].

In the study of the first half century of the Polish element in Chicago, a number of interesting facts become evident. The determination of early Polish immigrants to improve their economic conditions in America was realized in the opportunities offered by the rapidly expanding industries of Chicago. The peasants had little to offer their employer except willingness to labor at menial tasks for many hours. Their inclination to earn much and spend little precluded a frugal existence. Out of their meager wages as much as possible was invested in homes and small commercial establishments. Although their income was considerably lower than that of the native worker, their accumulated savings during their first two decades in Chicago amounted to over ten million dollars representing approximately ten per cent of all the real property in the city.

In order to establish a well regulated community, they founded parochial centers which became the core of all their religious, political, educational and economic activity. The reluctance of the Polish immigrants to worship in the

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[1]Ph. D. Thesis presented by Stanley S. Jados, in 1952, to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, 190 pages.

existing German and Irish churches was not spiritual. They preferred to erect their own churches whey they could maintain contact with their traditions, cultural patterns and history. In the minds of the Poles nationalism and Catholicism were synonymous. The Polish clergy served their people as civic and spiritual leaders. The most significant contributions made to the educational, religious and political progress of the Poles can be credited to the priests of the Resurrection and the Holy Cross Congregations. The disunity and strife which had begun over parochial boundary lines was the result of the Resurrection Congregation's attempt to control the Polish element in Chicago. The intellectual leaders were few and often were economically dependent upon those whom they were to lead. Many had left Poland because they had been a failure. They too were attempting to improve their economic condition in America where competition at the higher intellectual level was practically non-existant. Such individuals obviously had few ideals to impart. The attempts of these opportunists to link Polish colonies in America as an integral part of Poland failed.

The educational progress of the Polish youth did not extend beyond the primary and secondary parochial educational institutions. To increase literacy among adults special cultural centers were founded. The parochial institutions were entrusted with the perpetuation of Polish nationalism, culture and religion. The Poles generally disapproved of

public schools. Although the Polish immigrants had no previous experience in political participation, they were eager to take part in local civic issues. Untutored, inexperienced and without proper leadership, they had fallen prey to political bossism. The clergy and the fraternal organizations had been greatly responsible for encouraging naturalization among immigrants. In time the Polish vote constituted a decisive factor in all local political elections. However, due to the political incohesiveness, the Poles were unable to assume leadership locally.

Truly amazing was the progress made by the Poles in amassing a large fortune in spite of their low incomes. In the fifty year period studied they surpassed all other Slavic groups combined in the amount of real wealth. This was unfortunate to a degree since much of these savings should have been expended for high education of their children. The amalgamation of the parochial societies into national federations tended toward unification of the Poles, polarized their energies, presented them with a program for concerted action and aided them in their commercial endeavors. The organizations initiated special social and cultural facilities, encouraged higher education through subsidies, stressed nationalism and deliberately retarded assimilation.

The Polish press devoted to the defense of nationalism had also delayed the assimilative process of the group.

It had failed to educate the masses and present a sound program for their intellectual, political and economic progress. On the whole, however, it was responsible for much of the advancement of the local Polonia. Of the many attempts in Polish journalism, the press controlled by the clergy had the most lasting effect and contributed most to the enlightment of the people.

The assimilation of the Poles had been slow and generally on an individual basis. During the period studied very few of the immigrants had been Americanized. The proportion greatly increased with the succeeding generations. The fundamental process which had been developing was the separation of a minority from the Polish society into an American society. This was a slow envolvement from Polonism to Americanism, accelerating with time. This Polish-American society, however, had been more dependent upon Polish culture than American and it developed along its own lines. The two cultures went through a modification period, a segment of each fitted to meet a special need. The development of a new spoken language part English and part Polish was another result of the resistance to the assimilative forces which encroached upon the immigrants. Their vocabulary was bi-lingual in that English words were modified by Polish prefix or suffix creating a spoken tongue which neither an American nor a newly emigrated Pole could understand.

The defense of cultural patterns, nationalism and religion was the accepted approach to all problems. The desire of the Poles to bring about the rebirth of their native country found expression in American national issues as they believed that through such action favorable steps might be taken to free Poland. The unity of purpose among them on the eve of the great war ably illustrated the love of their mother country. Emigration statistics revealed that comparatively few Poles wished to return to the place of their birth because of the unregulated assimilation process and the economic prosperity they enjoyed in this country. The problem of dual allegiance presented no obstacle since the Poles did not consider allegiance in the light of complete loyalty to either state. They were loyal Americans and patriotic Poles simultaneously believing that one complimented the other. Certainly no other immigrant group did more for the United States than the Poles. Their willing participation in the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and World War I gave ample evidence of their love of their adopted country.

The contributions of the Polish element in the first half century of their settlement in Chicago cannot be minimized. Their parochial establishments constituted over thirty separate settlements throughout the city. They had ventured into every type of commercial activity and had

furnished much of the energy which made possible the great industrial progress of the city. Their accumulative wealth exclusive of churches, schools, charitable institutions, and fraternal and business organizations was over three hundred million dollars. They had made significant contributions in every field of endeavor - economics, music and painting. Politically they wielded a conservative influence.

Through their hard work, frugal living, exemplary behavior and love of freedom, they had been singly instrumental in the building of greater Chicago.