

**THE NATIONAL ORIENTATION OF THE POLES
IN THE UNITED STATES
1608-1935**

By

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PREFACE

The study of the National Orientation of the Poles in the United States is the result of many years of fascination with which the topic has fastened itself upon the author's interest. It is a study of a group in which the writer claims membership through descent and heritage. Sincere acknowledgement is extended to all who in many ways have contributed to the preparation of this thesis. In particular, the constructive criticism and suggestions of Prof. Thomas Whelan are gratefully appreciated. Dean, Francis X. Swietlik of Marquette Law School kindly furnished information on events and policies in which he took part or himself helped shape. The Rev. Donald Bilinski, O.F.M., general librarian of the Franciscan Province of the Assumption of the Bl. Virgin Mary, at Pulaski, Wis., Mr. Miecislau Haiman, custodian of the Museum and Archives also the librarian of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, Mr. A. Szczerbowski, Secretary General of the Polish National Alliance of America, have generously made available the material, sources and books at their disposal and necessary for this study. To them the author owes a special debt of gratitude. Lastly, acknowledgement of appreciation is extended to the Very Rev. Theophane Kalinowski, O.F.M. and Rev. E. J. Drummond, S.J., who made this study possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Poles in America are said to be the most nationalistic people among all the immigrant races and nations that have wended their way to our shores and comprise the America of today. Mention is often made that they cling longest to their Old Country ways, habits, customs, manners and language.

The fire of national patriotism of which the American Poles gave such evidence and proof in the years 1918-1919 has led many to believe that the only explanation of this characteristic is to be found in the arrival of Polish immigrants already deeply imbued with the love of their mother country, strongly attached to her, in fact, it would seem that the outstanding cause of Polish immigration to this country was prompted by political, if not patriotic reasons. The purpose of this study is to ascertain the above made claims.

By The National Orientation of the Poles in the United States is meant the preoccupation of the American Poles with policies and principles which were of nationwide scope or import, which interested or affected the entire Polish ethnic group in America.

The most important phases of this national orientation or national preoccupation of the Poles in

America is their attachment to the homeland and their loyalty to the United States, their country of adoption.

Has the one or the other undergone any fluctuations or changes? Have the Poles, during any period of time, given more attention to the one rather than to the other? Can we distinguish definite periods of time, stages, when the one or the other phase of national orientation became more outstanding, periods of diminution and persistence, of their attachment to the country of origin or intensification of their national interest in America, in their own problems inasmuch as these became intimately united with their new country, eventually their country of adoption? Or, were the Poles fortunate and successful in combining both at the same time?

Above all, what factors contributed to the one or the other national orientation of the Poles in America in any given period of time? Not much consideration will be given to the influences shaping these orientations, and which were common to all immigrant groups, v.g. the huddling of the new immigrants in large cities due to the economic and industrial conditions which gave them no other choice, and the consequent formation of foreign colonies. These tended to accentuate and add persistence to the nationalism of particular ethnic groups.

Attention has been centered on factors which were peculiar to the Poles themselves, characteristic of them and which therefore distinguished them from all national groups or races.

Although the study reaches as far back as 1608, to the beginning of the Polish colonial immigration, it is in reality an inquiry into the Polish economic immigration which began about the year 1865. Neither the Polish colonial or political immigration presented much difficulty or problem. The study of the two has been added, nevertheless, not only to round out the history of national orientation of the Poles in America, but above all to contrast it with that of the Polish economic immigration.

Since the question of orientation of the Poles in the United States is one of national proportions, it is necessary to study it mostly from the history, the viewpoint, the achievements and the orientation of the large Polish national organizations and of the Polish Catholic Clergy, not only because these reflected the national orientation of the masses or can be looked upon as the representatives of the Polish ethnic group and thereby of its tendencies, aspirations and policies, but primarily because these large organizations together with the Rev. Clergy moulded the opinion of the Poles in America, guided them and shaped their national orientation.

The study of the national orientation of the Poles in America must base itself on the official reports, the agenda of the national organizations, in particular of the Polish National Alliance of America and of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America with a combined membership of 400,000 Poles.

Extensive use and reference is made to the *Przegląd Kościelny* (The Ecclesiastical Review) and *Przegląd Katolicki* (The Catholic Review), both the official organs of the Union of the Polish Catholic Clergy in America. These two publications were the most outstanding periodicals in this country, published by the Poles, they contain the minutes and reports of the conventions of the Polish clergy and present critical analysis of the events, the policies, the doings and undoings of the American Poles.

The reader will not find all references to the *Przegląd Kościelny* and to the *Przegląd Katolicki* listed in the Bibliography. To avoid tediousness and not to make the Bibliography appear bulky, only such articles were inserted in the Bibliography which treated at length a given problem or question and which enunciated a definite principle or policy. References to items of interest only will be found quoted in the body of the thesis.

CHAPTER II

POLISH NATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES

1608-1918

A distinction must be made in the orientation of the Poles in the United States, depending upon the types or periods of Polish immigration to this country.

Mr. M. Haiman, historian of the Polish past in the United States, divides the history of Polish immigration to America into three periods:

- 1) Colonial immigration, 1608-1776
- 2) Political immigration, 1776-1865
- 3) Economic immigration, 1865 to date.¹

1. Wicislaus Haiman, Polish Past in America, 1.

The above given dates are not to be interpreted strictly, since the exact limit when one period ends and the other begins, cannot be determined. The distribution is made along general lines when one or the other element began to prevail as the cause of Polish immigration.

Religious persecution contributed little to Polish immigration. In comparison with the political and economic factors it is small in scope. Some of it can be included under the heading of economic or political immigration, since it involved the expropriation of their

land and attempts at the extermination of the Polish language. These took place in the part of Poland seized by the Germans, where the expropriation of the Poles and attempts to forbid the use of the Polish language coincided with the Kulturkampf waged by Bismarck.

A. COLONIAL IMMIGRATION, 1608-1776.

During the Colonial immigration period the Poles made their way into every colony. The number was small, consisting mostly of individuals.² Brown-Roucek claim

2. M. Haiman, loc. cit.

that the "Poles were generously sprinkled in the thirteen colonies at the time of the Revolution."³

3. F.J.Brown and J.S.Roucek, One America, 136.

The Polish Colonial immigration was "above all an immigration of adventurers,"⁴ although such description

4. M. Haiman, op. cit., 3.

does not suggest any disparagement, for as Rev. Swastek remarks: "On the eve of the War of Independence, the Polish American had an honored if small colonial ancestry."⁵ It is therefore difficult to reconcile with

5. Rev. J. Swastek, "What Is a Polish American?" Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944, 3:73.

the above, Gąsiorowski's statement, that the Polish Colonial immigration, though consisting of various types of people, was nevertheless a numerous group.⁶

6. W. Gąsiorowski, Ach.-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 10.

The Polish Colonial immigration numbered many artisans, probably Protestants and burghers.⁷ Notable

7. M. Haiman, Polish Pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky, 30-31.

among these in 1608 were the Polish manufacturers of glass, pitch, tar and like products in the Jamestown Colony. They have gone down in Colonial History as the first strikers who ceased working in protest against their disfranchisement. The Poles were denied representation in the House of Burgesses, "The Mother of the American Representative Legislature", in Jamestown. The Poles won out.⁸ The Sadosky or Sandusky family

8. M. Haiman, Ibid., 47.

were pioneers of Ohio and Kentucky in the middle of the

XVIII century.⁹

S. M. Haiman, Ibid., 54

M. Haiman, "Polish Past in America," 19.

The joint or collective protest of the Jamestown Poles suggests that they have settled together and were looked upon by the early settlers as an ethnic group. Whether or not attempts were made to form distinct Polish colonies, both in the Colonial as well as in the Political Immigration periods, cannot be determined. No study or research has brought this to light. Establishment of same would not be surprising. Such, at the time, was the tendency. The Swedes had their New Sweden, the Dutch their New Holland, the English their New England, etc.¹⁰ Evidently, this state of

10. M. Haiman, Polish Past in America, 15, 23.

affairs must have been known to the Poles in their native land, for we find Paul Mostowski, a Palatine of the Duchy of Masovia, who in the year 1776 presented to Congress a fantastic and somewhat ludicrous proposition of forming a Polish Colony in America.¹¹

11. M. Haiman, Ibid., 27-28; treated at length in M. Haiman, Z Przeszłości Polskiej w Ameryce, 29-33.

B. POLITICAL IMMIGRATION, 1776-1865.

The struggle for Independence beckoned many of the best sons, patriots of Poland to the shores of America to participate in the colonial struggle for freedom. Advantageously for America, the fight for Independence and later the Civil War, coincided with political events in Poland, which gave impulse to and favored the second period of Polish immigration, namely the political immigration.

The three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795 by her neighbors: Russia, Austria and Germany, the rise and fall of Napoleon and the high hopes attached by the Poles to his military ventures, the revolutionary crises of 1846-1848 in Europe, the unsuccessful insurrections of 1830 and 1863 in Russian-Poland - all contributed their quota of immigrants in the period 1776-1865.

In contrast with the Colonial immigrants, the newcomers to our shores were political exiles, soldiers, noblemen and men of letters, poets, musicians, educators, prominent citizens who added substantially to the roster of famous men of the times that contributed to the founding, the growth and spread, to the building of this powerful nation. 12 All were outstanding men

12. M.Haiman, Polish Past in America, 29-150.

Polish American Participation Committee, American Polish Participation, New York World's Fair, 1939, 31, 78.

Rev. A.M. Bocheński, "Our Youth and Its Polish-American Heritage," Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944, 3:89-93.

of their times both in the native country and later in America. Their list presents soldiers well versed in the science of war, for the most part officers, who in the Revolutionary as well as in the Civil War were at times impatient and critical of the unorthodox methods, planning and conduct of war waged by the American armies.¹³

13. M.Haiman, Polacy w Walce o Niepodległość Ameryki, passim.

M.Haiman, Historia Udziału Polaków w Amerykańskiej Wojnie Domowej, 87-90.

Kościuszko, Pulaski in the Revolutionary War, whilst Gen. Władimir Krzyżanowski, Gen. Joseph Smoleński in the Civil War top the list of 166 commissioned officers in the Union Army and 40 in the Confederate Army.¹⁴

14. M.Haiman, Historia Udziału Polaków w Amerykańskiej Wojnie Domowej, 181-267.

M.Haiman, Polish Past in America, 108-143.

Pathetic was the appeal of the self-styled "most outstanding Polish patriots in France and England to the Polish Nation" urging all Poles to relinquish

Europe and to transplant their native country in America "where Poland will be kept sacred in our hearts."

Nothing came of the appeal. Similar fate met the request of the Polish Committee in Paris under Joachim Lelewel in 1832 asking president Jackson to grant refuge to 3,000-4,000 Polish exiles, participants in the 1831 insurrection. 15

15. M.Haiman, Z Przeszłości Polskiej w Ameryce, 191-193.

One more incident must be brought forth because of the relation and influence it bears on subsequent events. After the insurrection of 1831 a group of refugees found their way into Austria. The Austrian government promised them freedom, but instead cast them into jail, where after three months they were given choice either to be delivered to the Russian government or set sail for America. They chose the latter. In 1834 two Austrian frigates with 235 political refugees-soldiers arrived in the port of New York. At first they were received enthusiastically by the Americans, who arranged celebrations and made contributions on their behalf. For some time the exiles considered themselves national guests of America. Soon after, however, they petitioned Congress to grant them land, a township, where they wished "to establish in the United States a New

Poland."¹⁶ Congress granted their petition in April,

16. M. Haiman, Z Przeszłości Polskiej w Ameryce, 198.

1834. Due to faulty technicalities, for which the Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury blamed Congress itself, the grant was never put into effect.

The majority of the exiles were army officers and though at the beginning all suffered want bordering on misery, many finally reached prominence in various fields and occupations, v.g. Casimir Gzowski, adjutant to the Queen Victoria, engineer and builder of the Niagara bridge, considered at the time a feat of engineering skill. Gzowski never ceased to consider himself a Pole, but his children lost all claim to Polish descent and the Catholic Faith as well.¹⁷

17. M. Haiman, Ibid., 193-213.

The experience, the tragedy through which the political exiles of 1831 lived at the beginning, dictated the cry to their compatriots in Europe: "God save you from migrating to America!" Consequently, the insurrection of 1863 did not furnish new political immigrants to the shores of America. Only some years later stragglers appeared, world-wanderers, seeking haven and above all, peace.¹⁸

18. W. Gasiiorowski, Ach.-Te 'Ohany' w Ameryce! 11-14.

However important was the contribution of the Polish political immigration to America, it is to be regarded as that of individuals, not of a group. They all gained prominence in the New Land by their sheer individual prowess, ability and personality. Majority of them have gone through life in America alone, without depending upon or seeking the support of any national group, namely Polish organizations political or social, which for practical purposes did not exist. Neither for that matter, could they find aid in churches, parishes or schools erected by and intended for the Polish people. None were had at the time. Moreover, the intellectuals who formed the majority of the political immigrants, were lukewarm towards the Catholic Faith and preferred to be looked upon as liberals and rationalists.¹⁹

19. Sister Neomisia Rutkowska, "John Tyssowski", Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944, 2:1140.

As a result, the forces of Americanization proved themselves too strong to be resisted or overcome individually by the political immigrants. They rapidly became assimilated and dissolved in the "American Sea".²⁰

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20. Karol Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 49.
Rev. D. Szopinski, "Nasze Zadanie", Przegląd Kościelny, 1914, 1:2.
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The majority of them were highly educated and comprised the so-called intelligentsia. Yet, this did not prevent, in fact, it only enhanced their complete assimilation. It is a known fact, that in the history of Polish emigration the intellectuals succumb first to denationalization and then to renationalization in whatever country they chance to reside permanently as immigrants. Such is the story of the Polish immigration in Russia, whether voluntary or inforced. It consisted mainly of the educated class, soldiers, professionals, and government officials. The Polish intellectual exiles to Russia contributed immensely to her development, but at the same time, were lost forever to their native land. Their children simply considered themselves Russians.

Neither the highly-vaunted, though sincere and genuine Polish patriotism of the political immigrants provided much resistance to their merging with the environment in which they found themselves. The most convincing proof is offered by the so-called "Great Emigration" in France after the unsuccessful insur-

rection of 1831. Priding themselves as the Polish Government-In-Exile, more patriotic and more nationalistic than the Poles who, despite persecution, remained in their native land, they did not stave off the onslaughts of assimilation. All succumbed and their children scarcely, if ever, recall their Polish ancestry.²¹

21. W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland, (1697-1935), 311-323.
W.Gasiorowski, Ach, -Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce, 18-19.

The political Polish immigrants simply duplicated the historical process undergone by the Polish colonial immigration.

"In the earlier period of American history, these (Polish Catholic parishes, churches, schools) centers have not yet existed and most of the Polish political refugees and exiles in this country had to face singly the first impact of Americanization, which they could not withstand. Their high intellectual and cultural level equipped them to enter actively into the American community and even to wield an influence and prestige in it, but at the same time it exposed them and their descendants to a rapid assimilation. Tyssowski (nine-day dictator in the unsuccessful revolution of 1846 in Cracow, who came to the U.S. in 1847 and later was made Chief Examiner at the U.S. Patent Office) is as good an illustration of this fact as can be given...

Tyssowski always remained a Polish patriot, yet his own children spoke little Polish even in childhood, while they dropped the language entirely as they grew up. The father lamented this

invasion of the American environment into his home and tried to check it; he scarcely succeeded and the environment triumphed."²²

22. Sister Neomisia Rutkowska, "John Tyssowski", Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944, 2:1141.

C. ECONOMIC IMMIGRATION, 1865-1935.

1. The Number of Poles in the United States.

The mass economic migration of Poles to America began in the years 1870-1871 after the Franco-German War, and lasted 45 years. It originated in German-Poland.²³

23. Karol Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 55.

The great divergence in the statistics of the Polish immigration to the United States, the various methods of approach and of computing them, should render us cautious as to these widely discordant figures.

The approach of Dr. Stefan Wloszczewski who makes a distinction between the "statistical group" and the "Sociological group" of Poles in America serves a useful purpose. The first group is termed "The Americans of Polish Origin" or "The Americans of Polish Blood" and is found in the official Census Reports of the United States. It contains "a high coefficient

of error." The second includes Poles distinguished by their cultural or national consciousness.²⁴

24. Dr. Stefan Wloszczewski, "The Polish 'Sociological Group' in America", The American Slavie and East European Review, 1945, 4:142.

The assertion of Gajiorowski, that the Census enumerators as a rule were unfriendly towards the Polish nationality, that they recorded not the information given by the enumerated but as their own whims dictated,²⁵ must be dismissed. The accusation is too

25. W. Gajiorowski, op. cit., 28-29.

general, too sweeping, to be true. Even so, difficulties persist and with them variations in statistics.

The Censuses of the United States from 1860-1890 listed persons born in Poland under "All other countries".²⁶

26. United States, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Abstract of the Census with Supplement for Illinois, 190.

In the 1900 Census a distinction was made between Russian-German, and Austrian-Poland, and the total number (383,407) reporting as Poles were distributed respectively among the three countries. The 1910 Census did not list Poland as a country of birth, the number of Poles (937,884) however, is computed on the basis of

mother tongue.²⁷ Although the statistics for the country

27. United States, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Ibid., 192.

of birth of the foreign-born white population by principal mother tongues for the United States in the 1920 Census claim to be based on postwar areas,²⁸ there is

28. United States, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. II, Population, 980.

the probability that the Eastern boundary of Poland was considered to be the Curzon line. It is therefore difficult to determine whom the statistics in the 1920 Census included among the Poles.²⁹ The 1930 and 1940

29. W. Gąsiorowski, Ach, -Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce, 28.

Censuses record the figures for Poland to be in conformity with her area as of January 1, 1937.³⁰

30. United States, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Mother Tongue, 5.

We encounter the same difficulties as to the number of Polish immigrants to the U.S. in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration. From 1857 to 1884 no mention is made of the Poles. They are listed

in the Reports from 1885-1898. From 1899-1905 the Poles were included in the countries from which they came, namely Russia, Austria and Germany.³¹ Since 1899,

31. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1905, 38-41.

although among the countries of origin we do not find Poland, a classification by "Races or Peoples" was introduced.³² Beginning with the fiscal year 1920 Poland is

32. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1923, p.9.

listed as a separate country.³³ The 1922 Annual Report

33. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1921, 29.

gives separate statistics under Poland for Eastern Galicia and the Pinsk Region (territory east of the Curzon line),³⁴ thus giving partly credence to Mr. Gasiorowski's

34. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1922, 8.

appraisal of the 1920 Census.

TABLE I. NUMBER OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1860-1940.

Year	Number
1860	7,298
1870	14,436
1880	48,557
1890	147,440
1900	383,407
1910	937,884
1920	1,139,979
1930 (35)	1,268,583
1940 (36)	993,479

35. United States, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, 2:233.

36. United States, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock, 11.

The statistics on Polish immigration are not only questionable but also unreliable. The 1910 Census on Population admits that the figures as reported for 1900 "may be an understatement."³⁷ Many Poles were classified

37. United States, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Ibid. 192.

as Germans, Russians, Austrians. In turn, many Jews, Ruthenians were listed as Poles.

A comparison of American statistics with those from Polish sources accentuates the wide discrepancy of figures on Polish immigration. Commenting on the 1900 Census statistics, Rev. W. Kruska claims that about

2/5 of the Poles unwittingly gave Russia, Germany or Austria as their country of origin. The figures 383,407, he asserts, represent only 1/5 of the Poles in America, the remaining 2/5 constitute the native-born, classified as Americans. He thus arrives at the somewhat staggering figure of 1,902,370 to be the total foreign Polish stock in America in 1900.³⁸ Stefan Barszczewski notes

38. Rev.W.Kruszka, Historia Polska w Ameryce, 1:90-92.

"at least" 1,500,000 Poles to be in the U.S. in 1900.³⁹

39. Stefan Barszczewski, Polacy w Ameryce, 19.

The 1940 Population Census gives 710,156 to be the total foreign Polish stock in 1900 (includes foreign-born, and native of foreign or mixed parentage.⁴⁰ Rev. W.

40. United States, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock, 10.

Kruszka does not elaborate on the methods of obtaining these statistics, except for a brief mention, that he arrived at them "by way of private information". However, from the data on the following pages (93-141) it is quite evident that he gathered these figures by sub-

mitting a questionnaire to the various Polish parishes and by requesting information from reliable sources such as the mayors of cities having a large percentage of Poles.⁴¹

41. Rev.W.Kruszka, Historia Polska w Ameryce, 1:93-141.

Dr. Szawleski quoting Polish sources maintains that during the period 1840-1910 from Poznań province alone 877,981 migrated to America.⁴² The Polish En-

42. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 14.

cyclopedia for the same period lists 876,400 Polish immigrants from Poznań and 628,100 from Western Prussia.⁴³

43. Polish Encyclopedia, 2:138.

Although the Encyclopedia does not state whether this mass movement from Prussian-Poland found its way to the United States, the Dziennik Zjednoczenia, December 1923 asserts that it was directed entirely towards the American shores.⁴⁴

44. Dr. M. Szawleski, loc.cit.

Agricultural conditions in German-Poland were favorable to the development of a future prosperous rural

population.⁴⁵ At the time, however, the peasant class

45. Polish Encyclopedia, 2:139-140.

was unable to adapt itself immediately to the new situation. Intensification of cultivation which arose after the agrarian reform, was too costly to compete with American products. Crisis developed.⁴⁶ Mass immigration took

46. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:48

place having been caught in the vortex of the German immigration. The percent therefore of Polish immigration from German-Poland reflects the peaks and troughs of German immigration to the U.S. During the years 1871-1898 the Poles constituted 10 to 20% of the German immigration to America.⁴⁷

47. Dr.M.Szawleski, loc. cit.

With great strides made in the industrialization of Germany, the Polish immigration to America from the territory taken over by Germany during the partition of Poland, dropped considerably, since the surplus of labor population in Poland was absorbed by Germany itself, (especially by Westphalia and the Rhineland), which now experienced an acute labor shortage. Even

after the World War I Germany continued to attract Polish seasonal workers and together with France were the chief countries to which the majority of Polish Continental immigration, permanent as well as seasonal, was directed.⁴⁸

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48. Marjan Dąbrowski, ed., Dziesięciolecie Polski Odrodzonej, 1918-1928, 818-823.
 Włoszczewski Stefan, "The Polish 'Sociological Group' in America", The American Slavic and East European Review, 1945, 4:142-143.
-

The immigration from German-Poland is characterized as permanent immigration, consisting mainly of families. During the expropriation efforts made by the German government in Poznań and West Prussia to deprive the Poles of their soil, many have sold their properties and migrated to America with ready cash. The German-Poles had previous social training in the mother-country, and settled not infrequently on farms. As the vanguard of the Polish mass immigration they were the first to gain economic and cultural betterment in the U.S., which singled them out as leaders of the Poles in America. The peak years of the German-Polish immigration were 1880-1893, after that it never exceeded 8,000 a year.⁴⁹

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49. Dr. M. Szawleski, loc. cit.
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The mass immigration of Poles from German-Poland

had no sooner been reduced, when that of the Russian-Poland began. In the years 1890-1892 about 70,000 Poles from Russian-Poland arrived in America. The majority were peasants. This unusual upsurge was caused by unscrupulous methods of publicizing and advertizing. It rose in conjunction with the unfortunate Brazilian immigration fever.⁵⁰

50. Dr. M. Szawleski, Ibid. 15.

Mass immigration began in 1900 and shared the fate of the Russian immigration: its decrease and increase. The peak of Russian immigration was in 1913: 291,040 of which 112,345 were Poles.⁵¹

51. Dr. M. Szawleski, loc. cit.

The government statistics on the Russian-Poles are quite accurate. Due perhaps to the proportion of the Jewish immigrants, statistics of arrival by race or nationality and religion were obtained. In the U. S. Government statistics of 1891 and 1892 Russian-Poles are expressly mentioned. From 1893 to 1898 no separate classification was made. From 1899 definite data on Russo-Polish immigration are had. The American statistics of immigration record 740,438 Poles from Russian-Poland during the years 1899-1914. More probably the figures

should reach 900,000 or 28% of the Russian immigration to the United States from 1820-1918.⁵² About 30% of these

52. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid. 15-16.

immigrants later returned to Poland.⁵³

53. Polish Encyclopedia, 2:150.

The agricultural crisis that lasted in Central Europe from 1880-1900 brought about a parcelling of estates and the desire on part of the peasants to acquire more land, the necessity of funds for the purchase finally causing migrations either to industrial centers or else overseas migration.⁵⁴

54. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:395.

In comparison with German- and Austrian-Poland, Russian-Poland furnished the largest percent of laborers and small town dwellers. For:⁵⁵

"The Kingdom of Poland (i.e. Russian-Poland), it should be said, had lost the character of a purely agricultural country thirty years ago, (since 1870), and industry had since become more and more predominant in its economic life".

55. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:396.

The mass immigration from Austrian-Poland, called Galicia, developed latest, acquiring momentum in 1900 and reaching its highest mark in 1910 when immigration statistics recorded that year 60,675 Polish immigrants from Austrian-Poland.

The immigration from Austrian-Poland consisted of peasants, with a slight increase of common laborers and professionals and intellectuals in the last few years preceding the World War I.

Austrian-Poland is an agricultural country, although it possesses "all the conditions necessary for a vigorous economic development." "It might easily become one of the most industrial and wealthy countries in Europe."⁵⁶

56. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:285-286.

Unfortunately, Galicia was purposely treated as an Austrian colony, destined to furnish agricultural products and raw material to the various provinces of Austria-Hungary in return for manufactured goods. Thus its own industries could not be developed. Customs policies, tariffs, various government regulations, powerful trusts were simply intended for the strangulation of Galician industries.⁵⁷

57. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:280-281, 289.

Even its agricultural system was deplorable. After the year 1868 when the law prohibiting small subdivision of land was repealed, the cutting-up of peasant property and holdings became almost tragic. In 1820 the landed properties numbered 527,740, in 1902 when mass immigration began, it rose to 1,008,541, almost 100%.⁵⁸

58. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:249.

The rural population of Galicia is very dense. In 1900 those supporting themselves by agriculture numbered 183.9 per square mile, whilst for the rest of Austria-Hungary it was 93.2 and 88 for Germany and Denmark. Its soil, moreover, is not very productive.⁵⁹ Yet, about

59. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:143.

half of the agricultural population of Galicia owned landed property which did not measure over five acres, 84% owned farms of less than 12.5 acres, not enough to provide sustenance for the family. To make matters worse, these holdings were very often scattered over wide areas in small lots, one peasant holding twenty to thirty separate lots.⁶⁰ Agricultural labor earned at an average

60. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:250
E.G. Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, 138.

of 16 to 26 cents a day (in American money).⁶¹

61. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:345.

Dr.M.Szawleski, Kwestja Emigracji w Polsce, 46-47.

The result was mass emigration. According to Polish sources 852,790 Poles emigrated from Galicia in the years 1881-1910. Most of this mass migration is permanent, destined for the U.S.⁶² American statistics on immi-

62. Polish Encyclopedia, 3:144.

gration number 594,665 Poles from Austria-Hungary within the years 1899-1914. Added from previous years, plus the corrections made in the inaccuracies of these statistics prompted Mr.Szawleski to place the total number of immigrants from Austrian-Poland at 700,000. About 30% later returned with their earnings.⁶³

63. Dr.M.Szawleski, Kwestja Emigracji w Polsce, 50.

The American statistics on immigration list 2,122,504 Polish immigrants in America from 1851-1918. With due corrections this figure should amount to 2,200,000, which again properly distributed would read:⁶⁴

From	German-Poland	600,000
"	Russian-Poland	900,000
"	Austrian-Poland	700,000

64. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 17.

The enactment of restrictive legislation after the War effectively reduced the volume of Polish immigration to the U. S. The Quota Law of May 26, 1924 limited the number to 5,982 yearly.⁶⁵

65. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1925, 8.

The Census statistics of the total foreign white stock which includes: 1) foreign-born white; 2) native white of foreign or mixed parentage rounds out the number of the statistical group of the Poles as follows:

TABLE II. NUMBER OF POLES: FOREIGN-BORN AND NATIVE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE, 1900-1940.

Year	Number
1900	710,156
1910	1,663,808
1920	2,443,329
1930	3,342,198
1940 (66)	2,905,859

66. United States, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock, 10.

The succeeding generations are considered only Americans. Some place the total number of Poles in the U. S. at present about 5,500,000,⁶⁷ while Dr. Stefan Wloszcze-

67. Karol Waachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 61.
W. Gasiorowski, op. cit. 54.

wski between 7 and 10 million, including third and fourth generations.⁶⁸

68. Dr. S. Wloszczewski, "The Polish 'Sociological Group' in America", The American Slavic and East European Review, 1945, 4:151.

Polish American Participation Committee, American Polish Participation, New York World's Fair, 1939, 80.

2. Lack of Intense National Consciousness Among Immigrant Poles.

There is no denying the fact, that the Polish immigrants arriving in this country since 1865 and comprising the economic immigration were devoid of that intense Polish nationalism for which they were singled out in the past decades.

Its growth, development and blossoming took place here in America.

Such already was the shrewd observation made by Agaton Giller, member of the Polish government during the 1863 uprising, whose instructions to the Poles in America led to the founding of the Polish National Alliance, the largest Polish national organization in the United States.

"National consciousness on foreign soil springs in him (the Polish peasant) spontaneously by realizing the patent difference in his speech, his customs and ideas which set him off from the

people who surround him. Everything here is different, so much at variance with what he has known in the country of his origin.

He regards himself as a stranger and not understood by others he will seek out people, who could understand him and finds Poles that have come from other districts in Poland than his own. They understand him, give him advice and extend a helping hand. In their midst he does not feel as though he were an orphan forsaken by all. This heartfelt satisfaction which was evoked in him by one common language and community of ideas with other Poles, that social well-being and homelike atmosphere which he experiences in their company, gives birth to national consciousness and to a feeling that he is a parcel of the Polish nation."⁶⁹

69. S.Osada, Historja Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 103.

The Polish economic immigration swarming to the shores of the United States consisted chiefly of peasants with a sprinkling of unskilled laborers-townfolks. 70

70. Dr. M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 14-15.
 Karol Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 26.
 Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, passim.
 E.G. Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, passim,
 A.C.Tomczak, Poles in America, 26-27.
 Dr.Stefan Włoszczewski, "The Polish 'Sociological Group' in America," The American Slavic and East European Review, 1945, 4:152-153.

for the year 1913, the peak of Polish immigration to the U.S. lists the following occupations of the Polish immigrants:⁷¹

TABLE III. OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANT POLES ADMITTED IN FISCAL YEAR 1913.

Occupations	Number
Professional	244
Skilled	9,240
Miscellaneous	
Farm Laborers	82,130
Laborers	19,286
Servants (mostly women)	30,254
No occupation (women and children)	32,357
TOTAL	174,365

71. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1913, 67-69

Since the first election of kings in 1573 till the partitioning of Poland the nobility or gentry gained and held the political ascendancy in Poland. The burgesses lost whatever privileges they had in the past. Unwise economic policies enacted by the Diets brought financial ruin to the cities. Many towns, especially the "private towns", which belonged to the lords, lost their autonomous government. The contempt of the nobility for tradesmen found expression in the law forbidding the nobility to exercise a trade.⁷²

72. Polish Encyclopedia, 1:489.

W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland,
(1697-1935), 66-67.

The plight of the peasant was worse. He had no voice in the government, no representation. Serfdom was the common lot of the peasant, with all its concomitant evils and abuses. True, feudalism of the mitigated type was prevalent, never was the nobility "coldly cruel toward the peasant, as was the French or German nobility".⁷³

73. Wacław Lednicki, Life and Culture of Poland, 153.

Yet, statute or forced labor, the restriction of the peasant's right of journeying, made him attached to the land, a needy and hard pressed laborer, "almost a serf".⁷⁴ No matter what the predicament of the country

74. Polish Encyclopedia, 1:490.

may have been at times, no matter what the danger threatening her very existence, the peasant was never called or expected to bear arms for the defense of his native land, simply because this was considered synonymous with the right of franchise.⁷⁵ The peasant's interest there-

75. W.F.Reddaway, ed., op. cit., 78

fore narrowed down to his family and to the strip of land which he cultivated. The affairs of the State were

none of his concern. That privilege was restricted and jealously guarded by the nobility.

The reforms inaugurated shortly before the dismemberment of Poland, notably through the adoption of the new Constitution, named "The Constitution of the Third of May," (1791) came too late to stem the tide. These reforms provided for partial enfranchisement of the burgesses and peasants. Royal cities were granted an autonomous government and given the right of being represented in the Diet. The peasants were placed, just as the nobility, under the protection of the law. The scheming enemies of Poland would not allow her to put these reforms into practical use.⁷⁶

76. Polish Encyclopedia, 1:498.

But not even such measures intended for the betterment of the lot of the burgesses and the peasants proved forceful enough to rally these classes to the country's Cause. The personality of Kosciuszko, hallowed after his participation in the struggle for American Freedom after which he took up the cause of his own country's independence, not even his appearance in peasant attire and his proclamation of individual liberty of the peasants, provided they paid their former landlord their debts and taxes, were able to marshall the masses

of burghesses and peasants in the struggle for Polish independence.⁷⁷ Only a handful of townsmen and peasants

77. Polish Encyclopedia, 1:499.

took active part in the uprisings and fight for the liberation of Poland. They could not understand, their civic education was pitifully wanting.⁷⁸

78. Rev. J. Swastek, "What Is a Polish American?", Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944, 3:75

In 1846 Austria could stir the traditional hatred of the peasant toward his landlord, who was always identified with the nobility, into a bloody massacre of the latter whom the Austrian government suspected of planning a revolution. In the uprising of 1863 the Polish peasants in many instances captured the Polish soldiers and delivered them to the Russians for a ransom.⁷⁹

79. S. Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 9.

The hostile attitude of the peasants during the uprising of 1863 so disillusioned one of its participants, Joseph Dąbrowski, that he laid down his arms, emigrated to Rome, Italy and entered the priesthood.⁸⁰ Later, in 1884, he

80. S. Osada, Historja Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 512.

became the founder of the Polish Theological Seminary at Orchard Lake, Michigan.

During the 150-year loss of political freedom the Polish burgesses and peasants shared the political and social fate of given States of which they now formed part. The emancipation of the peasant took place by "different methods and at different times in each of the three occupied parts of Poland." ⁸¹ In Germany it

81. F. Gross, The Polish Worker, 23.

was accomplished in 1875, in Austrian-Poland in 1848 and in Russian-Poland in 1864. The latter "was an act of political strategy in order to steal the thunder from certain groups that advanced the slogan of emancipation during the insurrection of 1863."⁸²

82. F. Gross, The Polish Worker, 21.

Within 40 years (1865-1905), according to the account of the Central Committee of the National League which represented the national parties in Poland in 1905, the peasants "became awakened to the national life and began to set first steps in civic undertakings."⁸³ The progress

83. S. Osada, Historja Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 593.

was very slow. Hence the immigrant who for economic reasons

ventured beyond the ocean to the land of plenty, "knew little of Poland."⁸⁴ There is no authority on the Polish

84. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 10.

K. Piątkiewicz, "Nowy Dom Związku Narodowego Polskiego Twierdzą Polskiej Myśli Narodowej", Dziennik Związkowy, May 7, 1938, 21.

immigration to America who does not reiterate the opinion. Agaton Giller, member of the secret Polish government during the 1863 uprising, whose authority therefore on this score cannot be questioned, describes the peasant coming to America as one who upon his arrival⁸⁵

"acquires a consciousness of his national character. This seems an unexplainable phenomenon to those who have seen the peasant in his native land indifferent to the national duties and unaware of his Polish consciousness."

85. S.Osada, Historja Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 103.

Wachtl maintains that in the early stages of the Polish economic immigration no one knew anything about the Poles, although they have been settled here already in larger numbers, what is worse, these very immigrants did not know, they were Poles.⁸⁶

86. Karol Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 76.

Centuries-long removal from the participation in national affairs and in national life of their native

country, the 150-year political subjection to foreign, hostile governments prevented the masses of Polish peasants from developing any national consciousness or attachment to Poland as a State.

Other factors, no less influential, produced this strange indifference of the Polish peasant to his native country. Rev. Wacław Kruszką, whom no one can accuse of want of Polish patriotism, bluntly states:

"We know, that the important cause, driving the Polish immigrant to the shores of America, is the desire to improve one's lot; thus the immigrant, journeying across the Atlantic has no intention of bringing about the restoration of Poland. His purpose is to provide for himself material welfare."⁸⁷

87. Rev. W. Kruszką, Historia Polska w Ameryce, 1:51.

This then, was the peasant's all absorbing thought in America. The early appeals therefore of the political exiles to the masses of Polish immigrants to form associations, organizations with the purpose of working for the restoration of Poland's independence, remained just appeals, beautiful, patriotic, flowery in style, and nothing else. The masses did not react favorably, they did not understand.⁸⁸

88. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 171.
 W. Dąbrowski, ed., Dziesięciolecie Polski Odrodzonej, 1918-1928, 813.

When the volume of Polish peasant immigration grew to undreamed of proportions, the national patriotic elements in Poland began to look upon it as so much loss of human power that could be utilized at the opportune moment in the struggle for the liberation of Poland.⁸⁹

89. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 105-106.

The intellectuals, the cultured class, being more nationally conscious and therefore more patriotic, remained in their native country. Few Polish intellectuals, outside of the political exiles, emigrated to the U. S. This lack of Polish intelligentsia from across explains to some extent the slow process of nationalization of the Polish peasant immigrant in America.

The policy of Russification and Germanization of the Poles assumed alarming proportions. Counter measures were undertaken with relatively favorable results. Emigration was frowned upon since it weakened the nation and drained it of so much useful labor and human reserves to be held back for any future contingency. Even temporary emigration was viewed with disfavor. Permanent emigration, if not regarded as treason, at best was considered a "necessary evil".⁹⁰

80. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., 2:1484-1485

During the I Convention of the Polish Emigrants in Warsaw, in 1929, Ignace Daszyński, Speaker of the Lower House (Sejm), made this characteristic remark about the peasant emigration:

"Throughout the many decades we have condemned emigration: in chains of newspapers, in mass-meetings, from the pulpits threats of calamities were fulminated against the peasant who decided to emigrate. Little wonder then, that the economic emigration of the peasant during many years was, as it were, under social curse, that you were looked upon as fugitives, as deserters."⁹¹

91. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 50.

The masses of small town workers, however, continued to emigrate to the shores of America. Evidently, the economic causes appeared more compelling. Above all, these factors revealed and emphasized the point, that to the masses of Polish immigrants within the economic immigration period, "the Polish national ideal has little meaning."⁹²

92. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., 2:1485.

3. The Catholic Polish Parishes: Churches, Schools.

There are two characteristics which the Polish peasant immigrant brought with him to America: 1) attachment to the Catholic Faith and 2) association of the Polish language with his religion, especially with religious services. He refused even to settle in localities where he found no Polish church or no prospects of erecting one in the near future.⁹³ These two factors

93. "Historja Parafji Św. Salomei w Kensington, Ill." Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:524-525.

were of decided advantage to the Polish immigrants and facilitated the process of arousing national consciousness. In this the Catholic Polish parishes together with the Polish Catholic clergy played the most important role. Wachtl thus summarizes the merits of the Polish clergy and parishes:

"The parish in America is the mother of Polish nationalism (Polonism), first after our native country. The parish is the fundamental type of organization of the Poles in America and to this day continues to be the mainstay, the hearth of all social and national activities undertaken by them."⁹⁴

94. Karol Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 65.

Agaton Giller was not slow in acknowledging the contribution made by the parishes and the Catholic

clergy towards the fostering of Polish national idealism among the Polish immigrants. In fact, he insists that any national organisation of the Poles in America would have to rest on the Polish parishes.⁹⁵

95. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 106.

The beginning, the development and success of national, social and political activities and life among the Poles in the U. S. follows more or less the same pattern. The history of St. Adalbert's parish in Chicago is typical in this respect.

Whenever a group of Poles settled in a given community or locality, they formed a society under the patronage of a saint whose name later was transferred unto the church. The society would gather signatures to a petition presented to the bishop requesting the permission to build a church and that he furnish them with a Polish priest. The gathering of funds began immediately. At first a combination: church and school was constructed under one roof. Or, first the church, then the school with the indispensable auditorium, the quarters for the priest, the Nuns-teachers, were erected. The more prosperous parishes with years organized their own social work, erecting social centers for their parishioners.⁹⁶

96. "Historja Parafji Św. Wojciecha w Chicago, Ill.,
Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:648-660.

The parish church in America took on for the peasant immigrant the form of "Poland in miniature". The sphere of social contact for the peasant in Poland was very small, limited to his village, a nearby county-seat town (powiatowe miasto), where he journeyed few times during the year on the big market days, or a town whose church was known to have a religious shrine, a miraculous image, to which he would make a pilgrimage on festive days. Such was the limited knowledge of Poland had by the peasant. The Polish immigrant regarded his parish in America as both the religious and community center, a replica of his village, his church in Poland and of all the activities associated with them in his native land. Activities of a wider scope, outside of his parish, interested him very little. "Parochialism", (parafjańszczyzna), as Mr. Osada would have it.⁹⁷

97. S. Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 48.

Thomas and Znaniecki therefore refer to the parish as the "most important Polish-American institution", which they analyze as "simply the old primary community, re-organized and concentrated."⁹⁸ Such was the limited

98. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., 2:1523.

knowledge of Poland had by the peasant.

It seems as though coming from across they brought along with them their native village church: with Polish sermons, Polish hymns, Polish devotions unknown to other nationalities, v.g. Gorzkie Żale (Lenten devotions), Kolendy (Christmas Carols), even the Piotrków Ritual), restricted to the Polish territory, found its way into the ceremonies and services in the churches. The first Polish immigrants arriving in Texas in 1854 brought a Cross from their parish church, those landing in 1858 had with them their parish church bell.⁹⁹

99. Rev. E.J. Dworaczyk, The First Polish Colonies of America in Texas, 2.

Within the limits of these parishes national ideals grew. Polish life emanated from the parish and began to assert itself socially, culturally. Political societies found their support mainly in the parish. Those who gained social prominence or rose in the professional ranks, doctors, lawyers, etc., were referred to as products of a given parish.¹⁰⁰ To the Poles Catholicism

100. "Historja Parafji Św. Wojciecha w Chicago, Ill.," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:860.

and Polish nationalism were synonymous. What is more, a non-Catholic was associated immediately with the enemies of Poland, either a German or a Russian. Amateur parish theatre presented Polish plays, arranged national celebrations which commemorated the important events in the history of Poland.¹⁰¹ Problems affecting their own inter-

101. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., 2:1563.

ests or nationality, appeals from the native land for aid in wide-spread disasters or in times of violent persecution by the enemy were acted upon through the parish unit. When during the World War I the Poles launched a drive for a \$10,000,000 national fund and immediately after the war sponsored the collection of food supplies for the hunger-stricken Poland, 90% of the money and food thus gathered were contributed through the priests and their parishes.¹⁰²

102. Rev. L. Grudziński, "Wydział Narodowy i Stosunek Jego Do Kleru i Społeczeństwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:202.

The salient events around which Polish history centers itself, helped much to enkindle in the masses of Polish immigrants national idealism and national consciousness. Polish history for the most part reads as though it were Church history, it is almost impossible

to draw the line between the one and the other.¹⁰³

103. R.Dunajski, "Religja a Naród", Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:26-27

Poland's entrance upon the historical scene of Europe dates with the introduction of Christianity within her boundaries. With the conversion of Lithuania and the ensuing Union of the two nations, Poland emerges as the most powerful State on the European continent in the XV and XVI centuries. Its greatest military achievements were associated with religion, v.g. the defeat of the Knights of the Cross at Grunwald in 1492, the victory over the Swedes at Częstochowa in 1655, that of Sobieski over the Turks at Vienna in 1683, her constant war with the Ottoman Empire merited for Poland the glorious title "The Bulwark of Christianity". Even the partitioning of Poland was not devoid of religious character, for it culminated in Messianic speculation which referred to Poland as the Christ Crucified of the Nations, whose suffering and death (loss of independence) was to free and liberate the nations of the world.

"Poland was called to the mission of a chosen people whose sufferings were to be the earnest of the nation's resurrection and of the political regeneration of the universe, which should ensue on the reparation of the wrong done to Poland. This spiritual nationalism conferred upon an enslaved nation a sense of her own dignity, ennobling and interpreting her sufferings, and giving her confidence in a

better future. Moreover it held its strong appeal to the innate patriotism of the Pole, who saw the country he loved with a human love, for which he pined with the homesickness of the exile, transfigured into that form of unearthly beauty, to which his poets gave the name of 'Holy Poland'".¹⁰⁴

104. W.F.Reddaway, ed., op. cit., 326.

The defeat of the Bolsheviks in 1920 at the Vistula river occurring on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15, is referred to only as the "Miracle of the Vistula".

The celebration therefore and commemoration of any historical event would be incomplete without the preliminary opening with solemn church services and appropriate sermon. A certain sacredness was thus added to the history of Poland. Her glorious past was now unfolding itself to the Polish immigrant, and with it, national idealism, national consciousness rose to unprecedented heights. To the church, the parish, its clergy and the Polish parochial school was entrusted the role not only of spiritual, moral guides, but also teachers of Poland's history, of her greatness, they emerged as the creators of national idealism among the Polish immigrants in America.¹⁰⁵

105. Rev.J.Pacholski, "Zgubna Prasa Polska i Jak Jej Przeciwdziałać," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:81.

Most Rev. Bishop E. Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Św. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:150.

Rev. W. Zapala, C.R., "Sprawozdanie ks. Sekretarza Generalnego Zjednoczenia Kapłanów," Przegląd Kościelny, 1918, 5:115.

"Kościół i Szkoła", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:108, quoting Kurjer Narodowy.

Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:197.

St. Zaklikiewicz, "Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych i Jego Zagadnienia w Przyszłości," Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 207.

Józef Stemler, "Wychowanie Przedszkolne i Szkolnictwo Polskie Zagranicą," Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 220.

Next to the church, the Poles showed greatest concern for the education of their children. Wherever possible, the school was erected simultaneously with the church or followed immediately its construction. The school's purpose was not only to impart Christian education but to acquaint the child with its Polish heritage.¹⁰⁶ From its first day in school the child was

106. Rev. D. Szopinski, "Szkolnictwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Polsko-Amerykański, January-March, 1911, 1:15.

taught the prayers in Polish and catechetical instruction was given in the same language. In the higher grades, reading and writing in Polish, Polish History, and Polish Literature formed part of the grade school curriculum. To insure this religious and national education the Poles hired the help of the Polish Sister-

hoods, urged them for that purpose to establish or transfer their homes from Poland to America or else new Religious Communities of Sisters were established and founded. Their members were recruited among the Poles in America. In 1942 the Polish teaching Sisterhood numbered 4,822 members in charge of 553 elementary schools.¹⁰⁷

107. Rev.S.Targosz, Polonia Katolicka w Stanach Zjednoczonych w Przekroju, 5.

And yet, the patriotic work, not to mention the religious duties and responsibilities involved, of the Polish Catholic clergy and the Catholic Church, did not seem enough to the ultra-nationalistically minded Poles in America. The clergy was dubbed ultra-conservative, wanting in patriotism, accused even of regarding the ideal of a Free Poland as an impossibility, a dead issue. The clergy was looked upon as the supporters of the Positivist School of thought prevalent in Russian-Poland in the 1860-s and of the Cracow Historical School which maintained that the downfall of Poland was attributable to the Poles' own fault, errors and mistakes, that the romantic enthusiasm of the past decades should give way to cold logic; not armed uprisings, not military revolutionary plottings but economic, cultural, national uplifting of the masses of the Polish people should be the order of the day and the patriotic duty of every

Pole.108

108. S.Osada, Historja Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 104-105.

W.F.Reddaway, ed., op.cit., 392.

W.Lednicki, Life and Culture of Poland, 12-36

No doubt, the Polish clergy was conservative in all undertakings in behalf of Poland. Prudence, caution was their guiding-post. Whether the armed insurrections for the liberation of Poland brought more good than evil will remain forever a moot question of history. Any armed revolt was suicidal, argued the Nationalists in Poland and the bloody suppression of the incipient revolutionary movement in Russian-Poland in 1905 proved their contention.¹⁰⁹

109. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-twa w Ameryce, 33-35.

The clergy had no political alignment with any party in Poland and received no directives from them. Their attention was centered first upon the religious, moral care of their parishes. Secondly, the welfare of their own people: the poor, the uneducated masses struggling at times against tremendous odds to make a living and to better their status financially and culturally, these problems were of immediate and more compelling concern to the clergy. Thirdly, the clergy-men have driven their stakes deeper into the American

soil than any American Poles have done. 831 churches, the most outstanding contribution of the Poles in America, 553 elementary schools, 4,822 Sisters-Teachers, 162,513 children in schools,¹¹⁰ parish property valued at

110. Rev. S. Targosz, op. cit., 5.

\$68,649,900, occupied for the most part the attention of the Polish priests.¹¹¹

111. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Notes on Polish Catholic Life in the United States," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:154. Rev.F.Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:220, gives \$400,000,000 as the value of parish property, a figure far too high.

The priest singled himself out among the Polish immigrants as the only cultured individual who followed them to the U. S. Both by his calling and education, he became the center not only of the parish itself, but also of the Polish group or colony which clustered around the parish church. The priest was the guide and teacher, the educator of the people. Any action, if it did not originate with the priest, and undertaken by the American Poles, in order to succeed, must have had the support of the clergy.¹¹² By force of circumstances, therefore, the

112. Kronikarz, "Na Wychodźstwie Polskiem w Ameryce Północnej," Przegląd Polsko-Amerykański, 1912, 2:95.

"Znamienne Słowa Prezesa Wydziału Narodowego Pol-
skiego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:439.
F.J. Maciejewski, M.D., "Inteligencja Świecka,"
Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:2.

Polish clergy was more preoccupied with the interests of the Polish people in the U.S., than in the struggle for Poland's independence, although it has not neglected to support the Polish Cause, quietly and efficiently.

4. Polish National Organizations: The Union and the Alliance.

Second in importance in arousing and sustaining national consciousness of the Poles in the U.S. are the various organizations so numerous among the immigrants. The Polish clergy and the Polish national organizations were the guiding spirit and regulators not only of cohesion among the Poles in America, but also of their orientation. More than any other forces, these two are the mainsprings of ethnocentrism of the Poles.

"We have formed organizations in every field of social life, in order to counteract the hostile encroachments upon our Faith and nationality. There exists the wonderful division of social work: schools, churches, asylums, hospitals and the like - herein lies the sphere of action of the parish and church societies, whereas politics, all efforts in behalf of our native land, the education of the adults in our midst - these constitute the purpose and duties of a national organi-

zation, which finds representation in the powerful Polish National Alliance of America. There remains as yet the task of regulating and defining the division of work, of sphere of action, to bring together these two agencies in some sort of agreement - thereby we should become a well established community."¹¹³

113. Rev.W.Kruszka, Historya Polska w Ameryce, 1:45.

Rev.W.Kruszka's words of fatherly advice and understanding of the soul of the Polish immigrant found realization among the Poles in America only on rare occasions. True, the Polish community or Polonia Americana was organized along the lines suggested by Rev.W. Kruszka. However, the division or distribution of the work, of the field of action proper to each: the parish and the national organization, was not always clearly defined. Much friction, mutual distrust marred especially the early history of the Poles in America.

The societies or organizations under study are those established on a national scale. Local groupings generally were the extension of those organized on a national basis, in fact, most of them as such, claimed membership in the larger groups.

a. History of Founding.

Two such organizations have been selected for our study, namely the Polish Roman Catholic Union of

America and the Polish National Alliance of America. Both organizations were formed along the lines described by Rev.W.Kruszka, the one affiliated with the parishes, guided and strongly supported by the Rev.Polish clergy, the other sets no limitations to membership, accepting all Poles or of Polish descent, irrespective of creed. Both organizations are the largest in the country, their membership listing 150,000 for the Union¹¹⁴ and over

114. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 84-85.

250,000 for the Polish National Alliance, in 1935.¹¹⁵

115. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1935, 48.

As far back as 1842 attempts were made to unite the Poles in the U.S. into one national organization, to create a superstructure, as it were. Mr.Osada makes the inference, that although the number of political refugees after the 1831 insurrection was substantial in New York, they never thought of grouping themselves permanently in an organization, regarding their stay in America to be short-lived. Every moment was earnestly awaited by them to bring summons from across to return with arms and fight again for the liberation of Poland. Some eight uneventful years forced them to become accustomed to the

thought of remaining here permanently. The forming of the Association of Poles in America in 1842 was the result. ✓

Any immigrant Pole, regardless of status or religious convictions or denomination could become a member.

Strangely enough, the Rev. Louis Jeżykowiez figures prominently as its president. Except for the efforts to form said national Polish organization, nothing more is known of the Association.¹¹⁶

116. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 3-4, 7.
Rev.W.Kruszka, op.cit., 4:6-9.

Ten years later (1852) the Democratic Society of Polish Exiles in America was formed in New York, with the avowed purpose of taking active part in American politics. It was then, the first political organization of the Poles in the U.S. Nothing is known of its activities, influence, accomplishments, though mention is made of its existence in 1858.¹¹⁷

117. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 22.

The formation of the Gmina Polska in Chicago in 1866, the first Polish political and national society, was of more permanent duration. To this day it figures prominently as the Gmina Polska No. 1 in the Alliance. Its structure, aim and purpose, its activities, served as the pattern according to which the Polish Union and the

Alliance were formed.¹¹⁸

118. S.Osada, Ibid., 56.

The need of a national organization of Poles in America which would unite them in common cause and effort, which would stress before the American public and the countries of Europe their numerical strength, thus exercise more influence on the course of events and politics in the U.S., at the same time one which would work for their own betterment, uplift and security, for the preservation of Polish culture, which would prevent complete assimilation to the point of even forgetting their national heritage, was voiced now more frequently and urgently, especially with the establishment of the Polish press.¹¹⁹

119. S.Osada, Ibid., 39, 43-55.

The above demand voiced so strongly around the year 1870 finally took shape in 1873 with the appeal issued by Rev. Theodore Gieryk, pastor in Detroit, Mich. As a result, the Polish Roman Catholic Union was organized, the oldest Polish national organization in the U.S.¹²⁰

120. Karol Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 62-63.

In 1875 Rev. T. Gieryk left the ranks of the organization

to which he gave origin, because it refused to abide by his demand that the Union accept as members all Poles, without regard to creed or religious affiliation. Polish nationality was to be the only requirement for membership. This caused a rift in the Union and inaction until 1880 when a few months after the founding of the Alliance it was re-inactivated, or as Mr.Osada would want us to believe, it was brought back to life. The latter explanation would give the Alliance the distinction of being the first and the oldest national organization of the Poles in America in existence today. 121

121. S.Osada, Historya Związku Narodowego Polskiego, see footnote 143.

Providentially, Rev.Gieryk's request was rejected at the Union's II Convention held in Milwaukee in 1875. Years later when the liberal and at times antagonistic elements in the Alliance waged bitter war against the clergy, the Union served as checkmate on its powerful competitor.

The aims which Rev.T.Gieryk set forth for the proposed national organization, the Union, not only attest to his comprehensive understanding of the masses of Polish immigration of his time, but also of its urgent needs, its betterment, they prove his insight into the future of the Polish immigrant in America. These

aims read: 1) the erection of schools of higher learning; 2) the establishment of a central Polish bank for the U.S.; 3) the founding of a Sisters' Convent for the training of their teaching faculty; 4) the establishment of a pedagogical seminary, of libraries and of a Polish hospital. 122

122. S.Osada, Ibid., 65.

Karol Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 79.

The Union upon its founding proposed to unite local Catholic societies which adjoined the parish into one central organization for the upkeep and the fostering of the Catholic Faith and national spirit among the Poles in America, for the defense of Polish youth before the onslaughts of denationalization, for the founding, care and improvement of Polish schools.¹²³ In its incipient

123. Karol Wachtl, Ibid., 73.

stage the Union was an ideological organization.

In the year 1879 Agaton Giller, member of the National Polish government during the uprising of 1861-1864,¹²⁴

124. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, IX.

issued a letter addressed to the Poles of America, intitled: "The Organization of Poles in America." In it

he strongly urges the Poles in the United States, numbering 500,000 at the time according to the Polish press, to unite in one powerful organization in order to promote the Cause of Poland, especially that of the restoration of her independence. Among the many aims of the proposed organization he mentions the following: the revitalization of the masses of Polish immigrants with the Polish national spirit, the checking of the losses among the Poles who no longer feel attachment either to their Fatherland or their native language, the prospects of exerting greater influence on American political life through the medium of a nation-wide union of the Poles, greater opportunity for their own betterment obtained through concerted action, the possibility of serving as a medium of exchange for Polish and American culture.¹²⁵

125. S. Osada, Ibid., 103,104.

The appeal found echo among a group of Polish political exiles in Philadelphia. It gave birth to the National Polish Alliance on February 14, 1880. The Alliance in the first address to the Poles in America urging them to join its ranks, boldly asserts that: "National Polish blood boils in our veins and in vain would any of us strive to rid himself of his nationality."¹²⁶

126. S.Osada, Ibid., 120.

Henceforth the Alliance assumed the duty and role of a guardian and safekeeper of the very national life of the Poles in America. Its insistence on leadership among the Polish people in the U.S. has been the bane at times and drawback in the many great achievements and contributions the Alliance made not only to Poland but to its members as well. No impartial student can deny its great merits.¹²⁷

127. C.H.Midowicz, "The Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America," Poland, 1927, 8: 457, 520, 585.

b. Nature and activities of the Polish
National Organizations.

In studying the structure, the functioning and the work of both the Union and the Alliance, one is struck with their similarity, almost identity. They seem to run parallel along many lines.

Both resemble a superstructure, Membership is granted not to individuals, but to societies. The Union and the Alliance is an affiliation of local groups. When applying for membership the local group is given a number, in turn it may join with other groups to comprise districts called OSADA by the Union and GMINA by

the Alliance. The General Convention (Diet) is the supreme governing body, where laws are enacted, resolutions adopted, administrative officers are elected who remain responsible to it and at each convention must give an account of their administration. It is also the tribunal of last appeal. In the interim, between the holding of the general conventions the administrative officers are: the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and board of directors. The Union in addition has its national chaplain, the Alliance its censor.

The Union as well as the Alliance may be termed large insurance associations. To be sure, both were established as ideological organizations, especially the Union, for the Alliance in its very initial stages appeared with a plan for life insurance of its members.¹²⁸

128. S.Osada. Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 149.

The Union adopted this plan in 1886, thirteen years after its founding. Depending upon the events of national importance or lack of same, the one or the other element, ideological or material, prevailed at times in these organizations.

The early Polish organizations preceding the Union and the Alliance, with only ideological aims, found no favor with the Polish immigrant. This is not surprising.

Since 1865 till the enactment of immigration restrictions, i.e. till the passage of the Quota Bill in 1924, the masses of Polish immigrants made up the economic immigration to the U.S. The early vanguard of Polish immigrants settling in Panna Marja, Częstochowa Texas, in Polonia, Milwaukee Wisconsin, Chicago were a trickle of the economic immigration that was to swell with years into a mighty torrent carrying with itself to our shores hundreds of thousand Polish immigrants.¹²⁹

129. Rev.E.J.Dworaczyk, The First Polish Colonies of America in Texas, 1, 126.

Rev.W.Kruszka, Historia Polska w Ameryce, 1:71-72.

The mass immigration of Poles to America was prompted by economic reasons or conditions prevailing in their homeland. Intent on bettering their economic status, they responded favorably to plans and schemes which promised improvement of their lot. The greatest percentage of Polish immigrants to America was uniformly within the age group of 24-45 throughout the past 50 years. The most productive years of life and therefore most sought for by the great industries in large cities. The immigrant realized that with progressing age his physical strength would begin to wane rapidly because of accelerated exhaustion brought about by unskilled labor, mostly hard and heavy work. Accidents also found most victims among unskilled laborers.

"This great army of labor, in which the Poles play an important role, has won for this nation the first place in the industrial life of the world. Only by means of their humble but indispensable qualities, because of their sweat and Titanic work, could this country achieve such an unprecedented level of prosperity and might. And not only because of that - this great army of peaceful fighters has actually paid with its own blood for the comfort and higher standard of living in this country. In 1925, 10,537 men died as a result of industrial accidents.... The number of men killed in the mines alone during the period 1906-1925 was over 49,000. Much of this was Polish blood."¹³⁰

130. T.Hoinko, "The Polish Contribution to America," Poland, 1928, 9:700.

Any appeal to this mass of Polish immigrant-laborers to form organizations, to establish clubs, societies must, by force of circumstances, offer some economic advantage to prove successful.

Even local parish societies held out some small and at times insignificant prospects of material security to its members or their families in case of death or accident. The large organizations, like the Union or the Alliance, thus found the ground prepared for the inauguration of life insurance plans which later developed with years, brought income and prosperity to the associations and millions to their treasuries. It also gave them power and influence commensurate with their financial success.

Only when the religious needs in the parishes and economic security in case of accident, old age and death were met: "The Social Structure called Polonia" (the ethnic group) was already completed on the outside. There remained the "interior decorating" the establishing of social and political clubs, etc.¹³¹ Its foremost ad-

131. S.Włoszozewski, "The Polish 'Sociological Group' in America," The American Slavic and East European Review, 1945, 4:147.

vantage, however, cannot be overlooked. The life and accident insurance with which the Union and the Alliance could provide its members was the drawing force that swelled its ranks. According to Rev.S.A.Iciek¹³² the

132. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 139.

organizations' insurance policies account for 99% of their members. Only then were the Union and the Alliance able to put into life and realize their program of fostering among the immigrants the national Polish spirit, of educating them and successfully defending the Poles' local interests.

Not only the ideals, the aim, the structure, the nature and functions of the Union and the Alliance are similar, if not identical, but their activities differed

little, perhaps only in the intensity and stress laid upon one or the other program of action sponsored by either the Union or the Alliance.¹³³

133. The following is a list of similar or identical activities sponsored by the Union and the Alliance:

Care of the Polish immigrants coming to our shores. For the Alliance, see S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 153, 156, 331 and Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1935, 48. For the Union, see K.Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 87.

The founding of an immigrant's home. For the Alliance, see S.Osada, op. cit., 162, 167, 196, 219. For the Union, see K.Wachtl, op. cit., 120, 152.

Plans for the colonization or distribution of Poles on farms. For the Alliance, see S. Osada, op. cit., 209, 461, 468, 553. For the Union, see K.Wachtl, op. cit., 151, 230, 247.

The furnishing of scholarship to foster higher education among the Poles in America. For the Alliance, see S.Osada, op. cit., 524 and Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1935, 48. For the Union, see Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 1873-1938, 88.

The establishing of Polish libraries and Polish Museums. For the Alliance, see S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 332-333, 360-361. For the Union, see K.Wachtl, op. cit., 231 and Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 56-62.

The organizing of Polish Scouts and Polish Youth called Youth Section. For the Alliance, see Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1942, 66. For the Union, see Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 90-98.

There is no activity, no undertaking initiated by the Union which was not duplicated by the Alliance, and vice versa. This competition at certain stages, es-

pecially in the formative years of these organizations was bitter, sporadically unscrupulous in method.

There is one element that sharply defines the Union from the Alliance. The Union consists of societies or associations religious in character, with the parish as their mainstay and nucleus. Two conditions are essential to membership in the Union; namely, it is open to all Poles or to those of Polish extraction who in addition must profess the Roman Catholic Faith. The Union therefore is a Polish-Catholic organization and finds its purpose well symbolized in the motto: "For God and Country."¹³⁴

134. K. Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 11.

The Alliance dispenses with the demand that its members belong to the Roman Catholic Church. All Poles or Americans of Polish descent may become members irrespective of religious, denominational affiliation.¹³⁵

135. Związek Narodowy Polski, Konstytucja, Prawa, Reguły i Przepisy, 1931, 14.
S. Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, X.

The Alliance from its very beginning insisted on the farthest reaching tolerance in religious matters, which in the eyes of the Polish clergy was synonymous with

liberalism, religious indifferentism, Bitter denunciations ensued. The clergy accused the Alliance, especially its officers of being Masons,¹³⁶ of sowing religious indiffer-

136. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 157.

ence among the Catholics. It refused to officiate at the religious services marking the opening of the Alliance's conventions.¹³⁷ The fight in its most bitterly

137. S.Osada, Ibid., 213.

contested stages was led by Father Vincent Barzyński, the most powerful and influential leader of the Poles in his days in Chicago. Backed by the Resurrectionist Fathers, a religious community of men of which Father Barzyński was a member, and by the Dziennik Chicagoski, (Chicago Daily), which since its beginning till this day was the best published Polish daily in the U. S., Father Barzyński proved himself an even match to the Alliance by strongly backing the Union.¹³⁸

138. S.Osada, Ibid., 277.

The Alliance did not remain neutral. It retaliated in kind and often outdid its opponents, scornfully terming them: Clericals, fanatics, etc. Mr. Osada's History of the Polish National Alliance, brilliantly written from

original sources, lowers somewhat its historical and literary value, precisely by injecting into its narrative the antagonism between the clergy and the Alliance, which sometimes leads him to absurd childish conclusions, v.g. identifying the clergy with the so-called "Targowica"¹³⁹

139. S.Osada, Ibid., 293,324.

or traitors of Poland, condemning what Mr.Osada calls the "extreme international clericalism," yet later on justifying the equally "extreme Socialists'" admission into the Alliance.¹⁴⁰ "Polish Socialism", Mr.Osada naively asserts, "mitigated somewhat its original tone".¹⁴¹

140 and 141. S.Osada, Ibid., 282, 431 and 411.

It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the report on the activities of the Socialists listed on pages 417, 550-551, 586-587.

The misgivings which the Catholic clergy had of the Alliance were not totally unfounded. Among the first members of the Alliance were political refugees from Poland after the abortive insurrections and a sprinkling of the cultured Poles, the intelligentsia. These, were known for their indifferentism to the Catholic religion, in fact, we have seen that the children of some have not only lost their Polish nationalism, but their Faith as well. The Polish clergy was anxious therefore organ-

izing the Poles along the parish lines, the Alliance along national or community lines, with communal or ethnic local groups as the nuclei. In both instances, the purpose was to unite not individual Poles, but the various societies into one central body, representing all the Poles in the U.S. The Union as well as the Alliance is therefore an association of associations.

The Alliance always boastingly asserted to be the only national, political Polish organization in the U.S.,¹⁴² all other are denominational. Accordingly,

142. S.Osada, Ibid., 364, 458.

it claimed for itself the exclusive leadership in all matters of political nature and importance affecting the Poles in America, a claim which it has not relinquished to this day.

"Until now the Polish National Alliance considered itself the only political Polish organization entitled by tradition to undertake such action (to act and speak in the name of all the Poles in America) and it has faithfully adhered to this principle."¹⁴³

143. S.Osada, Ibid., 479.

Not all the Poles in America concurred with the Alliance's claims.

In all justice it must be said, that the Alliance, though at times in opposition to the Polish Catholic

clergy, never officially attacked the Catholic religion. On the contrary, it conducted itself favorably towards the Catholic Church. Mr. Giller, the "Father of the National Polish Alliance", in his letter to the Poles of America which gave impetus to the forming of the Alliance, openly avows that the proposed national organization must rest upon the parishes.¹⁴⁴ The first Constitution

144. S.Osada, Ibid., 106.

of the Alliance (of 1880), states that

"since the Roman Catholic Faith is professed by the majority of the Polish nation, we therefore consider it our duty to guarantee it our respect, never allowing to violate its rights and tenets."¹⁴⁵

145. S.Osada, Ibid., 151.

It even provided that in case any church society belonging to the Alliance should appeal to the organization for funds needed for the erection of a church, the Central Administration will issue a loan for that purpose.¹⁴⁶

146. S.Osada, Ibid., 237.

A study of the various groups which form part of the National Polish Alliance discloses that practically all these local organizations have contributed sub-

stantially to the Catholic Church of their community.¹⁴⁷

147. S.Osada, Ibid., 639-744.

For its justification (!) in doing so, the Alliance replied that the Catholic Church is not only a temple of God, but also of devotion to Poland.¹⁴⁸ This

148. S.Osada, Ibid., 175.

is made possible by the clause in the Constitution which guarantees freedom and autonomy to the local groups, its members.¹⁴⁹ The National Conventions of the Alliance

149. S.Osada, Ibid., 153.

have voted financial aid to the Polish Catholic Theological Seminary at Orchard Lake, Mich., and to other Catholic schools of higher learning.¹⁵⁰ All these contri-

150. S.Osada, Ibid., 273, 332, 371.

butions have been made at the time when the struggle (1880-1905) for the guidance, or if one prefers, for the control of the Polonia Americana was most bitter.

The national conventions of the Alliance were opened with Catholic services. Many of the groups com-

prising the Alliance were formed by Catholic priests¹⁵¹

151. S.Osada, Ibid., 649, 656.

and very many are local church societies at the same time. In 1886 a number of priests formed a society for the purpose, among other aims, of giving support to the Alliance. In the Alliance's formative years, the priests were active in its behalf. Many took part in the national convention at St. Paul, Minn. in 1887. Two years later, however, at the convention in Buffalo, the priests-delegates proposed an amendment to the Constitution barring all Jews and irreligionists from the Alliance. When the amendment was rejected, the priests severed their relations with the Alliance. Since then it became a national lay organization of all who claim Polish descent.¹⁵²

152. S.Osada, Ibid., 269, 290-294.

Such was the exterior structure of the Polonia Americana organized on a national scale with the parish and local communities as the basis and foundation. Both these forces answered the Polish people's most urgent need: of religion and economic security, both contributed their share towards the national orientation of the Poles in America. Individuals not having affiliation

with any group or society, were influenced nevertheless by the large groups that successfully organized the social and political life on a national scale. Going contrary to the will of the majority or the organized Polonia Americana, meant ostracism or relinquishing Polish cultural life.

c. The Organizations' National Orientation.

The Polish national organizations in the U.S. manifest a threefold orientation in the first period of the Polish economic immigration, from 1873-1919, that is from the founding of the organizations till the end of the World War I: 1) towards Poland, 2) towards the U.S., 3) towards the Poles in the U.S. The entire life and activities of the Polish people in America centered themselves around these three factors and in turn were motivated and moulded by them.

1) Orientation Towards Poland.

The orientation fostered by the large Polish national organizations during the first period of economic immigration (1873-1919) had one all-absorbing thought and motive, that is best expressed by the slogan: ALL OUT FOR POLAND. It overshadowed all other concerted action, all other motives, it colored the attitude and orientation of the Poles here toward

America and even defined policies that shaped their own lives on the American Continent.

Those who conceived the plan of organizing the Poles in America on a national scale, whether in the Union or in the Alliance were cultured individuals, the intelligentsia, political exiles, many of whom took active part in the insurrections and fight for freedom and independence of their native land. 153 These events

153. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 10-11.

were too recent to be easily forgotten or not^{to} exercise influence upon their lives and undertakings. Their one consuming ambition, the liberation of Poland, the restoration of her independence found its way into the very articles of the constitutions of the organizations which they founded. 154

154. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 123, 126.
K.Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 75.

The life and accident insurance which were had by all large Polish national organizations served the purpose not only of rendering economic security of the Polish immigrant more certain and possible, but in addition played the role of inducement and incentive

through which the process of inculcating in the masses of Polish immigrants the spirit of Polish nationalism and patriotism was achieved. To arouse that national spirit, to foster it, to direct it towards the liberation of Poland, that was the goal set by the national Polish organizations in the first fifty years of their existence. Having, as it were, sold the masses of Polish immigrants on the idea of life and accident insurance, these organizations proceeded systematically to sell them on the ideal of working toward the liberation and freedom of Poland.

The process of arousing the dormant patriotism of the Poles, their attachment to the native land, carried on so successfully by the Polish Catholic parishes and Polish schools in the U. S. was deepened and broadened by the Polish national organizations. The means and methods used by the local parishes and the national organizations were practically the same, except that the latter could operate on a wider scale, could carry added weight and power of united, concerted action, and therefore could give it greater importance and value.

'Tis true, that at the beginning the common people comprising the Polish economic immigration could not be drawn to the ideal of the Polish political exiles "to fight for Poland" when the opportune time arrives. A span of almost fifty years was necessary to raise

the patriotism of the Poles in America to such heights. In the meantime, year after year, they were becoming acquainted with the glorious past of Poland, with its culture, with its contribution to the world, but especially with the injustice committed upon her through the three partitions. The uprisings of 1831 and 1863, the Constitution of the Third of May, were days never passed without a commemorative celebration arranged by the various organizations.¹⁵⁵ The speeches, addresses, etc.

155. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 151, 224, 310.

K.Wachtł, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 397-565.

on such occasions, bitterly denounced the enemies of Poland, condemned the persecution of the Poles in their native land for their language, their religion etc., instilled pride in the Poles because of their descent, brought to their minds historical events, of which they were not aware even in their own native land, before migrating to America.

The thought of the injustice committed on Poland, for despoiling her of her freedom and liberty was constantly impressed upon the mind of the Poles. Hardly any convention of the large organizations was held without a stirring patriotic resolution being passed. It was here that the Pole felt himself not the despised, pushed-around immigrant, but strong, influential, to be reckoned with, a feeling which only a well-organized

group can give. Never was it better seen and emphasized than in 1893 when during the Chicago World's Fair the Poles over 10,000 strong staged a huge parade and celebrated

"in grand fashion the first so-called 'Polish Day' that Chicago has ever seen. It was the forerunner of the present annual Polish Day, an event which each year grows more elaborate and imposing."¹⁵⁶

156. A.C. Tomczak, Poles in Chicago, Their Contribution to a Century of Progress, 68.
 S. Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 373-381.

The large organizations held their hand on the pulse of national events here and in Poland as well as on international affairs and could immediately give their approval or denunciation backed by their thousand and hundred thousand members. With the growth of these organizations their power increased to such proportions, that they were to be reckoned with by all, especially their political foes. Of such nature was the protest sent to the American Government in Washington against the ratification of treaty with Russia regulating the extradition of criminals. In 1895 the Poles demanded an amendment to the treaty to exempt political exiles and refugees, whose extradition as criminals, the Russian Government could demand.¹⁵⁷ Joint resolutions were

157. S. Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 434.

passed in 1902 by the large organizations against the bloody beating of the Polish children in the village of Września by the German teachers for the refusal to say their prayers in the German language.¹⁵⁸ When the Tsar

158. S. Osada, Ibid., 534-541.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat
Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w
Ameryce, 50.

of Russia called a Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, the Poles in America presented a memorandum to the convening nations, reminding them that "Poland is not yet dead," and demanding the restoration of her political life.¹⁵⁹

159. S. Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 479.
 K. Wachtl, Dzieje Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-
Katolickiego w Ameryce, 287-288.

The speeches and addresses during the many Polish national celebrations, the many appeals and protests to the world against the injustice done to Poland, the many resolutions to that effect passed by the national conventions of these large organizations, did not produce the desired results with those for whom they were in-

tended. The Poles in America during this period were not looked upon as a group wielding influence or political power. Nevertheless, these appeals, resolutions and protests served their limited purpose. They were highly educational in acquainting the Poles not only with their glorious past, but also with their present national tragedy, they stirred the Polish national spirit and knitted firmly the Polish ranks.

Action generally followed or accompanied the appeals, resolutions and demands. And here immediately comes to the fore very plainly the cleavage, the different course followed by the organizations holding sway over the Polish people in America: the "national", the "liberal-national" Polish Alliance on the one hand and the "conservative", the "denominational-patriotic" Polish Roman Catholic Union with the Catholic clergy on the other.¹⁶⁰

160. S. Osada, Jak Sie Kszaltowala Polska Dusza Wychodz-twa w Ameryce, 20.
K. Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 181.

The Alliance was the more ideal, more extreme and daring, more nationalistic. The Union together with the Catholic clergy was often criticized for being too conservative, more realistic, less patriotic.

The Alliance was founded by political exiles, patriots, who instilled into their brain-child that

intense love for Poland, for her freedom, her glory and grandeur. "To live and to die for Poland" was their watchword. It is not surprising then to hear Julius Andrzejkiewicz, censor of the Alliance, declare in a patriotic speech delivered in 1882 at West Point at the foot of Kościuszko's monument, two years after the establishment of the Alliance: "We must have Poland always in our minds, and those who can, let them return to their native land. Not here, but over there lies our country."¹⁶¹

161. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 194.

Heralded as a political, non-denominational organization, the Alliance at first made contacts, later developed an understanding and even entered into political cooperation with similar organizations, groups in exile, mostly in Switzerland, which claimed either to be the Polish Government-in-Exile, or representatives of the political parties and societies in Poland working for her independence.

The men guiding the destiny of the Alliance in its early decades of existence, men known to be very nationalistically inclined, were convinced that the boiling cauldron of Middle Europe is bound to overflow and spill itself in an armed conflict over the European Continent.

The opportune moment would then arrive to strike and rise in arms for the freedom of Poland. Now, they reasoned, is the time to prepare for that oncoming event. Accordingly, the watchword: "active defense" became the guiding principle of the Poles in America associated with the Polish National Alliance. The "active defense" at first found its realization in the establishment of a National Treasury (Skarb Narodowy).¹⁶²

162. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 13.

Sigismund Milkowski, ex-soldier,¹⁶³ a novelist and

163. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 414-416.

political exile living in Switzerland where he was looked upon as the guiding spirit of all political action undertaken at the time for the liberation of Poland, was the author of a brochure published in Paris in 1887 outlining his political Credo, which was accepted by all Poles in exile working for Poland's independence.¹⁶⁴ In it, the

164. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 13.

principles of active defense and the purpose of the National Treasury were outlined. The Alliance that same

year began agitating in behalf of the National Treasury. After a bitter contest, the Alliance in 1887 through its Central Administration and later on at the national convention in Cleveland in 1895 gave its approval and declared itself the National Treasury's official representative for America. The contributions received from its members were sent to the Headquarters of the Treasury attached to the National Polish Museum at Rappersville, Switzerland,¹⁶⁵

165. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 253, 430.

The Alliance made every effort to contact various Polish organizations in exile, especially in France and Switzerland and to cooperate with them in efforts toward the liberation of Poland, in every political movement that would arouse the national spirit in Poland and the faith in her restoration. In 1895 the Alliance officially declared its access to the "Alliance of Poles in Exile."¹⁶⁶ In 1901 it offered co-

166. S.Osada, Ibid., 340.

operation with the National League, the "legally functioning Government of the secretly existing Polish State".¹⁶⁷ The Alliance of Poles in Exile as well as

167. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wyhodowana w Ameryce, 25.

the National League with headquarters in Switzerland, were political organizations working openly on the European Continent and secretly within Poland toward the Polish Cause.¹⁶⁸ The National League exercised authority

168. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 342.

over the National Democratic Party in Poland. Thus the Alliance was well informed on the state of affairs in Poland. Its support of these political organizations in Europe was rather of a moral and financial nature.

The stand taken by the Alliance during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) is very interesting. Although the large organizations of Poles in America issued a joint statement sympathizing with Japan, the "great and chivalrous nation", they refused to support any revolutionary movement in Poland openly sponsored by the Socialists.¹⁶⁹ The Alliance condemned such So-

169. S.Osada, Ibid., 581-603.

cialistic agitation not only as premature but also disastrous to the Polish Cause. Events soon proved the wisdom of such policy. To the credit of the Alliance it

must be said, that it rejected the plans for the backing of a military uprising in Poland in conjunction with the Russo-Japanese War, although pressure brought upon it by some Socialists who worked their way into key positions in the Alliance, was tremendous.

Soon after the Russo-Japanese War, due to dissension the Polish National Democratic Party in Poland broke up into small rivaling parties. The Poles in the homeland no longer presented a united front. The Poles in America therefore lost all direct contact with Poland itself and for the next decade (1904-1914) had no organization across the seas with which it could enter into relations, no organization representing the nation as a whole. The project of the National Treasury too went into oblivion. No reports, resolutions etc., of the national organizations of Poles in America, make any mention of it or of any affiliation or connection with political parties in Poland.¹⁷⁰

170. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
twa w Ameryce, 43.

2) Orientation Towards the U.S.

It would be unfair to the Poles in America to accuse them of lack of patriotism, of attachment to the country of adoption, namely the United States. No

matter how much one may be opposed to hyphenism, to hyphenated Americans, the Poles in the United States have proven that the devotion to the land of their forefathers in no way disparages their attachment to this country, its form of government, its political principles, its Constitution and its way of life.

With emphasis laid on the concentration of efforts toward the liberation of Poland, it is not unusual that the political exiles considered themselves guests in America and their sojourn but temporary. The speech delivered in New York in 1844 by Henry Kałusowski (linguist, politician, historian. Took part in 1831 insurrection against Russia. He influenced Agaton Giller to write the letter to the Poles in America, which was the cause of the establishing of the Alliance. Mr. Kałusowski died in Washington, D.C. in 1895)¹⁷¹

171. Rev.F.Bolek, ed., Who's Who in Polish America, 188.

portrays best the mind of the Poles then in America:

"True, at times some, but not many, here dreamed of settling in America like so many other arrivals, but the mist disappeared, for the sun having cast its rays from Poland traversed the ocean and warmed the hearts of the Poles so that their minds again are directed toward Poland - perhaps tomorrow, after tomorrow with- in a few days we shall begin the march back to Poland, who knows but that the dawn of good fortune will appear sooner than we expect! The Pole awaits it with eagerness, yearns for the return to his

native land - the Pole known for his attachment to the parental hut, the righteous Pole will nowhere accept the greatest liberty in exchange for his Country!"¹⁷²

172. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 13.

But days turned into months, years and decades. Even the political refugees adjusted themselves to the thought of remaining here permanently. We know, that most of the political exiles so earnest in voicing their Polish patriotism in America have all but disappeared and completely became assimilated. Evidently a change, partial at least, took place with years in the orientation of the Poles in the United States.

Already the first issue of the *Gazeta Polska* in Chicago, October 25, 1873 contains the caustic comment:

"Many of us (Poles in Chicago) either do not want to know about civic rights or are completely ignorant of them. Some reside here for the past 20 years, and as yet have not obtained their citizenship papers."¹⁷³

173. S.Osada, Ibid., 55.

The Constitution of the Alliance of 1880 singled out the following to be the aim of the organization: to orientate politically the Poles in America as citizens of the U.S.¹⁷⁴ The wording of this article suggests

174. S.Osada, Ibid., 151.

possible attempts to mould, if not to control, Polish political opinion in the U. S.

In all addresses, appeals, protests and the like, at all the national Polish celebrations sponsored by the Polish national organizations, in all the resolutions at the conventions of these organizations, the Poles never failed to stress their devotion to the United States, never failed to remind everyone that they are loyal, faithful citizens of the U.S.¹⁷⁵ The convention

175. S.Osada, Ibid., 487, 490, 498, 575.

of the Alliance held at Detroit, Mich. in 1891 urges all Poles to apply for citizenship.¹⁷⁶ In connection

176. S.Osada, Ibid., 334.

with the naturalization procedure, the Alliance convention gathered in Philadelphia in 1897 reminds the Poles never to give their nationality as Germans, Russians or Austrians, but simply Poles. For by doing so, they unwittingly approve the dismemberment of Poland.¹⁷⁷ No doubt,

177. S.Osada, Ibid., 489.

one of the reasons for urging the Poles to become citizens of the U.S. was the thought of exercising greater influence on public and political life in America and adding weight to their demands and protests in behalf of Poland. They would have to be reckoned with as citizens of the United States and not as aliens without political rights. Thus, in the case of the Polish-Americans, hyphenism seems to work in favor of their Americanization.

3) Orientation Towards the Poles in the United States.

No organization, small or large, regardless of purpose, can exist without seeking its own betterment or that of its members. While preoccupied with the furthering of the cause of Poland, while interested in the affairs of this their adopted country, the Poles have not overlooked the improvement of their own lot. They were no less intent on sharing the opportunities which America presented to them of bettering their condition and status. These efforts were intended to raise the social, economic, political, cultural level of the Poles, as an ethnic group.

Since the primary orientation of the Poles in America during this period was an all out effort toward the liberation of Poland, it follows logically that the large national Polish organizations would strive to

prevent the Poles from denationalization. Not that they hindered the naturalization of their members. On the contrary, they urged, as we have seen, the Poles to apply for citizenship papers, to become loyal citizens of the U.S. But with the change of political allegiance, the Poles were taught not to forget their national origin, not to be ashamed of, not to despise or deny their Polish extraction. The Poles always insisted on such interpretation of "nationalism" and not "clannishness" which implies one's exclusion from participation in social, political, cultural activities of the community.

The activities undertaken for the Polish Cause, which were already described, by their very nature tended not to diminish but to inspire and increase the spirit of nationalism of the Poles. These were not simply preventive measures, safeguarding from denationalization, but positive, contributing factors toward instilling the Polish National spirit into the Poles in America.

In contrast with the all out effort for the restoration of Poland's independence undertaken by the Alliance since its founding up to the World War I, with the highly nationalistic attitude taken by the Alliance especially in the early days of its history, stands the Polish Roman Catholic Union with the Polish clergy as its director.

The Union together with the Catholic clergy were no less intent on keeping the Poles nationally-minded. And though they have not shared the enthusiasm of the Alliance for the all out effort for Poland program, they were convinced that united, and only as a national, ethnic group the Poles would be in a position to improve, to better their condition morally, socially, economically. And we shall see, that with years, because of the turn of political events, the Union with the Catholic clergy became more fervent in preserving the national spirit and in preventing the Poles from denationalization in America. Both factions, the nationally and politically-minded Alliance as well as the conservative, realistic Union with the Roman Polish Catholic clergy are aware that with the decline and disappearance of nationalism among the Poles in America, the *raison d'etre* of their own organizations will be seriously undermined unless a new program, new orientation will rally the Poles around their banners.

Agaton Giller in the letter addressed to the Poles in America in 1879 made the observation, that the Polish masses, only well organized, will withstand denationalization.¹⁷⁸ It is easier to absorb small quantities.

178. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 104.

The process of digesting large masses is more difficult

and a more prolonged operation. The Polish immigrants prior to 1873 have entered the American life singly, unorganized and were completely assimilated within a short space of time. Today, hardly a trace of their ancestry is vivid in the minds of their grandchildren.

The most potent factor in retaining one's national spirit or nationalism is the use of the native language. To the Poles the preservation of their language entailed more than the embodiment of their cultural achievements, than the vehicle of transmitting their cultural heritage. It was above all the rallying point on which depended their survival as a nation, when Poland ceased to exist as an independent State. The preservation of the Polish language was a mark of patriotism when the oppressors endeavored to substitute the foreign language for the Poles' mother tongue. That conviction imparted itself to the Poles in America and at a later period became the cause of much bitterness and strife which spread even into the field of religion, especially of religious instruction and education.

The preservation of the Polish language presented a problem only with the second generation of Poles and their children. Social contacts were exacting a heavy toll among the Poles born in the U.S. They were speedily forgetting the language of their parents, or else

neglecting its use, too often despising it and at times ashamed of it. The IX Convention of the Alliance in Detroit, Mich., in 1891 passed the following resolution:

"Whereas the children of the Poles residing in America often are neglected in the knowledge of the Polish language, the IX Convention of the Alliance strongly urges all their members and all Poles in general, that they always converse with their children in Polish and that they rear their children in the Polish spirit."¹⁷⁹

179. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 335.

The Union together with the Catholic clergy were more successful in promoting the study and knowledge of the Polish language. They had the means; namely, the church and especially the parochial schools, where Polish grammar, history and catechism were taught in Polish. They were then better equipped to meet this demand.

Notwithstanding the demand for the teaching of Polish to their children, many Poles associated with the Alliance considering themselves liberals, refused to have their children attend parochial schools, the only Polish grade schools in America. But enrolling them in the public school wrought havoc with the nationalism of the children of Polish immigrants. Not only did they care little for their parents' native language,

but were ashamed of the Polish ancestry. Social disorganization, so prevalent among the second generation of immigrants, followed. To stem the tide, the Alliance arranged courses in the Polish language, history, etc., in the so-called Supplementary Schools,¹⁸⁰ which after

180. Dr. H. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 140.

all, did not come up to expectations, did not even prove to be half measures. The Alliance also went on record at the XIII Convention, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1899, demanding the introduction of courses in the Polish language in public schools, where the majority of children attending were Polish. In support of its demand, the Alliance pointed to the Germans as being successful in establishing German courses in the public school curriculum for their children.¹⁸¹

181. S. Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 492, 499.
Brown-Roucek, One America, 404.

Nothing met with such scathing criticism from the ultra-nationally-minded Mr. Osada, than the above project. It was introduced

"to abolish our parochial school system. I appeal to all, who are stirring action to bring about the introduction of the teaching of the Polish language into

the public school... let them point out to me in the ranks of that generation, which brought up in America, is taking in the past few years a more active part in our life, even one Pole, who was educated exclusively in the public school.

There is none, not even one! I do not know of any! For such (educated in public schools) are no longer acquainted with Poland, neither have they any knowledge of Polish affairs in America."¹⁸²

182. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 46.

Rev.D.Szopinski, "Szkolnictwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Polsko-Amerykański, January-March, 1911, 1:22-23.

The fifty high schools, colleges and seminaries, besides the regular courses required in their curriculum, include advanced courses in the Polish language, composition, history and literature. All these schools of higher learning are under the auspices of religious communities or of the Polish Catholic clergy, with the exception of the Alliance College founded at Cambridge Springs, Pa. in 1912 and supported by the powerful and financially prosperous Alliance.¹⁸³

183. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 133, 147.

Związek Narodowy Polski, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy Kolegium Związkowego w Cambridge Springs, Pa.
50-53.

A large percentage of Poles coming to America within the period of economic immigration, 1873-1919, was illiterate. For 1904 the percent of illiteracy among the

new-coming immigrant Poles was 36%, in 1905 it rose to 40%, an unusually high rate. 184

184. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1905, 109.

The educational heritage bequeathed to the New Poland in 1918 by the partitioning powers shows that only in German-Poland educational facilities were adequate. In Russian-Poland, which in 1913 sent over 112,000 immigrants to America, 75% were illiterate. In Galicia (Austrian-Poland) elementary schools provided by the Austrian Government were inadequate to meet the demands and were poorly equipped. 185 Szawleski

185. Wereszczyński-Kucharski, Wiadomości o Polsce Współczesnej, 199.

gives the following figures on illiteracy in Poland in 1911: in Russian-Poland 60% were illiterate, in Austrian-Poland 41% and in German-Poland 3%. 186

186. Dr. M. Szawleski, Kwestja Emigracji w Polsce, 32.

The large rate of illiterate immigrant Poles in the advanced age bracket: 45-65 and 65 years old and over, namely 19 percent as compared with 9.9 for all immigrants according to the 1930 Census, 187 must have been ad-

187. United States, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, 2:1315.

mitted to this country before the literacy test law was enacted.

Here then lay a promising field of social work for the large Polish organizations in America - the schooling of the adult illiterate Polish immigrants. Strangely, little was done either by the Alliance or the Union, or even by the Catholic clergy in behalf of the adult illiterates. Such work evidently was passed onto the various State agencies, settlements, etc. The indifference of the Polish national organizations to the plight of the adult illiterate Poles is the more baffling when we consider the expenditures for educational purposes of both the Alliance¹⁸⁸ and the Union.¹⁸⁹ Both have

188. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1935, 48.

189. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 88.

established libraries in their main administrative buildings in Chicago, in addition they subsidized circulating libraries among the members. Both have founded Museums to preserve for the future the past contributions of the Poles to America. Both have given generously scholarships to young promising and talented Poles in

American colleges and universities, but neglected the adult illiterates. Perhaps the preoccupation with the schooling of the immigrant's children, the impossibility of winning over the adult immigrant, who after a day's heavy work was too exhausted to attend evening schools, offer some excuse.

Though the period of orientation we are considering is characterized as one of all out effort for Poland, the interests of the Poles here in America were not overlooked or neglected. We have already made reference to life and accident insurance provided by the large national organizations which thus rendered more secure the economic welfare of the Poles in America. Any emergency that was of interest to the Poles at large in America found their large organizations on the alert and helpful. V.g. the Alliance set aside the sum of \$1,000 for the prosecution of the deputy-sheriffs in 1894 for the murder of Polish and Lithuanian miners demonstrating in Hazleton, Pa. against unfair working conditions. During the depression of 1903 it contributed toward the upkeep of Polish miners in Pennsylvania.¹⁹⁰

190. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 461-462, 544.

5. National Polish Congresses in the U. S.

It was becoming more and more apparent that the large organizations, the Alliance and the Union, were not the sole representatives of the Poles in America, that the claim of the one to possess by tradition the right to speak politically for the American Poles, the other to be the spokesman for the Polish Catholics were disproved by the subsequent turn of events. New, regional and national associations arose, some by breaking away from the larger parent organization, v.g. the Falcons from the Alliance, the Union of Poles in America (Stowarzyszenie Polaków w Ameryce) from the Polish Roman Catholic Union. Others sprung up to meet more efficiently some definite purpose for which the larger organizations did not provide, v.g. the Polish Young Men's Alliance. Many of these smaller associations numbered several thousand members, unwilling to take dictation from above.¹⁹¹

191. K. Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 154-156.

The life and accident insurance phase of most organizations began to assert itself at times very forcefully, especially during business depressions, when many members were dropped because of inability to pay their dues.¹⁹² The large national organizations became

192. S.Osada, Historia Związku Narodowego Polskiego, 458.

immersed in business. The ideological objectives were not always in the forefront.

Several attempts were made to achieve unity among the Poles in America, without regard to denomination, creed, party or political affiliation, provided they were willing to join in the work for Poland's Cause and for the best interests of the Polish people in the U.S. Unity was to be achieved therefore on a purely ideological basis. The proposed superstructure would not embrace local groups or societies, but regional and national organizations and institutions. The representation would be adjudged in proportion to their numbers, their wealth and influence. The need of a super-organization which would voice the opinion of the Poles in America and present a united front on all important issues of national importance was pressing more and more with the rumblings of the Balkan War and later on of the World War I. Undoubtedly, such an organization would command greater attention. Its appeals, demands, protests could not be slighted.

Attempts in the past to form such a united front among the Poles in America have failed, mostly because of petty ambitions, either of individuals or of the national organizations. The Rev.Vincent Barzyński in

1894 submitted plans for a Central Organization of the Poles in America, THE LEAGUE. Its Constitution would place the League in complete control of the clergy.¹⁹³

193. S.Osada, Ibid., 388-389.

The Alliance with the liberally-minded associations refused to join.

The League became the prototype of all future attempts to consolidate the Poles in America. Article I, 1. describes the League to be "representative of the Polish Nation in the United States of America." The Catholic character of the proposed League is all but too evident. No member of a secret society, or of an association condemned by the Church, no anarchist, communist or socialist need apply for admission. The main purpose of the League was to concern itself with the moral, national, cultural, material well-being of the Poles in America. Also cultural, economic, national contacts would be established and maintained with Poland.¹⁹⁴

194. S.Osada, loc. cit.

All members would tax themselves a small sum of money which would form the so-called National Treasury. This money would be expended for the Poles in the U.S. and not abroad. The Alliance, in contrast, intended its

National Treasury for Poland's Cause, her independence. The policy of the League was dubbed "passive defense" in contrast with the "active defense" of the national-liberal organizations. 195

195. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
twa w Ameryce, 20.

The League never met with success. Similar efforts made years later, but restricted to the Catholics, have not functioned long. The three Catholic gatherings or Congresses of Poles in America in the years 1896 and 1891 in Buffalo, the third in 1904 in Pittsburgh¹⁹⁶

196. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 157.

produced the Federation of Polish Catholics in the U.S. No achievements can be ascribed to it. However, its Constitution and by-laws are interesting, inasmuch as they throw light on the orientation of the Catholic Poles in America at that time. The aim and purpose of the Federation is predominantly directed toward the promotion of the interest of the Poles in America. There is no phase of the religious, social, cultural even national life of the Polish people in America, which it did not include in its program of action.

Only two, faint references were made to Poland: 1) the use of the American press was urged in defense of Poland's good name and in order to acquaint the Americans with the persecution of the Poles by the partitioning powers; 2) the establishing of closest relations with our "Brothers in the Old Country" was promised.¹⁹⁷

197. Federacja Polaków Katolików w Stanach Zjednoczonych Północnej Ameryki, 5.

Of greater importance and more promising was the Unity Alliance (Związek Jedności) sponsored in 1909 by the first Polish bishop in America, Most Rev. Paul P. Rhode.¹⁹⁸ His exalted position immediately forced upon

198. K. Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 157.

him the spiritual and moral leadership of the Poles in the U.S. It augured also greater success to all endeavors made to unite the Poles in one representative organization. The Union and kindred associations agreed to join. The liberal-national organizations counteracted by convening a National Polish Congress in Washington, D.C. in connection with the unveiling of the Kościuszko and Pulaski monuments. The Congress presented only a semblance of unity among the Poles in America. In reality it caused greater confusion and discord among them.¹⁹⁹

199. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
twa w Ameryce, 47.

A meeting of the Polish Catholic clergy in the U.S. was called by the Most Rev. Bishop Paul P. Rhode to Detroit, Mich. on February 5-6th, 1913. The result of the gathering was the Union of Polish Priests in America. Among its foremost resolutions we read:

"The Polish clergy in America is not hostile to any national-political organization, however, as a principle, it recommends and supports all Polish Catholic organizations."200

200. S.Osada, Ibid., 57.

Officially therefore the Polish Catholic clergy declared itself ready to cooperate with all organizations, without regard to creed, denomination or political partizanship, provided these were willing to work for the Polish Cause, for the best interests of the Polish people in the U. S.

The Balkan War emphasized the need of mutual harmonious cooperation of all the Poles in America. From the aforementioned facts, it seems that the American Poles have been prepared providentially for the important role they were to play in the coming events, which now cast before their long shadows. There was more readiness, more willingness on the part of the large

national organizations to put aside their ambitions and rivalry. They have sensed at the same time the atmosphere in Europe to be charged with war currents, in which Poland would become unwillingly the battle ground. They submerged their private gains for the more ideological goal of restoring freedom to their Fatherland. In his sermon for the opening of the Union's XXXIII Convention in Milwaukee, the Rev. E. Kozłowski, later auxiliary bishop of Milwaukee, pleaded for tolerance for the opinion of others.

"Let us respect all other Polish organizations, as Polish, even though their programs should exclude religion, for they too are Polish, for they too contribute, as they think best, toward the strengthening of Polish idealism."²⁰¹

201. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Sprawozdania Urzędników Zjednoczenia i Protokół Sejmu XXXIII, Milwaukee, Wis., 6-11 października, 1913, 269.

On October 22, 1913 the Polish Falcons, a gymnastic organization came forward with a passionate, urgent appeal for unity among the Poles, especially among the large Polish organizations. The appeal begins with the almost prophetic ring:

"We are standing in the twilight of momentous days, in the threshold of an eruption through which Europe must pass in its history, in the dawn of new groupings of nations."²⁰²

202. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
twa w Ameryce, 63.

The national organizations responded favorably and arranged for a meeting at Pittsburgh, where on December 16, 1912 the Committee for National Defense was formed, first successful political fusion of all Polish national organizations in America.²⁰³ Harmony lasted only six

203. S.Osada, Ibid., 67-68.
K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 291.

months. The Socialists managed to work their way into the important positions and offices of the Committee and insisted uncompromisingly on their views and plans of gathering funds for the Socialistic, revolutionary movement in Russian-Poland. Their impertinence, abusive manners and methods forced the Catholic organizations to withdraw their support. Its aim; namely, warlike preparation for the coming struggle in Europe was stressed to such extent that no provision was allowed which would take care of the needs and problems of the Poles in the U. S.²⁰⁴

204. S.Osada, op. cit., 71.
Polska Rada Narodowa, Pierwszy Zjazd Polskiej Rady
Narodowej w Ameryce, 18.

The Catholic clergy then and the powerful Union with most of the Catholic organizations formed in 1913 the National Polish Council (Polska Rada Narodowa).²⁰⁵

205. Polska Rada Narodowa, Ibid., 17-23

Its achievements fill the brightest pages in the history of the Poles in America. The highly efficient Polish Press Bureau was organized, which supplied articles, information to the Polish as well as American papers. A semimonthly magazine, entitled: "Free Poland" was published. To this day it is regarded as the best source of information presented to the American public on the past history of Poland, her government, culture and the misfortunes which the World War I thrust upon her.

The Polish National Council supported the Scout Movement among the young Poles,²⁰⁶ and fostered the

206. Polska Rada Narodowa, Ibid., 35-42.

establishment of schools intended to acquaint the adult Poles with the procedure and requirements of naturalization. Strong support was given to the work of Stephen Kolanowski who during two years was instrumental in obtaining first and second citizens' papers for 10,000 Poles in Chicago through such "citizens' schools". Immediately a cry was raised against the Polish National Council for its attempts to Americanize the Poles. The

critics however were bluntly told, that it was by far better to be known as American, than Austrian, German or Russian citizens. Moreover, all were made to understand that the American public as well as the American Government are not impressed so much by the demands, protests or appeals of its foreign element, but by its citizens, born or naturalized, who have a voice and therefore influence in governmental policies. Later events provided the Polish National Council with an approval of its policies.²⁰⁷

207. Polska Rada Narodowa, Ibid., 61-65.

With the formation of the Polish National Council a decided change took place in the orientation of the Catholic clergy and Catholic organizations in the U.S. They have not resigned from the thought of furthering the interests of the Poles in America. However, the trend of events forced upon them the shelving for the time being of their own problems and the centering of their attention on conditions in Poland. With it began a struggle for political alignment with parties in Poland which expressed the mind and the will of the nation.

In the 1912 presidential election Nicodemus Piotrowski of Chicago, was selected by the Democratic Party to gain support of the Polish American votes for

Woodrow Wilson. Piotrowski interviewed Mr. Wilson personally and explained the reluctance of the Poles to back the Democratic candidate because of the derogatory statement about the Polish people made by Mr. Wilson in his History of the American Nation. Mr. Wilson then publicly withdrew his charges and gave full explanation of his former attitude toward the Poles. As a result, the Polish-Americans were said to have swung the election considerably in Mr. Wilson's favor. When after the election the political spoils were to be distributed, the Poles headed by Mr. Piotrowski declined for themselves any office, but requested the president almost on the eve of the World War I to back later on the demands of the Poles in Europe for their national freedom.²⁰⁸

208. K. Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 194-195.

The political orientation grew more difficult with the outbreak and continuation of the war. The Committee of National Defense leaned to the left, supporting the Socialists in Austrian-Poland. The latter led by Joseph Pilsudski were bitterly opposed to Russia. The Polish National Council on the other hand represented the right wing or the conservative parties in Poland and were known for their opposition to the Central Powers, in particular to Germany. The Russians, after all, were Slavs. The Russian Manifesto of August 14, 1914

promised the reunion of Polish lands under the Russian Rule and a limited self-government. Late in 1916 the Central Powers proclaimed an independent Poland, consisting of part of Russian-Poland.²⁰⁹ Amid this confusion

209. W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland, (1697-1935), 463, 487.

in Poland, the Polish National Council in America came forth with the declaration entitled: "Our Credo".

"We desire a whole, free and independent Poland, and for that goal we labor with all our strength and skill.

A whole, free and independent Poland is the only worthy postulate of our great nation, which has behind a thousand year old culture so valuable to mankind...

The Polish National Council was the first to reject the various "orientations", siding with this or that belligerent, and branded them as a compromise, unworthy of men who truly desire the independent and spontaneous growth deciding the fortune of a nation - as a vile bargaining with one's community, which, for the price of certain political dreams and imaginary combinations, is to offer itself to this or that foe.

For upright Poles there cannot be any other "orientation" than the desire of an entirely free and independent Poland."²¹⁰

210. K.Wachtl, "Our Credo", Free Poland, December 16, 1915, 2:3.

The plan of a National Treasury was resuscitated. However, contributions were disappointingly small.²¹¹

211. Polska Rada Narodowa, Pierwszy Zjazd Polskiej Rady Narodowej w Ameryce, 44.

Even as late as 1913 at the XXXIII Convention in Milwaukee, the Union declared itself in favor of a national tax, the money to be expended for Poland's Cause when the opportune arrives, nevertheless the Convention as such did not want to impose it officially on its members, but left it to the judgment of local societies and groups which should forward the money to the Office of the Polish National Council. This contribution should be made freely.²¹² In 1915 the Alliance at the convention in

212. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Sprawozdania Urzędników Zjednoczenia i Protokół Sejmu XXXIII, Milwaukee, Wis., 1913, 385.

Schenectady taxed its members 5¢ each per month for the furtherance of Poland's Cause.²¹³

213. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1936, 65.

Reports of devastation in Poland following in the wake of the war, with Poland as the battle-ground, prompted all the large Polish organizations in America to pool their National Treasuries and the sums collected for national purposes in the newly-formed Central

Polish Committee. On January 21, 1915 it was further agreed to forward the money on hand to the General Relief Committee in Vevey, Switzerland, headed by the famous Polish novelist Henry Sienkiewicz and the equally renowned pianist Ignace Paderewski. Mr. Smulski, the outstanding Polish leader during the World War I in America reported officially at the National Polish Congress in Detroit, that up to date, namely till August 1918 the sum of \$500,000 was forwarded to the General Polish Relief Committee in Vevey, Switzerland, by the Poles in America.²¹⁴

214. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Przemówienia i Sprawozdania ze Sejmu Polskiego Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 1918 w Detroit, Mich., 15.

With the arrival of Paderewski in America on April 15, 1915, the relief work in behalf of Poland showed a sharp increase. The Polish Question in America gained wider and more favorable prominence. Paderewski's address to the Convention of the Union of Polish Priests in America held in Chicago in 1916, February 6-7, brought enthusiastic response from the priests-delegates who immediately contributed and subscribed \$30,000 and resolved to begin collecting money in their parishes for Poland's Cause.²¹⁵

215. Rev. J. Guzdek, "Urzędowe Sprawozdanie z III Sejmu Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce, odbytego

dnia 6 i 7 lutego, 1918, Przegląd Kościelny, 1918, 5:91-92.

Polski Wydział Narodowy, Przemówienia i Sprawozdania ze Sejmu Polskiego Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 1918 w Detroit, Mich., 40.

It was generally understood by now (1915-1916) that the events with the vicissitudes of war which unfolded themselves daily in Europe demanded not only relief work but also political action on the part of the Poles in America. In the reorganization which took place on April 18, 1917 the Polish National Department (Polski Wydział Narodowy) was established as the supreme body and representative of the Poles in America, and the Central Relief Committee continued its work as the Department's subsidiary.²¹⁶

216. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 41.

The Polish National Department set its political machine immediately in action. There was intense national activity the like of which was never to be experienced again in the history of the Poles in the U.S. Three outstanding leaders have taken into their hands the guidance of the Poles in America in the most crucial stages of the history of Poland. They were: Most Rev. Bishop Paul P. Rhode, Ignace Paderewski and John Smulski, banker of Chicago and one time state treasurer of Illinois.²¹⁷

217. Rev.F.Bolek, ed., Who's Who in Polish America, 419.

Through the untiring efforts of Mr.Paderewski and his influence with Colonel House, the personal adviser of Mr. Wilson, the president issued his first peace conditions (January 22, 1917) in which he included a free Poland. The collapse of Russia in the beginning of March 1917 gave the remaining Allies greater freedom of action with reference to Poland. France permitted the organization of an independent Polish Army under the supervision of the French. In August 1917 Roman Dmowski, former member of the Russian Duma and leader of the Poles in Russian-Poland, formed a Polish National Committee in Lausanne, Switzerland, transferred soon to Paris , where the French Government under Poincaire declared it to be the official Government of Poland.²¹⁸

218. W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland, (1697-1935), 472.

The Polish National Department in America immediatly submitted itself to its directives in all the work done in behalf of Poland.

Among the famous Fourteen Points of Wilson (January 8,1918) the thirteenth included free Poland with access to the sea. A Joint Resolution of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy, on June 3, 1918

declared Poland an Allied belligerent nation. The Polish Army already in France consisting mostly of former Polish prisoners from the German and Austrian armies taken by the French and Italians, was recognized as an Allied Army.³¹⁹

319. W.F.Reddaway, ed., Ibid., 477.

Greater action was demanded of the Poles in America to cope with the swift pace of events. To achieve this purpose a National Congress of all the Poles in America was called to Detroit, Mich., on August 26-30, 1918. The inspired patriotic addresses by Most Rev. Bishop Paul P. Rhode, Mr. Paderewski, Mr. Smulski and Roman Dmowski met with unheard of enthusiasm. Never in the history of the Poles in America was such patriotism and cooperation had among all the groups and organizations in the U. S. The Congress went on record 1) to gather a \$10,000,000 fund to promote the Cause of Poland, 2) to raise a Polish Army in America which would strengthen the Polish Army now in France under General Joseph Haller, 3) to co-ordinate all the Polish national, political and relief work in the U. S.

The Committee of National Defense continued its pro-German or pro-Central Powers orientation. Most of all, its unqualified support of the Polish Socialist party in Austrian-Poland led the Alliance to withdraw

from the Committee in 1914. Pitifully outnumbered, the Committee of National Defense was nevertheless very active, most of all bitter in denouncing the policies of the Polish National Department.²²⁰ "Americans and

220. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Przemówienia i Sprawozdania ze Sejmu Polskiego Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 1918 w Detroit, Mich., 36, 38.

the Polish Question" by Jan Kobieta and John Dewey's article in the New Republic reflect the opinion of the Committee of National Defense.²²¹ The political alignment of the

221. Jan Kobieta, "America and the Polish Question", New Republic, 1918, August 10, 16:44-46.
John Dewey, "Autocracy Under Cover", New Republic, 1918, August 24, 16:103-106.

Committee of National Defense became very precarious when the the U.S. entered the war against the Central Powers. When the Committee continued opposing the formation of the Polish Army in America, the U.S. Military Intelligence Department threatened its members with arrest and jail for subversive action.²²²

222. Ks.S.A.Iciek, Swiatła i Cienie, 113-114.
K.Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 356-357.

The broad program of the Detroit Polish Congress was only partly achieved. Whatever success was had, it was due to the unqualified support of the Polish clergy

to whom Paderewski appealed most of all.²²³ The parishes

223. Ks. S.A. Iciek, op.cit., 136-137.

again became the busy hives of patriotic activity. Mainly through the parishes the money for the \$10,000,000 Fund was raised and the recruiting to the Polish Army took place.

The high mark in this all out effort for Poland shows the following enviable record:

20,605 volunteers in the U.S. recruited for the Polish Army. Mere numbers do not present the entire picture. Those enlisting in the Polish Army were individuals to whom the American Army could not lay claim, hence non-citizens, either too old or too young according to the American Army standards or not acceptable to the American Army for various reasons.²²⁴

224. K.Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 301

\$5,369,309.84 was contributed freely for Poland from October 1914 to December 1919 by way of self-imposed tax. In the meanwhile the Poles more than filled their quota in the purchase of Liberty Bonds, etc.

Obtained aid from the American Red Cross for Gen. Haller's Polish Army and the Polish soldiers' families. After the signing of the armistice intensive

relief work in Poland was organized in cooperation with Mr. Hoover and the State Department.

In the beginning of 1919 first transport of food worth \$2,000,000 was sent to Poland through Danzig. Later on 10,000 packages with food and clothing followed. \$100,000 was assigned for the equipment of a hospital in Warsaw to care for the wounded Polish soldiers. Money continued flowing from America to the most devastated sections in Poland. The way was paved for the Polish Government to secure \$160,000,000 of American credit.²²⁵

225. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 178-179.

K. Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 311-320.

Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 11-12.

The English publication of the Polish Encyclopedia, which served as source material on Poland for the diplomats at the Paris Peace Conference, was financed by the Polish National Department.²²⁶

226. Polish Encyclopedia, 1:vi.

Most Rev. Paul P. Rhode, "Odezwa J. E. Ks. Biskupa, D.D." Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 6:796.

The collapse of the German armies and the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918 came as the grand finale of the ALL-OUT EFFORT of the Poles in America

in behalf of their Fatherland. Poland: free and independent has again taken her place among the nations of the world. The major share of credit is due to the efforts and orientation of the Poles in the United States.

CHAPTER III
POLISH NATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES
1919-1925

A. GENERAL REMARKS.

The year 1918 was the most eventful year in the history of the Poles in America. It will remain forever a year of supreme effort and sacrifice crowned with the most brilliant success.

After 150 years of enslavement Poland regained her freedom, independence. The ideal for which many of her best sons and daughters suffered, bled and died and of which many despaired, was achieved. The Poles in America justly claim for themselves the distinction of contributing generously and effectively to the restoration of the independence of their native land. Strangely enough, this accomplishment was the work not of political exiles, but of the Polish masses which constituted the economic immigration, whose sole purpose in emigrating from their native land was economic betterment, what is more, who left their villages and towns with vague national consciousness, with a dormant spirit of nationalism.

Humanly speaking, it was to be expected that after reaching the heights of sacrifice in behalf of Poland, the American Poles would show a tendency to relax, to reduce their efforts from which Poland bene-

fitted almost exclusively. Not that the Poles flush with success decided to rest on their laurels. There were still many problems facing Poland in which the American Poles showed interest. But, it is psychologically known, that once the goal and purpose is obtained, there follows a period of diminishing interest, especially of effort in the same cause, a period of surveying rather than of contributing toward further success, of enjoying the victory achieved.

One must stress the fact, that with the winning of any important goal and purpose, the time comes to adapt oneself to new conditions, to make a study of the future, to weigh the changes that were brought about by one's success, and to orientate oneself again in the maze of events that give new shape to thoughts, plans, and ideals. New goals, new ideals begin to assert themselves and demand immediate attention or concern.

Accordingly the period from 1919-1925 may be termed one of transition in the history of the Polish national orientation in America. It is one of vital importance. The time has come for the American Poles to decide definitely about the future not so much of individuals, but of their whole ethnic group in the U.S.

No one will hold it against the Poles in the U.S. for having tempered somewhat their Polish nationalism after winning the independence for Poland. The working

out of the form of the Polish Government, the determination of political, economic, social policies best suitable to the country, would have to rest with the Poles across the sea. These problems would not be of primary importance to the American Poles, but rather to their kin in Poland. Self-understood, with this attitude, the interest of the American Poles in the affairs of Poland would have somewhat already spent itself.

The six years following the restoration of the independence of Poland are marked by the cooling off and the diminishing of enthusiasm among the Poles in the U.S. for Poland. They recall the years 1919-1925 with bitterness. For the Poles in America within that time have not gradually but swiftly slumped into an apathy toward Poland, her problems and interests, an apathy for which, for the most part, the Poles in Europe are responsible and at fault.

The masses of the Polish economic immigration not only became acquainted in the U.S. with their native land's history, political past, grandeur and accomplishments, but also for the most part learned to feel and think in Polish terms. Their nationalism, their Polish consciousness was aroused and developed mostly here in America.

Unlike the political emigration to France after the unsuccessful insurrection of 1831, which spent much of its time in exile faultfinding and criticising not

only the recent course of events in which they took part, but also the past history of Poland, the Polish masses of immigrants in America had their eyes and mind fixed in the glorious past of their Fatherland and its greatness. To them the history of Poland had no dark, black pages of which they would be ashamed before the world. Everything was sunny, inspiring, capable of evoking only admiration and national pride. Poland was pictured as the one truly Christian nation known for her religious tolerance and as a haven for the persecuted of Europe. Her political and military greatness in the XVI and XVII centuries were achieved not by conquest, by sword, but by mutual pacts freely entered into by Lithuania and White Russia. Her geographical position made her the bulwark of Western Europe against the barbarism of the East. All her heroic exploits on the battle-field were vividly portrayed to the Polish immigrants. To them, Poland was not only idealized, but also literally idolized.

Even the form of government, of elective kings adopted in the XVI century, which led to the intrigue of foreign governments and nationals of Europe, and must be regarded as one of the contributing factors to Poland's downfall, the exclusive centering of power in the hands of the nobility and the removal of the burghers and peasants from participation in the

government, the unbridled freedom which at times bordered on abuse, "Golden Freedom" enjoyed by the nobility, the "liberum veto", whereby the deliberations and decisions of the majority in the Diet could be frustrated by one dissenting vote, the contempt with which trade and commerce were regarded by the Polish nobility - all these defects of the political and social system of Poland before her partition found their defenders and at times were explained away as civic virtues.

The Polish democratic system of government was mostly stressed during the years of the World War I (1914-1918). The similarity between the form of government of England, the United States and that of Poland was brought to the fore with emphasis.¹ Some of

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1. A.J.Zielinski, Poland in the World of Democracy, passim.
 S. Laudyn, "A Striking Kinship of Ideals," Free Poland, November 1, 1914, 1:6-7.
 L.Dembinski, "The Polish Nation," Free Poland, July 1, 1915, 1:3-9.
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the outstanding principles of democracy were shown to be the very basis of the governmental system of Poland, which already was crystalized in the middle of the XV century.² It antedates therefore the American system

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2. A.Chożoniewski, Duch Dziejów Polski, 23.
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of government. It outstripped practically all the

countries of the world in the introduction of certain functions of government which were later adopted by most of the nations, v.g. The Commission of National Education which decreed the educational function to be the concern of the entire nation. When absolutism reigned supreme in Europe in the XVI and XVII centuries, parliamentarism in Poland gained ascendancy, for the power of the king was curtailed by the Diet (parliament). The executive power was similar to that of the president of the U.S. Personal liberty, freedom of speech, of conscience, of religion were guaranteed by the Constitution. Private property was considered sacred. No one could be convicted without due process of law. The law was supreme, even above the king. Postage rates (in 1583), weights and measures were made uniform throughout the country, before any of the European nations thought of introducing them on the Continent. The disdain and aversion of the Poles to militarism, to standing armies is well known.³ All noblemen

3. A. Chołojewski, Ibid., 82-83, 121-127.

considered it their sacred duty and privilege to be subject to military conscription only in the defense of their country.⁴

4. Kridl-Wittlin-Malinowski, Polska Myśl Demokratyczna, w Ciągu Wieków, passim.

W.Lednicki, Life and Culture of Poland, 37-78.

The restoration of Poland's freedom and independence deprived her of the halo of martyrdom and of mysticism or messianism which ascribed to Poland's Cause a certain sacredness. The suddenness of the collapse of the Central Powers and the regaining of independence by Poland did not give the American Poles sufficient time to adjust themselves to the thought of their native country's freedom, did not allow for that gradual transfer from their love of the idealized Poland to the respect for her as a State and for the government which represented her. The American Poles' concept of their native land was the poetic Poland of the Romanticists rather than the prosaic Poland of the statesmen and politicians.

"When in the past we knew well that we are tending toward an independent Poland, that we are making every effort in her behalf, that we are living for her sake - now - with freedom won, how distant and somehow strange she seems to us, not as we desired her, not as we understood her to be, not as we have pictured her to ourselves"....⁵

5. K.Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 376.

Szawleski remarks that just as the people change because of the many years spent in different social

milieu, so too the Polish immigrants in America have undergone a change. The old longing and love for Poland remains with its nostalgic basis, to this was added the pride because of freedom regained, but somehow the attitudes and the very lives of the masses of American Poles have changed.⁶

6. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 194.

What factors contributed to this, not gradual, but sudden and almost violent change in the orientation of the Poles in America, particularly toward their Fatherland?

B. POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN POLAND AFTER THE ARMISTICE OF 1918.

The political chaos, the disturbing news from across dealt a severe blow to the ideal Poland of which the Poles in America dreamed for many decades. The general destruction, economic upheaval, famine - the aftermath of war could easily be understood. The American Poles were always in readiness to help and continue with their contributions towards the alleviation of human suffering. But the political wrangling of parties, the maneuvering for position and political power, the furtherance of the interests

of the parties, of groups and even of individuals at the expense of the country itself, left the American Poles dazed. They could and would not understand. The Constitution of March 1921 and that of April 1935 are but a reflection of the political situation in Poland, of the struggle of one group against the other for supremacy. The first bears the imprint of the national parties which formed the right wing in the Diet, and which at the time constituted the majority. Fearing, however, the popularity of Joseph Pilsudski, and disturbed at the thought that he may become elected first president of Poland, they deliberately sought to weaken the executive power and strengthen the legislative bodies: the Senate and the Lower House (Sejm). The Constitution of 1935 was passed with the Pilsudski followers, the "colonels" in office, and as could be expected, extended and strengthened the Chief Executive's power at the expense of the legislative function.⁷

7. R.L. Buell, Poland, Key to Europe, 86, 97-100.

It was evident that in reconstructing Poland politically, the good and the advantage of individuals, groups and parties was given preference, that of the country at large became of secondary importance. These developments, which begin to take shape immediately after the signing of the Armistice in 1918 were studied

by the Poles in America with gravest concern and anxiety.

To understand better the reaction of the American Poles to the events that followed swiftly in Poland, one must be acquainted with the political leanings of the Polish immigrants in the U.S. The orientation of the Poles during the preceding period in the history of the Polish economic immigration in America shows a decided preference for the Right, for the parties representing the Nationalists in Poland. Thus, the Alliance time and again collaborated with the nationalist parties in furthering the Cause of Poland. The American Poles refused to support the Socialist movement in Russian-Poland in 1905 and the Polish Socialists in Austrian-Poland at the beginning of the World War I. The Polish Committee of National Defense in 1912 met defeat because the Socialists ruthlessly endeavored to foist upon it their objectives and views. The three years (1915-1918) of the most intensive work for Poland, of the greatest sacrifices in her behalf by the Poles in America were made through their representative body, the Polish National Department, which had submitted itself to the directives of the Polish National Committee in Paris, headed by the known Nationalist Roman Dmowski and Ignace Paderewski.⁸

8. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Przemówienia i Sprawozdania ze Sejmu Polskiego Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 1918 w Detroit, Mich., 44.

The arrival of Paderewski in America in 1915 made clear the alignment of the Poles in America with the Rightists or the Nationalists. They have taken Paderewski to their hearts. His appeals to them met with immediate response. They looked upon him as the embodiment of their sentiments, their feelings, their attachment to Poland.⁹

9. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 110.

Early in 1919 Paderewski arrived in Poland and after a few meetings with Pilsudski an understanding was reached between the two men representing "the two main wings of the Polish Independence Movement."¹⁰

10. W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland, (1697-1935), 569.

Paderewski became Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Roman Dmowski together with Paderewski were nominated delegates to the Peace Conference. After scoring political triumph in Paris, defending and outlining the interests of Poland, Paderewski was less fortunate in his native land. Party intrigues forced him to resign from the premiership on December 9, 1919. For some time he continued as Poland's delegate to the Peace Conference.¹¹ Soon after, he

11. W.F.Reddaway, Ibid., 571.

left Poland never again to set foot on her soil. Never, later in life, did Paderewski express any resentment at the treatment meted out to him in Poland. Nevertheless, the Poles in America were bitter viewing the political fate that befell Paderewski in his own country. They not only shared his feelings, but considered the turn of events which ousted him from premiership as a defeat of the cause they too have sponsored.¹² The relations

12. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 368.
Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wycho-
dźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio,
15.

of Paderewski with the Poles remained most cordial till his death.

In 1921 the first presidential election took place in Poland. The political feuds, partisan bitterness appeared at their worst. With the aid of the Centre, the Left and the Minorities' parties, Gabriel Narutowicz was elected president. The Right could not live it down. Two days after his inauguration, Narutowicz was assassinated by a fanatical Rightist. The first political murder committed in the history of Poland shocked the country and re-echoed in America. Poland became more and more discredited in the eyes

of the Polish immigrants in the U.S. It seemed as though Poland was returning to the chaos which was widespread within her boundaries before the partitions. From 1921 to 1926, 80 parties existed and 14 cabinets rose and fell.¹³

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13. R.L. Buell, Poland, Key to Europe, 89.
 Cf. F.Gross, The Polish Worker, 133-134 on the number of Polish senators and deputies with their parliamentary grouping from 1920-1931.
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Party strife waxed warm and grew more bitter. Party leaders in Poland were not content with confining the party struggle to Poland, but transplanted it on the American soil among the Poles in the U.S.¹⁴

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14. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 17.
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Rev.Iciek describes this phase of Polish partisan action among the Poles in America in his own inimitable way:

"Political strifes, partisanship, radicalism and political villainy brewing in Poland, spilt itself also on the American soil among the Poles in the U.S. The same parties and groupings mushroomed among us, that have brought confusion and chaos to Poland. Political strife was acute and all-absorbing as never before. Various emissaries from Poland arrived in our midst: followers of Witos, those of the Peasant Party, Socialists, Pilsudski adherents, 'Endeks' and 'Chadeks' (ab-

breviations for the two Right or Nationalist parties) - and every kind of devilry. Each one caused only greater confusion, distortion of orientation, each schemed, instigated, spread destruction, but all collected dollars, and to insure for themselves the continued source of contributions, organized for that purpose committees in the Polish communities and parishes.

We have pictured Poland to ourselves as the ideal, for which we yearned throughout the centuries. We received instead dissension, insults, invectives against the Church, the priest, the clergy and our schools. The red banner (Socialistic) was thrust upon us in place of the white flag! (Polish) Disillusion followed with disgust.¹⁵

15. S.A. Iciek, Samochodem przez Stany Zjednoczone, 2:377-378.

Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 183, 201.

There is no doubt that a vast majority of the American Poles would subscribe to the above appraisal of the party missions arriving profusely on our shores from Poland in the early twenties of the century. Some such missions brought only discredit and shame to the Poles in the U.S. V.g. a group of Polish parliamentarians representing the Peasant Party appeared at the various meetings in America shabbily dressed as if to accentuate their comradeship with the peasants. These gentlemen did not realize that the Polish peasant immigrant in America has far outdistanced his kin in Poland, both culturally, socially and economically.

Such representations caused only distaste and disgust. The result was a failure of the intended mission.¹⁶

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16. Rev.W.Zapała, C.R., "Sprawozdanie Ks.Sekr.Jeneralnego Zjed.Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce." Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:178.
W.Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 203.
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As could be expected, each of the party missions to America gloried in the criticism and condemnation of the opposition. In time the Polish Government checked the flow of party emissaries to America. The stoppage came somewhat too late.¹⁷ For as Dr.Szawleski claims,

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17. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 113.
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in describing the effects of this mutual condemnation, recrimination and of the activities of the rivaling parties from Poland as exhibited on the American soil, Poland came out of the transference of party political strife in Poland to America, shorn of her dignity. The Poles in America began to reason, that judging from the statements made by the various party representatives from Poland, an honest Pole no longer is to be found in Poland.¹⁸ The slogan: "Shut tight your pocketbook,

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18. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 206.
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for your money and your contribution will be used for party politics in Poland", swept the country. The American Poles put this slogan immediately to use. For in 1921 the Polish Consul General in New York reported \$50,000 sent to Poland as private contributions from the Poles in America, the next year the amount dwindled to \$5,000 and in 1923 to \$3,000. 19

19. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid., 201.

Amid this internal struggle for office and power by the different parties in Poland the Polish Diet was found inefficient and considered by many to have failed the nation. When Witos, the Peasant Party leader assumed premiership in 1926 and chose as Minister of War one inimical to Pilsudski, the latter incensed staged a successful "coup d'état" in May, 1926, the first of its kind in the history of Poland.²⁰

20. W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland, (1697-1935), 587-588.
 R.L. Buell, Poland, Key to Europe, 88-90.
 "Sprawy Bieżące", Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:162.

He immediately set out to "remedy" the incipient anarchy in Poland. Pilsudski backed by his followers from the legionnaires, the "Colonels", mostly from the military class, organized a "non-party government bloc"

and proceeded to further strengthen the executive power at the expense of the parliament or Diet. This, together with many stern measures used by Pilsudski to attain his purpose and goal, led some political observers to declare Poland to be an "authoritarian" democracy, a nation with mild dictatorship.²¹ The new Constitution adopted in

21. R.L.Buell, Poland, Key to Europe, 91-94.
W.F.Reddaway, ed., The Cambridge History of Poland, (1697-1935), 610-612.

April, 1935 reflects the struggle between the legislative and executive powers and the principles which it involved.

The Poles in the U. S. were soon to feel the painful repercussions of the events that took place in Poland since May, 1926. The Polish government officials, in the U. S.: the ambassador, the Polish consuls and their staffs were men who reflected the principles of the Pilsudski regime. In many instances, most of all, the consular officials took up the interrupted propaganda spread by the Polish parties from across and substituted it by agitation for the Pilsudski government.²² Their efforts met with some success.

22. K. Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 363.

Shortly after the Alliance's convention in 1928, the delegation consisting of the newly elected officers of

the Alliance made this declaration at the Belvedere, the official residence of Pilsudski in Warsaw: "All members of the Alliance are Pilsudski adherents, and soon all the Poles in America will follow their leadership."²³

23. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 5.
M.Dąbrowski, ed., Dziesięciolecie Polski Odrodzonej 1918-1928, 814.

During the World War I the Poles grouping themselves around the Polish Committee of National Defense supported the activities of the Pilsudski legionnaires, who in turn were backed by the Polish Socialists in Austrian-Poland. Their political orientation was pro-Austrian and directed mainly against Russia, then considered an ally of England, Italy and France. When the U.S. declared war on the Central Powers, the Committee found itself in a dangerous and unpleasant situation. Its work therefore in those crucial days of struggle from which Poland emerged free, was insignificant, and rather obstructive.²⁴

24. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 137.

Shortly before and after the usurpation of power by Pilsudski in 1926, the Poles from the Committee of National Defense came to the front. They were singled

out for honors, given prominence by the Polish officials in America. Those who worked and sacrificed so much for Poland through the Polish National Department were stunned. Oddly enough, though honors, medals, crosses of merit were skimpingly bestowed by the Polish Government upon the Poles in the U.S., many fell to those whose work in behalf of Poland was very dubious, but whose affiliation with the Leftist and later with the Pilsudski regime was widely known. Primarily, then, partisanship was rewarded. The merits of the prominent Poles who did not profess the ideology of the Polish Committee of National Defense were simply ignored. This action of the Polish Government left the impression upon the patriotic Poles in America, that they have been deliberately slighted and were refused acknowledgment, recognition for the work in behalf of their Fatherland.

The result was the alienation of many from their "beloved country".²⁵

25. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 35, 113.

K. Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 366-367.

W.Gasiorowski, Ach,-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce! 208-209.

"Protokół z Posiedzenia Grupy VII z Filadelfji, Odbytego w Reading, Pa., Dnia 11 listopada, 1920," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:854.

C. THE RETURN OF GEN. HALLER'S ARMY.

The return of 12,000 demobilized soldiers from Gen. Haller's Polish Army was not without political implications. Organized in France in 1917 it was augmented by 28,000 Polish volunteers from America. It came to be known as Gen. Haller's Army. Before entering Poland on April 22, 1919, its number grew to 100,000 by incorporating Polish soldiers who served in the German and Austrian armies, and who were taken prisoners by the Allies. Gen. Haller's army was well trained and equipped by the French. It presented the best fighting Polish unit at the time. Upon arrival in Poland in 1919 they were immediately dispatched to Eastern Galicia, which they quickly liberated from Ukrainian troops. In the latter part of 1919 and in the beginning of 1920 all of Gen. Haller's army was engaged against the Bolsheviks. The army was not kept then as one separate unit, but incorporated into different divisions of the regular Polish army. About the same time the majority of the soldiers from the United States were released and in the spring of 1920 general demobilization of the Polish army from America took place. The released soldiers were kept idle in the detention camp at Skiernewice for six months. Conditions in general, lack of adequate supply of food caused their morale to slump. Through the efforts of John Kleczka, the first Congress-

man of Polish extraction, Washington furnished ships without cost for transporting the Polish-American troops to the U. S.

Their arrival in America was not so easily or so soon forgotten. No enthusiasm, no swelling of pride, not the conviction of having performed one's patriotic duty marked the return of the soldiers of yesterday, who were hailed as heroes the day they enlisted and were bidden farewell. Instead, bitterness hardened their faces. Neither were the Poles in America prepared for the sight they were to witness. For they greeted not the happy conquering heroes, but soldiers in rags, some invalids. The best uniforms, even those purchased for the soldier's own money, were taken away from them, because these were needed in Poland. The Polish ambassador in Washington paid the transportation to their homes and gave cash payment of \$10 to each. Local citizens' committees furnished them with civilian clothes and provided employment, while the Polish National Department expended till February, 1921, \$265,927 for the demobilized soldiers of Haller's army. The Association of the Veterans of the Polish Army, formed by the soldiers of Gen. Haller's Army, through drives and contributions has taken upon itself the support of its invalids and unemployable.²⁶

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26. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 324-330.
 S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
 twa w Ameryce, 161-162.
 W.Gasiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 176.
 "Z Sejmu III Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce", Prze-
 gląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:255.
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The resentment of the returning soldiers from Gen. Haller's Army was not dictated so much by the apparent lack of proper appreciation by the Polish Government of their patriotism, of their valor and their accomplishments, nor by the apparent ingratitude of the Poles in Europe, but in most part by the fact, that they were dispatched home, 12,000 strong, at a time when Poland needed them most, when the Bolsheviki were beginning to flood Poland and four months later stopped at the very gates of Warsaw.

The return of the Polish-American soldiers of Gen.Haller's Army deepened the disillusion of the Poles in the U.S. toward Poland.

D. POLISH RE-EMIGRANTS AND THEIR HARDSHIPS.

When in 1918 the Central Powers capitulated and Poland's freedom was restored, enthusiasm and patriotic sentiment ran high among the Poles in America. It manifested itself principally in the sudden re-emigration movement to Poland.

Conservative estimates place the figures somewhere around 100,000. 27

27. K.Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 365.

"There was a time, especially in the years 1920 and 1921, when it seemed as though none of the Poles who were imbued with the true Polish spirit would remain in America, as though all efforts to save the vanishing attachment to Poland on the American soil were useless - and that the only important remaining duty of every true Pole was to return to Poland."²⁸

28. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 175.

Mr. Osada contents himself with placing the number of Polish re-emigrants in the years following the cessation of World War I at about 40,000 families or 250,000 individuals. Dr.Szawleski, in accordance with the American immigration statistics published in the yearly reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration sets the figures of Polish re-emigrants for the years 1918-1925 at 138,150. ²⁹

29. Dr.M.Szawleski, Kwestja Emigracji w Polsce, 81.

TABLE IV. NUMBER OF POLISH RE-EMIGRANTS, 1918-1925.

Year	Re-emigrants	Born in U.S.	Naturalized	Total
1918-1919	153		30	183
1919-1920	17,769	818	64	18,651
1920-1921	41,575	10,912	158	52,641
1921-1922	31,618	18,062	406	50,086
1922-1923	5,125	2,769	178	8,073
1923-1924	2,474	800	149	3,423
1924-1925	3,693	1,200	200	5,093
TOTAL	102,404	34,561	1,185	138,150

An analysis of these statistics discloses some interesting facts, namely that the high tide of Polish re-emigration took place in the years 1919-1922, that 25% of the re-emigrants were American citizens born in the U.S. This group consisted dominantly of children returning with their parents to Poland. Noticeable is the small number of naturalized re-emigrants.

A further study of the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the same years, offers the following information: men constituted about 75% of the returning Polish emigrants, overwhelmingly it was a re-emigration of families or of married folks, thus bringing to an end the separation of families. About 70% were within the 16-44 age bracket. From 1918 to 1924 most of those returning to Poland resided in the U.S. between 5-10 years, or late immigrants. In the years 1925 and 1926 the majority of re-emigrants reported 1-5 years residence in the U.S., or

10-15 years.³⁰ The Poles from former Austrian-Poland

30. United States, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1925, 50 and 1926, 47.

show the greatest urge to return to their native land, those from German-Poland, the oldest immigration, are the least inclined to leave America.³¹

31. Dr. W. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 349.

No group ever presented a more sorry and pitiable lot than the re-emigrants in Poland in the years 1919-1924. Today many look upon the venture as one where not only the Polish Government but the entire Polish nation failed miserably in their duties and obligations. Szawleski does not hesitate to call this re-emigration movement, particularly in the year 1919 "a huge martyr-ology". He stresses the following contributing factors: the large number of re-emigrants, the spontaneity of the movement, the geographical distance between Poland and America, and therefore the increase of hardships caused by longer voyage, the disrupted means of communication on sea and land. The re-emigration of Poles in 1919 assumed the nature of disorganized mass movement. To curb it and direct it through well-organized channels, the Polish Consulate General functioning in New York,

was forced to issue drastic measures such as refusing passports to thousands surrounding the Consulate and demanding immediate return to Poland. The more anxious and impatient, through the inducements of the steamship agencies, sought entrance into Poland through foreign ports as Triest, etc. These re-emigrants after many visa and passport difficulties, oftentimes after spending many days in detention camps, entered Poland penniless, completely divested of their savings.³² In 1920 the re-

32. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid., 341.

emigration trend, although on the increase, was not subject to such hardships as in the preceding year due to improved conditions and general rehabilitation that took place in Europe after the War. ³³

33. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid., 197.

But the Polish re-emigrant was not so much disgruntled with the hardships of the voyage, as rather with the conditions and treatment he found in Poland.

In general, it can be said, that the Polish-American re-emigrant met with complete failure in Poland. Many of them returned to Poland with the avowed purpose of contributing their knowledge, their experience, their strength, their wealth toward the rebuilding of a

powerful and economically stabilized country. Such was the Association of Polish Mechanics and the corporation named "Palatine" with capital invested in the U.S. chain stores, iron ore mines, coal mines and oil. After transferring most of its activities to Poland, it simply went bankrupt.³⁴ Others were prompted by exaggerated

34. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-twa w Ameryce, 173.

opinion about the purchasing power of the dollar. Many were lured by schemes of "get rich quick" enterprises, not a few returned with the thought of spending their last days in reasonable comfort after financial struggles in America, while many dreamed of purchasing land in Poland and cultivating it on a larger scale with improved American methods.

The common characteristic of all the re-emigrants was the pride in their American traits and in the possession of the coveted American dollar. The majority motivated by patriotism boastfully intended to make Poland another United States, to rebuild it on the American pattern, to make use of American methods in business enterprises, etc.³⁵

35. W.Gasiorowski, Ach,-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce! 181.

The attitude of Poland toward the re-emigrants was for the most part unfriendly, if not hostile. Cynicism was prevalent. Szawleski would place the blame squarely upon the re-emigrants' shoulders. He imputes to them not only lack of understanding and proper evaluation of the new conditions and demands made upon them because of the environment in which the re-emigrants found themselves, but also indolence, pretense, vanity bordering on contempt, attempts to succeed and advance by means of American bluff. He even attributes to them social vices, such as drunkenness, disregard for authority, tendency to continuous criticism of government, loose morals, the importation and spread of social disease, constant dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions, thus bringing about only distrust, ferment and disorder in the community. ^s36 One cannot escape the impression as though

36. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 204, 350-353.

only the scum of the American-Poles, well supplied with American money, constituted the majority of the re-emigrants in the years 1919-1924.

This one-sided and distorted picture of the Polish re-emigrants in the early 1920-s, is contrasted by sketches made by those, who found themselves among the victims.

Many Polish re-emigrants labored under the illusion that Poland as a new country provided with the widest and most varied field of opportunity for every business and economic venture. Instead, they found little change not only in economic but social conditions as well. Stratification of society continued as before. Business opportunities were few and limited. American business practices and methods could not find there any application. The same old inertia persisted, the same lack of individualism in enterprise, bureaucracy, the tendency to look up to someone else, ultimately to the government to do something, to remedy a given abuse, to give an impulse, initiative to any business, economic or social undertaking - these the re-emigrants did not foresee, much less expect.³⁷

37. W. Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 74-78, 140.

From various accounts given, it is known that only few Polish-American corporations entered into large scale business in Poland. These, as mentioned above, met with failure.

Some of the re-emigrants have established small business shops, similar to those they may have conducted among the Poles in America, others bought dwellings in cities, mostly apartment houses. Some have purchased larger estates buying the land at a low price from the

Germans, mostly in the Poznań Province, lastly many settled down on acres bought in their native villages, which could well provide them and their families with sustenance and a somewhat comfortable living.

It is a strange and remarkable phenomenon that practically all failed in their well-meant undertakings. Mr. Osada, himself a re-emigrant, an eye-witness to the misery in which the Poles from America found themselves in Poland, in a public address given in Poznań on November 27, 1922 presented the following gloomy picture: About 40,000 families returned to Poland from America bringing at an average \$3,000 per family or \$120,000,000 to invest in their Fatherland. Today, 50% of these lost their hard-earned savings. Penniless, they are living in abject poverty. Those who can, are selling out the property they hold to provide for transportation back to America.

Most of the losses are to be attributed to business sharks in the form of agents, bureaus of facilitating the sale and purchase of estates, farms, real estate, factories, shops, etc. In Bydgoszcz alone before the war seven such business bureau were licensed by the city, now there are 70 legally operating and about 10 times as many illegally, all preying on the guileless re-emigrant.

Those who invested their money in apartment houses found that immediatly after the war during the recon-

struction period the government gave special protection to the lodgers so as to save them from eviction. The regulations worked hardships on the owners, who in turn unfamiliar with the demands made upon them, have often come into conflict with the law. In desperation the re-emigrant owners of apartment houses were selling out at a low, often ludicrous prices, and began the trek back to the U.S.

They were unable to cash their U.S. War Bonds, not even the Polish Government Bonds. Desperately in need of ready cash, the re-emigrants found their way to the Jewish banks, where at a considerable loss to themselves, they exchanged their bonds for money.³⁸

38. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 188-191.

Others who opened shops and plied their trade, were asked to produce affidavits, statements that they are familiar with and capable of carrying on a trade, an unheard of demand in the U.S. Bureaucracy was a constant source of irritation to them.³⁹ In Galicia certain com-

39. W.Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 221-222.

munities petitioned the government to curb the Polish-American immigration because they cannot compete with

the re-emigrants, well supplied with dollars, in the purchase of land and farms. Finally, the re-emigrants met with the cynical remark: "We do not want you, but your dollars!" 40

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40. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 350.
 K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 365.
Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 17.
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What has the Polish Government done in the meanwhile in behalf of the Poles returning from America? Nothing to protect them, no attempt to shield them from exploitation, from abuse and swindle. On the contrary, it set many obstacles in the process of accommodation and adaptation of the American Poles in their new surroundings and generally speaking, seemed to reflect the attitude of the nation at large toward the new comers. According to the instructions printed by the Polish National Agrarian Bank (Państwowy Bank Rolny), for the information of Emigrants returning to Poland and willing to settle on farms, even in 1931 (the law was passed in April, 1920)⁴¹

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41. Dr.M.Szawleski, op. cit., 351.
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we read, that in the parcelation of large estates and government owned land made either by the Polish Government or through the National Agrarian Bank, only those can take part who are citizens of Poland or have regained

Polish citizenship. Even from the sale of private property Polish emigrants who at the same time are American citizens, cannot make any purchase of land, unless they acquire Polish citizenship or must obtain first the permission of the Council of Ministers.⁴²

42. Wydział Emigracyjny Państwowego Banku Rolnego, Wskazówki Dla Emigrantów Chcących Wrócić Do Kraju i Osiać Na Roli, 3.

The American Pole addressed in the U.S. by the Poles from across as their "compatriot", now discovered himself an alien, a foreigner in Poland proper. It is true, that the government regulation had in mind the protection of Polish ownership and claims to its own country against the outright purchase by foreign capital. However, the re-emigrants and the Poles in America were convinced that the law should have provided some exception and consideration for them.⁴³

43. Dr.M.Szawleski, op. cit., 351.

Such lack of interest on the part of the Polish Government perhaps could be overlooked by both the re-emigrants and the Poles in America, but certain actions of the government could not be construed otherwise, but as deliberate chicanery, open hostility and abuse of the re-emigrants. The special tax on "wealth increment" passed by the Diet, was applied to the Polish

re-emigrants with unusual exactitude, almost with a vengeance, even after it was abolished. The Polish Government from this source alone gathered \$5,000,000 in revenue. The measure was so provoking, that the IV National Congress of American Poles branded it as unjust and angrily demanded that Poland cease being a "step-mother" to the returning American Poles.⁴⁴

44. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 45.
S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
stwa w Ameryce, 184.

This indifference of the Polish nation toward the re-emigrants from America, the contempt and cynicism leveled at them, the injustice which they experienced, the harmful legal measures applied to them by the Polish Government produced painful reaction, but the only solution to the problem and the re-emigrant's predicament. He sold out his property or whatever holdings he may have had and left again for America, there to fix his permanent residence and cast his lot irrevocably with the U.S. Szawleski on the basis of American statistics places the number of returning re-emigrants at 9,000, although he adds, that this number can be increased to 40,000 or 50,000 due to the immigration laws which favored the returning emigrants and placed them outside of the quota.⁴⁵

Mr. Osada claimed publicly that in the months of August and September of 1922, 7,000 re-emigrants returned to the United States. Of the 40,000 re-emigrant families, half of them found themselves in a hopeless situation, were quickly selling out their holdings and returning to America.

Those of the re-emigrants, like Mr. Osada, who determined to hold out to the very last, made efforts to form an association, an "Alliance of American Re-emigrants in Poland", to defend their interests and better their condition by mutual aid and exchange of information, etc. However, outside of a few local groups formed and a general convention held at Bydgoszcz in 1922 on November 19th, which only accentuated the seriousness of the re-emigrant problem and passed resolutions demanding government action on their behalf, nothing was accomplished. With the change of political trends in Poland, the plan for organizing the re-emigrant Poles was completely dropped.⁴⁵

45. S.Osada, Ibid., 174-194.

The return of the Polish re-emigrant to America had some effect on the Polish nation and government, which began to realize the disastrous results that were now experienced. Various patriotic organizations in the larger cities sprung up to protect the re-emigrant.⁴⁶

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46. S.Osada, Jak Sie Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
twa w Ameryce, 193-197.
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Toward the end of 1922 a Bureau of Re-Emigration was added to the Department of Emigration, the latter being subject to the Labor Ministry.⁴⁷

47. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźtwo Polskie w Stanach Zjedno-
czonych Ameryki, 354.
Dr.M.Szawleski, Kwestja Emigracji w Polsce, 84-86.
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All these efforts and measures came too late. The re-emigrant returned to America fleeced of all his earnings relieved of lifelong savings, penniless, to begin anew literally from rock bottom, empty handed, but with bitterness in his heart and some with vengeance toward Poland.

In the returning tide of the Polish re-emigrants to America were outstanding Polish-American journalists and writers: Stanislaus Osada, Mrs.S.Laudyn-Chrzanowska, Wacław Gąsiorowski, Dr.Karol Wachtl, who could not adapt themselves to the conditions found in Poland. They too returned to America to bear witness to the adventures of the re-emigrants and to the disillusion common to them all.⁴⁸

48. Rev.A.Syski, "Powrotna Fala", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:28.
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The Poles in America were also quick in reacting to the news of the plight of the re-emigrants in Poland. One of the smaller Polish Consulates in the U.S. issued 471 passports in the last 2½ months of 1920, in 1921 2,730 passports were given, in 1922, 697 and in 1923 hardly 212. In that very same year (1923) over 4,000 affidavits were made out to enable the Poles in America to bring to the U.S. their relatives in accordance with the Quota provisions. In the years 1920 and 1921 the banks and the American Post Office sent millions of dollars to Poland, in 1922 some hundred thousand, in 1923 only tens of thousand.⁴⁹ Szawleski subtly

49. W.Gasiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 200-201. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 180.

insinuates that egoistic, local interests, for fear that they would lose a subscriber, voter or member of a parish or of an organization, advised against the continued return of American Poles to Poland after the re-emigration debacle of 1919-1923. His account of the re-emigration movement leaves the impression that everybody else, but Poland, is to be blamed, most of all the re-emigrants themselves and the Poles in America for the tragedy of the re-emigration movement.⁵⁰

50. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid., 181, 206.

E. FINANCIAL LOSSES OF THE AMERICAN POLES IN POLAND
AND AMERICA IN POLISH BUSINESS ENTERPRIZES.

Whilst the Polish-American re-emigrants suffered losses and underwent hardships in Poland which caused their attachment to the Fatherland to turn into bitterness, those in the U.S. did not fare much better in their enthusiasm for Poland, for almost identical reasons.

After the cessation of war and the restoration of independence Poland found her monetary system in the most chaotic condition. Three different systems, in the most disorganized condition were bequeathed to a nation by three partitioning powers: Germany, Russia Austria, that for 150 years had no government, no economic, financial or banking system of its own and no past experience by which to guide itself.

Unlike Czecho-Slovakia⁵¹ Poland did not stamp

51. W. Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 193.

the paper money of other countries circulating within her boundaries and thus failed to stop the flooding of her country with foreign currency from neighboring States. In addition, the government began to print its own money (marks, later changed to złoty) and thus inflation was in full stride. Destruction left by the war, the spectre of hunger and epidemic, continued

struggle with the Ukrainians to the south-east, the Bolsheviks to the east, unfriendly relations with Lithuania to the north-east, and with Czecho-Slovakia to the south - all these demanded immediate attention of the Polish Government. Unfortunately, the maneuvering of the too numerous parties for power, the apparent shift of government to the Left, its instability, made the Allied Powers slow not so much in recognizing and dealing with the various changing Polish governments, but unwilling to grant Poland credit or loans which would stabilize the monetary system and general conditions in Poland. Enemy propaganda about Poland being only a "seasonal State", to disappear again in the near future, contributed its share to the woes of Poland.⁵² Moreover,

52. "Ad Notam. Zwalczanie Propagandy Antypolskiej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:442.

the absence of men like Paderewski and Dmowski, who guided the nation toward the Allies, were conspicuously absent in the Polish Government that changed frequently. The Allied nations were sceptical and advised caution in relations and financial dealings with Poland.

There remained one possible source, as yet untouched to any great extent, which could be used and had; namely, the savings, the wealth accumulated through hard labor by the Poles in America in the past

many years.

When the Polish mark began to inflate and its value to decrease, many of the Poles in America unacquainted with the fluctuations and the exchange of money, considered this an opportune time to invest their dollars in Polish marks, feeling secure in the thought that perhaps overnight the mark will rise again in value and they will be the richer for their risk. They are to be simply accounted for as speculators in foreign exchange. To demand that the Polish Government make good their losses is extremely absurd. They have taken the risk and lost.

Others have sent various sums in American dollars to Poland either to their relatives or friends with the purpose of purchasing property in their name and for various other reasons. In the process of exchange from dollars into Polish marks, in the interim of delivering the money to the payee, considerable sums of money were lost. The slowness in expediting the money by the banks caused the purchasers losses which were accounted for by the daily decline of the Polish mark. Thus a purchase in April of 10,000 marks for \$100, due to the fall of the mark would perhaps bring about 100,000 marks in May. Actually then, the banks delivered in May to the payee the sum of \$10, or its equivalent in marks.

To expedite the sending of money and thus save the purchaser the loss incurred in the meantime by the

depreciation of the mark, the Polish Consulates undertook the function of transmitting money to Poland. This function was restricted to the Poles, who were Polish citizens. The Polska Kasa Oszczędności (Polish National Savings Bank) was empowered to complete the transaction and to deliver the transmitted sums in Poland. In the beginning checks issued by the Polish Consulates in America were made out in Polish marks, because the Poles in the U.S. showed preference for this type of transmission of money, since it enabled them to know beforehand how much would be delivered to their relatives and friends in Poland.⁵³ The explanation seems rather

53. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 430-431.

naive. Later the delivery was made in American dollars. Early in 1922 the Consulates discontinued the transaction, which was taken over by the Guaranty Trust Co, of New York.

According to the figures furnished by Szawleski the amount sent from America to Poland by means of checks was as follows:

TABLE V. MONEY SENT BY THE AMERICAN POLES TO THE
HOMELAND BY MEANS OF CHECKS, 1919-1922.

Year	Amount
1919	\$30,000,000
1920	60,000,000
1921	45,000,000
1922	35,000,000

The year 1923 accounted for the sum between 20 and 30 millions and shows a tendency toward a gradual decline.⁵⁴

54. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid., 433.

Mr. John Smulski in his official report to the Polish National Congress in Detroit on April 21, 1925 justly states, that the Polish Government cannot be held responsible for the losses sustained in the transmission of money to Poland from America by the then fluctuations of the Polish mark. The decline in money value was universal in Europe, other countries undergoing the same process, although not so acute and painful as in Poland. It is to be looked upon as an aftermath of war.⁵⁵

55. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 26-27.

The same, however, cannot be said of those who through the inducement, encouragement and even urging of the Polish Government and its consuls in America have withdrawn their savings from U.S. banks and sent them as deposits to the private as well as government banks in Poland. They have done so not only out of patriotism to enable the Polish Government to rebuild the nation and stabilize its currency, etc., but because of the assurance given them, that their deposits will be made safe by the guarantee of the Polish Government. When these deposits also suffered the fate of the Polish mark's inflation, demands were heard by the Poles in America to have the Polish Government make good its promise. At first, the Polish Government endeavored to shirk the responsibility, but later on April 10, 1925, shortly before the National Polish Congress in Detroit, which had among its agenda the question of the Polish-American financial losses in Poland, had agreed to repay dollar for dollar all the deposits made in the Polish National Savings Bank. These payments would be made in Polish Government bonds bearing 5% interest and maturing within 20 years.⁵⁶

56. W. Gąsiorowski, Ach, -te 'Chamy' w Ameryce, 188.
 S. Osada, Jak się kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodź-
 twa w Ameryce, 169.
Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy,
 Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy
 Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 5.

In 1920 the Polish Government floated a loan for \$50,000,000. Unfortunately, it coincided as to time with military reverses of the Polish arms in the war with Russia. The market value of the Polish bonds once reached the low level of \$35 for \$100 bond. Even then, there were prospects of success, were it not for the depression that swooped down upon the U.S.⁵⁷

57. W.Gasiorowski, op.cit., 185.

Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 180.

Of the \$50,000,000 proposed loan at 6% maturing within 20 years, about \$18,000,000 were purchased. In spite of all the financial reverses the sum subscribed was but another fine patriotic gesture on the part of the Poles in America. For everything at the time seemed to have conspired against the loan. Besides the depressing and unfavorable situation in Poland, the loan itself was not very profitable to Poland. She was to receive \$65 out of every \$100 subscribed.⁵⁸ The remainder went

58. W.Gasiorowski, Ach,-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce, 185.

to the relatively unknown Peoples Trading Corporation as commission and advertising expenses.⁵⁹ Somehow word

59. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 161.

got around among the Poles of the outrageous conditions attached to the loan. It stifled enthusiasm for the cause. Furthermore, when the quotation on the loans reached the record low of \$35 for a hundred dollar bond, very often these were sold and bought and resold at patriotic meetings called for that purpose. How often one and the same bond was bought and sold, no one knows. That the Poles considered the loan more an outright gift to the Polish Government is proven, according to the National City Bank in New York, by the failure of many Poles to claim interest when due on their bonds.⁶⁰

60. W.Gasiorowski, op. cit., 185.

Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 200.

To complete this picture of financial losses suffered by the Poles in America, mention must be made of the various business enterprizes, corporations, business associations which mushroomed in the years 1919 and 1920. All were organized with the intent and purpose of rebuilding Poland economically after the war. Rosy pictures of easy money, of high dividends were thrust upon the American Poles. Poland, a new nation offers immense opportunities for invested capital and industries. She assumed upon herself a negligible national debt from her former oppressors. To help rebuild Poland is now the patriotic duty of every Pole in the U.S. Such

was the theme of advertisements and inducements offered by the corporations in selling stocks and shares. Each intended business organization or corporation had the stamp of patriotism imprinted upon it. A refusal to invest in them was considered well nigh treason. The singing of patriotic songs, the delivery of patriotic speeches invariably accompanied such sales.⁶¹

61. W.Gasiorowski, op. cit., 183.

Mr.Wachtl lists the following, most important and largest Polish-American corporations that sprung after the war: Association of Mechanics, Union Liberty Co., Palatine Commercial Corp., Polish Navigation Corp., Polish-American Navigation Co., "New Warsaw," Ursus Motor Co., Polus, Polonia Soap Co., - all with a combined capital of \$18,000,000.⁶² Mr. S.Osada in 1921

62. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 188-189.

counted 35 such corporations in the Statistical Bureau of the Polish Consulate in Chicago. Their capital was valued at \$49,901,000, the shareholders numbered 145,111.⁶³ The recommendation that the III Polish

63. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 170.

National Congress to convene in Pittsburgh in 1921 organize a committee to stave off the impending ruin of these corporations, did not help matters to any extent. All went bankrupt.⁶⁴

64. "Na Trzeci Sejm Wydziału Narodowego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:65.

Their failure is not to be ascribed primarily to the Polish mark inflation. Mr. Smulski gives a keen analysis of the causes for such failures: 1) naivety of those sponsoring or undertaking a given business enterprise, who were under the impression that the accumulating of vast capital suffices for the successful conduct of business. 2) ignorance or lack of technical knowledge and experience in the field into which some have ventured. This is to be said above all of the different Navigation Companies, although in the case of one, the Polish Government contributed a certain share toward bankruptcy. The Polish-American Navigation Company could not come to an understanding with the Polish Embassy in Washington and in consequence Polish exports and imports were made on foreign vessels. Threatened with bankruptcy and sequestration the Company suggested that the Polish Government take over the shipping line. The Government refused.⁶⁵ Unfamiliarity with economic conditions and

65. W.Gasiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 196-197.

possibilities, Polish Government regulations and demands were responsible for the failure of the Palatine Commercial Corporation, the Ursus Motor Co., etc. 3) Swindle and dishonesty sentenced to failure such enterprises as "Nowa Warszawa", organized to rebuild the city of Warsaw (!) About 90% of these corporations were sponsored by the Poles in America. Yet, the bitterness caused by their failure was aimed at Poland unjustly, although every corporation, every business venture solicited funds and capital by stressing the patriotic motive, namely that Poland now is in need of the money or of the projected business establishments.⁶⁶

66. W.Gasiorowski, Ibid., 190.

Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 25-26.

Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 202, 414-418, 440-441.

K.Wachtl, Polonja w Ameryce, 185-186, 189-190.

The financial report covering the years 1919-1925 provides the Poles in America with the following account: \$200,000,000 alone were transmitted to Poland by means of bank or postal checks. Mr.John Smulski reported at the IV Polish National Congress in Cleveland, 1923, that \$100,000,000 were deposited in Poland as savings accounts,

\$150,000,000 were sent to relatives, friends as aid or intended for the purchase of land, etc., \$100,000,000 in cash were brought to Poland by the American Poles.⁶⁷

67. Dr.M.Szawleski, op. cit., 435.

Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmiku IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 16.

How much of these sums is to be assumed as losses to the Poles in the U.S.? It is difficult, rather impossible to determine the exact amount. Mr.Smulski sets \$25,000,000, Szawleski \$30,000,000, Gąsiorowski \$50,000,000. Osada alleges that \$100,000,000 is to be charged as losses against the Poles in the U.S. alone on the devaluation or inflation of the Polish mark.⁶⁸

68. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 25.

Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 440.

W.Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 193.

S.Osada, Jak się kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 170.

The Poles in America therefore came to the conclusion reached by Rev.S.A.Iciek: "We lost heavily in everything to which we have set our hand and what was in any way connected with the Polish Cause."⁶⁹

69. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 112.

Polish patriotism proved too costly to the American Poles.

But these failures had farther reaching effects than appeared on the surface. Since the failure of the re-emigration movement, the sorry return of Gen. Haller's Army, the Polish mark inflation and the losses involved, the bankruptcy of the many Polish business corporations after the war were directly or indirectly associated with the Polish Cause, it followed naturally that the enthusiasm for Poland now gave way to disillusion especially among the re-emigrants returning to America, who would not even want to hear anything about Poland. Poland thus stood stripped of her dignity.⁷⁰

70. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 202.

Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:180.

Right Rev. B. E. Goral, "W Dziesiątą Rocznicę Niepodległości Polski," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:177.

The Poles in America had hardly taken stock of their financial losses, had not yet overcome the shock from which their Polish patriotism suffered, when, literally speaking, a veritable locust descended upon them in the form of individuals and delegates of different organizations who at the end of the rainbow extending from Poland to America saw a pot of gold in the U. S. Each sought aid and financial support

for his private or public project or cause: some worthy, other of little concern to the Poles here, not few frivolous and not worth the expense involved in the transportation or trip from Poland to America and back of those soliciting funds. The readiness of the American Poles to answer every appeal for aid, gave rise to the conviction in Poland about the ease and the abundance of money that can be gotten simply for the asking.⁷¹

71. "Wezwanie Na Czwarty Sejm Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:189.
 Rev.K.Smogór, "Amerykanizacja i Jej Znaczenie w Obecnej Chwili," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:197.

Strangely enough, the Poles in America gave generously at first. Soon complaints were heard of the great numbers arriving from Poland to collect for their many projects and even private undertakings. The Catholic priests carried the brunt of these demands for collections, for various requests of financial nature, either because the pleas came from Polish priests from acrosss and for the many charitable Catholic institutions, parishes, pious causes, or because the Polish parish unit in the U.S. was the most convenient agency through which these collections could be successfully made. To rid themselves of the many solicitors for funds, it was agreed that only those will be given consideration whom the Polish National

Department will approve.⁷² The Board of Directors of

72. "Roczne Posiedzenie Księży Dyecezyi Brooklyńskiej, 29 listopada, 1920," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:853.

the Union of Polish Priests in America passed a resolution not to allow soliciting funds in the parishes, no matter how worthy the Catholic cause may be, unless approval is first given either by the Most.Rev.Paul P.Rhode or the Secretary General of the Union of the Polish clergy in America.⁷³

73. "Zjazd Zarządu i Dyrektorjatu Z.K.P. w Mieście Cleveland, Ohio. Protokół," Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:733.

The generosity of the Poles in America too often was repaid with ingratitude, at times even with ridicule, "experiences" or deriding reports on the customs, ways and manners of the American Poles, descriptions and accounts published in the Polish press in Poland.⁷⁴

74. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 201.
W.Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 204.

F. REACTION OF THE POLES IN AMERICA. GENERAL APATHY.

The events which have transpired within the years 1919-1925, the happenings which affected the Poles in America so painfully, were bound to produce disillusion and bitterness. It yet remains to be seen, how these in turn brought about a change or modification of their orientation as an ethnic group.

No doubt, the American Poles were proud of their achievements. They were justified in boasting of themselves as the "Fourth Province of Poland" (the other three are the German-, Russian-, Austrian parts or provinces of Poland). With some this pride found expression in the demand that they have a representation in the Polish Diet or that a special Secretariat be formed in the Polish Government to which the affairs of the Poles in America would be intrusted. The membership of this Secretariat would consist of representatives of American Poles.

The Italians in America have advanced a similar program, to which the American Government at the time did not seem to object. When later the very same plan was revived in the Polish press, it immediately found opposition and was shelved. A change already has taken place in the Polish-American national orientation.⁷⁵

75. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 209.

In July 1918 Constantine Buszczynski took office as the first Polish Consul in America. The American Poles regarded him above all as the representative of Poland. He was widely feted, invited to patriotic meetings at which generous contributions to Poland were made. The first Polish consuls in America: Buszczynski, Nowicki, Manduk were men possessed of sterling qualities of character, high civic virtues, and were generally acknowledged as Poland's worthiest citizens. The succeeding consuls were rather more or less efficient government functionaries.⁷⁶

76. Dr. M. Szawleski, Ibid., 196.

W. Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce!, 204.
 Americanus, "Opieka Nad Wychodźstwem w Pomocy Urzędowej i Od Kościoła," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:436-437.

In November of the same year the first Polish Minister to Washington arrived in the person of Prince Casimir Lubomirski. He was received with unfeigned enthusiasm and the ovation given him at the Buffalo Polish National Congress in 1919 spoke most eloquently of its sincerity. It augured above all the proper arrangement and disposal of future relationship between the representatives of Poland and the Polish-American ethnic group in the U.S.

The arrival of Polish Government officials demanded a modification not only of interest but also of the

attitude of the Poles in the U.S. toward Poland. There can be no doubt, that the American Poles have shown far better sense of orientation than the Polish officials in the changes that have taken place.

The call summoning the Poles to the National Congress in Buffalo, in November 1919, stressed the need of setting aside all private interests and focussing of attention on "Poland Only." Present at the Congress was Prince Lubomirski, who eulogized the American Poles for their contribution toward the liberation of Poland.⁷⁷

77. "Do Całogo Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:715.

Simultaneously the Directorate of the Union of the Polish Clergy in America held its annual meeting in Buffalo. Two important questions gained prominence and were held for discussion: 1) Whether to assure the continued existence of the Polish National Department, 2) What functions and activities should be carried on by the Department? It was agreed then, that the question of the National Department's existence should be decided by the convening Congress. The Polish Minister to Washington has officially taken over his duties and thus the political function of the Polish National Department comes to an end. The Department no longer

is to represent Polish political interests. The Department is urged, however, to retain its duties as official representative of the American Poles in matters that concern them, as citizens of the United States. Self-understood, the Polish Ministry could not intervene, by its very nature, in such problems. To relinquish this function would open the way to subversive elements and their equally evil schemes. This last allusion was aimed at the Leftists grouped around the Polish Committee of National Defense. The function of collecting funds for Polish causes should remain vested in the Department.⁷⁸

78. "Z Roczego Posiedzenia Zarządu i Dyrektorjum Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce, Sprawozdanie," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:783.

The resolutions adopted by the Union of the Polish Clergy in America were accepted by the Polish National Congress at Buffalo in 1919. In addition to the task of collecting funds for various needs in Poland, the Polish National Department was commissioned to strengthen and broaden its educational activities among the Poles in America.⁷⁹

79. "Drugi Sejm Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Buffalo, N.Y." Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:766.

The division of power, or rather of functions was clearly defined. Harmony could be easily established and maintained, cooperation would become more effective. Pursuant to the recommendations of the Congress of Buffalo, a new Constitution for the Polish National Department was adopted. Article 20 defines its scope of activities as follows: to initiate and strengthen the amity and most intimate relationship between Poland and America, and the Poles in the U.S.; to develop national consciousness and to guide the Poles politically in America; to spread information in the Polish and American press and centers in favor of Poland and America; to gather contributions for the relief fund of Poland and for causes related to the Polish National Department and its purposes; to furnish adequate self-defense based on religious and educational principles for the Poles in America against foreign, anarchistic influences detrimental to America as well as to Poland.⁸⁰

80. "Konstytucja Wydziału Narodowego Polskiego Uchwalona Przez Sejm Wychodźstwa w Buffalo, N.Y." Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:56.

It is difficult to determine whether the recommendations and resolutions of the Buffalo Congress tipped the scale in favor of Poland or of the Poles themselves

in America. However, to concentrate efforts in behalf of Poland, seems to hold a slight edge.

The following year already produced friction. Attacks were leveled at the Polish National Department by the opposition centered around the former Polish Committee of National Defense, and now supported by the Polish Government officials in America.⁸¹

81. Most Rev. Paul P. Rhode, "Odezwa J.S.Ks. Biskupa Pawła Rhodego, D.D.," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:795-796.

"We heartely regret the discord caused by the unfortunately misguided and ill-informed Polish officials and delegates, who want to organize the Poles in America on their own initiative, either to collect funds themselves for the Polish Red Cross or for some other purposes.

We consider the undertaking of these activities on our soil by the officials and delegates of the Polish Nation to be inherently wrong and entirely unnecessary."⁸²

82. "Polskie Duchowieństwo w Ameryce Wobec Zadań Ojczy-
stych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:801.

The opposition did not even spare the very cells from which the large organizations sprang and on which national unity of the Poles in America rested, namely the parishes and local communities. These were ridiculed, pictured as reminders of the caste system and of selfishness. In their place, the majesty of the

Republic of Poland was to be substituted as the rallying point of all Polish activities. The demagogical slogan: "Either for or against the Polish Government" was coined. Its falsehood was unmasked by the blunt statement, that it would hold good in Poland, but "this is America not Poland." 83

83. "Polskie Duchowieństwo w Ameryce Wobec Zadań Ojczy-
stych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:801-802.

The Polish National Department voluntarily shed its political function with the arrival of the Polish Minister in Washington. It explicitly retained the task and privilege of collecting funds for the Polish Cause and for any needs or problems that may affect the Poles in America. Attempts were now made to destroy the Department by stripping it of this remaining function. Various committees arose for the purpose of collecting funds under the sponsorship and approval of the Polish officials, or even undertaken openly by the Polish Government completely ignoring the Polish National Department. 84 Szawleski minimizes the charges

84. "Polskie Duchowieństwo w Ameryce Wobec Zadań Ojczy-
stych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:801-802.
"Protokół z Posiedzenia Grupy VII z Filadelfji,
Odbytego w Reading, Pa., dnia 11 listopada, 1920,"
Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:854-855.
Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodź-
stwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 55.

made against the Polish officials saying, that the Polish Committee of National Defense has openly favored the collecting of funds in the future for Polish causes only through the Polish officials or with their approval, and thus gave the wrong impression of collusion with the Polish Government.⁸⁵

85. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 180.

The American Poles would not tolerate such meddling in their affairs. They had their own mind but above all a will of their own which they did not hesitate to assert. The Polish officials were told to concern themselves with the welfare of Polish citizens. In philanthropic activities the only authority they acknowledge is the one which the American Poles themselves constituted and selected, namely the Polish National Department.⁸⁶

86. "Protokół z Posiedzenia Grupy VII z Filadelfji, odbytego w Reading, Pa., dnia 11 listopada, 1920," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:854.

The cleavage between the Poles in America and the Polish Government officials in the U.S. began to define itself more sharply. Already the appeal of Bishop Rhode to the Polish clergy summoning them to the IV Convention

of the Union of the Polish Clergy in America, on February 22, 1921, indicated the trend of events.

Conditions have changed. It is urgent that in the face of these changes we should ponder over our continued work for our people both in the religious and ecclesiastical field. We must clearly define our attitude toward Poland and our participation in the American community life. It is proper that "we give thought to the internal problems of the Poles in America." These were the dominant thoughts and problems that stirred the American Poles, according to Bishop Rhode, their spiritual leader.⁸⁷

87. Most Rev. Bishop Paul P. Rhode, "Odezwa J.E.Ks. Biskupa Pawła Rhodego, D.D. do Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce." Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:3

On February 23, 1921 the National Congress of Poles in the U.S. began its sessions in Pittsburgh, The Polish Consul in Pittsburgh represented the Polish ambassador. It was decided then to retain the Polish National Department. The resolutions adopted emphasize that the Polish National Department remains the central organization of the Poles in America to which is intrusted the representation and leadership in all matters that concern the Poles in the U.S., either in their relation to America or to Poland. The National Department is not a party organization, but rises above all parties.

However, its nature is defined as NATIONAL, and as such, stands in opposition to anarchy, bolshevism and the Internationale. It does not enter into conflict either with the government in Poland or her representatives in the U.S. Yet, it will brook no interference in its activities, but on the contrary, insists on freedom of action and self-determination according to generally accepted democratic principles.⁸⁸

88. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Urzędowy z Obrad Trzeciego Sejmu Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Pittsburghu, Pa., 1921, 64-65.

Judging by the recommendations and resolutions the Pittsburgh Congress cannot boast of remarkable achievements. It has, nevertheless, scored one advantage; namely, it began to give shape to a new orientation of the American Poles and at the same time brought to light the policy of the Polish Government toward the Poles in America as manifested through its officials in the U. S.

The Polish Government, but principally its official representatives in America continually harbored the erroneous idea, that the American Poles constitute a Polish minority similar to those in France, Germany, etc. In taking office, the Polish officials thought that the Polish National Department would either submit itself to their directives or disband, leaving

the Polish officials a free hand in organizing the Poles for whatever purposes or causes they may deem opportune or necessary. All Polish organizations would echo the voice of the Polish officials in America. Only in that light one may approach and understand the resolutions of the Pittsburgh Congress.

Mr. Szawleski furnishes the best illustration and proof of the attitude of the Polish Government officials in the U.S. toward the Poles in America. As one of their number, his views can be considered authentic.

Before the arrival of the Polish Government officials, the Polish National Department - the national and central organization of the Poles in the U.S. - had certain attributes of government: its own treasury, an army, and enjoyed a certain degree of sovereignty. Self-understood, part of these functions were taken over by the Polish officials, and thus the prestige of the Polish National Department has somewhat diminished. This, in Mr. Szawleski's opinion, was the cause of concealed resentment had by the Polish-American leaders against the Polish ambassador and consuls, in general against the Polish Government.⁸⁹

89. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 198.

When in Pittsburgh, in 1921, he continues, the National Congress of Poles in America passed a resolution

indorsing party propaganda by supporting the national parties in Poland, the Polish National Department has thereby entered the arena of party struggle and stood in opposition to the Polish Government. By that very action it caused the lowering of the esteem in which Poland was held by the Polish masses. From the Congress in Pittsburgh dates too the decline and gradual dissolution of the Polish National Department, for the contributions grow smaller in amount: \$277,315.47 in 1921, \$23,838.26 in 1922, and do not reach \$5,000 in 1923. The enthusiasm for Polish National Congresses also is on the decline: Detroit numbered 800 delegates in 1918, Buffalo 900 in 1919, Pittsburgh 700 in 1921, Cleveland 250 in 1923.⁹⁰

90. Dr.M.Szawleski, Ibid., 181, 186.

The above account given by Mr.Szawleski pictures the frame of mind, the attitude of the Polish officials toward the Poles in America. The interpretation which he attaches, betrays a tendency to distort facts and figures.

The Polish National Department never claimed for itself any sovereignty over the Poles in America. It was an organization which they freely founded and which they voluntarily accepted as their representative in all matters of national concern. Their contributions

to the funds gathered by the Polish National Department were self-imposed taxes. Refusal to contribute did not involve penalty. The fact, that during the war the American Government looked with favor upon the Polish National Department and stood in opposition to the Polish Committee of National Defense for its pro-German leanings, Mr. Szawleski interprets to mean a provisional recognition of the Polish National Department as the political representative of the Poles in the U.S., the recognition of a quasi-foreign government in the U.S.⁹¹

91. Dr. M. Szawleski, Ibid., 198.

To Mr. Szawleski then, the Poles in America are a distinct minority group, to which the events of war have added a certain degree of sovereignty, a quasi-government of its own and which with the arrival of the officials of the Polish Government would automatically come under their jurisdiction. This false orientation of the Polish officials persisted as late as 1934 when it was given a severe jolt in Poland itself.

The Polish Government refused to become reconciled with the thought that they are dealing with Poles in America who cast their lot with the U.S., who are citizens not of Poland but of the U.S., who worked, toiled, made sacrifices for Poland, but as American

Poles.

Contrary to Mr. Szawleski's account, the resolutions of the Pittsburgh Congress expressly deny that the Polish National Department is a party organization, rather it insists, that it stands above all parties, but favors those to the Right, the national parties. By doing so, the Poles in America have not entered the party struggle in Poland and by their declaration have not brought about the disintegration of the Polish National Department. On the contrary, it was this very same orientation which spurred the American Poles to such sacrifices for Poland in 1918 and which spelled such great success. The declaration of the Polish National Congress of Pittsburgh was the logical continuation of the early policy of the Polish National Department.

From the very beginning with the development of the national consciousness among the Poles in America the party question did not enter into consideration. Their ideal was always a national Poland. Socialism first reared its ugly head in the Polish National Alliance in connection with the disturbance in Poland during the Russo-Japanese War. It reasserted itself in 1913 in the Polish Committee of National Defense and led to the establishment of the Polish National Department. The latter was the negation of the policy and orientation of the Polish Committee of National

Defense. It became aligned with nationally-minded groups working for the liberation of Poland. This political orientation in the affairs of Poland became more precise with the coming of Paderewski and Dmowski to the U.S. (See page 114).

The resolutions of the Pittsburgh National Congress of Poles did not single out any particular national party for approval. It only stressed the national element and the desire to see the interests of Poland rather than that of the parties serve as the guiding principle in government. It expressed in different terms the slogan: "Poland for the Poles."

It was not the desire of the Polish National Congress in Pittsburgh to announce affiliation with any party in Poland. Rather a protest was voiced against the course of events that took place there. Since the resignation of Paderewski as premier of Poland, the Rightists lost grip and the Leftists with the Centre have from now on held the reins of Government. The disastrous bickering and strife of political parties were well known to the Poles in America. They were not ignorant of the influence the Minorities' groups exercised on the government.

The resolution of the Polish National Congress of Pittsburgh was therefore a continuation of the policy and orientation of the Poles in America, an

orientation which they have always held and followed. Their support of the national element in Poland was not the cause which brought about the decline of the Polish National Department, but rather the effect of the conditions and political events in Poland and their reaction upon the Poles in America. Mr. Szawleski therefore deliberately has mistaken the effect for the cause.

Further efforts to prove his case lead Mr. Szawleski to many absurdities. He would have us believe with Mr. Osada, that the working for Poland's Cause and interests deserves the name of "ideological", the pre-occupation with one's own affairs, the betterment of the Poles' status in America, the advancement of their interests is to be appraised as selfish, materialistic.⁹²

92. S. Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 204.

The sharp curtailment of contributions to which Mr. Szawleski alludes, were caused not by the Polish National Department's political party alignment, but by the reports of the events that transpired in Poland and which had such disastrous repercussions on the Poles in the U.S. The argument based on the number of delegates attending the Polish National Congresses is not convincing. For though the following Congress held in Cleveland in 1923 numbered only 250 delegates, that of Detroit in

1925, where the slogan "Poles in America For Themselves" (Wychodźstwo dla Wychodźstwa) was openly advocated and where the orientation of the Poles in America toward the Fatherland underwent a complete change, attracted the largest number of delegates, namely 1,635.⁹³

93. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 118.

"Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Detroit, 1925, Sprawozdanie," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:247.

The Poles in America now began to look more and more after their own interests, began to take stock and inventory of their own affairs. They have not discontinued to raise funds in answer to the appeals from Poland which were of national scope, v.g. for the plebiscite in Upper Silesia and later on for the homeless and the wounded in the armed struggle in Silesia, for the 370 Polish orphans transported from Siberia to Poland, for the Catholic University in Lublin, Poland.⁹⁴ However,

94. "Ze Sejmu III-go Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:262.

"Zjazd Zarządu i Dyrektorjatu Zjednoczenia K.P." Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:843.

Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 14,20

contributions were small and grudgingly given. Rumors were rife that the Poles in Europe ignore the Poles in

America, that they ask the American Poles to give and contribute and at the same time demand brazenly that the American Poles should never ask anything in return, expect no consideration whatever.⁹⁵ Bishop Rhode after

95. "Dlaczego Dajemy na Polskę?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:556-557.

his return from a tour of Poland in 1921 admitted at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Union of Polish Clergy in America, that the achievements of the Poles in the U.S. in behalf of Poland are not known by the Poles in Europe. They are more familiar with the activities of the YMCA and YWCA than with the great efforts and contribution made by the Poles in America for Poland.⁹⁶

96. "Zjazd Zarządu i Dyrektorjatu Zjednoczenia K.P.", Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:843.
 "Przegląd Prasy," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:68.
 "W Sprawie Wydania Dzieła o Wychodźstwie Naszem," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:91.

Relations between the Poles in America and those in Poland began to cool off more and more. The process of alienation from Poland made itself felt and was voiced in devious ways: "Poland from now on will need our help less and less", "It is high time that we turn our attention to our own problems."⁹⁷ All these problems

97. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zamiast Programu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:3-4.

were given a public airing at the IV National Congress of Poles in Cleveland on 16-18 April, 1923.

The Cleveland Congress met with only 250 delegates attending. The powerful and numerically strong Polish National Alliance previously withdrew its membership from the Polish National Department to return to its pre-war ambitious role of the leader of the Poles in the U.S. The preceding Congress in Pittsburgh prepared the general background for the new orientation of the Poles in America. In addition, it acquainted the Poles in the U.S. with the policy and attitude of the Polish Government toward their organization. This policy of the Polish Government came up for severe criticism and scathing censure.

"We have fulfilled our duties toward Poland with dignity. All future efforts in that direction have to a certain degree come to an end. And now it is high time that we think of ourselves. We have much to accomplish."⁹⁸

98. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmku IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 4.

With these words the delegates to the Polish National Convention or Congress in Cleveland were greeted by its Chairman, Judge J.F.Sawicki on April 16, 1923. Vincent Czerwinski, president of the Board of Directors of the Polish National Department opened the

sessions with the address, that so far all our efforts were turned mainly toward Poland. Until now: "All-out-for-Poland" was our motto. With Poland's freedom restored and with new conditions and problems confronting us, the Congress must find a new motto for the Poles in the U. S., which would rally them, unite and inspire them to further action.⁹⁹

99. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 5-6

The Cleveland Congress did not provide the Poles in America with such a motto.

By now, the financial losses of the Poles have spent themselves. The plight of the re-emigrants and of the returned soldiers of Gen. Haller's Army, the ungrateful role played by the Poles in Europe - all these unpleasant happenings were on the lips of the American Poles. They were determined to give vent publicly to their feelings.

Mr. John Smulski, president of the Polish National Department in his official report to the IV National Congress in Cleveland in 1923 scored the Polish Government for its attitude toward the Polish National Department, for ignoring it and even manifesting antagonism toward the representative body of the Poles in America. For the accomplishments in behalf of Poland

it deserves better treatment and consideration.¹⁰⁰ No

100. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 15-16.

less bitter was the criticism of the Polish Government for sending its delegates to the U.S., according to Mr.Gąsiorowski: "to convince the convinced, to win over those already consenting, to organize the already organized."¹⁰¹ All these emissaries and delegates left

101. W.Gąsiorowski, Ach-Te 'Chamy' w Ameryce, 215.

behind only confusion, dissension, discord: The abuse and injustice heaped upon the American Polish re-emigrants and upon Gen.Haller's Army in Poland came up for their share of censure.¹⁰² Voices were heard demanding the

102. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 45.

severing of ties with Poland.¹⁰³ The report of N.Pietro-

103. Dr.W.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 189.

wski, treasurer of the Polish National Department, revealed that contributions were meager and that the Poles in the U.S. due to the charges made against the

Polish Government, refuse to answer appeals for help.¹⁰⁴

104. Polski Wydział Narodowy, op.cit., 90.

A number of worthy causes were proposed for consideration of the delegates, but besides acting favorably upon them, nothing more was done. Apathy seized the Poles in America and the delegates to the IV National Congress in Cleveland gave proof not only of the partial financial exhaustion of the American Poles' generosity, of their patriotism, but also of their patience toward the Poles in Europe.¹⁰⁵

105. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 35-39, 62-85.

Whether or not in anticipation of what was to transpire at the Congress in Cleveland, none of the officials of the Polish Government made their appearance or took part in the deliberations, although invitations were extended to them.¹⁰⁶

106. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 34.

After giving expression to the ties that exist between the American Poles and Poland, the Congress proceeded to the discussion of the problems which strictly concerned the Poles in the U. S.

These problems were reduced to three outstanding projects: 1) education: the defense of the Polish language and Polish schools, promotion of higher learning and education; 2) defense of the rights of the Poles in the U.S., with special emphasis on equal representation of the Polish clergy in the ranks of the Catholic Hierarchy in America; 3) Americanization, the question of Polish America youth, to keep alive in them the consciousness of their Polish heritage.¹⁰⁷

107. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Ibid., 50-54.

The listed projects were proposed in their initial stages. They have not been minutely elaborated. For as we have seen, till now other questions more pressing for the moment demanded undivided attention of the American Poles.

But it is well to note, that the problems to which the Poles in America have set their minds and united efforts at the Cleveland Congress were of social nature. This will give us a clue to the understanding of what transpired at the next Polish Congress in Detroit, in 1925.

The problems affecting the Poles in America which were stressed at the Cleveland Congress became the subject of general discussion at the conventions of the Polish national organizations: the Alliance, the

Union, but especially at the V Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy in America. These problems were studied more thoroughly and the ground thus prepared for the next National Congress of the Poles to assemble in Detroit in 1925.¹⁰⁸

108. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Dookoła Kwestji Szkolnej", Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:134-146.

Cf. Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:177-244, April number contains reports on the V Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy in America, Philadelphia, 1924.

If the preceding Congress in Cleveland failed to find a new motto for the Poles in the U.S., suitable to the conditions and problems that arose, a motto which would rally, unite the Poles and stimulate them to action, then the Congress of Detroit was more fortunate in this respect. With the rallying cry: "American Poles for Themselves" (Wychodźtwo dla Wychodźstwa), a call was issued for a national Congress to convene in Detroit on April 21-23, 1925.

The need for such a Congress was very urgent. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Board of Directors, the Polish National Department was on the verge of collapse and extinction.¹⁰⁹ The organizations with

109. "Ad Notam. Wydział Narodowy Polski w Ameryce." Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:419-421

membership in it, have done practically nothing since the Cleveland Congress. The large national organizations (The Polish National Alliance since 1921, the Polish Alliance of Women in 1923) refused to cooperate and have withdrawn their membership. On February 17, 1925 the Supreme Council was established to supercede the Polish National Department in making preparations for the Congress in Detroit. All the large organizations sent their representatives and declared their willingness to unite and cooperate. In the meantime the Directors of the National Department continued to function till the Congress should convene when a new Central Organization, "The Polish Welfare Council of America" representing all the Poles in America would be formed, and when the Polish National Department would formally cease to exist.¹¹⁰.

110. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Nowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 120.

The Polish National Congress which took place in Detroit on April 21-23, 1925 may be termed the most outstanding National Congress of the Poles in the U.S. Many qualities single it out for a detailed study. First of all, the Congress represented 95% of the Poles in America. No distinction was made between the old and the new generation of Poles, between the edu-

cated, the professionals and the commoner, between the clergy and the laity. In all discussions harmony prevailed. The agenda of the Congress were well prepared in advance thus insuring it success. The large attendance of young, second generation Poles which constituted the educated, professional class, the active interest manifested by them in all problems affecting them, directly or indirectly, was inspiring. The large organizations were well represented.

Politics were excluded. The Polish Consul in Detroit was present. Conspicuous by their absence were the Leftists, Socialists, etc. Regrets were expressed on their behalf by the Polish Government officials. Poland was assured of the moral support of the Poles in the U.S.¹¹¹

111. Rev.A.Syski, "Po Kongresie Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:254-264.

With the elimination of the political element attention was centered on the social, cultural problems of the Poles in America. Special emphasis was placed on duties inherent in American citizenship.¹¹² Since

112. Rev.K.Smogór, "Wrażenia ze Zjazdu Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:273.

the National Congress of Pittsburgh in 1923, it is ap-

parent that the more politics were eliminated, the more attention was given to social and cultural problems, and the Poles in the U.S. became more concerned with themselves than with Poland. This trend was very noticeable at the Cleveland Congress in 1923.

The topics for review and consideration of the delegates at the Detroit Congress covered every phase of social and cultural life of the Poles in America. The papers read were well prepared and exhaustive of their particular field. There was earnestness, sincerity in the study of the various problems and in suggesting possible remedies.

The Congress in Detroit adjourned on April 23, 1925 leaving to the new Central Organization of the Poles in the U.S., the "Polish Welfare Council of America" the study and solution of the following pressing and important problems:

- 1) Equal representation of the Polish clergy in the Catholic Hierarchy in America.

- 2) The revision and improvement of the educational system in Polish schools, the support and encouragement of higher, advanced education among the Polish American Youth. The study of the Polish language.

- 3) Polish-American Youth - its problems. Efforts should be made in order that the second

generation of Poles in the U.S. will remain imbued with Polish consciousness and pride of its Polish heritage.

- 4) Immigration and naturalization.
- 5) The introduction of Polish lectures and courses in high schools, colleges and universities.
- 6) The professional and the intellectual class.
- 7) Americanization.¹¹³

113. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce. Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, passim.

A complete change in the Polish-American orientation has been accomplished: from an "all-out-effort-for-Poland to an "all-out-effort-for-ourselves." Poland from now on became of secondary importance. The American Poles have set their vision on the positions of distinction and honor they could attain and on the cultural contribution to American life they were able and willing to make.

CHAPTER IV

POLISH NATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE U.S., 1925-1935

A. THE POLISH WELFARE COUNCIL OF AMERICA.

Judging by the enthusiasm of the attending delegates and by the topics under discussion in the various sections and committees, taking also into consideration the thoroughness with which it was organized and conducted, the V Polish National Congress of Detroit in 1925 warranted brilliant success. High hopes, if not firm convictions were expressed about the permanent nature of the new Polish central organization. The enthusiastic, active participation of the younger generation in the discussions of the many problems presented to the convention insured, in the minds of many, the stability of the Polish Welfare Council in America. The fact, that the problems taken under consideration and for which remedies were now sought, concerned almost exclusively the Poles in the U.S., should have rallied them around the new central organization and produce unity of effort and cooperation as never before. The contrary, however, took place.¹

1. Rev.F.Bolek, "Pesymizm czy Optymizm", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:110.

The general apathy toward Poland and any undertaking

relating to Poland, which asserted itself so strongly during the six years immediatly after the war (1919-1925) imparted itself to every action intended for the benefit of the American Poles themselves. Listlessness gripped the Poles in the United States. They now resembled a man too tired for any action, one who already spent himself: his energy, his enthusiasm and to a certain degree his ideal. Not that he was opposed to any of the measures which were proposed at the time from which he knew he would benefit, not that he would not encourage or would not feel enthusiastic about them, but the tendency was to have somebody else do everything for him.

That the Poles in America have become steeped in apathy toward Poland and her Cause, need not surprise us, considering the factors which have produced it. But that it spread and enveloped them to such extent that they remained listless toward projects, plans and endeavors intended for their social, cultural, economic and political improvement meant to better their own lot, presupposes additional causes which produced this peculiar frame of mind.

Prior to the World War I efforts were made to unite the Poles in one central organization, to represent all the American Poles: all their local, regional, national societies, all professions and every walk of

life, regardless of religious affiliation. All these attempts proved unsuccessful. By nature emotionally high strung, the Poles found no driving force, that could fire their imagination, and inflame their enthusiasm. The war, said Bishop Paul P. Rhode at the VI Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America, in Pittsburgh, February 15-16, 1928, presented the magic wand: the independence of Poland became more and more the all-absorbing ideal, as its probability and reality were beginning to take shape.²

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2. "VI Zjazd Walny Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:76.
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With that ideal achieved, no other was substituted, no other of equal or greater potency. The American Poles therefore drifted back in their national life to the status in which the war found them. The national guidance of the Poles in America was taken over again by the large organizations and the Polish Catholic clergy, the same old rivalry was brought back to life, though not so bitter and not so keen.

There is a marked tendency to become occupied with local affairs and interests. Those of national importance and scope have lost their appeal. Even such problems that would affect all the Poles in the U.S., v.g. the teaching of Polish in parochial schools, were

left to local groups and organizations to cope with them, as best they could.

Another reason that was borne out by experience suggests itself as an explanation of the general apathy of the Poles within this period. All the central national organizations became associated in their minds with the collection of funds. They have generously answered all the appeals for contributions, particularly those made through the Polish National Department. These have been a drain on their savings. The financial losses sustained by the American Poles immediately after the war in business enterprises and investments from which presumably they and Poland were to profit, made them indifferent to any soliciting of funds for national-wide purposes.³

3. Rev. Francis Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:179.

With this background we can understand the fate to which the Polish Welfare Council fell a victim. The first few months after its establishment at the Polish National Congress in Detroit, 1925, the Polish Welfare Council has not accomplished much. Results were poor. Time was spent in completing the structure of the organization, in the selection of the directors of various committees, even in reorganization as late as January

10, 1927.⁴

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4. "Wskazówki Organizowania Oddziałów Polskiej Rady Opieki Społecznej w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:91-92.
 "W Przededniu Zjazdu Prosa," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:223.
 "Sprawy Bieżące, Wychodźstwo," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:244.
 "Polska Rada Opieki Społecznej w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:15-16.
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At that time the support of such national organizations as the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, the Polish Women's Alliance, the Union of the Polish Clergy in America was assured.⁵ Previously the Polish

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5. "Polska Rada Opieki Społecznej," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:16.
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Roman Catholic Association of Detroit and the Polish Union of Buffalo taxed their members for the support of the Polish Welfare Council.⁶ The meeting of the repre-

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6. "O Honor Imienia Polskiego," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:184.
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sentatives of the Polish national organizations and of the Polish press on February 12-13, 1927 indorsed the Polish Welfare Council.⁷ Finally plans were laid for

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7. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zjazd Przedstawicieli Wychodźstwa

w Buffalo," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:49.

a campaign to last throughout the month of May, 1927 for the purpose of gathering funds for the organization, to solicit new members so as to enroll 200,000 to 250,000 members.⁸

8. "Polska Rada Opieki Społecznej Rozpoczyna Kampanję Krajową," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:107-108.

The work of the Polish Welfare Council was to be accomplished by means of the old proven method, namely by establishing local committees, whose task would be to obtain the necessary funds and members, to carry on patriotic activities, to keep watch and report any action injurious to the interests of the Poles in a given locality. The Polish Welfare Council would function through these committees and in turn would be supported by them.⁹

9. "W Przededniu Zjazdu Prosa," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:223.

The appeals made to the Poles in order to rally them to the cause of the Polish Welfare Council, in spite of the promised support, met with indifference.¹⁰

10. Cf. the example of listlessness of the Milwaukee

district. "Dlaczego w Milwaukee Niema Okręgu Prosa?" Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:63.

Even the Polish clergy did not respond with the eagerness which was expected of it.¹¹

11. "Dlaczego Śpimy?" Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:243.

Few years after its establishment the Polish Welfare Council dissolved itself. The life-blood of every organization - money, was wanting. The Poles in America failed in the support of their own central national organization intended for their own good, for the betterment of their own lot and for the defense of their rights.¹²

12. "Sprawozdanie Rady Opieki Społecznej w Ameryce na Zjazd Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce, 15-16 lutego, 1928, w Pittsburghu, Pa.," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:90.

Other reasons for the failure of the central organization were discussed in the Polish press. Many objected to its high cost of maintenance. No doubt, the Poles were accustomed to look upon their central national organizations as the work of patriotic men and women. The question of salaries for its officers was scarcely touched upon, and payment made usually extended itself to the necessary expenses. However little thought was

given to the fact, that the Polish Welfare Council was not so much a patriotic organization, as rather social, and thereby would involve greater expense.¹³

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13. Argus- Polonus, "Ankieta w Sprawie Zorganizowania Sie Polskiego Spoleczenstwa Katolickiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:50.
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Some maintained, that national congresses were suitable means of registering popular feeling, but never for stimulating to vigorous action. In addition, the Polish Welfare Council covered too wide a field, its activities were too far spread. It was top-heavy with committees. It was claimed that 97% of the delegates at the Detroit Congress when the Polish Welfare Council was formed, could not grasp all its recommendations and the scope of its future action.¹⁴

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14. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 110-111.
 "Rezolucje Przyjęte Na Zjeździe Polskiej Rady Opieki Społecznej w Chicago, 10 stycznia, 1927," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:19.
 "Sprawozdanie Rady Opieki Społecznej w Ameryce Na Zjazd Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce, 15-16 Lutego, 1928, w Mieście Pittsburgh, Penna." Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 90.
 Argus-Polonus, op. cit., 48.
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The need, however, of such national representative agency of the Poles in the U.S. was stressed time and

again. The tendency to form Polish associations, to unite in order to promote their interests is shown in the new organizations that sprung up recently, v.g. of the Polish doctors and dentists, the educators and students of higher institutions of learning.¹⁵ Expressions of

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15. "Ad Notam. Towarzystwo Polskich Nauczycieli Szkół Średnich i Wyższych w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:114.
 L.S. "W sprawie Konsolidacji Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:161.
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solicitude for the future of their past achievements: for their churches, schools, local and national or regional associations, were often heard.

When the Polish Welfare Council was threatened with extinction, the Przegląd Katolicki (The Catholic Review) invited criticism, suggestions and discussion from its readers on the topic of organizing the Catholic Poles in America on a national scale. The invitation was extended, in the first place, to the Polish clergy. The Polish clergy, however, remained undisturbed. The reaction was typical of the times, as the following caustic remarks of the editor prove:

"Evidently the present moment for the organizing of the Polish Catholics in this country is not opportune. Manifestly, our Catholic organizations need not fear immediate ruin, and the falling away from the Faith and religious indifference among the Poles in America has not reached such proportions

as to threaten the existence of the parishes.

Somehow we all feel snug... Why busy oneself with extensive social action, there is work enough in the narrower sphere of our circles."¹⁶

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16. "W sprawie zorganizowania się Polskiego Społeczeństwa Katolickiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:92.

Cf. Argus-Polonus, "Ankieta w sprawie zorganizowania się Polskiego Społeczeństwa Katolickiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:49-51.

L.S. "W sprawie konsolidacji Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:162.

Nevertheless in December 1929 a gathering of the representatives of the Polish Catholic organizations was held in Cleveland, where the Polish Catholic Central Organization was formed.¹⁷

17. "Ze Świata Katolickiego," Przegląd Katolicki, 1930, 5:57-58.

Rev. Dr. S. Janicki, "Akcja duszpasterska wobec niebezpieczeństw sekciarskich grożących Wychodźstwu w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1932, 7:47.

Aside from the notice that such a Polish Catholic Central agency existed, nothing more could be said. General indifference, lack of funds, faulty structure hastened its end.¹⁸

18. "Z obrad Zjazdu Centrali Katolickiej, w Detroit, 21 stycznia, 1931 roku," Przegląd Katolicki, 1931, 6:25.

"O Centralę Katolicką," Przegląd Katolicki, 1931, 6:119.

Not a small share of the failure of the Polish Welfare Council is to be attributed to the attitude taken by the largest Polish national organization in America, the Polish National Alliance. Although the Alliance took part in the formation of the Polish Welfare Council at the Detroit Polish National Congress in 1925, indications are that already in 1927 it no longer had affiliation with the Polish central national organization. Internal strife at the time, the struggle either to remain united with the Polish Welfare Council, or to pursue the old ambitious role assumed in the past years; namely, to consider itself the central organization of the American Poles and have all other associations join with the Alliance, was already in its second year. The refusal of the Alliance to cooperate with the Polish Welfare Council had a partially paralyzing effect upon the latter.¹⁹

19. "Po Sejmach," Przegląd Katolicki, 1931, 6:119.
 Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce,"
Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:199.
 "Zjazd Dyrektorjatu Z.K.P.," Przegląd Katolicki,
 1928, 3:190.

Allusion is sometimes made to the baneful practice of enticing large associations to the central national

organization by offering them special privileges, honors, offices in proportion to the number of members, wealth, of influence they wield. Such action inevitably led to jealousy, to petty quarrels. In the end, the national central organization suffered by becoming the field of rivalry for different groups, but above all for ambitious individuals.²⁰

20. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 383.

L.S. "W Sprawie Konsolidacji Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:163.

When the Polish Welfare Council was struggling for its existence and later dying away slowly, problems arose that were of national scope and import to the Poles in America, which could best be met and solved by united action. To these the Detroit National Congress of American Poles has already devoted its attention.

B. THE AMERICANIZATION MOVEMENT.

The most difficult task for the impartial student of social problems would be to appraise the merits of the Americanization movement which took origin at the beginning of the World War I, gained momentum when the U.S. entered the war and finally about the year 1925 began to diminish and disappear. In general, it can be said, that except for directing the attention

of the American public to the few undesirable elements found in certain foreign groups, and besides emphasizing the plight of the immigrant for which the public to a certain degree was responsible, the Americanization movement has gone down in history as one which was unwarranted, misguided and which left the impression with the immigrant that it was born of prejudice, ill-will and lack of proper understanding of the immigrant in the U.S. It is looked upon today as just so much propaganda or campaign.²¹

21. Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 240.

Carol Aronovici, Ph.D., Director of Housing of California State Commission of Immigration and Housing, later Chairman of the Minnesota State Committee on Americanization, gives the following account of the Americanization movement:

"Americanization movement therefore was born in fear. Now that the war is over, it is dying of convulsions... The spectacle of the rabid and ignorant Americanizing efforts was disheartening... It was a negative movement.

A movement that is born in sympathy and not hate, understanding and not suspicion, patience and not haste, appreciation and not contempt will succeed and the future efforts towards the assimilation of the foreign elements in this country should recognize these facts.

We came out of the war less Americanized than we went into the war, and

it was all due to Americanizers and their lack of understanding of their task and their subjects." 22

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22. C.Aronovici, "Some Facts Affecting the Assimilation of the Immigrant. Americanization." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1921, 93:134-136.
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Bradley Buell, Secretary of the Council on Immigrant Education, New York, states that: "We had, for a time following the war, an Americanization orgy." 23

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23. Bradley Buell, "The Immigrant in the Community," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1925, 616.
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The Americanization movement was to have originated on May 10, 1915 at Philadelphia with the speech of president Woodrow Wilson. 24 Strictly speaking, it was

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24. R.F.Crist, "The Federal Plan of Americanization Work with the Foreign-Born," Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association of the United States, 1919, 472-473.
P.Davis, Immigration and Americanization, 680-681.
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a defensive measure and intended as such.

The American public took notice of the presence of 13,712,654 foreign-born white in its midst. Of these, 6,479,159 or 47.2 percent were naturalized. 25 As the

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25. United States, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Population, 2:805.
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war progressed and the entrance of the U.S. into the war grew more and more probable, the difference of opinion among the foreign-born in the U.S. and their attachment to the warring nations gave rise to fears that the unity of purpose, so vital in the prosecution of war, would be seriously hampered if not rendered impossible.²⁶

26. C.Aronovici, Americanization, 5.
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Moreover, 24% of the men drafted into the American army were not sufficiently familiar with the English language and only half of them had native-born parents. Some, of Austrian and German extraction, manifested their sympathies for the Central Powers.²⁷ The reaction

27. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 235-236.
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of the American public was to bring about a speedy assimilation of the foreign groups in America.

After the war, these fears were shown to be without foundation. However, the movement did not cease, but continued for some time gaining momentum and finally led to injustice and absurd measures aimed at the

foreigners. Consider the foolish law passed by North Dakota forbidding the use of the German language where more than three persons are gathered. Or the instructions of the governor of Ohio not allowing any foreign language at all public gatherings.²⁸ Governor Harding

28. C. Aronovici, op. cit., 24.

of Iowa, issued a proclamation that from May 23, 1918 throughout the war, in Iowa only the English language will be used in public, private and denominational schools, in public places, trains, telephone booths, even in churches. In defense of his action, the governor insisted that the freedom of speech and of worship guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution refers only to the English language and to the worship in the English language.²⁹ Censorship of the press was invoked. Minne-

29. G. Taylor, "Enforcing English by Proclamation," Survey, July 6, 1918, 40:394.

sota, Wisconsin, Indiana planned either to abolish parochial schools or to establish by law the English language as the sole medium of instruction in all schools.³⁰ The State Constitutional amendments of

30. "Sprawozdanie z Roczego Zjazdu Stowarzyszenia Księży Polskich Prowincyi St. Paul, Grupy nr. 2," Przegląd

Kościelny, 1918, 5:559.

"Sprawozdanie z Roczego Posiedzenia Milwauckiej Grupy nr.5 Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce Północnej, odbytego d.13 Lutego, 1919," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:133.

"Protokół z Posiedzenia Gr.5 Kapłanów Polskich w Dyecezyi Milwaukee, Wis.," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:349-350.

"Protokół z Posiedzenia Grupy 20 Zjednoczenia Kapłanów w Dyecezyi Fort Wayne, Ind.," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:786.

Oregon and Nebraska doing away with all private schools and forbidding the use of a foreign language in all schools of the state, were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, in June 1923. The decision of the Supreme Court made secure the constitutional right of the parents to have their children educated in private schools and the unrestricted right to use one's native language.³¹

31. "Ważne Orzeczenie Najwyższego Trybunału Stanów Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:409-410. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych, 141.

The Americanization movement was destined to failure because of chauvinism in identifying the principles of Americanism with that of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Insistence on the mythical superiority of the Nordic race and people, consequently their desirability as immigrants to America expressed in the Quota Law of 1924, which was enacted to give preference to them,

the contempt in which rabid Americanizers held the "new immigrants", the Slavs and Southern European races, pressure from the outside produced only the contrary effect, namely stiffening of opposition. The aliens were more sympathetic and in harmony with American ideals and principles of American Government before than after the Americanization movement began.³².

32. Proceedings of the National Immigration Conference, December 13-14, 1923, 171.

Anglo-Saxon civilization was held up to the immigrant as the highest development of culture and race. Anglo-Saxon and American civilization were confused. This meant that various nations here were to accept the ways of living and thinking not of a new nation, but of an alien nation with which America had only remote relations and affiliations.³³

33. C.Aronovici, "Some Facts Affecting the Assimilation of the Immigrant. Americanization," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1921, 93:136.

The Poles were much in opposition to the Americanization movement, as such. They did not see the need of it, as far as they were concerned. In their estimation the principles of democratic government were long in use in Poland before the partitions.

Some of these principles antedated the establishment of the American Government. The American form of government, the principles of Democracy, the American ways of life were identical with their own. This, the Poles have never failed to stress. (See pages 124-125). Furthermore, one's attachment to and allegiance to the adopted country, they argued, is best made known when subject to severe trial. They have passed the test with honors. For during the World War I when president Woodrow Wilson asked for 100,000 volunteers, 40,000 Poles answered the call. 220,000 served in the U.S. army. Among the foreign-born and peoples of foreign descent, the Poles occupy the fourth place as purchasers of Liberty Loan Bonds, (\$67,000,000).³⁴

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34. Polish National Department's Address to the American Poles, September 15, 1923. "Zamach Władzy Duchownej Na Język Polski w Amerykańskich Szkołach Parafjalnych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:582.
 "Poles in the United States," Literary Digest, March 8, 1919, 60:36.
 T. Hoinko, "The Polish Contribution to America," Poland, 1928, 9:700-701.
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The realization of the extent of the contribution made by the American Poles in the armed struggle of 1917-1918 solicited from Mr. Paderewski this account at the First National Polish Congress in Detroit in 1918:

"Americanization is unnecessary for the Poles in America. Any explanation of the principles and of American ideals is ineffective as it is useless. They know them well, for they have lived up to them for the past one thousand years...

"No other nationality took such active part in the Red Cross campaign as the Poles...

"The average number killed exceeds 12 per cent. And as there are not quite 4 per cent of Polish people among the population of the United States, this fact indicates that the Poles in this war are doing more than three times their duty, that they are not 100, but 300 per cent Americans...

"Conscious of their value, valor, supremely loyal and grateful, they will continue to perform all duties toward America. They will perform them in time of war, in time of peace, and always without fear or without reproach...

"The Poles therefore with due respect prefer not to accept all well-meant and uncalled for advice of their learned friends, who motivated by prejudices, or misled by ambitious and frustrated politicians, would want to intrude into our social and political life. Hands off!" 35

35. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Przemówienia i Sprawozdania ze Sejmu Polskiego Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 1918 w Detroit, Mich., 9-12.

The Poles in America were always fully aware that the Americanization process is making headway among their groups. They were also convinced that now, with Poland's freedom regained, they will definitely remain in America and make or already have made this their adopted country. They witnessed the fast assimilation of their children. They considered it inevitable. The

process would have been accelerated, if the Anglo-Saxon resigned from his alleged superiority and acknowledged the equality of other races residing in America.³⁶

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36. Rev.B.Bojanowski, "Charakterystyka Naszego Tutejszego Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1916, 3:470.
 Rev.Dr.J.Godrycz, "American 'Preparedness' Wobec Katolicyzmu i Różnych Narodowości Zamieszkujących Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki Północnej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1916, 3:340,546.
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But they strenuously objected to any pressure from without, they need not be coerced into Americanization.³⁷ The pace of assimilation was too fast,

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37. Rev.Dr.J.Godrycz, Ibid., 546-547.
 Rev.D.Szopinski, "O Zasady Polsko-Katolickie Na Wychodźstwie," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:1.
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resembling rather simulation, and the taking on only a veneer of American ways and American life. Such Americanization brings credit neither to America nor to the Poles themselves.³⁸ In the end it invites dis-

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38. "Unsolved Problem," The Interpreter, January, 1927, 6:6-7.
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aster, for as Rev.B.Bojanowski in a scholarly paper read at the IV Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America maintains, to deprive by force anyone

of his native language is to divest him of his native culture. Such an individual finds himself in the most tragic situation. For he cannot break away from the past, for that culture has entered into and makes up his very essence. He has no present, for one cannot absorb suddenly ages-old culture. Neither is there any future for such one, because life will ebb before he will manage to make the new culture of the surrounding community his own. Psychologically such life is to written off as a tragedy.³⁹

39. Rev.B.Bojanowski, "Katechizacja Dzieci Ze Względu na Potrzeby Krajowe," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:209.

The American Poles do not want to multiply such tragedies. They were determined to cultivate the use of the Polish language and Polish traditions, in order that they may thus transmit to America the wealth of Polish culture. They do not want to disappear in American life and community without leaving any traces of their existence. But, as equal with other races and nationalities, they want to add their full share of the Polish culture they have inherited, they too want to enrich American life with their national best.⁴⁰

40. "Program Pracy Ideowej Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzym-

sko-Katolickiego," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:141.
 L.S. "W sprawie Konsolidacji Wychodźstwa Polskiego
 w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929,
 4:162.

Such is the interpretation and understanding of
 true Americanization by the American Poles.⁴¹ They can-

41. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 378-381.

not therefore forget the inspired admonition given them
 by Paderewski at the Detroit Polish National Congress:
 "Always remain the best American citizens, for not only
 your own interest prompts it, but the very honor of
 Poland demands it."⁴²

42. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Przemówienia i Sprawozdania
 ze Sejmu Polskiego Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 1918 w
 Detroit, Mich., 84.

"Each national and racial group has
 its own inheritance of civilization. In
 the field of science, art, literature,
 philosophy, sociology, politics, each
 and all, display certain aptitudes which
 are not only worth conserving and adding
 to the store of our achievements in these
 fields of endeavor, but they can and
 should be used as a leavening element
 in getting new interpretations, new
 visions of American civilization in the
 future."⁴³

43. C.Aronovici, Americanization, 22.

In justice it must be said, that the American

Government never questioned the loyalty of the Poles in America. In fact, it even gave full acknowledgment to the patriotic work of the Poles. During the war, the Government gave recognition to the Polish National Department, it did not take away the charter of the Polish National Alliance, although German societies had theirs revoked, the press of the Polish organizations was not subject to the censorship imposed on the foreign press, etc. The Poles never complained of, what Mr. Szawleski calls, governmental Americanization, or one undertaken by Government agencies.⁴⁴

44. Thomas and Znaniecki, Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 2:1601.

Dr. M. Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 241.

C. ECCLESIASTICAL AMERICANIZATION.

Of greater importance and historical value to the American Poles, as an ethnic group, is the Americanization forced upon them by the Catholic Hierarchy and therefore termed "Ecclesiastical Americanization,"⁴⁵

45. Dr. M. Szawleski, Ibid., 246-247.

The description of its phases that follows, is

only the objective presentation, without entering into the merits of the question.

When the Ecclesiastical Americanization movement reached the peak of bitterness, it was dubbed by the Poles not Americanism, but "Irishism", for reasons which will unfold of themselves.

It is impossible, even today, to determine the motives which prompted individuals of the Catholic Hierarchy to pursue a policy of Americanization not only harmful to the Poles, but to the Catholic Church itself.

During the Ecclesiastical Americanization movement the Hierarchy was at an advantage. The new Canon Law forbade the erection of new parishes on a national basis, and instead allows the formation of new ones to be determined only by territorial limits. Strictly speaking, Canon 216 did not work such extraordinary hardships on the Poles in America, as may seem, although it checked the spread of Polish parishes. Immigration restrictions which were in operation, did not increase considerably the number of Poles in America, so as to justify the organizing of a large number of new parishes. Instances could be mentioned, v.g. S.Tekla's parish in Chicago and the demands of the Poles in Madison, Ill.⁴⁶ where the application

46. "Polska Parafia Św. Tekli w Chicago Zamieniona Na

Angielska," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:110-111.
 "Głos Prasy", Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:44
 A Reprint of "Głos W Obronie Uciśnionych Polaków
 w Madison, Ill." from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia,
 February 1, 1926.

The Ecclesiastical Americanization was directed primarily against the use of the Polish language in the church and in the parochial school. It was this phase of the movement that embittered the Poles and is said to have caused leakage among them and falling away from the Catholic Church. It may be at times difficult to trace the growth of the Polish non-Catholic churches in America to the "persecution" of the Polish language, nevertheless the sudden and unprecedented increase in their number, especially of the Polish National Churches in America, which took place in the years when Ecclesiastical Americanization was at its heights, is very significant.

TABLE VI. POLISH NON-CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN THE U.S.
 1886-1923

Year	Number
1886	2
1896	4
1900	8
1910	15
1920	53
1923	100 (47)

47. Rev. L. Grudziński, "Wydział Narodowy i Stosunek Jego do Kleru i Społeczeństwa," Przegląd Kościelny,

1924, 11:199.

A study of the more important characteristics of the Ecclesiastical Americanization movement will explain the resentment of the Poles, which they made no efforts to conceal.

We have already pointed out the significance of and the relationship between the use of the Polish language and the national survival of the Poles. (See page 92). In America, Polish nationalism was awakened, enkindled and found its proud expression in the many magnificent churches and parochial schools. These were looked upon as the citadels of Polish nationalism or Polonism in the U.S. Erected with sweat and toil, the American Poles regarded their churches and schools with fondness and deepest interest. To assail them was tantamount to the infringement upon the Poles' greatest concern.

Against this background one must study the reaction of the American Poles to the Ecclesiastical Americanization movement.

The Poles looked upon the Irish as the most active Americanizers. To a great extent they regarded the Americanization efforts of the Irish as something of a puzzle. The history of Poland and Ireland has many things in common. Both have known persecution,

both fought it off bitterly and emerged free after centuries long slavery. Why should now the Irish apply the same methods, which the English used on them in their native country, to the Poles in this land of freedom? The Poles vainly sought an answer to that question. Besides, the Poles were aware that the Irish of all ethnic groups held longest to their traditions, that they left a definite imprint upon America, that today they were struggling to revive their old native language, the Gaelic. For one, to the Irish Americanization did not mean, as to the Poles, the loss of their native language.⁴⁸

48. Dr.M.Szawleski, Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 246-247.

By restricting the use of the Polish language in the Polish churches and schools, the Hierarchy touched the most vital spot of Polish nationalism. Bitterness was bound to rise. The Poles looked upon the Ecclesiastical Americanization as an abuse of power and authority. After all, they reasoned, the Church should concern itself with religion not with languages. The latter was of greater import to the American Government than to the Catholic Hierarchy, yet the Poles were not frowned upon by the Government, on the contrary, special consideration was given the Poles: their

national organizations, their language, press, etc, during the war. Did the Catholic Hierarchy consider itself therefore more American than the American Government?⁴⁹

49. Rev.Dr.J.Godrycz, "Kwestja Narodowościowa Polska Po Wojnie i Nasze Stanowisko," Przegląd Kościelny, 1918, 5:341.

Why not, for like reasons, forbid the Jews the use of Hebrew or Yiddish in their religious services? Why should we not carry the Ecclesiastical Americanization to its most absurd conclusions and demand the elimination of Latin from Catholic services and substitute English only, if the exclusive use of the English language is a sign of complete Americanization? What harm is there in the use of the Polish language in religious services in their own churches or in their own schools?⁵⁰

50. "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego?", Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:385. The article is a reprint from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia: "O Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce."
Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zamach Władzy Duchownej Na Język Polski w Amerykańskich Szkołach Parafjalnych," 1923, 10:573. Przegląd Kościelny.

The American Poles insisted on satisfactory answers to these questions. Charges were made by the Polish National Department that the bishops blacklisted the

more patriotic Poles, that they instigated the younger Polish priests against the older, the latter known for their ardent Polish patriotism. Such statement was issued by Judge, J.F.Sawicki, president of the Polish National Department.⁵¹

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51. Rev.C.Smogór, "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:310-311.
 "Znamienne Słowa Prezesa Wydziału Narodowego Polskiego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:438-439.
 "Apel Wydziału Narodowego Polskiego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:3.
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The bishops will not oppose Polish parochial schools because of Catholic principles, but neither will they, because of Americanization efforts, come to our aid, when State Legislatures will attempt to pass laws against the use of foreign languages in schools - such accusations were raised by few Polish priests in the Eastern States.⁵²

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52. "Protokół z Posiedzenia Stowarzyszenia Księży Na Wschodzie z dnia 27 marca, b.r. w Domu św.Józefa w New Yorku," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:265.
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The Polish clergy time and again stressed the close relationship between the Pole's native language and the Catholic religion, that the loss of one led to the abandonment of the other.⁵³ Carried to extremes

this would also imply that the better one knew the Polish language, the better Catholic he would be. The masters of the Polish language would therefore be the most pious and staunchest Catholics. To this the Poles had a ready answer, that neither the ability to read and write and speak the English language, makes a good American.

As these questions and the problems involved were proposed and as promptly and vehemently denied or answered, the untimely instructions of the Most Rev. Bishop W. Turner of Buffalo and Most Rev. Bishop Thomas E. Malloy of Brooklyn added fuel to the already burning rancor of the Poles in America toward the Hierarchy. These instructions of the bishops of Buffalo and Brooklyn to the faithful of their dioceses with reference to the sole use of the English language in the classroom during the school hours reechoed even with a strong protest in the Polish Diet in Warsaw.⁵³

53. X. Stanorl, "Polska Mistrzynią Wszechmiłości," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:322.

In 1905 Bishop Messmer of Green Bay, Wisc., and Bishop Eis of Marquette, Mich., issued orders that the English language should be introduced in all religious services. Strong protests forced the bishops to modify their demands. But the letter of bishops Turner and

Malloy outdid bishops Messmer and Eis in severity to such extent, that the Dziennik Zjednoczenia (Union Daily of Chicago, Ill.) on August 21, 1923 stated that the bishops of Buffalo and Brooklyn surpassed even Bismarck in his persecution of the Polish language.⁵⁴

54. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zamach Władzy Duchownej Na Język Polski w Amerykańskich Szkołach Parafjalnych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:578.

Bishop Turner's letter listed the following demands:

- 1) the official language of the school shall be English alone, no other language is allowed in teaching any grade in the common school branches; 2) religion may be taught within the schools hours from 9:00 A.M. to 3:15 P.M. in a foreign language, but it is desirable that it be taught also in the English language; 3) if the teaching of any foreign language is to be had, this must be done before the regular school hours, before 9:00 A.M.; 4) all disciplinary commands, even all inscriptions on pictures decorating the classrooms, with the exception of religious pictures, must be in English; 5) lack of knowledge of any foreign language shall not enter into the standard of grading or promoting the children.⁵⁵

55. Rev.D.Szopinski, Ibid., 569.

These decrees met with angry protest of the Poles in America. The liberal press as well as the conservative were unanimous in denouncing these commands as draconic. Bishop Hodur of the Polish Independent National Church drew from them reasons for the advancement of his cause.⁵⁶

56. Rev.D.Szopinski, Ibid., 572-584.

The resentment of the American Poles at the demands of Bishops Turner and Malloy can best be understood in its proper setting: 1) these instructions bent on exterminating the Polish language in parochial schools came after the Supreme Court's decision declaring the Oregon law which forbade the use of a foreign language in schools, unconstitutional. Were the bishops of Buffalo and Brooklyn trying to be more American than the Constitution itself? 2) The identity almost of Bishop Turner's and Malloy's instructions gave the impression of collusion and therefore of evil designs on the Polish schools and language. Accusations were hurled that the bishops expected the Supreme Court to uphold the Oregon law and having been thwarted in their hopes, determined to take matters into their own hands. 3) Both instructions with reference to the foreign languages in parochial schools of the dioceses of Buffalo and Brooklyn were made in collaboration and on the insistence of Mr. Edward S. Mooney,

the official representative of the State Department of Education in New York. Both bishops and Mr. Mooney claimed, that the State Department of Education strongly forbids the teaching of foreign languages during the regular school hours. The Poles upon investigation discovered that the New York State Department of Education does not forbid the teaching of foreign languages in parochial schools, nor does it prohibit their teaching during the regular school hours. Evidently, both instructions of the bishop of Buffalo and of Brooklyn were dictated by bad faith.⁵⁷

57. Rev.D.Szopinski, Ibid., 574, 578.

The Methodists, Baptists and other Protestant denominations in their proselytizing work make extensive use of the native language, they print and distribute the Bible, hymnals and religious literature in Italian, Spanish, Polish to make converts among the various ethnic groups in the U.S., why then, should the American Catholic Hierarchy endeavor to outdo the native American Protestants in alleged Americanism? Why demand of the Poles something upon which the native Americans do not insist?⁵⁸

58. Rev.D.Szopinski, Ibid., 576.

The Polish National Department promised action in defense of the Polish language in parochial schools. It sent instructions requesting that the Poles gather all information, official decrees, attempts made to eliminate the Polish language from parochial schools, churches, etc., and to transmit same to the Department's headquarters for further action.⁵⁸ The Polish Roman

58. "Wydział Narodowy do Rodaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:620.

Catholic Union of America took up the fight.⁵⁹

59. "Apel Zjednoczenia P.R.K. w Sprawie Równouprawnienia Kleru Polskiego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:55.

Emotions, however, and feelings were soon calmed. News came from reliable sources that the Apostolic Delegate would receive instructions from the Vatican to introduce the teaching of the Polish language in seminaries where Polish clerics are to be found. The newly created cardinals Hayes and Mundelein were told in audience with the Pope that the teaching of prayer and religion is to be had in the native language of the faithful and that all of the American Hierarchy must abide by this decision.⁶⁰

60. "O Opiekę Duchową Na Wychodźstwie," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:314-315.

In May, 1924 bishop Schrembs made the following remark at the reception given in honor of Gen. Haller in Cleveland, which cannot be construed otherwise, but as reference to bishop Turner's and Malloy's action:

"Remember, Poles, that as long as I am bishop of this diocese, a decree will never be issued eliminating the teaching of the Polish language and of catechism in Polish, or a decree ordering the removal of pictures with Polish inscriptions from the parochial schools." 61

61. Editorial, Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:379, commenting on the article of Dziennik Zjednoczenia, May 31, 1924.

Bishop Turner also modified his demands. Later he established a Commission for Polish affairs in the diocese of Buffalo and intended to create a similar Committee consisting of Polish priests which would be in charge of the diocesan Polish parochial schools.⁶²

62. "Polskie Sprawy Kościelne w Buffalo," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:669.

D. EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION OF THE POLISH CLERGY IN THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY.

To forestall in the future harmful excursions against the use of the Polish language in churches and in schools, the American Poles began to insist

on equality of representation for the Polish clergy in the ranks of the American Hierarchy.

Such demands were now new. They date back to the last decade of the XIX century. The Rev. Vincent Barzyński in 1887 suggested that the Polish clergy in America is entitled to membership in the American Hierarchy. In 1889 he transmitted to the First Catholic Congress in Baltimore, which convened in commemoration of the centenary of the establishing of the Catholic Hierarchy in the U.S., a memorandum listing the reasons, why the Polish Catholic clergy in the U.S. should be represented in the American Hierarchy. The secretary of the Congress rejected the memorandum claiming, that it was not within the scope or plans of the Congress.⁶³

63. Most Rev. E. Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Św. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:237.

In 1891 the matter was taken up again with the American Hierarchy and with the Propaganda of Faith in Rome. Some bishops replied that no competent candidate for a bishop is to be found among the Polish clergy. Indignation rose at such humiliating appraisal of the Polish clergy. The Poles later backed their demands by bringing the American Hierarchy's

attention to the widespread defection of the Poles from the Catholic Church and to the establishing of a schismatic Polish Independent Church in Scranton, Pa., in 1897. By now, the bishops began to regard with concern the insistence for Polish bishops. A few bishops sent clerics of Irish descent to Cracow and Lwów, Poland, to study the Polish language, and thus have Irish priests and eventually Irish bishops speaking the Polish language.⁶⁴

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64. Most Rev. Bishop E. Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Św. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:238.
 Rev. W. Kruszką, Siedm Siedmioleci, 1:780.
 S. Barszczewski, Polacy w Ameryce, 48-49.
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To combat the spread of the Polish schism in America the First Polish Catholic Congress took place in Buffalo in September, 1896. Matters of religious and cultural nature were the topics of the meeting. A second convention in the same city in 1901 was more determined to press its demand for Polish bishops in America. At first, it was suggested that a Polish bishop, acting as secretary to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington and instructing the papal representative on matters relating to the Poles in America, would provide a happy solution. The plan was dropped as impractical.⁶⁵

65. Most Rev.Bishop E.Kozłowski, op. cit., 238.

It was finally agreed to send a delegation directly to Rome to present the plea of the Catholic Poles in America to the Holy Father. The Rev. John Pitass of Buffalo was chosen together with Rev.Wacław Kruszk, then of Ripon, Wisconsin. A final attempt was made to dispose the American Hierarchy favorably toward the demand of the Poles. A petition was sent to the Bishops' Convention in Washington in November, 1901 only to be met with evasive answer, tantamount to refusal. Intrigue, misunderstanding delayed the departure of the delegation. In the meantime Rev. John Pitass resigned as delegate, substituting instead one Mr.Rowland B.Mahany, U.S.Congressman, a non-Catholic, as legal adviser.⁶⁶ The Polish

66. Rev.W.Kruszka, Siedm Siedmioleci, 596.

priests, in particular the newly-formed Association of Polish Catholic priests, the Executive Committee of the II Polish Catholic Congress financed the delegation. On June 10,1903 Rev.W.Kruszka set sail for Rome.⁶⁷

67. Rev.W.Kruszka, Ibid., 488,617.

After paying his respects to the various Roman Congregations and leading cardinals, who were either favorably disposed or approved of the delegation's request, Rev.W.Kruszka and Mr. Mahany were received in private audience by the pope, Pius X on September 11, 1903. The Holy Father promised to do something for them.⁶⁸

68. Rev.W.Kruszka, Ibid., 705.

Elated over the success of his mission, Rev.W. Kruszka was warned that final decision is not to be expected immediately. Nevertheless, the general impression was, that pope Pius X would act favorably upon the request of the Poles in America for representation in the U.S.Catholic Hierarchy. During the second audience which Rev.W.Kruszka had with the Holy Father on April 15, 1904, he was assured by the pope, "that something in the near future will be done according to your wishes."⁶⁹

69. Rev.W.Kruszka, Ibid., 805.

The account which Rev.W. Kruszka gives of his mission, though at times not very inspiring, is always interesting.⁷⁰ The mission brought to light two out-

70. Rev.W.Kruszka, Ibid., 426-464, 488-709.

standing facts: 1) that the Vatican was well informed about the Polish-American demands; 2) that, according to Card. Aliardi's words, the American bishops stood fast in opposition to these demands.⁷¹

71. Rev.W.Kruszka, Ibid., 669.

The fulfillment of that promise came in 1908, July 29 when Rev.Paul P.Rhode of Chicago was consecrated bishop and made Auxiliary to Arch.Quigley of Chicago. The day of Rev.Rhode's consecration was "a national holiday in many Polish communities" - best describes the joy and feeling of the Poles in America, according to Rev.E.Kozłowski, later auxiliary bishop of Milwaukee, Wis.⁷²

72. Most Rev.E.Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Św. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:240.

No one contributed so much to the welfare and progress of the Poles in America, no one represented them more ably, no one was more successful in uniting the Poles in America, no one after Ignace Paderewski was more instrumental in restoring Poland's freedom

and independence, than bishop Rhode. "Providential Leader of the Poles in America," "Spiritual Leader of the Poles in America," - these expressions portray the attitude of the Poles in the U.S. toward bishop Rhode and pay tribute to his accomplishments.⁷³

73. M. Haiman, "J.E.Ks.Biskup Paweł P.Rhode, Jego Życie i Czyny", Przegląd Katolicki, 1934, 9:22, March-April.

Rev.Dr.A.Syski, "Wódz Duchowy Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, J.E.Ks.Biskup Rhode," Przegląd Katolicki, March-April, 1934, 9:31.

In 1914 Rev.Edward Kozłowski of Bay City, Mich., was made Auxiliary bishop of Milwaukee, Wis., but died shortly after on August 12, 1915.⁷⁴ The war and

74. "S.P. Najp.Ks.Biskup Kozłowski, D.D. Biskup-Sufragan w Milwaukee, Wis. i Skarbnik Zjed.Kapłanów Polskich w Am." Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:221.

the preoccupation of the American Poles with the war and the liberation of Poland forced them to forget, for the time being, further demands for larger representation of the Polish clergy in the American Hierarchy.

With the end of the war, it was natural that these demands were renewed with even greater vigor. The American Poles turned their attention to their own problems, among which the creation of greater

number of Polish bishops was considered of primary importance.

At first, the Poles intended to bring this about without much publicity, but the Americanization movement which was thrust upon them by the Hierarchy, forced the hands of the Poles and the matter became one of public importance.⁷⁵ At the meeting of the

75. "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:372. The article is a reprint from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia: "O Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce."

officers of the large Polish organizations in the U.S., representing 400,000 Poles in America, the need of Polish bishops was given preferential consideration.⁷⁶

76. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zacieśnienie Węzłów Organizacyjnych Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:323-325.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union of America at the 37-th Convention in Philadelphia enjoined the officers elected to redouble their efforts on behalf of more Polish bishops in the U.S. The following 38-th Convention in 1925 at St.Louis, Mo. and that of 1928, or the 39-th Convention renewed these endeavors.⁷⁷ To obtain

77. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce,

Urzędowy Protokół, 42-43, 1 Sprawozdanie Urzędników, 7-8, Na Sejm XXXVIII, 1925, St. Louis, Mo.

"Program Pracy Ideowej Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:143.

results the 38-th Convention insists on "bold but honorable action,".⁷⁸ The Polish Roman Catholic Union

78. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Urzędowy Protokół, 42, 1 Sprawozdanie Urzędników, Na Sejm XXXVIII, 1925, St. Louis, Mo.

of America and the Polish Women's Alliance of America solicited funds from their members for this purpose.⁷⁹

79. "Druga Organizacja Polska Wysyła Listy Składowe Do Swych Członków," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11: 357.

Equal representation in the American Hierarchy was the topic for consideration of the Union of Polish Clergy of America at its V Convention in Philadelphia, in 1924.⁸⁰

80. "Rezolucje Sejmu V Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:179-180.

Rev. L. Grudziński, "Wydział Narodowy i Stosunek Jego Do Kleru i Społeczeństwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:204.

"Protokół z Sejmu V Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Pol. w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:222-223.

The National Congress of American Poles which met in Cleveland in 1923 considered the same problem. The last National Congress of Poles in America in Detroit, 1925, had a special section or committee reporting to the Convention on the equal representation of the Polish clergy in the American Hierarchy.⁸¹

81. Polski Wydział Narodowy, Protokół Sejmu IV Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, 1923, w Cleveland, Ohio, 24. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 60-71, 111.

After the 1925 Congress in Detroit, it seemed that the demands for Polish bishops subsided, because these have been partly fulfilled. In 1924 the Rev. Joseph Plagens of Detroit, Mich. was made Auxiliary bishop of Detroit, and in 1932 the Rev. Stanislaus Bona of Chicago was consecrated bishop of Grand Island, Nebraska.⁸²

82. "Ks. Prałat Józef Plagens Biskupem," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:355.
 "J. Eksk. Ks. Biskup Stanisław Bona," Przegląd Katolicki, 1932, 7:15.

The requests which the Poles presented for greater number of bishops of Polish extraction in America followed the same pattern at different intervals.

They were motivated not only by feeling and sentiment. They were based on figures, on the number of Polish priests, churches, schools, of parishioners, the value of church property, on the development and the strength of Catholicity among the Poles in America. Hence the movement was known as equal or proportional representation of the American Poles among the Hierarchy in the U.S. According to the 1922 proportional calculations, the Poles in America should be represented by 13 bishops and 2 archbishops.⁸³

83. Most Rev. Bishop E. Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Św. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:242-246. "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:374-378. The article is a reprint from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia: "O Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce."

As conditions and circumstances warranted, new reasons were added urging the necessity of greater representation of the Poles in the Hierarchy. Before the war, the danger of falling away from the Catholic Church and embracing the Polish Independent National Church loomed large and important as a motive substantiating these demands.⁸⁴

84. Most Rev. Bishop E. Kozłowski, op. cit., 237.

After the war, the attachment of the Poles to the

Church, well-qualified Polish clergy, capable of fulfilling the episcopal duties with dignity, and in proof reference was made to Bishop P. Rhode as one serving the Church with distinction, the necessity of stemming the loss of faith by the Polish younger generation, which after withdrawing from Polish parishes, severs all ties with the Catholic Church - these were the outstanding reasons advanced by the Poles in demand for more Polish bishops in America. The three popes: Leo XIII, Pius X and Benedict XV acknowledged the reasonableness of their request.⁸⁵

85. "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:379-384. The article is a reprint from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia: "O Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce."

Later, during the years of compulsory Americanization efforts, the Poles claimed that "only a Polish bishop can understand best the religious soul of the Pole and can most effectively satisfy its needs."⁸⁶

86. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 64.
Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:180.
"Program Pracy Ideowej Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:143.

The demand for equal or proportional representation of the Polish clergy in the American Hierarchy contained the following suggestions: 1) a Polish bishop or Ordinary for the diocese where the Poles constitute a majority of Catholics; 2) an auxiliary bishop of Polish extraction where the Catholic population consists of a large percentage of Poles.⁸⁷ Only Rev. W. Kruszka

87. Most.Rev.Bishop E.Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Sw. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:236.

and Rev. C. Smogór of Steubenville, Ohio, "our chauvinists"⁸⁸ advanced the plan for national dioceses,

88. Most Rev.Bishop E.Kozłowski, Ibid., 244.

or of bishops for different nationalities in the U.S.⁸⁹

89. Rev.Dr.C.Smogór, "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychoźstwa Naszego?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:311.

Bishop P. Rhode at the V Convention of the Union of Polish Clergy of America, at Philadelphia, 1924, reported that during his recent visit to Rome, pope Benedict XV objected to the Polish demands for national dioceses in America and to the tendency toward "separatism" on the part of the Poles. Bishop Rhode explained

to His Holiness that such requests were made by individuals and do not express the wish of the Poles in general. The Pope added that considerable opposition was encountered from the American Hierarchy which made matters difficult and delayed the satisfactory solution of the knotty problem.⁹⁰

90. "Protokół z Sejmu V Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Pol.w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:222.

E. THE POLISH-AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

But the Americanization movement with reference to the Poles, especially the Ecclesiastical Americanization movement which had for its purpose the elimination of the Polish language from the church and the school, was not without its advantages, that is, it too produced worthwhile results, not foreseen or intended. The Poles, principally the Polish clergy turned their attention and took time to study their educational system, to evaluate the Polish parochial school system.

1. The Parochial Schools.

It is beyond question that the Poles fully understood the value of their parochial schools. Without them, the parish itself, various church societies and organizations, the Polish clergy, the insistence on Polish bishops would be worthless,

and useless. For if the Polish youth loses Faith or becomes denationalized, the future of Polish national life in America is doomed.

It must be said to the praise of the Polish clergy that it courageously faced the facts which the study of the Polish parochial school system made known. And though these at times were discouraging, nevertheless they showed the way to possible improvement and betterment.

It was shocking to many to learn, that in 1921, according to school statistics, over 110,000 Polish children were found in public schools or that one out of every three Polish children attended the public school.⁹¹ Allegedly half of these children are lost

91. "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:376, 383. The article is a reprint from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia: "O Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce." "Połowa Dzieci Polskich w Wieku Szkolnym Ginie Dla Polskości i Wiary," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:483.

both to the Church and to the Polish ethnic group. Rev. Francis Bolek asserts that only a little over half of the Polish children in America attend Polish parochial schools.⁹²

92. Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:180.

Furthermore, out of 1,200 children in Polish parochial schools only 400 finish eighth grade, or graduate from the parochial school. In sharp contrast, the children in the Irish parochial schools have a high percent of graduates, 10 out of every 12.⁹³

93. "Z Pośiedzenia Grupy VIII Z.K.P." Przegląd Katolicki, 1930, 5:180.

One reason for this unhealthy condition is the lack of Polish parochial schools to accommodate all the children. The second reason, quite frequently advanced is that the parents withdraw their children from the Polish parochial schools because the teaching of the Polish language is slowly or completely eliminated.⁹⁴ The placing of these children in the public

94. "Jakie Są Potrzeby Religijne Wychodźstwa Naszego?" Przegląd Kościelny, 1922, 9:376. The article is a reprint from the Dziennik Zjednoczenia: "O Równouprawnieniu Kleru Polskiego w Ameryce."

schools does not remedy or improve conditions nor does it remove the cause, for the curriculum of the public school excludes the study of the Polish language. The explanation therefore is not quite convincing.

But the concern of the Poles, in particular of the Polish clergy, for the parochial schools, the honest efforts made for their improvement disclosed

many interesting points.

The Poles were aware that their schools must come up to the standards and requirements of the State departments of education, and must meet the demands of the diocesan schools' superintendent. "Otherwise, they would have no reason, whatsoever, for existence."⁹⁵

95. Rev.B.Bojanowski, "Charakterystyka Naszego Tutejszego Społeczeństwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1916, 3:249.

The Polish parochial schools must answer the purpose for which they were established, namely not only to impart Catholic education but also to acquaint the children with the Polish language, history and culture. To reconcile these two salient points became the crux of the Polish parochial school. The most difficult problem confronting the parochial schools lies in the introduction of the Polish language study, history, etc. within the regular daily school program, without detriment to the general requirements, without cutting down on the hours allotted for the standard subjects taught and required in all grade schools.⁹⁶

96. Rev.B.Bojanowski, loc. cit.

The efforts made especially after the war to

improve the Polish parochial school system, did not expose any instance where these were found to be wanting and not meeting the prescribed standards. That is one point on which the American Poles insisted. The common expression heard, was the statement that the Polish parochial schools are just as good as any public grade school, what is more, they are even better, because of the added knowledge of a foreign language, Polish history and culture.⁹⁷ The teachers of the Polish

97. Rev. C. M. Jasionowski, "Praca Społeczna Wśród Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:303.

"Protokół z Rocznej Posiedzenia Grupy XIII Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:60.

Rev. D. Szopinski, "Notes on Polish Catholic Life in the United States," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:154.

Rev. D. Szopinski, "Dokoła Kwestji Szkolnej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:142-143.

"Rezolucje Sejmu Stowarzyszenia Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:604.

Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:198.

parochial schools, the Ven. Sisters, are well trained and equipped for their duties, some with university degrees and many with teacher's certificates, others supplementing their education regularly during the summer months.⁹⁸

98. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 95.

Rev. F.Bolek, op. cit., 198.
 "Pogadanka o Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928,
 3:218.

Neither was objection raised against the Polish parochial schools because of the neglect of the English language. The American Poles realized well that without the mastery of the English language their prospects for advancement, for social or economic progress would be limited and retarded. No one, not even the most rabid Polish nationalist objected to the study of the English language, American history and kindred subjects demanded and prescribed for the public grade schools. The American Poles boasted that English was taught in their schools just as well as in any of the English schools - public or private, that from the very beginning all Polish parochial schools were bi-lingual, never exclusively Polish. They demanded that the English language should be the official language of instruction.⁹⁹

99. Rev.C.Smogór, "Amerykanizacja Ze Stanowiska Religijnego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1920, 7:752.

Rev.C.M.Jasionowski, "Praca Społeczna Wśród Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921,8:302-303.

Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zamach Władzy Duchownej Na Język Polski w Amerykańskich Szkołach Parafjalnych," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:582.

The Poles were not tardy or hesitant in voicing

publicly their opinion on the use and the need of the English language. The resolutions of the IV Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America, in Pittsburgh, 1921, have gone on record advocating the most thorough teaching of the English language in Polish schools.¹⁰⁰ The Polish National Congress at Cleveland

100. "Rezolucje Sejmu IV Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce, odbytego 22-23 Lutego, 1921 Roku," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:169-170.

in 1923,¹⁰¹ and the Polish Welfare Council in 1926 in

101. Americanus, "Czwarty Sejm Wychodźstwa w Cleveland," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:333-336.

official pronouncements urged, that preference be given to the study of the English language,¹⁰² that without

102. "W Jedności Siła," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:134.

its knowledge the Poles will remain aloof from the American community, will never be able to gain prominence in American life.¹⁰³

103. L. Kożakowski, ed., of "Telegraf", quoted on the topic of Americanization, in the Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:17, "Z Czasopism Polskich."

It may seem paradoxical that the Poles in America found fault in their educational system only in the study and teaching of the Polish language, Polish history and in the study of religion in the Polish language. They were determined to defeat any efforts tending to eliminate by force the study of the Polish language from their schools, yet they knew well, that they were defending a cause which in their own opinion was found wanting and an educational system which was defective.

The enemies and critics of the Polish parochial schools were not opposed to them because of these defects. The national and Ecclesiastical Americanization did not intend to bar the use of the Polish language from the Polish parochial schools because it uncovered flaws in the Polish parochial school system. Neither were the Poles simply stubborn in their determination to defend the use of the Polish language in their schools, regardless of its merits or demerits. They have not assumed the position of chauvinists insisting that right or wrong, it was their educational system, their schools, their language, and whether the methods of teaching the latter were faulty or not, it was their language that was endangered and it was their duty to save it from extinction.

The matter of fact is, that the Americanization movement made the Poles take stock of their parochial schools and of their parochial educational system. Furthermore, it disclosed to them, that any force or pressure from without against the Polish language produced contrary results; namely, it made the Poles more united and resisting all opposition to their native language. The greatest danger to Polish nationalism was now found to rise from within. The Polish language, the study of Polish history, of religion in Polish was losing interest among the Poles in America, not because of opposition from without, but because of indifference, and in many cases, because of resistance on the part of the Poles themselves, especially of the parents.

The Rev. Dr. B. Bojanowski in his splendid analysis of the characteristics of the Poles in America states, that "even today (in 1916), formal battles must be fought with almost every Pole in favor of the Polish school."¹⁰⁴ By 1927 many families have neglected the

104. Rev. B. Bojanowski, "Charakterystyka Naszego Tutejszego Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1916, 3:471.

Polish language in their homes, and a large number of children, following the example of their elders, refused to study it.¹⁰⁵

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105. "O Polskie Szkolnictwo Parafjalne w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:101.
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Such symptoms called for a thorough study and remedies. Already in 1911 Rev.D.Szopinski saw the need of reform in the Polish parochial school system. He proposed then the following four points, which during the next thirty years, were repeated in any attempt made to better the educational standards of the American Poles: 1) text-books of the Polish language must be improved; 2) the methods of teaching the elementary principles of the Polish language must undergo a complete change and the principles of pedagogy must be observed more faithfully; 3) systematization of the program of studies for all parochial schools should be established; 4) greater stress should be laid on higher education, preferably in own schools or in public schools, provided these give consideration to the teaching of the Polish language.¹⁰⁶

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106. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Szkolnictwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Polsko-Amerykański, 1911, October-December, 1:28.
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2. Polish Language Text-Books.

The elementary text-books of the Polish language were the topic of constant criticism by the Polish

clergy and the Ven. Teaching-Sisters. These text-books were considered outmoded, outdated, some were termed "ante-diluvial".¹⁰⁷ They did not conform to the con-

107. X.K.S. "Kłopoty z Podręcznikami Szkolnymi", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:90.

ditions in America. Descriptions, narratives, stories, etc. were unappealing, without life, or color, boring and tedious to the student.¹⁰⁸

108. X.Y.Z. "Braki Naszych Szkół Parafjalnych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:116-117.

The teaching of the Polish language, Polish history and literature, of religion in Polish - all these required separate text-books. The pupils were over-burdened with books. The parents, on the other hand, besides paying monthly dues for the schooling of their children in parochial schools, were faced with added expense for too many Polish school books. In Chicago the average cost of Polish text-books per student in the eighth grade amounted to \$7.37.¹⁰⁹ For

109. X.K.S. op. cit., 2:90

the poorer families with many children, the financial cost of the education of their children in parochial

schools proved too heavy. The temptation to send their children to the public school, especially where books were furnished free, was indeed great.

The revision of Polish text-books called 1) for their adaptation to the conditions in America; 2) for their simplification because children entering the parochial school today have no preparation, no Polish background even at home. They first acquire knowledge of Polish in the parochial school; 3) for the elimination of many Polish school books and combining them into fewer, compact volumes, v.g. catechism together with Bible History and liturgy, thus reducing the cost of school books and lessening the number of books to be carried by the children to school.¹¹⁰

110. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Dookoła Kwestji Szkolnej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:145.

J.Matusiak, "Słów Kilko dla Wybrańców Kongresowych w Detroit, Mich.," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:162-163.

X.Y.Z. "Braki Naszych Szkół Parafjalnych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:116-117.

M.Mazurowska, "Ochrona Języka Polskiego w Nauczaniu Początkowem Szkoły Parafjalnej, w Kościele oraz Organizacjach Polskich," Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 96.

Much has been said of the need for the revision of Polish text-books used in the grade schools. However, little has been done, notwithstanding the fact that

the need was urgent. The undertaking first of all was in need of funds, secondly of qualified educators to make the revision, thirdly of cooperation of all the pastors, so as to achieve uniformity in the adoption of the same Polish text-books for all the Polish parochial schools in America.¹¹¹

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111. Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, May number devoted entirely to the question of Polish-American schools.
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The Union of the Polish Clergy of America at its V Convention at Philadelphia, in February, 1924 expressed preference for the Polish National Department to interest itself with the publication of revised Polish text-books.¹¹² At the National Polish

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112. "W Sprawie Wydziału Narodowego i Kongresu Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:165.
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Congress in Detroit, in 1925 suggestion was made for the establishing of a School Council under the direction of the Polish Welfare Council. One of its first duties would be the publishing of new Polish text-books. ¹¹³

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113. M. Mazurowska, "Ochrona Języka Polskiego w Nauczaniu Początkowem Szkoły Parafjalnej, w Kościele oraz Organizacjach Polskich," Kongres Wychodźstwa

Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 99.

"O Polskie Szkolnictwo Parafjalne w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:101.

A group of Polish priests in the Cleveland diocese, affiliated with the Union of Polish Clergy of America, at one of its meetings took definite steps to improve the teaching of the Polish language, history, etc., in the Polish parochial schools of the Cleveland diocese. A selection of text-books was made. One hour each day was to be set aside for the teaching of Polish: one half hour for the teaching of religion in Polish and one half hour for the study of Polish grammar, language, history and literature. A more detailed program of the study of religion, of the Polish language and literature was promised before the opening of the school year. A School Committee was formed which would supervise the adoption of the proposed measures.114

114. "O Szkołę Polską w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:172.

During the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America, the Rev. J. Taranowicz, author of Polish catechism text-books, proposed a plan for the editing of elementary text-

books for the study of the Polish language. The Board acted favorably upon the plan and suggested that Rev. Taranowicz engage the best pedagogical help.¹¹⁵

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115. "Czytanki Polskie: Praca Rozpoczęta," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:230.
 "Protokół z Posiedzenia Dyrektorjatu Zjedn.Kapł. Pol.w Green Bay, Wis." Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:238.
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Książnica-Atlas, a publishing house in Poland recommended its new elementary text-books for the study of the Polish language. The offer made by the publishers was printed in the Przegląd Katolicki. However, the editorial comment suggested that a new Polish Primer and other Polish text-books be written "adapted completely to our needs and demands."¹¹⁶

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116. "W Sprawie Podręczników Szkolnych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1930, 5:114-115.
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At long last, the Felician Sisters in Chicago published a new text-book of Polish History called "Polska" (Poland). Its author is Sister M.Cyryla.¹¹⁷

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117. "Nowy Podręcznik Historji Polskiej Dla Szkół Parafjalnych w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1931, 6:99-100, 105.
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The same author published a Polish Primer and continued

her work of editing elementary text-books of the Polish language for the grade schools. All the above mentioned works were highly recommended as answering the oft discussed need of suitable text-books for the study of the Polish language in parochial schools.118

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118. "Z Piśmiennictwa - Moja Pierwsza Książeczka," Przegląd Katolicki, September-October, 1934, 9:24,
 "Z Piśmiennictwa - Moja Trzecia Książeczka," Przegląd Katolicki, July-August, 1936, 11:16-17.
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3. Teaching Personnel.

With the need for revision of Polish text-books came the demand for a highly trained teaching personnel. No one criticized the Sisters-Teachers for the sacrifice and the work done in the parochial schools. They were irreplaceable. However, with great strides made in teaching methods, more specialization was asked of them. No longer was satisfaction voiced over Sisters teaching all subjects in the higher 6, 7 or 8-th grade. Some expressed the opinion that teachers specializing in the teaching of Polish, confining themselves to the mastery of scientific teaching of the Polish language, Polish history, would revive interest and enthusiasm for the study of Polish.119

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119. X.Y.Z. "Braki Naszych Szkół Parafjalnych", Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:115-116.
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The Sisters were responsive to the suggestion. In 1926 eight Felician Sisters were sent to Cracow, Poland, to the Jagiellonian University to specialize in the study of the Polish language, history and culture.¹²⁰

120. "Ad Notam." Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:205.

Rev.S.Targosz lists 50 Sisters teachers who studied in Poland at the expense of their respective Religious Communities, while 37 were given scholarship in Poland by the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.¹²¹

121. Rev.S.Targosz, Polonja Katolicka w Stanach Zjednoczonych w Przekroju, 46-47.

4. Polish Educational Commission.

All these efforts for an improvement of the Polish parochial school system called for an agency empowered not only to make suggestions, to recommend changes, to propose new more scientific methods, but also to enforce its proposals, its instructions, directives and rulings. Although such an agency would be limited to the Polish parochial schools and to the control of the teaching of the Polish language, history, etc., it is certain that conflicts would arise with diocesan school authorities. By its very nature, an agency

extending over the entire country, and therefore over all diocesan boundaries, would be resented. Limiting it to the advisory function only, would not answer the purpose, would not produce the intended results. For the raising of the standards in the teaching of the Polish language etc., would demand uniformity as to plans, program of studies and above all systematization.

The Rev.Dr.W.Kwiatkowski evolved a plan which would create a Polish Educational Commission in America. The functions and aims of the Commission were so ambitious as to spell its own doom. It proposed the erection of Polish parochial schools where these are wanting or where the Polish consciousness and nationalism are on the wane, to supply schools with efficient Polish teachers, to furnish text-books, formulate and arrange programs of studies, etc. The difficulties which would render impossible its realization were fully discussed in the Przegląd Kościelny.¹²²

122. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Dookoła Kwestji Szkolnej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:134-146.

To some such a plan seemed feasible. They proposed a Polish Catholic Congress to convene for the sole purpose of studying the educational problems of the Polish parochial schools and to give the initiative

in organizing a Polish Educational Commission. As an improvement of the plan proposed by Rev.Dr.W.Kwiatkowski, the *Nowiny Polskie* (Polish News) of Milwaukee, Wis. suggested the formation of School Committees in each parish consisting of the pastor and parishioners selected for that purpose by the congregation. The parents would become more interested in the school and the possibility of creating enthusiasm through such local school committees for the study of the Polish language and for the improvement of the school itself would be more promising.¹²³ The Union of the.

123. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Dokoła Kwestji Szkolnej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:137-140.

Polish Clergy of America at its VI Convention disapproved of such school committees, inasmuch as their existence would be contrary to the policy and custom of the Church in the U.S.¹²⁴

124. "W Sprawie Wydziału Narodowego i Kongresu Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:165.

During the VI Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy, in February, 1928 in Pittsburgh, a report was read by Rev.C.Sztuczko, C.S.C., on the Teaching of Polish in Parochial Schools. Rev.C.Sztuczko was Chairman of the School Commission formed by

the Board of Directors of the Union of the Polish Clergy in America at their meeting in November, 1927.

The report was the most thorough and comprehensive study made of the Polish parochial schools in America. It consists of four parts. The first gives thought to the difficulties and obstacles which confront the Polish parochial school. Next, suggestions are proposed for the improvement of the teaching methods. Then, the need of a permanent Polish School Commission to supervise the teaching of the Polish language, history , etc., is strongly urged. Lastly, the report considers various agencies: the clergy, the parents, teachers, the Union of the Polish Clergy of America, the national organizations, the press and publishers - and in particular describes the activities and role of each, the contribution each is expected to make in order to foster the teaching and study of Polish in parochial schools. 125 Nothing

125. Rev.C.Sztuczko, C.S.C., "Nauczanie Polskie w Szkołach Parafjalnych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:51-55.

was achieved by the splendid report of the Polish Educational Commission, for lack of funds.126

126. "W Sprawie Podręczników Szkolnych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1930, 5:115.

What are the prospects for the future? For some time, due to the economic depression, the existence of few Polish parochial schools was threatened, in others the number of classrooms or school hours were reduced. But the danger passed. No serious losses were sustained.¹²⁷

127. Rev. John Pudło, "Ratujmy Szkoły Parafjalne," Przegląd Katolicki, 1932, 7:118-119.

The future of the Polish language in the Polish parochial school is somewhat precarious. The regular program determined by the State Educational Department or the Diocesan Superintendent of Schools, have preference. The teaching of Polish must fit into this program with the result that at most $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours of Polish is had each day in school including $\frac{1}{2}$ hour of religious instruction in Polish. The children therefore gain little knowledge of Polish in the parochial school.

The children entering the parochial school know little or nothing of Polish. Many parents insist at the outset, that Polish should not be taught their children. The demands are often supported by threats of withdrawing the children from the parochial school and placing them in public schools. Such situations

call for two possible solutions: 1) the children studying Polish would do so through the medium of the English language, a method applied in the teaching of any modern, foreign language. Sensing such a trend, the Felician Sisters of Chicago, with Sister Cyryla as editor, intended to publish a Polish Grammar in the English language.¹²⁸ 2) Where the parents demand

128. "Nowy Podręcznik Historji Polskiej dla Szkół Parafjalnych w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1931, 6:100.

that their children will not be taught in Polish (not even religion), the only alternative remaining is to impart knowledge of Poland, of her history, her literature, etc. in English.¹²⁹ Thus the tempo of Ameri-

129. Rev.S.Targosz, Polonia Katolicka w Stanach Zjednoczonych w Przekroju, 26.

canization will be slowed, the achievements of the Poles in America centered in their parishes will not be lost, and the children will remain imbued with the consciousness of their Polish descent and heritage.

5. Polish Supplementary Schools.

The so-called Supplementary Schools strongly supported by the Polish National Alliance hardly

scratch the surface. From 1931 to 1935 the Alliance expended \$28,093.90 for its Supplementary Schools. One of the items included the publishing of a Polish text-book for use in the grade schools. The Alliance had 238 such schools. Attendance numbered 17,000 children.¹³⁰ Tangible results of these schools have

130. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania Na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 215

not been recorded.

The Polish clergy was not only critical of such schools, but even strongly objected to them, because of religious indifferentism and opposition to the Catholic Church voiced by some of the instructors in such schools. They were said to be organized within the parish limits, where they are least needed, but are maintained only to give competition to the Polish parochial schools.¹³¹

131. "O Zjednoczoną Akcję Katolicką," Przegląd Katolicki, 1931, 6:72.
 "Czy Nie Moglibyśmy Być Mądrzy Choć Raz Przed Szkodą?" Przegląd Katolicki, September, 1933, 8:4.

The Supplementary Schools organized and supported by the Polish Consulates in America met with emphatic denouncements from the Rev. clergy. Rev. W. Bor-

kowicz of Detroit, Mich., in an address at the Eucharistic Congress in Poland, termed the supplementary schools supported by the Polish Consulates in America: "Hidden daggers against God, the churches, parochial schools and the clergy."¹³² Bishop Rhode in

132. "Referat Ks.W.Borkowicza z Detroit Na Kongresie Eucharystycznym w Polsce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1930, 5:130.

a speech delivered at the 41-st Convention of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, in Springfield, Mass., 1934, claimed that these supplementary schools are just a waste of money and advised the Polish Government not to send instructors of Polish to America. It would be more profitable for them to remain at home. "We can take care of ourselves in the future."¹³³

133. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 5.

The Rev.clergy mentioned that these supplementary schools, for the most part organized by Prof.S.Gałązka, an official of the Polish Consulate and delegate of the Ministry of Education in Poland, because of this fact may come in conflict with the American Government.¹³⁴

134. "Z Posiedzenia Księży Nowojorskich" (Grupa III Zjedn.Kapł.Pol.) Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:40.

6. The study of Polish in High Schools, Colleges and Universities.

The preservation and the study of the Polish language has been visibly undergoing a profound change. Whether or not in the not so far distant future the point of gravitation will pass from the parochial schools to high schools, colleges and universities? Will the high schools, colleges conducted and controlled by the Poles in America become the mainstays of the Polish language, of the study of Polish literature and history?

The Polish National Congress in Detroit, in 1925 created a special section and committee to report on the feasibility of establishing a chair of Polish language, literature and history in American colleges and universities. The committee highly recommended the project. The cost of such a chair was estimated at \$2,500 yearly. After two years, if successful and promising, the financing of the courses^{is} taken over by the budget of the university. Ann Arbor was the official choice of the Congress.¹³⁵

135. Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 100.

The first to give initiative to the thought was

archbishop M.J. Curley of Baltimore, who at the investiture of Rev. S.Wachowiak of Baltimore, Md., as Domestic Prelate, suggested that the Poles in America establish a chair of Polish literature and history at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C. In 1925 courses of Polish were introduced and given credit on par with approved modern languages.¹³⁶

136. L.Behrendt, "W Sprawie Kreowania Katedry Historji i Literatury Polskiej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:612.

"Język Polski a Katolicki Uniwersytet w Washingtonie," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:96-99.

The Poles demanded that recognition be given to the study of the Polish language, literature and history in high schools, colleges and universities. Equal rating was asked for the courses in Polish as for any approved modern language.

The granting of such courses at various universities does not mean that great value is attached to the Polish language at the university, but may be the answer to the demands of patriotically minded Poles in a given State or community, to the number of Polish students attending the university, to the political influence of the Poles in the State or to the importance attached to the power, influence of Poland as a nation.

In 1935 the Kurjer Polski of Milwaukee, Wis. reported courses introduced at Marquette University and the Wisconsin University Extension, Milwaukee, Wis. and in about 10 high schools in Milwaukee, Wis.¹³⁷ The

137. Kurjer Polski, January 6, 1935.

Dziennik Zjednoczenia names 10 colleges and universities, among them Columbia, Northwestern, Harvard, Wisconsin, Dartmouth, where courses in Polish language, history and literature were established. About 25 high schools in the country are added to the list.¹³⁸

138. Dziennik Zjednoczenia, January 31, 1935.

7. The Kosciuszko Foundation.

Of special interest and merit is the Kosciuszko Foundation, established in 1926 by Prof. Stephen Mierzwa, assistant professor at Drake University (1921-1923) and professor at Harvard, (1923).¹³⁹ Its

139. Rev.F.Bolek, ed., Who's Who in Polish America, 298.

principal objectives are: 1) to grant financial aid to deserving Polish students who wish to study at American colleges and universities, and to deserving American

students who desire to study at Polish institutions of higher learning; 2) to encourage and aid the exchange of professors, scholars, lecturers between Poland and the U.S.; 3) to promote cultural and intellectual relations between Poland and the U.S.

From 1926 to 1938 the Foundation has exchanged 154 students, scholars, professors between Poland and the U.S., and expended \$112,175.37 for scholarships.¹⁴⁰ The Foundation seeks to obtain an endow-

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140. Prof.S.Mierzwa, "The Kosciuszko Foundation", Polish American Participation Committee, American Polish Participation, New York World's Fair, 1939, 43.

For information on the activities of the Kosciuszko Foundation see Poland magazine, which with the November issue, 1928, 9:764 began printing a new section each month entitled: "Kosciuszko Foundation News."

ment fund of a million dollars. The American Poles are to contribute \$350,000. In April, 1929 already one third of the Polish-American allotment has been secured.¹⁴¹ Among the prominent contributors to the endow-

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141. Prof.S.Mierzwa, "Kosciuszko Foundation News," Poland, 1929, 10:304.
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ment fund are the Polish National Alliance: \$31,000 and Emil Malinowski of Nanticoke, Pa.: \$5,100.¹⁴²

142. Prof. S. Mierzwa, Ibid., 561.

J. Stryjewski, "Fundacja Kościuszkowska i Jej Współpraca z Radą Organizacyjną," Polacy Zagranicą, 1931, 231-232.

How successful the Foundation will be in obtaining the necessary funds, cannot be determined. So far, the future seems secure. The American Poles at large do not appear to take great interest in it. The Foundation therefore rests more on the support of American friends. The American Poles object that they have no voice in the Foundation's administration. The Polish clergy claims, it never was approached and asked to cooperate at the time of its establishment, and does not intend to become now merely collector of contributions for the Foundation. It is accused of Leftist leanings and that it does not give detailed accounts of expenditures, its founder, Mr. Mierzwa, the director and executive secretary is said to be more interested in personal gain and profit, since his salary calls for a far greater sum of money than that, which he earned as university professor.¹⁴³

143. "Fundacja Stypendjalna Im. T. Kościuszki," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:64.

"Przegląd Prasy," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:18.
B.A. Jezierski, W Obronie Prawdy, 19.

Notwithstanding these accusations and insinuations no one can deny that the Foundation is greatly instrumental in acquainting the American public with the best cultural values of Poland. Its efficiency and propaganda in behalf of Poland command attention and praise.

The American Poles are not opposed to the Foundation, but assume a passive attitude of "watch and see."

F. NATURALIZATION OF THE POLES IN THE U.S.

Closely linked with the problem of Americanization is the question ^{of} naturalization. The two are not identical, although true Americanization leads to naturalization.

The Poles in the past were very insistent on stressing their citizenship and with it their loyalty to the U.S. All the reports of the Polish National Congresses, of the Polish national organizations' conventions provide ample proof. (See pages 88-89). Since the end of the war they have gone a step farther, namely encouraging the Poles to become naturalized and helping them to obtain citizenship papers. The Polish National Congress in Detroit, in 1925 passed a resolution that the Polish Welfare Council should establish in every Polish parish and in every district citizens' schools and clubs to prepare the

non-naturalized Poles for citizenship.

During the Polish National Congress at Detroit, Mich., April 20-22, 1925, the Detroit Free Press quoted Mr. John Smulski:

"We are entering upon an intensive campaign of naturalization. In Chicago we have 52 schools. The government furnishes instructors and our societies maintain the schools."¹⁴⁴

144. O. "Kongres Detroicki w Świetle Prądów Współczesnych na Polach Amerykanizacji, Wiary i Narodowych Dążeń," Przegląd Katolicki, 1925, 12:265.

The million dollar fund proposed by the Congress was intended for the promotion of naturalization of Poles in sections of the country where needed. ¹⁴⁵

145. O. Ibid., 269.

The project never got beyond the stage of resolution in so far as the Congress is concerned, although various Polish national organizations continued the work of naturalization with success.

In 1923 Buffalo had eight citizens' clubs, one with a membership of 2,000 citizens.¹⁴⁶ The by-laws

146. "Poles Promote Citizenship," The Interpreter, June 1923, 2:12-13.

of the Polish National Alliance adopted in 1931 provide, that all delegates to the general convention and all officers of the Alliance chosen by the general convention must be American citizens.¹⁴⁷

147. Związek Narodowy Polski, Konstytucja, Prawa, Reguły i Przepisy, 1931, chapter 4,1 page 22 and chapter 38,4,b page 73.

The Polish National Alliance and the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, the two largest Polish national organizations in the U.S. strenuously promoted citizenship among its members. The Alliance spent more than \$20,000 a year aiding the work of naturalization of the Poles.¹⁴⁸ Having driven their

148. "When the Immigrant Goes to School. A Study of Adult Education Among the Poles in America," The Interpreter, December, 1926, 5:11.

stakes deeper into the American soil, the Poles realize that only as American citizens they will be able to contribute to their own social, economic, political progress in America and make the U.S. a better place for them to live.¹⁴⁹

149. L.S. "W. Sprawie Konsolidacji Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:161-162.

The Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Naturalization for the years 1924-1930 show that the Italians are first and the Poles second in both the total number and the percent of aliens admitted to citizenship. Only in 1931 the Poles yielded second place to the Germans.

In the Saturday Evening Post, February 23, 1924 Kenneth L. Roberts makes the following comparison and suggestion: the 1920 Census showed 69% of Swedes living in the U.S. to be American citizens, while Poles accounted for only 28%. Yet the Swedish quota of immigration to the U.S. is 20,000, that of Poland 26,000. Why then, he asks, give the Poles "who obviously don't readily become a part of the American people" such preference?¹⁵⁰ Roberts evidently did not care to

150. K.L. Roberts, "East is East," Saturday Evening Post, February 23, 1924, 6.

mention that already in 1924 the non-Nordics continued to constitute over 66% of the applicants for citizenship, that the Italians and the Poles occupied each year first and second place respectively as to number of citizenship granted them. Contrary to the assertion of the U.S. Immigration Commission of 1907, Mr. Gavit says: "If there is any substantial difference in 'quality assimilability' between the 'older' races

and the newer, it is in favor of the latter."¹⁵¹

151. J.P.Gavit, Americans By Choice, 252.

Even if we overlook the disadvantages which the Poles encounter in obtaining citizenship, for instance, their low economic scale, a retarding factor in naturalization,¹⁵³ we have to contend above all with the

153. J.P.Gavit, Ibid., 254.

length of residence in the U.S. of a given group in order to determine their assimilability based on their eagerness or willingness to become naturalized.

Gavit's study has proven, that the longer any given immigrant group resides in this country, the more naturalized citizens will swell its ranks. Moreover, a period of 10.6 years was shown to be the average time interval between the arrival of the immigrant to the U.S. and the final filing of his petition for naturalization.¹⁵⁴

154.
J.P.Gavit, Ibid., 241.

Carpenter's further inquiry brought to light another relationship between the length of residence of the immigrant in the U.S. and his naturalization.

The nationalities which resided longest in America, have a large percentage of persons naturalized and a small percentage of those having first papers. However, those nationalities which resided in America for a short period show a small percentage of naturalized and a large number of persons having first papers, an indication that the latter will one day catch up or even overtake the old immigration in the number of naturalized citizens. And though in 1920, according to Census figures, Sweden ranked fifth in the number of naturalized citizens and Poland thirty first, in the number of having first papers Poland ranked sixth and Sweden twenty fourth.¹⁵⁵

155. N.Carpenter, Immigrants and Their Children, 261, 263.

In the 1930 Census "the year of immigration" information was furnished, thus indicating the length of residence of various nationalities.¹⁵⁶ The 1940

156. United States, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, 2:493-562.

Census omits this classification. In 1930 Sweden had second place both as to the percent of naturalized and as to the length of residence in the U.S., while

Poland occupied 19th and 18th place respectively.¹⁵⁷

157. Brown and Rousek, One America, 657

TABLE VII. CITIZENSHIP OF FOREIGN-BORN POLES AND SWEDES
1920-1940

Country	Year	Total of foreign-born	Naturalized	
			Number	Percent
Sweden	1920	625,580	431,556	69.0
	1930	595,250	432,411	72.6
	1940	430,900	332,340	77.1
Poland	1920	1,139,978	319,383	28.0
	1930	1,268,583	640,490	50.5 (158)
	1940	969,360	579,080	59.7 (159)

158. United States, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, 2:406-407.

159. United States, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock, 81.

If the Census figures of 1920 for the number and percent of foreign-born naturalized have made Mr. Roberts highly critical of the Poles, those of the succeeding decades would have startled him. For although the number of foreign-born naturalized Swedes rose from 3.6 percent in 1920 to 1930, and from 1930-1940, 4.5 percent, that of the Poles increased from 28.0 in 1920 to 50.5 in 1930 or by 22.5% and from 1930 to 1940 by 9.2%.

The importance of the 1940 figures is enhanced by the following statement in the 1940 Population Census:

"In general, the proportion of naturalized citizens among the foreign-born tends to increase with length of residence in the United States. The percentage of naturalized persons increased from 56.5 percent in 1930 to 64.6 percent in 1940. Since immigration in this decade was negligible, this increase represents the effects of the normal rate of naturalization in a stationary or declining alien population."¹⁶⁰

160. United States, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Ibid., 4.

Accordingly the normal rate of increase for the decade 1930-1940 was 8.1%. Sweden's rate for the same period was 4.5%, that of Poland 9.2%. The tide has turned, and Poland should now be regarded as more assimilable and therefore more desirable than Sweden. More in conformity with the truth, it should be said, that in due time Poland has begun to show more than the normal rate of naturalization and therefore of willingness to share not only the privileges but also the duties which citizenship entails.

G. THE POLISH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The reaction of the Polish national organizations to the problems that now unfolded themselves, is worthy of attention.

In general it can be said, that the large national organizations do not present a united front on all questions that affect the Poles in America. Each question, each problem was acted upon, favorably or otherwise, depending upon the self-interest of the various organizations rather than upon the good of the Poles at large. Each problem of national importance was now studied and efforts made to solve them, from the organization's viewpoint. The vision, the scope of the organization's activities were restricted to its own progress, its own advancement, increase, security, etc. Thus national problems of the American Poles narrowed down to each organization's best interest.

We have studied the general apathy toward the Central national organizations or agencies, such as the National Congresses, which gripped the Poles after the war. The events and experiences through which the American Poles have lived in the period of disillusion, were largely responsible for this indifference, manifesting itself mostly in the new attitude toward Poland. Unfortunately, this apathy extended itself even to the problems that were of direct and almost

exclusive concern of the Poles in the U.S.

Whatever problems arose, these have now been thrust upon the large national organizations, for their individual and not united attention to grapple with them, as best they could with the power and influence measured by membership and financial resources of each organization. Not every national organization showed concern over questions that pertained to all the Poles in the U.S. and which were therefore of national character. Competition between the organizations was revived, and though sharp at times, it was refined and dignified. Gone were the days of abuse and invectives. The officers of the largest national organizations: the Alliance and the Union exchanged greetings at the national conventions and were always invited to express personally the felicitations of their respective organization for the success of the rival's deliberations.¹⁶¹ Even the

161. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 6.

Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 4.

Union of the Polish Clergy of America formerly in opposition to the strictly national organizations, at the VI Convention in February, 1928 urgently recommends to the Poles in the U.S. "our own organizations,

both Catholic and national."¹⁶²

162. "Rezolucje Zjazdu Walnego Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Stanach Zjednoczonych," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:77.

The activities and efforts of the large national Polish organizations were now directed toward their self-interest. Not that they have lost or cast off all ideals and became selfish and self-centered, but with the change of historical events and political conditions, these ideals have also undergone a change or modification. If, as Mr. Osada boasted,¹⁶³ the

163. S.Osada, Jak Się Kształtowała Polska Dusza Wychodźstwa w Ameryce, 43.

trend of events shortly before the war, won over the Catholic clergy and the Polish Roman Catholic Union to the orientation of the Alliance for an all-out-effort-for-Poland, so now, after the war, the conservative clergy and the Polish Roman Catholic Union could equally claim the distinction of winning over, also by force of circumstances and events, the Alliance to its own pre-war orientation, namely to give primary attention to the betterment and progress of the Poles in America. All the large national Polish organizations have now agreed upon their principal

aim and goal - the good of their own organizations and thereby of the Poles in the U.S. Poland continued to receive less attention.

This change and modification of purpose affected the two large organizations: the Alliance and the Union in different ways. For the Union it was simply a matter of reconversion, a return to its pre-war status, a return to the aims and activities which were suspended for the duration of the war. For the Alliance it meant a complete change in orientation. This it has accomplished in a gracious way. Acknowledging that the main purpose for which the Alliance was formed, has been achieved, namely the restoration of Poland's freedom, it considered itself released from organized aid to Poland, which the Fatherland no longer needed.¹⁶⁴ In view of the changed

164. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1936, 46.

conditions the Alliance became aware that an important adjustment in the program of its future work was inevitable. Events themselves thrust upon the Alliance the only possible program upon which not only the growth, the increase and expansion, but also the continued existence of the organization depended.

Circumstances and events dictated only one program

to which all national organizations had to subscribe, if they wished to survive, namely to help the Poles become good citizens of the U.S., yet make every effort at the same time to preserve national consciousness in them, but especially in the younger generation and thus bind them closely to the organization, to make good American citizens of the Poles in the U.S., but always conscious and always proud of their Polish descent and heritage. No other orientation was conceivable in the turn of events which the war brought about with the restoration of Poland's freedom. The method and the means of achieving that goal - the choice of these was left to the discretion of the particular organization, but the purpose remained common to all. In the words of Karol Rozmarek, the president of the Alliance, "the existence and the future of the Polish National Alliance, as the name indicates, rests principally on the longest maintenance of Polish consciousness in America."¹⁶⁵

165. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1943, 79.

Not only the restoration of Poland's freedom, not only the unpleasant happenings during the years 1919-1925 demanded a change in the national orientation of the Poles in America. The Quota Law of May

26, 1924 reduced the number of Polish immigrants to 5,982 yearly. At the same time it was bound to create a serious and precarious situation for all the Polish national organizations. Their membership could no longer be swelled by new immigrants. The future of these organizations was at stake. Not only a new orientation was necessary, but also intensive action to hold the ranks and numbers of those already enrolled.

The new orientation of the national organizations consisted of efforts to make secure and build up their membership not from without, but from within, probing the sources as yet untapped.¹⁶⁶ Accordingly campaigns,

166. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1936, 46.

contests at times costly were arranged to draw new members into the organization.¹⁶⁷ In all such cam-

167. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 119.

paigns and contests the numerical strength, the financial resources and wealth, the security of the insurance policies were mostly stressed.

But to increase the number of the organization's membership with adults, did not necessarily imply that the future of these organizations was made certain.

Both the Alliance and the Union have laid special emphasis on winning over the youth and on developing in the younger generation a spirit of attachment to their respective organization. In doing so, a twofold purpose was had and hoped to be achieved. First, to save the youth from denationalization, from losing consciousness of its Polish descent, and secondly, to prepare the youth to take over in the future the continuation and administration of their organizations. Mr. John Olejniczak, president of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America struck a significant note when in his summons for the 40-th Convention he appealed to the various groups of the Union to select as delegates young men and women to the Convention so that they may learn beforehand how to work in the future, just as their fathers did in the past for the welfare of the organization.¹⁶⁸

168. J. Olejniczak, "Orędzie na Sejm Zjednoczenia Polskiego," Polacy Zagranicą, 1931, 2:227.

The Alliance and the Union carried insurance for children, who became thereby members of the organization, and later on reaching the age of maturity automatically were transferred to the adult group. However, the Alliance as well as the Union realized the disturbing loss of their youthful members. In the

years 1931-1932 the Alliance lost 13,054 of its youth, while the Union after reaching the peak in 1930 with 44,182 young people in its organization, in 1935 had the number dwindle to 27,366.¹⁶⁹ To hold them fast

169. Związek Narodowy Polski (The Alliance), Sprawozdania Na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 282. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, (The Union), 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 85.

unto the organization the Alliance in 1931 and the Union in 1933 began on a large scale the formation of Scout Troops.¹⁷⁰ This last undertaking is said to have

170. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 229. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 90.

checked the falling away of the teen agers from the ranks of the national organizations.¹⁷¹ The Alliance

171. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 282.

modeled its Scout movement on the Polish, whereas the Union on the American system.¹⁷² In 1935 the Alliance

172. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1935, 62-64.

Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat
Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego, w
Ameryce, 90.

numbered 53,106, the Union listed 7,440 in 1937.¹⁷³

173. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm
XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 267.

Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat
Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w
Ameryce, 98.

The importance which the organizations attached to the various youth activities is to be judged by the establishing of special Youth and Sports Committees or Departments in the Alliance in 1931, in the Union in 1928 and later in 1937, thus putting them on the same basis as their years-old departments of Education and Aid for the Disabled.¹⁷⁴

174. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm
XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 258.

Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat
Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w
Ameryce, 100,103.

By claiming membership in a national Polish organization, by taking part in its recreational activities, youth cannot help but retain the consciousness of its Polish heritage. The Scout Movement as conducted by the Alliance is regarded as the most potent force of

instilling in the youth the Polish national spirit. It retains the Polish Scout uniform, the Polish command and requires knowledge of the language, history and achievements of the Scout's Fatherland.¹⁷⁵

175. Związek Narodowy Polski, Kalendarz Związkowy, 1935, 64.

The activities of the Alliance and of the Union are for the most part an extension of the work they have done before the war. As we have already stated, these activities ran parallel along most lines and continues to do so with but few exceptions. Both grant scholarships to their members, give aid to the disabled, conduct a main library and establish many local libraries in affiliated societies, both support Polish candidates for political offices. The Alliance expends more money for educational purposes, than the Union. The Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pa. and the support of the supplementary schools accounts for the added expenditure. The Union officially pledged itself to give aid to the Polish Theological Seminary at Orchard Lake, Mich., but does not conduct any supplementary schools, since members of the Union are Roman Catholics and avail themselves of the Polish parochial schools.¹⁷⁶

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176. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego, w Ameryce, 88.
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In addition, the Union (see pages 242-243) supports the demands of the Polish clergy for larger representation in the American Hierarchy, an issue which the Alliance completely ignores.

The Alliance and the Union strive to make the Poles in the U.S. good Americans, proud at the same time of their Polish ancestry, of the history, the contribution made by Poland to world's culture, familiar also with the Polish language and literature. This goal is becoming difficult to attain. For in both organizations the insurance element is asserting itself more and more and claims for the most part their attention. In fact, at times the national element is, as it were, deliberately relegated to the background, v.g. by the suspension of societies, of members for non-payment of dues, of insurance rates. During depression years thousands are thus lost to the organizations.¹⁷⁷ The introduction and substi-

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177. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 228.
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tution of new insurance tables and rates to meet the

requirements of the State laws, caused the loss of many members. The Union underwent such experiment in 1920-1922.¹⁷⁸ The ideological element did not enter

178. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego, w Ameryce, 84.

into consideration. Furthermore, the organizations are given charter in different States not because of the patriotic work done for the Poles, but because they meet the standards set by the States for insurance companies.¹⁷⁹ Certain States do not allow or else

179. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 59.

limit even fraternal insurance organizations in their social activities. Thus the national work of the Polish organizations is curtailed.¹⁸⁰

180. Cf. Massachusetts State law regulating fraternal insurance organizations in Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 66.

Notwithstanding these limitations and difficulties, the Alliance and the Union during the period under consideration have shown feverish activities centered mostly on increasing their membership and

capital. In 1935 the Alliance numbered 280,385, the Union 151,515 members.¹⁸¹ The wealth of the Alliance

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181. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 228.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 84-85.
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for the same year totaled \$28,376,426.69, that of the Union \$15,439,690.73.¹⁸² It is to be noted in the

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182. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 109.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 84-85.
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history of the Alliance and of the Union, that whenever the membership in these organizations dropped, their wealth continued to increase.

H. THE POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY IN THE U.S.

When the two largest Polish national organizations in America, the Alliance and the Union showed unusual vitality after the war till the year 1935, the opposite is true of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America.

Established in 1912 by the Most Rev. Bishop Paul P. Rhode at the Polish Clergy Detroit Convention on February 7-8, the organization saw its most fruitful

years from 1912-1919.¹⁸³

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183. "Konstytucja Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:848.
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In the early years of its existence and prior to the World War I, the Polish clergy centered its attention and efforts on combating anti-clericalism, so bitter at times and threatening to destroy whatever was accomplished by the Polish people with the priest as their leader. The Union of the Polish Clergy gave the priests added strength, unity of purpose and of best means available.¹⁸⁴ It coordinated the efforts

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184. Rev.A.Syski, "Potrzeba i Korzyści z Organu Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:5-9.

Most Rev.Bishop E.Kozłowski, "Postulaty Naszego Społeczeństwa Pod Względem Zachowania Wiary Sw. Naszego Ludu," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:153-154.

of the priests in guarding the Faith of the Polish people, most of all against the spread of the Polish Independent National Church,¹⁸⁵ and in continuing the

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185. Rev.B.Góral, "Nowy Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego, jako Brodek Zaradczy Przeciw Szerzeniu Się Wiedowiastwa Między Polakami w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1918, 5:128-130.
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work of developing Polish national consciousness among the Polish masses of immigrants.

In 1913 the Union of the Polish Clergy formed the Polish National Council, next gave support to the Polish National Department and lastly offered cooperation with the Polish Welfare Council.

The merits of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America cannot be denied. In 1918 it stood at the heights of achievements and expansion. During the war \$800,000 alone was credited to the Relief Fund for Poland through the office of the Secretary General of the Union of the Polish Clergy. (see page 46).¹⁸⁶

186. "Protokół z Sejmu V Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11: 223.

The VI Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy, in 1928 was but a flash of its former brilliancy and earnestness, which unfortunately soon died away. The 1928 Convention has the unusual distinction of presenting at its sessions the most exhaustive discussion of the present needs of the Poles in America, of their problems and remedies. These, however, were never acted upon.¹⁸⁷

187. Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:45-61.

The "Przegląd Kościelny," (The Ecclesiastical

Review), the official organ of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America, after 12 years of existence (1914-1926) changed its title to: "Przegląd Katolicki" (The Catholic Review).¹⁸⁸ It continued as the official

188. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Z Biura Sekretarza Generalnego," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:678.

publication of the clergy, but meant to include among its readers, subscribers and contributors the Polish Catholic intellectual class. In 1933 Akcja Apostolska (Apostolic Work), in reality, the Polish Marian Fathers took over the ownership, the publishing and the editorship of the periodical. It remained the official organ of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America and continued as a publication for the Polish Catholic Sisterhood and the Polish Catholic professional and intellectual class.¹⁸⁹

189. "Protokół z Zjazdu Dyrektorjatu Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce, w Pittsburghu, Pa., 1925 roku," Przegląd Kościelny, 1925, 12:674.
 "Do Szanownych Czytelników," Przegląd Katolicki, January-March, 1933, 8:3.
 "Do Szanownych Czytelników," Przegląd Katolicki, January, 1935, 10:3.

In 1918 the Union of the Polish Clergy of America boasted of the largest membership (671 members).¹⁹⁰

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190. Rev.W.Zapała, C.R., "Sprawozdanie Ks.Sekretarza Generalnego Zjednoczenia Kapłanów," Przegląd Kościelny, 1918, 5:113.
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But already in 1919 voices were heard at the meeting of the many groups which formed the Union of the Polish Clergy, that some members have dropped out from the organization.¹⁹¹ The appeals of the Most Rev.Bishop

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191. "Protokół z Posiedzenia Grupy IV Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Diecezyi Pittsburgh, Pa.," Przegląd Kościelny, 1919, 6:201.
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Paul P. Rhode, its founder to continue the existence of the organization, were not much heeded.¹⁹² Younger

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192. Rev.J.S.Guzdek, "Sprawozdanie IV Sejmiku Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:161.
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priests did not care to join.¹⁹³ The Secretary General

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193. "Protokół z Posiedzenia Grupy Pierwszej Z.K.P. w Ameryce," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:425.
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warned that many were negligent about the payment of dues.¹⁹⁴

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194. "Zjazd Zarządu i Dyrektorjatu Zjednoczenia K.P., Protokół," Przegląd Kościelny, 1921, 8:844.
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"Do Członków Zjednoczenia Kapłanów Polskich,"
Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:447-449.

"Zjazd Zarządu i Dyrektorjatu Z.P.K. w Chicago,
Ill., Protokół," Przegląd Kościelny, 1923, 10:
757.

Rev.W.Krakowski, "Z Okazji Sejmu Kapłanów,"
Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:133.

Rev.Dr.W.Kwiatkowski, "Wrażenia, Nastroje i Uwagi
Sejmowe," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:255.

In 1924 the membership of the Polish priests
belonging to the Union of the Polish Clergy was reduced
to not even half their number in the United States
(430 out of 900) 195 and in 1927 rumors were circulated

195. Rev.W.Krakowski, "Sprawozdanie Skarbnika," Prze-
gląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:235.

about its dissolution. A year later a list was pre-
pared not only of individual members but of whole
groups of the Polish Clergy Union, which ceased to
exist.196

196. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Sprawozdanie Sekretarza General-
nego," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:96.

Today its activities are to be judged not by the
achievements of the organization as a whole, but by its
three districts, a division adopted at the IV Convention
at Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1921. "Here the activity of the
Union of the Polish Clergy in America was stopped."197

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197. Rev.W.Krakowski, "J.E.Ks.Biskup Rhode a Zjednoczenie Kapłanów Polskich," Przegląd Katolicki, March-April, 1934, 9:60.
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Several reasons could be advanced which cast light on the gradual disappearance of the splendid and so well-merited organization. Exhaustion and age has overtaken the older, the most patriotic members of the organization, who have retired, as it were, to their respective parishes. The younger generation of Polish priests, in general, does not seem to share the enthusiasm of their older confreres in matters of national importance, does not show the same interest in the national patriotic ideals which stirred the older Polish clergy. The American Hierarchy was said to have frowned upon the Union of the Polish Clergy, thus discouraging many of the younger Polish priests from becoming members of the organization.¹⁹⁸

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198. "Pogadanka o Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:219.
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All now seem to be resigned to fate and to whatever it may bring.

I. THE POLISH-AMERICAN PROFESSIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL CLASS.

Before retiring from the public and national arena, the Polish clergy in a final gesture, as it were, invited the Polish intellectuals and professionals to cooperate with the priests in social action, in the cultural and economic field, to assume leadership of the Poles in the U.S. It would be more accurate to say, that the Polish clergy actually asked the Polish intellectuals not so much to cooperate, as rather to take over from them the social, cultural, economic, political guidance of the American Poles, a role which the clergy played so well from the beginning of the Polish economic immigration until now. Officially this appeal to the Polish Catholic intellectuals in the U.S. came from the Union of the Polish Clergy at its V Convention in Philadelphia, in 1924.¹⁹⁹

199. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Program Pracy Posejmowej," Przegląd Kościelny, 1924, 11:247.

An editorial in the Przegląd Kościelny, June 1915 brought the Polish clergy's attention to the necessity of preparing and developing "our own Polish-American intellectuals," Only such will be able to serve and represent us so much easier and more effectively than like arrivals from the Old Country. Our own intellectuals

will have the advantage of knowing in advance the English language, they will be familiar with local conditions, customs and ways of life. The standards of the American Poles will not rise, unless we produce a strong, numerous intellectual group. Without a professional and intellectual class the American Poles will never exert influence on the American community, will never come to mean anything in the political life of the United States.²⁰⁰

200. "Od Redakcji," Przegląd Kościelny, 1915, 2:146-147.

What disillusion awaited the editor ten years later! For the most disappointing element in the Polish-American group from the national standpoint, is the professional and intellectual class, which developed and worked itself up on the American soil.

In 1918 at the III Convention of the Union of the Polish Clergy of America, Rev. Boleslaus Góral, one of the foremost authorities on "Polonia Americana," disclosed in an address the unhealthy attitude assumed by the native Polish Americans toward their own national groups and the position which the professionals and intellectuals were beginning to occupy both in the American community and in the social, cultural life from which they came, namely the Polish ethnic group.²⁰¹

201. Rev.B.Góral, "Nowy Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego Jako Środek Zaradczy Przeciw Szerzeniu Się Niedowiarstwa Między Polakami w Ameryce." Przegląd Kościelny, 1918, 5:222-223.

But the severest criticism and indictment of the Polish-American intellectuals came not from the clergy, but from their own at the Detroit National Polish Congress in 1925. To this day it seems as though the Polish professional and intellectual group was reeling under the impact of the blow. Still, it did not alter much a situation, which to this day remains confusing and baffling.

The Polish National Congress of Detroit in 1925 initiated a series of plans and suggestions, evoked charges and countercharges by the clergy and the laity, in an attempt to define and determine the line and sphere of action of the Catholic clergy and of the increasing number of Polish professional and intellectual men and women. The burning question was: what role should the professional and intellectual group play in the Polish ethnic community, what is its present attitude and contribution to the Polish-American national life?

The discussion led by the Przegląd Kościelny and later by the Przegląd Katolicki from 1925-1929 unfolded disappointment and failure in the national

life of the Poles in America. And although nothing practical was achieved by the exchange of opinion, since the defects and reproaches were not removed and the conditions did not improve or change, nevertheless the exposure of the weakness and unpreparedness of the professional and intellectual class to take over the leadership of the Polish-American group showed the way for a future solution of the troublesome problem.

The Poles constitute almost a negligible percent of professionals and intellectuals in the U. S.

TABLE VIII. PERCENTAGE OF NATIONALS BY PROFESSIONS
IN 1920.

Nationality	Percent
Germans	17.
English	10.
French	6.
Japanese	4.
Italians	2.5
Poles	0.5 (202)

202. Dr. F. Lenart, "Potrzeba Zorganizowania Inteligencji Zawodowej Na Wychodźstwie," Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 42.

The small percent of Poles in the professional class, to certain extent, is not surprising. The Polish

immigration for the past fifty years was economic, prompted by a desire to improve its economic status. The Polish mass immigration consisted of the poor class of people. The number of professional and intellectual men and women found at this period of the Polish immigration history is due to two factors: 1) the skimping and saving of the parents to provide their children with higher education and profession. This they regarded as the safest and most profitable investment inasmuch as they expected the children to provide them in return with care and a living. 2) The scholarships granted by the large national organizations without interest to students: sons and daughters of their members. The professionals and intellectuals furnished by both classifications proved to be a failure from the Polish national point of view.²⁰³.

203. Dr.F.Lenart, Ibid., 39-40.

The pitiful number or percent of Poles found in the professional and intellectual groups was in itself discouraging, but that only 3% of this group took interest and active part in the national life of the Poles, was in itself an indictment of the more privileged class, the educated or one having a profession.²⁰⁴

204. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Od Redakcji," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:229.

Reports on the professional and intellectual class which grew up and out of the Polish communities disclosed the following facts: having climbed the social ladder by means of their profession and education, the majority turned its back on the group from which it has risen and which provided them with the opportunity and the means to single out themselves either socially, economically or culturally. They are given up entirely to the pursuit of the dollar without any thought of cooperating with the Polish masses as such. They refuse to be listed with the Polish ethnic community. They left the Polish ethnic group to its own fate, unconcerned about its national life. F.Lenart in his address at the Polish National Congress in Detroit, in 1925 listed at that time for Chicago: 150 Polish doctors, 150 dentists, 300 lawyers, 70 druggists, 30 engineers and architects, and immediately poised the question: How many of them are contributing their share and are taking active part in the social work among the Poles? The number was so negligible that he preferred to leave the answer to the professionals and the intellectuals themselves.²⁰⁵

205. Dr.F.Lenart, op. cit., 42.

The behavior therefore of the Polish professionals and intellectuals stands in sharp contrast with that of other nationalities. For whereas with the latter, the priests, the doctors, lawyers, prominent business men lead their national groups in social, cultural work, with the American Poles the opposite holds true. The common, ordinary people invite and instigate their professional and intellectual class to work for the betterment of the Polish ethnic group. Too often the common folks fail in their efforts and continue struggling with their problems, as best they can.²⁰⁶

206. Dr.F.Lenart, Ibid., 46.

The Polish priests have ascertained the fact, that many of the Polish professional class very frequently move out of the so called Polish districts and settle in other communities, send their children to public schools or to non-Polish schools, join non-Polish parishes either because they do not want to associate with Polish "old-fashioned folks", or for the sake of business, to draw clients from other nationalities.²⁰⁷ Rev.Francis Bolek does not hesitate

207. "Pogadanka o Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:219.

to call the majority of the Polish-American professionals and intellectuals simply business men. Too many give the impression as though they were out to make the most money their profession can give.²⁰⁸ Not a

208. Rev.F.Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:180.
 Rev.S.Cichowski, "Współpraca Inteligencji Świeckiej z Klerem," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:49-51.

few insist that they consider themselves no longer Poles.²⁰⁹ They are just Americans.

209. Dr.F.Lenart, op. cit., 46.

No one would deny them the privilege or right to accumulate wealth through their profession. No one will hold it against them, that they prefer to be considered only Americans. But, at the same time these professionals and intellectuals pursue their profession not singly, "on their own", in a typical American community where the ethnic differences or characteristics are not known or reduced to a minimum, but maintain their offices, ply their trade and number their

clientele among the Poles, in Polish communities.

The nationally-minded Poles regard their professional and intellectual class with reproach and disappointment for the following reasons: 1) the professionals and intellectuals had their origin in the Polish community, or ethnic group which they now openly ignore; 2) only through the efforts and contributions of the Polish communities have these individuals risen to a higher professional and intellectual level; 3) only in Polish communities they can exercise successfully their trade or profession. The community therefore made them what they are. Yet, these professionals and intellectuals do not give anything in return to the community from which they received everything.²¹⁰ Hence the common folks feel

210. "Co Czyni i Jak Inteligencja Polska?" Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:111-112.

bitter toward their educated class, resent its attitude and consider it ungrateful.

The last reproach finds justification in the reports on scholarships furnished by the two largest Polish national organizations, the Alliance and the Union. Since their very beginning, the Alliance and the Union have taxed their members a trifle sum of money each month, perhaps only a few cents, which

in time as the organizations grew in number, in membership, amounted to a large sum of money. The Alliance during the years 1932-1935 expended \$72,981.99 among 673 students at higher institutions of learning.²¹¹

211. Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 215.

The Union spent \$300,000 since 1908 to June 1938 for the same purpose.²¹² These sums of money are loaned

212. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 88.

out without interest to students. The scholarships are not in the form of foundations, of money invested and bringing dividends or interest from which the organizations draw their funds. They are nothing else but contributions for which members of the Alliance and the Union have voluntarily taxed themselves at the national conventions. Self-evident, that the more members belong to the organization and the greater the tax imposed, the greater also would be the amount of money available for these scholarships.

Thousands of Polish students benefitted by them, and both organizations are proud of their achievements and the type of educational work they have undertaken.

But they cannot help feeling resentful at the same time. The Union's official reports have it, that out of the \$300,000 expended for scholarships, only \$21,000 was refunded. Many who benefitted by these scholarships, evidently do not feel obligated to return the loans made to them without interest, although not few have attained prominence and wealth in their profession.²¹³

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213. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Sprawozdanie Zarządu Głównego Na Sejm XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 418-420.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 88.
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The Alliance fared somewhat better, although its Educational Department has a tidy sum of money loaned out and not yet returned.²¹⁴ It is small wonder then,

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214. Dr.F.Lenart, "Potrzeba Zorganizowania Inteligencji Zawodowej Na Wychodźstwie," Kongres Wychodźstwa Polskiego w Ameryce, Odezwy, Mowy, Referaty, Rezolucje, Uchwały oraz Urzędowy Protokół, Detroit, Mich., 1925, 43.
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that the members of these organizations accuse the professionals and intellectuals to whose higher education they have contributed so much, of dishonesty, of ingratitude, and what is most, of injustice for were the sums of money loaned out, refunded in due time, so many more students could have

benefitted by same scholarships, The Union alone would have at its disposal the sum of \$275,000, if refunded, to be used for new scholarships. The more fortunate professionals thus deprived so many other Poles from acquiring a higher education.

These revelations caused considerable stir among the clergy and the Polish intellectual and professional group. Above all, the question why is there such lack of cooperation between the clergy and the professionals? - became the topic of much discussion. The clergy limited itself to the statement, that although it contributed much to the breaking down of prejudices nursed by some Polish immigrants against higher education, though it preached and stressed the necessity of a professional and of an educated class to insure progress, advancement for the Poles in America, though it often financed the education of promising students, today it feels left to itself to cope with problems which are beyond its strength. Plainly, the clergy puts the blame squarely upon the professional and intellectual group for having isolated itself from the people, for its failure to take over social, cultural work among the American Poles. In the opinion of the clergy, the professional group refuses to take up the leadership which the priests have held successfully for the past 50 years.

But the professional and intellectual class was not so prompt in accepting these accusations. They advanced reasons for their apparently strange behavior. They argued that the priest, to be true, during the economic immigration was the only intellectual, capable of guiding the Polish masses. He was to them a counselor, a lawyer, a judge, a doctor, often a banker.²¹⁵ But this leadership of his in national,

215. Rev.Dr.A.Pitass, "O Współpracę Inteligencji Świeckiej z Klerem," Przegląd Katolicki, 1926, 1:73.

financial and cultural matters was greatly enhanced by the fact, that he was their spiritual leader as well. The professional man today has not this advantage, he must rely only on his personality and moral integrity. At times, although the educated layman may be willing to take active part in social and cultural work, the priest resents it as intrusion into a field where thus far he wielded undisputed leadership. Instead of cooperation the professional man or the educated layman meets with distrust and with a domineering attitude of the priest.²¹⁶

216. St.L.Ch., "Inteligencja Polsko-Amerykańska Wobec Wychodźstwa," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:84.

There are certain highlights in this controversy which cannot be overlooked, namely that the mutual distrust between the clergy and the professional or educated group is to be assigned in large measure to the clergy. No doubt, the priests have done much toward the higher education of the people intrusted to their care, they have advanced the cause of higher learning, but they have not given specific thought and effort to prepare a professional or intellectual group to take over from them the leadership of the Poles in the U.S.

The clergy too suddenly, abruptly disappeared from the national scene. The professional, the educated laymen have not had time to become familiar with the role that is being thrust upon them more and more.

Furthermore, with the priest confining himself to his parish and to its spiritual needs, not giving too much, if any attention to the social, cultural, economic, political problems of his community, the educated layman may also consider himself justified in following the example of the priest and limit his attention to his family and business or professional circle.

Today, only the large national organizations are properly equipped to produce national leaders of the

Poles in the U.S. However, lately attention was focused by the *Pittsburgh Courier* (The Polish Daily of Pittsburgh, Pa.) on a strange phenomenon which became noticeable in connection with the large Polish organizations. Presidents, delegates of these organizations, during their tenure of office frequently referred to as leaders of the American Poles, heralded as wholeheartedly devoted to their organizations, sacrificing their time, strength and health for their brother-members, suddenly, with removal from office, with the election of new officers, disappear from the public arena and are no longer heard of or seen taking interest in Polish national life, not even in their Alliance or Union.

On the other hand, an increasing number of professional and cultural associations which lately made their appearance are hopeful and promising signs.²¹⁷

217. Rev. F. Bolek, "Życie Kulturalne Polaków w Ameryce," *Przegląd Katolicki*, 1927, 2:200-201.

Cf. *Polacy Zagranicą*, 1936, April number dedicated to the Polish-American Merchants and Manufacturers.

The controversy on the Polish-American professional and intellectual class which elicited many suggestions and wholesome comments, was not without some practical results. The Association of Polish Doctors and Dentists

at their convention on November 17-18, 1928 in Cleveland, set forth the following program of action: "To take active part in social-national life. To contribute professional service especially to charitable organizations."²¹⁸

218. "Ad Notam," Przegląd Katolicki, 1928, 3:198-199.

CHAPTER V

THE WORLD ALLIANCE OF EMIGRANT POLES

It is not surprizing that during the period 1925-1935 the American Poles gave comparatively little attention to Poland. They have not forgotten her, neither did they purposely exclude her from all consideration, because of the unpleasant experiences associated with the Polish Cause during the years 1919-1925.

The problems with which the American Poles grappled during the decade 1925-1935 were so absorbing, weighty and important as to engage all their efforts, activities, time and interest. No event of national importance took place in Poland which would compel the Poles in America to forget their problems and center their attention on their Fatherland.

Even the coup d'état staged successfully by Pilsudski in May, 1926, though denounced by the Poles in America, did not give rise to any united reaction. The American Poles were known to have political preferences for the national or Rightist parties in Poland. They were never enthusiastic about Pilsudski or his partisans. Any changes later in the political leanings noticeable among the Poles in America, are to be attributed to the intensive action and propaganda of Polish Consular officials in the U.S.

The reports of the conventions, whether of the Alliance or the Union, within the years 1925-1935 contain hardly anything bearing directly on Poland. They were preoccupied, as we have seen, with their own local problems in the U.S. At most they speak of their devotion to the Fatherland. Both the Alliance¹ and the

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1. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXV, Chicago, Ill., 1927-1928, 144.
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Union² sponsor official excursions of their organizations

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2. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Sprawozdanie Zarządu Głównego Na Sejm XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 33-39.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 144.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie, 65 Lat Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce, 52.
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to Poland. Though these have been criticized as too expensive and draining the budget of the organizations,³

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3. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 43.
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both nevertheless highly recommend such trips for the youthful members, especially their Boy and Girl Scouts and the Polish parochial school children.⁴ The results

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4. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, (The Union) Sprawozdanie Zarządu Głównego na Sejm XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 46.
Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 229,
Związek Narodowy Polski, Sprawozdania Na Sejm XXVII, Baltimore, Md., 1935, 63, 217.
Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, 70.
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were beyond expectation. The youth is said to have returned from such summer excursions highly enthusiastic about Poland and proud of its Polish heritage.⁵

5. K.Burke, Jedziemy do Polski, 220-222.
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Of special interest is the suggestion made at the Chicago Convention of the Alliance in 1927-1928 to establish affiliates of the Alliance in Poland.⁶ The

6. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXV, Chicago, Ill., 1927-1928, 158.
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proposition was not new. The Alliance and the Union gave it considerable attention in 1919.⁷ The reason

7. Związek Narodowy Polski, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy Związku Narodowego Polskiego, (1880-1940), 130.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XXXVI, Newark, N.J., 1919, 93-94.
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for advancing it then was the supposition that many members of the organizations will return to Poland after the war as re-emigrants. They could retain their membership through such affiliates. The Alliance considered the same project in 1921 at its XXIII Convention in Toledo, Ohio.⁸ In the 1927-1928 convention propo-

8. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXIII, Toledo, Ohio, 1921, 25, 90.

sitions for such affiliates were advanced presumably to help the Alliance keep its numerical strength in spite of the immigration restrictions.⁹

9. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXV, Chicago, Ill., 1927-1928, 158.

A. FIRST CONVENTION OF EMIGRANT POLES, WARSAW, 1929.

If the Poles in America were engrossed in their own problems and somewhat oblivious to their Fatherland, the opposite holds true of Poland. Never in the past has Poland given so much thought to the Poles in America. The occasion or rather the motives which solicited such interest in the American Poles centered themselves around the efforts to draw them into the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles, an organization semi-

officially sponsored by the Polish Government in 1934.

No action of the Poles in the U.S. was more contested and criticized by some quarters here and principally in Poland, as the stand taken by the American delegates at the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles in Warsaw, Poland in 1934. Yet, the events that have transpired at that gathering of representative Poles, emigrants from the entire world, were of momentous bearing on the future of the Poles in America. Their future, became at that time officially, as it were, sealed. What further events would have taken place, is difficult to determine. The World War II prevented the natural evolution in the orientation, here and abroad, toward the proposed World Alliance of Polish Emigrants.

Assuming that the World Alliance of Poles was semi-officially sponsored by the Polish Government, recalling at the same time the fact, that the Polish Government officials in the U.S. methodically opposed the central organizations of the Poles in the U.S.: the Polish National Department, the Polish Welfare Council, studying the history of the facts that led to the formation of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles, finally comparing all that transpired during the Convention in Warsaw in 1934, one wonders whether the Polish-American delegation could

have taken any other stand, any other attitude than that which it officially voiced at the closing of the eventful gathering.

About 27% or nearly 8,000,000 Poles are emigrants or live outside of the boundaries of Poland.¹⁰

10. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 11.

The Alliance For the Defense of the Western Frontiers (Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich) was the first in Poland to propose a plan for a convention of the Poles scattered over the entire world. In the autumn of 1925, on September 28-th, a Committee was formed in the home of Anthony Osuchowski in Warsaw, a prominent lawyer known as the "Almoner of Poland," to prepare and arrange for such an international gathering of the Poles. The convention was to have for its purpose: 1) not only the manifestation of the, emigrant Pole's national or Polish character and Polish unity, but also 2) the proper and most exhaustive study could be made of the conditions and the needs of the Polish emigrants; 3) definite methods of organizing the emigrant Poles could be elaborated and proposed for^{the} future.¹¹

11. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 16.

The program of the convention provided for five sections to study: 1) the general condition and duties of the emigrant Poles; 2) the emigrant schools and their educational system; 3) their economic problems; 4) the care of the emigrants in their country of immigration; 5) the organization of international cooperation among the Poles.¹²

12. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 16-17.

Each territory with 5,000 to 100,000 Poles was entitled to 3 delegates. Where Poles were to be found in larger numbers, 3 delegates were allotted for the first 100,000 Poles and 1 delegate for each following 100,000. The Polish emigration which did not number 5,000 in a given country could send 1 delegate to the convention. The delegates were to be chosen by the Central Organization of each country, or if such central organization is not had, the Committee in Poland, which is in charge of the convention, would select the more active and prominent Poles of that country and instruct them with the mission of arranging for the election of delegates. Countries like the United States, without a central agency, could

send as delegates, representatives of their largest Polish organizations.¹³

13. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 17.

This plan may be considered as permanent, since the First as well as the Second Convention differ little as to the method of approach and arrangement. The scope and structure have changed, for there is a marked difference between the First and the Second Convention, however, the plans for their arrangement, for the selection of delegates, etc. remain unaltered.

At the very outset, stress was laid on the non-political nature of the Convention, that the Convention in no way intended to question the duties or obligations of the Poles toward their respective countries where they reside as immigrants, that only cultural relations between the emigrant Poles and their native land will be the topic of discussion and resolutions.¹⁴

14. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 18.

The date for the First Convention of Emigrant Poles was set for May 3-5, 1927. The Polish Welfare Council in the United States proposed that the representatives of the large Polish organizations meet and discuss the

number of delegates to be allotted to each organization and what proposals, suggestions and demands to make at the international gathering, so as to secure a unanimous, united Polish-American front.¹⁵ The meeting of

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15. "Rezolucje Przyjęte Na Zjeździe Polskiej Rady Opieki Społecznej w Chicago, 10 stycznia, 1927," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:19.
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the large organizations' representatives took place in Buffalo, on February 12 and 13, 1927. The topics, nine in number, were selected which the delegates were to prepare for discussion at the Convention. The editor of the Przegląd Katolicki reporting on the Buffalo meeting added this characteristic remark: "Let us not wait for the results of the Warsaw Convention. We must forge our own future."¹⁶

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16. Rev.D.Szopinski, "Zjazd Przedstawicieli Wychodźstwa w Buffalo," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:49.
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The choice and the distribution of the number of delegates proved an obstacle. Pressure was brought about to give the Polish Leftists in the U.S., aligned with the Pilsudski government, greater representation than was justified. There was also a tendency to discriminate against the Catholic clergy by giving them and the Polish National Independent Church an equal number of

delegates, which, self-understood, was highly provoking, since the Polish Independent National Church was not very active in behalf of Poland during the trying days, and numerically there was not even a comparison to be made, much less any basis for equality.¹⁷

17. "Przegląd Prasy," Przegląd Katolicki, 1927, 2:64.
Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 70.

The choice of the delegates from the U.S. did not please the officials responsible for the Convention in Poland and it was postponed for a more suitable occasion.¹⁸ The "Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Za-

18. B.A.Jezierski, W Obronie Prawdy, 31-32.

graniczy" states, that the Polish Emigration Society objected to the Convention's meeting at this stage, because of inadequate preparation. It refused to cooperate.¹⁹ The Poles in America, nevertheless, were

19. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 18.

left with the impression that the Convention which was arranged under the auspices of the Polish Government, planned to use it for partisan purposes, to consolidate its gains after the May 1926 seizure of power,

to demonstrate to the Poles in Poland, that the Polish emigrants approve of the present government.

Another attempt was made in March 21, 1929 to have the Convention meet. The 14-21 July, 1929 was selected for the Convention. This date was sprung as a surprise, so that the choice of delegates truly representative of the various national organizations in the U.S. was made impossible. The American Poles were represented at the Convention in Warsaw on July 14, 1929 by twenty two Poles from America who at the time chanced to be in Poland. They were invited by the directors of the Convention. The Polish National Alliance managed to send its delegates with limited powers of representation.²⁰

20. B.A.Jezierski, op. cit., 32.

Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, op. cit., 40.

Związek Narodowy Polski, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy Związku Narodowego Polskiego, (1880-1940), 133.

M.Haiman, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, August 16, 1934.

The "Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy" refers to the absence of delegates from the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America as motivated by unknown reasons, although Dr. Julian Szymański, Chairman of the Convention, in his opening address remarked that the vacant seats among the American delegation

are those which the Union refused to fill, because it would not take part in the Convention with the delegates representing the Polish Independent National Church in the U.S. This attitude, he explained, shows want of religious tolerance.²¹

21. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 25, 46.

Such remarks seem hardly sincere. For the Rev. J. Sol ski, a delegate to the Convention from Canada, in an address in which he severely criticized the attitude of the Polish Government officials in Canada toward the Polish Catholic parishes, to substantiate his charges said, that the clergy and the large Catholic national organizations in the U.S., which have done so much for the Polish emigrant, which have always shown so much patriotism in the past, "at this Convention are being ignored..., if not deliberately shunted..." The last chapter of Rev. Sol ski's paper was omitted from the official report.²²

22. "O Polakach w Kanadzie," Przegląd Katolicki, 1929, 4:170.
Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, op. cit. 195.

That the American delegation to the Convention was

not truly representative of the American Poles may be deduced from the following facts: 1) Mr. S. Zaklikiewicz, Polish editor from Chicago, at the beginning of his paper read at the Convention, makes it plain, that though he represents the Polish National Alliance of America, his delegated powers are very limited, he must speak above all in his own name and any views expressed, are strictly his own.²³ 2) To continue the work of

23. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 206-207.

the First International Convention of Emigrant Poles, the Organizational Council was formed. The Polish-American members were chosen with the explicit understanding that the Poles in America will approve of them, or select others in their place.²⁴ In other

24. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 107.

words, the Convention was under the impression, that the Polish-American delegates were not truly representative of the Poles in America.

The Convention had for its purpose to impress the emigrant Poles with the achievements of Poland within the past decade. This, no doubt, it accomplished. The papers read and discussed revealed the cultural, eco-

nomie, political conditions in which the Polish emigrants and their children find themselves in the different countries to which they have immigrated. The problems confronting the various emigrant groups differed widely from country to country. Where the Poles formed minority groups, recognized as such by international treaties, patriotism was put to a severe test. Economic emigration to France, v.g. differs from that to South America, where it takes on the nature of colonization.

The best situated, most prosperous, most advanced and most powerful emigration of Poles is that which found its way to the U.S. Mr. S. Zaklikiewicz in a paper prepared for the Convention, masterfully summarizes the history, the progress and the present problems which occupy the minds of the Poles in America. Foremost among these is the problem of the Polish-American youth, its swift assimilation or Americanization. The Poles in America, he assured the assembled delegates; want to remain loyal citizens of the United States, to perform faithfully the duties they owe to the country in which they reside, but they insist at the same time on retaining the consciousness of their Polish descent and heritage, of which they are justly proud. Most of all, they wish their children to become steadfast in that same spirit and pride of their Polish

ancestry.

In conclusion, Mr. Zaklikiewicz presented a very pertinent question, to which he immediatly gave the answer: How can Poland help us in America solve our youth problem? Most of all, by arranging her internal affairs in such way as to make every Polish American youth proud of his Fatherland, proud of his ancestry, that he may have something to boast of before the world. When Poland becomes a strong power in international relations, when she will compete successfully with other nations in world-wide undertakings for the betterment of mankind, when conditions within Poland reach the heights of prosperity, then she will strengthen most effectively the spirit and consciousness of Polish descent in the hearts and minds of our youth.²⁵

25. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 206-211.

The addresses made by the delegates from different countries are engrossing inasmuch as they present objectively the conditions and problems with which they must cope and with which they are most familiar. The same cannot be said of the papers prepared by the delegates representing either the Polish Government

or agencies and societies in Poland which busy themselves with emigration questions. Not few of them betray ignorance, some even cynicism. According to the Right Rev. Mons. Zborowski, in the near future hundreds of Polish parishes in the U.S. will find themselves without a Polish priest. Poland must therefore be prepared to supply the need.²⁶

26. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 225.

Michael Pankiewicz, vice-president of the Polish Emigration Society, in his address entitled: "Poland and Emigration", asserts that the public schools in America are gaining supremacy over the Polish parochial schools, that more Polish children are now found in public than in Polish parochial schools. Supplementary schools are being established in large numbers, in fact, are "mushrooming". And he tops his learned remarks with the cynical sentence:

"Instead of collectors soliciting funds, who make the impression that Poland is a country of beggars, it would be more appropriate to send to America ideological instructors, who would begin from the very foundations, a thorough work of enlightenment." ²⁷

27. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 79-86.

Yet, in the same Convention the cultural, intellectual, educational achievements of the Poles in America were praised and set as an example to other Polish emigration groups.

Among the many resolutions adopted, the Convention stressed the need of loyalty on the part of the emigrant Poles to the country in which they reside. Said loyalty, however, does not exclude the emigrant's attachment to Poland. On the other hand, each country where the emigrant Poles reside, has the obligation of guaranteeing the free, unhampered exercise and progress of Polish cultural life, that is, not to restrict the use of the Polish language, or to forbid the Poles to follow their customs and tradition. The Convention urges that the Poles consolidate their forces and strength, establish one central representative organization in their respective countries. Cultural ties are to be maintained by all the emigrant Poles with their Fatherland.²⁸

28. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 115, 117, 129.

Much was proposed with reference to education, the promotion of the study of the Polish language, history, culture, the establishing of Polish schools and the organizing of study clubs, etc. Resolutions

bearing on economic and social problems urged the formation of cooperatives and strongly advocated international treaties which would guarantee to the Polish emigrant workers social security and all its benefits.²⁹

29. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 122-128, 132-135.

Many of the resolutions were of little interest to the Poles in America, since for the most part they were not applicable to them.

Lastly, the Organizational Council was formed to carry on the work of the Convention, to execute and put to practical use the resolutions adopted and recommendations made by the Convention. In a carefully worded sentence, that it is desirable for the sake of efficiency, that the majority of the members of the Board of Directors reside permanently in Poland, the Polish Government and agencies in Poland which were instrumental in arranging the Convention, were assured of the control and predominance in the Organizational Council of the Emigrant Poles.³⁰

30. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 121.

B. THE ORGANIZATIONAL COUNCIL.

Mr. S. Lenartowicz, director and executive officer of the Organizational Council (Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy), in an interview printed in the *Gazeta Zachodnia* of Poznań, November 6, 1929 and entitled: "Nowe Drogi Współpracy z Naszą Emigracją" (New Ways of Cooperating With Our Emigration), set the following goal for the Organizational Council to be achieved within the five year period intervening between the First and the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles to be assembled in 1934: 1) the consolidation of the emigrants, wherever it has not been accomplished thus far. In particular, efforts will be directed toward the Poles in the U.S. and France to form there a central organization of the Poles. 2) Special attention will be given to the education of the Polish Youth in emigrant countries. 3) Economic relations will be established between the emigrant groups and Poland.³¹ And he could have added, every effort will

31. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 267.

be strained to form a World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.³²

32. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, 159.

These aims were to be accomplished through correspondence with the various emigrant groups in different countries where the Poles reside, through personal visit and study of the emigrant countries made by the officers of the Organizational Council and lastly through the official monthly publication of the Council: "Polacy Zagranicą" (Emigrant Poles).³³

33. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pamiętnik I-go Zjazdu Polaków z Zagranicy, 267.

Mr. Lenartowicz' following statement needs more careful study. The "idea of consolidation of the Poles in America encounters difficulties in its realization."³⁴

34. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, 123.

To claim that the First Convention of the Emigrant Poles, its aims and advantages were not fully understood by the American Poles due to their absence from the Convention,³⁵ does not tell half the story.

35. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 248.

It is common knowledge among the Poles in America, that the Polish Government thought its ambassadors and consular officials (see pages 191-192) were in

large measure responsible for the opposition to the central organizations of the Poles in America, such as the Polish National Department, the Polish Welfare Council, and for their disappearance. The destructive efforts and activities of the Polish Government now boomeranged. When the need of a central organization in America was most urgent to answer the Polish Government's purposes, none was had. What is more, the officers of the national organizations in the U.S., mindful of the role played in the past by the Polish Government officials, in fomenting discord among the American Poles, were not too eager now to set up a central agency just for the asking of the Poles from abroad.

By opposing in the past the Polish National Department and the Polish Welfare Council, the Polish Government officials had in mind the dissolution of these Polish-American central representative agencies which did not favor the partisan strife in Poland, nor give actual support to the political faction in power. The American Poles remained steadfast in their support of the nationalist policies in Poland and refused to swerve to the Left. They would not voice their approval of the Pilsudski government and his followers. Having therefore accomplished their ends, in bringing about the disappearance and dissolution

of the Polish National Department and the Polish Welfare Council, the Polish officials endeavored to foist upon the Polish-American public their own partisan ideology - unqualified cult and glorification of Marshal Pilsudski. Again their efforts were thwarted during the Second Convention of the Emigrant Poles in 1934.

In view of the attitude of the American Poles toward the political situation in Poland, it is no wonder that the trite criticism of the Polish-American motto: "American Poles For Themselves" (Wychodźtwo Dla Wychodźtwa), labelling it as egoistic, was revived in Poland and only the all-out-effort-for-Poland was termed truly praiseworthy and ideological.³⁶

36. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, 154, 156.

The approach to the American Poles by the officials of the Organizational Council differed vastly from the method applied to Polish emigrant groups from other countries. The report on the activities of the Organizational Council from 1929-1934 proves that not only moral, but above all financial and at times political help was extended through the Polish Government officials to the emigrant Poles in different countries.³⁷

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37. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, passim.
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The American Poles, the report reads, did not ask for aid, in fact they would resent it. True, the activities of the Organizational Council in behalf of the Poles in the U.S. are named, such as the granting of 23 scholarships in Poland to young American Poles, contributions in the form of Polish books made to the Polish schools in America, etc. All, however, were accepted not as an aid, but as a token of friendship, of moral and cultural unity. The American Poles always insisted on their self-sufficiency.³⁸

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38. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 251-256.
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Such attitude made the American Poles less pliant, less subservient to the dictates from across, from the homeland, but more independent, self-reliant.

The Polish immigration in the U.S. was considered 4,000,000 strong, the largest emigrant Polish group in the world, the most prosperous, most advanced and most influential. At the same time it was apparent to all, that unless the American Poles are won to the cause of the Organizational Council, the work of organizing

the emigrant Poles will remain incomplete, if not fruitless.

With that thought Mr. Lenartowicz arrived in the U.S. in 1931 and together with Gen. Orlicz-Dreszer took part in the national conventions of the Alliance in Scranton, Pa., in 1931³⁹ and of the Union in

39. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 5-6.

Detroit, Mich., in 1931.⁴⁰ They advanced the cause of

40. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 6-7.

the Organizational Council and asked the conventions to declare themselves officially in favor of it.

Gen. Orlicz-Dreszer emphasized the need of turning the emigrant's nostalgic devotion to Poland into something more tangible, into economic cooperation and advancement of the economic interests of Poland. "Economic patriotism" was substituted for the sentimental attachment to the Fatherland.⁴¹

41. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonii Zagranicznej, 138.

The mission of Gen. Orlicz-Dreszer and Mr. Lenar-

towicz were partly successful. The two largest Polish national organizations agreed to become members of the Organizational Council.⁴² During their visit to Poland

42. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVI, 1931, Scranton, Pa., 228.
Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XL, Detroit, Mich., 1931, 78-79.

in 1932 the representatives of the Alliance and of the Union have formally entered their respective organizations as members of the Organizational Council.⁴³

43. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, 250-251.

C. SECOND CONVENTION OF EMIGRANT POLES, WARSAW, 1934.

The stage was set for the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles in 1934, in Warsaw, where the time was thought opportune to form the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.

Unfortunately, the lessons of the past have not been heeded. Those in Poland entrusted with the arrangement of the Second Convention once more resorted to intrigue. The delegates to the 1934 Convention from other countries were termed by the Warsaw Press "Consular confidantes." Only the American delegation

showed signs of independent thinking and freedom of action.⁴⁴

44. B.A.Jezierski, W Obronie Prawdy, 35.

Rev.A.Syski, "O Tem Co Było, a Jeszcze Więcej, Czego Nie Było Na Zjeździe Polaków z Zagranicy w Warszawie," Przegląd Katolicki, September-October, 1934, 9:20.

Efforts were made to create enthusiasm for Marshal Pilsudski and his partisans. The opening day of the Convention, the 6-th of August, 1934, was coupled with the celebration throughout Poland of the "armed action" of Pilsudski, who 20 years ago (August 6, 1914) led from Cracow against Russia the first formations of the Polish army. Everywhere Pilsudski groups and partisans greeted them, so much so that one of the American delegates, Mr.M.Haiman, remarked: "it became distasteful."⁴⁵

45. M.Haiman, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, August 16, 1934.

Deference was shown to the American delegation. Mr.Francis X.Swietlik was chosen Chairman of the Convention. The American Poles were singled out as an example to other immigrant groups for their accomplishments. In accepting the distinction, Mr.Swietlik expressed amazement at the progress made by Poland

since her restoration to freedom. He stressed the point, that those of the delegates who are citizens of the country where they reside, can best add lustre to Poland by having their Polish names blazoned on the highest peaks of political, social and financial life. "The better citizens we become of our adopted countries, the higher we shall raise the significance of Poland."⁴⁶ The Kurjer Codzienny (The Daily Courier)

46. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, II-gi Zjazd Polaków z Zagranicy, 15-16.

of Warsaw took exception to Mr. Świetlik's distinction between Polish citizens and citizens of foreign countries.⁴⁷ To which Mr. M. Haiman commented, that the

47. Kurjer Codzienny, August 8, 1934.

Poles in the homeland do not understand our conditions and status as citizens of the U.S.⁴⁸

48. M. Haiman, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, August 21, 1934.

The delegates from the various countries expressed their gratitude for the aid which the Organizational Council extended to them during the past years.⁴⁹

49. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, op. cit., 30-55.

In contrast, the addresses by Mr. Świetlik and Dr. Smykowski, spokesmen for the American delegation, accentuated the contribution made by the American Poles to the greatness of Poland.⁵⁰ The remaining two days

50. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, II-gi Zjazd Polaków z Zagranicy, 27-28.

were spent in hearing reports on the work done by the Organizational Council, its five-year achievements.

Mr. M. Haiman, one of the delegates representing the Dziennik Zjednoczenia of Chicago at the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles, gave the following account of the gathering. The work of the Convention was distributed among the many, too many committees, making it impossible ^{to} take part in the discussions of vital problems. One simply could not participate in many of them at the same time. These committees were headed by prominent social workers or emigrant Poles, chosen beforehand mostly from individuals in Poland. They were not selected by the delegates. Naturally, freedom of discussion was greatly hampered. Everything was planned minutely and prepared, even the resolutions, so that the papers read would not have made any difference, would not have added anything new, would not produce changes whether in the outlook or mutual understanding of

the questions under discussion.⁵¹ The delegates from

51. M.Haiman, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, August 21 and August 27, 1934.

Lithuania and Canada frankly admitted it in their reports to the Convention.⁵² To the American delegates

52. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, op. cit., 83, 85.

it seemed as though the steam-roller worked too smoothly.⁵³

53. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 74.

The autocratic tone of the meetings prejudiced the American delegation against the Convention. Such, above all, was the impression of the Polish Youth, gathered from outside of Poland, which held its separate convention in Warsaw at the same time.⁵⁴

54. Gwiazda Polarna, September 15, 1934.

In the Cultural-Educational Committee where the question of Polish schools seemed to be the object of grave concern, no mention was made of the Polish pa-

rochial school system in America, the greatest Polish school system outside of Poland.⁵⁵ Much stress was laid

55. M.Haiman, Dziennik Zjednoczenia, August 27, 1934.
Rev.S.A. Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 125-126.

on the need of a "Polish Home", as the center of Polish community life,⁵⁶ yet the existence of Catholic

56. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, II-gi Zjazd Polaków z Zagranicy, 114.

parishes, centers of the Polish organized community in the U.S., was not even touched upon. The Convention's recommendations as to the schooling and education of the emigrant Poles and their children are impractical and impossible not only to achieve, but even to attempt on American soil.⁵⁷

57. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, Ibid., 115.

The resolutions of the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles for the most part, were a repetition of the resolutions adopted at the First Convention in 1929 or their further development depending upon the success achieved during the years 1929-1934.

The report which Mr.Lenartowicz presented to the delegates on the second day of the Convention, was in

itself a tribute to his zeal and untiring efforts in behalf of the Organizational Council. In concluding his report Mr. Lenartowicz with confidence and self-assurance declared, that the day has come to form a World Alliance of Emigrant Poles. It was to be the crowning success of the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles.

D. WORLD ALLIANCE OF EMIGRANT POLES.

The following day, on the 9-th of August, 1934, when the Statutes of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles were adopted, the delegates from different countries of the world were to give their solemn and official approval of the newly-created World Organization of Emigrant Poles. Dr. Br. Smykowski, in the name of the American delegation, gave his qualified, conditional consent to cooperate with the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles. The Americans did not become members of the World Alliance.

Dr. Smykowski made it plain, that the American Poles consider themselves component parts of the American nation. They pledge, however, cooperation with the World Alliance of the Emigrant Poles in the cultural sphere or field, with the provision that the Board of Directors and the conventions of the Polish-American organizations which they represented, will approve of

their action.⁵⁸

58. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, II-gi Zjazd Polaków z Zagranicy, 98.

The attitude taken by the American delegation was a disapproval of certain provisions of the Statutes of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles. It must be borne in mind that the Organizational Council which sponsored the Second Convention where the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles became a reality, was a semi-official government agency. Its creation, therefore, or the World Alliance would also remain a semi-official government organization.

Secondly, the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles, according to the Statutes, is an Alliance of alliances, or an Alliance above all alliances. Through "consolidation" of which Mr. Lenartowicz speaks so often, was meant the establishment of one central organization of Poles in any given country to which they migrated. This central organization or "consolidation" of all societies, associations, clubs, etc., would become their representative body through which they could seek membership in the World Alliance.

With this setting, it is easy to understand, why the American Poles refused to become members of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles and agreed only to

cultural cooperation with the homeland.

The American delegation through their spokesmen, Mr.F.X.Świetlik and Dr.Smykowski, stressed the fact, that the American Poles are citizens of the U.S., intend to remain and be considered as such. This citizenship was acquired either by birth or voluntarily through naturalization. It puts the American Poles in a special category, different from that in which the Poles in other countries are to be found. The American Poles are not to be regarded as a minority to be protected by the Polish Government, nor as a foreign colony. The official report issued to the Polish press in America by Mr.Świetlik and Dr.Smykowski, states that at the Second Warsaw Convention, they demanded to be looked upon as Americans, though of Polish descent. Many in Poland and many of the delegates at the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles could or would not understand. They regarded the American delegates as traitors.⁵⁹

59. K.Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 396.

"Solidny Front", Monitor, August 29, 1934.

The American delegates did not want their loyalty to the U.S. questioned by anyone, whether in Poland at the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles or in America. True, the resolutions of the Convention

plainly note, that the Poles must remain loyal to the country where they reside.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the American

60. Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy, II-gi Zjazd Polaków z Zagranicy, 92.

delegates maintained, that the Statutes nowhere stress the American point of view, and the very title: "Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy", literally meaning "World Alliance of Poles Living Outside of Poland," is misleading. The American delegates emphasized that they were Americans of Polish descent, hence the title World Alliance of Emigrant Poles does not apply well to them. As they could not bring about a change in the official title of the organization, they compromised on an explanation attached to the Statutes.⁶¹

61. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 75.

The structure of the World Alliance was objectionable to the American delegation. They saw in it a demand for absolute submission of their organizations to the World Alliance.⁶² Major P. Fularski, one of the

62. K. Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, 385.

authors of the Statutes of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles and Chairman of the Statutory Committee at the Second Convention, openly asserted that the World Alliance would be endowed with certain executive powers over its members, and in view of this provision, all the Polish organizations in different countries would be obliged to submit their methods and system of action to a thorough revision of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.⁶³

63. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 77.

In other words, all organizations of the Poles in countries to which they have migrated, would take dictation from the World Alliance. And since the Board of Directors of the World Alliance is so constituted, that the majority was to reside in Poland, it is obvious, that the governing body would be chosen from among the Poles in the homeland. It could no longer be said, that the World Alliance of Poles was an organization of Emigrant Poles.

The attitude of the American delegation at the Second Convention with reference to the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles was praised and denounced by the Poles in America. Some could see no harm in the World Alliance and could not understand how active member-

ship in it could be so construed as to question the loyalty of the Poles to the U.S. Others scored the duplicity (?) of the American delegates who claimed to be Americans in Poland, and Poles in America.⁶⁴

64. Dziennik Chicagoski, (Chicago Daily) September 7, 1934 quoting Dziennik Polski of Detroit, Mich.

Accusations were made that the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles deliberately shunned the question of religion, especially of the Catholic religion. Problems of importance, which had a religious basis, were carefully omitted from the agenda. No hostility to the Catholic Church was manifested, but indifference was marked.⁶⁵

65. Rev. A. Syski, "O Tem Co Było, a Jeszcze Więcej, Czego Nie Było Na Zjeździe Polaków z Zagranicy w Warszawie," Przegląd Katolicki, September-October, 1934, 9:10.

Those sponsoring the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles endeavored to give it a partisan coloring, so as to have the Convention voice its approval of the present government and party in power. The Americans refused to be enticed.⁶⁶

66. B. A. Jezierski, W Obronie Prawdy, 34-35.
Związek Narodowy Polski, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy

Związku Narodowego Polskiego, (1880-1940), 136.

The American delegation was scored for its timidity in not stressing the achievements of the Poles in America, of Paderewski, Gen. Haller, Bishop Rhode, when the opportunity presented itself.⁶⁶

66. Rev. A. Syski, "O Tem Co Było, a Jeszcze Więcej, Czego Nie Było Na Zjeździe Polaków z Zagranicy w Warszawie," Przegląd Katolicki, September-October, 1934, 9:20-21.
Rev. S. A. Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 92-93.
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To a few, even the idea of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles seemed utopian. To unite the Poles from various countries, where different customs, different problems, different conditions prevailed, bordered on impossibility. Instead, a world-wide organization established for the purpose of extending care over emigrant Poles, would be more reasonable, more profitable and less obnoxious.⁶⁷ The American delegates,

67. Rev. A. Syski, op. cit., 21.
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in fact, suggested the creation of an institute for the spread of Polish culture, instead of the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.⁶⁸

68. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 75.
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The Rev.S.A.Iciek, ardently favoring that the American delegation join the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles, in his book: "Światła i Cienie" describes much of what transpired at the Second Convention. He was not a member of the American delegation, but accompanied the American group at the invitation and suggestion of the Polish consul of New York, Dr.Marchlewski.⁶⁹

69. Rev.S.A. Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 73.

Rev. Iciek's account is extremely biased. Many facts quoted by him are not true. Much he has obtained by hearsay, without examining the sources. His language, his method of description betrays bad taste.

One of the most serious charges raised by Rev. Iciek, is the unpreparedness of the American delegation. They have come to the Second Convention without any instructions. According to Rev.Iciek, they only knew that they have been selected to sign access to the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles in the name of the organizations they were representing.⁷⁰

70. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Ibid., 76, 115.

Mr.B.Jezierski, who in his "W Obronie Prawdy" took up the defense of the American delegation's stand at the Second Convention, imputes to Rev.Iciek certain

statements, which can hardly be proved by the Rev. clergyman. However, Mr. Jezierski is by no means convincing in claiming that Rev. Iciek is an adherent of Pilsudski. Certainly, the book "Światła i Cienie" cannot be quoted as proof to that effect. Nevertheless, the author of "W Obronie Prawdy" makes clear many allegations of the Rev. S. A. Iciek.

The American delegates, to some extent, were not familiar with the program and main purpose of the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles. But those arranging the meeting, the officers of the Organizational Council, Mr. Lenartowicz in particular, were informed beforehand of the attitude of the Poles in America.⁷¹

71. B. A. Jezierski, W Obronie Prawdy, 33.

From the maze of accusations and counter-accusations, from facts and reports the following sequence can be determined: Mr. Lenartowicz, executive director of the Organizational Council during the visit he made to the U. S. in 1931 and 1933, urged the Poles in America to join the Council.⁷² The two largest Polish

72. Rada Organizacyjna Polaków z Zagranicy, Pięć Lat Pracy Dla Polonji Zagranicznej, 248-250.

national organizations, the Alliance and the Union

agreed to have members on the Board of Directors of the Organizational Council. Besides paying their membership dues, the above mentioned organizations did not show much enthusiasm for the international agency of the emigrant Poles. Little was said about it in the press.

The delegates of the various organizations in America to the Second Convention in Warsaw, were selected in the last days. It was not even known whether the organizations will send delegates. The delegates selected were not given the statutes in time to make a more careful study, although indications are that the complete plan of the statutes was transmitted to the large organizations six months before the Convention.⁷³ But, as indicated above,

73. Rev.S.A.Iciek, Światła i Cienie, 71-73.

little interest was had in the Convention. Only a part of the American delegation travelled on the same boat (Pulaski), hence were unable to hold a caucus. For that matter, commented Mr.M.Haiman: "No one at the Convention asked us about anything". The delegates were expected to be only rubber stamps.⁷⁴

74. "Solidarny Front," Monitor, August 29, 1934.

The delegates of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America had not only oral but even written instructions to the Convention, defining precisely the Union's relationship toward the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.⁷⁵

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75. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 73.
B.A.Jezierski, W Obronie Prawdy, 70-71.
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The Polish Roman Catholic Union of America at its convention in Springfield, Mass., September 10-15, 1934 approved the report of its delegates to the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles and their declaration as to the World Alliance of Emigrant Poles.⁷⁶

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76. Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie w Ameryce, Protokół Urzędowy Sejmu XLI, Springfield, Mass., 1934, 72-81.
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The Polish National Alliance did the same the following year at the Baltimore, Md. convention.⁷⁷

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77. Związek Narodowy Polski, Urzędowy Protokół Sejmu XXVII, 1935, Baltimore, Md., 185-186.
Związek Narodowy Polski, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy Związku Narodowego Polskiego, (1880-1940), 136-137.
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Two motives prompted such action of the largest

national organizations of the Poles in America: 1) They did not want their loyalty to the U.S. questioned or suspected; 2) they were determined to safeguard the freedom of action for their national organizations in America, hence neither would they take dictation from any semi-official Polish Government agency.

Thus another chapter was added to the national orientation of the Poles in America. In a certain sense, the attitude taken at the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles by the delegates of the national organizations of the Poles in America, was but a repetition of the motto they chose for themselves nine years ago at the Detroit, Mich. Polish National Congress: "American Poles For Themselves." This time their action spoke louder in the very heart, the capital of Poland.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The national orientation of the Poles in America is the history of their accommodation, assimilation and gradual Americanization. It is more. Factors, which retarded or accelerated the process, events and national preoccupation of the American Poles at different periods of time, which have directed their attention to, or have driven it away from the problems that confronted them in the U.S. , and which concerned them, their welfare and progress, were presented in their proper setting, with their national background.

If the Poles, as an ethnic group, were slow in becoming assimilated, the story of their national orientation provides an explanation.

Americanization is said to be the giving up of one set of loyalties for another, for a new one. It is then a double process, of relinquishing something old and the acquisition of something new.

The thesis discloses that for the Polish peasant immigrants it was a triple process. Due to political conditions in the homeland, where its people were subjected to 150 years of enslavement, the immigrant peasant arrived on the shores of America, with patriotism at low ebb, with scant knowledge of Poland as a State or Nation, with the spirit of Polish

nationalism submerged. By force of circumstances the Polish peasant immigrant found his way into his ethnic group, the Polish colony. Here, the process of rekindling, of resurrecting his Polish nationalism took place. The parish, the national organizations were most instrumental in bringing it about. That process of nationalization lasted from the beginning of the economic immigration till the end of the war in 1918 or with the restoration of Poland's freedom. The independence of Poland absorbed almost all his attention and efforts in the first period of national orientation in the U.S.

Perhaps no other immigrant group has had a more glorious mission to perform than the immigrant Poles in America. They have accomplished a mission in which their forefathers failed in armed uprisings. When we realize that this achievement of the Poles in America was attained by peasant immigrants who in the past history of Poland never had a voice in her government, who never were members of their native land's constituency, but were considered the lowest stratum of society, when finally we recall that the national consciousness or awareness of the immigrant peasants was practically dormant, that intense Polish nationalism was far away from their thoughts and purpose when they landed in America, then we are in a position to

evaluate properly the contribution the American Poles made for their country's liberation. It is here, on American soil that the Polish peasant immigrant learned of his "ideal Poland," the glorious Poland of history and here his love for the homeland was enkindled and intensified.

The second stage, as we have seen, from 1919-1925 was marked by the cooling off and the relinquishing, to a certain degree, of old loyalties. With the liberation of Poland it was necessary for all the Poles in America to subject their attachment to their Fatherland to a change, to new orientation. It was easier to reconcile one's loyalty to America with attachment to the ideal Poland. But confronted with two political realities: America, the land of freedom and opportunity on the one hand, and free Poland on the other, the process became complicated and demanded a solution.

Striving slowly and painfully to better their economic and social status, busy with the thought of restoring Poland's freedom, the American Poles did not give much attention to their own future in this country. The national orientation of the Polish economic immigration from its beginning to 1918 was for the most part political, its goal the liberation of Poland. All-out-effort-for-Poland was the command of the day for the patriots. Even the inducements,

the urgings of their leaders, that the Poles become citizens of the U.S. had a political ring, namely that only as American citizens they will be taken into account, only as American citizens they can best advance Poland's Cause, and work toward their own progress.

The second period of national orientation of the Poles in America was a shocking disillusion with their ideal and idolized Poland. Political and economic failures here, but especially in the homeland, were largely responsible for the critical attitude which the American Poles have assumed toward their Fatherland. For the Poles in the United States the period from 1919-1925 was one of hesitancy, of changing moods, of mixed patriotic emotions, when for some it meant the definitive and ultimate casting of their lot either with the U.S., or return to their homeland. Considering the number of immigrant Poles residing in the U.S. at the time, the number of re-emigrants can be considered comparatively small.

The vast majority had already made their choice. They were here to stay. Their interest now will be predominantly their own, insofar, as it is connected with their new country, the country of adoption. The events of the years 1919-1925 helped some make the decision in favor of America. The losses, the tragedies

which the Poles in America suffered in connection with the Polish Cause, have alienated them from their Fatherland. It is to be regretted, that the short-sighted policy of the Polish Government officials in America, their endeavors and activities tending to disrupt the unity of the American Poles, to dissolve their central national organizations, such as the Polish National Department, the Polish Welfare Council, and on the ruin of these to build up an orientation of their own, favoring partisan strifes in Poland and the party in power, had only deepened the cleavage between Poland and the Poles in America. The deepest and most justifiable resentment of the Poles was directed against the false assumption of the Polish Government, that the Poles in America constitute a political minority, under the guidance and directives of the Polish Government officials in the U.S.

All these factors have conspired to shear Poland of the idealism which the Poles in America have built round about her. The frantic efforts of the Polish Government officials to substitute "Poland the Powerful" (Polska Mocarstwowa) for "Poland the Ideal" did not produce hoped for results.

The American Poles showed their reaction by applying for naturalization in large numbers. It was not so much a protest against the Polish Government's

attitude toward them, but an indication that they intend to bind their future and that of their children with America. No doubt, that the comparison between the United States and the realistic, not the ideal Poland, decided in favor of the former.

The years 1919-1925 were not only years of disillusion for the Poles in America, but also of transition for the whole ethnic group. The nostalgic attachment to their Fatherland was giving way to calculated attention to the problems affecting their well-being, advancement and progress in the U.S. Poland was gradually fading into the background.

The activities or achievements of the American Poles during the 1919-1925 years for the most part were humanitarian with a political background inasmuch as the object was as yet Poland: the feeding of the hungry, the establishing of the frontiers, her stabilization.

In 1925 at the Polish National Congress in Detroit, Mich., a break with the past orientation was made known publicly. The American Poles now turned their attention to their own problems, which in the past have suffered by neglect and postponement. Their activities will be social, cultural, and if political, these will be confined to the United States and insofar as they affect the American Poles. Their goal henceforth will be their social, cultural, eco-

nomie, political progress and betterment in the U.S.

To strive for their own betterment, their own economic, cultural, political progress meant to stress loyalty to America first, and Polish descent, Polish heritage - second. The American delegation to the Second Convention of Emigrant Poles in Warsaw, in 1934 had the civic courage to inform their kin in Poland of the change in the national orientation of the Poles in the U.S., and that the time has come, when the Poles in America, not individually but as an ethnic group, give preferential, undisputed loyalty to the U.S., retaining at the same time pride in their Polish heritage, willingness to give Poland moral support and to cooperate culturally with the country of their forefathers.

It seems strange to notice, that the American Poles intend to achieve these aims not through a central national organization, but through their local agencies: parishes, schools, local societies and national organizations such as the Alliance and the Union. There is a marked tendency to make more extensive use of the means and opportunities which the American community itself offers and not to rely exclusively on the Polish ethnic group.

Since 1925 we witness the indifference, if not unwillingness to support and to follow the guidance

or directives of a central national organization, such as the Polish Welfare Council. Is it then to be interpreted as an implicit admission and an indication that the national barriers of the Polish ethnic group are breaking down, that the American Poles are settling down resigned to the thought of being absorbed by American life and community? The most disturbing thought, however, is not whether eventually the Poles will become assimilated or not. Of greater importance is the question: will this assimilation be spontaneous or planned? Whether the American Poles will succumb as individuals, and like the political immigrants disappear in American life without leaving any traces, even in their children, of national heritage, or whether they will become part of America as an ethnic group capable of transmitting to it the culture they have acquired from their forefathers?

In this third stage of national orientation the American Poles emphasize the point, that they have become a component part of the U.S. They do not have in mind to become dissolved and lost in the American community, to disappear without a trace just as the Polish political immigrants before 1870 have done. On the contrary, grouped around their parishes, their national organizations, their institutions, they want to transmit to America the culture, the best that

Poland has given them.

Whether consciously or not, the Poles in the U.S., as an ethnic group, have been the most persistent exponents of the social theory of Cultural Pluralism in America.

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