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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

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ENTITLED THE POLISH AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUP IN CHICAGO: A

SURVEY OF FORMER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS AND ATTEMPT OF EVALUATION.

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**APPENDIX A: MAPS AND TABLES**

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The beginnings of my interest in ethnicity go a few years back to Poland where I was attending the Master's Degree Seminar at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan, Poland, under Aleksander Possern-Zielinski, a Polish expert in the subject of ethnicity. Inspired by his lectures and writings on ethnicity in the United States, I decided to do my own research on the Polish-American ethnic group.

My dream of doing field work came true last year when I had a chance to stay in the Polish-American neighborhood of Belmont-Cragin (see Appendix B:1-3 for my photographs of this neighborhood). However, this paper is not a report of my fieldwork but rather a preliminary attempt on surveying and evaluating the literature on the subject from the standpoint of my observations and interviews. It is also an attempt to spell out some suggestions for a future approach to the study of ethnicity.

Presently, I shall concisely describe the design of my research and methodology. Firstly, I undertook an extended (but not nearly exhaustive) survey of ethnic literature dedicated both to the subject of ethnicity in general, as well as literature on the Polish ethnic group in particular. Next, I looked at the way these writings contributed to better understanding of ethnic life and attempted an
evaluation of some theoretical views from the anthropological perspective.

My intention is (both in this paper and in a future one which would be mainly empirically oriented) to explore the role of some phenomena, characteristic of Polish history and culture, in determining relationships of the Polish ethnic group with other groups as well as relations within the ethnic community itself, and identifying new dimensions and means of the changing expression of ethnic identification. These are, of course, only a few of the questions that I originally intended to explore; others, which arose in a course of this study, will be presented as I go along. Obviously, I was not able to answer all questions and implement all intended strategies -- this paper is just a preliminary step in a larger project that should explore certain related topics in detail.

As far as the content of this paper is concerned I have chosen to present the contents of my work in the following order: Part One dealing with ethnicity theories, in general, and Part Two dealing with the Polish ethnic group in Chicago.

I shall start by reviewing terminology used by students of ethnicity and discussing problems involved in defining some key concepts in the discipline.

Next, I shall attempt an interpretation of some attributes of ethnic groups that enable them to adjust and function in the broad society. Such attributes are of two
kinds: internal (coming from within a group) and external
(coming from outside a group, i.e., from a host society or a
dominant ethnic group). Subsequently, I shall present my
interpretation of theories concerned with the process of
ethnic identity change and review some classic models of
ethnicity change.

Part Two of this paper is dedicated to the analysis of
ethnicity of the Polish ethnic group in Chicago and is
comprised of following issues. In Chapter One, I shall
present the Polish ethnic group in light of former research
on ethnicity and my interpretation of it. Next, I discuss
determinants of ethnicity within original immigrant
settlements in Chicago and social change within the
contemporary community.

The three subsequent chapters consider the
organizational life of the Polish ethnic groups: fraternal
organizations, the Catholic Church, schools, and the press.
I shall attempt to compare their functions in the maintenance
of ethnic identity, both in the past and at present; I shall
also present some factors, originating both in Polish as well
as American history, that influenced the activities of these
organizations. Next, I will include some remarks on the
subject of symbolic ethnicity and how it could be applied to
study of the Polish-American ethnic group.

Some issues involved in interpretation of empirical data
in ethnic studies, especially of usage of statistics, will be
briefly discussed in the conclusion to my paper.

Appendix A to this paper contains maps that I have made using statistical data available to me. Appendix B contains photographs portraying some aspects of life in the Polish community in Chicago.

Presently, I would like to make a note on the term Polonia (adjective: Polonian), which I shall use frequently throughout this paper. This term refers to the Polish ethnic group in Chicago, or anywhere in the world outside Poland. As such, it is a synonym for the Polish ethnic group.

Moreover, the term Polonia is used by Polish Americans for themselves as well as by Poles in Poland in reference to Polish Americans abroad. This aspect of self-identification on the part of ethnics themselves has, therefore, motivated my usage of the term.

I would like to express my special thanks to Professor C. Cunningham for his invaluable remarks and patience, especially in reading my first draft. Also, thanks in advance to Professor B. Kelleher whose remarks should also prove very helpful.
PART ONE

Chapter 1: Attributes of ethnic group and factors facilitating ethnic identification

The problem of definition of an "ethnic group", i.e., identification of those factors that determine whether a given social group can be qualified as ethnic or not, has been a matter of controversy in social science. As we shall see later in the paper, the problem of ambiguity in defining such key categories as "ethnic group", "ethnicity", or "ethnic identity" can weigh heavily upon one's choice of methodological approach and, subsequently, on interpretation of empirical phenomena and on drawing conclusions. As I see it, the major differences of opinions focus around such factors as: territorial boundaries of a group, voluntary vs. involuntary membership in a group, the nature and origin of ethnic bonds among members of a group, and relation of the "ethnic group" to a "nation", among others.

Among sociologists, for example, the term "ethnic group" is commonly used to identify a group of people that consciously share certain aspects of a common culture, and whose membership is determined by common descent. Their attention is focussed mainly on the distinction of social groups (among which "ethnic" group is one kind) and
identification of factors that would enable a smooth coexistence of various groups. Anthropologists refer to an ethnic group as one among a number of stages, such as a tribe, chiefdom, etc., which share a consciousness of common (whether real or imagined) descent and often position them along a continuum ultimately leading to the development of nation states.

Because of its ambiguous status, the term "ethnic group" refers to, and can sometimes be substituted by, one of roughly similar (although not synonymous) social categories, such as "race", "minority", "state", "nation", "caste", "religion", or "social class". All those terms are classified together by virtue of their "family resemblance" feature (belonging to a family of terms with similar or related meanings), and though they are not synonymous, it is not always easy to determine which one should be used. Nathan Glazer, who developed the above argument, refers to this phenomenon "universalization of ethnicity" (Glazer 1983:234-235).

Sometimes there is no clear answer as to which term is most appropriate. Such is, for example, the case with a term "race" which refers to the group that is defined by common descent and that has some typical characteristics. In European usage, "race" has been used to refer to what we might also call "nation". This usage of the word "race", in fact, would seem to be closest to the original meaning of the
Greek word *ethnos* meaning "people" or "nation".

Another important social form close in meaning to ethnic group, is "religion". This closeness is, as Glazer points out, based on the fact that most people are born into religion rather than are converted, and one's status is given at birth, not through some achievement. On such a basis, a religious group can act very much like an ethnic group.

Maybe the most difficult task is to set boundaries to "ethnic groups" in the context of characteristics of "castes"; the latter term is "defined by birth and origin from some distant ancestors, intermarrying, traditionally fixed in a hierarchy from upper to lower, and limited in specific occupation" (Glazer 1983:134-136).

Next point made by Glazer is his distinction between "ethnic group" and "state". The two categories are sometimes linked together because of a third term, "nation", used often synonymously with "state". In European languages the distinction between "state" and "nation", however, is clear; the former refers to a political organization while latter to an ethnic group. Glazer writes: "Nations are not necessarily ethnic groups, though those that are not coterminous with an ethnic group try to create a new national identity, which (if they succeed) becomes a new ethnicity" (Glazer 1983:136-137).

After this reflection on some implications of usage of term "ethnic group" and similar terms, let us now review in this light some popular concepts of ethnic group. Shibutani
and Kwan 1965), for example, view one's membership in an ethnic group in terms of social status and communication and define it in the following manner:

"Ethnic group consists of people who identify themselves as being of a kind...who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others.... To the extent that important differences exist among ethnic groups, they are cultural. Cultures are the product of communication; hence, to the extent that an ethnic group is isolated from others, it develops a distinctive culture (Shibutani and Kwan 1965:80-81)."

As long as ethnic groups are endogamous, hereditary marks are used as symbols of identification, because those marks develop through inbreeding and isolation. If people stay in contact for a long period of time then they become more alike, both culturally and physically, and in this case other marks of identity are developed.

A somewhat different treatment of ethnic groups is given by Barth (1969) who argues that their four general features include: largely biological self-perpetuation, sharing of fundamental cultural values, establishment of a field of communication and interaction, and having a membership that is identifiable by both members of the same group and members of other categories of the same order (Barth 1969:10-11). As we can see, Barth includes among those characteristics both common ancestry (real or fictitious) and perceived sharing of
closeness by its members. Sharing of cultural values and communication among members seems to be of special importance.

DeVos (1975) offers, in this context, a quite different approach in defining an ethnic group:

... a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include "folk" religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and a common ancestry or place of origin. The group's actual history often trails off into legend or mythology, which includes some concept of an unbroken biological-genetic generational continuity, sometimes regarded as giving special characteristics to the group. Endogamy is usual, although various patterns for initiating outsiders into the ethnic group are developed in such a way that they do not disrupt the sense of generational continuity (DeVos 1975:9).

In contrast to Shibutani's and Barth's approaches, DeVos introduces some new features into an ethnic group's set of characteristics, e.g. historical continuity and legendary or mythological origin.

Banks's (1984) extended definition of ethnicity and ethnic groups introduces, among other features shared with those above, political and economic interests that differ from those of other groups, as common shared values (Banks 1984). Of paramount importance here seems to be shared consciousness of a kind, and "interdependence of fate" with those who share the customs of ethnic tradition (Banks
Wsevolod W. Isajiw (1974), in his attempt to systematize existing theories of ethnic groups, analyzed diverse definitions of ethnicity and concluded by offering a generic definition which comes somewhat closer to the possible application of analysis of ethnic culture: "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or ...descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified as belonging to the same involuntary group". This definition emphasizes the provision of a sense of common origin based on the sharing of cultural traits acquired through socialization: "Ethnicity is a matter of a double boundary, a boundary from within, maintained by the socialization process, and a boundary from without established by the process of intergroup relations" (Isajiw 1974:111-124 in Stain and Hill 1977:19).

With regard to Isajiw's position, my present view differs in respect to voluntary vs. involuntary membership in the ethnic group. As we shall see later in this paper, a new dimension of ethnicity can be characterized by voluntary membership in a symbolic ethnic community rather than actual physical membership.

One of the shortcomings of former ethnic studies stems from usage of theories which do not allow for interpretation of an ethnic group's culture per se -- culture that arises in changing socio-historical conditions and which is not simply
the sum total of cultural traits of a given ethnic group in
its original setting. To speak about "ethnic culture" in
conditions of immigration, we must realize that such culture
is a new category which is created in a process of
interaction of an ethnic group's characteristics, on the one
hand, and characteristics of a group that is a counterpart in
an interaction (whether it is a dominant, host society or
another group of the same order), on the other. Moreover,
the two groups themselves are constantly changing over time
as does the social milieu; an ethnic culture created at one
point in time is not the same as culture created later or
before. It also seems inappropriate to apply the concept of
an ethnic group as a predecessor of a "nation" or "state" to
the analysis of ethnicity in conditions of migration.
Studies of ethnic groups in the context of interaction with
other groups in multiethnic societies or in their new
settings, especially in the case of immigrant groups in the
United States, should be viewed differently than in their
homeland. Ethnicity, in this context, evolves when a given
group is challenged in some way or feels that its existence
is jeopardized, as a kind of defense mechanism. Such a
group, in order to survive, must select from its repertoire
of characteristics and potentials those which would enable
realization of this objective. The features that crystallize
during such a process depend on an ethnic group's potentials
(those qualities and skills that the group's members can
utilize for their advantage) and on challenging circumstances (depending on time, space, whether an ethnic group interacts with one or more ethnic groups, length of interaction, etc.,). Let me refer to an example of the Polish ethnic group in the United States to illustrate my point. One would clearly make a mistake trying to describe it only in terms of characteristics of the Polish nation of Poland itself. Poles in America developed, for example, organizations which they did not have in their homeland, like secular parochial education and fraternal organizations. Beside organizational behavior, those differences can be seen in individual behavior as well. In all cases, the characteristics that a given ethnic group develops are complex and interdependent and always time-bound. In my opinion, there can be no general theory of ethnicity, as viewed in the above perspective, for at least two reasons: (a) there are no two groups with the same characteristics and, since it would be unreasonable to consider group's interaction with itself, any interaction of two or more groups in any given combination will be always different; (b) social milieus in which interaction occurs are constantly changing. Therefore, it seems to follow that a set of features of any given ethnic group at any time (from a combination of (a) and (b)), will always be different, bound to a particular time and space.

There are certain factors that can be identified as influencing or facilitating ethnic identification among
Chicago Polonia, both in the past and at present, that could be called "ethnicity-enhancing" factors:

1) **Consciousness of shared feeling of alienation and separation from the wider society.** This factor concerns mainly past ethnic experience but also today some people feel alienated from the wider society.

2) **Feeling of safety among members of the same ethnic group and possibility of help in crisis.** Many people to whom I talked refer positively to the financial force of fraternal organizations although there are differences of opinions regarding political role of those organizations.

3) **Social class.** When the ethnic group occupies a relatively inferior status position in a society, persons of higher-class positions within that ethnic group will tend to identify with their social class rather than with their ethnic status. This phenomenon is hardly unique to the Polish ethnic group and has been described in detail for other ethnic groups.

4) **Occupation.** There seems to be a relation between person's occupation and his or her relations toward others in a group, at least inssofar as "middle class"
jobs promote changing social status and moving away to the suburbs. Many people who still live in Belmont-Lragin feel left on their own in the struggle for better life, and feel deserted by better-off Polish-Americans.

5) Language. It is perhaps one of the most controversial elements of culture as far as determination of its role in preservation of ethnicity is concerned. My own interviews with inhabitants of Polish neighborhoods gives divided results. New immigrants emphasize the importance of preservation of native language but the few representatives of second and third generations I have talked to had different opinions. For them, other elements, such as propagation of a good ethnic image of Poles, was more important than speaking Polish language. As we shall see in the chapters that follow, the preservation of native language can be partially explained as a function of self-contained and isolated ethnic clusters of people having little or no knowledge of English language.

6) Social potential of an ethnic group. Some resources, for example language, experience of urban life, industrial skills, etc., may take on a completely different meaning in the context of contact with another group, than when being considered otherwise. It is only
in the context of another (possibly dominant) group that some traditional skills can prove useful or not. Thus, immigrants who came from urban parts of Europe to the urban-industrial parts of America in the beginning of the century had an obvious advantage over those who came from peasant areas. If we consider the fact that the biggest group of Polish immigrants at the turn of the century came from rural areas we can understand how this social potential retarded their attempts to compete with other ethnic groups in Chicago.
Chapter 2: Processes of ethnic identity change

The dominant sociological approach to ethnicity has long taken the form of what Neil Sandberg calls "straight-line theory", in which acculturation and assimilation are viewed as trends that culminate in the eventual absorption of an ethnic group into one larger culture. Straight-line theory, in turn, is based on "melting pot" theory, which implies the disappearance of the ethnic groups into a single host society (Gans 1979:194).

Classic models of ethnicity change and ethnic assimilation resemble, in my opinion, the methodological and theoretical approach represented in anthropology by proponents of classical evolutionism: to account for variation in behavior classified as "ethnic", researchers tried to arrange them in a logical sequence of transformations leading to assimilation of ethnic communities into a main-stream society.

I propose the following general structure which has been reflected in many classic models of ethnicity change (regardless of minor differences, such as number of stages, length of duration of a given stage or different terminology):

1) Initial conflict refers to the period in time where an immigrant population equipped with different cultural
baggage enters into a society with a higher level of cultural and economical development, and the two clash. This initial stage of existence of the immigrant group in the host society is also sometimes referred to as "culture shock".

2) Period of adjustment is the period when an immigrant group undergoes an adjustment to a dominant social group and its culture. A given immigrant group goes through a varying number of stages and faces a number of conflicts which have their sources both inside as well as outside a group.

3) Final assimilation and acculturation is a destination point which an immigrant group is supposed to reach in order for it to function smoothly within the broad society. In this stage, a group has been totally assimilated into the host society's political and economic infrastructure and has adopted its cultural values (i.e. it has been acculturated).

The above process is unidirectional and necessary in realization of a group's objective which is assimilation into the main-stream society. As in the case of classic evolutionists' reasoning, models of assimilation are perceived, by their creators, to have universal value and
application.

It seems, however, that such models are hard to apply to all ethnic groups and it cannot be said that all of them follow the same, or even similar stages. No ethnic group is uniform and the discussed approaches do not easily allow us to account for the inter-group variation.

Now, to illustrate the above point, I would like to present two classic models of ethnicity change. I shall start with Park's "race relations cycle". According to Park, contacts between ethnic groups resulted in competition and conflict, which in turn originated new forms of assimilation. The developmental sequence advocated by Park is one of the best known in American sociology. The initial stage of the cycle is an arrival of immigrants into their new community where they have to compete with some dominant group. They usually lose the economic battle. However, their children move upward and are eventually assimilated into the broad society. According to Park, this process is unidirectional, progressive, and irreversible. Even though there could be some obstacles along the way to assimilation, the course of changes could not be reversed. Park's stage model consists of the following stages:

1) Contact between two or more ethnic groups as a result of migration.
2) *Competition*, mainly for land and for jobs; competition in some cases could turn into conflict.

3) *Accommodation*, refers to a stage when the ethnic group stabilizes its situation: segregated ethnic communities are formed and each of them develops a distinctive culture; this is a result of competition for space. Members of a given ethnic group live together and form what we might call a ghetto, where they also speak the same language, follow the same customs, etc. For example, Chinatown for the Chinese or "Greenppint" for the Polish ethnic groups in New York.

4) *Assimilation*. In this final stage, a minority group acquires the culture of the dominant group and is absorbed by the latter (Shibutani and Kwan 1965:117-120).

The next model of the assimilation process, proposed by Daniel Glazer (1958), is also composed of stages, but in his conceptualization they merge gradually and make up a complex continuum. This process of merging also involved a complex of psychological processes. Glazer's model is composed of the following stages:

1) The *segregation stage* refers to the immigrant generation
segregating itself from American society and building ethnic communities, providing its members with social and emotional support and identity. Ethnics' attitudes at this stage are highly ethnocentric and they feel different from the rest of society.

2) The *marginal stage* is characterized by feelings of uncertain status by an individual. An ethnic individual has already undergone some degree of assimilation and his attitudes toward an outside group become more positive.

3) The *desegregating stage* refers to the stage when an ethnic person attempts to assimilate and, at the same time, limits his contacts with his own group and even displays a hostile attitude toward his ethnic group in order to be accepted by an outside group. This stage is often characterized by self-hate and adaptation of stereotypes toward one's own ethnic group that are held by members of an outside group.

4) The *assimilation stage* is the fourth and last stage in this continuum. Ideally, but not always achieved, the assimilated individual integrates elements of his society and culture into a more or less stable personal identity (Blazer 1958).
In Glazer's model stages cannot be skipped. This model can be applied both to whole groups as well as to individuals. The estimate of where a given group or individual stands in a continuum can be done on the basis of statistical data about a given group; if the majority of individuals in a given sample display the characteristics of a particular stage, than it is concluded that a given group is in such and such a stage.

In the context of ethnic identity change, we should pay additional attention to the issues of assimilation and acculturation so characteristic to American social science. Both notions are tied up to the notion of a "melting pot", which was first described by Israel Zangwill, in his play of 1908, in the following fashion:

America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians- into the crucible with you all! God is making the American (Wrobel 1979:26).

As Milton Gordon (1964) emphasizes, assimilation is a blanket term which in reality covers a multitude of
subprocesses. He distinguishes between the two, in his opinion, most important ones: behavioral assimilation and structural assimilation. The first refers to the absorption of the cultural patterns of the host society for which there is a special term, namely acculturation. Structural assimilation, on the other hand, refers to the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society. Gordon argues that the existing literature on ethnic groups, including Polish Americans, focuses on their cultural behavior -- that is, the question of to what extent the immigrants and their children have accepted the values and behavior patterns of the dominant American culture. Gordon's thesis is, moreover, that social scientists have neglected the whole process of structural assimilation.

The term "acculturation" is often used among ethnologists along with "assimilation" where the latter is conceived to be the last stage of acculturation. Among some sociologists, on the other hand, acculturation has been treated merely as a phase or an aspect of assimilation. Such was the view of M. M. Gordon, who included "acculturation" within his model of assimilation and termed the former as "cultural assimilation". Distinction between "acculturation" and "cultural assimilation" is not at all clear and the two terms could be used interchangeably. Both processes are
viewed either unidirectionally in terms of a minority group conforming to the majority or, more broadly, in terms of mutual infiltration and blending.

The intensive study of acculturation in anthropology did not really take place until the 1930's. At that time, anthropologists began to recognize that culture was constantly changing and that much of this change could be attributed to contact with peoples holding different values and customs. In 1936, a sub-committee of the Social Science Research Council, composed of Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits, prepared an "Outline for the Study of Acculturation" which defined the term and the field of study. The following definition of acculturation was proposed:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (Herskovits 1938:310 in Rollins 1981:130-131).

In addition to the definition itself, the Council also clarified the relationship of acculturation to other similar processes. Acculturation was to be considered one aspect of culture change, and assimilation to be considered a final phase of acculturation. The definition of acculturation thus excludes the process of socialization by which the individual gains the skills and modes of thought of his own culture.
Even though assimilation is considered to be the final stage of acculturation, the two processes differ from one another, according to Teske and Nelson, in at least two respects: (a) acculturation does not require acceptance on the part of an outside group (or wider society); assimilation, on the other hand, does require such acceptance and (b) assimilation requires a positive orientation toward and identification with an outside group while acculturation does not (Teske and Nelson 1974:359 in Rollins 1984:911).

When speaking of acculturation processes, we should remember that the failure or success of an ethnic group in this respect lies both within the ethnic group as well as within the wider society. As far as the latter is concerned, there is variation from society to society in the degree to which ethnic groups are expected to acculturate in the dominant society.

Shibutani and Kwan (1956) see acculturation as an initial step in the breakdown of ethnocentrism. At first, the alien values are adopted in a superficial manner, but gradually the new values become an integral part of emerging perspectives. The direction of acculturation apparently depends more upon prestige than upon power.

Acculturation does not involve all members of an ethnic group to the same degree and varies greatly from one individual to another, and furthermore the nature of this process is definitely selective. Depending upon an
individual's life experience, some aspects of culture can be cultivated and some can be consciously abandoned. Some aspects of cultural heritage, as we can see by the example of the Polish ethnic group, can be deliberately given greater importance than others depending on social context.

Classic theories of ethnicity have been challenged by recent scholars such as Herbert Gans (1979). Gans's hypothesis is that by the third generation, people are less and less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations -- both sacred and secular -- and are instead more concerned with maintaining their ethnic identity, with the feeling of being Jewish or Italian or Polish, and with finding ways of feeling and expressing that identity in suitable ways. By identity, Gans means "the sociopsychological elements that accompany role behavior" (Gans 1979:202); role behavior is voluntary, and one among many other roles in the repertoire of ethnic individuals. Presently, ethnic individuals, even though identified as such on the basis of their names, have more freedom in accepting the ethnic roles they were once expected to play (Gans 1979:202).

In my opinion, Gans's emphasis on the voluntary character of contemporary ethnicity and availability of alternative roles is very accurate and can hardly be overemphasized. In addition to other reasons, I would say that sources of this freedom of expression of one's identity
comes both as a result of (a) availability of alternative modes of behavior (mainly as a consequence of breaking down of ethnic isolation and inter-group contacts) as well as (b) breaking down ethnic communities which eliminates the influence of public opinion (a kind of 'peer pressure') as an important factor in setting norms of accepted behavior. What was considered accepted conduct in a small, isolated European village at the turn of the century when individuals had simply no choice but conform to a dominant set of norms -- and cultivated in similar fashion within early immigrant communities is largely, if not totally, irrelevant in contemporary, highly mobile and heterogenous society.

Unlike the classical models of ethnic identity change discussed earlier, where a given model allowed only for a certain number of possible modes of behavior, third-generation ethnics have a nearly limitless number of choices for expression of their ethnic identity. I shall return to Gans at the end of this paper and discuss his proposition of "symbolic ethnicity" in the context of ethnicity of the Polish ethnic group in Chicago. We shall see, regarding the example of Polish-Americans, that there is a multitude of ways in which individuals assimilate or otherwise change their identity.
Chapter II: The Polish ethnic group in former research on ethnicity

Probably the most complete review of the social science literature on Polish Americans was done by Irvin I. Sanders and Ewa I. Morawska, *Polish-American Community Life: A Survey of Research* (Sanders and Morawska 1975). The authors, for obvious reasons, do not offer in-depth analysis of any particular study but, as a survey of literature in the subject, their work is outstanding.

Other publications are less optimistic. A common opinion expressed by authors of these publications (especially among authors who have become emotionally involved in this area for reasons such as, for example, their Polish ancestry and, who are quite understandably interested in presentation of the Polish-American ethnic group in a more positive light) is that most research by social scientists has presented Polish Americans in distorted light. One such view holds that former research on Polish Americans treated them not as subjects of study in their own right but as conventional subjects for a study of two separate but related problems: social disorganization and the process of assimilation (Wrobel 1979:16).
Wrobel (1979) points out that Polish-American culture -- which is more than a combination of Polish and American cultural elements -- has never really been studied. He argues that "what we do and do not know about Polish Americans is in part a consequence of an assimilationist orientation in the social sciences" (Wrobel 1979:16). An example of the first approach, which is well known and widely quoted throughout sociological literature, is the study by Thomas and Znaniecki, *Polish Peasant in Europe and in America*. The authors were not interested in Polish peasants, *per se*, but they were selected "rather as a convenient object for the exemplification of a standpoint and method outlined in the methodological note" (Wrobel 1979:17). Wrobel suspects both scholars to be biased in their opinions and preconceptions, and quotes this passage expressing Thomas's view of Poles:

"Another reason for my choice of the Poles was their behavior in America. They were the most incomprehensible and perhaps the most disorganized of all the immigrant groups. This may be illustrated by what the American police called "Polish warfare". A policeman might enter a saloon where there was a noisy crowd of Poles and say, "You men be quiet", and they might subside immediately or one of them might draw a gun and kill him. This was due to the fact that the Pole in America has two attitudes toward authority. One reflects the old peasant subordination to authority. They were called "cattle" by the landlords and submitted like cattle. The other attitude reflects the conception that there are no limits to the boasted American "freedom". (Quoted in Wrobel 1979:18)."
Thus, Wrobel questions Thomas's objectivity on the basis of his negative preconceptions about members of the ethnic group in study. He states, in conclusion, that Thomas and Inaniecki's characterization of American Poles was misleading and not representative.

I present Wrobel's position as an illustration of a common reaction by Polish-American intellectuals toward studies of Polish Americans, one of accusing authors of derogatory portrayal of this ethnic group. They express the need for a positive picture of the Polish ethnic group which exists among its conscious members. During my stay in Chicago, I had many opportunities to confirm this fact. In numerous encounters with people actively involved in the life of the ethnic community I was reminded about my duty to present a true picture of Poles and Polish-Americans.

The second orientation toward Polish Americans in sociological literature is a study of assimilation, as exemplified in more recent works such as Sandberg's (1974) research in the Los Angeles area.

Sandberg concluded, in his studies of assimilation, that 1) ethnicity is declining over the generations but it can be, however, still measurable into the fourth generation and, 2) there is an inverse relationship between social class and ethnicity.

The study by Eugene Obidinski (1984) measured the
acculturation of Polish Americans in Buffalo in such areas as attitudes toward name-changing and self-identification. He concluded that the rate of acculturation was uneven and third-generation families were becoming more egalitarian (the dominating role of the father was diminishing). This, in his opinion, would be a sign of assimilation of Poles to American values. Again, an objection raised toward such studies of assimilation is that they are focused on the question of Americanization of the Polish ethnic group and not on persistence of its culture.

Recent research by Pienkos (1973) investigates the Polish ethnic group in Milwaukee, WI. The five dimensions of ethnicity covered in his study were

1) Self-identification as Polish or non-Polish

2) The extent of one's contacts with the Polish homeland

3) The extent of one's own involvement in the Polish-American Milwaukee community

4) Awareness of particular information and its relevance to Poles

5) One's own personal orientation toward the country of Poland
His findings, based on indicators of ethnic involvement, suggest that the "great majority of Poles have already lost contact with the secular institutions of Polish ethnic life in America, though there persists among many Polish Americans an attachment to some culturally-related customs viewed as ethnic in origin and flavor". According to Pienkos's analysis, membership in Polish-American institutions is extremely low (most of those surveyed could not identify even one ethnic organization operating in the United States), and involvement in secular ethnic activities is breaking down; at the same time, however, the tendency of Polish Americans to identify themselves as such remains an important phenomenon. In addition to the above characteristics, knowledge of the Polish language, even if declared to exist, in many cases is limited to merely a few words. All these facts, indicating the absence of any empirically measurable indications of ethnicity, lead Pienkos to assume that there must exist some special kind of "personal attachment among those individuals to their ethnic heritage" (Pienkos, 1973:14).

Another problem that comes up in the process of reviewing works on Polish Americans is the understanding of acculturation and assimilation, mentioned earlier in this paper. If the Polish ethnic group, along with others, is said to undergo Americanization, what are the features of the American culture and does such a thing exist at all? What
are the features of the cultural system that are created as a consequence of acculturation? In fact, the implications of asking the following questions are even stronger, i.e., they question the very concept of culture itself. I think we should answer here the following question. If immigrant groups do, in the process of assimilation, internalize American cultural values (or acculturate or Americanize), what characteristics do they actually acquire? What are "American" values, and is the fact of acquiring a particular value system a sufficient condition to qualify them as a cultural system? Consequently, what are the features of a newly created cultural system, as a result of interaction between "ethnic" and "American" systems?

Stain and Hill (1977), in their analysis of the New Ethnic Movement, list several sets of antithetical values (i.e. "ethnic vs. American") which reflect a classical dichotomy: Gemeinschaft vs. Gesselschaft. According to Stain and Hill, these values underlay social actions and are, in turn, responsible for creating different socio-cultural complexes. Finally, Stain and Hill present sets of personality features characteristic of, on one hand, the pluralistic personality (ethnic-Catholic) and the liberal or individualistic personality (American-Protestant). For these tables of cultural values see Appendix A:1-3.

In Stain and Hill's interpretation, the crisis in American culture is replaced by a healthy ethnic culture, the
latter one being perceived as superior by the New Ethnics.

My purpose in quoting the above dichotomies ("ethnic" vs. "American") is to show that the question of defining of "American culture" is not an easy task, and indeed, is seen as impossible by some. Consequently, if arriving at a description of "American culture" is such a difficult task, then how can one argue that ethnic groups in America are becoming culturally similar by adopting an "American way of life".

The proverbial truth lies, probably, somewhere in the middle; that is to say, for the purpose of this paper we will assume that there is a distinct set of characteristics that can be called "American" (especially in context of culture of early immigrants), and that, consequently, the Polish-American group is undergoing a process of acculturation and assimilation. As we shall see later, Polish-Americans are slowly abandoning their traditional values and accepting values of the wider society.

We also need to remember that there is a difference between Polish national culture and ethnic culture of Polish Americans, in a sense that it is not simply a sum of Polish culture (sophisticated national culture or folk culture) plus American culture. Ethnic culture of early Polish immigrants was created as a result of contact with other ethnic groups and as a result of a need of differentiation and self-identification. Ethnic culture of further generations is
built on symbolic ties with the ethnic community but in both cases the content of this "culture" is different from Polish national culture. I will therefore refer to it sometimes as Polishian culture. In the process of self-identification, an ethnic group or individual creates a specific cultural complex made up of consciously chosen elements of Polish and American culture (selective assimilation and acculturation). This process is also heavily influenced by a group's experiences within two socioeconomic milieus: that of its homeland and that of the host country.

Opinions on the nature of the culture of the Polish ethnic group are divided, and the division is reflected in writings in the subject. Konstantin Symmons-Symonolewicz in his article "Is there a Polonian Culture" (33:4) argues that Polish-Americans have become totally assimilated into the American mainstream culture and, consequently, one can no longer talk about the Polish ethnic culture.

Piotr Taras presents the opposite view. In his opinion, Polonian culture exists as an entity distinct from both American culture as well as from Polish culture. In his view, the existence of many Polish-American organizations and institutions which are "not Polish and are distinct from the American community" is a proof of existence of such a specific cultural system. He writes:

Polish-American culture was not and is not a reproduction of Polish cultural life in Europe.
nor a copy of the culture of Anglo-Saxon Americans. Culture always arises and is bound up with definite system of social action. Since a part of society emigrated and formed its own system of social action in America, independent of Polish society, it began to form its own distinct culture, even though it retained many elements of Polish culture (such as family and holiday customs) (Taras 1982:47).

Further indications of the distinctive nature of the Polonian culture are, in Taras's view, specific styles of spending leisure time, distinct forms of entertainment, and the functioning of Polish ethnic parishes which are different both from parishes in Poland as well as those in America. Expressed in them is a specific Polonian culture made up of "religious elements of Polish culture adopted to the American situation. ... Polonian culture, thus, is made up of a continuum with changing proportions of Polish, Polonian and American cultural elements" (Taras 1982:49-54).

An additional complication in defining ethnic culture and ethnic identification of Polish-Americans is posed by internal differentiation of both Polish and Polonian cultures. Obidinski, for example, employed Durkheim's distinction between "sacred" and "profane" to describe the ideal and the less sophisticated aspects of Polish culture. The "sacred" includes the intellectual, artistic and sophisticated elements of Polish national culture; the "profane" involves the retention of traditional holidays and customs, a preference of Polish peasant foods, use of Polish
phrases, and the speaking of a regional dialect or local variant of Polish instead of literary Polish. Obidinski argues that schools in the past two decades have tended to favor the sacred aspects of Polonia. As Wojnusz points out, more balanced measurement would include aspects of both folk and national cultures, "ritualistic symbolic acts as well as the more enduring ones", since all represent possible sources of identification with and attachment to the Polish ethnic group in the United States (Wojnusz 1977:26-29).

The objective study of an individual's "ethnicity", understood as an identification with a common system of important values that guides one's behavior, is complicated by the absence of agreement as to exactly which cultural traits are to be regarded as representative of a given cultural system. In the case of the Polish ethnic group, considering its heterogeneity and variety of immigrants' cultural backgrounds, it is not an easy task. Various waves of immigrants represent different strata of Polish society, each with slightly distinctive cultural values, and, consequently, with different abilities of adaptation in the United States. This theme of differences between "Old Polonia" and "New Polonia" will appear again and again in following chapters, as it is one of the essential factors in our understanding of Polonia culture today and in the past.

Finally, as far as objective interpretation of Polonia culture is concerned, we have to distinguish between the
reality of ethnic life and the ideal picture that intellectuals of ethnic descent would like to see. As I have mentioned before, many researchers of Poland are not neutral observers and, as Helen Wojniousz aptly points out, often confuse what "is" from what "ought to be" (Wojniousz 1977:26-29).
Chapter 4: Past and present factors of social change in the Polish-American community in Chicago

Chicago was, and still is, called "Warsaw of the West" because it is home to the second largest concentration of Poles anywhere in the world, besides Poland itself. Before Poland regained its political sovereignty in 1918, Chicago was the unofficial capital of Polonia, that spiritual community of millions of Poles who hoped and worked for the day when Poland would again be free and independent. In Chicago, Polonia was originally centered around the three-way intersection of West Division Street, North Ashland Ave and Northwest Milwaukee Avenue (for a location of original Polonian neighborhoods see Appendix A1:4). This area of Chicago came to be known as the "Polish Downtown" (Marciniak 1977:13). People who moved there after 1875 often called it Stanislawowo-Trojcowo, after the two major parishes, St. Stanislaus and Holy Trinity, in the area around Division and Noble Streets. As to who was the very first Pole to settle in Chicago, opinions are divided. Some believe it was Anthony Smarzewski-Schermann (Pacyga 1987:155) and according to others it was the major, Louis Chlopicki. In any case, both gentlemen's presence in the city at this early period is rather speculative.

According to one source (Teacher Information 1972) the
The largest number of Polish immigrants arrived in Chicago between 1880 and 1930. During this period, thirty-three Polish parishes were established and over 40,000 students attended the Polish parochial school system. An estimate has been made that there were approximately 5,000 Polish-American or Polish-affiliated organizations in the Chicago area at that time. These include spiritual, religious, humanitarian, and educational organizations, aid societies for immigrants, art, dramatic, and literary societies, societies of national fraternal organizations, savings and loan associations, and neighborhood social and athletic clubs.

By 1870, the Polish Community had grown to 1,205 from only 109 in 1860 and was firmly established around Milwaukee Ave and Division Street.

St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish, the first parish for Chicago's Poles, founded in 1867, would be the center of Polish community life for generations. Poles began settling in the St. Stanislaus Kostka parish area as early as 1850's. The colony was ministered to by the missionary Fr. Leopold Moczygemba before it became an officially designated parish. In 1866, the Society of St. Stanislaus was formed and in 1867 it requested and received recognition from Bishop Foley as a parish (Historic City 1976:14).

During the 1870's, Bismarck's anti-Polish and anti-Semitic policies together with economic conditions drove
thousands of Poles to leave their divided and occupied homeland. Though I will discuss their characteristics in more detail in a subsequent chapter, I would like to mention a few points about the establishment of the original Polish neighborhoods in the context of their spatial organization and what, in my opinion, the determinants of this process were.

Statistics for the Polish population compiled by the Department of Development and Planning of the city of Chicago (1976) show that the density of Polish population in each of 5 original communities was very high, up to 92 and even 98 percent. Polish communities would never again be so homogenous; the highest concentration of Poles in community areas for 1980 (the latest available statistics for the city of Chicago that were available to me) is 49 percent. Thus Poles do not constitute, at present, a majority in any community, though they do constitute a plurality in some cases. As we look at the maps (see Appendix A:5-11) we can see that the Polish population is spreading throughout the entire area. The original communities also were much more stable than present ones. This much one can safely conclude from statistics, but if we want to understand the underlying dynamics of this process with respect to time we have to look beyond statistics. We need to understand the background from which they have come and how it has played important role in the establishment of their new lives in America.
The original settlements were populated almost exclusively by peasants adhering to their traditional ways. Peasant traditionalism served as a force perpetuating cultural values from one generation to the next. Among other factors, determinants of early Polish-American culture were lack of knowledge of English language, lack of skills useful in industrial society, extended families with strong family ties attaching individual to kin, and experience of communal life in Poland with a close monitoring of one's behavior and established norms of such behavior. This, combined with external factors such as the availability of opportunities in American society that could mobilize peasants' population potentials, determined the character of early Polish-American culture.

The relative separation of Polish ghettos started to break down as their members began entering the wider American society in a multitude of ways: education, employment, intermarrying, migration, social class mobility, etc. The former peasant clusters, viewed by their members as a sine qua non of their survival, lost their primary function of protecting the traditional system of values and everything that came with it. In the eyes of the younger immigrant generations this set of values was not adequate in the new environment and therefore, there was no motivation to maintain the whole structure oriented toward its preservation and perpetuation. And the system guarding those traditional
values was, indeed, a complex and powerful structure.

The single most important element in this structure was the Catholic Church, which was able to exercise its authority over every aspect of immigrant life, able to set moral norms and standards in family life and child rearing and influence on the choice of job and other factors. Such internal drives to break with peasant traditionalism were reinforced by factors external to the group: decreased availability of jobs in proximity of neighborhoods, development of transportation which enabled immigrants to be employed far away from where they lived, development of modern infrastructure and changes of Chicago as a city. For example, the construction of the Kennedy Expressway, which was directly responsible for destruction of one of the original Polish neighborhoods, migration of various ethnic groups and the resultant mixing of populations and their mutual replacements.

After the World War II the five original ethnic neighborhoods underwent rapid change. Hispanic and black people succeeded Polish-Americans in inner-city neighborhoods. According to Pacyga (1978), ethnically stable districts such as the Back of the Yards, South Chicago and even the "Polish Downtown" changed quickly. In the mid-1960's a Hispanic population of some 40,000 residents appeared in the heart of the Polish Northwest Side (see Appendix A:6 for photographs of this neighborhood at present
time). By the 1980's many Polish churches offered Mass and other services in Spanish as well as Polish and English. In 1990, informants were not able to point to more than 2-3 churches which were predominantly Polish in character.

Early Polish ethnic neighborhoods were very similar structurally to those which immigrants knew from contemporary Poland. The intimate, communal relations among community members were reflected in the spatial distribution of houses (closely packed, almost connected and facing each other across a narrow street), on one hand, and the architecture of houses themselves (two flats with four rooms each provided housing for the extended immigrant family) on the other. The street was a place where the community's social and cultural life took place; it was as close as the immigrants could get to the organization of villages in Poland. Such a community was a sort of closed functional system which was maintained through, and revolved around, its institutions such as church, schools, inter-group marriage, jobs, etc. Because of its relative original separation, such a system maintained sufficient equilibrium; but as soon as the former was destroyed, the whole system broke down.

The widespread introduction of automobiles in the 1950's, which allowed for greater mobility, was one of the most important external factors in changing traditional Polish neighborhoods into urban, industrial ones. As a result, Polish Americans in the South Chicago area began to
leave "the Bush" and other steel mill neighborhoods and move to newly established areas like Fair Elms on the East Side of the city (Pacyga 1987). As Pacyga puts it, "The Post-World War II economic boom brought Polish America into the American mainstream and slowly but surely shattered ethnic ghetto walls". This was the beginning of the migration of the Polish population to the suburbs: south, southwest and northwest of the city. Although the census data does not contain statistics which show the ethnicity of third or fourth generation Polish Americans, it seems that these Polish Americans were the most likely to move. The Polish-American migration to the suburbs is given by many researchers as an example of their upward mobility and assimilation.

Polish ethnic organizations played a vital role in the functioning of the community system, and one of the determinants of their vitality and importance was their location within such communities. However, presently it is not the case: the Polonian population has moved away from its original communities leaving traditional ethnic organizations behind. I will discuss this issue in more detail in the chapter dedicated to the organizational life of Polonia.

The majority of Polish-American population in Chicago was and still remains, despite significant upward mobility, in the American working class (1976 Census data). Therefore,
their sources of income and, consequently, the quality of their lives is totally dependent on the prosperity of local industry and availability of employment it can offer. As indicated by Pacyga, the situation of the Polish working class in the last few decades is anything but satisfying. The closing of the stockyards on August 1, 1971 did not have a major impact on Polish Chicago because Poles had moved on to other jobs twenty years earlier. However, when, in 1982, the Western Electric Company began closing its Hawthorne Works in Cicero, Illinois, it had a strong impact on the Polish working class. According to reports, in 1949 roughly 48,000 people worked there. Thirty-four years later the same plant provided employment to only about 10 percent of the original number. A similar situation occurred in Chicago's Southeast Side where Poles traditionally relied on the steel mills for work (Pacyga 1987:53).

Polish-Americans, at present, like their peasant predecessors a century ago, are facing many changes and find themselves once again at a crossroads. Early immigrants joined the American working class; present-day Polish Americans have higher aspirations, but will they succeed in realizing them?

The Polish-American community of the present day is an enormously heterogenous community, with different degrees of exposure to American culture and degrees of assimilation. However, this process of internal differentiation is not new
and can be traced back to the 1920's and 1930's or even further: among earlier immigrants the differences in background and goals were rooted in status difference between szlachta (gentry) and chłopi (peasantry), and were reflected in the life of early immigrant communities for decades. While chłopi were represented by mostly uneducated peasant masses, entrenched in their traditionalism, the szlachta consisted mostly of educated individuals who, in contrast to the peasant communalism, were oriented toward wider national goals.

This group of educated, younger generation immigrants, unlike peasants clinging to their communal identities, were identifying themselves with a sophisticated Polish cultural heritage. They founded a number of organizations which were supposed to serve this purpose. The Kosciuszko Foundation, founded in 1925, and the Polish Arts Club of Chicago, founded in 1926, became models for later groups of such kind. These were the signs of the evolution of a new ethnic elite. The activities of such organizations were not aimed at the preservation of Polish national culture among Polish Americans: the American-educated, English-speaking elite class were "interested in its cultural heritage as a sort of credential proving its worth to the American society at large". The emergence of a consciously Americanizing second- and third-generation elite is often seen as a sign of assimilation and acculturation (Pacyga 1987).
Greater tensions developed when displaced persons came to America (after WW II) assuming that American Polonia was well-organized and that it enjoyed tremendous influence in the economic, cultural, social and political life in the American community. Some were shocked and disillusioned to find American Polonia still concentrated in immigrant ghettos in poorer urban neighborhoods. Blejwas (1981) points out that instead of a sympathetic and powerful community they found in an ethnic group that was isolated from the larger American society and its members subjects to the derogatory term "Polack" given by other American ethnic groups.

Thus, besides a common homeland, religion and general interest in Poland, very little united the two immigrant groups. They even spoke different languages: one of rural dialect and the other the literary tongue of Warsaw, Lwow, Krakow, Wilno or Poznan.

It seems that immigrants' expectations, attitudes, and behavior in their new homeland are effected significantly by political and economic circumstances in Poland at the time of their departure. Also, attitudes toward emigration in Poland have varied throughout time. These attitudes influence immigrants' morale and their will to cooperate with other Poles outside Poland. While in past decades such attitudes were positive, recently those who leave Poland are often condemned for abandoning their homeland in hard times but at one time they were proclaimed the saviors of Poland and its
only hope. These attitudes are reflected in the declaration of the Primate's Social Council from March 1988. We read there that the Polish national community (in Poland) has a right to make a moral judgement over those who leave the country and on the consequences that such behavior brings to Poland. The future of Poland is being decided by Poles in Poland. According to the Primate's Council, it is an illusion to believe that Poles can meaningfully influence the future of Poland from abroad. (In "Emigracja z Socjalizmu", 1989:3).

Thus, the Council unanimously took an averse position regarding emigration, viewing it nevertheless as the outcome of economic and political conditions in Poland. Denying emigrants the possibility to influence the future of Poland, the Council viewed present emigration as a mere egoistic, economic act. Thus, present-day emigrants are viewed as chasing after material goods and striving for establishing their lives outside Poland. While listening to some such opinions one might get an impression that those who leave Poland are characterized by a "to have" type of attitude and those who choose to stay by a "to be" type of attitude.

The results of Kultura's poll (among 837 individuals in various countries) shows that 69% of immigrants from 1980's left Poland because of political reasons, 40.1% indicated family and personal reasons, 36.5% indicated material conditions. According to those covered by the poll, no
authority -- neither government, moral authorities, family, nor friends -- has a right to stop anybody from leaving a country. The individual's rights should be above the obligations toward society (Kultura 1989).

According to the poll, the matter of cultivating one's "Polishness" was an important issue only to 40%. Only 12.3% among them view immigration as the opportunity for activities directed toward the home country. Such a reluctant attitude toward political activity by immigrants is determined, among others, by the following factors: firstly, the fear that such activity can endanger members of the family in Poland; secondly, emigrants leave Poland individually or with their immediate family and as a result are dispersed in a new environment and do not have much contact with one another; finally, for many of them leaving their country is a chance to break with the past and to repudiate any obligations.

The Polonia community has been and still remains divided. Divisions run across a few different dimensions: age, social status, degree of assimilation, and political preferences, among others. Poles even have sayings about themselves that express their inherent inclination to differences in opinions and lack of unity, such as "Where there are two Poles, there are three points of view" and "Poles make the best nation but the worst society in the world".
In the next three chapters of this paper, I shall discuss issues of the institutional life of the Polish community in Chicago, based on the activities of such organizations as the church, fraternal organizations, press, and Polonian education, both parochial and secular. My choice of the institutional sphere as a basis to analyze ethnic dimensions among members of this group was determined by at least two factors: 1) the prevailing opinion among Polish Americans about the importance of ethnic organizations in Polonia's affairs and in the preservation of the ethnic identity of the group, and 2) the relatively easy access to readily manifested and measurable displays of ethnic identification. This kind of approach, however, should not, and I hope it will not, be taken as an indication of my disregard of the meaning of ethnicity in the life of any given individual. Moreover, even if my departure point of interpretation is a group, it will ultimately give us a pretty good picture of individuals who constitute such a group.

Polonian institutions, like all institutions, have been founded to perform particular functions in a given system with the ultimate goal of preservation of the group's
existence. In this interpretation, a particular institution reflects the changing needs and aspirations of a group which it serves. Tracing its historical development helps us to understand how those needs were satisfied through adaptation to changing ethnic environments.

Now, let us turn our attention to the oldest, most numerous, and arguably most important institution among Polonia, the Catholic Church. Its beginnings go back to the establishment of the first Polish communities in Chicago. According to Pacyga (1986) in 1867, Poles organized the parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka, the first Polish congregation in the diocese of Chicago. By the turn of the century it developed into one of the largest Catholic parishes in the world with reportedly over 5,000 families (40,000 people). In 1908, 4,500 children attended the parochial school. In 1873, Holy Trinity parish was organized just south of Division Street and Noble Street. Presently its church, a splendid example of Renaissance architecture, faces the Kennedy Expressway (see my photographs of these two churches in Appendix B17).

The history of Polonia is inseparably tied to the Polish Catholic Church. Establishment of each Polish community was immediately followed by establishment of a church. As we look at dates we can see that a new church was founded almost every year; a few years witnessed the establishment of even more than one church. That the first churches are among the
most magnificent, despite the limited financial resources of the early emigrants, testifies to the enormous importance this institution played in their lives (for lists of early Polish churches and their location within present communities see Appendix A:11-15).

From the years of the first large-scale migration to America, the parish was the central religious, social, and cultural institution and it remained the focus of ethnic life until after the Second World War.

One reason for the parishes' importance in ethnic affairs was the spiritual and liturgical role that it played for traditionally religious immigrants. But the Catholic and national churches were more than the centers of worship; they provided the Poles with a sense of community and social interaction reminiscent of what they had left behind in their homeland.

This was hardly the only function. The church also played a leading role in organizing all aspects of community life. The hundreds of priests who came to America to organize and direct the parish-centered communities formed Polonia's first leadership from its origins in the 1850's until after the First World War. Indeed, the early history of any local Polish ethnic community cannot be discussed without mentioning its church. Pienkos (1984) wrote: "They gave voice to Polish hopes and aspirations and when they spoke on secular, as well as religious matters, it was with
authority" (Pienkos 1984:9).

Analysis of historical data indicates that church played its most important role in the early history of Polish communities. This dominance had its pluses and minuses. Not everyone was content, both with the dominant role of the Catholic Church as an ethnic institution as well as with the intellectual predispositions of priests. Such a view is represented in a chronical published by the Polish National Alliance in 1894. The editors of said publication view priests as responsible for the low quality of the parochial education and accuse them of neglecting to raise children in the patriotic spirit.

Henryk Sienkiewicz, (a great Polish novelist, the author of "Quo Vadis" and a Nobel Prize winner), had mixed emotions about the dominant role of the clergy in Polish affairs after his visit to Chicago (Sienkiewicz 1959 quoted in Parot 1971:50).

To explain the position occupied by the Polish Catholic church among early emigrants we must go back in time and trace development of the Church in Poland: what role did it play throughout the Polish history, and what was its position in the society and what needs did it attend to? One way of looking at the role of the Polish Catholic Church, especially in Poland, is in terms of authority and its justification. Parot writes, "The zealous, church centered immigrant community reflected centuries long dependence of Poles upon
their church for survival of their culture" (Parot 1971:101).

Examination of religious culture in Poland is essential to understanding why Polonia did not loose its heritage in Nowy Swiat (the New World). Another important factor in the evolution of Polish religiosity was the Messianic Romanticism of the 19th century. The Polish social thought of that time was dominated by works of Mickiewicz, Slowacki, and Krasinski. A general spirit of the movement (as reflected in the Romantic literature) is aptly captured in the following passage:

They [Poles] thought [they] were a chosen people called upon to suffer persecution, even as Christ had suffered, because they had stood for and fought for a universal cause, the cause of Human Freedom; that even as Christ rose from the dead, so inevitably, must Poland rise, and that the day of its resurrection would usher in the day when justice, liberty, and love would rule the whole world—the Kingdom of God on Earth (Swift 1945 quoted in Parot 1971:105).

The Poles and Poland were one entity regardless of their separation; the latter could only increase the power of this intimate relation. Highly messianic in nature was Krasinski's "Down":

And I heard
A voice that called in the eternal sky:
As to the world I gave a Son
So to it, Poland, thee I give.
My own son he was— and shall be,
but in thee my purpose for him lives.
For thou the truth, as He is, everywhere
I am what, like Him, a part of human kind.
But now, this day of Victory,
My name is: all Humanity (Reddaway et al., 1941:323).

Thus, religious feelings were tied to a moral obligation toward Poland's national cause. Its involvement in preservation of national existence determined such an exceptional position of the Catholic church in Poland's history and in the life of the Polish ethnic group in Chicago. This combination of secular and sacred functions, it would seem to me, doubled the Church's authority, both in Poland as well as among immigrant communities, and rendered it such a special status. Even though the privileged status of the Church in Poland has changed in recent years, its principles, reflected in words of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, remains unchanged:

For us, next to God, our first love is Poland.
After God one must above all remain faithful to the Homeland, to the Polish national culture.
We will love all the people in the world, but only in such and order of priorities.

And if we see everywhere slogans advocating love for all the peoples and all the nations, we do not oppose them; yet above all we demand the right to live in accordance with the spirit, history, culture, and language of our own Polish land—the same that have been inhabited by our ancestors for centuries (Szajewski 1983: intro).

As Szajewski (1983) points out, during the years of
Poland's occupation, the Church had been the guardian of the nation's language, history, traditions, and culture. But even earlier it developed a strong constitutional role. In the absence of a nationally accepted monarch (during a period between two consecutive elections), the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church assumed most functions of the king in the interval between two reigns (Szajewski 1983).

Presently, attitudes toward the Church in Poland have slightly changed and the Catholic Church is said to be experiencing hard times. The determinants of such changed status are very complex but I shall point out at least a few:

1) Firstly, for two generations, the dominant social and political ideology was Marxism-Leninism. In spite of churches teachings the mass media and education were controlled by the communist regime; consequently Poles, especially the young generation, were exposed to the atheistic world view. Religion lessons were also banned from schools. There took place an official separation of the Church from secular affairs.

2) Secondly, especially after the Second World War, sizable ethnic minorities entered the Polish population, which before then was almost perfectly homogenous. With the recognition of rights of other ethnic groups, like Germans, Jews, and Russians, the notion of "Poland for
"Poles" could no longer be justified. Since a term "nation" was used in Poland in reference to the whole population of the country, and since this population was no longer homogenous, there could be no notion of Catholicism as the national religion.

3) Thirdly, with all its contributions to the maintenance of "Polishness" it must be emphasized that the Catholic Church in Poland has always been an extremely conservative institution. There are often accounts in the Polish literature expressing opinions of condemnation and portraying priests as uneducated, narrow-minded and greedy individuals. The opinion that the church used its moral authority to acquire considerable wealth and power is not uncommon. Especially in the past, financial support of the church was a real burden for poor peasants who were obligated to give one-tenth of their crops and money to the priest (so-called dziesiecina). However, when Poles, especially the young generation, became more educated and exposed to various intellectual trends, the conservative and unpopular moral code guarded by the Catholic Church became a real burden.

Such trends in attitudes toward the church in Poland are reflected among new immigrants in Chicago as well. It is
most prominently reflected on the pages of the *Polonian* press and through the separation of *Polonian* education from the church. But one should not be misled into thinking that the role of the Catholic church in Poland has totally disappeared. Recently, the *Polonian* press is flooded with alarming reports about the Catholic Church's attempts to regain and defend its superior status. The Polish national radio and press also speak of an impending clericalism and replacing dictatorship of "reds" by dictatorship of "blacks". The country reportedly flooded with religious celebrations of various types. Not a single state celebration can be performed without the participation of a church representative. Particular religiosity is especially displayed by the former communist government officials who see in it a chance of regaining the trust of public opinion (*Dziennik Związkowy* 1991:4).

The differentiation of the Polish ethnic community into "old" and "new" *Polonia* is visible also in different attitudes toward the Catholic Church by members of both groups. As Blejwas (1981) notes, many of the new arrivals -- i.e., those who came to the United States before or during the Second World War -- were disappointed by the intellectual qualities of some priests, and objected to having to pay for their membership in the parish. The clergy, in turn, resented the new immigrants because they were better educated and, therefore, were perceived as a threat to the clergy's
leadership position within the ethnic community. In my conversations with younger Poles, they often emphasized the unappealing style in which sermons are given and the unpopular activities offered by church societies; the latter are uniting mainly the older pre-war immigrants.

Some mothers told me that they do not want to send their children to parochial schools because of doubtful content of lectures. Many textbooks used by teachers are supposedly filled with outdated information about Poland. They doubt whether such an image of Poland will help their children in developing national pride.

These visible trends of changing attitudes toward the church in the Polish community are, as I mentioned, a reflection of the status of the Catholic Church in Poland. The role of the Catholic Church among immigrants is changing and, like other ethnic institutions, the Catholic Church must respond to the present needs of the immigrant community in order to sustain its functionality.
The main difference between the Catholic Church and other types of Polish institutions is that the first is religious and the others are secular. This distinction, as obvious as it may seem, was not quite so clear as far as the functions of those institutions are concerned; the church was, at least in the beginning, responsible for the Polish education and fraternal organizations sometimes restricted their membership exclusively to Polish Catholics. Though Poles were previously exposed to the idea of cooperation in their homeland (especially peasants coming from the part of Poland that was formerly under German control, they developed some indigenous institutions that had no counterpart in Poland. According to Pienkos, the secular Polish institutions were strongly tied to the Polish Catholic Church for two reasons: a) the founders of those institutions were themselves Polish Catholics and b) because its potential clientele was a zealously religious population. One of the most important fraternal organizations, PRUC (the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America), was, in fact, intended to serve Poles of the Catholic faith.

However, regardless of their connection to the Catholic church, the Polish secular institutions were generally created to attend to needs other than religious ones. They
have also been more open and responsive to the changing socio-cultural milieu of the immigrant community than the Church. (For the lists of Polonian organizations and their location within present communities see appendix A:16-18.)

The secular institutions have been historically fraternal insurance associations. According to Pienkos (1984) fraternals provided their members with a wide array of financial assistance and attempted to unite the immigrant community on a national scale along ethnic and patriotic lines.

Because of the social and cultural differences between Poles and other groups they encountered in America, Polonian organizations assumed defensive functions: their role was to protect immigrants from loss of their religion, language and national heritage. Moreover, ethnic organizations provided immigrants having no previous experience in self-government with the opportunity to become leaders in community affairs (Pienkos 1984:7-8).

The strength of fraternal associations emanated not only from their solid ethnic base and patriotic goals but their strong financial assets; the maintenance of their financial security was insured by special policies which provided additional benefits for those members who proved to be especially efficient in recruiting new clients.

Other areas where fraternal organizations were successful include providing Polonia with political
leadership, uniting Polonia behind the fight for Poland's independence, presenting Polonia's problems to the nationwide American audience.

In the past few decades, fraternals have turned their attention toward internal affairs of the Polish ethnic group. One of their goals is the improvement of their group's image in the United States. Ethnic politicians and businessmen launched a nationwide campaign aimed eliminating "Polish jokes" as a means of perpetuating negative stereotypes. Their goal is to promote an alternative, positive image. Another goal has been an improvement of relations between Poles and Polish Jews -- an issue often used by members of other groups as an indication of Polish anti-semitism and racism.

Besides fraternal organizations, there exist various other ethnically based organizations: cultural, professional, veteran, educational, etc. Some of them are quite large but most are rather insignificant, given the size of Chicago's Polonian community. One of the bigger ones is the Polish Museum of America, the biggest Polish ethnic museum abroad and the oldest ethnic museum in the USA, established in 1937 (see Appendix B14-5 for the photographs of the museum and some of its collections). Its permanent exhibitions include: Padarewski's Room, a painting gallery, Kosciuszko's Collection, the Royal Room, the Marine Room, and the Polish Folk Art Exhibition.

The collection of the museum consists of 400 paintings
and sculptures by Polish and Polish-American artists, about 7,000 photographs, 3,000 maps, an archival collection, and about 1,000 titles of Polish newspapers and magazines, some dating back to the end of nineteenth century.

Located in the heart of the first Polish neighborhood in Chicago, it focusses its attention on promoting the knowledge of Polish history and culture, and presentation of positive ethnic image, both to other groups as well as to members of Polonia. Unfortunately, besides a rather limited group of Polish and Polonian intellectuals, its appeal seems to be limited.

The museum's library is ranked the best outside Poland and yet, a librarian complained to me, it has only about one hundred readers. The archives preserve documents pertaining to Polish and Polish-American history. They are valuable source of materials for students, like myself, who are interested in ethnic culture, both historically and at the present time.

I would also like to pay some attention to the PWA (the Polish Welfare Organization) -- an example of a modern institution which attends to the economic and social needs of the community at the present time. This nonprofit, community human services agency was funded in 1921. In 1988 it aided 7,500 individuals. Almost seventy percent of the organization's funds come from the government of the United States and in this respect it cannot be classified as a
totally ethnic organization (Polish Welfare Report 190). In its orientation toward meeting the community's needs, PWA has a variety of programs and services which are not different from other similar agencies. It does, however, deal with some issues that trouble the Polish ethnic community in the degree much greater than other Polonian organizations.

Moreover, in order to maintain its proximity to those whom it serves, PWA is one of those few Polish ethnic institutions which moved their locations to the new ethnic neighborhoods.

From a wide range of issues that are dealt with by PWA in Polish community, I will mention only a few:

1) **Employment.** PWA counselors provide help in finding jobs and professional training without any charge.

2) **Homelessness and alcoholism.** Alcoholism is the primary cause of homelessness for 84% of these Poles who stay on welfare. Over 50% of those alcoholics, treated at PWA, were able to recover. Reports show that one of every six adults in Poland can be considered an alcoholic. Although there is no formal data about alcoholism among Polish-Americans, the number of domestic disputes and drunk driving cases among Poles in Chicago alone show it is widespread. There is a great need for treatment and education.
3) Care for the elderly. The Polish population is aging and, according to the latest statistics, it has the highest median age of all ethnic groups in Chicago. An additional problem arises as a result of older people being left in old neighborhoods while young ones are moving out. Because they represent the oldest generation of Polish immigrants, they have great difficulties with English language. Surveys show that of the 150,000 Polish elderly in Chicago, 50,000 cannot speak English. Language is often an obstacle in receiving help.

4) Psychological counseling. The adjustment to a new country, separation from family and friends, and the frustration of not being able to make oneself understood in English can lead to high levels of stress. In 1990, social service counselors answered over 4,000 phone calls, providing translation for police, hospital emergency rooms and government agencies, as well as crisis intervention, information, and referrals.

Clients, 65% of them women and children, received counseling for depression and other emotional problems, parent/child disputes, domestic and marital conflicts, and child or wife abuse.

As socio-economic and cultural conditions are changing,
the needs of individuals are changing along with it. There arises a need for old institutions to adapt to new conditions or for new ones to be established; this is not, however, an easy process. Probably the sharpest conflict on such grounds is visible in the example of the Polish press as the members of new generations of immigrants are trying to reform the Polish press and adapt it to the new role that they see for the press to play.

As we saw from the maps to this paper (Appendix A:18, for example) most ethnic organizations remained within old Polish neighborhoods but a considerable number of them have moved out. The members of these organizations often move away, as well. As Polish-American organizations and institutions are losing their territorial bonds with the ethnic population, their original functions begin to change too.

Furthermore, most organizations have programs that do not appeal to Polish Americans of third or even second generation. Some of them, like the Polish Museum of America are trying to appeal to the ethnic intellectuals, on one hand, and to the American audience, on the other. They are doing it by focusing their attention on propagation of the sophisticated national culture. This new policy is also true in the case of some newer Polish papers and magazines; by careful selection of articles they are trying to appeal to a more intellectually oriented part of the ethnic population as
well as to a wider American audience. Their objective is also the promotion of a positive ethnic image and consolidation of the ethnic population behind common goals. Ethnic organizations are composed often of Old Polonia and there exists an enormous difference between them and the new arrivals. The fact that active members of Polonia (mainly those affiliated with ethnic organizations) are getting older was clearly demonstrated during the May 3 parade in 1991.

The parade has been traditionally the most important event among Chicago Polonia; its purposes are, among others, a demonstration of the strength and solidarity of this ethnic group and the symbolic manifestation of Polonia's identification with the Polish national heritage. The year of 1991 is the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of May 3rd. As reported in ethnic press, there was total of 96 groups participating in the parade but only 38 of them were Polish-American. The most spectacular were American school bands rented commonly for similar occasions. On the average, Polonian groups consisted of a dozen people or so; there was also a group represented by one member. The overwhelming majority of participants were senior citizens and middle age people. Only 6 (of total 22) Polish schools took part in the parade. The people watching this parade were also mainly senior citizens. People to whom I talked expressed their pessimistic opinions about the consolidation of their group behind common goals. The tone of Polonian
articles was not optimistic in the context of this year's parade; they emphasized its failure to provide an image of a united and organized Polish ethnic group.

The present decline in membership in Polish organizations is in a great degree affected by opportunities and alternatives existing in American society, on the one hand, and potentials which facilitate the taking advantage of those opportunities by present-day ethnics, on the other. The present-day ethnics are not limited in their access to American institutions because the language barrier is rapidly disappearing. Above everything else, however, the values, goals, and needs of the New Ethnics seems to differ radically from those of their ancestors and contemporary ethnic organizations are trying to adopt to their new functions.
Another important institution in the maintenance of ethnic identity is the Polish-American press. As in the case of the Catholic Church and Polish parochial schools, the press flourished in early immigrant communities. As an extra-territorial institution, like nerves of a huge organism, numerous newspapers and publications were cross-cutting immigrant communities carrying information, helping to coordinate the activities of ethnic organizations, and simply providing entertainment.

According to Obidinski, the first Polish language paper, *Echo z Polski* (The Echo from Poland, edited in New York), dates back to Kościuszko's Insurrection of 1863 and was established to promote the cause of Poland's independence. Though its existence was brief, it was followed by many other publications. One of the earliest was *Zgoda* (Harmony), established in 1881 as the official organ of the Polish National Alliance. This example was followed by other fraternals, like the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America which originated its own publication, *Narod Polski* (The Polish Nation), in 1886. In 1900 the Polish Women's Alliance begun publishing *Glos Polek* (The Voice of Polish Women). In addition, a number of commercial Polish weeklies and dailies
were founded in the cities with large Polish populations. By 1905 there were at least 24 major Polish papers in the United States and in 1920 this figure had more than tripled, to 76. After the First World War, the popularity of the Polish language press continued to rise and in 1930 there were 129 published (Obidinski 1977: 39-57).

Obidinski argues that stagnation of this prosperous development of the Polish press came due to two factors: 1) the decline in Polish immigration after the First World War, and 2) the beginning of the Great Depression in the United States.

By 1940, only 43 Polish papers remained, one-third the number in existence only a decade before. In 1960, 43 papers and magazines reported 717,000 subscribers and in 1980 the Polonia press had only 400,000 subscribers. In 1976 reportedly merely 24 newspapers (dailies and weeklies) remained in circulation (Obidinski 1977: 39-54).

As a vital ethnic institution in the early Polish communities, Polonian press performed a variety of functions apart from its fundamental purpose of providing news to its readers (Pienkos 1984). As Pienkos points out, the press served as a means of heightening the ethnic awareness and patriotic feeling of Poland's cause among peasant immigrants who had come to America with little, if any, formal education about their homeland's history, culture or national aspirations. They were laying foundations for a "national"
identity which would replace dominant regional ties and the folk tradition. They popularized Polish literature by authors like, Adam Mickiewicz, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stefan Zeromski, Eliza Orzeszkowa, and others.

Presently, it appears that most widely circulated publications of the Polish-American press are those of fraternal associations, such as Zgoda (Harmony) published by the Polish National Alliance. Obidinski (1977), similarly argues that fraternal publications have the highest circulation. The information I have obtained directly from publishers seems to prove the above thesis (however, more conclusive evidence is needed because the information given by various publishers -- especially concerning competition -- varies considerably). The reason for this high circulation of fraternal publications may be the fact that they are organizational organs, and are distributed among fraternals' members free of charge. Difficulties with accurate estimates of the actual number of readers of publications such as Zgoda are evident. The fact that this publication comes with membership in a fraternal organization does not necessarily provide us with the answer as to how many people read Zgoda.

As far as statistical data is concerned, some researchers, in order to obtain more impressive numbers, extend the definition of category "press" to include various publications which appear less frequently, in a more particular context, or enumerate all press publications.
started over an extended period of time. For example, Lopata referenced Wepsic's 1968 data which indicates a total of 1,356 Polish publications from 1842 to 1966. This total consists of 388 newspapers, 81 parish bulletins and 887 "other types" of publications (Obidinski 1977). Whenever the Polish press is evaluated in terms of these quantitative dimensions, specific statistics may obscure the general quality and functions of publications, in the manner described in the introduction to Park's classic study:

An important question is the extent to which the number of papers at any one time is an accurate measure of the validity, strength, usefulness, and influence of the foreign language press. To count a small religious monthly or quarterly as the equivalent of a daily newspaper seems unrealistic. Even with the same frequency of issue, two publications are often far from equal... The mere number of foreign papers is therefore at best an inadequate gauge of the health and general status of the foreign language press (quoted in Obidinski 1977:42).

However impressive might the statistics regarding Polish press be, many of the publications are relatively short-lived. Most of them, except organs of fraternal organizations, lack sufficient financial support, and this is the determinant of their short lifespan. Obidinski (1977) suggests that the Polish publications that survived (and those which will survive in the future) did so thanks to their adaptation to a changing ethnic environment. The adaptation of press would take place along such dimensions as
its function as a super-territorial instrument for communication among Polish Americans, transmission of common cultural and national values, as a facilitator of status competition, as an instrument for individual power, and so on.

It seems to me that the survival of the Polish ethnic press is also contingent upon its constant appeal to new waves of immigrants as well as to second and third generation Polish-Americans. As far as the second aspect is concerned, more and more pages of ethnic press are published in English and the layout is very similar to standard American press.

Whether we assume a more optimistic position and choose to present the Polonian press in a positive way, or a pessimistic way, the fact remains that the Polish-American press has for some time been at a crossroads. The ethnic environment is changing and the Polonian press, along with other ethnic institutions, is trying to find its new place in this changing socio-cultural reality. The pessimistic perspective is reflected in the tone of recent Polonian publication whereby journalists express their doubts as to what role the press plays in the maintenance of an ethnic identity. Similar pessimistic views are shared by more intellectually advanced ethnic individuals who are not satisfied (to say the least) with the quality of the Polish ethnic press. Their objections as to the caliber of many articles are justified, and one can list quite a few
publications that are full of tabloid-like writing.

During my study, the following data regarding circulation was obtained from Polish press publishers:

**POLONIAN PRESS IN CHICAGO, 1991**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Publication frequency</th>
<th>Circulation (in thousands of copies)***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dziennik Związkowy</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>15-20 (daily) (4)*** 25-30 (weekend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dziennik Chicagowski</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>15 (daily) 30 (weekend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazeta Polska</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zgoda *</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfa</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>10 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relax</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>35 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panorama</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narod Polski**</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poslaniec Serca Jezusowego</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwiazda Polarna</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>25 (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* circulated without fee among members of Polish National Alliance
** circulated without fee among members of Polish Roman Catholic Union of America
*** numbers are given for the total number of copies printed by publishers but circulation is not restricted to Chicago alone but Polish centers throughout the United States
**** Revised information about a more realistic numbers for particular publications (in parentheses) were obtained by me from a former publisher who wished that his name remained anonymous.
Polonian press in Chicago is distributed in many places throughout the city. Major centers are located on Milwaukee Avenue and have approximately a couple dozen copies each.

According to a former publisher, the main problems with Polonian press are of three basic kinds: first, a problem of piracy (reprinting articles from Polish press, sometimes even without changing the layout of articles and using photographs to make the job easier); the second problem is the lack of professionals employed in the publishing business, and the third one is usage of the press for private purposes, for attacks on particular lobbies, organizations, etc.

As I have mentioned earlier, the tone of many Polonian articles is pessimistic, and their authors see the Polish ethnic press "in a deep crisis". An illustration of this state of affairs is given by the fact that of the many dailies circulated in 1945, some of them having a great tradition, only Dziennik Zwiazkowy (The New Polish Daily) in Chicago has survived until the present day. Another paper with a significant circulation is Gwiazda Polarna (The Polar Star). Other newspapers are usually less important as they are organs of Polish-American organizations and often, though not always, they are de facto, bulletins. Why did it come to be this way? Why suddenly did the scythe of death run through the Polonian press? These kinds of questions are frequently asked on the pages of Polonian publications. The
answer to them is complex, and has to be viewed in the wider context of changes in all areas of Polish life.

According to Wierzbinski (1991), who asks the above questions, the first reason for this is that the Polish Catholic Church, which for decades played a leading role among Polonia as its most important structure, after the Second World War became more universal and American in style. The Church is no longer a bedrock on which Polonia could build its social life as it did before, when the church supported the Polish-American press.

The second reason, according to Wierzbinski, behind the almost complete disappearance of the Polish-American press is an irreversible shift among generations in American Polonia; more educated members are separating themselves from the Polish national groups and Polish districts. Generations of Poles who remember Poland firsthand disappear and, along with them, disappear Polish communities and neighborhoods. It often happens that "Old Polonia" and "New Polonia" are in conflict. The sources of this conflict can be traced naturally to differences between generations, differences in the level of education and systems of values, just to mention a few.

Among other kinds of media are 170 Polonian radio programs throughout the United States, but only 10-15 of them are worth talking about (mainly those broadcasted in big cities like New York or Chicago, Wierzbinski 1991). They
dedicate a lot of time to political issues (Polish and Polonian) but reserve some marginal time for culture. The rest of them are so-called "Polish-hours" -- programs filled with Polish folk music. Recently, Polish television programs have appeared as well.

Judging by the fate of the Polish press in America one may conclude, notes a frustrated Weirzbinski, that Polonia, in its overwhelming majority is non-intellectual and has no need for press, whatsoever. Counting all titles of Polish papers presently in circulation in the United States we find that there are 30. Recall that the number before the Second World War was as high as 120.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the above review of the Polish press and its past and present functions are not optimistic. We can repeat after Wierzbinski, summarizing these prospects as follows:

1) Polish language press tied to the former, traditional Polonia is destined to disappear. In the United States, especially, it will be gradually replaced by publications in English but limited in scope and circulation to more localized and organizational needs.

2) Publications connected to insurance/fraternal organizations will probably survive the longest.
3) The existence of remnants of the daily press in Polish language and the appearance of new titles is owed to so-called "new immigration" (of the last two decades).

4) The press, especially in Polish language, needs good information from Poland, and the Polish press agencies.

5) Delay of the decline of the Polish-language press abroad is an important factor in uniting all Polonia at the present turn of Polish history (Wierzbinski 1991).
A language given to each nation is a sacred value. Woe to those who lose his language, who desecrate and throw away their coats of arms, and who deny their history; they shall cease to belong to the human race, because only those can belong to it who serve it. Language alone gives a nation its vitality, makes it invincible and immortal (Frasinski quoted in "Glos Nauczyciela Vol.2-3 1990:5").

The maintenance of a native language as an indication of an ethnic group's identity, especially in the context of immigration, has been indicated as important by virtually all students of ethnicity. Some of them went so far as to argue that a native tongue is indeed the single most important ethnic variable and sine qua non existence of any ethnic group. In case of the Polish ethnic group in Chicago, especially throughout early ethnic literature, one finds a strong emphasis on the preservation of Polish language among immigrant communities. Apart from their pedagogic qualities, it is truly amazing what effort was put forward by peasant immigrants well over a century ago. The parochial schools enrolled thousands of children in the Chicago area. Their effort of keeping a native language alive in a new homeland is arguably equal to their preservation of the place of the Catholic Church.

While we may attempt an explanation of this phenomenon
in the context of the new social and cultural milieu that immigrants find themselves in, this approach alone would not be sufficient; we need to look for cues in Polish history. The Polish language, enforced by Polish Catholicism, had been a powerful tool in the nation's fight for self-preservation. This was especially true at the time when Poland was partitioned. The three powers, Austria, Germany and Russia, enforced their languages as official ones. Both, Russification and Germanization, are terms used in Polish history to refer to a variety of means undertaken by the partitioning powers to ensure their reigns. Although the Polish language was banned from Polish schools, it was kept alive by teachers who risked sacrificing themselves in the name of defending Polishness. Language became a powerful tool and means of one's identification as a Pole. The same was true for Polish Catholic priests, at that time who, risking their lives, made sure that the Polish language was heard in churches.

The symbolization of Polish language as an indication of national survival was embedded in the minds of Polish immigrants. They were taught that one remains a Pole no matter what part of the world he happens to drift to, and that the main mission of Polish immigrants was to fight for the independence of their homeland. And so they did, the only way they could: a wholehearted devotion and preservation of the Catholic Church and Polish language, which in itself,
had a sacred quality to them.

Almost a century ago, Nowiny Polskie (The Polish News) on Sept. 28, 1917, gave the following reasons for the teaching of the Polish language: "If a Polish American knows his language and prays to God in his own tongue, keeps alive in his heart a memory of free Poland, can he not be at the same time a good citizen? In fact, the better a Pole one is, the better a citizen he will be of the USA" (quoted in Litzow 1947:15).

The history of Polish secular education in Chicago dates back to the 1870's. According to Ziolkowska (1986) the parochial school system flourished in 1890-1930 (see Appendix A:20 for the list of schools for this period). The pedagogues of that time were almost exclusively monks and nuns. The most meritorious in this field were the Felician Sisters, Franciscan Sisters, Nazarethan Sisters, Resurrectionist Sisters, and Resurrectionist Fathers. Especially worth noting is a Convent of Felician Sisters which prepared textbooks, and published and circulated other materials for parochial schools. In the beginning of the twentieth century American Polonia had almost 300 churches and 400 parochial schools (Ziolkowska 1986:17).

Some researchers, however, especially recently, raise some questions as to the quality of education that children in parochial schools were given. Let us focus for now on this disenchanted image of parochial schools in early Polish
immigrant communities.

One critical question that can be asked is this: "Why were the Poles, one immigrant group among many which flocked to the USA between 1870 and 1914, less successful than some of the others in using education as a means of getting ahead. Miaso (in Kuzniewski 1975) argues that the Catholic priests were greatly at fault. Attempting in many cases to perpetuate a semi-feudal position of authority and influence among their parishioners, many Polish pastors exercised an autocratic role through the schools and such allegedly conservative organizations as the Polish Roman Catholic Union. At the same time they reacted with suspicion and condemnation toward progressive groups like the socialists and, at times, the Polish National Alliance. Many pastors feared extensive education because it would lead people away from the Church. Children were tied to the parish by means of their education. The goal of the process was not a fostering of independent thought but the development of a specific, religious way of thinking. For Miaso the pattern is clear: Polish priests not wishing to lose the prestige and power flowing from their control of the Polish people, manipulated the understandably inferior educational system as long as they could to foster in the children a closed-minded way of thinking which would not enable them to exist comfortably except within the confines of the Polish ethnic parish (Kuzniewski 1975:13).
Whether Miaso is right or wrong, the fact remains that the need for change in Polish education arose in the ethnic community. Thus the Church began slowly losing its monopoly on ethnic education and lost its supervision over parochial schools. It was up to secular institutions now to carry on the task of education of the young generation. Again, this change was a reflection of change in the socio-cultural milieu, both in Poland and in the United States, when the goals of the ethnic group had changed and other means were required for their realization. The goals of Polish education had changed and knowledge of Polish language per se was no longer a main objective.

One of the reasons for this lies, again, in the context of Poland's internal situation. The goal of generations of Polish immigrants had been a mission of bringing full independence to their homeland. Now, especially since Communism has collapsed and democratic government has been elected, many members of Polonia express the opinion that the mission is accomplished. The New Polonia has new goals which include improvement of their group's image and status in the United States. Those changes within a broad socio-cultural context are reflected, in my opinion, in the Polish education, as well as other areas of ethnic life.

As far as the American context, Ziolkowska (1986) argues that an important factor was the stagnation in development of parochial schools in the 1930's when the American church
hierarchy began elimination of ethnic languages from parochial schools. This pressure was constant and successful and, as a result, as early as the 1940's Polish language was maintained only in a few schools and in the 1950's it was almost completely eliminated. When in the 1950's a new wave of Polish immigrants came to the United States they found Polish education as almost completely nonexistent. Thus they began to slowly build a whole new system of education (Ziolkowska 1986:7). See appendix A:19 for a locations of current Polish schools.

There are also other determinants of the changing role of Polish education and its need to adapt to new socio-cultural and economic realities. In 1864, the majority of Polish students learned English language in school. Well over a century later — the majority of Polish students in the United States are learning Polish as a second language. There also exist more fundamental differences: in 1914, 60% of Poles in America dreamed of returning to their native homeland as a source of cultural identity; in 1983, however, only 6% of Poles are considering return to Poland upon their retirement (Ziolkowska 1986).

The formation of a new education system required new pedagogues and thus, in 1952, the Association of Polish Teachers was organized.

The first "Saturday schools" in Chicago date back to the 1950's. In 1951, there was established the first school of
this new kind -- the school of Gen. Tadeusz Kosciuszko. Since then, many schools have been founded but the lifetime of some is really short. The children are taught four subjects: Polish language, geography, history, and grammar. The objective is to familiarize children, from the youngest age, with various aspects of Polish culture: prayers, traditions, customs, dances, songs, and the preparation and serving of Polish traditional foods (Jadowska 1986).

However, because Polish teachers are among the most active members of ethnic community, it is understandable how their emotional involvement can sometimes influence their perception of reality. This is reflected in statistics given by the Polish Teachers Association officially and how those numbers differ from actual data obtained by me from teachers of particular schools. Thus Dziennik Zwiastowany, from June 13, 1991, gives the following statistics: the Polish teachers association in Chicago counts 77 schools, 6,500 teachers, and 1000 students. An unofficial estimate made for the whole of Chicago by one Association member is roughly 4,500 students. Yet another press source gives the following statistics: in the Chicago metropolitan area there are 16 Polish schools, which are attended by students ages 4-19. Six of those schools have high school units. Few have kindergartens and classes for children who don't speak Polish language.

The total number of students is about 3000 and there are 120
teachers in Polish schools.

The Polish schools are supposed, in the eyes of teachers, to fulfill the following functions: teach Polish language, history, geography and history of literature, familiarize children with history, the structure of Polish organizations and their activity, and teach traditions connected with old Polish Christian tradition.

I am describing the Polish system of education at length because it is an excellent example of a purely ethnic institution, which is modeled neither after an American school system nor after a Polish one. It appears to me as a genuine creation of ethnic ingenuity in conditions of immigration, as a means of adaptation to a changing socio-cultural milieu, and as a mechanism of survival of an ethnic group.

The Polish education system does have many problems which include, among others, the need for reformulation of the program itself, reduction of the number of students in any given class, and uniformization of textbooks.

In today's changing socio-economic conditions, Polish schools in the United States also have an important political function to fulfill. Edmund Osyko (1979), in his article on the role of a Polish teacher as a politician, writes:

(...) they [Polish schools] allow survival of Poland as an ethnic group, which, alike dozens of other ethnic groups in the USA, can fight for its political, economical and cultural
rights. Polish schools educated the youngest generations of Polonia through exposing children to the symbols common to millions of their fellow countrymen across the United States. Polonian school, therefore, is a center of political activity in a degree much higher than it is commonly credited with. A teacher is a central figure of such micro-social Polonian group. A Polonian teacher, who knows ethnic relations in a given social environment, can and should be a political ally in making value choices and, at the same time, not degrading values of other groups. As a pedagogue with an American experience and expert of history of his/her own ethnic group, Polonian teacher is applying "theory of associations". This theory is based on a feeling of community of interests of an ethnic group. There are three institutions which constitute the basis for this theory and are integrated with one another: Church, School and Press (Osysko 1986:7-11).

Accepting a political role of Polonian education in the process of shaping a consciousness of the ethnic group, the Polish-American Congress, during its meeting in Buffalo, N.Y. in 1985, proclaimed May as a Month of Polonian Education. This was both a historical and political event: never before had the most important Polonian organization identified itself with the work of Polonian teachers. For the first time in the history of the Polonian ethnic group, education, along with dozens other problems, was incorporated into the broader Polonian social environment. This proclamation finally ended the period of solitary activity of Polonian pedagogues (Osysko 1986:7-11).

The role of Polish schools, as major players in the process of preservation of a language and ethnic identity, is
all the more important because they seem to be the only places where these values can be cultivated. The Polish classes in American schools are not popular because children are often victims of ethnic stereotyping and are ridiculed by other students. Besides, a majority of Polish-American students in American high schools know only the basics of the Polish language. A great percentage of them come from homes where Polish is not spoken anymore. "I regret to admit the fact", complains one teacher, "that families whose children do attend Polish schools and preserve Polish language at home do not mix with the crowd" and do not encourage their children to engage in Polish programs offered by American schools. It is all the more unfortunate that those children could positively influence their fellow students if given a chance (Bogucka 1988:11).

One other problem is also worth mentioning here, in the context of Polish education, namely Polish literature. Stanislaus Blejwas (1988), contemplates this problem in his article titled "Voiceless Immigrants". The author argues that "there does not exist a literature penned by Polish immigrants and Polish ethnics about their experience in America, and readily available to the American reading public; that it was, and still is, impossible to locate more than dozen Polish-American novelists or short story writers, while there is not a major Polish-American poet or dramatist" (Blejwas 1988:5-19). I regret to admit that I share
Blejwas's observation and, in my opinion, Polonian literature does not exist on the scale that would be desired by Polonian activists.

It is possible to speculate and suggest some factors, both internal and external in relation to the Polish ethnic group, which are responsible for such a state of affairs. As Blejwas (1988) suggests, the early Polish-American community was created by the peasant immigration (1870-1914), and that it is possible to explain this lack of literary inclination to socio-economic and educational factors. Peasant culture depended on oral tradition through which transfer of values from generation to generation took place. This oral tradition, though efficient in Poland, was not suited well to urban, industrial society; in the urban environment, things had to be recorded in order to be preserved (Blejwas 1988:5-9).

Another internal factor that Blejwas points out in this context is religion, an essential component of the Polish heritage. Some researchers of early immigrant communities attributed the "Polish-American cultural wasteland" (Blejwas 1988:5-9) to Roman Catholicism, to Polish parishes, and to the clergy. According to this view

(...) the Church instills in the believer a fear about eternal redemption and salvation, relegating this life to a secondary importance. While it is necessary to struggle against sin and the flesh, and to suffer and endure in this world, all this will pass away with one's
eternal reward in the after life. Such an approach to life, coupled with the Church's adamant insistence upon its dogma and structure, may have effectively stifled intellectual curiosity about the world in which man lives and struggles (...) (Blejwas 1988:7).
Chapter 9: Symbolic expression of ethnicity among Polish Americans in Chicago

The leading theme of this paper is the notion of changing dimensions of ethnicity among the Polish ethnic group in Chicago. I have discussed past and present ethnic organizations such as the Catholic Church, the Polonian press, fraternal organizations, and ethnic schools. In all cases I have stressed that conditions in which these institutions were first organized have changed. I have also discussed former research on ethnicity among Polish Americans in order to show that in many cases it presents an inaccurate picture of Polonian ethnicity. Ethnic institutions are changing because people who belong to them change. Our studies, therefore, need to account for these changes and for new dimensions of ethnicity. Obidinski (1977) writes "Polonian society (...) exists in terms of shared meanings or symbolic interaction among persons who are more like each other than like all others". I would like to think of these new ties among members of Polonia in terms of a symbolic ethnicity.

In his analysis, Bell (1975) divided all social groups and movements into two general categories:

1) Symbolic expressive movements made up of affective ties
(like fraternal organizations) or a social action type of affective solidarity (such groups as Women's groups).

The problem with symbolic expressive groups is that they can be mobilized quickly in periods of stress and peak experience, but lacking a sustained material interest these movements burn themselves out quickly.

2) Symbolic instrumental movements based on ties of common material interest with little or no affective ties manifested. Instrumental aims are usually very narrowly conceived, and once the goal is reached the social unit's function subsides. The problem with the instrumental organizations is a need to re-adapt themselves to new purposes when old goals are realized (Bell 1975:165 in Reminick 1983:52-53).

In my opinion, the Polish-American ethnic institutions discussed in the preceding chapters originally had an instrumental character; presently, there is an observable shift to expressive symbolic function. However, instrumental features are still present. Some researchers regard the present ethnic identity and ethnic movements among third-generation immigrants as exclusively symbolic expressive acts. I think that we should take into consideration both expressive and instrumental functions of ethnic identity, whether individual or collective. Furthermore, I do not
think that we can make a sharp distinction between these two kinds of symbolic action. It can be argued that symbolic expression is also instrumental in that it is intentional (not accidental) and purposeful (oriented towards the realization of some goal); therefore it should be treated as instrumental, even though there is no direct material interest involved.

A treatment of symbolism that is similar to what is presented above can be found in Firth's book "Symbols: Private and Public". He writes about symbols:

The essence of symbolism lies in the recognition of one thing as standing for (representing) another, the relation between them normally being that of concrete to abstract, particular to general. The relation is such that the symbol by itself appears capable of generating and receiving effects otherwise reserved for the object to which it refers— and such effects are often of high emotional charge (Firth 1973:15-16).

Firth's treatment of symbols is instrumental and he interprets them as a means which enable us to make abstractions with some end in view (my emphasis). Symbols, then, are "instruments of expression, of communication, of knowledge and control" (Firth 1973:76-77).

The instrumental nature of symbols as a means of expression, which is relevant here in our discussion, is especially clear for political and religious symbols. As Firth points out, a flag, national anthem, church painting,
scriptural text, and national dress, all can evoke powerful emotions of identification with a group and can be used as "rallying points for group action" (Firth 1973:77-78). In the case of the Polish ethnic group, for example, symbolic expression of Polishness has long been tied to the Polish mission of Poland's independence. Symbolic expression can take many forms and some of them will be discussed here (myth of Poles as defenders of the Christianity, myth of the vital role of immigrants in Poland's independence, among others).

In his treatment of symbolic ethnicity, Gans (1979) argues that third-generation "ethnics" continue to undergo processes of assimilation and acculturation into mainstream American society. However, the ethnic identity needs of this generation varies from the previous generation in frequency and intensity, and that is why ethnics do not need ethnic organizations or institutions but are using ethnic symbols instead. As a result, their ethnicity may be turning into symbolic ethnicity, an "ethnicity of last resort". It is characteristic of the third-generation's ethnic symbols that they are more visible than the ethnic organizations and institutions of first- and second-generation ethnics, and this is why they may create an illusion of some kind of ethnic revival (Gans 1979:196).

Gans describes symbolic ethnicity in the following fashion:
(...), nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and pride in tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated into everyday behavior. The feelings can be directed at a generalized tradition, or at specific ones.... People may even sincerely desire to 'return' to these imagined pasts, which are conveniently cleansed of the complexities that accompanied them in the real past (....) (Gans 1979:196).

Gans argues that all cultural patterns that are transformed into ethnic symbols must be guided by pragmatic principles: be visible to a large number of ethnics, easily expressed and felt, and don't interfere with other aspects of life, for example rites de passage or other celebrations (Gans 1979:204). In Gans's opinion, symbolic ethnicity can be expressed in forms of consumer goods, ethnic foods, and in other ways. It can also take political form and be tied to nationalistic movements in the "old country". As far as old countries are concerned in this respect, Gans notices that they tend to be remembered and revitalized in the form of symbols the way they were in times of their ancestors (for example Marcus Hansen based his "third-generation law" on his own interest in Swedish history) (Gans 1979:205-207). I think Gans is absolutely correct when he notes that at least partial responsibility for alleged ethnic revival rests on the fact that symbols used by third-generation ethnics are more visible not only to a members of a given ethnic group themselves but also to the American society. It has become
possible mainly through the attention given to ethnic symbols in media which are more influenced by present-day ethincs than they were in times of their ancestors (see my photographs in Appendix B for examples of symblic ethnic expression).

One of the remarkable features of symbolic ethnicity is the fact that it does not require functioning groups or networks, and feelings of identity can be developed by identification with symbolic groups that never meet. Gans argues that "symbolic ethnicity does not need a practiced culture, even if the symbols are borrowed from it. ... symbolic culture is as much culture as practiced culture, but the latter persists only to supply symbols to the former" (Gans 1979:209-210). As far as the Polish ethnic group is concerned, we can explain in these terms the movement of the population away from old ethnic neighborhoods and institutions, as discussed in Chapter 6.

As to the persistence of ethnicity in the future, Gans emphasizes the role of mainstream society in promoting and possibly rewarding ethnic identities; presently the benefits of being ethnic are slight. He argues that expression of ethnic identity among descendants of immigrants will continue to decline as assimilation in successive generations continues. With continued acculturation and social assimilation, traditional forms of behavior and identity associated with the daily, routine activities of ethnic
communities, "secular culture" would disappear more rapidly than would forms embedded in religious or nationalistically oriented "sacred culture" (in Jbidinski and Land 1987:13).

Even though I generally agree with Gans, I don't quite concur that the only source of symbols is an ethnic history or distant national past; in my opinion, sources of symbols don't necessarily have to be taken from the far past, and the only limitation in this respect is the fact that they have to relate to the events that are understood and correctly interpreted by those for whom they are intended.

Ethnic symbols, in my view, are individual or group cultural practices that are taken out of their original cultural context, abstracted from that context, given new meaning, and applied in new cultural, social and historical contexts. Moreover, there is no need for logical a relation between the two contexts, but it is necessary -- if symbol is to effectively serve its function -- that there would be common understanding and acceptance of a symbolic relation among those for whom it applies.

With respect to the Polish-American group we can indicate the following domains to which symbolic action refers most often: a) individual concerns with traditional ceremonies of rites of passage, b) nationalistic concerns with Poland's independence and autonomy, and c) mystic concerns with Poland's religious and political mission.

I would like to stress that symbols that are in the
Polish repertoire are very diverse, actually as diverse as Polish-American ethnic group itself. Means of symbolic expression also change, as the socio-cultural context in which they appear changes. For some individuals, their symbolic expression may be contained in observing traditional holidays and cooking ethnic food (as in the case of Easter Wigilia and Christmas Wigilia), but for others their expression is evidenced by a selection of eminent persons and events from Polish history.

Most Polish symbols of ethnic identity come from Polish national history and represent two major motifs in collective symbolic action: patriotism and religiosity (see Appendix B:8-10 for examples of symbols utilized by Polish Americans). However, those symbols, as well as events to which they pertain, are in mutual interplay and cannot in practice be totally separated; for example, religious symbols are very often used for political purposes. Rokicki (1990) gives the following list of such events that are most frequently invoked and symbolized:

a) Legendary beginnings of Poland.

b) Acceptance of Christianity and creation of the Polish state.

c) Poland's mission in civilization as the "bulwark of Christianity".

c) The martyrdom at the time of partitions.

d) Polish struggle for freedom and independence.

e) Rebirth of the Polish state after World War I.

f) The victory over Soviet Russia in the 1920 war and the "Miracle on the Vistula".

g) World War II and the "Yalta Complex".


One of most popular symbols is a white eagle on a crimson field where the eagle stands for freedom and the eagle's blood is the symbol of bravery. This is one of many reflections of the motif of enemy neighbors and a Polish love for freedom (Rokicki 1990).

Another early historical event which is often emphasized is a historical establishment of the Polish state and the acceptance of Christianity by Mieszko I in 966; this event symbolizes the incorporation of Poland into modern European civilization. This motif expresses the links of Polish history and culture with the Catholic religion and emphasizes the contribution of the nation into the protection and development of Western civilization.

The next most popular symbol is the concept of Polish martyrdom. This motif has been deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of the American Polonia and is popularized generally in three versions: a) "Poland
"martyred", b) "Poland betrayed", and Poland as c) "Christ of Nations". The conceptualization of "Poland martyred" is interpreted in moral categories of right and wrong and of the struggle for the ideals of freedom and faith. The version of "Poland betrayed" expresses the deeply rooted concept of betrayal and abandonment of Poland by her allies in times of trouble. The idea of Poland as the "Christ of Nations" emphasizes the sufferings of Poland to a position comparable with the Passion of Christ (Rokicki 1990). Therefore, the struggle for Poland became both national and religious duty; Poland became "a moral category rather than a nation state". The creation of "Solidarity" in 1980 and the imposition of martial law in 1981 are the newest historical events which have been incorporated into the repertoire of ethnic symbols. The labor union Solidarnosc (Solidarity) became another symbol of Polish love for liberty. Along with already existing symbols, it is exhibited in traditional ethnic parades and manifestations like the Pulaski Day Parade in New York City and the May 3 manifestation in Chicago (Rokicki 1990).

As I have already mentioned, it is not possible to totally separate political symbols from religious ones and vice versa in the case of Polish cultural history. It is a specific feature of Polish culture and history that the two are so inseparably interweaved. As Jakubowska (1990) points out, religious allegories and icons, such as the Black
Madonna, crucified Jesus, or simply a cross, carry meanings wider than the religious sentiments they imply. The development of Polish Romantic Nationalism during the partitions (1795-1917) with its appropriation of Catholic symbols and rituals created a distinctive association between nationalism and Catholicism (I have discussed this issue in Chapter 5). Historically the Church was closely linked to the process of state formation. Introduced in 966 A.D., the Church came to signify the beginning of the Polish statehood. As Poland became surrounded by states with different religions, such as Protestants (in the west, south, and north) and Orthodox Churches (in the east), Catholicism and the Polish state gradually became inseparable. In the absence of the state, i.e. during the partitions, the Polish national consciousness become entrenched in religion, church and history and started to express itself through their symbols (Jakubowska 1990).

In religious iconography, madonnas occupy a prominent place. The figure of the Black Madonna in city of Chestochowa (Poland) is intertwined with the history of Polish sovereignty. Like other black madonnas of Europe, she is renowned as a miracle-worker. The numerous myths about miracles associated with the painting mark the most traumatic periods of the state history: times when the country was under foreign siege. One such myth is described by Jakubowska:
(according to the myth)... the painting was moved from place to place according to the shrinking or expanding boundaries of the state. In one such move the Black Madonna appeared in a dream to the Polish king and commanded him to place the icon on Jasna Gora (Bright Mountain) in the town of Czestochowa in Silesia (1382), where later the Pauline monastery was built. The monastery was attacked and robbed by the Hussites in 1430. During the attack the painting was struck twice with a sword, and the perpetrator died immediately afterwards. Others ran away carrying the painting with them on a mule cart, but, as the myth claims, the mule refused to move beyond the monastery grounds. At the place where it was found, a fresh water spring appeared. The damaged painting was restored, but the scars on the Madonna's face remained as the symbol of persecution and suffering. They came to signify survival and the ultimate victory over the invaders (Jakubowska 1990:10-15).

Another miracle of the Black Madonna is believed to have taken place in 1920, during the Polish-Soviet war, and is appropriately called the "Miracle on Vistula", after the river near the famous battlefield. The image of the Black Madonna is used to symbolize divine intervention in the history of the Polish nation and the lives of Polish people; this symbol is one of most commonly used by Polonia, as well. As Jakubowska puts it: "The image of the Madonna signifies hope and provides salvation from political and economic injustices as well as resolution to personal problems. It represents the power of the weak. Expressing in a symbolic way the interests of any particular group and transcending them at the same time, it lends itself to cultural
"Manipulation and binds different groups together" (Jakubowska 1990:10-15).

Jacubowska describes this icon as the symbol of "despair, sacrifice, and death, but also resurrection". One of the most common figures of Polish folk art is Jezus Frasublony (Jesus the Sorrowful) which reflects the deep roots of this symbol in the collective consciousness (Jakubowska 1990:10-15).

Besides religious and patriotic symbols, there is a third group of very popular symbols: traditional folkways. In their study, Obidinski and Zand -- generally following Gans's line of reasoning -- interpret traditional Polish folkways as a dominant symbolic expression of contemporary ethnic identity among Polish Americans (Obidinski and Zand 1987:13-139). I think that their observation of the persistence of traditional customs is insightful.

The variety of ethnic symbols used by Polonia is yet another reflection of enormous heterogeneity of this group. The members of so-called "Old Polonia", that is immigrants who left Poland before or during the Second World War, tend to manifest their identity through identification with traditional folk culture of peasant communities. This is not surprising because such is the culture they remember, and such is their conceptualization of Polishness. The "New Polonia", especially its elite, is identifying itself with
sophisticated national culture and history. As one young activist told me, they do not want pierogi (traditional peasant food) and "Polka hours" (radio programs filled with Polish folk music) to stand for their ethnic identity. In their opinion, there is more to the Polish culture and history than that.

Functions of such ethnic myths and symbols are also very diverse. They are most often used as expressions of patriotism and as instrument in political actions. When used in this context, they are usually expressed in collective action, in order to enhance the effect that they are intended to achieve. This kind of symbolic manifestation takes on its most intense form during ethnic festivals and parades.

When used by any individual person, symbols can be treated as a kind of credentials, used to improve the personal image and even as a means of acquiring material benefits. During my visits to the Polish Museum in Chicago, I witnessed quite a few instances of Americans of Polish descent looking for documentation that would verify their ancestry. Their behavior -- which is most certainly symbolic and could be probably interpreted along patriotic lines -- takes on a completely new meaning under closer examination. Those people knew that according to a decision of the new Polish government, land and buildings that were confiscated from Polish gentry by the communist government can now be reclaimed by their legitimate descendants. Therefore, people
are looking for any available records that would prove their noble ancestry and possibly bring material satisfaction.

Ethnic symbols also have enormous power to unite an ethnic group. This can be seen in the history of Poland which is full of examples of support and sacrifices for Poland's cause on part of the Polish Americans.
I started this paper by quoting Redfield’s view of social science as an art. I think that this should be especially true in the case of ethnic studies. One of the many difficulties that surfaces during the evaluation of former writings on ethnicity is that in many cases the writings are emotionally and ideologically charged. Another issue involved in such subjective interpretation is manipulation of statistical data. Until recently there was no official statistical data on dimensions of ethnicity -- such as language for example -- and researchers were using their imagination to invent methods of assessment they thought would be appropriate. A couple examples come to mind immediately: a) assessment of the educational advancement of Polish Americans through the counting of Polish names among students of law schools and medical schools, and b) attempts to assess the vitality of the Polish-American press by counting all kinds of insignificant publications such as church bulletins. We have to remember that statistics themselves do not present any significant conclusions. The attitude of some former researchers can be explained in terms of an enormous need for a positive image of the Polish-American ethnic group among its members.

Another important issue in the correct assessment of
ethnicity deals with obtaining reliable data and designing ethnic policy. The 1980 Census legitimated ancestry and ethnicity. On one level, the 1980 Census signaled official governmental tolerance and a policy which acknowledged the significance of ethnic pluralism. Reliable data is necessary to make forecasts for the future of the Polish-American population; they must be based on a careful analysis of the changing dimensions of Polish ethnicity.

Once again, as I have indicated throughout this paper, Polish Americans in Chicago find themselves at a crossroads at this particular moment in time. The changes taking place in the Polonian community are visible in every aspect of ethnic life: a) traditional ethnic institutions are struggling to adapt to their new functions even while new institutions are claiming their place; b) changed dimensions of ethnicity among Polish Americans and contemporary immigrants require utilization of new symbols for the satisfactory expression of their identity; c) the need for new leadership is of paramount importance to Polonia, and is yet another reflection of changing ethnic goals and values.
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<tr>
<td>image of &quot;limited good&quot;</td>
<td>image of limitless good(s)</td>
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(Stain and Hill 1977:54-56 (quoted after George Foster)).
### Differences Between Ethnic and Mainstream American Culture

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<td>&quot;Atomic People&quot; Novak</td>
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quoted after Stain and Hill 1977:165-166.
ETHNIC-CATHOLIC
"The Pluralistic Personality":

being, being before doing, reality, truth, witness, individuality inseparable from community, connectedness, roots, continuity, genuine, mystery, ritual, transcendence, soul, feeling, absurdity, tragedy, network people, communitarian, family-parish-neighborhood, land-blood-religion, harmony with nature, relatives and the world are part of the self, inseparability of self from others, feeling, natural, close family, heart, integrity, instincts, reflex appreciation, imagination, subjective, organic, pessimistic, nonrational, complexity, biological connectedness with the earth, rhythmic, sensual, emotional performances, biological urges, affective, communal eucharist, primordial attachments, corporate identity, basic affinities, solidarity with one's own kind.

AMERICAN PROTESTANT
"The Liberal (Individualistic) Personality":

acting, doing, hoping, future, agent, doer, initiator, intervener, make history over, logical, analytical, machinelike, myth of the head, spurious, lonely, individual, marketplace, head, mind, rationality, impersonal logic, atomic people, power over others, enlightenment, bland (food), standardized, contempt for mystery, new, alone, modern, solitary, alienated, relations and the world as extrinsic, destructive, self-annihilation, artificial hearts, unmasking, better, liberated, advanced, mature, cognitive, bureaucratic, imitative, competitive, invidious comparison, position, optimism, comfortable pragmatism, gradual progress, democratic soundness, middle-class contentment, inhibition and control of impulses, mastery of the earth, value on productivity, success, mastery, conquest, history replaces nature, Nordic man replaces Mediterranean man, privacy and isolated individuality, control of body by the mind, analytic, reticence, distance, make-believe relationship, the metaphor of mechanism, functional analysis, cocktail party, independence, self-sufficiency, the body as foreign (quoted in Stain and Hill 1977:1218).
Locations of original Polish neighbourhoods in Chicago

Neighbourhoods
A Polish Downtown
B St Adalbert’s
C Bridgeport
D Back of the Yards
E South Chicago
| 1  | Montclare          | 2 | Uptown                           |
| 2  | West Uptown        | 3 | West Garfield                    |
| 3  | East Garfield       | 4 | Humboldt Park                   |
| 4  | North Garfield      | 5 | South Garfield                   |
| 5  | North Lawndale      | 6 | South Lawndale                   |
| 6  | Lake View           | 7 | Archer Heights                  |
| 7  | Near South Side     | 8 | Armour Square                    |
| 8  | Douglas             | 9 | Dearborn                         |
| 9  | Fuller Park         | 10| Grand Boulevard                  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Finish Population (male-female only)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1. Edison Park</td>
<td>124.7</td>
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<td>2. Northwood Park</td>
<td>40.8</td>
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<td>22.4</td>
<td>94.6</td>
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<td>5. South Valley</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>21.2</td>
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<td>6. North Linn</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. South Chicago</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. South Heights</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. East Side</td>
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<td>11. Hegemony</td>
<td>115.9</td>
<td>72.0</td>
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<td>12. Bethfield Ridge</td>
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<td>97.1</td>
<td>126.1</td>
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<td>85.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Bridgeport</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>45.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. New City</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. West Elsin</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>40.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Sage Park</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>178.6</td>
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<td>20. Cleveland</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>19.2</td>
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<td>21. West Lawn</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>219.4</td>
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<td>22. Chicago Lawn</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>33.1</td>
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</table>
Relocation of Polish Communities since Late 1890s

- 5 original communities
- in 1890s
- in 1970s
- in 1980s

- Expansion:
- Polish communities
- Founded in Late 1890s

- "Polish communities in Chicago to present"
Chicago's Community Areas with dominant Polish population in 1980

- highest density of Polish population
Chicago's Polish Communities in 1970s.

- highest density of Polish population
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Number of males</th>
<th>Percentage of males</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jefferson Park</td>
<td>17,444</td>
<td>4,225</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Chicago</td>
<td>60,588</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>45.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evanston</td>
<td>27,888</td>
<td>14,288</td>
<td>51.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Logan Square</td>
<td>64,702</td>
<td>17,924</td>
<td>27.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Chicago</td>
<td>79,558</td>
<td>10,226</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Park</td>
<td>49,912</td>
<td>10,226</td>
<td>20.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brighton Park</td>
<td>66,778</td>
<td>6,495</td>
<td>9.7</td>
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<td>Talcott Park</td>
<td>14,344</td>
<td>13,568</td>
<td>94.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>New City</td>
<td>67,478</td>
<td>15,611</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Side</td>
<td>14,478</td>
<td>10,226</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of males in the above 14 communities = 100,792

Total number of males in Chicago = 502,465

Polish Community Areas of Chicago in 1960
Locations of Chicago's Polish Catholic Churches in 1991

- Chicago's community areas with highest density of Polish population in 1980
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Church Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>St. Albert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>St. Ann</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>St. Barth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>St. Bernard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>St. Casimir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>St. Cyprian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>St. Daniel the Prophet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>St. Edelina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Five Holy Martyrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>St. Francis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Francis of Assisi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>St. Hedwig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>St. Hedwig (another location)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>St. Helen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Holy Innocents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>St. Hyacinth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>St. James</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>St. John Cantius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>St. John of God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>St. Ladislaus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>St. Mary of Perpetual Help</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>St. Mary of the Angels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>St. Michael</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Our Lady of Fatima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>St. Pancratius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>SS. Peter and Paul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>St. Richard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>St. Roman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sacred Heart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sacred Heart (another location)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>St. Salomea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Stanislaus F.M.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>St. Stanislaus Fortia</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>St. Turibius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>St. Wenceslaus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>All Saints Cathedral*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>All Saints Memorial Chapel*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Divine Word Polish National Catholic Church*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>St. Cyril and Methodius Polish National Catholic Church*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>St. Hedwig's Church*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>St. John's National Catholic Church*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Locations of Polish Catholic Churches in Chicago and five original Polish neighbourhoods in Chicago (founded before 1930)

Foundation date:
- ▲ Before 1888
- ○ 1888 - 1918
- X 1919 - 1930

Communities:
- □ Polish Downtown
- B St. Adalbert's
- C Bridgeport
- D Back of the Yards
- E South Chicago
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Neighbourhood</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Stanislaus South</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Lower West Side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immaculate Conception</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>South Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary of Perpetual Help</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Bridgeport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Back of the Yards</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Edna</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lazarus</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Lower West Side</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Margaret the archbishop</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>South Chicago</td>
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<td>St. John Cantico</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Wenceslaus</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Cragin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Martin</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Avondale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter and Paul</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>McKinley Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary of the Angels</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Anthony</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Kensington</td>
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<td>Presentation B.V.M.</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>West Pullman</td>
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<td>St. Aime</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Polish Downtown</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Frances</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Hegewisch</td>
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<td>1920</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>South Lawndale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Five Holy Martyrs</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Brighton Park</td>
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<td>St. Frances of Assisi</td>
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<td>Humboldt Park</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>Bridgeport</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Bruno</td>
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<td>Archer Heights</td>
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<td>St. Ferdinand</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>West Elsdon</td>
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<td>St. Thecla</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Norwood Park</td>
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<td>St. Valentine</td>
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<td>Garfield Ridge</td>
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<td>Character</td>
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<td>Polish Women's, Alliance of America</td>
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<td>Polish Alma Mater</td>
<td>Fraternal</td>
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<td>United Polish Women of America</td>
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<td>Polish Highlanders Association</td>
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<td>Political</td>
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<td>Polish Museum of America</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<td>Legion of Young Polish Women</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Knights of Dobrzyń</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Polish Teachers Association in America</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Polish Education Foundation</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>The Chicago Intercollegiate Council</td>
<td>Educational</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>The Lira Singers</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<td>21.</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>American Polish Federation</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Polish Arts Clubs</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Polish Hunters of Polish Youth Association</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Polish Catholic Cultural Club</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>The International Club</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>Polish Youth Association</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Polish Medical Alliance</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>Advocates Society of Chicago</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Polish Legion of American Veterans</td>
<td>Veterans</td>
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</table>
Locations of Polonian organizations
Chicago, 1991

Organizations:
▲ - fraternal
● - charitable
X - veterans
■ - educational
□ - professional
★ - economic
■ - other

- Chicago's communities with highest Polish population density, 1980
- highest percentage of Polish population in a community

Miles
Locations of Chicago's Polish Schools in 1991

Polish schools:
1. Anders
2. Cholewinski
3. Kopernik
4. Holy Innocents
5. Pulaski
6. Sienkiewicz
7. Sikorski
8. Wyszyński

- Chicago's community areas with highest density of Polish pop. in 1980
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year established</th>
<th>Name of school/affiliation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951*</td>
<td>Kosciuszko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952*</td>
<td>Pulaski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>In Rainbow Garden Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>Polish American Congres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-72</td>
<td>St. Salomea Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-80</td>
<td>Scouts' School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Polish National Alliance, Gr.394</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962-69</td>
<td>Fedarewski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1972</td>
<td>Polish Alma Mater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-69</td>
<td>Polish National Alliance, Gr.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-67</td>
<td>St. Magdalene Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Swiety Jacek Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>Swiety Walenty Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-70</td>
<td>Swieta Bronislawa Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Mickiewicz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>Swiety Franciszek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-78</td>
<td>Swiety Pankracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-74</td>
<td>Good Shepard Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-79</td>
<td>Kopernik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972*</td>
<td>Cholewanski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-76</td>
<td>St. Michael Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Kolbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978*</td>
<td>Anders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981*</td>
<td>Holy Innocents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984*</td>
<td>Wyszynski</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 additional schools were established outside Chicago city limit

* Schools still in existence today
8 schools were in operation for a period shorter than 5 years.
Long Street in St. Ladislav
us Parish with beautiful
dean streets and lawns.
This street is in the Polish
neighbourhood of Belmont-
Cragin.
Milwaukee Ave. around the intersection with Ashland and Division used to be in the heart of former Polish neighbourhood. Presently, the area is mainly inhabited by Spanish-speaking and black populations.
St. Ladislaus Church on Henderson Ave, (Belmont-Cragin) Before mainly Polish and now ethnically diverse parish, parish.
Examples of Polish Churches in Chicago built in the beginnings of the Polish community:

3) Holy Trinity Church
   - Founded in 1895, on the corner of
   - (on the corner of Waite Street)
   - Located at the turn of the century.

4) St. Kosciusko Church
   - Founded in 1867,
a) The statue of the Virgin Mary in front of St. Lazarus Church on Henderson Ave. There are always people around it who pray and leave burning candles and flowers.

b) Pope's blessing of the St. Lazarus parish on the occasion of the 75th anniversary.