

hopefully to provoke research. Although research into deviant behavior and social problems emphasized the divergency of norms and the differences between urban and rural social life, there was a continuous recognition that the social processes were at work to establish social control through assimilation into new forms of community organization. The oft-discussed "theory of social disorganization" always presupposed, as its final term, a state of urban reorganization.

The role of the city in fostering social movements of all types was recognized early in urban studies. The contribution of Pfautz is a sociological history of one such movement, Christian Science. Hillman's study of the organization of welfare activities represents a clear-cut appreciation of the fact that urban life requires distinctly unique institutions and new organizational patterns for which there are no prototypes in simpler societies. To the much repeated stereotyped notion that slum communities are devoid of social organization, Whyte made a dramatic challenge, and his article reviews the problem of comparative organization and disorganization in slums where deviant behavior is common. Helen Hughes's studies of news revealed the modern metropolitan daily as a form of folk art, filling a wide variety of individual as well as organizational needs. Urban morality and social control by legal enforcement of legal enactments is analyzed by Westley in his study of the police. The sensitive and sympathetic interpretation of the functions of voluntary associations in ethnic communities as they undergo assimilation to the larger society, by Lopata, deserves careful reading in the light of the persistence of today's Puerto Rican and other ethnic communities. Finally, Hayner's vignette on hotel life demonstrates that social organization exists in situations where urban life is furthest removed from the intimate local community.

Despite the substantial nature of the contributions reported here, and the growing amount of research under way in many parts of the world, it remains true that the study of social organization in the city is still a lagging branch of urban research. Empirical data concerning complex organizations are difficult to obtain. The modern metropolis is such a very large and multidimensional topic for organizational study that it is difficult to subdivide it meaningfully into manageable research projects. Also, until recently there was a tendency for this branch of sociology to be based on informal, impressionistic observation—a kind of social philosophy of contemporary city life. Within the last decade the systematic study of formal and informal social organization in the city has become an important field of social research, so that the next decade or two should see very significant strides forward.

13. *The Function of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community: "Polonia"**

HELENA ZNANIECKI LOPATA

Voluntary associations are social groups organized for the purpose of reaching one or more goals through co-operative, normatively integrated activity. The voluntary joining of an existing association or the formation of a new one indicates a positive evaluation of the goals, of the means proposed to attain them, and of fellow members. Voluntary associations are characterized as having a purpose, a division of labor, a hierarchy of statuses, associational norms, qualifications and tests for membership, property, and an identifying name and/or symbol.¹

The present study of voluntary associations is limited to a particular ethnic community—the Polish-American community, or "Polonia."² It tries to answer the question: "What are the functions of the voluntary associations of Polonia in 1959 in the light of the developments and changes in these functions throughout the history of this community?"

Thomas and Znaniecki, in their study of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1914-18), devoted considerable attention to the functions of voluntary associations among Polish immigrants living in America and predicted that these associations would cease to exist in the 1920's. A cursory glance at Polonia in the 1950's indicates that this

* Based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation of the same title, Sociology, 1954.

¹ See chapter on "Social Groups" in Robert Bierstedt, *The Social Order* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957).

² A term used by Polish Americans.

prediction has not been borne out. We must therefore assume that either the interests and identifications of Polish Americans which make the functions of their voluntary associations important to them have remained unchanged since World War I or that over this interval of time the associations have been able to modify their functions so as to keep their membership intact or gain new members to replace those who have withdrawn.

My three-year study of the voluntary associations of Polonia was based on a hypothesis that any association of participants in such a community would have to perform three basic functions:

1. The formation and preservation of the community as a distinct, though not necessarily unchanging, unit;

2. The formation, development, and active manifestation of a close relationship between this community and the national culture society from which its members emigrated;

3. The formation, development, and active manifestation of a relationship between this community and the national culture society within which it now exists.

To discover the actual performance of these and other functions by the associations of Polonia, the following steps were taken:

1. A survey of sociological literature dealing with the assimilation of ethnic groups, with particular attention to factors facilitating or hindering this process.

of votes, communications, etc. The slow, but definite increase in the education of Polish Americans has assisted in gradually overcoming this problem.

There is a definite increase in the uniformity and effectiveness of political pressure on the part of Polish Americans. This is evidenced by the increasing number of persons identified as of Polish descent who are now obtaining elected or appointed political posts on the local scene, as, e.g., in Chicago, and on the national level.

Several means have been utilized by Polish Americans in their efforts to influence the policies and actions of the American government. The most frequently used method has been to send all kinds of communications and correspondence to governmental groups and influential persons, referring to general situations in which Poland or Polonia has been placed or to specific events or actions. In addition to written communications, Polish Americans have established personal contacts with persons in governmental positions who could influence policy or action deemed important to Polonia associations. Congresses and conventions of associations attempt to secure important governmental officials as guests, speakers, and participants in discussions as a means of impressing these officials with their strength and ideas. All social or nationalistic events in the larger communities of Polish Americans also try to draw American governmental witnesses. Finally, influential persons are asked to become members of Polish-American associations, especially of those devoted to relief and the propagation of Polish culture and, in recent years, to anticommunist efforts.

Polish Americans have staged a number of "protest meetings" which are socially interesting phenomena. Any "protest" meeting is supposed to serve one or more of the following four functions: (1) to draw attention to the "wrong" or "injustice" of a policy or action of a

group of people and to induce a change voluntarily out of "shame" (by appealing to the humanitarian values of the offending group);²¹ (2) to win the sympathy of other influential groups which could apply pressure to the offending group, thus forcing it to change; (3) to show strength of numbers and of feeling and to serve as a threat of the use of other, less peaceable means of forcing a change; and (4) to serve as a psychological release for participants, giving them an opportunity to express their emotions and to feel that they are "doing something" to alleviate the situation.²²

Pressure groups can best attain their goals by establishing their own representatives in influential governmental positions. This most effective means has only recently been successfully utilized by Polish Americans, as mentioned before.

Realizing that the functioning of a democratic government is based upon the attitudes and actions of a majority of its citizens, Polish-American associations have been concentrating their efforts toward influencing public opinion in the society at large. Publicity is given to all accomplishments and activities of members of the community and its associations which the community assumes will be positively evaluated by the society. Thus, the cultural contributions of artists and educators are constantly sent to

²¹ Polish Americans held numerous protest meetings against the Yalta agreement. They served the first, third, and fourth functions more than the second. Attempts were made to force the U.S. government to retract those pacts. Voting records of all Congressmen were publicized and communications sent to Washington threatening a loss of votes to those who did not support the Polish-American stand.

²² In 1906, Polish Americans protested the Russian reprisals against the 200,000 Poles who had participated in demonstrations in Warsaw. See *Związek Narodowy Polski*, 60th Rocznica: *Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy 1880-1940* (Chicago: *Dziennik Zwłakowy*, 1940), p. 113.

American newspapers and other mass communication media. So are commentaries about the contributions of Polish Americans to American history (Kosciuszko, Pulaski, the "first settlers," etc.) or to contemporary life. The Polish press publishes pamphlets, leaflets, and books for distribution to American audiences dealing with the national culture or individual achievements. Efforts are made to induce American press representatives to cover various functions and events in Polonia, and these are supplemented by the attendance of Poles at non-Polish occasions.²³

Polish Americans have often tried to exert pressure on the Roman Catholic hierarchy to obtain positions of prestige and power for priests identified with the community. These attempts are complicated by the fact that the priests are dependent upon their non-Polish superiors and thus cannot themselves take part in such activities, and also by the image of the Church as not subject to pressure. With the increasing numbers and wealth of parishes identified as Polish American, there has come a gradual, though delayed, increase in the number of persons with Polish names in the higher echelons of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since 1880, the voluntary associations of Polonia have undergone considerable changes in the functions they have been performing. Starting as representatives of the "Fourth Province of Poland," they have become a marginal product

²³ The American press is always asked to attend the White and Red Ball of the Legion of Young Polish Women, and especially to photograph the debutantes.

combining identification with Poland and America. At the present time they reflect not so much identification with the Polish national culture society as identification with American society, as a distinct subgroup. Except for the relatively few remaining un-Americanized economic immigrants of the first immigration and the relatively recent political migrants (since 1939), it is not possible to treat Polonia as an ethnic Polish community.

In the American political field, Polish Americans operate as interest groups. But primarily they function as status-seeking groups. Within the community, they serve as an in-group status-sifting device. All their attention is centered on the development of internal pride in their cultural and societal background, coupled with the development of "out-group" recognition of the bases for such pride. This function necessitates continued contact with the Polish national society, but of a limited type involving identification not with the present, but with the past. It also necessitates education and cultural activities directed toward the preservation not of Polish culture *in toto*, but only of certain positively evaluated aspects of it. It implies relations of Polish Americans with American society, not as completely assimilated individual Americans, but as a unified group.

The recent geographic and economic dispersal of Polish Americans from the ecologically isolated Polonia communities is a fact of deep concern to the voluntary associations. Their continued existence into the 1960's will depend upon the effectiveness of their prestige-raising function; and this is in itself destructive to their perpetual activity.

2. A historical and comparative analysis of the functions of various voluntary associations in Polonia.³

3. An analysis of pertinent background information, especially membership in other Polish-American associations, as given in biographical sketches in *Who's Who in Polish America* and *Poles in Chicago, 1837-1937*.

4. An analysis of associational life in Chicago as described in *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* (The Alliance Daily), one of the two Polonia dailies in Chicago.

5. Presentation of questionnaires to five hundred members at meetings of twenty different associations in Chicago and analysis of their answers.

6. Interviews with residents of the community and with leaders and participants in local and superterritorial associations.

THE FOUNDING OF POLONIA

The Poles came to this country in large waves relatively late in the history of European migrations. The heavy immigration did not start until 1880, gaining momentum up to the peak year of 1912-13, which brought 174,365 Poles to the United States.⁴ A frequent estimate of the number of persons of Polish birth and parentage who were living in America in 1920 is 3,000,000.

Those who migrated during the period of sizeable movement were primarily peasants from the rural, non-industrial areas of Poland. Upon arrival in the United States, however, they settled mainly in urban, industrialized centers. Since they lacked the knowledge and skills which could be utilized there, they obtained only the lowest-paying positions within its economic structure.⁵ They lacked the economic resources to com-

mand any but the lowest-rental housing, located in areas of the city which were considered undesirable by the economically more successful dominant groups. The lack of education and of familiarity with urbanized, industrialized life had the further effect of creating a wide social gap between the peasant migrants and the dominant segments of society. On the part of the peasants, it resulted in bewilderment and confusion about the strange and often hostile and deprecatory world in which they found themselves.

In addition, both they and the dominant group were affected by the differences in culture. The Polish language is very different from English; and Polish culture at the time of the migration was primarily feudal, patriarchal, Catholic, and characterized by *Gemeinschaft* relations, especially in the more isolated rural areas. The peasant came from the strata of Polish society in which strong kinship ties and in-group control were accompanied by a more or less unified, single pattern of behavior resistant to change. This made the learning of a new culture more difficult for the peasant than for the more cosmopolitan middle- and upper-class migrants. Although lacking biological traits which would make for visible hereditary differentiation from the dominant American society, his culturally acquired characteristics prevented the first generation from easily assimilating into American society and helped create a physical stereotype of the Pole.

All these factors, combined with family and even village migration, resulted in a tendency of the Poles to desire, or to be forced into, living in close physical proximity to each other. Gradually, the need for services and activities not available for satisfying the wants peculiar to the Poles led to the growth of a service

³ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

⁴ Based on primary sources, records of meetings and speeches, and secondary sources, histories of the community and of specific associations.

⁵ R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949), p. 265.

industry⁶ and a multiplicity of voluntary associations among them. Thus, a real community arose in the ecologically distinct settlements of Poles in America. By the year 1919, it was possible for a person to live, work, shop, go to church, send the children to school, and spend leisure time within the confines of such a community, never needing to speak English or come into primary contact with members of the dominant group.

Purposeful assimilation is undertaken only when there is a desire for membership in the dominant society and knowledge of the means by which this can be gained; and it can be gained only with the help of the dominant society. The presence and functioning of a community which satisfactorily meets all the needs of its residents is a deterrent to both the desire and acquiring of knowledge necessary to join the dominant society. In the case of the Polish immigrant, the desire for immediate acculturation was comparatively weak. Also, because of the development of Polish nationalism, identification with American society was relatively slow in its development.

Additional factors which played a role in slowing up the rate of assimilation of Poles in America can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Formation of numerous ethnic voluntary associations whose chief function was the preservation of the community as a distinct entity;
2. Ability to transmit the culture and identification of the community to new generations through schools, the church, and associations, in isolation from American culture;
3. Recent revival of interest in Polish culture, due partly to the arrival of displaced persons.

⁶ Everett C. Hughes and Helen MacGill Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952).

Nevertheless, changes did occur, and the shift of the community from Polish to Polish-American orientation reflects a gradual moving away from Polish society and the formation of an intermediate, marginal product.

Certain factors have assisted the gradual assimilation of Polish Americans into the main stream of American culture:

1. Settlement in this country for a period long enough to permit the birth and growth of a second and even a third generation without direct contact with the mother country;
2. Lack of hereditary physical differences between Polish Americans and members of the dominant society;
3. Abstinence from use of forcible means of assimilation on the part of the dominant group;
4. Lack of marked discrimination and prejudice;
5. Contact with American culture through schools, mass communication media, and economic activities;
6. Appearance of other migrant groups (Southern white, Negro, and Latin American) at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy;
7. Bad economic and social conditions in the mother country;
8. Increase in similarity of experiences with the rest of American society;
9. Satisfaction with life in America;
10. Economic and geographical dispersal;
11. Immigration of displaced persons who accentuate the increasingly American character of the Polish-American community.

THE FUNCTIONS OF POLISH-AMERICAN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

In referring to "Polonia," Polish Americans indicate a consciousness of the existence of a unity which is marginal to both Polish and American societies. The original immigrants, as Thomas and

Znaniacki pointed out, did not form a self-conscious, unified group. There were no strong bonds connecting those who came from different parts of Poland or who settled in different parts of America. The consciousness of a bond between all persons of Polish birth or descent living in America grew up gradually as a result of the efforts of a number of different leaders.

The initial broadening of communication between several groups in the same area was due to consciousness of the bond of Polish Roman Catholicism, as contrasted with the English-speaking version of that religion. The Polish Roman Catholic Union, founded in 1880, tried to bring together only Roman Catholics in the United States who were identified with Polish culture. Within a relatively short time, however, several other voluntary associations whose emphasis was entirely or at least primarily upon the development and preservation of national culture consciousness arose among Polish Americans.

The programs of these early associations called for complete identification of the membership with the mother country, but this lost its appeal for Polish Americans in the 1920's. As a result, the existing voluntary associations were faced with the problem of finding a new orientation sufficiently strong to prevent their own and the community's dissolution. At the time Thomas and Znaniacki made their study (1918), the Polish associations had not yet found new functions—hence the prediction of their early death.

In the 1920's, Polish Americans turned their attention to the prejudice and discrimination which persons identified as Poles allegedly faced in contacts with the dominant American society. Desire for a better status of Poles in American society presented community associations with a dilemma which took over a decade to resolve. If prejudice against the Poles was keeping them from economic

and social equality within the larger community and if they desired this equality, then one of the ways it could be acquired was by resigning "Polishness," i.e., by acculturation and assimilation of individual Poles into the dominant society. However, if the associations, by encouraging assimilation and providing means for it, undertook the function of helping their members, they would naturally be working for their own eventual dissolution.

The assimilation solution was unacceptable to Polonia in the 1920's and 1930's. In the first place, for many individuals such a change of identification and culture was psychologically too difficult. In the second place, Polish Americans felt that it would correspond to an admission of the inferiority of their own cultural background. In the third place, the very nature of the community and the life of its associations lay in the performance of a distinctive function based upon the existence of a group feeling of separation from the larger society. Accordingly, the people who had vested social, psychological, and economic interests in the life of the community sought in the 1920's and 1930's to find justification for the continued existence of Polonia.

The task which the associations faced was twofold: first, the formulation of an ideology which would satisfactorily explain a continuing need for their existence; second, the addition of activities which would appeal to the interests of the changing Polish American and prevent him from searching for associations outside the community.

The ideological basis for the voluntary associations in Polonia since 1938 assumes that their continued existence and active functioning are necessary not so much for Poland as for all persons of Polish birth and descent living in America. It assumes further that the life of the American society is determined politically, socially, and economically by the

successful pressure of powerful and well-organized ethnic subgroups.

Acceptance of this view of American society would lead to the conclusion that strong support of Polish-American voluntary associations on the part of every person of Polish birth and descent is indispensable for his or her own welfare. It is to his best interest to work for the betterment of the status of the whole subgroup of which he is irrevocably a member. The only way Polish Americans can obtain some of this power pressure is by organizing and using the same types of pressure as other ethnic minority groups do.

This ideology has led to the development and intensification of two functions. One is that of crystallizing those aspects of Polish and Polish-American culture common to all subgroups of Polonia and of imparting this culture to old and young alike, so that their co-operative contribution can be secured and their self-image made more prestigious. The second is that of improving the status of the unified group by protecting its "rights" against other groups, by applying all sorts of pressures on its behalf and "educating" the rest of American society to its importance and growing influence.

The Educational and Cultural Functions of Polish-American Voluntary Associations

The educational functions of organized groups in Polonia before World War I were dual: first, education of the adult peasant immigrants about Polish national culture by intellectual and political leaders both here and in Europe; and second, the formal imparting of this culture *in toto* to their descendants. The second function required a voluntary effort on the part of the Poles in America to build and finance formal schools in which their children could learn their own culture. Most of these schools were formed within the Polish Roman Catho-

lic parish and were taught by religious personnel.

Statistics on the number of schools supported privately or parochially by Polish Americans are contradictory. If we accept Roucek's authority, there were in the 1930's approximately 560 Polish-American parochial schools with 278,286 pupils, 27 seminaries and normal schools, and 3 colleges plus one college and one seminary of the Polish National Catholic Church.

Rev. Francis Bolek listed fewer students in 1948 than Roucek in 1937, although more schools were mentioned by him. Considering the natural multiplication of Polish Americans and the increase through immigration over these eleven years, the relative number of schools had not kept up with the population increase. This means that increasingly large percentages of children of Polish birth or descent are attending public schools. Furthermore, the geographical movement of Polish Americans to new city areas leads one to suspect that frequently the schools which formerly served Polish Americans exclusively are still listed, although most of the students now come from other ethnic groups. The dispersal involved in individual family mobility further increases the number of children not under the influence of parochial schools. Two conclusions can be drawn from this material on Polish parochial schools: one, that Polish Americans have supported a rather high number of parochial schools throughout the history of their settlement; and, second, that the proportion of children attending these schools, as compared with the public schools, is steadily decreasing.

The very function of the parochial school has undergone changes. Started originally as an attempt to transmit Polish culture *in toto* as well as the Catholic religion, teaching was done entirely in the Polish language, with stress on the literature and history of Poland. Gradu-

ally an increasing number of graduates from these grade schools wished to enter public high schools. It then became necessary to prepare these students by means of a curriculum resembling that of the public grade schools. In recent years, some of the parochial schools have even dropped the teaching of Polish, and the schools themselves are more like American schools than like the former Polish-oriented centers of ethnic culture.

Simultaneously with the functioning of the parochial schools have been the efforts of all Polonia associations to educate the youth. As in the parochial schools, at first the effort was directed to preservation of the whole of Polish culture through its total transmission to the youth. In their early years, the larger, multipurposed associations in Polonia had "culture and education" sections,⁷ e.g., the Polish Women's Alliance and especially the Polish Falcons. Almost every group had and continues to have "completing" schools for the purpose of teaching the Polish language and the literature and history of Poland to those children who attend public schools where these subjects are not taught. As late as 1959, a new series of such "completing" schools was opened in Chicago by the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress.⁸

A change, however, has occurred in the

⁷ "The Polish Roman Catholic Union added a Youth Division in 1939 to supplement its already existing educational department. Its activities are typical: it arranges choir competitions, dramatic circles, schools of Polish language and spelling contests in both Polish and English for the children of Polish parochial schools. Its 'scouts' and 'daughters' participate in essay contests and courses about Poland. The Division of Educational Aid which used to support a Polish professorship at De Paul University furnishes stipends to students at Weber High School. The Union itself assumed in 1941 the \$109,000 mortgage of the Seminary at Orchard Lake." (Quoted from Mieczysław Szawleski, *Wychodźstwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki* [Warsaw, Zakładu Narodowego Imienia Ossolińskich, 1924], p. 143.)

educational programs for the youth. Instead of trying to transmit total Polish culture, the associations are now stressing those aspects of the national or Polish-American culture which deal with literary and artistic achievements and especially with contributions to world or American culture. The purpose behind this selective education is to make the youth "proud of their Polish heritage," and it is dependent upon increasing Americanization of the younger generation and the new ideology.

The same emphasis can be found in the "cultural clubs" among Polish Americans which have evolved, particularly in the last two decades. Such groups concentrate on the preservation, study, and "development of appreciation" of certain aspects of Polish culture. Composed primarily of adults, many of whom are Poles of the second or even third generation, they build the self-confidence of these people by stressing the "superiority" of Polish culture.

A number of institutes devoted to the study and preservation of Polish culture have been organized by the "new emigration," that is, the political refugees and displaced persons who have come to the United States since 1939. These are being gradually joined by the more educated of the "old emigration" and their descendants.

Polonia's interest in acquiring knowledge about artistic aspects of Polish and Polish-American culture can best be exemplified by the Polish Arts Clubs. The first of these was formed in Chicago in 1926 with the following purposes:

1. To broaden our knowledge, appreciation, and enjoyment of serious music, art, and literature;
2. To render moral and material aid to promising writers, musicians, and artists;
3. To make Polish music, art, and

⁸ *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, Chicago, October 1, 1959.

literature better known in the United States.⁹

In 1947, the various cultural clubs in the different Polish-American communities combined to form the American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs, which serves as a clearing house for news and arranges annual national conventions. Development of "appreciation" and knowledge about the artistic and literary aspects of Polish culture on the part of Polish Americans and diffusion of this appreciation and knowledge to the rest of the American society is the specific function of many local cultural clubs which have multiplied in the past two decades. Throughout all their announcements, both oral and written, runs the same refrain: "We should be proud of being Americans of Polish birth or descent. Look at the world-famous writers, composers, musicians, and artists Poland has contributed." It is this very refrain which the *Polish Review* repeated, as it attempted to renationalize the Poles in America during World War II.

Those groups which do not actually participate in the creation or re-creation of art consider it their function to encourage Polish and Polish-American artistic creation or expression. They arrange for concerts by known performers, exhibit artistic objects, and in other ways either help persons who are new contributors or publicize the works of known culture developers. The tours of Polish artists in the United States have been made possible through the co-operative efforts of the many groups devoted to cultural activities and to the multipurposed associations.

A number of groups in Polonia participate actively in the expression of artistic aspects of Polish culture. Such are the relatively numerous choirs who present

⁹ Thaddeus Slesinski, "The Development of Cultural Activities in Polish American Communities," *Polish American Studies*, V, Nos. 3-4 (July-December, 1948), 100.

Polish programs. They perform at almost every important social event in Polonia. In each large community, a number of "orchestras" or "bands" specialize in playing typically Polish music. Having a Polish name familiar to the community, knowing the national songs, and contributing to the "we" feeling of an event, they have a virtual monopoly at the numerous dances given by the associations of Polonia. The very formal "Night in Poland" ball, organized yearly by the Legion of Young Polish Women and attended by Polonia "society," makes a great point of having a Polish orchestra.

The two recently initiated weekly TV programs devoted to Polish folk music and dancing, conducted by Polish Americans, have, however, been greeted ambivalently. Some Polish Americans object to them because they consider them of "low" level and fear that Americans will be still further reinforced in their conception of Polish culture as peasant folk culture. This ambivalence demonstrates the conflict in Polonia between two segments interested in preserving different aspects of Polish culture: those who enjoy certain elements of the folk culture, such as dances, costumes, songs, and holiday observances, are frequently criticized by those who want to stress only the "intellectual" national cultural achievements, such as the music of Chopin. Both groups resort to class-conscious descriptions of themselves and "the others."

An organized professional theater has several times been attempted in Chicago. In 1906, a group of actors was collected, a business manager hired, and a theater rented, but they survived only a few years. Another group, formed in 1912, tried to revive Polish theater. Again the attempt failed because of inability to draw sufficiently large and sustaining audiences to cover expenses.¹⁰

¹⁰ Karol Wachtl, *Polonia w Ameryce* (Philadelphia: by author, 1944), p. 212.

highbrow
vs.
lowbrow

During the 1920's and 1930's, sporadic productions appeared in Polonia, due mostly to the efforts of one community leader. In the last two decades, however, the number of productions and theatrical groups have increased considerably. Professional actors residing in Chicago have formed the "Theater Reduta" and "Towarzystwo Scena Polska." In the fall of 1959, productions appeared almost monthly. Frequently, internationally famous Polish actors come to Chicago and take leading roles. The productions are attended by two groups: The social elite of the old emigration with their descendants and the "new emigration."

Religion and the Polish-American Associations

Thomas and Znaniecki found the Roman Catholic parish to be one of the major social forces in Polonia. It performed not only the function of the parish in Poland, but also that of the "commune." As a result of migration and settlement in a foreign land, the early Poles in America centered most of their organizational and social life around the church, its institutions, and building, to which they devoted great efforts and sums of money. Thus, the parish was the first organized institution of the Polish American.

Polish Roman Catholics have over the centuries developed a very strong tie between their religion and their national culture. The close affiliation of religious with nationalistic feelings developed during the long years of political occupation of "Polish lands," when attempts were made to repress Catholicism as a means of denationalizing Poles.

The immigrant Polish peasant in the United States was faced with an existing American Catholic hierarchy and a parish system different from the one to which he was accustomed. He resented the attempted imposition of leadership from priests who did not understand his language or the variations to the ritual

which he valued. Therefore, one of his first steps was to obtain Polish priests and to form national parishes. Another feature of American Catholicism heightened the resentment against its hierarchy. Parishes had to be built and maintained by residents of each particular geographical area, although the resulting structures and possessions then became part of the superterritorial religious property. The Polish immigrants did unite and work hard to build their own churches and parochial schools, old-age homes and orphanages, but their resentment against the hierarchy grew and spread even against Polish priests.

This resentment broke into open conflict with the American version of Roman Catholicism in 1904. In that year 147 clerical and lay representatives of 20,000 church members in five north central states of America met and officially broke away from this church, forming the Polish National Catholic Church.

The majority of Poles did not join the National Church, but remained within the Roman Catholic Church. However, their early voluntary associations formed for the purpose of building and maintaining a church and related institutions were usually organized and led by Polish priests. In fact, at first, the clergy formed the chief source of leadership even of groups whose primary functions were other than direct support of the church. Gradually, secular leaders became trained by parish-located groups, and they took over the leadership. Religious emphasis has been declining in many of these groups as their members found other interests, though a hard core of associations whose function is to help the religious personnel in the performance of their roles still remains in each parish. But other groups have tended to separate from the parish, with frequently expressed dissatisfaction over clerical attempts to control their activities.

Attempts to unify all Polish-American Roman Catholics with primary emphasis upon religion have been numerous, but not so successful as intergroup associations which relegate religion to a secondary place. The Polish Roman Catholic Union had much difficulty in the early years and much more after the formation of the purely nationalistic Polish National Alliance, which has continued to be the more successful of the two. A number of groups broke away from the PRCU in the 1880's and 1890's because they objected to the regulations giving almost dictatorial power to the Roman Catholic Church. The PRCU saved its associational life by the addition of other functions besides religion, especially insurance and a stronger emphasis upon Polish nationalism, in conjunction with its continuing interest in religious preservation.

Other attempts to organize interassociational groups for Poles with main emphasis on religion were abortive. Several Catholic congresses were held, but they did not produce any lasting association. Even the Union of Polish Chaplains in America, an organization for professional religious men, was short-lived.

Despite the decrease of emphasis in Polonia upon the religious function as primary motivation of many groups, loss of members of formerly national parishes, decline in parochial school enrollment of Polish Americans, and hostility to strong clerical leadership, the connection between the religious aspect of Polish national culture and the other aspects remains. Most of the multipurposed associations, with the exception of the socialistic and some professional groups, do emphasize education in and preservation of Roman Catholicism as a secondary function. Even the Polish National Alliance, which originally refused to include in its constitution any religious qualification, did so later.

The Economic Function of Polish-American Voluntary Associations

The function of providing economic aid to members had an early start in Polonia. Thomas and Znaniecki found during World War I a proliferation of mutual-aid groups, frequently united into federated insurance organizations. This led many observers to conclude that the peasant was incapable of maintaining interest in idealistic associations and, therefore, the large fraternal associations were based on local mutual-aid groups.¹¹

However, certain qualifications must be kept in mind to avoid overemphasis on this one function. In the first place, mutual-aid societies have never limited themselves to the economic function alone, as shown by the extent of their activities and the frequency of interaction among members. Second, many of the federated associations started out with idealistic functions and only later added insurance to provide themselves with a broader base and more working capital, offering the already formed mutual-aid groups a service by taking over the performance of the economic function. Third, if the economic function were the only important one, then many associations would have limited themselves to that function alone, whereas none of the Polish-American fraternal groups have done so, becoming, instead, multipurposed centers of the community. Finally, many associations having idealistic bases without any insurance program have existed in Polonia and are constantly being formed in recent decades.

Nonetheless, the economic function has played an important role in the life of the major Polonia associations. It was frequently introduced to save already existing organizations from inevitable death. The strongest and oldest associations, such as the Polish National Alli-

¹¹ Szawleski, *op. cit.*

ance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish Alma Mater, the Polish Falcons, the Sea League, the Polish Women's Alliance, the Polish unions, and the Spojnia of the Polish National Catholic Church are federated, multi-purposed groups with insurance programs. "Social memberships," not involving insurance, are given by some groups but are small in number compared to insurance memberships.¹²

None of the more recently formed associations have developed insurance programs. Factors acting as deterrents to new insurance programs are: the popularity of the established insurance structure; decrease of interest in such programs with improvement in the economic position of Polish Americans; a tendency to utilize American insurance companies by the more Americanized younger generations who are not interested in other functions of these groups and do not want to be bothered with repeated contacts with the societies; geographical dispersal; and increase of interest in more culturally oriented, idealistic associations. Nonetheless, the "new emigration" (those who came over after the outbreak of World War II, most of whom were displaced persons) has added insurance to other functions of its own groups, thus repeating the pattern of the early life of the old emigrations. Many groups in Polonia, of course, do not and never have had insurance programs or directly economic functions.

A quasi-economic function seems to be performed by the Polish professional associations. Polonia has groups of doctors and of lawyers which are identified by the prefix "Polish-American." As Hughes and Hughes point out in *Where Peoples Meet*, the professional man with

¹² In 1959, the PNA had 222 social members, as compared to 337,635 insurance members. The Polish Falcons listed the largest proportion of social members: 5,153 to 22,364 insurance members (*Polish American Journal*, XLVIII, No. 21 [October 10, 1959], 1).

a non-visible minority group background must decide whether to identify himself with this minority and thus attempt to obtain a monopoly over possible clients who also identify themselves with it, or to break relations with it and seek clients within the general society. Not only professional, but other occupational groups tend to be formed in Polonia for the benefit of those who share not only the occupational interest, but Polish-American background. The Polish-American Federal Employees organization is an example of this tendency.

The Function of Meeting Special Interests within the Community

The Polish-American community contains within it persons who share certain interests. Occupational groups belong, of course, to this type of special-interest associations. So do the clubs which bring together persons interested in the same activity, such as sewing, sports, or card playing. The sport clubs have multiplied in recent years, indicating an Americanization of interests; bowling, for instance, is unknown in Poland. Their purpose is to carry on activities of a specific type with the co-operation and often in competition with other members and sometimes with other groups. The singing societies are of this type, with the additional function of co-operative performances for non-members.

Other associations, such as political clubs, show more basic divisions of the community, for they are mutually exclusive. It is only in recent years, however, that Republican Party clubs have been organized among Polish Americans.

A number of groups for veterans of the armed forces exist in Polonia. These have the multiple function of providing companionship for those who shared similar experiences in the past, "protection" of their interest, and care of members who are no longer able to be active participants. In the past years there have been two main veterans' as-

sociations in Polonia, the Society of Veterans of the Polish Army and the Polish Legion of American Veterans. Only those who fought with the Polish armies can join the former group. A recent development within this group was the breaking away of some members and the formation by them of the Society of Combatants of Polish Armies of World War II. The parent organization had been composed of veterans of World War I until the entrance of Polish displaced persons. The new veterans were, on the average, much younger, more nationalistic toward Poland, and more fully trained in modern warfare. When other members attempted to maintain control over the group by passing a bylaw that officers of the association had to be American citizens, the "new emigration" veterans formed their own association.

The conflict between the "new" and the "old" emigration is further suggested by the fact that most persons arriving after 1939 formed separate groups rather than joining established Polish-American associations. The Mutual Aid Society of the New Emigration, for example, is composed of about 1,000 persons, all of whom came to America after 1939. Meetings are held in Polish, and that is also the language of informal communication. The DP's tend to have a higher educational background than the early settlers; they come from all social classes; and they have a strongly developed national consciousness. Considering themselves political exiles, they regard the "old emigration" and its descendants as completely "Americanized" and "denationalized."

In the first years of the settlement of DP's who had been sponsored by Polish Americans, a great deal of hostility sprang up between these two groups, and the presence of the fresh arrivals seemed to have increased the Americanization of the original Polonia residents by showing them how non-Polish they had become. In more recent years, however, there has been greater co-op-

eration, especially on occupational and educational levels which have cut across "degree of Americanization" lines. Furthermore, the new emigration Poles tend to be more conscious of Polish culture and more "proud" of its various aspects. Coming into contact with descendants of Polish peasant immigrants who are frequently ashamed of this background, the new emigrants have tended to increase the interest of Polonia in Polish literary culture. Thus, the presence of new migrants seems, in the long run, to have reinforced the interest in various aspects of Polish culture which is characteristic of the new ideology adopted by Polonia's associations.

The Welfare Function and Care for Deviants within the Community

Thomas and Znaniecki found, in 1918, a complete absence in Polonia of associations concerned with the prevention of individual or neighborhood disorganization or with care of members of the community who were unsuccessful in their adjustment and labeled as deviants by the outside society. Extreme interest in Polish rather than in local problems, lack of group cohesion, and the absence of a past history of group responsibility for the behavior of its members prevented community activity along these lines. A slow reorganization of attitudes and the development of completely new techniques to meet the needs of life in urban, industrial America were necessary before any attempt at "caring for our own" or taking responsibility for the unsuccessful and deviants began to be undertaken, and this move is still so new that only a few attempts have been recorded.

In reviewing the history of Polonia and its present activities, the investigator is struck by the enormous sums of money and the concentration of effort still directed toward Poland. In particular, the relief of war victims has been and still is receiving co-operative and

off of Jews!

of to Israel today

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intensive support from almost all the voluntary associations. Until recent years, assistance given to Polish Americans in the form of economic aid was made to members of each group separately. In spite of a high delinquency rate among second-generation Polish Americans, in spite of slum and near-slum conditions in which many immigrants lived and are continuing to live, very little co-operative effort is directed toward alleviation of these problems. In fact, hardly any reference to such problems can be found in any of the literature.¹³

One of the explanations for the lack of community-wide co-operative efforts to meet the problems of adjustment to American life is undoubtedly connected with the conflict and strife within Polonia. Very rarely has any form of co-operative interorganizational activity been possible, and then primarily only for crises in Poland. The question naturally arises: Why have community problems not been a strong unifying link among Polish Americans? A survey of the life and orientation of the community suggests the hypothesis that Polish Americans have never even admitted the existence of deep problems within the community. Such an admission would lead to further loss of prestige. Co-operative efforts to help deviants would involve publicity and awareness of such problems. In its constant striving for prestige in both Poland and America,

¹³ One of the few references to this subject was made in the *Polish American Journal* of March 28, 1953. Editor Len Porzak quotes with agreement the Chicago Society Forum: "Our prestige is low in the USA. Our 'Polish' organizations should be criticized for stressing Polish culture to the absolute exclusion of basic social and economic problems, such as Employment Bureaus for our youth, proper scholarship, housing programs, delinquency and Bureau of Information" (p. 2). Harold Finestone of the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago is now preparing a comparison of the attitudes toward the deviant and their consequences in Italian-American and in Polish-American communities.

the community has chosen to direct its activity toward relief of Poland and toward political pressure and cultural activities which would gain internal and American recognition of Polonia. And it has tended to reject or at least ignore those members of the community who do not contribute to the effort to raise the status of Polish immigrants and their descendants.

The Function of Providing Polite Companionship¹⁴

The "social hour" follows most meetings in Polonia. The function of providing members with the companionship of those of similar background and/or interests and of arranging social gatherings for their enjoyment is performed by all groups whose participants meet in face-to-face relations. The Legion of Young Polish Women plans at least three large-scale social events for Polonia each year, including the "Night in Poland" ball.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE IN POLONIA

A glance at the association life of Polonia over the years discloses two trends: (a) the combination of numerous local groups into fewer multipurposed, super-territorial organizations, and (b) conflict and disunity within and among these organizations.

A federated, multipurposed organization in Polonia, such as the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish Alma Mater, the Polish Women's Alliance (and ten other groups of this type) usually developed in the following order:

1. With the increase in immigration at the end of the nineteenth century, numerically small local groups were formed

¹⁴ Florian Znaniecki, in his last unpublished work on *Social Roles*, has a chapter dealing with the culturally structured relations of "polite companionship" (1957).

in various communities at the time of their settlement, and these multiplied.

2. Individuals or small groups of leaders developed plans for uniting these local groups and called together conferences of representatives of as many geographically scattered groups as they could contact and influence.

3. Representatives did attend the conference and accept the idea of a federated organization. A charter was drawn up, officers were elected, and plans were made for expansion.

4. Expansion occurred through:

a) The addition of already existing "societies"—the term used for member groups;

b) The formation of new groups where none existed or existing ones did not wish to join.

5. A complex organizational system was developed, providing for centralization, but also delegation of power, usually a central body, regional, district, and smaller area groups of member societies, and national congresses for policy formation and/or support for policies centrally developed.

6. New groups performing specialized functions or consisting of special categories of members, frequently lacking a local basis, were gradually added and old ones dissolved as the interests of members changed.

The two main problems involved in the formation of federated groups were definition of functions with a sufficiently broad, yet significant appeal to large numbers of Polish Americans, and establishment of an organizational structure that met all the requirements satisfactorily. Centralization of authority was frequently opposed by a desire for greater autonomy and/or voice in policy-making on the part of member groups.

The organizations succeeded in solving the first problem by stressing Polish nationalism until the early 1920's and

then by changing to the new ideology, and by the addition of many functions, such as insurance, to their originally stated purposes as the interests of Polish Americans changed.

The problem of the organizational distribution of power continues to plague Polonia associations, resulting in frequent schism, complete withdrawal, and formation of new groups. Relatively frequent resort has been taken to outside authorities by referral to American courts to settle disputes over power. Most existing federated groups developed strong central bodies, which were absolutely essential for those with insurance programs. Conflicts most frequently occurred during national congresses over election of officers, policy-making, and especially dues and representation. The smaller groups have attempted to set up limitations of power on the part of the larger societies.

At the present time, the Polish National Alliance is the leading group in Polonia, both numerically and in the amount of activity its members and leaders undertake. Its Chicago Society is one of the most prestigious and active in the community. Its president is the acknowledged spokesman of Polonia and has been able to organize an interassociational group, the Polish American Congress, of which he is also the president. Besides the PNA, the women's associations are the only ones which have been able to maintain their membership. Even the Polish Roman Catholic Union is steadily decreasing. The total number of persons having memberships in the fourteen fraternal associations in 1959 is 779,639, with a total decrease since 1958 of 3,595. In addition to these, Polonia has federations of groups without insurance, such as the Polish Singers Alliance, the Alliance of Malopolska (a region in Poland) Clubs, the American Council of Polish Cultural Clubs, etc.

The various local and federated asso-

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From Social Organization and Activities
ciations of Polonia have at various times attempted to organize interorganizational associations. There have been at least eighteen of these in the history of the community, each of them aiming to combine the efforts of various groups along a certain line of activity and especially to act as spokesman for Polonia in its relations with Poland and America. Some of these have lasted only as long as it took to plan and conduct the first conference. None has lasted throughout the history of Polonia.

The various attempts met with failure mainly for two reasons: the lack of goals sufficiently strong to appeal to large numbers of groups and the constant struggle between existing organizations for control of these associations. The endorsement of an interorganizational association by one faction of Polonia's groups usually meant its ultimate death because of the opposition of other factions. An exception exists at the present time, when the unifying link is not so much the political situation of Poland, but the increasing interest in political pressure upon the American government for status recognition of Polish Americans.

Polish Americans are now conscious of their past failures to unify under a group composed of representatives of their associations which would co-ordinate their efforts in relation to outside societies. They frequently attribute this lack of unity to "Polishness." In fact, they state that Poles are too individualistic to do anything but fight each other. But the development and acceptance of the new ideology of American society and Polonia's place in it provide a sufficient basis for some co-operation through the Polish American Congress, which has survived since 1953 despite some conflicts.

Thus, the Polonia of this time is quite well organized. The majority of active Polish Americans do have knowledge of the activities of others and co-operate in many events. This awareness and co-

operation is probably true for most of the relatively decreasing number of Americans of Polish birth and descent.

It is obvious that Polish-American associations are continuing to meet the needs of sufficient numbers of persons to keep themselves going. Their organization and activities frequently resemble those of American associations more than those of the original Polonia groups. However, for economic, companionate, and prestige purposes, the Polish-American associations still provide the satisfaction of certain needs in ways not duplicated by American associations. As one of the active participants in Polonia associations summarized for me: "I'd rather be a big fish in here than a nobody out there." And, believing at least partially in their image of American society, such persons continually concentrate their attention on the "greatness" of their cultural heritage and on the importance of "Poles sticking together" in order to "get our own" from the Irish, Italians, Jews, Germans, *et al.* who compose the United States.

The Polish Mass Media and Voluntary Associations

In the city of Chicago there are approximately 500,000 persons of Polish birth or descent. The majority of them are settled in the near northwest and on the south side of the city (towns of Lake and Russell Square) and in the steel community of Hegewish. Within these four areas, an undetermined number of associations perform their multiple functions. Most of them have monthly meetings, a varying number of "parties," and an annual banquet. They are concerned with the collection of money for the relief of Poland, church activities, educational stipends or grants. Their members are, more frequently than not, holders of insurance policies. District and other regionally federated meetings draw representatives from the local groups, and their social events are usu-

ally open to all residents of Poland. Throughout the year, a number of theatrical productions are given in church or school auditoriums. The Polish Arts Fair in Chicago draws hundreds of persons. The main social event is the "Night in Poland" ball which takes place in February. Polish national holidays are celebrated with parades and speeches. Sports competitions occur with regularity.

News about all these associations is communicated in the Polish language by Polonia-directed press and radio. This is how the activities which require community co-operation are publicized by the groups which are sponsoring them. The Polish press, however, performs more complex functions than just those of a local newspaper. The Polish press has helped Polish-American associations and Polonia as a whole to develop, crystallize, and even change their basic orientation toward the two national culture societies. The press has served a multiplicity of functions: it gives local news; formulates and spreads community ideology; unifies geographically dispersed groups; evaluates and publicizes activities of the leaders; and also reflects internal conflicts. It is so edited and oriented that the individual Polish-American reader gets a feeling of the great value and importance of community life. In recent years, especially, he is reminded of the positive aspects of Polish culture, of the importance of identifying himself with Polonia, of the life and work of persons with the same background as his who have gained a prestige status in various societies. He is informed of the existence of multitudinous associations which have interesting meetings and pleasurable activities. He is shown the significance of the community to the world at large by being given items of news in which reference to it is made. He is appealed to as a person who can contribute time and money to help other people less fortunate than he. He is reminded of his political role by appeals

to vote and suggestions for sending letters, telegrams, etc. Varied groups compete for him as a desirable potential member. The continued existence of these publications indicates that they are still serving a need not met by American periodicals. Evidently sufficiently large numbers of persons or relatively strong social groups consider them worth supporting for many years. The Polish language radio serves similar, if less important functions. Its continued operation shows that news, music, and even advertisements in the Polish language serve a need for persons who either do not understand English or prefer to hear Polish and who are especially concerned with events and their local interpretation within Polonia.

The Function of Relating Polonia to Polish Society

The second major function of Polish-American voluntary associations has been and remains the crystallization, active manifestation, and adjustment of a close relationship of this community to the Polish national culture society. As Thomas and Znaniecki pointed out, Polish peasant immigrants kept in contact with relatives and friends in Poland, sent them money, and expressed homesickness. They maintained the customs, the language, and the general outlook of that particular region of Poland with which they were familiar.

However, they were relatively unaware of the existence of a Polish national society which, though politically controlled by three foreign states since the 1790's, had a common and distinct secular literary culture and an independent organization functioning for the preservation, growth, and expansion of this culture.¹⁵ It was the upper, educated classes, however, who were developing, preserving, and unifying this culture. At

¹⁵ Florian Znaniecki, *Modern Nationalities* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1950), p. 21.

the time of the great migrations to America, nationalism had already been absorbed by the urban population but had not yet penetrated into the relatively isolated rural areas. Because of their political activities, some nationalistic leaders had to flee from the mother country, and many came to the United States. Having themselves a strong consciousness of a common cultural heritage and identification with it, they attempted to communicate this consciousness to the locally orientated Polish peasant immigrant through the formation of social organizations and the Polish press. They succeeded in doing before World War I, and thus Polish nationalism became the main force unifying the many Poles living in America.

This building up of a nationalistic orientation toward Poland was a gradual process. The first step was the formation of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in 1880. As its name implies, this association functioned primarily as a means for stressing, identifying, and preserving Roman Catholicism among Poles in America. Under the influence of nationalistically conscious leaders in Polonia and Europe, the Polish National Alliance was formed eight years later with the single purpose of promoting nationalism.

The following decade was characterized by bitter strife within the community between those who considered nationalism as the primary goal of associational life and those who were religiously oriented. In the meantime, other associations stressing Polish culture were founded. Each group started a "fund," collecting money to be used by political leaders in the "fight for independence." Political leaders from Europe were greeted with enthusiasm in every community in America as they toured and made speeches. Paderewski became one of the Polish-American heroes.

In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, the number of appeals and

the intensity of effort in response increased steadily. Polonia directed all its attention toward Poland, and this activity gave it a feeling of excitement and importance. It became known as the "Fourth Province of Poland," the others being those under Russian, German, and Austrian domination. Interassociational organizations were soon formed to coordinate all the efforts to help Poland. The peak of this identification with the mother country national culture society was reached during and immediately after World War I. William C. Boyde, a commissioner of the Red Cross, estimated that at that time the Poles in America sent approximately \$20,000,000 to Europe through various groups, including the Polish War Victims Relief Fund.¹⁶ In addition, after September, 1917, 28,000 Polish-American men enlisted in the Polish Army on French Soil and fought for political liberation in Europe.¹⁷

Withdrawal of Identification with Poland

Even during the period of heightened Polish nationalism and concentrated orientation toward that national culture society, conflict and dissatisfaction prevailed in Polonia, reflecting the political problems of the mother land. Throughout the period preceding World War I various political parties in occupied Poland and refugees living in England, France, and Switzerland were not united in their efforts for Poland. Each party wanted to be considered the official "government in exile," to act as co-ordinator of all efforts for the liberation of Poland, and thus to have the dominant political power over the republic, once it was created. Each party naturally attempted to get the backing of as many Poles as possible, particularly of the great numbers in America.

¹⁶ Wachtl, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

As long as the goal of political liberation was uppermost, these conflicts were pushed into the background. Once the Republic of Poland was formed, however, the already present frustrations were increased by other events and resulted first in the anger of Polonia toward Poland, then in apathy and withdrawal of identification. This process can be summarized in the following way:

1. The goal of Polish liberation had unified Polish Americans without, however, eliminating internal conflicts in Polonia. When the goal was accomplished, internal tensions again came to the fore.

2. A psychological letdown succeeded the extreme nationalistically based concentration of attention, and people became more interested in their own problems.

3. The Polish national society no longer needed the manpower provided by the Polish Americans, and its need for money steadily decreased. It now turned its attention to the problems of setting up a new state. The Polish Americans felt rejected, ignored, no longer part of a group striving for common goals.

4. The vague, idealized Poland of nationalistic heroes and poets who sang of an "oppressed" land which could not be blamed for the conditions forcing emigration now became a concrete political state which failed to live up to expectations:

a) The only contact Polish Americans had with this state was through delegates from Poland who came for money.

b) These delegates were met with personal demands which they were unable to fulfil, and their presence took prestige away from local leaders by emphasizing their inadequacies.

c) Polish Americans did buy \$18,472,800 worth of bonds issued by the Polish government, with some consequent loss of money. In addition, large

sums were lost by private investors in business and industry in Poland. Osada estimated the loss at \$6,000,000 in the period from 1919 to 1923.¹⁸

d) Political campaigns in Poland were accompanied by "mud-slinging" which had the dual effect of disillusioning the Polish American, who had thought of his motherland as a harmonious whole, and making him suspect that his money was being used in these campaigns. A motto became popular in Polonia during the 1920's: "Close your pocket, boy, your money is going for political purposes."

e) The Polish government and society resented the interference in their internal affairs by Polish Americans who, in turn, felt they had a right to voice their opinions because of their financial contributions.

f) Many Polish Americans had emigrated to the newly formed republic, only to become dissatisfied not only with living conditions there, but also with their own status in Polish society.

g) The soldiers who had fought in France and Poland returned to America with bitterness against the government for having demobilized them during the war with Russia—an implication that they were not an important part of the army—and for not having paid their transportation all the way back to their homes.¹⁹

5. Increasing, though at that time unrecognized and unconscious, Americanization, especially of the younger generation, had taken place in the decades while attention had been directed toward Poland.

The result of the lessened identification with Poland was dual: the turning of attention inward toward the Polish-American community itself, and an in-

¹⁸ Osada, *Jak Sie Krztałcowala Polska Dusz Wychodztwa w Ameryce* (Pittsburgh: Sokoli Polskie, 1930), pp. 170 ff.

¹⁹ Wachtl, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

creasing effort to obtain prestige from the American society.

From 1934 until World War II, contact with Poland involved mostly travel by individuals and association representatives, personal communication, and some cultural exchanges. The new ideology of Polonia gave increasing attention and appreciation to Polish culture as a subject of study and as the cultural background of those who were identified as Polish Americans, but this did not involve identification with Polish society. However, after the invasion of 1939, Poland again became the center of international attention. Political refugees again attempted to revive nationalism among the Polish Americans. However, the type of appeal used and the response Polonia made to it were quite different. During World War II, Polonia was not treated and did not treat itself as the "Fourth Province of Poland." Emphasis was placed upon developing the pride of Polish Americans in past and present contributions to the war effort.²⁰

Polish Americans responded to these appeals on two levels: humanitarian and political. During the war and in the years since, although with less frequency in the late 1950's they sent money, but chiefly packages, to assist the Polish victims of the war. At the same time, they increased their political pressure upon the American government on behalf of Poland. Thus, as active American citizens they attempted to raise the international prestige of the nation with which their background was connected. The content of their communications, however, did not reflect identification with a distant national culture society. Likewise, an attempt to form a division of Polish-American soldiers to join the European armies failed during World

²⁰ *The Polish Review*, published in New York with the support of the Polish government in London, emphasized "the glorious past" and "the gallant present."

War II. Polonia newspapers showed equal interest in the progress of American war efforts on both fronts.

After World War II, Poland became one of the communist satellites of Russia, and Polonia's interest in it continued on both the humanitarian and political levels. Most of the support for the government-in-exile came from the displaced persons, or "new emigration," who are more politically oriented toward Poland than the "old emigration" and its descendants.

The humanitarian interest of Polish Americans is reflected in their activities on behalf of Polish DP's. The Polish American Congress made considerable efforts to bring such persons to the United States. Having obtained permission from the American government to allow non-quota numbers of DP's to enter this country, it helped in the screening process in Europe and obtained guarantees of home and employment from Polish Americans.

The Function of Relating Polonia to American Society

Polish-American voluntary associations have performed a third major function, that of defining, crystallizing, and changing the relation of Polonia to American society. Starting with the late 1920's, Polish-American voluntary associations concentrated their attention on the development and utilization of methods by which *community* participation in American society could be increased. None of the efforts of the larger associations have been directed to encourage individual assimilation, i.e., complete identification and participation in the life of the American society. On the contrary, they have striven to act as a unified interest group in their relations with American society.

The function of relating the self-conscious unit of Polish Americans to the general society, as visualized by their ideology, has been dual:

1. Making Polish Americans better qualified to take part in American society by making them conscious and "proud" of their national and cultural background, and by giving them the knowledge and skills which would insure their success as representatives of the Polish unit within American society;

2. Increasing the prestige and power of Polish Americans as a group by direct pressure upon organized American groups, especially the government, and public opinion.

The first of these functions has been performed through educational activities of all groups and has had a dual nature: the teaching and development of Polish and Polish-American culture among both children and adults; and, second, encouragement of education in certain aspects of American culture on the part of members. The latter activity includes the granting of student stipends, fellowships and loans, the adjustment of the parochial school curriculum to that of public schools, and the encouragement of literary, professional, and artistic achievements. It also includes the transmission to Polish Americans of knowledge about American laws and business practices. A latent function of the numerous voluntary associations has been the training of leaders in organizational work and the opening of avenues of upward social mobility.

Besides their interpretation of American culture, the great contribution Polish-American associations are making toward participation of their community in American life is in the political field. The size of the Polish-American group and its concentration in areas where it is the primary ethnic group might lead an observer to assume that these people have been able to exert considerable political pressure upon the American local, state, and national governments. The amount, direction, and effectiveness of the participation of Polish immigrants

and their descendants in American political life was slowed by two factors: In the first place, desire to participate in American society was lacking because of identification with the Polish national culture society. In the second place, the immigrants, lacking knowledge of democratic political behavior and of the means which could be utilized to influence it, frequently did not establish their status as citizens.

Organization of effective political action is dependent upon the ability of a relatively large group of persons to form a central association which can act as spokesman for the group in its relation to the state. In the past, the Polish Americans have been unable to agree upon the goals and means for the formation of such a group. Each of the existing associations tended to view itself as the representative of the community and to resent the formation of any interassociational organization to which it would have to delegate authority. Only in recent years did one of the voluntary associations in Polonia reach such proportional size and power as to become the leader in founding an interassociational organization, the Polish American Congress. This intergroup association directs its activities primarily toward political pressure upon the American state and its propaganda toward the American society. Led by the president of the Polish National Alliance, it unites representatives of other associations in its chief offices.

The second problem which faced Polish-American associations in their attempt to organize effective action has been that of agreeing upon the type of action or policy of the government they want to support or discourage.

A third problem of political action which has delayed the effectiveness of Polonia has been the need to transform whatever agreement could be reached by Polish-American leaders into action on the part of many persons in the form