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POLISH AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

In 1636, less than two decades after Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded, the people of that colony laid the basis for the institution that was shortly to become Harvard College. Within the first century of the existence of the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard two other colleges—William and Mary (1693) and Yale (1701)—were also founded. These institutions, and others which soon followed in the course of the eighteenth century, were established by immigrant communities which needed leaders and clerics and could not depend on the old homeland as a reliable source of ordained and educated persons to lead them and minister to them. The Yale University Charter summed up the purpose of these new colleges very succinctly as fitting youth "for publick [sic] employment, both in church and civil state."[1]

The circumstances which attended the founding of these colleges prior to the Revolution, made the American College a distinctive institution. Modeling their curriculum on that of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the American Colleges deviated from their model in organizational form. They stood alone and autonomous, unaffiliated with any university. They were governed by a board of persons who were not members of the faculty but from the community and denomination they served. This new system of governance re-

Research for this essay was done under the auspices of a grant from the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota. The author wishes to thank the staff of the Center for their invaluable assistance in locating the necessary materials.

Editor's Note. In keeping with the spirit of this essay, and the book, words denoting educational institutions begin with capitals, often contrary to the prevailing spelling conventions. This is a conscious editorial decision, serving to underline the importance of the subject.

flected their origin and their need for the moral and financial support of their constituencies. Two prominent American historians summed up the difference between the great Medieval Universities and the American Colleges thus:

> The European universities evolved out of long established communities of scholarship and teaching, the American colleges were created, in a sense, as artifacts by communities that had to strain very limited resources to support them.[2]

The American experience made the colleges, in spite of a shared commitment to a liberal education, bastions of sectional pride and sectarian exclusiveness. They reflected and promoted the regional distinctiveness and the variety of theological worldviews that characterized colonial America. Colleges which perpetuated cultural and religious diversity and acted as symbols of our pluralism proliferated by the nineteenth century. Towns with ambitions or pretensions to being more than just crossroads settlements, and religious groups with a zeal to preserve and propagate sect and creed, established colleges all over the Eastern United States prior to the Civil War. In a time when no clearcut system of educational progression existed, and educational standards were hardly uniform, the quality of the "collegiate" education these institutions offered varied widely. Some of these colleges were closer to the European classical secondary schools—the *Lycée* or the *Gymnasium*—than to a university college. Often founded on a shoestring, and sometimes without an adequate supply of trained teachers, many American colleges failed within a few years of their inceptions.[3]

It is against this background that the history of the attempts by Polish immigrants and their children to establish institutions of higher learning has to be viewed. Their experience parallels and repeats the experience of earlier groups of immigrants to the American land—perhaps more so than any other people who arrived during the great migration of Eastern and Southern Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century. In a radically different environment the Poles, like their Pilgrim predecessors, saw higher education as central to the preservation of faith and group identity, and founded colleges and seminaries as "artifacts" in spite of enormous strain on the resources of the community. This education in each case was initially intended to prepare clergy and teachers, but began to lose that character almost immediately as the immigrant communities realized that their need for educated persons extended beyond the staffing of churches and schools. With an education that shaped conscience and consciousness against the onslaughts of a hostile world, laymen were prepared to lead their people, guide their institutions, and at the

same time improve their own lot.

In establishing their institutions of higher learning, the Poles also drew on institutional forms whose curricula and names resonated with the echoes of a past familiar and inspiring to them. Whereas the Puritans drew on the collegiate traditions of Post Reformation England, the Poles looked back to the educational forms of Post Tridentine Catholicism and Pre-Partition Poland. In each case these immigrant institutions, which shared a common inspiration in the Universities of Medieval Christendom, were forced to change form and curricula to meet the demands of life in the new world. The Polish Colleges and Seminaries were, in addition, strongly affected by the evolution and modification of their American counterparts, and forced to operate in their shadow—a disadvantage that the first colleges escaped.

The first groups of Polish American institutions of higher learning for men were either seminaries or colleges, both of which were organized in a similar manner.[4] The choice of the name and the form of the *Kolegium* or college has implications which provide insight into the ambiguity and complexity of the immigrants' world. First, the *Kolegium* was clearly Catholic and Roman. It resembled the national colleges established in Rome by a centralizing and romanizing nineteenth century Papacy. Given the difficulties of educating Polish Catholic priests under the Partitions and the desire of the Church to draw its ablest young men to study in Rome, many Polish priests who later worked in the United States were graduates of the Polish College in Rome.[5]

The *Kolegium* also had a specific and very appropriate Polish history. It had been introduced during the Counter-Reformation into Poland by the Jesuits for the education of young men. A major bulwark of Faith and Nationality especially in the East, the colleges lasted until the educational reform during the "Great Awakening" on the eve of the Partitions.[6] For the educated Poles who established them in America, the *Kolegia* were at one and the same time a symbol of solidarity with an ultramontane and embattled church in a hostile Protestant American environment and a souvenir of that past age whose struggles had irrevocably made faith an attribute of national consciousness.[7]

The *Kolegium,* aside from its European antecedants, offered a certain advantage in the American milieu. Its name, if not its form, could be easily translated into the American College. In fact, the Polish American *Kolegia* did not differ from a large number of earlier nineteenth century sectarian colleges, and were probably better than

many.

> Americans and Europeans alike who were familiar with the Educational systems of the continent and England tended to agree that American colleges characteristically (not at their worst) were rather more like the German *Gymnasium*, the French *Lycée* or the English public school than either the university or college of these countries.[8]

The *Kolegium* could fit in very nicely among a body of institutions which were "not merely motley but mongrel; not only different from each other in size, quality, independence and sophistication . . . but eclectic in their character and purposes . . ."[9] It could call itself a College, painlessly become American and take full advantage of the ambiguity of its designation. One ambitious Polish *Kolegium* offered Bachelor of Arts Degrees "like those offered at first-class American Universities,"[10] and indicated to prospective students that "our program follows the same courses as those offered by leading American Colleges."[11] Some years later, when its supporters wished to upgrade that school into a genuine four year college, they referred to it (to the confusion of many who thought, no doubt, they already had a "college") as a "first class high school" which "surpasses the finest European *Gymnasium*."[12] Thus by slipping the *Kolegium* in among the ranks of colleges, Polish American educators made what was probably the last addition to a long American tradition of diversity (and confusion) before secondary and higher education was rigidly standardized in the twentieth century.[13]

A Polish Seminary was the first Polish American institution of higher learning in the United States. The papal permission to build one had been originally acquired by the Franciscan, Rev. Leopold Moczygemba in 1879. He transferred the permission to Father Józef Dąbrowski shortly afterward. Amid great difficulties and in the face of nagging poverty, Dąbrowski built the seminary in Detroit, in the shadow of St. Albertus Church in the first area of Polish settlement. In 1885, it was dedicated to Saints Cyril and Methodius whose Millennial Jubilee was being celebrated that year. It opened its doors in December, 1886. At the end of the first year it had three faculty members and over 20 students. By 1890, the first year in which some of its students were ordained, the Seminary-*Kolegium* had grown to six faculty and over 60 students. A decade later the number of students increased by more than two and one half times.[14]

From the beginning S.S. Cyril and Methodius, repeating the experience of institutions established by earlier immigrant groups with a great need for educated people and too few resources, provided training not only for future priests but also a classical secular education. The Seminary had two divisions: a minor prepatory school

named for St. Mary in 1888, and a major theological school which continued to bear the names of the Apostles to the Slavs. Each had a full five year course of study by 1892. The Prep school was equivalent to a present day high school and junior college, while the Seminary offered a two year course of study centered around philosophy (equivalent to two years of senior college with a philosophy major) and a three year theological course. In 1905, a special prepatory class was added to the minor seminary to better prepare the students for the rigorous high school and junior college courses it offered. In 1915, a fourth year of theological studies were added at S.S. Cyril and Methodius. Thus at the beginning of its third decade the Seminary reached its full development—a twelve year course divided into two six year segments covering the equivalent of high school, college, and graduate studies.[15]

The man who was responsible for establishing the Polish Seminary in Detroit, and who guided it through its penurious and difficult early years until his death in 1903, was the remarkable Józef Dąbrowski. A genuine intellectual with interests which ranged from science and mathematics to history, poetry and philosophy, he insisted that the graduates of his seminary be trained not only in languages, classical subjects and theology, but also in "Physics, chemistry, mechanics, etc." because, as he said, this knowledge "is required in our times."[16] Given his interests and background and the fact that even in his time a significant number of the students in his institution did not continue on to ordination, it is somewhat surprising that Father Dąbrowski apparently had no other interest except the training of priests. He does not appear to have defined before his death any secular goals for the education his school offered.[17]

Under Father Dąbrowski's successor, Rev. Witold Buhaczkowski (Rector 1903-1916) a new site—the grounds of a former military Academy—was purchased for the growing Seminary. It moved to the spacious new campus located on the shores of Orchard Lake, a few miles north of Detroit in 1909. It has remained in that location to the present day.[18]

In 1927, under the influence of the widespread standardization of program and sequence in American education, the structure of the Seminary was changed. The twelve year course was now divided into a four year college preparatory high school, a four year college —now called St. Mary's College, and the four year S.S. Cyril and Methodius Seminary. Since it began a separate existence St. Mary's College has awarded about 1,000 degrees. It has recently become coeducational and received accreditation from the regional accredit-

ing body. It has not changed its basic program and remains a four year Liberal Arts College. It is presently headed by President Rev. Walter Ziemba and Dean Rev. Leonard Chrobot.

The other Orchard Lake schools also have not deviated dramatically from their original program. St. Mary's Preparatory School remains committed to a strong academic high school program with an emphasis on Polish Language, History and Culture. It sends 95 percent of its students to higher education. S.S. Cyril and Methodius Seminary offers Masters Degrees in Theology and Divinity, trains permanent deacons at the Center for Pastorial Studies, and prepares priests for ordination and work in Polish American parishes. The Polish American Liturgical center associated with the Seminary was founded in 1969 to provide Polish Americans with liturgical and homiletic materials in Polish. The campus at Orchard Lake also houses a center for Polish Studies and Culture (1969) and a Polish American Sports Hall of Fame (1973).[19]

After the founding of S.S. Cyril and Methodius a number of other "colleges" were established by Catholic priests. Some of these were designed exclusively for training Religious Order priests for service in Polish parishes. They included the *Kolegium* of the Polish Salesians at Ramsey, New Jersey, and two Franciscan Colleges. The first was established by the Franciscans (OFM) of Pulaski, Wisconsin, in 1901, as the St. Bonaventure Higher School, which was soon upgraded into a *Kolegium*. After several moves, it was established in 1931, as St. Francis College in Burlington, Wisconsin. It offered a full four year degree and fed students to Christ the King Theological Seminary operated by the same Order in West Chicago, Illinois. The College admitted no lay persons and remained until its closing the college branch of the Order's program of preparation of young men for the priesthood. In 1969, St. Francis College closed its doors and the Major Seminary was closed the following year.[20]

On the Eastern coast of the United States the Franciscans (OFM Conventual) established a *Kolegium* at Athol Springs, New York, and later another at Granby, Massachusetts. The school at Athol Springs became a high school and the Order concentrated its education at Granby, Massachusetts. The site at Granby was acquired in 1926, and the first classes began in 1927. Founded by Rev. O. Fudziński, the school was both *Kolegium* and Seminary until 1943, when the philosophical studies were moved to Ellicott City, Maryland. In 1957, the Order decided to establish all advanced studies in one place and the site at Granby was chosen. It became St. Hyacinth College and Seminary and continues in operation to the present day

under that name. The overwhelming majority of the trustees, administration, and the religious faculty are Polish, the library boasts a large collection of Polish books, and Polish as a language is taught. On the other hand, the college offers no courses in Polish history, literature or culture. The liberal arts and theological education offered at St. Hyacinth is only for the aspirants of the Order and no lay students are accepted.[21]

In this context it is well to mention two other seminaries which owe their origin to Polish Americans. St. John Cantius in St. Louis, Missouri, and Savonarola Seminary of the Polish National Catholic Church in Scranton, Pennsylvania. St. John's was founded after a meeting held at St. Stanislaus Kostka College in Chicago, in April, 1918. Because of the War, the Resurrectionists could not send the young men who were candidates for priesthood in their Order to Europe for study. It was decided at the meeting to open a "House of Studies" near the Jesuit University of St. Louis so that aspirants could study at the University. This House of Studies was named for the Polish Saint and scholar, St. John Cantius, and although originally it was to be only temporary for the duration of the War, it became a permanent part of the Resurrectionist educational system. In 1932, when the Jesuits moved their theology program to another location, the order decided to keep St. John's as a full fledged Theological School. The students earned a B.A. or M.A. (or both) from St. Louis University and took a full four year course in Theology at St. John Canitus. The usual stay in the early 1930's was eight years. Except for a brief period between 1936 and 1939, when the theology course was offered at a House of Studies in Washington, D.C., St. Johns' remained in existence to the mid-sixties as the main school of the Chicago Province of the Resurrectionist Order. A significant number of the Rectors were Polish and the study of Polish was obligatory for all students of Polish origin.[22]

Savonarola Seminary is the main Theological Seminary of the Polish National Catholic Church. It was founded by Bishop Francis Hodur after his break with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the union of dissident Polish parishes into the Polish National Catholic Church. In 1914, the Seminary was established in Plymouth, Pennsylvania. In 1917, it was transferred to Scranton, Pennsylvania, in order to put it as near as possible to St. Stanislaus Cathedral, the Mother Church of the Polish National Catholic Church. The Seminary acquired a permanent building of its own in South Scranton in 1926. This building with some additions remains its location today.

The Seminary offers a three year course of study which includes

Theological, Pastoral and Scriptural Study, Science, Sociology, Philosophy, and Church History. Because one of the important changes that Bishop Hodur introduced after he and his supporters separated from the Roman Catholic Church was the use of Polish as a liturgical language, the study of Polish occupies an important place in the Seminary curriculum. The Seminary enrolls only students who have a high school diploma. Satisfactory completion of the three year course of study leads to ordination. It has room for a maximum of 20 students. The Seminary at present is seeking accreditation as a qualified theological school.[23]

The schools which had the most direct influence on the Polish communities in their respective areas were the colleges founded to educate laymen as well as prepare young men for a vocation in the priesthood. The first of these was St. Stanislaus Kostka College founded by Rev. Vincent Barzyński, C.R., in Chicago in 1890. It began with thirteen students, and by 1895 it had about 120.[24] With more than a touch of hubris, it advertised itself as equal to the "leading American colleges."[25] From the very beginning, however, it was a peculiar hybrid especially adapted to the needs of the immigrant community. Its program did not reproduce that of the eighteenth century liberal arts *Kolegium* designed for the needs of young noblemen, nor was it a Roman *Collegium* or an American College. A Polish educator who visited the College early in the twentieth century noted that it in no way resembled any institution existing in the partitioned areas of the Polish Land. Neither Polish nor American, like many of the other immigrant institutions, it was a Polish American creation.[26]

The announced goals of St. Stanislaus Kostka College included the preservation of faith and national heritage, the preparation of students for entrance into seminary or university for advanced education, and the training of students to take up positions in government, industry, and business. A Chicago newspaper, associated with the Resurrectionists who ran the College, made the case for the practical training quite simply and directly when it advised its readers that education at the College will facilitate "the getting of official positions" and "offers a better means of earning one's bread."[27]

St. Stanislaus admitted those who completed the sixth grade and were able to pass an entrance examination. Most students began their work at the *Kolegium* in the two year prepatory course designed to give them the background necessary for the advanced courses. An occasional very able student was able to skip this step and go directly to one of the regular programs of study. After completing

the prepatory course, the student had a choice of advancing to a four year academic sequence (the "*Akademia*") which prepared him for study in a university, or to a two year course (it was a three year course for a short period in the 1890's) in business and commercial subjects. Finally, those graduates of the academic program interested in the priesthood or wishing further education could enroll in the two year philosophy course offered by the College.[28]

In 1900, the *Kolegium* began to offer the Degree of Bachelor of Arts to those who completed the Academic Course, and the Degree of Master of Accounts to those finishing the Business Course.[29] The figures available for the 1904-1905 school year indicate that there were 163 students enrolled in the prepatory and college division of the school, and 166 enrolled in the philosophical course. Under Rev. Władysław Zapała, Rector from 1909 to 1920, the school began an extensive program of commercial and business night school courses to assist part time students who had to hold down regular jobs during the day.[30]

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the College became one of the intellectual centers of Polonia in Chicago, and a source of art and culture for the community.[31] Students came from as far away as Pittsburgh to attend.[32] At the same time the community began to realize that for all of its value, the College was not yet the equal of a four year American college, and discussion began about the possibility of finding the resources to upgrade St. Stanislaus.[33] This was never done and, under pressure to regularize the status of the school in terms of the American system, the *Kolegium* was eventually transformed into Archbishop Weber High School.[34]

There were two other Polish American Catholic colleges founded during this early period. Interestingly enough, both were dedicated to the Saint and scholar, John Cantius. The first was founded in Philadelphia by Father John Godrycz in September, 1910. In 1911, the school had 138 regular students and over 400 persons registered for its popular lecture series. The College offered a five year course of study in languages, classics, history, and science, followed by a two year course in "Christian Philosophy" which like its counterparts elsewhere included Church History, Biblical courses, and Polish Literature. For those who had not completed grammar school, or who needed remedial work, the school also offered an elementary prepatory course.

In addition to courses which led to further work in a university or professional school, the college tried to meet the needs of the community by offering vocational courses. It had elementary and

advanced level courses in Manual Training (Wood working, Metal working, English and arithmetic at the elementary level; and blueprint reading and drafting, English and architectural drawing for advanced students) and engineering (general engineering knowledge including the care and installation of boilers and machines; and chemical and electrical engineering). The school also offered elementary and advanced courses in English at night.

Father Godrycz founded the school initially to meet the needs of Poles in Philadelphia and the hard coal regions of Eastern Pennsylvania, but from the very beginning was willing to open it up to students of other nationalities. During its short life, St. John Cantius enrolled the sons of Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian immigrants as well as a few native Americans. Father Godrycz took special delight in rehabilitating young men who had been expelled from other schools for misconduct or poor grades.

The College of St. John failed in 1916. It had not received significant support from the Polish community in Eastern Pennsylvania, and its student population had dwindled, especially after the outbreak of war in Europe. Father Godrycz himself was at least partially responsible for this failure. Having spent most of his adult life as a student and teacher—he held three doctorates—Father Godrycz assumed that the value of higher education was obvious, and made little effort to win moral and financial support, cooperation and goodwill from his largely uneducated constituency. Also, his many other commitments as pastor, newspaper editor and publisher, author and lecturer, caused him to be absent too often from his school.

In spite of its short life, the College of St. John Cantius had an important impact for decades afterwards. In 1944, Dr. Karol Wachtl wrote of it: "Even though it existed only for a few short years, traces of its beneficial influence can be found among the Poles of Philadelphia to this day."[35]

In 1909, about the time that Father Godrycz was preparing to open his *Kolegium* in Philadelphia, a group of Polish Vincentians was opening another school, also dedicated to St. John Cantius, at Eire in northwestern Pennsylvania. The school which was designed to instruct youth in theology, the liberal arts and sciences, began as a four year school. The course of study was changed to five years in 1912, and the first five year class graduated in 1917. In 1928, a sixth year was added to the program, and the school became a four year prepatory High School and a two year Junior College. In 1934, a premed course was added. The College lasted until 1943. In that year, because of the World War II draft, not enough students returned to

warrant opening classes. St. John Cantius continued afterward only as a four year boarding Prep School.

During the course of its history, St. John Cantius Junior College enrolled 233 students. Of these, ninety students were not products of the St. John Prep School. The graduates of the Prep School and the College who went on to higher education seem to have chosen careers primarily in the church (169 priests, 3 monsignors, 3 brothers), law (21 attorneys, 3 judges), or medicine (34 dentists, 31 medical doctors, 3 doctors of Osteopathy.)[36]

In any discussion of colleges and other institutions of higher education founded by Catholic clerics in the Polish immigrant community, the unsuccessful attempt by Rev. John Pitass of Buffalo, New York, to establish a kind of normal school for the Polish Community should be mentioned at least in passing. Father Pitass tried in 1896 to establish a "Polish Teacher's Seminary" to train teachers for Polish American schools and organists for Polish churches on the grounds of his own parish. This effort never materialized into a fully developed Teachers' Seminary.

Another group of educational institutions were those established for women by the Polish American Teaching Sisterhoods. These schools offered general higher education for women and an *"internat"* program designed to train teachers for work in the Polish Parochial Schools. The first of the programs for women were begun in the nineteenth century by the Felician Sisters in Detroit and the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth in Chicago. The teacher training programs were modeled on the most advanced European teachers' seminaries of the time. The Felician program was developed by the talented Rev. Józef Dąbrowski. The Holy Family Academy also accepted male students for some of its programs.[37]

As American elementary and secondary education became standardized in the twentieth century—higher and more rigid standards of teacher training were also imposed. In response to these changes, the teacher training programs were developed into junior college curriculums and some into full four year colleges. Many of these institutions which began to take shape in the 1930's, were opened to lay students after World War II, and some have become coeducational in recent years.

The largest number of higher educational institutions for Polish American women were founded by the Felician Sisters. The Felician schools include one four-year Senior College and four Junior Colleges. All but one of the Junior Colleges are still in existence. These Colleges are the following:

1) Madonna College in Livonia, Michigan, founded in 1937 as Presentation Junior College which in turn grew out of the earlier teacher training institute. In 1947, the school was expanded into a four year Liberal Arts College, the first lay students were admitted and the College given its present name. The school received state accreditation in 1951 and regional accreditation in 1959. In the 1960's nursing and med tech programs were begun, and in the 1970's degrees in business administration, criminal justice, radiologic technology and a variety of other vocational-technical fields were added. In 1972, the school became coeducational. The graduating class of 1976 totaled 326 students, and the enrollment in the 1975-76 school year reached an all time high of 1,782 students. The school has taught Polish language and literature since its inception, and continues to do so. However, as its enrollment has grown in recent years, and as it has drawn students from sources other than its traditional source—the Polish American Parochial High School, the proportion of Polish Americans in its student body has declined.

2) Villa Maria College in Cheektowaga, New York, was begun in 1960 as the Immaculate Heart Teacher Training School which admitted only Felician Aspirants. The following year it received a state Junior College Charter as Villa Maria College. In 1965, the first lay students were admitted, and in 1968 it became a coeducational institution. It received full acreditation from the regional accrediting body in 1972. The school offers an Arts and Sciences centered Associate in Arts degree, an Associate in Science degree in interior design, and an Associate of Applied Science degree in business and in other vocational areas. It also has a one year certificate program in secretarial studies, and a similar program for library technicians. Villa Maria offers a strong concentration of courses in Polish language and culture. Of its last graduating class of 126 students, about one-third were Polish Americans. The present enrollment is 450 students.

3) Felician College in Chicago, Illinois, was begun in 1926, to educate members of the Order in the Chicago province and prepare them to teach. It was initially operated as an extension of Loyola University of Chicago. In 1953, it began to function as a separate institution. By 1955, it had become affiliated with Catholic University, and was approved by the State of Illinois. In 1962, it qualified to grant Associate degrees. Lay women were first admitted to the College in 1967. Some years earlier, the College had opened its Continuing Education courses to lay persons, men and women. Felician College is now coeducational. The school offers Associate of Arts

degrees in liberal arts, music education, and voice, and an Associate of Applied Science degree in education. It also offers business courses. The enrollment has risen steadily from 98 students in 1970-71, to 149 students in 1975-76. Felician College offers no courses in Polish language, culture, or history. The College is located not far from areas with heavy concentrations of Polish Americans, and it appears that about 20 to 25 percent of the student body are Polish Americans.

4) Felician College in Lodi, New Jersey, was begun as the Immaculate Conception Normal School in 1928, and became affiliated with Catholic University in 1935. In 1941, it was incorporated as Immaculate Conception Junior College. In 1963, as Felician College, the school was granted the right to grant an Associate of Arts degree. In addition to this degree in the Liberal Arts, it pioneered a two year nursing course as an A.A.S. program. In 1967, it was granted the right to offer a four year degree in Elementary Education. It has just begun a new medical technology program. Felician College received accreditation from its regional accrediting body in 1972, and high commendation and relicensure from the State Board of Higher Education in 1973.

5) Longview College in Enfield, Connecticut, started as Our Lady of the Angels Teacher Training Institute in 1945. It was expanded into a Junior College in 1950. The College received recognition by the State Commission for Higher Education in 1966. In 1970, the name of the school was changed to Longview College, after the name of the estate on which the Provincial Motherhouse was located, and it was opened to the surrounding community as a coeducational Junior College. At the same time, its offerings were expanded. After two years, in 1972, because of rising costs and declining student population, the College was closed.[38]

The Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth conduct two institutions of higher education—a Liberal Arts College with several career programs and a Teacher Training College. The Liberal Arts College is the Holy Family College in Philadelphia. Chartered as a four year College in 1954, it opened with 17 full time and 70 part time students, and 14 faculty. At its first commencement it graduated 13 students. Its medical technology program was accredited in 1958, and the College itself received approval from the regional accrediting body in 1961. In 1962, Holy Family College received approval for its Secondary Education program. This approval was renewed during the 1967-68 academic year, and initial approval was granted to its Elementary Education programs. These programs and the College itself have continued to receive and hold the necessary accreditations.

In the meantime, the College added new programs in nursing and child care. The College charter was amended in 1970, to permit the awarding of the Baccalaureate degree to male graduates. The College offers courses at elementary and advanced levels in the Polish language. It appears that only a relatively small minority of the present students are Polish Americans.[39]

The Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth also conduct De Lourdes College. Primarily a Teacher's College, it offers only one degree—Bachelor of Science in education. It was originally chartered in 1927, but according to its official history, "it was not until 1951 that the educational program was activated." In that year it began operating as a two year Teachers College and became an affiliate of the Catholic University of America. It received approval of the appropriate state agencies in 1960, and began offering a four year program with the 1960-61 academic year. Until 1965, the College enrollment was limited to Women Religious. In the fall of that year, De Lourdes admitted its first lay women students. It remains a College for women. In the 1970's, De Lourdes College expanded its Continuing Education program and its part time enrollment to take care of the needs of older women returning to college. The school offers no courses in Polish language, culture, or literature.[40]

There is one other Polish American religious community,[41] the Bernadine Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, which is conducting an institution of Higher Learning. This institution is Alvernia College in Reading, Pennsylvania. The school, which grew out of education and Sister formation programs of the Bernadine Sisters, was established in 1958. It received its charter as a coeducational Liberal Arts College, and was authorized to grant Baccalaureate degrees by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1960. In 1967, Alvernia College was fully accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the accreditation was reaffirmed in 1975. In 1973, the College established two unique cooperative programs: with the Institute of Law and Justice leading to a BA in Criminal Justice Administration, and with the American Institute of Banking leading to a BA in Banking and Finance. It also offers a variety of other career programs including Education and Medical Technology in addition to the basic Liberal Arts Degree. The College has no courses in Polish language, culture, or history. The College enrolls well over 500 students, and expects the enrollment to continue to grow, especially in its new career programs.[42]

In addition to the above institutions, three others should be mentioned at least in passing. These are: the Junior College of St.

Joseph, Immaculata College, and the Mother Celine Junior College. The first two were conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Third Order of St. Francis. The Junior College of St. Joseph was established at Stevens Point, Wisconsin. Dedicated to teacher preparation and Sister formation, it was affiliated with St. Norbert's College in DePere, Wisconsin. St. Joseph College was in existence between 1945 and 1955. It had no lay students. Immaculata College was established as a two year college in Chicago, Illinois, and affiliated with the Catholic University of America. Its purpose was to "synchronize the Canonical formation of the new members of the Congregation with a complementary two-year liberal education." In 1959, it was licensed by the State of Illinois Office of Education. In 1963, the College moved to the new Provincial Motherhouse in Bartlett, Illinois, and its mission was expanded to include education of Sisters and Aspirants from all of the Order's provinces. In September of that year it had 125 students. Just as it had completed the process of accreditation by its regional accrediting board in 1968, the Legislative Body of the Congregation decided to close the school. Immaculata College terminated its activities at the end of the 1968-1969 academic year. The Mother Celine Junior College in Harrelson, New York, was conducted for similar purposes by the Sisters of the Resurrection between 1945 and 1971. It offered the first two years of a general Liberal Arts education. The final two were generally taken at Fordham University, with which the school was affiliated.[43]

Before closing any discussion of the institutions established by the Polish American Sisterhoods, it should be noted that the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, the Sisters of the Resurrection, the Sisters of St. Joseph, and the Little Servants of the Immaculate Conception, maintained Houses of Study associated with one or another Catholic University, and that the Sisters of the Resurrection, Sisters of the Holy Family, the Sisters of St. Felix, and the Sisters of St. Joseph, conduct or conducted schools of nursing or practical nursing associated with hospitals, rather than colleges. Finally, the Sisters of the Holy Family, in the course of their history in the United States, maintained a number of business and commercial schools.[44]

The one Polish American College founded by a secular group is Alliance College, established at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, by the Polish National Alliance. Desiring to preserve the Polish Heritage in the young (or indeed to acquaint them with it) and at the same time to open "the road to higher status in American life through higher education for Polish Americans" the PNA created Alliance Academy (*Akademia Związkowa*) in 1912. Initially a high quality

prep school, it was upgraded after World War I into a Junior College, and assumed the name Alliance College in 1928. After World War II (1948), it became a four year school. The first four year Baccalaureate degrees were conferred in 1952.[45]

Alliance Academy began under auspicious circumstances when the opening ceremonies were marked by an address by President William Howard Taft which dwelt on the importance of preserving one's heritage. The first graduation, in 1916, was attended by Ignacy Paderewski. Given the attention of such celebrities, it is not surprising that its founders in the early days actually spoke of creating a "Polish Harvard." However, very soon the grim reality of too little money, too few students (one-third of the students left at the end of the first year), and not enough qualified teachers, reduced the scale of the grand conception born in the initial enthusiasm.[46]

In spite of its slow growth, the College did become one of the more important centers of Polish studies in the United States. Even its commitment to Polish studies, however, could not safeguard it entirely from the impact of the pressure for assimilation, which reached its apex in the mid sixties. One prominent Polish American leader in a major address in the late sixties, saw it in the process of becoming just another Midwestern Liberal Arts College, with a student body that was slightly more than half Polish. Like so many church related colleges which at the very time were loosening sectarian ties, Alliance College, in spite of some courses in Polish language and literature, buildings named after famous Poles, a "Junior Year in Poland" program, and a Polish Folk dance group, was a College in danger of losing its spirit and its commitment to its original mission.[47] The Ethnic revival of the seventies gave the College a revived sense of purpose, and expanded a new area of study—namely the Polish American experience. At the same time, however, the decline in enrollment, and financial pinch which affected many small private Liberal Arts colleges, also struck Alliance Colleges. Its enrollment declined precipitously, from slightly less than 600 students in the 1970-71 academic year to less than 300 students in the 1975-76 academic year. Interestingly enough, a significant part of the decline appears to have come from students of non-Polish background. Recent figures, allegedly showing a 50 percent increase in the size of the freshman class for the 1976-77 academic year, would indicate a reversal. However, it is too early to predict a bright future for the College on the basis of one year's statistics.[48]

During the course of its history, Alliance College numbered among its faculty and officers a number of prominent Polish and Polish-

American scholars. In addition, the distinguished Slavicist, Dr. Arthur Coleman, taught at the College and administered it as its President. The present President is Dr. Herman Szymański.

It would be inappropriate to end a listing of institutions of Higher Learning in the United States organized by Polish Americans without some reference to the Polish People's Universities *(Polskie Uniwersytety Ludowe).* Founded by Polish Socialists before and during World War I, in cities such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia, these "Universities" became an important source of enlightenment for many immigrants. The "Universities" organized individual lectures and short courses on a variety of topics, from current events and contemporary economic questions to problems of philosophy, world history, and literature. The lectures drew three to four hundrew persons for popular topics. Most important figures associated with Left wing and progressive Polish American politics and tendencies, took part in the lectures, courses and discussions. These included persons such as the well-known scholar and clergyman, Rev. Dr. Paweł Fox; Stanisław Nowak, politician and editor of Detroit's *Głos Ludowy;* the famous economist and University of Chicago professor, Dr. Oskar Lange; and the editor of the Chicago based *Dziennik Ludowy,* Michał Sokołowski. Although all but one of the Polish People's Universities have disappeared, the memory of the high cultural and intellectual level of the presentations is still remembered in most Polish communities, even by those who disagreed with the politics of the speakers and sponsors. The only "University" still remaining is in Philadelphia. It is supported to a significant degree by Mrs. Sabina Sieradzki, whose late husband Stefan, an ardent patriot and political exile from Tsarist oppression, was one of its founders.[49]

In summary, the history of the attempt by Polish Americans to organize higher education can be broken down into three main periods. The first, from the 1880's to the eve of World War I, saw the development of a series of institutions which often straddled the present pedagogical boundary between "higher education" and "secondary education." These Seminaries, Colleges, and Academies, included institutions for both men and women, but those for men predominated, and were with only one exception conducted by Catholic Clergy. Although they educated a significant number of the laity, and prepared them for community leadership and the professions, the primary task of the Polish American schools was to turn out priests. Several of the institutions failed primarily because of a lack of support and a shortage of resources.

The second period, which corresponds roughly to the period be-

tween the two World Wars, was a time when Polish American institutions were brought into line with the now established American pattern of education. Some of the Colleges and Academies became High Schools; others emerged out of Seminaries as distinct collegiate institutions; and a third group were upgraded into Junior Colleges. As a result of this process of sortition and consolidation, the number of "collegiate" institutions actually shrank for a time. Very few new institutions of Higher Learning were begun, and those that were, were initiated by Catholic religious Orders exclusively for the training of their aspirants.

The third period in the history of institutions of Higher Learning founded by Polish Americans began after 1945, and was part of the tremendous growth of collegiate education in the United States after World War II. At the beginning of this period, Alliance College, the only secular Polish American College, became a four year institution. The real growth came with the expansion of the Novitiate and teacher training programs of the Polish American Sisterhoods into two year and four year Liberal Arts Colleges, with a heavy emphasis on the preparation of teachers. These colleges soon opened their doors to lay women, and a number have become coeducational in the last decade.

In spite of curricula based on the principle of a broad liberal education, Polish American institutions of Higher Learning had a clear emphasis on professional or vocational career preparation from the very beginning. In addition to educating priests and teachers (mostly religious), they sent an unusually high proportion of their lay graduates to professional schools for training as lawyers, doctors, and dentists.[50] The Colleges and Academies also offered courses of study in office skills and commercial subjects, and sometimes even instruction in basic engineering, mechanics, and other skilled occupations. It was this combination of courses, designed to try to meet all of the educational needs of the community, which gave the Polish American *Akademia* or *Kolegium* its uniqueness. In the nineteen sixties, aside from the general increase in the proportion of the population going on to college, the rapid growth of the newer institutions of Higher Learning founded by Polish American religious Orders in keeping with this pattern, was fueled by the phenomenal need for teachers and nurses.

Many of these institutions have begun to move away from the Polish American community for a complex set of political, religious, demographic, and social reasons, whose particular configuration varies from institution to institution.[51] They continue, however, to serve,

in addition to their traditional Polish American constituency, a student population drawn disproportionately from working and lower middle class homes—often other Eastern and Southern European ethnics and blacks—who are among the first in their families to receive higher education. The needs and interests of most of these students, as well as those of most Polish Americans in the past and present who have moved on to higher education, are explicitly vocational. Thus those colleges which appear to be the most successful in retaining students and even in increasing enrollments dramatically in the wake of the virtual collapse of the once booming market for teachers and in the face of the decline of enrollments in many other private and public schools in the nineteen seventies, are those institutions which have developed extensive vocational and career programs to supplement their Liberal Arts curriculum.

It might be argued by some that a number of these Colleges and Junior Colleges should not be called "Polish-American" because they no longer (nor did they ever, in a few cases) serve a largely Polish American clientele, and because several of them now do not even offer a course in Polish language or culture. I have chosen to discuss them here because they were created by Polish American Orders, sometimes out of earlier schools which had a very definite Polish cast, and had been created to serve Polonia. Perhaps more importantly, the enormous capital resources, the sacrifices, the intelligence, the driving spirit and millions of hours of hard unpaid or underpaid labor which made these schools possible, came from Polonia in general, and from individual Polish Americans. The schools are still administered and staffed by the sons and daughters of Polish immigrants. Whatever their present disposition or future fate, these colleges represent an enormous and important gift from Polish immigrants and their children to the United States.

* * *

In reviewing the attempts by Polish immigrants to organize higher education in the United States, it would beg the question to ask whether those attempts should be considered a success or failure. However, reflection on that experience against the background of the history of Poles in America can perhaps yield some insights into Polish American History.

At the time when Poles began to establish their first institutions of higher education, very few Americans went to college. At the Centennial Anniversary of the United States, Harvard and Yale had about 700 students each, while the Universities of Michigan and Min-

nesota numbered less than 500 students each. In the next century, however, the enrollments in institutions of Higher Learning jumped from tens of thousands to over nine million, and the proportion of those attending colleges and universities rose from less than 2 out of 100 in 1890, to 1 in 3 at present. In the course of that century which saw the industrialization of America, the newly arrived Polish immigrants and their children were not even in the competition in the race for knowledge, professional status, and success through higher education. The Colleges and Seminaries the Poles founded, which would have been institutions of respectable size only decades before, were dwarfed by American schools. Yet as small as they were, many had difficulty in getting support from the community they served.[52]

It is axiomatic among historians of the immigrant experience that the popular history of any ethnic group is as likely as not to contain an almost religious belief that the group came with a deep commitment to education. To believe less, given the central role of education in the American dream, would be to question the group's fitness to be regarded as good Americans. This belief is reverently held by many Polish Americans, among others, about their history. Yet in the case of Polish American past, there appears to be little substantial evidence to support such a belief, and much to contradict it.

To some, the assertion that the majority of our grandfathers were not peasant devotees of the ideas of the Enlightenment, or Slavic Andrew Carnegies, may bring dismay, especially given the social and psychological necessity of such a belief for the descendants of the immigrants. However, to accept the fact is to clear the way for a deeper understanding of the fascinating and at times tragic history of a complex people on whom the past weighed more heavily than it did on most of the other immigrant groups.[53]

Professor Antoni Karbowiak, writing during the first decade of this century, noted that the number of Poles attending Colleges and Universities and higher technical institutions in the United States other than those founded by Polish Americans, was about one hundred or less. Given the very few Poles attending High Schools at the time, he saw little prospect of improving that figure in the immediate future. Buffalo with 60,000 Poles had about five Polish students in its High Schools, in New York City there were about ten, and Chicago with the largest concentration of Poles in the United States showed only about 100 Polish High School students.[54] Thirty years later the situation in higher education had not improved all that markedly. In 1935, Dr. Paul Fox could only find 35 Polish American students enrolled at Northwestern University, just beyond Chicago's northern boundary.[55]

Many of the Polish Americans who tried to get higher education in American institutions before World War II, discovered life on campus bewildering and alienating. They found prejudice against them because of their class, their religion, and their nationality. They often did not share the cultural norms, the tacit assumptions about reality and causality, and the goals of their teachers and fellow students. They sometimes found the culture of American university life threatening to faith, ethnicity, and identity. One such Polish American student reported that he and his compatriots ended up rather defensively mocking the educational process and deliberately failing English classes before recognizing that they "didn't fit in" and dropping out to find work in the factories.[56]

The small number of Poles in American Universities, and the difficulties they faced there, points up one important aspect of the efforts by Poles to establish their own institutions of Higher Learning. As small as they were, these institutions, especially at the beginning of this century, were turning out a very high proportion of all of the Poles who received some kind of higher education in this country. Some immigrant groups such as the Jews—a profoundly bourgeois people with institutions and a culture which permitted them to live and even thrive in diaspora—were better able to take advantage of the opportunities American higher education offered than were the Poles. The Polish American Colleges, with their emphasis on Polish language and culture, and staffed by a largely Polish faculty, were crucial in introducing Polish Americans to academic culture in a relatively secure atmosphere. They instilled pride and confidence in many students who would have encountered difficulties on the indifferent or hostile campus of an American College, and who would have very likely dropped out before completing their studies as a result. The Colleges, at the same time, helped to train and save for Polonia a cadre of community leaders.

The Polish American Colleges by their very existence reassured a poor and despised community of immigrants that American society's perception of them was wrong, and that out of these Colleges would come champions who would redeem them. This hope the Colleges awakened was made all the more desperate by the fact that Polish culture was under systematic attack in the Polish lands by the partitioning powers who were engaged in an attempt to destroy the identity and historical memory of the Poles. On the occasion of a literary program at one of the Polish Colleges, an editor of a Polish daily wrote that the Polish community needed educated young people "in the American sphere of life" to "elevate and defend" its good name. The

reasons for this, he continues, is that

> today our standing has fallen to such a degree that some compare us to Chinese coolies. If this continues we will be completely lost and no trace of our accomplishments will ever be found. And this should not be. After all, God has endowed us with the same qualities as other peoples; perhaps we even have such qualities as no others possess.[57]

Thus, for the immigrant community the Polish American College took on an importance beyond the small number of students it graduated. It was a symbol of its survival and a token of its future; it was a bulwark and a buffer for Polonia and its champion and advanced guard.

Yet, given the role of the Polish College in the United States, why did it attract so few of the already small number of High School graduates which the community produced? Or, to put the question another way, was there an indifference or even hostility to advanced education in much of the Polish community? One prominent observer of Polish American society argues that many in the Polish community regard higher education with hostility and suspicion.[58] In fact, it can be argued that at the time the first Polish Colleges were being established before the First World War, there was very little participation in education of any kind by the children of Polish immigrants. The 1911 U.S. Congressional Report, *The Children of Immigrants in Schools,* showed that Poles and other Slavic immigrants had rates of persistence in public and parochial schools beyond the sixth grade, and in high school attendance in 1910, that were considerably lower than those for native born whites, blacks, and other ethnic groups in the cities for which statistics existed. In fact, they were the lowest in the sample.[59] Another study, for 1906 in Buffalo, shows that of the 3,647 Polish children aged 8 to 14 years in parochial schools, only 26 were 14 years old, and in public schools while there were 1,007 Polish children in the first grade, there were only 22 in the ninth grade. The author concludes that "after the fourth grade, the number of Poles drops off precipitously." One of the main reasons for this, he concludes, is the indifference of the parents who place no value on education, "although they are not to be blamed for this" as they just don't know any better. The school reports indicate 2,732 reported cases of long term truancy by Polish American children in one year in Buffalo, and in more than one-third of the cases, according to the investigator's reports, the parents simply indicated that they kept the children home because they had no interest in educating their children.[60]

There are, of course, other reasons besides an indifference to education which kept Polish Americans out of schools and colleges. The

most obvious reason was the extreme poverty of the Polish immigrants. Given the very low pay of most jobs open to them, immigrant parents often required their children to leave school and take jobs in order to permit the family to survive. And to go beyond that—to purchase the house and garden for which immigrants yearned, to save a little for emergencies and the frequent periods of unemployment, or to raise the family's standard of living—most certainly required the combined wages of father and children. To acquire the house which gave them self-respect and status in the community, to get a bank account, eat better food, enjoy a few very meager comforts, and to support their church, the children in the immigrant family had to forego education and thus sacrifice social and occupational mobility. Polish newspapers of the period are filled with pleas to parents to do without the extra income for a few years so that their children might stay in school some additional years, which in the long run would give them higher income and position. Given the desperate fervor of the pleas, the figures on school dropouts, and the extreme poverty and lack of job security the immigrants faced, there is no doubt that these were significant causes of the low educational level of Polish immigrants, and of their failure to send many of their number to higher education.[61]

The immigrants expectations about the purpose of education and their receptivity to it were also affected by their rural origins. The Polish peasant in the course of his voyage across the ocean was involved in two migrations: from Europe to the United States, and from an almost Medieval village to an industrial city. As a result, the attitudes the peasants brought with them did not always make them willing and comfortable participants in the American faith in the efficacy of education for social mobility and wealth. In so far as education was necessary, its purpose was not progress but preservation. The schools were to teach moral discipline, Polishness, and the catechism. American education was perceived as a threat to their faith and culture. John Bodnar, in a recent study of the reaction of Slavic immigrants to the value of schooling in America, has summed up this attitude very well.

> Slavs did not share the preference of many other immigrant groups and whole heartedly embrace the expectations of American education. Schools were suspect not only for the material rewards they ostensibly promised. Influenced partially by the spiritualistic thrust of their pre-modern culture, Slavs did not immediately accept the modern notion of the pursuit of upward success . . . To most Slavic Americans before 1940, education was intended for the preservation of culture and morality, not social mobility.[62]

The migration from village to city had a traumatic side effect for

Poles. It was accompanied by a deep and pervasive cultural shock which demoralized many of the immigrants. The tragic inability of some to adjust to life in the industrial city was manifested in high rates of alcoholism, marital discord, broken homes, violence, adult crime, and juvenile delinquency. The alienation and demoralization suffered by Poles and other East Europeans in America was probably as great if not greater than that felt by any other group of migrants. During the formative period of the community, much of the individual and collective energies of the immigrants were expended to prevent massive social and psychic disintegration. Under such conditions, the lack of support for or interest in higher education is hardly surprising.[63]

The community agency which made the most important contribution to the socialization of the immigrant in the city was the Catholic Church. In earlier centuries its rituals, saints and sanctuaries bridged the gap between primitive pagan culture and the world of Christendom; in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it assuaged the metaphysical loneliness of the migrants to modernity, and helped them to make the transition from farm to factory by sacraments, societies, and social agencies. For this reason, the religious affiliation of most of the institutions of higher education established by Polish Americans is obvious and expected. It can be argued that without the Church considerably fewer Polish Americans would have gone on to some sort of higher learning, and the number of institutions founded by Polonia would have been very few indeed. First of all, the church with its centuries of educational experience had available the necessary pedagogical models and traditions, and secondly, it was the one institution with the administrative expertise, network of ties to the community, and moral authority to command the support of the immigrants and to accumulate the needed capital in tiny amounts from a group of abysmally poor workers. Third, its own existence depended on the establishment of institutions to train priests and nuns, and these could easily be adapted for the education of the Laity. Fourth, its sponsorship made education acceptable to immigrants who lived in an environment that seemed to threaten religion and family on every side. Finally, because the Church had roots in both folk culture and high culture, it could understand and lead the sons and daughters of transplanted villagers from one to the other.

In the long run, however, the control of Polish American institutions by priests and religious Orders sometimes proved to be an impediment to the continuation of the institutions as distinctly Polish, and with a special mission to the Polish American community. The Catholic Church was not only an institution which helped to preserve

language and culture, it was also a major vehicle for a non-Polish hierarchy to force assimilation on the immigrants. Its claim to catholicity forced priests and nuns beyond their Polishness. In its ultimate vision of a world which knew "neither Jew nor Greek," national particularism had no legitimacy in the face of universalism. This was especially true for a beleaguered American church, which for political reasons needed to shed its image of foreignness and close ranks against its Protestant opponents. Paradoxically, use of the English language and conformity to Northern European norms became criteria of universalism—criteria which persist to the present day. Thus, the combination of profound religious conviction on the one hand, and the responses of the American church to certain political and social exigencies on the other, destroyed the possibility of a creative dialectic between catholicity and particularism. Especially at the level of high culture, on the Polish American College campuses, it could have laid the basis for a genuine pluralism. Instead, it led to the destruction or the diminution of Polish identity to create an American "universalism." Thus, what began as genuine advantage for the Polish American College, turned in the course of events into a disadvantage, at least from the standpoint of the preservation and creative evolution of culture and identity.[64]

Finally, the full development of the Polish American College may have been hindered by a contradiction in its goals created by the circumstances in which it had to operate. On the one hand, it set itself the goal of preserving and maintaining the Polish language, and giving the student at least some appreciation of high Polish culture. Such a goal gave the curriculum a relatively heavy literary, linguistic, and historical emphasis. On the other hand, it also desired to provide the student not entering the priesthood or religious Order with some opportunity for occupational mobility by preparing him or her for a career, usually in business or a profession. Rev. George Głogowski, one of the founders of St. John Cantius in Erie, Pennsylvania, stated that the purposes of the school were to educate the students so that "they can enter American Universities . . ." and to "insure a better destiny and an advantageous situation" for them. Its secular neighbor Alliance College, a short distance away at Cambridge Springs, set itself the task of "opening the road to higher status in American life" to Polish American youth.[65]

If the Colleges succeeded well in their second purpose, they would ultimately undermine the first, as they were training students to move out of the community into American industry and business which at all levels placed a high premium on conformity.[66] Unlike

priests and nuns, the education of most of the secular students would not give them any secure occupational position within the community. The full implication of this preparation was not immediately apparent because a vast number of the students, in order to remain within the community, chose professional careers which would allow them to serve their own people. But this solution was limited, and there is no question that after World War I, a college education and a possibility of a good position was a strong spur to at least partial assimilation among the ambitious and the upwardly mobile. Nevertheless, if that were the only dimension to the problem, some equilibrium could have been worked out between the social and occupational world of work and the community, especially as a larger group of educated Polish Americans emerged.

But the problem had a more profound dimension which caused many ambitious Polish Americans to avoid Polish American educational institutions entirely. The question underlying the rejection of a Polish education by many was "How can one be 'modern' and 'Polish'?" To the immigrant from the village and his children, modernity in its most salient and tangible form was associated with mastery over production and machinery, or at a more sophisticated level with "science."[67] Yet these were subjects in which the Polish American schools with their literary, historical, and religious emphasis were often weakest, and when they did offer the sciences or mechanical or practical engineering subjects, they were offered in English, and more often than not by the non-Poles on the faculty. Even at the Orchard Lake Schools, from the beginning the sciences were offered in English. Thus the students learned even at the Polish Colleges that "science" was not Polish. The education that Polish American Colleges offered gave its recipients mooring and a very important sense of identity so necessary in the protean world of the twentieth century but it did little to promote the idea that Polish culture had much to say to the problems of the work-a-day world of industrial society.

This difficulty was complicated and compounded by several other factors. To most Americans, including most Polish Americans, Polish culture was only seen as a "folk" culture, and even those who knew better often saw no reason to acquire an education that might become a stigma. Polish American Colleges had a difficulty in making Polish culture appear more relevant to modern industrial society, because at the very time that they were beginning to educate Polish Americans, Polish culture and Polish society were just beginning to work out their own responses to the processes of social

modernization and industrialization. These historical developments had been delayed well into the nineteenth century by the Partitions. The dismemberment of Poland had helped to saddle on the land archaic social and political structures long after the need to reform or eliminate them had widespread agreement among progressive Polish leaders.[68] It also diverted the nation's productive energies and talents to a struggle for national liberation. The cultural, intellectual, and political responses of Polish society to the massive problems of modernization therefore were not available or, if available, were not applicable to the American situation because they arose out of a particular Polish social and historical context. Thus Polish American society, being without a significant modernized middle or upper class to provide role models or to work through solutions based on native themes and adaptations, and unable to draw on the Polish experience, had no choice but to draw on the American experience and in the process irrevocably to tie "progress" and "modernity" in the minds of Polish Americans to American culture. Sadly, the Polish American College, with only limited resources and an overwhelming task of preserving faith and national identity for a huge and poorly educated community, had no choice but to follow suit.

* * *

It is not easy to think of Harvard as an "ethnic" institution from the perspective of our own day. Yet to do so, as I have tried to suggest, can help to illuminate how American indeed was the experience of later immigrant groups who also tried to establish separate educational institutions of Higher Learning. For over two thirds of its 340 years of existence, Harvard had educated young men in the religious, social and cultural values of their people, and prepared them to assume positions of leadership in the church and lay institutions of their community. On the eve of America's industrialization and its rise to world power, Harvard and some of its venerable sister institutions abandoned older, classically oriented, unified Liberal Arts curricula in favor of the model of the German University with its emphasis on specialization and disciplinary distinctiveness. The University structure served well the new needs of a community that was now catapulted into the leadership of a powerful nation-state, and of an industrial complex that required ever more specialized knowledge. As its community rose to world leadership, so did Harvard.

During the past one hundred years, Polish American institutions of Higher Learning have served their community in the same way and often quite as well as Harvard or Yale served theirs earlier. In

the post World War II decades, Polish American Colleges have found themselves in a crisis similar to that which the older American Colleges faced a century ago. The community they had been formed to serve has changed, as has the society in which that community is located, and their constituency is assuming or is about to assume new positions in an arena offering wider possibilities for service and leadership. Thus the colleges, if they are to remain vital, must find new ways to serve their people. It is unlikely that the Polish American Colleges, whatever choices they have made or will make at this juncture, will duplicate the spectacular growth of a Harvard. Such fortuitous success comes rarely in history. It is not, however, a coincidence, nor is it without importance that the need for Polish American Colleges to reevaluate their role and goals should come at a time when American society itself is searching for new goals and faiths to replace those which grew largely out of the events of the post Civil War period that attended the modification and growth of the earlier colleges.

In response to this need for change, a number of Polish American Colleges shed most of their Polish characteristics by drift or design, often under societal pressure, and became indistinguishable from other small American Colleges. They decided that they could serve best by addressing themselves to the same needs and constituencies as their American counterparts. The remainder of the Polish American Colleges must make some decision about their roles and identities in the near future. If they choose to retain their identities, they can, as some have suggested, alone or in conjunction with a major university, de-emphasize or drop general education and concentrate on developing certain areas of strength associated with their heritage and past emphasis, such as Polish or Slavic language, literature or culture, or Polish or Slavic Ethnic Studies.

If they choose to continue as Polish American institutions which provide a general college education, they must discover what makes that education for Polish Americans as well as for other Americans a distinctive and valuable experience unavailable elsewhere. The answer might be that because they can draw on a profound understanding of the ethnic and immigrant experience, they are best suited to illuminate the meaning of a genuinely pluralistic human society within the context of an education based on the best in the Western Liberal Tradition. To articulate such insights, it is necessary for the faculties of Polish American institutions, if they have not already begun, to chronicle and digest both our European heritage and our American experience. To help lay the basis for a humane and pluralist society

informed by that experience, and drawing on the best and most generous impulses of both of our traditions, is *the most important contribution we can make to the shaping of post-industrial society in the United States.* We can also contribute to the development of a tolerant pluralism which will enable the many peoples of our globe to live in harmony, as technology and modern communications erase the distances and boundaries which separated us in the past, and the necessity of common survival forces groups into a sometimes uncomfortable intimacy. As a people who have learned to live and even prosper in more than one cultural world, and to bridge experiences widely separated in time and space, we have acquired, at the cost of some pain, knowledge which can be of great value to others. Much in our past experience lies still in the future for many of our fellow Americans and our fellow human beings, and the Polish American Colleges may be the ideal place to reflect on that experience, distill the wisdom to be learned from it, and to teach it to ourselves and others.

NOTES

[1] Quoted in Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York, 1955), p. 115. On the problem of getting priests to minister to Polish immigrants in the U.S., see letter of Rev. J. Dąbrowski to Catholic bishops in America March 31, 1884, quoted in S.M. Benedicta Kolat, CSSF, *Father Joseph Dąbrowski, the Pioneer Priest and His Significant Contribution Toward a Catholic American School System* (Unpublished MA Thesis, Wayne State University, 1950), p. 71.

[2] Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 123.

[3] On the history of early collegiate education in America, see Hofstadter and Metzger, pp. 78-274; Samuel E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935); Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (Brunswick, N.J., 1965) pp. 3-41; and F.C. Rosecrance, *The American College and Its Teachers* (New York, 1962) pp. 27-56. It is interesting to note how strong was the impulse of regional pride and denominational identity in the founding of American Colleges. For example, Yale was founded in Connecticut colony by a "desire for college . . . nearer to home, and more satisfying to local pride . . ." Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 137; Queen's College (now Rutgers), founded by members of the Dutch Reformed Church, refused to accept union with Presbyterian Princeton because of sectarian pride even though it was on the point of collapse, Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 118.

[4] At this point it should be noted that I will not discuss here schools such as the well-known Academy of Dr. Curtis (Kurcjusz) or institutions in which pre-1860 émigrés were involved as teachers or founders. These are interesting but have no real impact on the history of the Polish American community. The role and contribution of Polish American educators, lay and clerical, who do not or did not teach in institutions of higher education founded by Polish American groups, religious Orders, parishes etc., is also beyond the scope of this essay, even though their importance to Polonia is in many cases very significant. See S.M. Nobilis, SSND, "The School Sisters of Notre Dame in Polish American Education," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. XII, No. 3-4 (July-December 1955), pp. 77-83; Rev. Ladislas

J. Siekaniec, "Polish American Teachers 1830-1870," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (July-December 1962), pp. 65-90. I will also omit here discussion of the various "higher schools" such as the three year Resurrectionist school founded in Chicago in 1879, the two year Franciscan (OFM Conv.) School in Shamokin, Pa., and the three year school established by Father W. Grutza which existed between 1892 and 1901 in Milwaukee, because these did not develop collegiate programs nor did they have pretensions of being "Colleges." It is necessary to mention this as most of the institutions to be discussed began as secondary schools or had a secondary school as part of their integral structure. On the above noted higher schools see Wacław Kruszka, *Historya Polska w Ameryce* (Polish History in America) III (Milwaukee, 1905) pp. 57, 70-73.

[5] See Rev Józef Dąbrowski's statement that he modeled the plan of studies of the Polish Seminary on the Roman Colleges. John A. Michnowicz, "America's First Polish College," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (July-December 1965), p. 67. The Jesuits and other religious orders used a similar "collegiate" model for their schools in America. See the description of the organization of the Jesuit St. Ignatius "College" in Chicago in *Dziennik Chicagoski*, June 29, 1893. Ireland, also under alien religious and political rule, was similarly and perhaps more strongly affected. On the "recatholization" of Ireland and "romanization" of the Irish Church in the mid 19th century by young Irish priests from Rome, see: Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 3 (June, 1972), pp. 625-652.

[6] Prior to the Educational Reform in Poland there were 67 Jesuit colleges, 25 Piarist colleges, and 10 others associated with Kraków University. The colleges at Zamośc, Poznań, and Lwów, had almost grown into university status. Konarski's *Collegium Nobilium*, it should also be remembered, was intimately associated with the "Great Awakening" of the eighteenth century. In the reform of eighteenth century, Polish replaced Latin as the medium of instruction in the colleges, and metaphysics was replaced by science and other "modern" subjects. For a summary, see "Poland" in a *Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe (New York, 1913) IV, 731-734, and Dr. A. H-J, "Przyszły system szkół w Polsce," *Postęp III*, No. 1 (January 1918), pp. 5-6. The *Kolegium* was so successful in the East as an instrument of the Polonization and Catholization that the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine adopted it in self-defense. For example, Peter Mohyla's Kievan Academy was based on the Jesuit model.

[7] It can be argued that the other European models of educational institutions, designed to provide an education which straddled what is now in the U.S. pattern designated as secondary and higher education—the *Gymnasium* and the *Lycée*—were often unfamiliar and more importantly unacceptable to patriotic Catholic clerics. The *Gymnasium* with its Protestant origins, coming as it did out of the educational work of Phillip Melanchthon during the Reformation, had become the model for the state educational establishments of the Partitioning Powers. The French *Lycée* and its curriculum developed out of the attempt to provide secular state education in France after the Revolution of 1789. Not surprisingly, on the other hand, Polish Protestants in America found the *Kolegium* with its 'religious, Roman and internationalist" origins an unsatisfactory model for Poles or any progressive nation interested in "improving the lot of all of its citizens," see Dr. A. H-J, p. 5.

[8] Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 224.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 378. In a famous study issued about the time the first Polish American educational institutions were being founded, John Burgess argued that the college was a misfit in the higher education system. It could not become a university, and it did not want to become a *Gymnasium*. He felt it ought to go out of existence. John Burgess, *The American University: When Shall It Be? Where Shall It Be? What Shall It Be?* (Boston, 1884), pp. 18-19.

[94] Eight students received this degree at the 1901 Graduation of St. Stanislaus Kostka College in Chicago. See *Naród Polski*, July 3, 1901. (All references to *Naród Polski* and *Dziennik Chicagoski* are from the *Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey* translation Reel 48IA. References to other newspaper articles are my translations from the originals.)

[95] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, August 31, 1895. For a similar claim, see *Dziennik Chicagoski*, August 17, 1894.

[96] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, November 28, 1908. This sort of ambiguity plagued American colleges from the beginning. In 1724, Rev. Hugh Jones, a faculty member, admitted that after three decades of existence William and Mary "scarcely merits the name of a college." Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 132.

[97] Long after St. Stanislaus ceased to be a "college" its alumni listed themselves as college graduates, although a specific degree was not listed. See letter of Dr. Paul Fox to Dean S.N. Stevens, December 30, 1933. Rev. Fox lists potential teachers of Polish at Northwestern University and gives their credentials. The list includes one graduate of St. Stanislaus College. He, unlike the others, was not listed as having a Bachelor's degree. *Paul Fox Archive*, File 236, Immigration History Research Center, The University of Minnesota.

[98] Michnowicz. p. 66; Kruszka, III, p. 147, gives the following enrollment figures for the first decade:

1890-91—66	1893-94—105	1896-97—133	1899-1900—154
1891-92—77	1894-95—125	1897-98—131	1900-1901—156
1892-93—80	1895-96—123	1898-99—153	

The choice of S.S. Cyril and Methodius, as patrons of the Seminary, was apparently governed by more than the coincidence of a Millenial Jubilee. Rev. Dąbrowski saw the Seminary as an institution which would also serve other East European groups. The Seminary offered courses in Lithuanian in its earliest years, and prepared priests for service in Lithuanian parishes. See Michnowicz, p. 67. Also, even before the Seminary's opening, Dąbrowski envisioned the eventual establishments of a "Bohemian Department." See his letter to the U.S. Bishops, March 21, 1884, in Kolat, p. 72. Dąbrowski's biographer suggests another reason for the symbolic importance of these saints: S.S. Cyril and Methodius were "The first fighters for Slavic languages against the Germans."—Rev. Aleksander Syski, *Ks. Józef Dąbrowski* (Orchard Lake, Mich.: Polish Seminary Press, 1940), p. 154. Several writers refer to the Seminary as a *Kolegium-Seminarium*. See Antoni Karbowiak, *Dzieje edukacyjne Polaków na obczyźnie (The History of the Education of Poles abroad)* (Lwów, 1910), p. 172.

[99] Michnowicz, pp. 69-77.

[100] Kolat, p. 68. Father Dąbrowski had been a student of mathematics at the University of Warsaw prior to his participation in the Insurrection of 1863, and he never lost his taste for mathematics and science.

[101] See Syski, *passim*. Father Dąbrowski's patriotic goal of preserving the Polish heritage was never clearly an end in itself. It always remained for him inseparable from his interest in preserving the faith of the immigrants.

In the ninety years of their existence, the schools Father Dąbrowski founded enrolled about 12,000 students. Of these, about 25 percent went on to ordinaion. About half of those who completed their education became priests. See L. Chrobot, *Seventy-five Years of the Orchard Lake Seminary* (Orchard Lake, Mich., 1960), pp. 20-25. Dr. Karbowiak notes that just prior to Father Dąbrowski's death the school had 32 ordained alumni and had 50 former students who studied at other seminaries after initial training at S.S. Cyril and Methodius. Nevertheless, already by 1901, a large number of students who attended the *Kolegium-Seminarium* went on to professional schools and became lawyers or doctors, or sought employment in the secular world. Karbowiak p. 172.

[102] Rev. A. Maksimik, "The Second Founder of the Polish Seminary," *Polish American Studies*, II, No. 1-2 (January-June, 1945), pp. 29-33.

[19] For current information on the Orchard Lake Schools see the following pamphlets: "Orchard Lake Center for Polish Studies and Culture," "Welcome to the Orchard Lake Schools," "St. Mary's College," "Orchard Lake-S.S. Cyril and Methodius Seminary," and "The Orchard Lake Prepman." Available from the Orchard Lake Schools, Orchard Lake, Michigan, 48034.

[20] Dr. Karol Wachtl, *Polonja w Ameryce* (The Polish Community in America) (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 132, 144. In addition, current information on the Franciscans (OFM) was obtained by the author from Rev. Fulgence Masiak, OFM, in a letter dated August 20, 1976.

[21] "St. Hyacinth College and Seminary Catalog 1974-75" (Grandby, Mass: St. Hyacinth Press, 1974).

[22] Rev. George G. Gargasz, "St. John Cantius Seminary 1918-1964," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (July-December, 1967) pp. 84-87.

[23] "Catalogue Savonarola Theological Seminary of the Polish National Catholic Church" (Scranton, Pa., 1976). The choice of the fiery and rebellious Florentine monk and puritanical reformer who died at the stake as a patron of the Seminary reflects the deep mood of anger and bitterness that marked the split between the dissidents and Roman Catholic hierarchy.

[24] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, August 31, 1895.

[25] *Ibid.* See also *Dziennik Chicagoski*, June 20, 1895.

[26] Karbowiak, p. 175.

[27] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, June 20, 1895.

[28] Karbowiak, pp. 170-175; *Dziennik Chicagoski*, June 20, 1895; Wachtl, pp. 132-133.

[29] Karbowiak, pp. 178-179. Dr. Karbowiak gives the following figures for Baccalaureate Degrees granted: 1901-9, 1902-6, 1903-7, 1904-2, 1905-13, 1906-9. The account of the graduation in *Naród Polski*, July 3, 1901, gives a figure of 8 Bachelor of Arts Degrees granted.

[30] Karbowiak, p. 178.

[31] Wachtl, p. 140.

[32] *Naród Polski*, June 28, 1911.

[33] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, November 28, 1908.

[34] Wachtl, p. 140; Anthony Tomczak, *Poles in America* (Chicago: Polish Day Assn., 1933), p. 263.

[35] Sister M. Accursia, Bern., "St. John's Polish College of Pennsylvania," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. V., No. 3-4 (July-December, 1948), pp. 84-91; Wachtl, pp. 132-133. Sister Accursia lists World War I as one of the reasons for the decline of the school. Why the War, which the U.S. did not enter until 1917, should have caused the school to close in 1916, is not self-evident, and she offers no proof to support her contention. According to her, Father John Godrycz studied in Lublin, Warsaw, and Rome, and took doctorates in philosophy, theology, and civil and canon law. When he came to the U.S., he taught at S.S. Cyril and Methodius Seminary prior to his ordination. In Philadelphia he is best remembered as the publisher of *Przyjaciel Ludu*. See Caroline Golab, *The Polish Communities of Philadelphia, 1870-1920* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, The University of Pennsylvania, 1971), p. 385.

[36] Rev. Edward Gicewicz, CM, *Kanty 1909-1959* (Eire, PA., 1959), pp. 14-15, 296-304, 322-352. Gicewicz lists a total of 814 students who were enrolled in the high school or college branch of the school at one time or another.

[37] On Rev. Pitass's "Seminary," see *Dziennik Chicagoski*, March 14, 1896. The survey of his educational work in Sister M. Donata Slominska. CSSF, "Rev. John Pitass, Pioneer Priest of Buffalo," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. XVII, No. 1-2 (January-June, 1960), pp. 28-40, does not even mention the attempt to found the teacher training institute. Holy Family Academy offered a strong science and humanities program, along with instruction in art and music, courses in typewriting and stenography, and in "elegant" and "practical" women's work. Rev. Kruszka

gives a figure of 143 women and 43 young men attending courses. Kruszka, IV, pp. 49-50.

[38] On the Felician Colleges, see: *Highlights in the Development of Presentation Junior College and Madonna College* (Livonia, Michigan, 1976, typescript); *Felician College, North Central Association Self Study* (Chicago, 1976); "Felician College. Catalogue 1975-76" (Chicago, 1975); "Villa Maria College of Buffalo. Catalog 1974-76" (Buffalo, NY, 1974); *Magnificat 1855-1955* (Buffalo, NY, 1955); "Response 1874-1974" (Ponca City, Okla., 1974); "A Profile of Villa Maria College Students" (Buffalo, NY, 1976, typescript); "Villa Maria College" (Buffalo, NY, n.d.); "Villa Maria College Twelfth Commencement Program," Friday, May 21, 1976.

[39] "Holy Family College Bulletin. Catalog Issue," Vol. II, No. 1 (January, 1976). A 1969 estimate is that Polish Americans make up about 10 percent of the student body. See Dr. E. Kusielewicz, *Reflections on the Cultural Condition of the Polish American Community* (New York, Czas Publishing, 1969), p. 6. See also S. M. Ligouri Pakowska. HFN, "Mother Mary Francis Siedliska in America," *Polish American Studies,* Vol. III, No. 1-2 (January-June, 1946), pp. 30-34.

[40] "De Lourdes College Bulletin 1974-77" (Des Plaines, Ill., 1974).

[41] Mention might be made here of Lourdes Junior College in Sylvania, Ohio, founded in 1968 by the Franciscan Sisters of the Congregation of Our Lady of Lourdes. This Congregation was originally a branch of the Franciscan Sisters of Rochester, Minnesota. They concentrated all of their Polish speaking Sisters in Sylvania, Ohio, to teach in Polish American Parochial schools, initially in the Toledo area but later also in surrounding states. This branch later separated from its parent mother house and, for a time, was a quasi-Polish American Order. The Sisters of this Congregation continue to teach in many Polish American schools, and in some areas are in the forefront of the revival of interest in things Polish and the study of the Polish language (Cf. St. Ladislaus High School, Hamtramck, Michigan). However, they were not originally a Polish American Order and, according to Sister M. Rosaria, President of Lourdes College, they have lost most of their ethnic character. She deemed it inappropriate therefore that the College be included in this survey. (Telephone interview with author August 28, 1976.) Nevertheless, as a significant part of the human labor and capital resources which built the Congregation and made the College possible came from the Polish American community, the existence of the College should at least be noted here.

[42] "Alvernia College, 1976-77 Bulletin" (Reading, PA, 1976). Telephone interview by author with Sister Mary Noel, Bern., August 10, 1976. S. M. Zygmunta, OSF, "A Half Century on American Soil," *Polish American Studies,* Vol. II, No. 1-2 (January-June, 1945), pp. 24-28. The Normal School of the Bernadine Sisters was established under Mother Mary Hedwig, whose tenure was 1912-1930, *ibid.*, p. 27.

[43] Telephone interviews by author with Sister Barbara Jean, August 12, 1976, of Sisters of St. Joseph, Stevens Point, Wisconsin, and with Mary Delores Koza, August 14, 1976, Sisters of St. Joseph, Bartlett, Ill. Also, on Immaculata College, letter to author from Sister M. Fidelia Gorcowski, September 3, 1976. S.M. Ligouri Pakowska, HFN, "Imported Polish American Sisterhoods," *Polish American Studies,* Vol. XIV, No. 3-4, pp. 92-102. S.M. Beatrice, CR, "The Ressurrection Sisters—Fifty Years for God and Country," *Polish American Studies,* Vol. VI, No. 3-4 (July-December, 1949), pp. 99-105. Sister M. Edwina, FSSK, "The Franciscan Sisters of St. Joseph," *Polish American Studies,* Vol. V, No. 1-2 (January-June, 1948), pp. 10-14.

[44] "Response," pp. 72-73; *Magnificat,* p. 122; S.M. Ligouri, "Imported Polish American Sisterhoods," pp. 100-102; S.M. Edwina, p. 13; S.M. Ligouri, "Mother of Mary Francis Siedliska in America," p. 33. The Felician School of Nursing at St. Joseph's Hospital in Philadelphia was eventually associated with LaSalle College.

[45] For general information, see *Alliance College Bulletin 1975-76* (Cambridge,

Springs, PA, 1975). Alliance Academy also had attached to it a Trade Institute which was to prepare its graduates for careers as skilled laborers, *Dziennik Związkowy*, August 5, 1918.

[46] For an interesting personal account of the early days of Alliance College see Marek Święcicki and Róża Nowotarska, *The Gentleman from Michigan*, translated by Edward Cynarski (London: Polish Cultural Foundation, 1974), pp. 22-30. Tadeusz Majchrowicz (later Machrowicz) was the first student at the Academy. (His father, Bonifacy, was intimately involved in its founding.) Tadeusz Machrowicz as Congressman and Federal Judge was to become one of the ablest and most respected Polish American political figures of this century. For an account of the opening ceremonies, see: *Głos Polek*, October 31, 1912.

[47] Kusielewicz, pp. 5-6. Kusielewicz points out that the College offers no courses in Polish music, folklore or art, and none on Polish American history, economics, sociology, folklore or culture. Another commentator notes that only 20 percent of the faculty and staff are Polish. Edward Puacz, *Polonia w USA. Dziś i jutro* (The Polish Community in the USA. Today and Tomorrow) (Chicago, 1976), p. 80.

[48] Puacz, p. 88. Puacz would like to see Alliance College transformed into a center for Slavic Studies rather than continue to try to offer a wide general education. On the recent rise in freshman enrollments, see *Pol-Am Journal*, October, 1976.

[49] Interview with Mr. Stanisław Nowak by author August 13, 1976. On the subjects of lectures and discussions, see: *Paul Fox Archive*, IHRC, File 449. On the Philadelphia University and its sponsors, see: Dr. Eugene Kusielewicz, "A Most Magnificent Month Part IV: The Sieradzkis," *The Kosciuszko Foundation Newsletter*, Vol. XXX, No. 6 (February, 1976), p. 6.

[50] On the graduates of St. Mary College in Detroit at the turn of the century, see Karbowiak, p. 172. See also figures on St. John Cantius quoted above.

[51] I have tried to clarify some of these factors in my article on the Felicians in America. See Thaddeus C. Radzialowski. "Reflections on the History of the Felicans in America," *Polish American Studies*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1975), pp. 19-28.

[52] Logan Wilson and Charles Dobbins, "Colleges and Universities," *Encyclopedia Americana* (N.Y., 1968), Vol. 7, pp. 242, 244, 257, 260.

[53] I have attempted an interpretation of some of these aspects of the Polish American experience in my article, "The View from a Polish Ghetto: Some Observations on the First 100 Years in Detroit," *Ethnicity*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Summer, 1974), pp. 125-150.

[54] Karbowiak, p. 170.

[55] *Paul Fox Archive*, IHRC, File 236. The figure is for the 1934 academic year. He had from 5-8 persons in his Polish Language and Literature classes at Northwestern University, and not all of them were Polish.

[56] Radzialowski, "The View from a Polish Ghetto: Some Observations on the First 100 Years in Detroit," pp. 139-140.

[57] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, March 9, 1897.

[58] Kusielewicz, *Reflections on the Cultural Condition of the Polish American Community*, p. 7. Recent figures indicate that only 5.1 percent of Polish Americans are college graduates as compared with 76.8 for Jews, *Pol-Am Journal*, October, 1976.

[59] Quoted in John Bodnar, "Materialism and Morality: Slavic American Immigrants and Education, 1890-1940," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* (Winter, 1976), pp. 9-12.

[60] Karbowiak, 168-169. The truancy reports show about one-fourth of the students were kept home by their parents for some reasons other than indifference to education, and the remainder played hookey wthout knowledge of their parents.

[61] Stephen Thernstrom in his now classic study of workers and immigrants in a New England town shows that this tradeoff of home and savings for education

was exactly the pattern among Irish immigrants in the 19th century. See Stephen Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress* (New York: Antheneum, 1975), pp. 154-157. On the pleas to parents to keep their children in school so that they can improve their status see, for example, "Nasza Sprawa Oświatowa" (Our Educational Task), *Głos Polek*, July 6, 1911, and Felicja Cienciara, "Odezwa do Rodziców" (An Address to Parents), *Głos Polek*, July 6, 1911. Both articles call for high school and college education, and ask the parents to sacrifice for the children and the community.

[82] Bodnar, pp. 1-13. Bodnar has written an excellent study of these views among East Europeans immigrants. However, in delineating these attitudes he has missed a very important aspect of the problem. The small number of persons in the Polish community who argued most strenuously for higher education and for social and occupational mobility through education were also the ones who promoted the importance of education as a force for cultural preservation and moral development and who deplored American materialism. This contradiction had an important impact on Polish American higher education.

[83] The classic description of the demoralization of Polish immigrants in the United States is, of course, William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 5 Vols. in two (N.Y., 1958). Critics have rightly pointed out that Thomas and Znaniecki failed to account for the positive strengths and social resources of the Polish community and thus erred by emphasis in their analysis of Polonia in their own time. Nevertheless, their description of the pathology of the disintegration of the world of the Polish peasant in the industrial city is persuasive and sobering. Polish American leaders constantly pointed to similar evidence and made repeated calls for discipline and moral fortitude. For example, see the sad and horrified comments of the editor of *Głos Polek*, Nov. 17, 1910, when the Chicago crime statistics indicated that Poles led all other ethnic groups in the number of juvenile delinquents and children placed in the public charge for other reasons. A decade later, Assistant State Attorney General for Illinois, Francis Peska, a Polish American, publicly deplored the fact that the records of his office show that Poles led all other ethnic groups in numbers of juveniles convicted of crimes and in the number of cases before the domestic relations court, *Dziennik Chicagoski*, December 6, 1921.

[84] This is not to deny that work in a wider arena offered unparalleled opportunities for service, satisfaction, and advancement for many Polish Americans in religious life, nor that selfish particularism accords poorly with the understanding most Christians have of the deepest requirements of their faith, but to see the stifling of ability and narrow nationalism as the only alternative to a rather sterile "universalism" achieved by manipulation and repression is silly and offensive. The opportunity for a genuine pluralistic dialogue on Polish Catholic campuses is largely lost now in most places. It is perhaps only at Orchard Lake that some possibility for it exists. In this context, it should be pointed out that as early as the 1930's, missionary, social, and educational work among black Americans in North and South was pioneered by Polish American Sisterhoods. On this, see books and articles cited in notes 43 and 44 above.

I am aware that forces other than overt actions by the hierarchy and the general and pervasive anti-ethnic atmosphere in the American Church are responsible for the move on many campuses away from a Polish identity. I have tried to deal with a few of them in my article on the Felicians noted above (note 51).

[85] Gicewicz, p. 13; quoted in Puacz, p. 82.

[86] See, for example, Henry Ford's elaborate "Americanizing" scheme for his employees in the 1920's in Jonathan Schwartz, "Henry Ford's Melting Pot," in Otto Feinstein, ed., *Ethnic Groups in the City* (Lexington, Mass., 1971), pp. 181-198.

[87] In conversation with the Polish author Artur Górski, the Canadian Slavicist Wm. Rose noted his dismay that so many Polish Americans who received higher education went into sciences and engineering and so few studied in the Arts

and Humanities. See Arthur Górski, *Angela Truszkowska* (Poznań, 1959), p. 238.

[68] The U.S. historian R.R. Palmer argues that during the "Age of Democratic Revolutions" in the 18th century only three of the Revolutions had the power and the momentum to succeed on the basis of indigeneous support and without massive outside aid: The American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Polish Revolution arising out of the Great Awakening. R.R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolutions 1760-1800*, 2 Vols. (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1959-1964).